

From State Exposition Building to Science Center:
Changing Ideals of Progress in Los Angeles, 1873-1992

by

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A Dissertation Presented in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

Approved November 2018 by the
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ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY

December 2018

ABSTRACT

Los Angeles long served as a center of technological and scientific innovation and production, from nineteenth-century agriculture to twentieth-century aerospace. City boosters used spectacle-filled promotional strategies to build and maintain technological supremacy through industry. Evaluating the city's premier industry-focused science museum, the California Science Center, is therefore a must. The California Science Center is one of the most-visited museums in the United States and is in the historic Exposition Park. Yet, no thorough analysis has been done on its influential history. This dissertation is an interdisciplinary study of the California Science Center, from its 1870s beginnings as an agricultural fairground, to the construction of the world's fair-inspired State Exposition Building in the 1910s, to its post-World War II redesign as the California Museum of Science and Industry. It uses regional history, design history, and museum studies to evaluate the people behind the museum's construction and development, how they shaped exhibits, and the ideologies of progress they presented to the public. This dissertation builds on established historical components in Los Angeles' image-making, primarily boosterism, spectacular display, and racism. The museum operated as part of the booster apparatus. Influential residents constructed Exposition Park and served on the museum board. In its earliest days, exhibits presented Anglo Los Angeles as a civilizing force through scientific farming. During the Cold War, boosters shifted to promote Los Angeles as a mecca of modern living, and the museum presented technology as safe and necessary to democracy. Local industries and designers featured centrally in this narrative. Boosters also used spectacle to ensure impact. Dioramas,

Hollywood special effects, and simulated interactive experiences enticed visitors to return again and again. Meanwhile, non-white residents either became romanticized, as in the case of the Mexican Californios, or ignored, as seen in the museum's surrounding neighborhood, primarily-African American, South Central. Anglo elites removed non-whites from the city's narrative of progress. Ultimately, this dissertation shows that the museum communicated city leaders' ideologies of progress and dictated exhibit narratives. This study adds nuance to image-making in Los Angeles, as well as furthering regional analysis of science museums in the United States.

To my parents, Joel and Cathy,
who instilled in me the value of education and hard work;
and to Ashley,
who supported me from beginning to end.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am indebted to so many amazing people and institutions in the completion of this dissertation. Firstly, my dissertation committee provided vital support and feedback through years of research and writing. Dr. Gayle Gullett taught me how to be a strong history scholar and played a key role in my professional evolution from an undergraduate honors student to a doctoral candidate. Dr. Beverly Brandt was a constant presence in planning and executing this interdisciplinary project. Dr. Richard Toon added further interdisciplinary support and commentary. Dr. David Dean provided teaching and academic mentorship in my chosen field, public history. Lastly, my first advisor, the late Dr. Janelle Warren-Findley, first believed in me as a graduate student and helped me formulate the initial plans for this project.

I am also grateful to other faculty members and graduate students who provided feedback and guidance through this process. Dr. Katherine Osburn, my teaching mentor, first introduced me to scholarship on the West and in taking a regional approach. Dr. Mark Tebeau guided the development of my committee at its earliest stages. Dr. Andrea Field, Dr. Kathryn Sweet, and Tiffany Christensen helped push me forward each day when they discussed graduate student life and work with me.

Finally, family and friends supported me in countless ways. I would not have been able to make it through this process without them.

The Max Millett Family Travel Grant for History Graduate Students financially supported much of the research for this dissertation.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
CHAPTER	
1 INTRODUCTION	1
What Did Progress Look Like?	13
How Did Elites Shape the Museum?	16
How Did the Museum Present Progress?	18
Chapter 1: Agricultural to Exposition Park (1871-1912)	21
Chapter 2: The State Exposition Building (1913-1949)	22
Chapter 3: The California Museum of Science and Industry (1949-1967)	23
Chapter 4: Museum Expansions (1968-1988)	24
2 AGRICULTURAL PARK, 1871-1912: WILLIAM MILLER BOWEN'S EXPOSITION PARK DREAM.....	27
1840s-1850s: The Mexican-American War and the Rise of Anglo Los Angeles	31
1860s-1870s: The Southern Pacific Railroad and the Southern District Agricultural Society	38
1880s: The Sixth District Agricultural Association.....	46
1890s: The Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce	56
1890s-1900s: William Miller Bowen and the Fight for Agricultural Park	64

CHAPTER	Page
1910s: Exposition Park	84
3 THE STATE EXPOSITION BUILDING, 1913-1949: REFLECTING THE GROWING PAINS OF A NEWLY MODERN METROPOLIS	97
1910s: The State Exposition Building and the California Liberty Fair	99
1920s: Making Modern Los Angeles.....	119
1930s: The 1932 Olympics	140
1940s: World War II and a New Direction for the State Exposition Building.....	155
4 THE CALIFORNIA MUSEUM OF SCIENCE AND INDUSTRY, 1949-1967: EARLY COLD WAR LOS ANGELES	165
1949-1955: J. Howard Edgerton and the California Museum of Science and Industry	168
1956-1962: The Don Muchmore Era, <i>Sputnik I</i> , and <i>Mathematica</i>	193
1962-1967: The William Fitzgerald Era and <i>The Turning Wheel</i>	231
5 THE CALIFORNIA MUSEUM OF SCIENCE AND INDUSTRY, 1968-1988: THE RETURN OF MUCHMORE AND THE 1984 OLYMPICS	247
1967-1970: The William McCann Era and the Hall of Health.....	250
1970s: Expanding Service and Sponsorship.....	263
1980-1984: Cold War Revival, the 1984 Olympics, and the Return of Don Muchmore	277
1985-1988: The Fall of Don Muchmore	307
6 EPILOGUE: THE CALIFORNIA SCIENCE CENTER.....	318

CHAPTER	Page
BIBLIOGRAPHY	323
APPENDIX	
A FIGURES	344

INTRODUCTION

On October 12, 2012, the Space Shuttle *Endeavour* began a twelve-mile ride across the streets of Los Angeles from the Los Angeles International Airport to the California Science Center. The space shuttle was nearing the end of a long trip from Kennedy Space Center in Cape Canaveral, Florida, across the cities of the Sun Belt. The shuttle had made stops in Houston and Edwards Air Force Base in Kern County, California, both iconic hubs for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA). For the shuttle to make it to the California Science Center, crews worked for hours removing miles of trees, power lines, and street lights. Behind them, the *Endeavour* lumbered along at two miles an hour. It made stops at Los Angeles landmarks along the way: Randy's Donuts, where shop owners installed a miniature *Endeavour* in the hole of their iconic oversized donut sign; The Forum, where the Los Angeles Lakers had won six championships guided by all-time greats like Earvin "Magic" Johnson and Kareem Abdul-Jabbar; and Exposition Park, host of two Olympics Games, home of the Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum, and the California Science Center itself.

As the shuttle made its way through the city over the course of two days, locals lined the streets to take pictures. At one point, Hollywood stuntman Matt McBride and NASA astronaut Garrett Reisman towed it across Interstate 405 with a Toyota Tundra, continuing a corporate partnership between the car company and the California Science Center on space education. "The entire journey is something the world will be watching, and gives us a chance to prove that the 'overbuilt' Tundra is built to do any job—even tow the space shuttle," stated Ed Laukes, vice president of marketing and

communications at Toyota Motor Sales. Meanwhile, California Science Center CEO Jeffrey N. Rudolph spoke on the meaning of the *Endeavour* making its home there. “It’s incredible; we’ve dreamed about this for twenty years,” he said. “It’s an amazing feeling.”¹

Rudolph was referring to the California Science Center’s master plan, created in the 1990s as the museum remodeled itself into its current incarnation. The *Endeavour* represented more than a shuttle acquisition for the museum; it was a reminder of the status the museum had attained, beating out over two dozen other science museums to receive one of four shuttles. Of the four, the California Science Center was the only one not located on the East coast.² In a 2011 audit performed by NASA on the selection choices, the California Science Center came in second place overall among applicants for its commitment to funding, funding risk, facility availability, transportation effort, delivery schedule, attendance, regional population, international access, and museum certification. In addition, the California Science Center specifically received *Endeavour*

¹ “Toyota Tundra Truck to Tow Space Shuttle to California Science Center,” *collectSPACE*, September 4, 2012, <http://www.collectspace.com/news/news-091412a.html>; Robert Z. Pearlman, “Space Shuttle Endeavour Embarks on L.A. Road Trip,” *Space.com*, in collaboration with *collectSPACE*, October 12, 2012, <https://www.space.com/18032-shuttle-endeavour-los-angeles-road-trip.html>; “Space Shuttle Endeavour to Leave on L.A. Road Trip this Week,” *collectSPACE*, October 8, 2012, <http://www.collectspace.com/news/news-100812a.html>; and Mike Wall, “Shuttle Endeavour to Finish 12-Mile Trek to L.A. Museum Today,” *Space.com*, October 13, 2012, <https://www.space.com/18051-space-shuttle-endeavour-museum-arrival-today.html>.

² The other receiving institutions were the Intrepid Sea-Air-Space Museum in New York, NY (*Enterprise*), Kennedy Space Center in Cape Canaveral, FL (*Atlantis*), and the Smithsonian’s National Air and Space Museum in Washington D.C. (*Discovery*).

because the shuttle had been built and tested at the Rockwell plant mere miles from Exposition Park, and because of the larger legacy of aerospace in Southern California.³

In a 2011 interview only weeks after hearing about the decision, Rudolph cited the master plan as an initiative “to rebuild [the museum] ... into one of the world’s great science centers.” As part of this rebuilding process, the master plan specifically centered on air and space as “the third and final phase,” of which the *Endeavour* would be “the crowning jewel.” The only thing that kept the California Science Center from taking the top spot in the NASA assessment was its position inland, creating a major engineering problem to transport it. Rudolph, however, already had plans in hand: “We’re very fortunate to have a number of wonderful local corporate citizens and companies who’ve already volunteered. So, Parsons⁴ has volunteered their engineering expertise and is working on the logistics of the move and brought together a number of others who are working with them.” He also cited support from the Los Angeles mayor’s office.⁵ At the end of the day, this problem was repackaged into a major publicity effort that ended in massive success. Los Angeles residents created an impromptu street festival to honor the shuttle and its place in the legacy of the city’s contributions to aerospace, and the California Science Center celebrated its ascendancy to premier American science center.

³ National Aeronautics and Space Administration, Office of Inspector General, *Special Report: Review of NASA’s Selection of Display Locations for the Space Shuttle Orbiters*, August 31, 2011, https://oig.nasa.gov/audits/reports/FY11/Review_NASAs_Selection_Display_Locations.pdf and KCAL-TV, noon segment, “California Science Center Selected to Receive Space Shuttle Endeavour,” posted by Discover Los Angeles on YouTube, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WAkXKUp_FPQ.

⁴ Parsons Corporation is a private engineering and construction firm based in Pasadena, California.

⁵ Jeffrey Rudolph, interview by Anna Leahy and Douglas Dechow of loftyambitionsblog, on YouTube, video, 9:03, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IBywsUvFPoI>.

In many ways, the California Science Center had already arrived. It hosts 2.4 million visitors on average each year.⁶ On numbers alone, this makes the California Science Center one of the top-visited museums in the United States, just behind the Museum of Modern Art, National Museum of American History (DC and NY), National Gallery of Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, National Air and Space Museum, and National Museum of Natural History.⁷ Despite the California Science Center's popularity, no comprehensive academic or popular histories have been written about the institution. It has existed in the same spot—just south of the University of Southern California (USC) in Exposition Park—for over one hundred years, alongside the Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County, among other attractions. It is the primary science-based museological institution for the second largest city in the United States.

In many ways, the California Science Center serves as a common example of the modern science center rather than the exception, which may explain why it flies under the radar. The mission statement for the California Science Center states:

“We aspire to stimulate curiosity and inspire science learning in everyone by creating fun, memorable experiences, because we value science as an indispensable tool for understanding our world, accessibility and inclusiveness, and enriching people's lives.”⁸

⁶ “California Science Center Overview: Fact Sheet,” California Science Center, accessed September 7, 2018, <https://californiasciencecenter.org/about/press-room/press-releases/california-science-center-overview>.

⁷ “National Museum Day: 20 Most-Visited Museum Sites in the USA,” *USA Today*, last modified May 18, 2017, <https://www.usatoday.com/story/travel/experience/america/2016/06/21/most-visited-museums-american-usa-2015/86154964/>.

⁸ “About the California Science Center,” California Science Center, accessed September 7, 2018, <https://californiasciencecenter.org/about>.

This statement typifies the modern science center: inclusive, educational, and fun. A recent signature blockbuster exhibit, *King Tut: Treasures of the Golden Pharaoh*, was produced by a global exhibition design firm⁹ and claimed American Express as a partner. Other contemporary exhibits included *BodyWorlds* and ride-like attractions for children such as the High Wire Bicycle.¹⁰

The California Science Center was formed, supported, and sustained by the California state government as a state exposition building and grew into the institution it is today through the efforts of powerful and engaged local private citizens, most of whom either came from the industries featured in California Science Center exhibits or served in Los Angeles' most influential organizations and partnerships. From the centralized machinations of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce to a loosely-bound coalition of wealthy citizens across the sprawling city and its environs, the people who made Los Angeles into a world city had a hand in the California Science Center's evolution. They were joined by local industry leaders in a city that served as the epicenter for major scientific and technological advancements in American history, from scientific farming to aerospace.

For these reasons, the California Science Center is worthy of extended study as a unique institution specifically created for and shaped by the city of Los Angeles.

Examining the institution through its century-long relationship with local agricultural

⁹ "IMG Acquires Exhibitions International," *License Global*, January 3, 2018, <http://www.licensemag.com/license-global/img-acquires-exhibitions-international>. IMG recently acquired global blockbuster exhibit designer Exhibitions International and the King Tut exhibit as a result.

¹⁰ "Exhibits," California Science Center, accessed September 7, 2018, <https://californiasciencecenter.org/exhibits>.

growth, industrial development, and indefatigable boosterism offers an opportunity to better understand the ideologies of some of the city's most powerful leaders and institutions in their quest to make Los Angeles great. Throughout this dissertation, I will refer to these ideologies as ideologies of progress. In 1921, historian John Bagnell Bury published *The Idea of Progress: An Inquiry into Its Origin and Growth* and attempted to trace progress, which he defined as “the animating and controlling idea of western civilization.”¹¹ Since this attempt, many other historians, philosophers, and sociologists have continued to define and track the history of progress because of its continued public use.¹² The general definition of progress establishes a belief by the user that humanity, in some form, can improve upon itself. Studies about progress are vast for this reason, as philosophies on human improvement are almost infinite, ranging from religion to economics to science. Ideologies of progress represent current conditions (what must be improved?), goals of improvement (what would we like to achieve?), and methods of improvement (how will we achieve it?). The history of the California Science Center and greater Exposition Park shows a constant striving for progress by Los Angeles elites, although their conditions, goals, and methods changed significantly over time as the city moved from an agricultural community into a major city. Thus, the central question is: what did progress look like to these leaders, how were they involved, and what messages

¹¹ John Bagnell Bury, *The Idea of Progress: An Inquiry into Its Origin and Growth* (Project Gutenberg, last updated February 1, 2013), <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/4557/4557-h/4557-h.htm>.

¹² Margaret Meek Lange, “Progress,” Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, February 17, 2011, <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/progress/>. Lange includes an extensive exploration and bibliography on progress and the human condition.

did they seek to present through museum exhibits and design, particularly that of a science center?

I made use of several avenues to explore this relationship: the financial ties between industry, government, and museum; design choices, both in terms of industry involvement and in aesthetic influence; larger regional contexts of changing economic developments; technological and ideological development in and outside of the museum; and the decision-making role of museum administrators. Exploring this museum through the interdisciplinary context of regional history, museum studies, and architectural and communications design will provide new avenues for understanding how technological and museological development affect and are affected by ideological beliefs.

Leadership at a museum that is simultaneously funded and managed by state government and private interest makes for a wide variety of possible tracks to follow. This dissertation focuses on leaders who made decisions that directly affected the museum's exhibits and expansions, primarily directors, members of the museum board, donors, and designers. Because state management of Exposition Park is intertwined with the California Science Center through the museum board, this study considers the general evolution of the Park at relevant points. In the course of analyzing the people who brought exhibits to the institution, a bigger picture forms in relation to other leading individuals, organizations, and movements in Los Angeles.

The primary source materials used in this study include government documents on the museum's management and finances, records and correspondence from leading civic institutions and organizations, internal museum documents, promotional materials,

newspaper articles, photographs, maps, interviews, speeches, and public writings from city and museum leaders. It also uses, when applicable, oral histories from Los Angeles citizens that directly influenced the museum and Park's planning decisions. These primary source materials include not just the personal papers of direct influencers, but also of the organizations and affiliations they took part in to gain a better sense of their worldview.

Secondary source materials are split into three major components: history, museum studies, and design. To fully understand the development of the museum requires placing it in its regional historical context, and also its institutional one. The evolution of the California Science Center from a world's fair-like space to a museum of science and industry to a science center is not particularly unique to Los Angeles, but the circumstances in which it made these developments are. In addition, the exhibits cannot be fully understood without considering the environment in which the museum existed. Los Angeles' self-described role as an innovator in science and technology definitively influenced the museum's focus during the time period studied by this project, from its earliest Anglo period into the 1980s. Los Angeles' development often overlapped with museum management's affiliations and actions, and historical studies of those developments and the institutions involved are also used here. Finally, image-making isn't complete without imagery. The design evolutions that took place in Los Angeles were communicated through museum exhibits in specific ways, and they were linked to a larger message on the city's self-perception. Ultimately, these sources come together to

show the relationship between Los Angeles' industrial powers, their key role in the city's narrative of its ever-evolving progress, and the museum itself.

Much of the history-based secondary source material used in this dissertation centers on the regional history of Los Angeles. Charles Epting's *University Park Los Angeles: A Brief History* (2015) is the only modern treatment of the area surrounding Exposition Park. However, seminal works on the history of the city at large over key periods have been essential to this study. First and foremost, Carey McWilliams' *Southern California Country: An Island on the Land* (1946) established a narrative of the city that analyzed and critiqued the boosterism that characterized earlier broad histories. Kevin Starr's numerous chronological histories of the region added to that narrative from a contemporary and long-view perspective. Mike Davis' *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles* (1999) and Allen J. Scott and Edward W. Soja's *The City: Los Angeles and Urban Theory at the End of the Twentieth Century* (2005) brought the history of the city into a broader analysis of Western urban development at the end of the century and its evolution into a postmodern city. In terms of specific studies that tied directly to the people and events most relevant to the museum, Robert M. Fogelson's *The Fragmented Metropolis: Los Angeles, 1850-1930* (1967), Steven Stoll's *The Fruits of Natural Advantage: Making the Industrial Countryside in California* (1998), and collaborations by William Deverell, Tom Sitton, and Greg Hise on the earliest years of Anglo Los Angeles provided a basis for understanding the city's development and the role local industrialists, the railroad, and agriculture played in its evolution. Phoebe S. Kropp's *California Vieja: Culture and Memory in a Modern American Place* (2006)

showed how elite Anglos created a vision of Los Angeles that was ceaselessly presented by city boosters to draw large numbers of migrants to the city by the Great Depression. Robert W. Lotchin's *Fortress California 1910-1961: From Warfare to Welfare* (1992) tracked the planned and competitive mission of the city to become a center for the military-industrial complex by the end of World War II, thus ensuring primacy of the aerospace industry in the region to the present. Finally, Dolores Hayden's *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History* (1997) introduced innovative concepts of public history work in the city of Los Angeles and how public spaces of display operate there for African American residents who came to represent the Park's surrounding community by the 1960s.

In museum studies, Edward P. Alexander and Mary Alexander's *Museums in Motion: An Introduction to the History and Functions of Museums* (2008) provided a history of museums on a broad scale and established the defining features and challenges of each major museum type, including the science center. Victor J. Danilov's practical *Science and Technology Centers* (1982) further explored the evolution of the science center and its variations, and provided the interpretive framework to analyze the California Science Center as an industrially-oriented comprehensive science center. Tony Bennett's *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (1995) provided a thorough analysis of the relationship between expositions and the Western museum as a civilizing institution in the nineteenth century and beyond. Robert Rydell's numerous texts on the history of world's fairs were vital to understanding the ways in which all museums have been influenced by these exposition origins. Steven Conn's *Museums and American*

Intellectual Life, 1876-1926 (1998) established the ideological underpinnings of nineteenth century American museums and the role object-centered classification played in museum education. John R. Gold and Margaret M. Gold's *Cities of Culture: Staging International Festivals and the Urban Agenda, 1851-2000* (2005) provided further connections between expositions and the modern Olympic Games. Edited volumes provided by Sharon Macdonald's *The Politics of Display: Museums, Science, Culture* (1998) and Susan Pearce's *Exploring Science in Museums* (1996) added vital intellectual analysis on concerns science centers face, and how science has been displayed to the public in those institutions over time.

Design history and criticism is particularly useful in understanding choices made at museums in relation to major movements. William H. Wilson's *The City Beautiful Movement* (1989) explained the role the City Beautiful movement played in expressing civic ideals on the built environment. John Harwood's *The Interface: IBM and the Transformation of Corporate Design, 1945-1976* (2011) tracked how mid-century technology corporations tried to convey messages about their products to the public using communications design. Wendy Kaplan's edited volume, *Living in a Modern Way: California Design, 1930-1965* (2014), explained larger trends in mid-century modern design as tied to a "California Look" pushed by the military-industrial complex. Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown, and Steven Izenour's *Learning from Las Vegas* (1972) explained the evolution of postmodern architectural design and its role in the formation of the postmodern city.

These frameworks of analysis fully center this study on the creation side of the museum engagement process rather than the experience side. As with any analysis of a place created for a diverse public audience, it's difficult to assess fully how visitors responded to the museum's exhibit offerings. Visitor numbers tell a story of the museum's popularity and press reviews offer some level of inside experience, but without access to visitor surveys it's difficult to explore what made the museum popular for an individual visitor at a given time with nuance. Contextual evidence is key—what did the museum spend money and time on trying to build? What type of press releases did they prepare? Who were they trying to reach, how were they trying to reach them, and why? When possible, this analysis attempts to assess reception, but the primary focus of this dissertation is to track the intentions behind the exhibits and their evolution over time.

This dissertation is, at its root, an institutional history. Like other institutional histories, such as Sally F. Griffith's *Serving History in a Changing World: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania in the Twentieth Century* (2001) and Kevin M. Guthrie's *The New-York Historical Society: Lessons from One Nonprofit's Long Struggle for Survival* (1996), there's value in employing a chronological approach. It provides a means for tracking ideology behind the science museum as an entity with unique purposes, lifespan, and management style. By placing this institutional history in a larger historical context, this dissertation can also determine periods of city leaders' successful manipulation of Los Angeles' industrial growth. For that reason, this chronological analysis is split into stages of the institution's development. Each chronological chapter explores key themes that follow the museum (and larger Exposition Park) from its origins to the end of the

1980s and the progression of ideologies of progress across this time frame. These themes reflect each piece of the central question mentioned above: what progress looked like to these leaders, how they were involved in shaping the museum, and the messages conveyed through the museum's exhibits and design.

What Did Progress Look Like?

For much of its history, local boosterism guided the ideologies of progress that shaped Los Angeles. Los Angeles' transition from an agricultural backwater to a major world city rested in many ways on entrepreneurial civic leaders who spearheaded initiatives to foster the city's growth and advancement. To achieve this growth, boosters supported industries and cultural endeavors that spoke to their larger beliefs on what Los Angeles' progress should look like. The California Science Center was one of the institutions that boosters used to promote these beliefs. Products and technologies featured in the museum oftentimes aligned with boosters' broader imagery, whether that was as a recreational playground or a center of capitalistic military might.

For its entire history, the California Science Center has not only celebrated these accomplishments, but attempted to sell them; in this way, the museum operated as part of the booster apparatus. True to its mission, the California Science Center's vision of progress always focused on science and technology industries. Museum leaders willed the museum's survival and growth regardless of the state's level of financial support. At almost every stage of the museum's existence, the focused (if sometimes morally questionable) actions of its leadership propelled it forward and shaped it into a premier science center. In addition, the changing, yet ever-present role of technologically-driven

industries in Los Angeles created a situation where science itself became representative of the city and its progress.

Los Angeles elites' ideologies of progress have always been colored by imagery about Los Angeles. The unique circumstances of the city and the way Angelenos related to it are central to understanding leaders' actions. These imageries began as soon as Anglos began to colonize the region. As Carey McWilliams notes, Anglo elites in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries celebrated Los Angeles' "Spanish fantasy past," which simultaneously romanticized the town's Spanish and Mexican periods, while justifying its takeover by a rational, civilized Anglo population. As historian Gail Bederman states, civilization in the late nineteenth century meant an advanced stage in human evolution from its savage and barbaric origins. Western philosophers and scientists believed that only white races had achieved this advanced stage, and, having achieved this stage, members of white races were now born "civilized."¹³ According to the narrative of White settlers, Anglo use of science and technology to conquer the land and its resources signified its civilized and rational nature. In comparison to the lazy, yet picturesque Californios, Anglos conquered the landscape with technological expertise and hard work. The opening of Exposition Park in 1913 celebrated both the construction

¹³ Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 25-26. Bederman also notes the gendered and religious aspects of civilization, which ensured male dominance (reflected in the male-dominated ideologies present in the creation of Exposition Park) as well as the American Protestant millennial perspective that made the process of civilizing peoples and regions central to achieving God's will and advancing civilization as a whole. Together, these ideas manifested in middle-class nineteenth century beliefs to "present [White] male power as natural and inevitable."

of civilized parkland on the bones of a gambling mecca, as well as the completion of the Los Angeles aqueduct, ensuring the growth of scientific farming and the city itself.¹⁴

Within the walls of the California Science Center, imageries continued to be grounded in the role of science in the city's progression from rural to urban. Throughout the first half of the twentieth century, exhibits in the State Exposition Building (later the California Science Center) celebrated Anglo scientific farming, and encouraged settlement to the region to achieve the Jeffersonian agrarian dream of owning a profitable farm or ranch. Museum exhibits encompassed not only agricultural resources throughout the first half of the twentieth century, but recreational ones, as well. Throughout this period, the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce presented Los Angeles as a recreational playground for potential settlers, and espoused the bounties offered by Hollywood, sports stadiums, and natural amenities. This narrative erased racial diversity and the ever-growing industrial manufacturing plants on the landscape.

In the Cold War period, as Los Angeles' population boomed and the city became a central piece of the United States' military-industrial complex, Los Angeles elites pushed intertwined economic, cultural, and technological imageries. Exhibits at the new California Museum of Science and Industry explained technology and science in the atomic age as fundamentally necessary and good, while also presenting Los Angeles as the mecca of modern, safe living. Boosters encouraged white-collar settlement through the imagery of a "blue sky dream;" aerospace provided the foundation for mid-century

¹⁴ Carey McWilliams, *Southern California Country: An Island on the Land* (New York, NY: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1946) and Chelsea K. Vaughn, "The Joining of Historical Pageantry and the Spanish Fantasy Past: The Meeting of Señora Josefa Yorba and Lucretia del Valle," *The Journal of San Diego History* 57, no. 4 (Fall 2011): 213-235, <https://www.sandiegohistory.org/journal/v57-4/v57-4vaughn2.pdf>.

modern suburban California living while ensuring the survival of democracy through advancing military technological superiority over communist countries.

In the 1970s and 80s, Los Angeles imageries evolved once again to superficially embrace the multicultural city Los Angeles had become, presenting it as harmonious and progressive. The actions of the Community Redevelopment Association, Peter Ueberroth's Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee, and the California Museum of Science and Industry's aerospace museum showed concerted efforts to unite the city under community identifiers, bound together by local industry and design. This was underwritten by Los Angeles' continued prime position in the military-industrial complex as central to democracy under President Ronald Reagan's revived Cold War atmosphere. Exposition Park embraced capitalism and private industry and defended them as central to democracy. Each of these imageries reveal what shaped the ideologies of progress present throughout the history of the city.

How Did Elites Shape the Museum?

The second theme that runs throughout this dissertation addresses the ways in which these boosters came to shape a museum of science and technology centered in industrial development. In the 1870s and 80s, the privately-run Sixth District Agricultural Association intended from the start to use Agricultural Park to promote scientific farming to teach new settlers agricultural tricks of the trade. In the 1890s and 1900s, the construction of the State Exposition Building at Exposition Park can be traced back to the emergence of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce and Chamber of Commerce member, Methodist, and attorney William Miller Bowen's single-minded dedication to

transforming Agricultural Park from the gambling and horse racing mecca it had become. The newly-named Exposition Park represented the civilized, controlled Anglo image that local boosters hoped to portray. The State Exposition Building continued to fulfill the early Sixth District mission by showcasing exploitation of natural resources through scientific farming, which economically governed late nineteenth and early twentieth century Los Angeles.

As the State Exposition Building and Exposition Park matured, city leaders shaped the property by destroying old amenities, such as the horse racing track, and adding new ones, such as the Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum. Civic leaders, still drawn from the Chamber of Commerce circle, used the Park to promote Los Angeles by drawing the Olympic Games in 1932. Meanwhile, the growth of new industries—namely branch plant manufacturing, aviation, and Hollywood—provided new players in the elite sphere. This dictated the types of exhibits offered, yet also created a dilemma in what the Park and State Exposition Building should focus on. By the end of World War II, the Sixth District board decided to completely rebrand the State Exposition Building into the California Museum of Science and Industry.

The California Museum of Science and Industry opened in 1951 and became one of the most popular science centers in America by the late-1960s. In this period, Sixth District members, which included the growing powerful contingent of Jewish Westsiders, worked tirelessly to obtain industry partnerships for exhibits. International Business Machines' (IBM) *Mathematica: A World of Numbers ... and Beyond* (1961) and General Motors' (GM) *The Turning Wheel* (1963) represented a marriage between new industries

brought in by the military-industrial complex in Cold War Los Angeles and innovative mid-century modern designers. Local boosters ensured that the museum gained cultural capital in acquiring these designers and exhibits, but also ensured that these exhibits showcased the important local component of these national corporations.

In the 1970s and 80s, long-running plans for the museum began to come to fruition thanks in large part to boosters on the museum board and industrial partnerships. The 1984 multimillion dollar multi-facility museum expansion, which included a new Aerospace Hall and IMAX theater, represented the culmination of years of planning among Los Angeles elites. Aerospace, as Los Angeles' primary industry in the military-industrial complex, was finally honored in the museum due to generous donations from companies as far ranging as 7-Up to Northrop, just in time for the Olympics. In their fervor to ensure that the California Museum of Science and Industry would thrive regardless of government funding, boosters ensured that it became a premier science center in the United States.

How Did the Museum Present Progress?

As centers of knowledge presented for public consumption, museums are heavily-studied institutions. As a field, museum studies has existed for centuries and blossomed during the Age of Enlightenment, as colonialism, ethnography, and natural history encouraged collecting and classifying specimens for educational and “civilizing” purposes. Thus, it is important to understand the specifics of museum development and theory in deciphering the messages presented in such institutions. As noted by Robert Rydell, the “imperialist ethos” of international expositions ensured both technology and

race would feature heavily in museum exhibits. The City Beautiful design used at Exposition Park drew directly from the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. Like world's fairs, the creation of the State Exposition Building reflected local boosters' focus on the city's commercial expansion by centering on its industry and resources.

Once the building was constructed, exhibits showcased this focus in ways that both reflected and evolved exhibition methods. One of the most notable approaches used in the State Exposition Building and the later California Museum of Science and Industry was spectacle. In 1967, French Marxist theorist Guy Debord published *Society of the Spectacle*, where he presented the concept of spectacle in consumer societies. Debord broadly defines spectacle as “a social relationship between people that is mediated by images.” Instead of lived experience, spectacle is merely a representation of life passively consumed by the spectator. Debord provides a few specific examples of spectacle throughout the text—celebrity, propaganda, advertising—but asserts that spectacle can be present in myriad situations, oftentimes in awe-inspiring fashion, to seduce the viewer. Regardless of medium, he argues that spectacle on the whole expresses “the total practice of one particular economic and social formation ... the perfect image of the ruling economic order.”¹⁵ For museums and exhibitions, spectacle represents the “marriage of display and commodity,” according to sociologist Nick Prior. Commercialization of exhibits, blockbuster exhibits, and simulation-like exhibits all fall under this umbrella. As Prior notes, display and commodification have a history that goes back to the nineteenth

¹⁵ Guy Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (1967; repr., New York, NY: Zone Books, 1994; scanned and converted to HTML by Peter Jaques, 1994), http://www.antiworld.se/project/references/texts/The_Society%20Of%20The%20Spectacle.pdf.

century's "culture of looking," which included dioramas, department stores, and international expositions.¹⁶ Tony Bennett notes that public exhibitions and exhibits also encouraged spectacle and self-regulation amongst visitors, while the entire "exhibitionary complex" of department stores and museums shared techniques of display into the mid-twentieth century.¹⁷

In the second half of the twentieth century, science centers, like other museum institutions, embraced spectacle, liberally using interactive exhibits, corporate sponsorship, and blockbuster exhibits to draw visitors and sell products or narratives about those products. The California Museum of Science and Industry also embraced a shift in exhibit display from object-based to process-based. Due in part to the public's concerns over Cold War technology and science, exhibits from the mid-twentieth century onward sought to explain how a piece of technology or a scientific method operated, rather than presenting the final product alone. Yet, museum professionals' struggle with "edutainment" pedagogy—using theatrics, sensory techniques, and new media to make learning fun—can be traced back to the Enlightenment period when intellectuals sought to break away from seventeenth century cabinets of curiosities, which housed all manner of strange and intriguing objects.¹⁸ Essentially, debates over the balance between education and entertainment have long existed and will continue to exist, in large part

¹⁶ Nick Prior, "Postmodern Restructurings," in *A Companion to Museums Studies*, ed. Sharon Macdonald (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 514.

¹⁷ Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1995).

¹⁸ Stephen T. Asma, *Stuffed Animals and Pickled Heads: The Culture and Evolution of Natural History Museums* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 38-42.

because hands-on interactive science centers are so popular. In 2006, Tim Caulton referred to the explosion of science centers as “one of the most remarkable features of the leisure industry in the last decade.”¹⁹ Because the science center has historically pioneered many spectacle-laden museum display techniques, it is essential to address its role in the popularity of the California Science Center. Thus, it is vital to go beyond a broad analysis of spectacle in science centers to analyze the specific methods of display employed at different periods in the institution’s history. From the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce’s towers of produce to Charles and Ray Eames’ masterfully-designed mid-century modern *Mathematica* exhibit to the Opening Ceremonies at the 1984 Olympics, Los Angeles elites created and mastered styles of display and spectacle to further their ideologies of progress.

Together, these themes illuminate the components that created ideologies of progress in Los Angeles. The dissertation is split into four chronological chapters to establish points of change:

Chapter 1: Agricultural Park to Exposition Park (1871-1912)

In the 1870s, land that would later become City Beautiful-modeled Exposition Park emerged as the fairgrounds for the Sixth District Agricultural Association of California. Aptly named Agricultural Park and managed by influential farmers and ranchers in the region, it served as a physical location to celebrate the literal fruits of scientific agricultural farming in Southern California. These fairs also served as a method

¹⁹ Tim Caulton, *Hands-On Exhibitions: Managing Interactive Museums and Science Centres* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1998), vii.

to celebrate the agrarianism that took root in early Anglo California through Midwestern migrant influence. Ironically, as the city grew, the fairgrounds, dedicated to virtuous farmers, became known as a place of vice. Its most popular offerings became horse racing, gambling, and prostitution. After the University of Southern California (with its Methodist ties) moved next to Agricultural Park and created the neighborhood of University Park, new residents and old entertainments didn't align well. William Miller Bowen, a Methodist Sunday School teacher and lawyer, took on the burden of transforming the Park into a modern playground and cultural destination. Assisted by local boosters and the highly influential and innovative Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, Bowen successfully created a public recreational space that reflected city leaders' civilized, industry-centric vision for Anglos in the growing metropolis. The Los Angeles aqueduct, commemorated when the Park opened in 1913, provided an opportunity to celebrate scientific manipulation of the landscape. With the aqueduct in hand, Los Angeles could become a true city and agricultural empire. Bowen and the Sixth District decided to celebrate this accomplishment through the creation of a State Exposition Building, a permanent showcase for the state's industrial and agricultural offerings.

Chapter 2: The State Exposition Building (1913-1949)

Just because the Sixth District created a "civilizing" space did not mean that the space became civilized in the way Bowen had hoped. From the 1910s to the 1940s, a battle over the Park's purpose ensued. The creation of the Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum, home of USC football and later the 1932 Olympics, simultaneously destroyed

the horse racing track and introduced a new era of spectator sport. The Sixth District attempted to host two dignified expositions in the 1910s and 1920s and were thwarted by disease and disinterest. These expositions, along with the Olympics, showed that popularity lay in spectacle, especially from industries specific to Los Angeles, such as Hollywood and aviation. The new, modern Los Angeles shone through in these expositions and exhibits as a packaged product of recreational fun in the sun. Chamber of Commerce member Frank Wiggins created preserving methods and ostentatious displays that the State Exposition Building adopted to present this vision. In the 1920s, the State Exposition Building modernized by adopting spectacular exhibition techniques from its Bowen-run neighbor, the Museum of History, Science, and Art. Dioramas, relief maps, and murals continued to present an industry-centric idyllic vision of Los Angeles created for white consumption. Yet, these new techniques struggled to stay relevant as Los Angeles' industries rapidly grew. After Bowen's death in 1937, ideas germinated among Park management officials for a marked change to the institution. In the late 1940s, the Sixth District began to plan a major renovation for the State Exposition Building.

Chapter 3: The California Museum of Science and Industry (1949-1967)

In 1951, the State Exposition Building reopened as the California Museum of Science and Industry, a push-button paradise of scientific progress. The Cold War and the rise of the military-industrial complex reshaped Los Angeles' economy, and the museum's mission changed as a result. Federally-funded technological industries formed new relationships with the museum through exhibit sponsorship. Interest from newly influential civic leaders from Los Angeles' Jewish elite, along with a break among Anglo

elites over electing Tom Bradley, the city's first African American mayor, created a new political coalition. This coalition fought to present Los Angeles as a cultural and economic leader on par with cities on the East coast and backed initiatives that included the California Museum of Science and Industry. Meanwhile, public fears about nuclear age science and technology wrestled with local excitement over being part of cutting-edge scientific and technological advancements. Interactivity featured heavily in this period, embracing spectacle, and was colored by a national imperative to educate children on the importance of science and technology to "win" the Cold War. Elites' desire to present technology as fundamentally good shaped much of the ideology behind the exhibits presented. Two exhibits—*Mathematica* and *The Turning Wheel*—best encapsulated the museum's ideology in early Cold War Los Angeles. The exhibits used local modernist design and emphasized Los Angeles' role in the growth of America's largest industries. Together, the exhibits encapsulated the idea that Los Angeles represented the epitome of a democratic, modern, and capitalist America. This vision remained solely for White workers, and primarily those in white-collar professions, such as engineering. Meanwhile, the changing demographics of the neighborhood surrounding Exposition Park from White to Black caused by housing and police discrimination in light of massive Black migration to the region created new tensions for the museum and Park.

Chapter 4: Museum Expansions (1968-1988)

The 1970s and 80s brought the museum its greatest expansions, along with its greatest controversies. Los Angeles had become a global city, and its industries,

populations, and cultural centers diversified. Civil rights initiatives, combined with a gradual decline in state funding for cultural institutions, turned the museum towards service for the previously-ignored Black community. However, these initiatives took a backseat to the museum's greater ambitions. Commercialization in exhibits grew as funding continued to decline. Then, Los Angeles gained the right to host the 1984 Olympics. Museum leadership sought to expand the institution's offerings in time for hordes of visitors to arrive at the Coliseum and heavily relied on corporate funding, creating an increasingly blurred line between the museum and industry involvement. The 1984 Olympics and the museum's renovations symbolized the city's commitment to progress through local industrial achievement just as much as it represented American capitalism through the military-industrial complex. Revived Cold War tensions between the United States and Soviet Union under President Reagan ensured that Los Angeles' local industries represented larger democratic principles and city boosters used spectacular display to showcase them. Meanwhile, Exposition Park excluded and criminalized African American residents that dared to "spoil" this spectacular presentation through presence or critique. When the Olympics ended, the museum faltered under multiple controversies and audits. This did not prevent the museum from becoming one of the most visited science centers in the nation and gaining a massive expansion out of the opportunity of the Games. It did, however, mark the end of the California Museum of Science and Industry era. This dissertation ends in 1988, when the museum, reeling from the retirement of its most well-known director, Don Muchmore, and facing state government audits for its professional practice, began to reinvent itself

for a final time. The epilogue briefly addresses this transition and themes that have continued into its present-day status as the California Science Center.

The California Science Center offers an evolution particular to its own circumstances, because science and technology's role in building Los Angeles is immeasurable. From its earliest days, the State Exposition Building communicated city leaders' ideologies of progress, which, in turn, dictated the narratives told within its exhibits; yet, these ideologies reflected the very real need for Los Angelenos to know and understand science and technology. Over decades of existence, the State Exposition Building evolved from displaying notable agricultural products for potential farmers to creating interactive spaces that taught the value and process of scientific and technological innovations to a public more and more disconnected from the industries that had helped the city evolve. At each stage, the public desired science and technology-based education, and city leaders recognized the importance in showcasing its importance, whether that was commercial or cultural. Ultimately, the deep ties between scientific and technological industry, boosterism, and the museum helped establish Los Angeles' identity. This identity was infused with imagery but was also rooted in the realities of the city's industrial accomplishments, which were vast and far-reaching. Like the *Endeavour's* trek through South Los Angeles,²⁰ these accomplishments carried historical burdens even as they lifted the city to new, unforeseen heights.

²⁰ South Central Los Angeles is now called South Los Angeles.

CHAPTER 1

AGRICULTURAL PARK, 1871-1912: WILLIAM MILLER BOWEN'S EXPOSITION

PARK DREAM

“Fine Prospects for Lovers of the Turf, But Not Much Hope for the Farm and Trade Exhibits”

— *Los Angeles Times* (1888)¹

In 1870s Los Angeles, small town Anglo settlers, ranchers, and farmers flocked to the Agricultural Park fairgrounds on the outskirts of town, the land soft from the remnants of the Los Angeles River that, only decades before, flowed through. The river still occasionally flooded the grounds, creating temporary marshes. Agricultural Park featured educational displays that showcased the finest products the region had to offer and spectacular entertainment that drew crowds and commotion. In these early years, boundaries between the educational and recreational offerings were distinct. Fruits, vegetables, livestock, and other goods sat in the sun, presenting only the best from ranches and farms across Southern California. In the grandstands, throngs of people ignored them to cheer on the horses racing around the track, bets on the table. A typical fair was small and poorly attended, unless there was a planned race. These fairs represented two modes of entertainment that would continue to collide for the next century.

The Sixth District Agricultural Association, formed by like-minded white Californians involved in ranching and agriculture, owned and managed the Agricultural

¹ “The Fair: Preparations Made for the Opening Today,” *Los Angeles Times*, Aug 6, 1888, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

Park fairgrounds and its offerings. Through management decisions increasingly driven by money, the area gradually fell further into gambling vice until it began to be referred to as a “plague spot” by concerned citizens. One of these citizens, William Miller Bowen, finally decided to do something about it. Armed with the support of influential Los Angelenos, he created a new park based on City Beautiful concepts. He achieved his goal when Exposition Park opened to the public as part of the celebration of the Los Angeles aqueduct, both completed in 1913. The Park had transitioned from horse racing mecca to modern playground. The Park’s landscape wasn’t the only thing renovated. A collection of public amenities—the Museum of History, Science, and Art; an armory; a sunken flower garden and fountain; and the California State Exposition Building—rose from Bowen’s vision into the built environment. Each of these elements embodied the ideals of nineteenth century expositions and boosterism, colored by homegrown circumstances in Los Angeles.

Exposition Park represented local elites’ ideology of progress for Los Angeles in the early twentieth century. Anglo California’s Midwestern-inspired agrarianism was inspired by the Jeffersonian ideal of small, independent farming, and introduced agricultural fairs throughout the state soon after United States’ conquest in 1848 to encourage sharing techniques to efficiently mine resources from the land. But, the isolated nature of California farms, as well as Anglos’ forcible acquisition of large tracts of land after the Mexican-American War, created a new agrarian ideal. Anglo farmers and ranchers became powerful political entities; they embraced technology and market

innovations presented in agricultural fairs as ways to grow and further establish their economic dominance.

By the 1880s, the rise of exceptionally strong city boosterism which produced the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, nationally known for its promotion of Los Angeles, introduced a new influence. The city's boom and bust economy in the 1870s and 80s, mainly driven by the railroad, inspired a new class of local businessmen to take charge. The Chamber of Commerce used local business-centric initiatives, ranging from the expansion of the Los Angeles harbor to city festivals, to ensure that the city built an infrastructure of tourism and industry to protect it from economic instability. In these efforts, the Chamber of Commerce wrested political power away from the railroads, ensuring that Chamber of Commerce leaders, led by *Los Angeles Times* owner, Harrison Gray Otis, dictated the city's direction. The Chamber of Commerce's vision for the city was pro-industry, including agriculture, but also sought to present the city as culturally unique.

The Chamber of Commerce's industrial and agricultural focus ensured the city's embrace of science, because Los Angeles needed more water to grow. Because the city lay on the edge of a desert, neither large-scale farming or population growth could be achieved using the open-faced ditches that dotted the city's landscape. The hydraulic technology that made possible the construction of William Mulholland's Los Angeles aqueduct became an essential piece in city elites' narrative of progress. Through transformation of the landscape, Los Angeles could achieve the abundant water needed for the grand city they were meant to be.

Yet, technology was only one piece of the Chamber of Commerce’s vision for Los Angeles. Culture also featured heavily in Chamber of Commerce initiatives and reflected racial ideologies of progress. Racial stratification that restricted or removed non-whites from the city’s narrative of progress had existed from its earliest days, when Mexicans fought for rights ostensibly guaranteed to them through the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848. While Anglos violently subjugated Mexicans, they also became obsessed with the region’s Spanish and Mexican heritage. From the 1870s onward, Anglos used romanticized depictions of Mexican California to promote the city, from parades to plays to novels. In these depictions, Mexican life and culture was idyllic, but ultimately represented the less “civilized” world of non-Anglo societies. Mexican California served as a key part of Anglo California’s narrative of progress, in which Anglos evolved Californio ranching life into a scientific, civilized society that understood how to properly exploit the land for economic benefit.

The Chamber of Commerce supported the acquisition and construction of Exposition Park; thus, the Park reflects the ideals of Anglo elites in Los Angeles. As its name implies, Exposition Park was inspired by nineteenth century expositions, most notably the 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago. The Chicago World’s Fair espoused national ideologies of progress—racial, economic, cultural, etc.—that disseminated throughout the United States in many ways, including architecture, urban planning, art, politics, and science. The Sixth District’s decision to design Exposition Park using City Beautiful concepts and to include “civilizing” features, such as a museum, an armory, and playgrounds, reflect local elites’ desire to present Los Angeles

as cultured and socially advanced. In addition, the decision to include a State Exposition Building centrally featured across from Los Angeles' first museum to display the resources and industries of the state of California reflected the pro-business environment already established by city leaders.

Together, these circumstances created an ideology of progress that celebrated Anglo control over the landscape through technological and scientific innovation. All Anglo residents intended to benefit economically and socially from this industry-minded cohesive vision and excluded those who did not fit the narrative. With Chamber of Commerce support, Exposition Park represented these ideals in its construction and design, and became a fixture for displaying elite ideologies of progress from the 1910s onward.

1840s-1850s: The Mexican-American War and the Rise of Anglo Los Angeles

Michael Dear defines six “pivotal moments” in Los Angeles’ urban growth. The first period, “Colonial ‘Beginnings,’” provides the conditions that shaped Alta California in the periods of Spanish (1769-1821) and Mexican rule (1821-1848). Spain established Alta California—containing all of what would become the state of California along with land in Arizona, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah, Colorado, and Wyoming, in 1769—but it was a poorly populated and governed region for most of the period, as prime resources lay further south in modern-day Mexico. To provide stability to the region, Spain enacted Catholic rule through the mission system, which used imperialist ordinances that created a racial hierarchy between European settlers, indigenous peoples, and all mixed-race peoples who fell along that spectrum. Mission padres thus controlled many aspects of

Alta California life and the Californios who lived there. However, Spain also established another secular power structure through the establishment of ranchos. Colonial powers granted these large agricultural and ranching estates to singular families to encourage settlement. Californios entered this racial hierarchy determined to maintain a status tied to European civility, although many intermixed with indigenous peoples throughout the era. In the Mexican period, the new nation hoped to engender further growth and settlement by encouraging rancho development and secularization of the mission system. The Mexican state gave out the majority of rancho land grants throughout the 1830s, making Californios wealthier and continuing racial divide between settlers and indigenous peoples.²

The rancho system dictated almost all aspects of life in Southern California. Frederic Cople Jaher compares the Californios to Southern gentry; in the West, Native Americans acted as the primary labor source for the land in a peonage system. Ranchos provided an economic base for the area, primarily through raising cattle and trading leather and fat for other goods. The town of Los Angeles merely served as a trade post. Horses played a prominent role in California since the first Spanish expedition in 1769 and supported the mission system. After secularization, many of the “small and wiry” breeds that occupied Alta California continued to be used for ranching or roamed the

² Michael Dear, “In the City, Time Becomes Visible: Intentionality and Urbanism in Los Angeles, 1781-1991,” in *The City: Los Angeles and Urban Theory at the End of the Twentieth Century*, eds. Allen J. Scott and Edward W. Soja (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996), 76-105, EBSCOhost and Kevin Starr, *California: A History* (New York, NY: Modern Library, 2005), 17-70.

region in a “semiferal state.”³ For entertainment, horse racing formed one of the cornerstones of early spectator sports, along with dances and fiestas. Races reached betting heights of \$25,000 and had well-known residents, such as Alta California governor Pío Pico, as jockeys.⁴ The Mexican-American War (1846-1848) and the aftermath of American conquest challenged many of the socioeconomic conditions created in the Spanish and Mexican period, but racial hierarchy and the agricultural system remained, thus shaping the development of Anglo California.

All of Los Angeles, including Agricultural Park, rose from conditions created by the Mexican-American War. When the war ended, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo brought major changes to the region as Mexican California became American California. The Treaty granted the United States Alta California, and United States annexed California as a state two years later. Although the United States promised Mexico in the Treaty that Mexican property rights would be honored, they were not. Anglo settlers, using a variety of means, took over Mexican land. Dear refers to this period in Los Angeles’ growth as one of “American Rationality,” where the United States created “political structures, taxation, and landownership” initiatives that aligned with Anglo governance.⁵ New Anglo settlers enacted this through policy and action that reflected the violent nature of United States’ conquest and racial tensions escalated in California.

³ Robert M. Denhardt, “The Role of the Horse in the Social History of Early California,” *Agricultural History* 14, no. 1 (January 1940): 13-14, <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/stable/3739734>.

⁴ Leonard Pitt, *The Decline of the Californios: A Social History of the Spanish-Speaking Californians, 1846-1890* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1966), 128-129 and Frederic Cople Jaher, *The Urban Establishment: Upper Strata in Boston, New York, Charleston, Chicago, and Los Angeles* (Urbana, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 578-582.

⁵ Dear, 76-105.

William Deverell describes this period as the “bloody 1850s,” when new settlers and long-time residents alike feared a return to the warfare of the late 1840s. Racial tensions became “violent and mercenary,” with Anglo residents intent on subjugating Mexicans that ostensibly held the same citizenship rights as a result of the Treaty. From Californios to indigenous peoples, Anglos treated non-whites in Los Angeles as second-class, and ensured their disenfranchisement in the area.⁶

The bloody 1850s not only resulted in racial discrimination and tension, but also reflected broader ideas of progress and civilization that would reverberate into the twentieth century. Anglo ideas of race in relation to civilization became tied to cultivation of the West by Anglos. In comparison to the ranchos of the Mexican period, Anglo settlers envisioned an efficient, technological manipulation of the natural environment—the use of science—to create an advanced, civilized society. Anglo settlers viewed their own agricultural methods, then, as superior to Mexican methods. In addition, Anglo agriculture had already formed larger connections to ideals of progress through the creation of agricultural fairs.

American agricultural fairs can be traced back to the early Republic, when individual farms hosted privately run fairs in the rural Northeast. Farmers intended for these fairs to be informative as much as they were entertaining. They were popular in large part because they helped new land owners (particularly migrants) understand how to cultivate products for sale. Rural residents were more likely to attend a fair to learn

⁶ William Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe: The Rise of Los Angeles and the Remaking of its Mexican Past* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004), 35, ProQuest eBook Central.

about techniques and technologies (as well as to socialize), than urban, sophisticated residents. Farmers designed these events specifically for the “small, prosperous, general farmer” and most fairgoers shared this lifestyle. Fairgrounds also tended to lie on the outskirts of the city and, if overtaken by urban growth, did not survive due to the rise in the land’s value, keeping them perpetually rural enterprises. These characteristics helped build the Midwest as the agricultural fair mecca of the United States by the post-Civil War period.⁷

Nineteenth century agricultural fairs embodied many of the ideals associated with exposition spaces of the same era: progress, technology, education, and civilization. Fairgoers in rural America often first saw innovations, such as electric lighting, at the fairs. Agricultural fairs celebrated the single-family farm, yet still centered on technological modernization and innovation to increase efficiency and thus profit.⁸ Over time, fairs began to feature more and more amusements associated with the working class, such as vaudeville and carnival games. As fairs became more expensive to produce, state legislatures took on funding responsibilities through the creation of agricultural associations. Finally, early agricultural fairs focused on competition, celebrating the preeminent product or animal at the show, thus furthering the usefulness of the fair as a small farmer-centric event. Being acknowledged in relation to one’s peers brought personal notice to individual farmers’ accomplishments, shared in-trade practices, and

⁷ Thomas P. Govan, “Agrarian and Agrarianism: A Study in the Use and Abuse of Words,” *Journal of Southern History* 30, no. 1 (February 1964), 35–47, www.jstor.org/stable/2205372. Jeffersonian agrarianism posited that personal ownership of a single-family farm ensured the survival and growth of democracy by keeping men independent of wage work and debt to a factory owner or landlord.

⁸ Ibid.

created community bonds. They were extremely popular throughout the rural East Coast and Midwest in the antebellum and immediate postwar period.

Because of its educational origins, agricultural society members viewed fairs as respectable pursuits and central to the progress of farming communities. For this reason, in their eyes, Eastern agricultural fairs across the country “devolved” significantly when they turned more fully to social pursuits.⁹ Many fairs became centers for horse racing and gambling by the end of the nineteenth century. By the 1870s, a grand racing circuit traveled across the country and became a driving force for fair attendance. In the Midwest, however, the proximity between towns and the usefulness of the educational component ensured that the agrarian “spirit” of the fairs survived even as they broadened in focus.¹⁰ Fairs in early Anglo California took a different trajectory.

Agricultural life in Anglo California differed from the Midwest in significant ways. The 1850s marked the first evidence of fairs along the Pacific coast, and in California this can be attributed to the arrival of settlers from established fair regions, particularly the Midwest. However, while Midwestern farmers tilled their own small farms and lived relatively close to one another, fairs in the West remained sparse and

⁹ Michael M. Belding, “The Farmers’ Millennium: The Ideology of Agricultural Improvement in Iowa, 1855 to 1865” (master’s thesis, Iowa State University, 2014), 90-91, <https://lib.dr.iastate.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=5106&context=etd>. Belding compares fairs to the larger development of land-grant colleges and other educational initiatives tied to agriculture. This centered “scientific inquiry and experimentation, farmers’ exchange of ideas among themselves, and the resultant broadening of ordinary farmers’ perspectives.”

¹⁰ John Rickards Betts, “Agricultural Fairs and the Rise of Harness Racing,” *Agricultural History* 27, no. 2 (April 1953), 71-75, www.jstor.org/stable/3740939 and Warren J. Gates, “Modernization as a Function of an Agricultural Fair: The Great Grangers’ Picnic Exhibition at Williams Grove, Pennsylvania, 1873-1916,” *Agricultural History* 58, no. 3 (July 1984), 262-279, www.jstor.org/stable/3743079.

isolated even into the post-World War II period.¹¹ The agrarian ideal in rural California became less Jeffersonian and more tied to technological innovation and new market opportunities. Once in the West, many Midwestern farmers and ranchers used agricultural fairs to create new kinship networks on the lonely frontier. As settlers gained land and capital through violent acquisition of Mexican land grants, these networks evolved into powerful political alliances.

One of the earliest examples of this development arose in the 1850s, in Central California. In 1857, the California State Agricultural Society held its first fair in San Jose. Displays featured fruits, cattle, dairy, minerals, needlework, and flowers. All these elements came from Society members who had migrated from the Midwest and recreated the organization in a Midwestern image. However, while Society leaders preached agrarian principles, they owned large tracts of speculation land that they exploited for massive revenue. Central California farmers used agricultural societies to build market dominance and abandoned the idea of Jeffersonian agrarianism. In addition to residing at the top of a new agricultural order, many of the men in the Society served as city council members and mayors. By 1860, Sacramento, host city for the California State Agricultural Society and the San Joaquin Valley Agricultural Association, built large structures dedicated to agricultural exhibition products. Moreover, Sacramento began to annually host the California State Fair.

According to the diaries of Delia Locke, a San Joaquin Valley resident and wife

¹¹ Fred Kniffen, "The American Agricultural Fair: Time and Place," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 41, no. 1 (March 1951), 42-57, www.jstor.org/stable/2561182.

of influential farmer Dean Jewett Locke, horse racing featured at these fairs as early as 1861. Horses took on a new significance after America defeated Mexico. Californians continued to use horses to herd cattle, pull machinery, and bring goods to market, but large numbers of racing breeds imported from the Midwest after Anglo settlement introduced a new type of usefulness. The combined influence of Mexican horse racing and Midwestern racing in agricultural fairs created a unique brand of fair in Californian society.¹² In Los Angeles, the new Anglo-led city legislature attempted to outlaw horse racing for its unseemliness and connection to Mexican California in 1855, even going as far as banning racing or gambling on certain days of the week.¹³ None of these attempts worked. Anglos and Californios alike wagered on racing (as well as trick riders), making racing the most prosperous and popular sport in the region from the 1850s into the 1880s.¹⁴

1860s-1870s: The Southern Pacific Railroad and the Southern District Agricultural Society

Like other cities in the West, Anglo Los Angeles grew because of the promotional capitalism led by the people who moved there.¹⁵ As historian Lawrence Larsen writes,

¹² David Vaught, "After the Gold Rush: Replicating the Rural Midwest in the Sacramento Valley," *Western Historical Quarterly* 34, no. 4 (Winter 2003): 447-467, www.jstor.org/stable/25443335 and Delia Marcella Thorp Emerick, "'Hi-Ho! Come to the Fair!' Early California Fairs," *The Pacific Historian* 29, no. 1 (1985): 23-29.

¹³ Pitt, 197 and 222 for racial implications.

¹⁴ Joel Franks, "California and the Rise of Spectator Sports, 1850-1900," *Southern California Quarterly* 71, no. 4 (Winter 1989): 287-310, www.jstor.org/stable/41171452.

¹⁵ Lawrence H. Larsen, *The Urban West at the End of the Frontier* (Lawrence, KY: The Regents Press of Kansas, 1978), 18-19.

“Rails, real estate, and patient businessmen” built Los Angeles.¹⁶ In its early Anglo decades, the city had little in the way of agriculture, primarily because the area lacked water. Settlers often made their first attempts at irrigation through wells or zanjias (open earth ditches). This understandably made it difficult for the city to sustain agricultural enterprise. It also provided a pressing problem for the city’s growing population. Without irrigation, Los Angeles existed on the border of a desert, a situation conducive neither to scientific farming nor population boom.¹⁷ This did not prevent railroad boomers from seeing potential for growth in the area.

American Anglo immigration to Los Angeles in the decades following the Mexican War experienced periods of boom and bust.¹⁸ In 1870, the city of Los Angeles contained a population of only 5,728.¹⁹ The main appeal of this sparsely populated area was above ground: abundant sunshine and temperate climate.²⁰ Los Angeles was blessed by its climatic consistency, and part of its value even today is in the draw of that monotonous pleasantness. While this brought a few interested peoples, the first boom should be credited to the completion of a Southern Pacific transcontinental rail line to San Francisco in 1869.²¹ In 1872, former California governor and Los Angeles resident John Gately Downey met with Collis Potter Huntington, president of the Southern Pacific

¹⁶ Larsen, 44-45.

¹⁷ McWilliams, 115.

¹⁸ McWilliams, 69.

¹⁹ McWilliams, 14.

²⁰ McWilliams, 4-8.

²¹ McWilliams, 114.

Railroad Company, to bring the railroad to Los Angeles. Los Angeles boosters paid the Southern Pacific \$600,000 to create a stop in the city instead of going around it, and successfully garnered an extension of the line to Southern California completed in 1876.²² This not only connected the city to a larger state and national economy, but also made the region easier to visit for travelers and settlers.²³

Huntington and the Southern Pacific now had a vested interest in the city and took political control. Politics in early Anglo Los Angeles operated under a machine system. The Southern Pacific pulled the strings, and elected officials supported railroad and local business interests, particularly in the fields of corporate utilities, public works contractors, and liquor dealers. In this system, the city council, determined by wards, became more powerful than both the Democratic and Republican parties.²⁴ This became apparent not only in the railroad company's investment in the city's infrastructure, but in its boosterism. As David M. Wrobel shows, boosterism abounded throughout the West in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, yet Los Angeles became vastly more successful than many other regions at enticing settlement and development. Boosterism contained "'interior' and 'exterior'" forces that oftentimes overlapped; in 1870s Los Angeles, however, exterior forces interested in profit from the Southern Pacific controlled much of the early booster narrative.²⁵

²² Larsen, 44-45.

²³ Robert M. Fogelson, *The Fragmented Metropolis: Los Angeles, 1850-1930* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1967), 64.

²⁴ Fogelson, 207-208.

²⁵ David M. Wrobel, *Promised Lands: Promotion, Memory, and the Creation of the American West* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2002), 1-16.

In 1873, three years before the completion of the Southern California extension line, booster Charles Nordhoff jump started the Los Angeles real estate craze when he published a internationally distributed guidebook titled, *California: For Health, Pleasure, and Residence. A Book for Travellers and Settlers*. Nordhoff, along with other railroad boosters, used literature to advertise Southern California's unique appeal. It's clear in the text, however, that this appeal was heavily tied to the Southern Pacific. Nordhoff wrote glowing reviews of the passenger cars that would take potential visitors westward, and encouraged them to take in the sights that aligned with rail stops. In addition, while Nordhoff exhorted the health, sport, and tourist appeals of Southern California, he also dedicated an entire section of the guidebook to "accounts of the agriculture and fruit culture" of the region for "the attention of farmers looking for pleasant homes and cheap and fertile lands."²⁶

Because the Southern Pacific owned land throughout the state, Nordhoff used the guidebook to encourage Anglo purchase and settlement. Like other California boosters in the 1870s, he had to work against earlier narratives of the state that recognized how big-time farmers and ranchers monopolized land, as well as exposés on the sometimes disastrous natural disasters, such as floods and earthquakes. In Southern California, Nordhoff centered the region's appeal on its agricultural potential and climate. He presented Los Angeles as what Lawrence Culver refers to as a "citrus-scented agricultural utopia," free of disease or illness and unwanted immigrants that had taken over eastern

²⁶ Charles Nordhoff, *California: For Health, Pleasure, and Residence. A Book for Travellers and Settlers* (New York, NY: Harper & Brothers, 1873), 12, <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gdc/calbk.202> and McWilliams, 113-137.

cities. Under Nordhoff's vision, middle class Anglo farmers could live the Jeffersonian agrarian ideal, California style (although powerful farming families had already taken control of California industries, as seen in the case of Central California). Significantly, Nordhoff emphasized a white-dominated racial hierarchy in this development. In his view, non-whites, notably Native Americans, served as a model in-house labor force, as they had already been "subdued" by Spanish and Mexican colonial systems and therefore could not, as he stated, "taint the Pacific Eden." In comparison, Nordhoff described Mexicans as a culture in decline, living an "odd mixture of squalor and splendor" in ranchos. Nordhoff's eagerness to integrate non-whites into his vision of Southern California progress as its labor backbone became reality. Non-whites in early Anglo Los Angeles provided the labor necessary for progress reserved solely for Anglo settlers. Anglo Americans also bought into his vision of progress. Nordhoff's book sold over three million copies, prompting another commission from the Southern Pacific and myriad publications on the delights of Southern California going into the twentieth century.²⁷

These conditions gave rise to the Southern District Agricultural Society, the future owner of Agricultural Park. By the end of the 1870s, Anglo agriculture reigned in Southern California, and Anglo men who owned citrus, grape, and wheat farms became wealthy and influential residents. Many of these men continued the Southern gentry-like traditions established in the rancho period, including marrying into influential Californio families. Although Los Angeles lacked high culture pursuits, such as a "theater, museum,

²⁷ Nordhoff, 148-153; Lawrence Culver, *The Frontier of Leisure: Southern California and the Shaping of Modern America* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2010), 20; and Wrobel, 160-169.

opera company, orchestra, historical or scientific society, or central charity organization,” the new Anglo gentry created institutions around their political, cultural, and economic interests. Leonard J. Rose, the “preeminent orange grower in California,” took the lead in this regard when he founded the Southern District Agricultural Society. Rose would also go on to help form the Commercial Bank of Los Angeles in 1873 and serve as a state senator in California in the 1880s and 1890s.²⁸

The Southern District existed in some form as early as 1868, as shown by a rejected appropriations amendment recorded in the *Sacramento Daily Union*. At this time, California was home to a few agricultural societies: the aforementioned State Agricultural Society, Northern District Agricultural Society, Santa Clara Agricultural Society, and Sonoma Agricultural Society.²⁹ Like Los Angeles, many of the state’s residents relied on agricultural enterprise, making agricultural associations particularly useful. The Southern District Agricultural Society’s constitution established the organization’s creation as a private entity on May 6, 1871. The Southern District consisted of the following Southern California counties: Los Angeles, Santa Barbara, San Bernardino, Kern, and San Diego. The object of the Southern District was:

“fostering, encouraging, promoting, and aiding in developing agriculture, horticulture, domestic manufactures, mechanics, household economy, rural practice and taste, and general domestic industry; stock raising in its various branches, and the improvement of all useful domestic animals; and for the trial of speed of horses, and for the dissemination of useful information on these

²⁸ Jaher, 582-612.

²⁹ “California Legislature: Seventeenth Session,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, Vol 35, No 5297, Mar 20, 1868, California Digital Newspaper Collection.

subjects.”³⁰

Included in the constitution was the caveat that “any *white* person” (emphasis mine) willing to pay the Southern District twenty-five dollars would be granted membership for life.³¹ Indeed, very few of the names listed on the Southern District rolls in this early period seem to be of non-Anglo descent. Only very influential Californios, such as Pico, became members.³² As part of their mission, the Southern District’s constitution stated that a fair and exhibition “shall cause to be held, at least once in every year” and that the fairgrounds reside “near the City of Los Angeles.”³³ Like much of the land at the end of Mexican period, the Southern District acquired the land on which Exposition Park now rests through one of the Spanish land grants given to the United States. It was deeded to Southern District member James N. Thompson in 1871.³⁴ A year later, Thompson sold the land to the Southern District.³⁵

According to the *Pacific Rural Press*, the Southern District held its first fair on

³⁰ Southern District Agricultural Society, *Report of the California State Agricultural Society*, 1873, 681, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/coo.31924065425211>.

³¹ Southern District Agricultural Society, *Report*, 683 also states that “any white person” can also pay the Society five dollars for membership for one year. Similarly, on 682, the By-Laws of the Constitution state that “annual members of this society, with the ladies and children of their families, will be admitted, free of charge, to any Fair or exhibition of the society.” This implies that not only would a interested member have to be White, but that they would also have to be male.

³² Southern District Agricultural Society, *Report*, 680.

³³ Southern District Agricultural Society, *Report*, 685.

³⁴ Committee for El Camino Real, *Report: California Museum of Science and Industry Exposition Park, Los Angeles*, 1961, Historic Sites Surveys, Seaver Center for Western History Research, Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County, Los Angeles, CA.

³⁵ McWilliams, 115.

October 31, 1871, although it's unclear whether this occurred on Park property.³⁶ Four days of horse racing provided a conspicuous but contested entertainment.³⁷ Newspapers, even at this early date, showed concern over the role of racing in relation to agricultural displays.³⁸ However, the men of the Southern District Agricultural Society had realized racing's potential with the inception of the organization, as they had included "the trial of the speed of horses" in their mission. Since private citizens formed the Southern District, members had to contribute donations both to purchase the land and hold fairs, and thus needed to ensure financial solvency. The Anglo and Californio gentry that formed Southern District membership knew that horse racing would be the primary attendance draw, and attempted to balance this reality with traditional agricultural fair amenities.³⁹ Agricultural Park fairs continued the area's affinity for horse racing that had existed both before and after the Mexican-American War.⁴⁰ In essence, Los Angeles' Agricultural Park was typical for its time and place, although it was less advanced and controlled than Central California's fairgrounds. In fact, the Los Angeles County Fair did not begin until 1922, over ten years after the last Agricultural Park fair. It continues today.⁴¹

³⁶ "The Southern District Agricultural Fair," *Pacific Rural Press* 2, no. 18, November 4, 1871, California Digital Newspaper Collection.

³⁷ "Los Angeles," *Daily Alta California* 23, no. 7807, August 7, 1871, California Digital Newspaper Collection and "From Los Angeles," *Marysville Daily Appeal* 98, Oct 24, 1871, California Digital Newspaper Collection.

³⁸ "The Southern District Fair," *Pacific Rural Press* 4, no. 23, December 7, 1872, California Digital Newspaper Collection.

³⁹ Lillian Van Aken, "History of Exposition Park," *Annual Publication of the Historical Society of Southern California* 9, no. 3 (1914), 244-245, www.jstor.org/stable/41168711.

⁴⁰ Franks, 287-310.

⁴¹ "Our History," Los Angeles County Fair, accessed September 8, 2018, <http://lacf.com/visit/our-history>.

1880s: The Sixth District Agricultural Association

Despite Nordhoff and the Southern Pacific's efforts, the Panic of 1873 caused Los Angeles' land speculation boom to collapse. New settlers may have been disillusioned with the reality of life in post-boom 1870s Los Angeles, but their presence also helped the region grow. The city's population increased from 1,160 in 1850 to 11,183 in 1880. By 1885, settlements in Riverside, Ontario, and Etiwanda began to produce many of the agricultural goods championed by Nordhoff and other boosters.⁴² New Anglo-owned ranches became tourist destinations that showcased the agricultural products of the region. As the city changed under Anglo rule, so did the ranching and farming system. Mexican California utilized the hide and tallow trade from the 1820s to the end of the Mexican period, and, through shipping, acquired finished products created in industrial factories from the United States and Britain.⁴³ The Mexican-American War and the California gold rush in the years following shifted ranches to the profitable beef trade. Yet, in addition to violent Anglo takeover throughout the 1850s, cattle's prime economic position in the region declined when Californios failed to properly maintain herds, and out-of-state Anglos introduced new herds and lower prices.⁴⁴ Agriculture, bolstered by the region's fertile soil and climate, grew, featuring wine grapes and citrus. By the 1880s, Anglo commercial ranches and farms dominated, and became even more integrated into the larger economic machine of the region through the railroads.⁴⁵

⁴² McWilliams, 118.

⁴³ Pitt, 12.

⁴⁴ Pitt, 108-109.

⁴⁵ Glenn Dumke, "The Boom of the 1880s in Southern California," *Southern California Quarterly* 76, no. 1 (1994): 99-101, www.jstor.org/stable/41171704.

The Panic of 1873 and subsequent land speculation bust also affected the Southern District Agricultural Society. That same year, Southern District members took out a loan for \$5,000 and a mortgage on the property for the same amount to stay financially afloat. By 1879, however, the mortgage foreclosed, and the Southern District sought to transition into a state-governed district association like their predecessors in the Midwest.⁴⁶ On April 15, 1880, the California state legislature approved an act that turned control of most of the state agricultural societies of the time over to the State of California.⁴⁷ The Southern District Agricultural Society became the Sixth District Agricultural Association. Now ruled by a board of directors appointed by the governor, the Sixth District managed the following Southern California counties: Los Angeles, San Diego, San Bernardino, Ventura, Santa Barbara, and Inyo.⁴⁸ That same year, Rutherford B. Hayes became the first United States president to visit the Pacific coast. The city of Los Angeles felt the Sixth District's role was important enough to arrange for him to visit the Park so that he could observe the chief crops and livestock of the region.⁴⁹

Unfortunately, neither of these developments resulted in the fairs' sudden popularity. The Sixth District struggled to find both visitors and exhibitors for the Park. Although the grounds were in decent condition, locals weren't interested in visiting the

⁴⁶ Van Aken, 244-245.

⁴⁷ California State Agricultural Society, *Report of the California State Agricultural Society*, 1880, 3-4, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/coo.31924065425286>.

⁴⁸ California State Agricultural Society, *Report*, 307-308.

⁴⁹ John E. Baur, "A President Visits Los Angeles: Rutherford B. Hayes' Tour of 1880," *The Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly* 37, no. 1 (March 1955): 33-47, www.jstor.org/stable/41168522.

Park's farm and trade exhibits.⁵⁰ The Sixth District even publicly advertised for a "mass meeting" of citizens to improve the fairs in 1883 to no avail.⁵¹ Only horse racing drew big crowds, so the Sixth District began to host races sans fairs. Early horse races involved big money, such as a match between William R. Rowland and N.A. Covarrubias, each of whom put up \$600 and \$1200 respectively.⁵² Within a month, there were costly capers as a result of such racing, as seen when a horse ran wildly from the Park into a lamppost.⁵³ Nevertheless, according to the *Times*, these races were "well attended," despite entry fees.⁵⁴ C.M. Anderson's long-distance race, for example, drew 2,500 people, well above the average visiting attendance for the agricultural fairs. On top of entry fees, many people also gambled on races at the outdoor saloon. Anderson's race featured fourteen gaming tables.⁵⁵

As time went on, races at the Park became more extreme and fantastical. In 1883, the Park hosted a five day racing extravaganza featuring female riders and free-for-alls with wagons.⁵⁶ This event, which resulted in a fainting spell by one of the female contestants and a fight that almost became a gun duel between two gamblers, inspired the

⁵⁰ F.J. Barretto, "The Agricultural Association: President Barretto has a Word in Reply to a 'Times' Article," *Los Angeles Times*, May 26, 1882, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁵¹ "Display Ad: District Agricultural Association, No. 6: Call for a Mass Meeting of Citizens," *Los Angeles Times*, May 30, 1883, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁵² "A Race on Foot," *Los Angeles Times*, January 4, 1882, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁵³ "A Lively Runaway," *Los Angeles Times*, February 3, 1882, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁵⁴ "About Town," *Los Angeles Times*, May 13, 1882, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁵⁵ "Fifty-mile Race: C.M. Anderson and Juan Figueroa the Contestants," *Los Angeles Times*, March 27, 1883, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁵⁶ "Display Ad: Racing! Racing! Racing!" *Los Angeles Times*, April 3, 1883, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

Times to write a long, concerned editorial about the park and its clientele.⁵⁷ Nevertheless, the Park's stables continued to grow, gaining a national reputation for the quality of their race horses.⁵⁸ Much to the *Times*' dismay, the Sixth District promoted increased gambling in Los Angeles when the organization began to lease the land to interested race organizers to the tune of \$300.⁵⁹ The *Times* continued to berate gambling on the property, claiming it full of "the plebeian of low degree" and "scarlet woman," although the paper acknowledged the presence of the "blue blood" as well.⁶⁰

The Sixth District also continued to hold educational fairs despite lack of public interest. Nevertheless, audience preferences influenced what took place. The first Sixth District Fair at Agricultural Park reported by the *Times* took place October 20th through 24th, 1885, and featured a temporary pavilion labeled the Mott Market House. Thomas Dillingham Mott, a local "pioneer and capitalist" who helped bring the Southern Pacific to Los Angeles, sponsored the pavilion. Mott had arrived in Los Angeles in 1852, married a Californio woman, and served as a boss in the city and state's Democratic Party throughout the 1860s and 70s. His brother, Stephen H. Mott, co-founded the Commercial Bank of Los Angeles with Southern District founder, Leonard J. Rose, in 1873. The two-story pagoda-like structure at the fair measured 60 by 168 feet with a bandstand and

⁵⁷ "The Spring Meeting: An Exciting Day—The Ladies' Riding Match," *Los Angeles Times*, April 8, 1883, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁵⁸ Dots." *Los Angeles Times*, October 5, 1883, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁵⁹ "Two Robbin Games at the Races Nipped in the Bud," *Los Angeles Times*, October 11, 1883, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁶⁰ "The Races: The Events and the Favorites Win in Each," *Los Angeles Times*, October 15, 1884, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

housed exhibitors of hardware, poultry, carriages, cannery, and fruits. Yet, racing figured centrally in the fair, with purses as high as \$500. This wasn't the only type of gambling present; a wheel of fortune, dice games, and "catch-penny gambles" were additional options.⁶¹ After the fair, the Sixth District attributed its success to women's needlework, but it seems much more likely that the large attendance of over 1,500 people daily (out of approximately 10,000 city residents) resulted from the gambling opportunities available.⁶²

Thus, horse racing (and the gambling that followed) played an essential role in the fairs' financial success. They still featured "such diverse offerings as jellies, breads, preserves, stuffed birds, shell work, wax flowers, tapestry, oil paintings, fruits, grain, horses, cattle, hogs, local manufactures and handicrafts of all sorts," and included educational material on the industries of the region, but horse racing attracted the greatest publicity and brought in the greatest financial rewards. Other spectator sports joined

⁶¹ "The Fair: Preparations Made for the Opening Today," *Los Angeles Times*, August 20, 1885, ProQuest Historical Newspapers; "The Races," *Los Angeles Times*, October 21, 1885, ProQuest Historical Newspapers; Jaher, 582-612; and "Thomas D. Mott," *Annual Publication of the Historical Society of Southern California and of the Pioneers of Los Angeles County* 6, no. 2 (January 1904): 184-186, www.jstor.org/stable/41169240. Mott later opened Mott Market in 1886 as a hub for small businesses; it also served as the second home of the Chamber of Commerce in the 1890s. Scarce records of the fair do not explain why fair runners chose a pagoda-like structure, but in the 1880s, Los Angeles' Old Chinatown began to grow from its 1870s origins on Olvera Street and became a tourist destination (although primarily for vice) over the following decades. (See Suellen Cheng and Munson Kwok, "The Golden Years of Los Angeles Chinatown: The Beginning," *The Los Angeles Chinatown 50th Year Guidebook* (June 1988; repr. online, Old Chinatown Los Angeles, accessed September 8, 2018), <http://www.oldchinatownla.com/history.html> and Josi Ward, "'Dreams of Oriental Romance: Reinventing Chinatown in 1930s Los Angeles," *Buildings & Landscapes: Journal of the Vernacular Architecture Forum* 20, no. 1 (2013): 19-42, muse.jhu.edu/article/515267.)

⁶² "The Races," *Los Angeles Times* and "Historical General Population City & County of Los Angeles, 1850 to 2010," *Los Angeles Almanac*, accessed September 8, 2018, <http://www.laalmanac.com/population/po02.php>.

racing as the century wore on, including greyhound racing, cycling, baseball, foot races, and boxing. With boxing came the Park's continued transition into controversial entertainments. Because the Park existed outside of city bounds, fights not authorized or allowed by the city found a home on the grounds.⁶³

The Sixth District's newfound financial opportunities at the Park invited scandal and corruption. When the Park went into foreclosure in 1879, the newly-formed Sixth District board appointed member Isaac N. Moore to purchase the land at the Sheriff's sale and hold the title until outstanding claims could be paid. This move would allow the Sixth District to once more own the property. The Sixth District's eventual payment to Moore in 1885 resulted in a new, troubling situation. Instead of buying the lot in full, Sixth District board member William Niles surveyed the land and divided it into acre lots. Individual citizens bought some of these for \$100 each. Other listed parties included Sixth District board members, along with Niles' friends, supporters, and co-conspirators. The deed stated that the remaining property would serve to hold agricultural fairs and expositions for only twenty-five years at which point in time the property would transfer into private property for these parties. As it turned out, Niles listed many of the Sixth District members without consulting them about the plan. Once many of the Sixth District members listed discovered the nature of Niles' preparation, they joined as plaintiffs in a case decided by the Superior Court of Los Angeles County to declare the deed fraudulent. Only Niles, his brother, and one other man claimed interest in the land,

⁶³ Henry Winfred Splitter, "Los Angeles Recreation, 1846-1900: Part I," *The Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly* 43, no. 1 (March 1961): 35-68, www.jstor.org/stable/41169501, and Henry Winfred Splitter, "Los Angeles Recreation, 1846-1900: Part II," *The Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly* 43, no. 2 (June 1961): 167, www.jstor.org/stable/41169519.

ending in a judgment in favor of the plaintiffs. Ultimately, this reduced the entire fairground property by about thirty acres. After this process completed, the California Superior Court ruled that the property would be held in perpetuity by the Sixth District for “agricultural expositions and fairs,” that would display livestock, horticulture, viticulture, and mechanical and manufacturing products.⁶⁴ The state created a new deed in 1885, and, while Niles was awarded an acre of the tract, he was also removed from the board by the governor.⁶⁵ For the time being, the Park property belonged to the Sixth District.

Soon after, another railroad-driven boom struck Los Angeles. In 1886, the Santa Fe railroad completed a line to Los Angeles, establishing it as their western terminus.⁶⁶ The Southern Pacific, now facing a competitor, began a passenger war that resulted in a rate drop from approximately \$125 to \$1. New settlers swarmed the region, many caught up in land speculation.⁶⁷ Countless new Anglo settlers no doubt heard the call of Los Angeles boosterism, informing them that Southern California offered the “ideal country life,” capable of serving as an “open air cure” for the ills and discontents of those living in the East.⁶⁸ Boosterism also positioned the city as “the center of an agricultural empire,” where migrants could come to find not just independence, but prosperity through

⁶⁴ California Superior Court, Case 2398, May 18th, 1884, Deputy Attorney General John Maltman Papers, California State Archives, Sacramento, CA.

⁶⁵ Van Aken, 244-246.

⁶⁶ Larsen, 44-45.

⁶⁷ McWilliams, 118.

⁶⁸ Harry Ellington Brook, *The City and County of Los Angeles in Southern California*, Thirteenth Edition (Los Angeles, CA: Press of Out West Company, July 1904), 31 and 38, Google eBooks.

cultivation of the land or through enjoyment of the products offered through that cultivation.⁶⁹

This boosterism brought in numerous migrants, but it also brought problems as well as city development. Crime and vice ran rampantly through the area, and land speculation became a type of sport for many residents.⁷⁰ On the other hand, as the city grew outward, Agricultural Park's importance increased. The creation of the University of Southern California held the greatest impact for the Park. USC opened its doors in 1880 as a single building on a smaller plot of land just north of the parkgrounds. Three men, one each of the Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish faith, donated the plot. Despite this ecumenical offering, USC formed as a Methodist university and would remain so until 1952. In 1883, the Methodist-run University Church began construction in the area and the University Park neighborhood formed around these new institutions.

University Park developed slowly at first because, like Agricultural Park, the campus rested on undesirable marshland. (This was a motivating factor behind the donors' generosity.) Despite the proximity between the university and the Park, many of the USC-affiliated residents in University Park did not spend time at the fairgrounds.⁷¹ Agricultural Park drew a sporting crowd interested in gambling and horse racing. This included Ozro William Childs, a Catholic, horticulturist, and member of the old elite who

⁶⁹ Greg Hise and William Deverell, "Los Angeles, 1900," *Victorian Review* 36, no. 1 (Spring 2010): 50, www.jstor.org/stable/41039107.

⁷⁰ McWilliams, 118-120.

⁷¹ Alverda June Brode, "History of the University Section, Los Angeles," *The Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly* 12, no. 2 (1922): 72-109, www.jstor.org/stable/41168801.

helped found Agricultural Park and provided some of the land for USC's construction. Childs reportedly had a regular box in the Park's grandstand to enjoy the races.⁷² Yet, overall, USC drew more conservative, prominent community members who tended to be Protestant. The North University Park neighborhood, today the site of many historic homes in Victorian and Craftsman styles, grew in size and character with the university. Lying between USC and the West Adams district, one of the earliest elite neighborhoods in Los Angeles, North University Park came to house professors, politicians, and prominent businessmen.⁷³ As part of the new civic elite, these families' focus on architectural style signaled a larger wave of concern for high-culture amenities in Los Angeles.⁷⁴ Chester Place, one of the first gated communities in Los Angeles, and St. James Park, another wealthy neighborhood built around a private residential park, both developed in University Park. First created in 1899, Chester Place contained some of the most luxurious mansions in the city. Similarly, when St. James Park opened in 1887, it filled with wealthy residents. Both districts' development created close ties between the University Park community and the university.⁷⁵ By the 1890s, the city annexed University Park as a suburb of Los Angeles. It subsequently gained water mains and

⁷² Hortense Childs Reynolds, "Ozro William Childs," *The Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly* 36, no. 2 (June 1954): 138-145, www.jstor.org/stable/41168468 and Margaret Romer, "Pioneer Builders of Los Angeles: A Series of Personality Sketches of Some of the Men and Women Who Helped Transform the Pueblo of Los Angeles Into a Modern American City," *The Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly* 43, no. 1 (March 1961): 101-102, www.jstor.org/stable/41169504.

⁷³ Charles Epting, *University Park Los Angeles: A Brief History* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2013), 71.

⁷⁴ Jaher, 612-654.

⁷⁵ Epting, 86-98.

neighborhood commercial growth.⁷⁶

In contrast, Agricultural Park remained outside city limits, as the Sixth District preferred. By the late 1880s, visitors could easily go to the Park on the Main Street and Agricultural Park horse car line. This line, owned by the City Railroad Company, was one of only four horse car lines in the city in 1886.⁷⁷ A year later, traffic must have been heavy enough on the Main Street and Agricultural Park line for the company to appoint a committee to turn it into a cable line and double its length.⁷⁸ A letter to the editor confirmed at least one resident's concern for the overburdened single horses pulling cars on it.⁷⁹ According to one account, people rode on top of the car to reach their destination, with over sixty passengers per car.⁸⁰ The Park was clearly no longer isolated. In 1888, University Park citizens attempted to incorporate the Park to control its vices, but the more powerful Sixth District blocked them.⁸¹ Racing remained big business in the area, with or without new residents' consent. As tensions between University Park and the Sixth District escalated, Los Angeles' political culture began a major shift that resulted in the demise of Agricultural Park in little over a decade.

Like the 1870s, the 1880s real estate boom in Southern California ended in a bust by the end of the decade, and many new communities became ghost towns. Nevertheless,

⁷⁶ Brode, 72-109.

⁷⁷ "The City," *Los Angeles Times*, August 15, 1886, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁷⁸ "The Railroads," *Los Angeles Times*, February 3, 1887, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁷⁹ "Letters from the People: Economy and Cruelty," *Los Angeles Times*, March 9, 1887, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁸⁰ "Minor Locals," *Los Angeles Times*, March 19, 1887, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁸¹ Brode, 72-109.

the 1880s boom once again created important infrastructure systems in Los Angeles that assisted in its recovery and growth. The city's implementation of water and irrigation services, public transit, and educational institutions fostered eventual development of the region.⁸² While the old guard, especially citrus growers and wine processors, maintained significant economic power, a new group of interested Los Angelenos entered the scene and took the city in a new direction. Many of these men arrived with the 1880s boom years and made their fortunes from real estate, finance, and commerce.⁸³ Concerned about the boom-bust cycles that dictated Los Angeles' growth and disgruntled about the power the non-local Southern Pacific held over the area, the new elites planned to take matters into their own hands. Before they could take control, however, they had to defeat the political system already in place. Although the Southern Pacific had helped bring large population increases to Southern California, it had also ensured that a small, wealthy cadre of citizens not tied to the city controlled the region.⁸⁴ New city leaders hoped to break the stranglehold of the Railroad on the state and local party system and give more direct control to local powers.⁸⁵

1890s: The Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce

Michael Dear refers to the 1880s and 1890s as another pivotal moment, the "Emergence of the Entrepreneurial State," lasting from the Southern Pacific's decline in power in the city through the heyday years of local elites' most influential institution: the

⁸² McWilliams, 122.

⁸³ McWilliams, 157; Dear, 76-105; and Jaher, 612-654.

⁸⁴ Kevin Starr, *Inventing the Dream: California Through the Progressive Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 199-200.

⁸⁵ Starr, *Inventing the Dream*, 236.

Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce. The creation of the Chamber of Commerce in 1888 marked a definitive shift toward new local power in Los Angeles. As William Issel notes, “the Chamber has been the most important single human element in the development of a small town into a world center of industry and commerce and also, largely, of culture.”⁸⁶ The creation, and ultimate success, of the Chamber of Commerce lay in the hands of its creator, Harrison Gray “General” Otis, owner of the *Los Angeles Times*. The Chamber’s style of boosterism operated on a level unforeseen by any other American city at the time, bolstered by cooperation and involvement from local business leaders.⁸⁷ By 1899, the organization claimed around one thousand members, and concerned themselves with government lobbying for Los Angeles interests, advertisements, public infrastructure, and research on the local business environment.⁸⁸

The Chamber operated boldly from the beginning when they proposed the United States buy Baja California from Mexico, so that Los Angeles could become the central city of a new Southern California state. Unlike the Southern Pacific regime, the Chamber of Commerce wanted to promote Southern California’s specific products and industries, not merely its climate and agricultural potential. The Chamber of Commerce would go on to make Los Angeles in 1900 “the best advertised city in America,” using exhibits and

⁸⁶ Marco R. Newmark, “A Short History of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce,” *The Quarterly: Historical Society of Southern California* 27, no. 2/3 (June-September 1945): 56-79, www.jstor.org/stable/41169698.

⁸⁷ William Issel, “‘Citizens Outside the Government’: Business and Urban Policy in San Francisco and Los Angeles, 1890-1932,” *Pacific Historical Review* 57, no. 2 (May 1988): 118, www.jstor.org/stable/4492263.

⁸⁸ Jaher, 612-654.

publishing material to showcase the region to the nation.⁸⁹ Agriculture featured heavily, which meant the Chamber of Commerce also involved themselves in advancing irrigation techniques in the region, although, in this period, irrigation remained limited to wells and ditches in this period.⁹⁰

Under the guidance of Otis and the Chamber of Commerce, the 1890s marked the city's turn toward progress focused on industry. In fact, no other community interest groups reached the level of influence that businessmen obtained in Los Angeles policy-making in this period. Even as business leaders in the Chamber of Commerce fought for supremacy in shared industries, their position as a special economic class motivated their pro-business policy decisions. In addition, many businessmen felt civic pride for Los Angeles.⁹¹ They felt strongly about the city's potential and sought to legitimize it. In 1893, the Merchants' Association formed to address local economic concerns after the 1880s bust, a powerful conglomeration of the city's leading businessmen. The Merchants Association took an active and militant approach to advancing the city's products. Due to rail connections and a growing population, city leaders felt they needed to protect and promote Los Angeles as both unique in culture and business-friendly. This included violent suppression of organized labor and it also continued an Anglo-centric vision of progress with the Association's creation of La Fiesta de Los Angeles in 1894. Modeled after events like Mardi Gras in New Orleans, the Association presented a spectacle of

⁸⁹ McWilliams, 128-129. These exhibits will be covered in more depth in Chapter 2.

⁹⁰ McWilliams, 129.

⁹¹ Issel, 145.

progress through a parade that spoke to newly evolved racial narratives in the West.⁹²

In the 1880s and 1890s, key decades of boosting Los Angeles, migrant Anglos became obsessed with the city's Spanish fantasy past, and Los Angeles emerged as a hotspot for domestic tourism that "felt" foreign. Anglo narratives of Mexican people in this period simultaneously placed them as romantic and picturesque, while also showing them as obsolete and fading. In this period, Los Angeles aspired to be "the Chicago of the West," a "new world formed with higher motives, broader principles, and greater ambitions."⁹³ According to William Deverell, La Fiesta whitewashed the "entire bloody history" of Southern California to create a nostalgic heritage that reflected a long-time obsession with Mexican culture by Anglos: "The genius of La Fiesta was that it appropriated, enviously, celebratory aspects of regional Mexican culture for commercial and boosterish purposes of white Los Angeles."⁹⁴ Southern California's Mexican past became a romanticized Mediterranean one. Instead of exhibiting local Mexicans and Native Americans as threatening, La Fiesta presented the declining population of the area's primary non-white culture as "quaint and charming."⁹⁵ Due to the carnival-like atmosphere of the event, some Anglo Los Angelenos complained of the debauchery made "acceptable" by the racial diversity of the event.⁹⁶

⁹² Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe*, 60-78.

⁹³ Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe*, 60.

⁹⁴ Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe*, 63.

⁹⁵ Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe*, 76.

⁹⁶ Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe*, 78

Despite concerns by local Anglos, boosters emphasized the educational and instructional aspects of the parade. They presented progress through the “movement and sequence” of the floats, from the mission period to the American period. Deverell describes it as “history that worked, step after step, float after float, each giving way to the next stage of an inevitably progressive future.”⁹⁷ Agriculture, as Los Angeles’ primary industry, played a key role in this linear narrative. The Merchants Association coordinated the first Fiesta’s color scheme using the colors of agricultural products, and the story of the parade showed, through these products, the progress inherent in the manipulation of the landscape to produce them.⁹⁸

Even before the Merchants Association’s creation of La Fiesta, Helen Hunt Jackson’s 1884 classic, *Ramona*, pushed Anglo “fascination” with the area’s Spanish fantasy past into a defining feature of the region. The romance novel set on a Californio rancho celebrated “Old” California’s landscape and life ways, but presented them as ones that must give way to Anglo rule through the decline of the Californio family featured. It became a national bestseller. As Americans flocked to Southern California to see the people and places of the book in living color, *Ramona*-themed tourist spots emerged on the landscape. The fantasy continued after *Ramona* and into the 1890s with La Fiesta, as well as with the publication *Land of Sunshine* (later known as *Out West*). Charles Fletcher Lummis, Los Angeles journalist and self-proclaimed lover of the Southwest, used *Land of Sunshine* throughout the 1890s as promotion of the Southwest’s romantic

⁹⁷ Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe*, 68.

⁹⁸ Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe*, 64-67.

Spanish offerings to readers around the nation. Lummis connected the Southwestern way of life to race, embracing supposed Californio casual dress, leisure, and outdoor activity into his own day-to-day practice. He deemed Californio culture a pre-capitalist Eden, and a respite from the industrializing East Coast.⁹⁹ Yet, this approach made the Californios merely an “attractive background” to the larger “narrative of white economic and social opportunity and dominance.”¹⁰⁰ Jackson and Lummis did not operate alone in these narratives. The La Fiesta parade relied on a whitewashed depiction of the Spanish, Mexican, and early Anglo periods throughout the 1890s.¹⁰¹

Phoebe Kropp describes this odd contradiction between celebrating and denigrating Mexican and Spanish culture as a way to establish Anglos at the top of the city’s racial hierarchy. Boosters saw opportunity in this imagery. They could use Spanish fantasy past to sell the city, both through its aesthetic and its romanticism. Under the Chamber of Commerce’s boosterism, the process of “selling” Los Angeles’ Spanish fantasy past drew many visitors and settlers to the region. Concerned by local labor unrest and the effects of industrialization, Anglo settlers clung to the idea that they lived in a place that once featured “chivalry, preindustrial innocence, and harmonious hierarchy.”¹⁰²

Los Angeles boosters’ constructed fantasy past existed in concert with actual Mexican people living in the city; however, contemporary Mexicans were ignored. Other

⁹⁹ Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe*, 62.

¹⁰⁰ Wrobel, 176-177.

¹⁰¹ Phoebe S. Kropp, *California Vieja: Culture and Memory in a Modern American Place* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2006, covers these locations and their implications in much more depth.

¹⁰² Kropp, 3.

than in the limited case of La Fiesta, Anglo residents excluded Mexican residents from the narrative of the city's progress, choosing to present a past separate from the forces creating modern, industrial Los Angeles. In this way, Kropp argues, "past and progress ... operate[d] in concert" in the early twentieth century city.¹⁰³ This ultimately created a racial hierarchy that divided the city's residents as either part of the city's progress or excluded from it, merely representative of a lost and fading era. In his civic activism, Bowen would have been aware of boosters' evolving racialized beliefs about the city's progress. By the turn of the century, La Fiesta, a narrative tied to white supremacy, yet perhaps the most racially integrated story of progress, buckled under the weight of increased criticism and looming war with Spain, and ultimately disbanded in 1899.¹⁰⁴ (In fact, Bowen would join the revived California Fiestas Association in 1919, later leading to his involvement in the 1932 Olympics.) This showed a turn toward exclusion of non-white races from the city's narrative of progress.

Instead, what Mike Davis refers to as a "a comprehensive fiction of Southern California as the promised land of a millenarian Anglo-Saxon racial odyssey," won out in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.¹⁰⁵ Few Los Angelenos championed this belief more heavily than Joseph Pomeroy Widney, a prominent city leader heavily involved in the creation and growth of USC. Widney helped draft the articles of incorporation for the institution and served as its second president from 1891 to 1895.

¹⁰³ Kropp, 4.

¹⁰⁴ Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe*, 84.

¹⁰⁵ Mike Davis, *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles* (New York, NY: Verso, 1999), 20-30.

Widney, who had served the Chamber of Commerce since its origins in 1888, argued that Los Angeles was “destined to become the world capital of Aryan supremacy” in his bestselling two volume work, *Race Life of the Aryan Peoples* (1907). He asserted that whites were currently engaged in “race war” with non-white races, and that Anglo Los Angeles, through industry, would flourish in the Southwest. He felt that this was destiny, while other climates and locations were more “suited” to non-white races.¹⁰⁶ Widney believed in white supremacist ideas of progress and civilization, including agriculture and the exploitation of the land: “how [the Aryan] has subdued the wild and waste lands—how he has made the desert to blossom as the rose—how he has built up empire with ax and plow.”¹⁰⁷ Thus, local boosters presented a new version of Los Angeles and its vision of progress that addressed a racialized evolution, helped along by scientific agricultural developments.

This vision became dominant when the Chamber of Commerce firmly wrested control from the Southern Pacific with the Free Harbor campaign. Since the 1870s, the Southern Pacific had used the San Pedro harbor to move goods from the port inland. However, Collis Huntington, owner of the Southern Pacific, desired to build a new harbor in Santa Monica, where he had significant property holdings. He cut ties with San Pedro and opened Long Wharf in Santa Monica in 1894. Local leaders grew concerned with the level of power the Southern Pacific would hold over the region; thus, Otis created the

¹⁰⁶ Mike Davis, *City of Quartz*, 28; Starr, *Inventing the Dream*, 90-92; Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe*, 20; and Jaher, 612-654.

¹⁰⁷ Joseph Pomeroy Widney, *Race Life of the Aryan Peoples*, vol. 1, *The Old World* (New York, NY: Funk & Wagnalls Company, 1907), Google eBooks, iv.

Free Harbor League in 1895 to construct a larger “free” port in San Pedro, guaranteeing that the prime harbor in the region wouldn’t be under the hands of the Southern Pacific. A larger port also meant more opportunities for trade in the Pacific, and more growth for Los Angeles. The Chamber of Commerce used its local power to campaign for San Pedro, ensuring that power and financial opportunity would fall in the hands of the Chamber of Commerce, rather than the Southern Pacific. They achieved victory when the federal government chose San Pedro in 1896. The Southern Pacific was now less powerful in the city of Los Angeles.¹⁰⁸

The Chamber of Commerce and local business leaders gained more control and they continued to expand their vision for the city. In 1897, the Merchants Association and the local Manufacturers Association merged to become the Merchants and Manufacturers Association, taking control of growing industrial pursuits such as petroleum, and forming a powerful force against organized labor.¹⁰⁹ Until World War I, over 700 firms and at least eighty percent of local businesses belonged to the association.¹¹⁰

1890s-1900s: William Miller Bowen and the Fight for Agricultural Park

Despite the booms and busts wrought by rampant speculation, Los Angeles’ position on the railroad lines, the newly expanded port, and the Chamber of Commerce’s local industry-centered boosterism helped it emerge as a major urban center in the state. The city’s population increased to 50,395 by 1890 and to 102,000 by 1900.¹¹¹ As the city

¹⁰⁸ William F. Deverell, “The Los Angeles ‘Free Harbor Fight,’” *California History* 70, no. 1 (Spring, 1991): 12-29, www.jstor.org/stable/25158550.

¹⁰⁹ Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe*, 78.

¹¹⁰ Jaher, 612-654.

¹¹¹ Fogelson, 66-67.

grew, so did the University Park neighborhood, and tensions between residents and Agricultural Park continued to fester. Eventually, one man took matters into his own hands.

Born in Lowell, Indiana on January 16, 1862, William Miller Bowen resembled many of the new Anglo migrants to California who grew up living and working on farms across the Plains and Midwest. Bowen moved to California, in the Fremont area (just north of San Jose), in 1884. His family eventually followed him and bought land in Napa that they converted into farmland. When his father died, Bowen ran the farm to support his mother and sisters, while also taking janitorial work on the side.¹¹² His interest in law and civic duty began when he worked for Judge Henry C. Gesford. Gesford, who received his own law degree in 1882, had just started practice a few years prior. He served in the state senate as a Democrat in 1886 and held a “keen interest in public affairs,” particularly ones that centered on “the betterment of the community.”¹¹³

This guidance seemed to have served Bowen well. By 1888, Bowen became road overseer for his district, and from 1890 to 1891, he served as Justice of the Peace in Napa City while maintaining the ranch.¹¹⁴ He also ran a private legal practice without a law

¹¹² Rockwell D. Hunt, “William M. Bowen: The ‘Father’ of Olympic Park,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 24, 1932), ProQuest Historical Newspapers. I could not find any record of why Bowen chose to move to Fremont, but it’s probable that the “California Dream” imagery that infused the state and this region in particular after the Gold Rush in 1848 played a role. See Henry William Brands, *The Age of Gold: The California Gold Rush and The New American Dream* (New York, NY: Random House, 2002).

¹¹³ Marguerite Hune and Harry Lawrence Gunn, *History of Solano County, California and Napa County, California* (Chicago, IL: The S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1926).

¹¹⁴ John Steven McGroarty, *Los Angeles from the Mountains to the Sea: With Selected Biography of Actors and Witnesses to the Period of Growth and Achievement*, vol. 1 (Chicago, IL: The American Historical Society, 1921), 495.

degree until 1892, when he married Napa native Louise Martin and they left to attend Drake University together in Des Moines, Iowa. He graduated with a juris doctor degree in 1894. That same year, he gained admittance to the bar of the Supreme Court of California, signaling a return to the Golden State. Instead of returning to Napa, though, he made his way to Los Angeles, where he “didn’t know a living soul south of the Tehachapi.”¹¹⁵ In 1900, he formed the law firm Scarborough & Bowen with James Gustave Scarborough, a recent transplant from Texas who would later assist him in the Exposition Park project.¹¹⁶ In addition to his work at Scarborough & Bowen, he served as a law professor at USC, a factor that may have influenced his work with the Park.¹¹⁷

Most significantly for Agricultural Park, Bowen was a Methodist. He and Louise joined the congregation at the Methodist church in University Park, where he served as a boys Sunday school teacher. From there, as Bowen states, his “twenty-seven boys ... first started this thing in motion.”¹¹⁸ These “poor and neglected boys” resided in the neighborhood where Bowen had begun to take a vested interest.¹¹⁹ Bowen’s first act against Agricultural Park began in the fall of 1898, when he noticed a sizable drop in the number of boys attending his Sunday school classes. He quickly discovered that the boys

¹¹⁵ Willoughby Rodman, “William Miller Bowen,” in *History of the Bench and Bar of Southern California* (Los Angeles, CA: William J. Porter, 1909), 134; Neeta Marquis, “William M. Bowen: Philanthropist,” *Out West Magazine* 3 (January 1912), 57-61; and McGroarty, vol. 1, 495. Bowen’s brother left to enter the ministry in 1896 and Henning retired in 1898, showing Bowen’s early, short-term law partnerships.

¹¹⁶ H. James Boswell, “James Gustave Scarborough,” in *American Blue Book California Lawyers* (1928), 137.

¹¹⁷ Epting, 58 and Rodman, 134.

¹¹⁸ Marquis, 57-61.

¹¹⁹ William Bowen, “Bowen’s Reply, September 29, 1915,” in *Vicious Attack on Men Who Saved Exposition Park: The Issue: Bowen’s “Activities” which Recovered and Improved Park or Neylan’s Vicious Political Thrust*, California State Archives, Sacramento, CA, 10.

had been heading to the Park to participate in gambling and racing. Primarily, the boys had become invested in coursing, the sport of chasing jackrabbits with hounds. As Bowen described it, he became not only disturbed by the killing and abuse of animals, but also by the gamblers taking advantage of the boys' naivety to make money. At that moment, Bowen decided to dedicate his time to closing Agricultural Park. He quickly discovered that the main legal reason the Park thrived with such questionable amusements was because it lay outside city limits and was not subject to city ordinance. He thus began his reform efforts by appealing to animal rights activists, using the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals to protest coursing matches.¹²⁰ This led to the arrest and conviction of the Park lessee on grounds of animal cruelty.¹²¹ Once Bowen had removed this element from the Park, he began to work with the University Park community, who had already shown interest in changing the character of the Park, for "the betterment of the University district."

Eventually, Bowen's legal prowess and tenacity achieved what others had not: city annexation of the Park. Armed with regulation, Bowen next took on gambling. He gained citywide attention when he unearthed corruption in the Los Angeles Police Department. The LAPD's lack of enforcement on gambling at the Park resulted in a public hearing and the chief's resignation. Bowen, now admired in the community, successfully ran for membership on the city council to continue his work. Because of resistance from Park lessees, racing enthusiasts, and landowners serving the Sixth

¹²⁰ Coursing is the sport of chasing jackrabbits with hounds.

¹²¹ McGroarty, vol. 1, 497. Bowen's suit successfully ended the legality of coursing matches in all of Southern California.

District, Bowen decided that purchasing the land and turning it into a public park would be the most effective way to create change. Using private donations, Bowen raised \$25,000 to buy it until Chamber of Commerce member James Slauson informed him that investigating the ownership of the title would be more fortuitous.¹²²

Bowen found more than he had bargained for. According to the 1885 deed, the title for the Park belonged to the Sixth District Agricultural Association. However, widespread corruption in the state legislature had allowed a situation to develop that accounted for the Park's slide from agricultural fairground to gambling mecca, and threatened its future as land dedicated to showcasing agricultural products.¹²³ In 1895, the speaker of the lower house of the California legislature passed a bill that allowed agricultural associations to sell off pieces of association property as capital stock. This was a convenient ruling, considering the judge, Honorable John C. Lynch, had a vested interest in obtaining some of that stock through affiliation with Sixth District board members. Under this new legislation, Sixth District stockholders could appoint their own board and have exclusive control of the Park, aside from the week of the annual agricultural fair (keeping in line with the mandates written in the Sixth District's creation). Some members of the Board objected to this change, but not enough. In 1897,

¹²² Van Aken, 247-248; William M. Bowen, "The Story of Exposition Park," Deputy Attorney General John Maltman Papers, California State Archives, Sacramento, CA; Hunt, "William M. Bowen: The 'Father' of Olympic Park;" "James Slauson Dies," *Los Angeles Times*, June 9, 1922, ProQuest Historical Newspapers; and Rodman, 134. According to Rodman, Bowen served as Los Angeles city councilman from 1900 to 1904, holding a position as Chairman of the Board of Public Works for the first two years, and President of the Council in the latter two years of his term.

¹²³ Marshall Berges, "The Coliseum a Tribute to L.A.'s Endless Quest for Civic Improvement: Early Leaders Helped Transform an Urban Eyesore into Olympic Venue," *Los Angeles Times*, July 29, 1984, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

the Board voted in favor of forming a stockholders' corporation and divided the property into 130 shares of \$100 each. The new members named the corporation "Agricultural District Number Six" to sound like the legal name of the Sixth District. The stockholders' board consisted of five members from the state board, with Lynch appointed as president. The board gave many of the shares out to friends and political supporters.¹²⁴

Bowen had struck gold. The Sixth District's illegal stockholders, who feared Bowen's next move, attempted to bribe him. His rebuttal: "This land belongs to the state of California, and I mean to have it all for the use of the people of California."¹²⁵ Firmly established as a man of honor, Bowen began a years-long crusade to acquire the land through the court system on his own time and expense.¹²⁶ First, he convinced the governor to appoint him to the board of the Sixth District. He used that leverage to further convince the governor to appoint a majority of new, uncorrupted men to the board that supported his campaign to make the Park public land. Due to staggered terms, this process alone took over four years.¹²⁷ Once Bowen finally gained control, he took the stockholders' association to state court and won.

The 1909 California Supreme Court decision rested on the fact that the Sixth District was a state institution.¹²⁸ Because of this, the state legislature was unable to make

¹²⁴ Van Aken, 246-252.

¹²⁵ Marquis, 58.

¹²⁶ Berges, "The Coliseum a Tribute."

¹²⁷ Marquis, 57-61.

¹²⁸ *Copy of a Portion of Section 7 of Act Approved, April 17, 1909*, Deputy Attorney General John Maltman Papers, California State Archives, Sacramento, CA.

“gifts of public money or thing[s] of value,” such as plots of land, to private citizens.¹²⁹

An astute legal scholar, Bowen also argued that the Park had always been intended as a place for public use, which in turn established the land as public, held in perpetuity by the state. The Court agreed, and all of the earlier land disputes between the members of the Sixth District became moot in light of Bowen’s actions. Through his unfailing efforts, the Park became a public good controlled and maintained by the state.¹³⁰ With this ruling, the Court overturned the bill and returned possession of the property to the Sixth District.¹³¹ Bowen had finally acquired Agricultural Park for the people of California and ensured, as president of the Sixth District board, that he would be the one to manage it.

While many accounts of Bowen’s efforts distinguish him as a tireless, singular crusader, he received quite a bit of assistance, both by his own admittance and by other sources. This is significant not because it takes away from Bowen’s narrative, but because it places him into the larger political and cultural framework of the era and explains his motivations for the creation of Exposition Park. Bowen’s affiliation with the Republican Party, the Chamber of Commerce, and the city’s civic movements all played a role in the successful acquisition of land and its later transformation.

Throughout his life, Bowen identified with and at times served the Republican Party of Los Angeles County as county chairman and on the central committee. He also acted as campaign manager for Republican gubernatorial candidate Captain John D.

¹²⁹ Van Aken, 248-249.

¹³⁰ Bowen, “Bowen’s Reply,” 8.

¹³¹ Marquis, 57-61.

Fredericks (who ran unsuccessfully against Progressive Hiram Johnson) in 1915.¹³² The *Times* also listed Chamber of Commerce leader, Harrison Gray Otis, as one of Bowen's supporters during his quest to acquire Agricultural Park.¹³³ This is significant not only because Otis was the consummate leader of early Los Angeles' development, but because Otis himself was a conservative Republican.¹³⁴

Bowen also fit the mold of a Los Angeles booster and civic activist. As an Anglo Protestant transplant from the Midwest who lived "in comfort" as a lawyer, Bowen repeatedly insisted throughout the struggle for public acquisition of the Park that the people of Los Angeles must be involved in and take ownership of the land. Civic activism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries relied heavily on citizens to reshape urban life. However, Los Angeles citizen involvement tended to engage Anglo Americans only.¹³⁵ Looking at the men who participated in this project, this held true for the Park as well. The make-up of the Sixth District remained all-male and Anglo even with major turnover, and Bowen, Scarborough, and other concerned citizens came from a world of heavy civic involvement made possible by the professions they held and the

¹³² "Political Plot Plain in Neylan's Charges," *Los Angeles Times*, September 30, 1915; "Bowen, William Miller," in *Who's Who in California: Autographed Edition, 1928-29* (San Francisco, CA: Who's Who Publishing Company, 1929), 348-349; and John Steven McGroarty, *Los Angeles from the Mountains to the Sea: With Selected Biography of Actors and Witnesses to the Period of Growth and Achievement*, vol. 2 (Chicago, IL: The American Historical Society, 1921), 415-416. While Scarborough never held political office, he did have a long civic record, including assisting Bowen on the Exposition Park project.

¹³³ "Death Takes W.M. Bowen: Father of Exposition Park Victim of Stroke and Pneumonia," *Los Angeles Times*, December 23, 1937, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

¹³⁴ Dennis McDougal, *Privileged Son: Otis Chandler and the Rise and Fall of The L.A. Times Dynasty* (Cambridge, MA: Perseus Publishing, 2001), 57.

¹³⁵ William H. Wilson, *The City Beautiful Movement* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 1.

capital, financial and cultural, it gave them. Likewise, the civic organizations Bowen created to obtain Exposition Park, such as the alliance consisting of the church members of University Methodist, came from a similar background.¹³⁶

Now that the reformed Sixth District once again controlled the property with Bowen at the helm, they began to plan to make the Park “a perpetual exposition and playground for the citizens of the district.”¹³⁷ This seemingly simple phrase needs some unpacking. Bowen’s civic activism plays a significant role in understanding what the Sixth District was trying to achieve. Two strains of thought in relation to planning public space must be explored: world’s fairs and the City Beautiful movement that arose from the 1893 Chicago World’s Columbian Exposition.

The Sixth District’s use of the word “exposition” was a timely one, in that from the late 1870s to the mid-1910s, almost 100 million people visited expositions throughout the United States.¹³⁸ This makes it vital to explore the evolution of expositions in the Western world and the ideology behind their creation to fully understand the Sixth District’s goals for the Park. The international exposition, or world’s fair, came into being after the success of the Crystal Palace exhibition of 1851 in London. World’s fairs acted as pilgrimage sites in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and had major impacts on a variety of fields, including “architecture; fine and decorative arts; cultural representations; industrial design; urban planning; consumer tastes; food processing;

¹³⁶ Van Aken, 248.

¹³⁷ Van Aken, 248-249.

¹³⁸ Robert W. Rydell, *All the World’s a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 2.

mining technology; regional, national, and international politics; women's rights; entertainment; leisure; philosophy; science; and library classification." Due to their popularity, world's fairs changed societal perceptions. As fairs widened their scope of presentation, they became avenues to shape public opinion and behavior. So, while the creators of the Crystal Palace shaped it by using ideas taken from earlier, smaller fairs, it uniquely ushered in the age of fair that not only focused on industry and arts but on national power and the forces behind it. Through display, the Crystal Palace solidified Victorian Britain's industrial leadership, and other European nations followed suit.¹³⁹

In the United States, the first successful world's fair had to wait until after the Civil War. The 1876 United States centennial celebration fair in Philadelphia was both profitable and popular, using loaned federal monies to front the cost. The Philadelphia Centennial also established a model for American fairs that focused on celebration of tradition and the past that continued into future expositions. For example, both of the 1915 fairs in California, in San Francisco and San Diego, focused on the opening of the Panama Canal as a recent, yet historically significant event. Like other museological institutions in the United States, world's fairs also differed from their European counterparts by being privately-run, rather than by the government. This set the stage for high levels of corporate involvement. Finally, United States' fairs focused on classic European architecture, primarily Beaux Arts, because cities wanted to display their maturity, while European fairs tended to liberally experiment with new forms because

¹³⁹ Robert W. Rydell, "The Literature of International Expositions," in *The Books of the Fairs: Materials about World's Fairs, 1834-1916, in the Smithsonian Institution Libraries* (Chicago, IL: American Library Association, 1992), 1-57.

they wished to demonstrate their modernity. Because of the international competitive nature of “progress” displayed at the fairs—whether technological, economic, or racial—expositions became prime civilizing institutions. Host nations used fairs to not only keep up-to-date on innovation but to promote commercial expansion for the goods created from these innovations. Thus, Western nations competed with one another in both innovation and commercial expansion through fairs. Fairs established Western, white dominance as natural and correct, and created what Robert Rydell refers to as an “imperialist ethos.” According to Rydell, progress in nineteenth century fairs meant “advances in civilization, more research in science, improved technology, and economic growth” with “a strong racial component.”¹⁴⁰

Race played a central role in the ideology of progress presented in expositions. Fairs often presented themes of civilized progress and racial primitivism, showcased through architecture and planning. Through world’s fair splendor, visitors could envision an economic and social utopia as they walked through neoclassical structures filled with the latest technological and artistic creations. The 1893 Chicago World’s Fair epitomized this binary relationship through the construction of the White City and the Midway Plaisance. The Fair’s grandeur introduced architectural, artistic, cultural, and industrial approaches that heavily influenced American social and cultural development.

Elaborately planned by some of the greatest architects and urban planners in the United States, the fair epitomized “order, symmetry, neoclassical beauty, and landscape

¹⁴⁰ Robert W. Rydell, “The Literature of International Expositions,” in *The Books of the Fairs: Materials about World’s Fairs, 1834-1916, in the Smithsonian Institution Libraries* (Chicago, IL: American Library Association, 1992), 1-57.

effects.”¹⁴¹ Next to Chicago’s “White City,” an ideal advanced white civilization, there was a “Midway,” or “spectacle of barbarous races,” lingering just outside the main exposition grounds. Racial hierarchy became “scientifically” classified and displayed in both locations.¹⁴² In the racial hierarchy of world’s fairs, non-Western cultures represented a lower level of civilization, underlined by their physical presence on the fringes of the actual fair. While the White City featured advanced white civilization, “lesser” races featured prominently in the Midway.

World’s fair midways operated as designated areas that, in addition to amusement park rides and attractions, showcased colonized or “exotic” peoples. Fair organizers oftentimes shipped in non-Anglo cultures to serve as entertaining contrast to the exhibits in the main exposition. The midway thus played a key role in the imagery and atmosphere of the fair because it provided the contrasts—civilization against savagery, chaos versus control—upon which racial hierarchies were constructed. World’s fair midways existed in the framework of Western colonial expansion, which depended on these Western ideas of racial hierarchy. While the White City looked grand and imposing, its midway took on the shape of “vernacular cultural styles” that stereotyped the cultures represented.¹⁴³ While the main fair advertised and educated visitors on the importance of white progress and civilization, midways served as amusements that showcased racial hierarchy, and, in some cases, a romanticized view of an uncivilized

¹⁴¹ Wilson, 48.

¹⁴² Rydell, “The Literature of International Expositions,” 5-8 and Bederman, 31-41.

¹⁴³ Burton Benedict, “Rituals of Representation: Ethnic Stereotypes and Colonized Peoples at World’s Fairs,” in *Fair Representations: World’s Fairs and the Modern World*, eds. Robert W. Rydell and Nancy Gwinn (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1994), 31.

past on its supposed way out the door.

The Sixth District's exposition plans leaned much closer to White City than midway. Bowen stated throughout his acquisition campaign that he intended to eradicate a "plague-spot" and recreate in its stead a "place of beauty, an institution of education and the admiration of the world."¹⁴⁴ The verbiage here, in addition to the Park's new title, clearly placed it in the larger conversation of world's fairs exhibition spaces. The architecture, choices in institutions, and landscape included plans for the same scientific racial hierarchy that influenced world's fair displays. Thus, the Sixth District modeled Exposition Park after world's fairs of the nineteenth century. The main difference between the Chicago World's Fair and Exposition Park was the planned permanency of all structures and exhibits for the Park, intended to last for decades.

This permanency also shows a key difference between Bowen's Exposition Park and the Sixth District's previous agricultural fairs. Both agricultural fairs and world's fairs displayed technological progress and contained working class entertainment, but the fundamental reasoning behind their creation differed. National exceptionalism, imperialism, and the championing of Western civilization formed the ideology of progress in expositions, while agrarian transformation of the land through education and small-scale community building formed the ideology of progress in agricultural fairs. The architecture and landscaping for Exposition Park reflected boosters' desire to permanently present their ideology of progress centered on Western civilization. For this,

¹⁴⁴ William M. Bowen, "October 4, 1915," in *Vicious Attack on Men Who Saved Exposition Park: The Issue: Bowen's "Activities" which Recovered and Improved Park or Neylan's Vicious Political Thrust*, California State Archives, Sacramento, CA, 1.

the Sixth District turned to the 1893 Chicago Columbian Exposition-originated City Beautiful movement.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, middle and upper middle-class Americans sought ways to use city planning to solve the urban crises of the Gilded Age. Civic leaders hoped City Beautiful design would counteract the effects of urbanization and industrialization on cities and the people who lived in them. They believed that by creating “beauty, order, system, and harmony” through design, parks could act transform the city and its populace, but they also viewed City Beautiful design as a way to promote their city’s civic identity and offerings. City Beautiful planning required comprehensiveness, “a broadly conceived vision” that took the entire city’s welfare into account. Proponents believed that if residents lived in a beautiful, ordered environment, they would be more productive, more civil, and more democratic. Within the White City, many City Beautiful tenets emerged in “sanitation; aesthetics; rationalized urban functions; women’s involvement in culture, civic improvement and urban reform; building design; artistic collaboration; architectural professionalism; and civic spirit.”¹⁴⁵ Renowned world’s fair designers such as Frederick Law Olmsted and Daniel Hudson Burnham ensured the application of these principles in city planning projects across the United States for decades to come.¹⁴⁶ As in the case of Chicago World’s Fair designer Daniel Burnham, who wrote *Plan of Chicago* (1909), City Beautiful advocates believed that planning would make a city “more attractive,” an appeal meant to apply to potential

¹⁴⁵ Wilson, 60.

¹⁴⁶ Wilson, 64-74.

economic benefits as well as aesthetic ones.¹⁴⁷ Public parks played a central role in the movement as a way to influence order and citizenship for all residents and visitors. While the City Beautiful movement offered many physical design changes for the urban environment, its overarching mission was political.¹⁴⁸ Conservation of natural landscapes, regulation of public utilities and transportation, and the outlawing of “unsavory” enterprises, such as prostitution and gambling, all served as useful City Beautiful pursuits.¹⁴⁹ This meant that civic activists perceived the City Beautiful movement as crucial in the political realm. Civic activists believed they could achieve their urban ideal (“a clean, beautiful, well-governed city,”) through “municipal improvement,” where non-partisan, efficient civic involvement played a central role in its development.¹⁵⁰

At the turn of the twentieth century, Los Angeles’ local leaders felt concerned about an “absence of spacious parks,” which they blamed on private enterprise and uncontrolled development.¹⁵¹ City officials began to pay attention to parks and playgrounds when the city of Los Angeles created a Park Commission in 1889 for Elysian Park, the downtown Plaza, and Central Park (today’s Pershing Square). A few private citizens also began to consider the importance of parks in urbanizing Los Angeles. Griffith J. Griffith, a reformer who donated five square miles to create Griffith

¹⁴⁷ Matthew P. McCabe, “Building the Planning Consensus: The Plan of Chicago, Civic Boosterism, and Urban Reform in Chicago, 1893-1915,” *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 75, no. 1 (January 2016), 116-148, <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/ajes.12133>.

¹⁴⁸ Wilson, 1 and Fogelson, 211-213. The Good Government Organization unsuccessfully campaigned for Lee C. Gates’ mayoral candidacy in 1906 to help dismantle the machine.

¹⁴⁹ Starr, *Inventing the Dream*, 236.

¹⁵⁰ Wilson, 41-47.

¹⁵¹ Fogelson, 247.

Park in 1896, notably described the central importance of public parks as “the safety valve of cities.” According to Greg Hise and William Deverell, part of Griffith’s interpretation of the value of parks in the West lay in “a classic reformulation of the frontier thesis for twentieth-century America.” Frederick Jackson Turner’s frontier thesis, which advanced American exceptionalism and democracy’s survival through settlers’ interaction with the frontier, also posited that the frontier was gone by the time of his landmark speech in 1893.¹⁵² Since the frontier no longer existed to ensure American exceptionalism and democracy, freely accessible parkland could ensure the city’s ability to avoid irrationality and upheaval. Griffith viewed a lack of parks, then, as a social and political issue that would contribute to Los Angeles’ decline. Despite these beliefs, the city wasn’t willing or able to commit to large-scale park planning. In 1910, the city’s board of Park Commissioners contacted John Charles Olmsted, adopted son to Frederick Law Olmsted and co-founder of Olmsted Brothers (a landscape design firm) with his adoptive brother Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., to create a master plan for Agricultural Park. But, the Park Commissioners could not pay Olmsted’s \$2,000 fee.¹⁵³

Many studies of early Los Angeles parkland analyze the City Beautiful movement through landscaped Pershing Square, “valueless” land grant acquisition Elysian Park, or the large and unwieldy Griffith Park. As Los Angeles created a balance between civilized

¹⁵² Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (1921; repr. online University of Virginia), last modified September 30, 1997, chap. 1, <http://xroads.virginia.edu/~hyper/turner/>.

¹⁵³ Greg Hise and William Deverell, *Eden by Design: The 1930 Olmsted-Bartholomew Plan for the Los Angeles Region* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000), 15-20. The city contacted the Olmsted Brothers for other ventures throughout the 1910s that they also failed to follow through on.

urbanity and close connection to the land through suburban living, parks served to ensure that private land speculation didn't completely swallow up empty lots and destroy that balance.¹⁵⁴ Virtually none of these studies mention Exposition Park, perhaps because it had notably different origins and intentions. By the time Bowen encountered the Park, man had not merely controlled it, but tainted it. Bowen set his sights on transformation, not preservation. Thus, manipulation of the landscape colored the Park's renovation, from the construction of buildings to the sunken garden. It is particularly fitting that the city celebrated the Park and the aqueduct together, in that both represented conquests. However, Exposition Park was less about man's conquest of nature than man's conquest of *man's* nature. The Park reflected few of Griffith's ideas about parkland as the twentieth century frontier.

The Sixth District's use of the word "playground" during Exposition Park's planning stages at the turn of the century provides an added dimension to their intentions. Los Angeles attempted to manage organized outdoor spaces with City Beautiful values when they created a Playground Commission in Los Angeles in 1904. In a 1910 article by Bessie D. Stoddart, Secretary of the Playground Commission, the city viewed playgrounds as public places meant to function as "social activity most often found at the settlement house" in addition to recreational offerings. The "educated young men and women" who served on the Commission in a volunteer capacity showed a similar socioeconomic makeup as other local civic activist groups. The City Beautiful movement

¹⁵⁴ William Alexander McClung, *Landscapes of Desire: Anglo Mythologies of Los Angeles* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000), 143-146; Hise and Deverell; and Fogelson.

inspired the playground movement. Yet, it differed in that it explicitly aimed at the “child-saving impulse” held by nineteenth century reformers. In the age of industrialization, upper and middle-class Americans feared the role unsupervised immigrant youth could play in the growing urban environment. Instead of the passive recreational opportunities provided by City Beautiful parkland, playgrounds offered supervised active recreational amenities, such as sports fields, that centered on team play. Playgrounds sought to civilize and control wayward youth by providing the means and the conditioning to proper middle-class socialization. Instead of betting on horse races for individual gain, playgrounds taught children how to work in unison to achieve a common goal.¹⁵⁵ Playgrounds meant to “make better citizens by providing recreation of the right kind and under proper auspices,” similar to Bowen’s statements on Exposition Park. In addition to promoting proper social interaction in the open air, early Los Angeles playgrounds fostered “good health and good habits” through hosting outdoor art, music, and drama performances. The Playground Commission’s interpretation of the playground’s purpose presented it as a constructive and preventative alternative to reform school for unruly boys. In fact, Stoddart praised Agricultural Park’s forthcoming renovation with particular focus on its future role as an outdoor playground area. Ideally, the structure of the playground itself would foster democratic ideals such as cooperation and interaction.¹⁵⁶ Bowen’s Sunday School boys motivated him to transform the Park; this clearly played a role in his emphasis on the Park as a playground space.

¹⁵⁵ Wilson, 81-82.

¹⁵⁶ Bessie D. Stoddart, “Recreative Centers of Los Angeles, California,” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 35, no. 2 (March 1910): 210-219, www.jstor.org/stable/1011270.

Although Progressive reformers heavily employed the City Beautiful movement in their actions throughout the early twentieth century, Bowen was not among them. The verbiage he used throughout his interviews and his own writings employed booster language colored by his Methodist leanings, from referring to Agricultural Park as a place for “beautification” to talking about how his boys had been saved from “degradation” and became “worthy, useful, happy citizens” because of his efforts.¹⁵⁷ Through Bowen’s perseverance, the Park also became a government-controlled entity for public good. His insistence that the Park be brought “within the City limits and under its police protection,” is an important one, because it showed the role that Bowen believed government should play in ensuring that a place must remain “reputable.”¹⁵⁸ The entire idea that the land should be held and managed for the people by state and local government and taken out of the ownership of greedy politicians spoke directly to local booster concerns about Southern Pacific-led corruption. Many other local civic leaders shared this belief and used public control of amenities and utilities to encourage “civic reform and the expansion of the metropolitan economy while advancing the interests of eminent capitalists” like themselves.¹⁵⁹ Thus, City Beautiful concepts colored many aspects of architectural and park planning, but neither Bowen or his associates were Progressive reformers.

Other prominent Los Angelenos espoused these reforms as well. At the Park’s opening ceremony in 1913, speaker Lee C. Gates, a local Republican state senator,

¹⁵⁷ Marquis, 57-61.

¹⁵⁸ Bowen, “Bowen’s Reply,” 8.

¹⁵⁹ Jaher, 612-654.

provided a dedication speech titled “Exposition Park as a State Institution.” In it, he spoke directly to the Park’s potential and the Sixth District’s intentions when he proclaimed that the property should not only be improved, but also be “beautified without stint.”¹⁶⁰ In fact, Lee’s dedication speech called its purpose a “training ground in citizenship.”¹⁶¹ All of the initial sections of the Park—the State Exposition Building; Museum of History, Science, and Art; armory; and landscaping—were meant to fulfill the political mission of the movement.

According to Gates, the Park would serve as a “place of recreation, improvement, and enjoyment” for the people of Los Angeles. He specifically invited young “virile” people with “innocent and budding hopes of the Republic” to enjoy these offerings. Gates described the Park’s open areas as indicative of “modern progress,” through their “improved, developed, beautified” landscaping and amenities. As opposed to the wild recklessness of Agricultural Park, Exposition Park became a public space that encouraged genteel obedience.¹⁶² The Sixth District had not forgotten about children, either. The Park also included various recreational spaces “for the ‘kiddies:’” a baby pool, plunges, a playground, and picnic areas.¹⁶³ Together, these elements exemplified the goals of the playground movement, centered on adolescent and youth citizenship and control. An Exposition Park manager lived on the grounds and another part-time worker managed the

¹⁶⁰ Lee C. Gates, “Dedication Speech,” December 17, 1910, copy of speech sent to William Miller Bowen on January 1, 1913, Manuscript File, 1703-1983, Seaver Center for Western History Research, Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County, Los Angeles, CA.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Brode, 108.

athletic and celebratory events.¹⁶⁴ Wilbur D. Cook, Jr., the first trained landscape architect to work in Los Angeles, designed the landscaped portions of the Park. He had worked under the Olmsted Brothers and created a master plan for Beverly Hills, along with park plans for Anaheim, Fullerton, and Monrovia.¹⁶⁵

1910s: Exposition Park

By 1910, Los Angeles contained a population of over 319,198 people, a percentage increase of 5400% from 1870.¹⁶⁶ That same year, the Sixth District laid the cornerstones for the Exposition Building and Museum of History, Science, and Art. During the ceremony, Mary Spencer Bowen, William Bowen's daughter and USC graduate, poured water from the Owens River onto the grounds as a christening. The gold-lined silver goblet holding the water bore the following inscription: "Dedicated to the Development of the Resources and Industries of the State of California, for the Preservation of the Historic, Scientific and Artistic Treasures of the Golden State."¹⁶⁷ The Park had now been enshrined with another major development for Los Angeles: the Los Angeles aqueduct.

The Los Angeles aqueduct was the first in the city's history. Its creator, William Mulholland, is regarded today as one of the fathers of the city for accomplishing this feat

¹⁶⁴ Los Angeles, California Playground Commission, *Report of the Playground Commission: City of Los Angeles: July 1, 1912-June 30, 1913: July 1, 1913-June 30, 1914* (1914; repr. Google eBooks), 20.

¹⁶⁵ Charles A. Birnbaum and Robin Karson, *Pioneers of American Landscape Design* (New York, NY: McGraw-Hill, 2000), 157.

¹⁶⁶ McWilliams, 14. McWilliams places Los Angeles' population at 319,198 in 1910; Agricultural Park officially becomes Exposition Park in 1912.

¹⁶⁷ McGroarty, vol. 1, 498.

of engineering. Mulholland famously stated, “There it is. Take it,” upon the aqueduct’s completion in 1913; thus, he voiced the city’s larger ambitions to take necessary resources to grow into a major city.¹⁶⁸ Like many cities in the West, water played a central role in Los Angeles’ survival and growth in this period.¹⁶⁹ As Carey McWilliams states, “lack of basic resources has always seemed to stimulate a high level of technological achievement in Southern California.”¹⁷⁰ Because early Anglo settlers had relied on ditches for irrigation, the city’s water system struggled to sustain agricultural enterprise and progress at the ideal level of abundance presented in agricultural fairs.¹⁷¹ So, while boosterism was one catalyst in building Los Angeles, the manipulation of the landscape was another, beginning with the paving of the Los Angeles River to control its occasional, yet disastrous, flooding.¹⁷² More significant for the city, however, was the Los Angeles aqueduct, that siphoned water from the Owens River upstate. The completion of the aqueduct, and every aqueduct and water rights deal thereafter, ensured Los Angeles’ growth and supremacy in the West. Los Angeles boosters, therefore, viewed the Los Angeles aqueduct worthy of recognition. Finished on time and under budget, the entire city celebrated one of the largest water-supply projects of the era at newly-opened Exposition Park.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁸ William Deverell and Tom Sitton, *Water and Los Angeles: A Tale of Three Rivers, 1900-1941* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2017), 12.

¹⁶⁹ Deverell and Sitton, 1.

¹⁷⁰ McWilliams, 129-130.

¹⁷¹ McWilliams, 115.

¹⁷² Deverell and Sitton, 9.

¹⁷³ Deverell and Sitton, 49.

The Sixth District's plan for a City Beautiful and nineteenth century exposition-inspired park transcended a landscaped outdoor space. It also had to include buildings. Bowen rose to the occasion once again and traveled often to Sacramento to secure state appropriations for the structures. To ensure the funding and support for this venture, he successfully brought in the Los Angeles City Council and Los Angeles County Supervisors to match the monetary support he wrangled from the state. The county ended up appropriating \$150,000 for the Museum of History, Science, and Art; the city council appropriated \$100,000 towards grounds beautification; and the state appropriated \$250,000 toward the State Exposition Building. The state and city also provided additional appropriations for an armory at an extra \$250,000 and \$10,000 for a fifty-year lease of the property to host an art gallery, respectively. The Sixth District used most of the beautification funds on a sunken garden with a central fountain commemorating the creation of the Los Angeles aqueduct. These changes required removal of the old raceway, but private donors provided \$10,000 to relocate it onto another part of the grounds, ensuring its survival for the time being.¹⁷⁴

Like the outdoor spaces, Exposition Park's buildings mirrored City Beautiful ideals. Each building played a part in fulfilling a singular vision to improve University Park, and Los Angeles by extension. Through these structures, the space contained multipurpose, middle-class entertainments encased in neoclassical and Beaux Arts building design.¹⁷⁵ The fact that the Park received funding from state, county, and city

¹⁷⁴ Marquis, 57-61 and Gates, "Dedication Speech."

¹⁷⁵ Wilson, 1-10.

government levels not only served as a testament to Bowen, but also revealed more about the circumstances by which California's government entities supported City Beautiful park development. One of the key pieces to understanding why Exposition Park succeeded where others failed lay in its agricultural, state-funded origins. By law, the state owned the land due to Bowen's efforts, and by law, the Sixth District was required to host agricultural fairs specifically on that land. Because of these conditions, Bowen was able to acquire significant state funding through his dogged efforts. Agriculture as an industry enabled the dreams of Bowen and the Sixth District in a way other local influences were incapable of achieving.

Each building represented values Los Angeles civic leaders espoused. The armory stood as a representation of military organization and control in the early twentieth century. As social classes clashed on the battleground of labor, the National Guard emerged as a controlling force on the urban landscape. Architecturally, the armory's symbolic meaning reminded citizens that the military was present and active in the community. Thus, armories were a product of their time, and were only built in large numbers during the 1910s and 20s. For this reason, the West coast contained few armories in comparison to the urban and industrialized East. Oftentimes, these armories were constructed in Beaux Arts style rather than as forbidding fortresses because they also served civic functions. Events hosted at armories included company Christmas parties and art gallery exhibitions. National Guard regiments not only enacted order, but also played an important civic role in the period. They marched in parades and fairs and

shared communal activities that created bonds amongst guardsmen.¹⁷⁶ In early Los Angeles, the armory dually appealed as a symbol of order against labor and Socialist movements, as well as the city's maturity and prominence in comparison to East coast cities and among cities of the West. Otis and the Merchants and Manufacturers Association supported anti-union and anti-labor efforts, intent on making Los Angeles a right-to-work city.¹⁷⁷ Thus, the armory's role as a symbol for labor's suppression lined up with the beliefs of many city leaders at the time.

The Museum of History, Science, and Art emerged from the larger international museum movement at the turn-of-the century. Like other nineteenth century museums, it featured elites' "desire for 'classy' entertainment and [their] anxiety about class-appropriate behavior, display, and cultural knowledge." Like the armory, it also served as cultural capital for the small, yet growing city. The *Times* voiced the hope that it would one day "rival the famous Field Museum of Chicago."¹⁷⁸ As the city's first true museum, it became the repository for all historical, artistic, and scientific artifacts. However, the science present in the Museum of History, Science, and Art reflected nineteenth century classification systems tied to taxonomy and natural history. Like the Field Museum, the museum showcased scientific classification systems that oftentimes reflected racial

¹⁷⁶ Cassim Shepard, "The Armory and the City: Civic Spaces of the National Guard," *Urban Omnibus*, The Architectural League of New York, September 18, 2013, <https://urbanomnibus.net/2013/09/the-armory-and-the-city-civic-spaces-of-the-national-guard/>.

¹⁷⁷ Jaher, 612-654.

¹⁷⁸ Hadley Meares, "Higher Ideals: The Original Los Angeles County Museum of History, Science, and Art," *KCET*, October 13, 2015, <https://www.kcet.org/history-society/higher-ideals-the-original-los-angeles-county-museum-of-history-science-and-art> and "The Historian's Eye: What Does a Historian Notice in a Photo from the Past?" *Southern California Quarterly* 92, no. 4 (2010): 422-23, www.jstor.org/stable/41172544.

hierarchy and separation. One of the Museum of History, Science, and Art's most popular exhibits in this period contained recently excavated fossils from Rancho La Brea (today the La Brea Tar Pits). The owner of the ranch granted the Museum exclusive excavation rights for two years, beginning in 1913. In the science wing, the Museum displayed flora and fauna from the excavations in an evolutionary narrative. In the history wing, the Historical Society of Southern California presented a similar narrative through an "ethnological exhibit" that included Native American, Spanish and Mexican, and American artifacts. The Historical Society would keep their collections at the Museum until 1965.¹⁷⁹ Considering these elements, along with the fact that Widney helped found the Society in 1883, racial hierarchy established by Los Angeles elites was present in the exhibit, as evidenced by a 1915 exhibit titled "The True Story of *Ramona*" that featured a robe and sandal from a character featured in Helen Hunt Jackson's now-classic 1884 novel.¹⁸⁰

Finally, the Sixth District built the State Exposition Building, future home of the California Museum of Science and Industry and today the site of the California Science Center. Designed by the first California state civil engineer, Nathan Ellery, the building

¹⁷⁹ "About the Museum," La Brea Tar Pits & Museum, accessed September 8, 2018, <http://www.tarpits.org/our-story/about-the-page>; Patricia Adler-Ingram, "HSSC's Quiet Cannons," *The Southern Californian* 23, no. 4 (Winter 2011), 1-2, <https://thehssc.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/Southern-Californian-23-4-Winter-2011.pdf>; J.M. Guinn, "The Museum of History, Science, and Art," *Annual Publication of the Historical Society of Southern California* 8, no. 1/2 (1909-1910), 5-8, www.jstor.org/stable/41168649; "History Collections," Natural History Museum, Los Angeles County, accessed September 8, 2018, <https://nhm.org/site/research-collections/history/view-collections>; and S.H. Hall, "Historical Society of Southern California," *Annual Publication of the Historical Society of Southern California* 9, no. 1/2 (1912-1913), 5-15, www.jstor.org/stable/41168888.

¹⁸⁰ Jaher, 612-654, "Relic Search is Rewarded," *Los Angeles Times*, April 25, 1915, ProQuest Historical Newspapers and "Los Angeles Museum to Receive Sacred Relics," *Los Angeles Times*, May 17, 1915, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

was a two-story E-shaped structure, containing dark-red tapestry brick and terra-cotta tile, a blend of Beaux Arts design and Spanish colonial ornamentation along its trim.¹⁸¹ Gates described the Exposition Building as a “stable and ornate structure of steel and concrete, brick and mortar,” a modern building that represented man’s technological achievement and control. According to the speech, the State Exposition Building measured 325 feet long by 135 feet wide, and celebrated man’s use of the “marvelous diversified fruits” of the state of California, which included mining, oil, produce, grain, wine, and wood. Gates emphasized that the celebration was not merely for local enjoyment, but to show other states and regions all the Golden State had to offer, particularly the role man played in “uncovering” the natural landscape and drawing out its “treasures.” (These exhibits are the focus of the next chapter.)

This chapter closes on the happy, hopeful days of the commemoration, where Bowen accomplished all the possibilities he had dreamt of for years. The Park and aqueduct officially opened with a grand affair in 1913. Ceremonies ran over the course of two days, November 5-6, hosting an audience of over 35,000. Wednesday celebrations took place at the mouth of the aqueduct in Cascades, San Fernando Valley. Thursday celebrations began at the Chamber of Commerce building in Downtown Los Angeles and wound their way to Exposition Park. The commemoration specifically honored the two

¹⁸¹ Tom Sitton, “California State Museum of Science and Industry,” State of California Historic Resources Inventory/Nomination Form, June 1974, Historic Sites Surveys, Seaver Center for Western History Research, Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County, Los Angeles, CA and Alexander D. Bevil, “Teacher Training School Building, San Diego State Normal School,” National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, June 26, 1988, United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, <https://npgallery.nps.gov/GetAsset/1266a150-35b4-4f62-8136-af45a98fbab6>.

men credited as major benefactors to the thriving city: William Mulholland, “the Genius of the Aqueduct, Undaunted and Undauntable,” and William Bowen, “the man who saved Exposition Park.”¹⁸²

Those event-goers who read the commemorative booklet in 1913 would have understood the Sixth District’s intentions plainly. Frank Bush Davison, author and Sixth District member, described the Park as “an aggregation of educational, military, athletic, and amusement institutions,” all pieces in a larger cohesive mission to create “Los Angeles’ greatest playground.” The Chamber of Commerce featured prominently in the booklet and was credited with “nurs[ing] the infant thought” of the aqueduct, “cloth[ing] it with the mantle of approval, shield[ing] it from design, and fail[ing] it not in any hour of need through growing years of seeming vicissitudes.” The booklet is most noteworthy in how it placed the aqueduct and Park in a larger historical and regional context. It listed the aqueduct as an engineering accomplishment on par with the Panama Canal, while giving the Park a full page among local accomplishments that included the San Pedro harbor and statistical data of population and infrastructure growth.¹⁸³ The booklet’s message placed both the Park and the aqueduct in a narrative of progress that featured control of the landscape for human advancement. More specifically, it placed these accomplishments in a narrative of Los Angeles’ brand of progress, centered on overcoming obstacles to the city’s advancement. Whether celebrating the aqueduct—a

¹⁸² Frank Bush Davison, *Commemorative of the Official Opening, the Los Angeles Aqueduct and Exposition Park* (Los Angeles: Kingsley, Mason & Collins Co.), 1913.

¹⁸³ Davison, *Commemorative of the Official Opening*. Mulholland was said to have stated that “the only way to stop the growth of Southern California would be to kill Frank Wiggins,” in Francis A. Groff, “Frank Wiggins, Glad-Hand Artist,” *Los Angeles Herald* (reprinted from *American Magazine*) 33, no. 31 (November 1, 1910), 10.

triumph over the landscape—or the armory—a triumph over labor—avid city boosters succeeded in their vision.

This narrative, of course, cannot overlook the dedication Bowen had for the Park's success. Bowen published very little in his lifetime, but one telling document reveals his motivations for the Park and the Exposition Building. Bowen seemed to truly believe in principles of civic activism, made achievable through boosterism. In a defense written to counteract accusations against his character during the Exposition Park project, he spoke of his seventeen years of labor to turn a "plague-spot" into a "place of beauty, an institution of education and the admiration of the world." He also felt, however, an affinity to the role of industry in ensuring California's progress. Bowen described himself as someone who "rendered in [his] humble way, services to assist in building up our State and developing its resources." He wrote paragraphs on his singular commitment to the Exposition Building, including traveling throughout the state to encourage each region to contribute products for the exhibits.¹⁸⁴

This shows another side to Bowen's idea of progress, one shared by many other leaders in the city. Bowen sought to create a space that unified social classes in the city by offering middle-class recreational and educational amenities. These amenities, however, became colored by the industry-led vision of California and the boosterism that sustained it. The State Exposition Building was meant to represent an evolution of earlier agricultural fairs, run by a singular decision-maker: the Sixth District. The significant part of this decision is that Bowen and the Sixth District felt that the Exposition Building

¹⁸⁴ Epting, 58; Rodman, 134; Bowen, "October 4, 1915;" and Bowen, "Bowen's Reply."

formed a necessary part of the Park's construction. The Sixth District viewed a permanent exhibit to California industry as equally important to the Museum of History, Science, and Art's historical, scientific, and artistic displays.

Finally, Bowen also formed deep ties to University Park. By 1909, Bowen's listed home address showed his residence as just west of USC and less than a mile away from the northernmost section of Agricultural Park.¹⁸⁵ By 1915, the lots sold by the Sixth District in 1890 for \$6750 were worth at least \$240,000.¹⁸⁶ Part of this can be attributed to Los Angeles' growth, but also to Bowen's accomplishments, supported by civic boosterism, particularly through the Chamber of Commerce, as well as agricultural and industrial development. That same year, John Francis Neylan, Chairman of the State Board of Control, directed charges of fraud and deception at Bowen, which resulted in the Sixth District removing him as attorney.¹⁸⁷ Bowen refuted these charges with careful research and continued to serve the Park. He acted as president of the board of governors for the Museum of History, Science, and Art into the 1930s, a trustee of USC from 1904 to 1920, Los Angeles Park Commissioner from 1918 to 1922, and both as a member and president of the Sixth District until his death in 1937.¹⁸⁸

Bowen's attention included more than personal economic ties, however.¹⁸⁹ In the 1890s, he shared a vision of the neighborhood and city with middle and upper-class

¹⁸⁵ Epting, 58; Rodman, 134; Bowen, "October 4, 1915;" and Bowen, "Bowen's Reply."

¹⁸⁶ Bowen, "October 4, 1915," and Bowen, "Bowen's Reply."

¹⁸⁷ Bowen and Neylan, *Vicious Attack*.

¹⁸⁸ *Who's Who in California*, 348-349.

¹⁸⁹ Bowen, "October 4, 1915," and Bowen, "Bowen's Reply."

Anglo migrants that he saw slip away with every walk past the Agricultural Park track. The growth of Los Angeles and the surrounding upper-middle class community of University Park is central to understanding why a major transformation occurred in the creation of Exposition Park. Agricultural Park, despite its amusements, came to be seen as a place of ill-repute, particularly as the white middle-class grew larger and more powerful in Los Angeles. Bowen's single-minded dedication to creating a cultural center for the city is the primary reason for the Park's evolution. In addition, local boosterism and the appeal of a permanent exposition in Los Angeles spurred many to support Bowen's efforts.

Racial boundaries continued as the white middle class grew. The growth of white collar jobs in Los Angeles resulted in what Clark Davis refers to as an "infatuation with appearance and lineage," resulting in a "cult of Anglo-Saxones" in the skilled workforce. As Los Angeles transitioned into a more industrialized economy requiring scientific education, schools like the Throop Institute (Caltech today) began to exclusively court Anglo-Saxons. In comparison, non-whites became relegated to agricultural, domestic, and manual labor.¹⁹⁰ This ensured that non-whites were denied access to higher levels of economic prosperity as the city expanded.

The 1910s also marked continued embrace of the Spanish fantasy past, solidifying white control while continuing to provide entertainment for tourists. John Steven McGroarty's *The Mission Play* opened in 1912 to critical acclaim and Lummis opened

¹⁹⁰ Clark Davis, *Company Men: White-Collar Life and Corporate Cultures in Los Angeles, 1892-1941* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 10, 71-76.

the Southwest Museum of the American Indian at its permanent, mission-style location in 1914.¹⁹¹ By 1915, only two years after Exposition Park opened to the public, the Panama-California Exposition in San Diego introduced romantic Spanish mission-style architecture that little resembled the actual structures created by the Spanish in California, the style exploded on Los Angeles' suburban housing scene in the 1920s.¹⁹² Although Bowen did not write specifically on these ideas, given his close connections to USC, the Chamber of Commerce, and the general trajectory of the city's ideals of progress, it's reasonable to assume that they would have influenced his choices in the creation of Exposition Park.

By the 1920s, Anglo elites had succeeded in shifting the city's ward-centric political machine to a city-wide structure, which in turn heightened already powerful groups, such as "daily newspapers, civic clubs, business interests, and commercial organizations." These groups would go on to play a central role in Los Angeles' future development.¹⁹³ Also, new industries began to shape the city in significant ways, ultimately shifting political power and the ideological focus of city boosters.¹⁹⁴ In the midst of these changes, Bowen and the Sixth District struggled to rid the Park of its Agricultural Park roots and ignored the growing non-white population in University Park. True to the Park's new name, the Sixth District set their sights on hosting expositions in Los Angeles for the first time. As the Park gained more cultural capital through the

¹⁹¹ Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe*, 181-213 and Culver, 47.

¹⁹² Kropp, *California Vieja*, covers these locations and their implications in much more depth.

¹⁹³ Fogelson, 217-218.

¹⁹⁴ Mike Davis, *City of Quartz*, 20-30.

creation of the Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum, unwanted public entertainments (and publics) lingered. The Exposition Building, now open and filled with the latest industrial products and machinery, reacted to these changes in ways that redefined progress for a new generation. This legacy would shape the Park and its institutions for decades to come.

CHAPTER 2

THE STATE EXPOSITION BUILDING, 1913-1949: REFLECTING THE GROWING PAINS OF A NEWLY MODERN METROPOLIS

By 1913, William Miller Bowen and the Sixth District Agricultural Association had successfully created a new and improved Exposition Park, a modern playground for local Angelenos and out-of-town vacationers alike. The Park had become a place of “civilized” order, where citizens learned how to appropriately interact with one another through sports and picnic areas in organized outdoor spaces. Chapter 1 established the ideology behind the creation of Exposition Park and its structures. Heavily influenced by the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, the Park promoted Anglo Los Angelenos’ use of technology and science to manipulate the landscape for commercial and cultural gain. This vision, by design, excluded non-white Angelenos from the narrative. This chapter will explore the ideology behind the exhibits in one of the Park’s structures: the State Exposition Building.

The Sixth District intended, from the beginning, that the State Exposition Building would display resources and goods produced in the state of California. Under the guidance of the Chamber of Commerce, however, the Exposition Building evolved into presenting an ordered, yet spectacular display of California produce and industry. The Exposition Building’s use of spectacle, or the mediated imagery in exhibit display to “sell” commodities and/or the exhibit itself, relied on both local and non-local display methods. The timeline of displays in the Exposition Building, from its opening in 1913, presented an object-based epistemology colored by the Los Angeles Chamber of

Commerce's awe-inspiring constructions of produce in their exhibits.¹ In the 1920s and 30s, this style of display eroded as new local industries, namely aviation and Hollywood, evolved in a rapidly growing Los Angeles and the Building could no longer develop displays that remained current with the quickly transforming economy. New display techniques, such as dioramas, murals, relief maps, film, and Hollywood-style special effects, helped the institution survive into the 1940s. From the 1910s to the 1940s, the Exposition Building maintained its industry-centric presentations in Exposition Park yet struggled to remain relevant and exciting in relation to major cultural and industrial developments in Los Angeles. Meanwhile, Exposition Park's modern playground marketed the city itself as a product. As in previous decades, Anglo elites' methodology continued to center commerce and industry, yet struggled to find a balance between education and spectacle. The construction and success of the Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum in 1923 marked a definitive shift in the Park toward spectacle that culminated in the 1932 Olympics.

As the Sixth District attempted to develop the Exposition Building and larger Exposition Park, it had to contend with major global events that expanded the city exponentially. World War I, the boom of the 1920s, the Great Depression, and World War II resulted in new industries, entertainments, and social conditions. By the end of the 1940s, Los Angeles had grown from an agricultural backwater to a major American city. The formerly white and affluent University Park neighborhood evolved into South

¹ Sixth District Agricultural Association, *California's Exposition, Permanent: Containing a Permanent Classified Comprehensive Exhibit of the Resources and Industries of the State of California*, California State Library, Sacramento, CA.

Central, a sizable lower-income Black community. Amid these changes, Exposition Park and the State Exposition Building showcased an ideology of progress in Los Angeles that relied on old themes presented in a new style for new industries: a spectacle-filled, industry-driven vision mediated by the Chamber of Commerce for Anglo elites.

1910s: The State Exposition Building and the California Liberty Fair

At its inception in 1913, the State Exposition Building emphasized agriculture. No doubt this was partly due to the still-lingering Jeffersonian belief that the small family farm was the foundation for traditional American values. Additionally, Bowen's personal background provided part of the basis for this institutional focus. Despite Bowen's ascendancy to the professional class as a lawyer, his history of farming offered a clue to his interest in the creation of such a place. In addition, agriculture, as seen from Chapter 1, grew exponentially after the 1850s Anglo takeover of Los Angeles and played a key role in Anglo boosters' ideology of progress. This was due in large part to technological developments in irrigation and a difference in approach to exploitation of the land from the old rancho system. Much of the boosterism surrounding California focused on agricultural products created under single-crop corporate farming systems. While the state continued to push the image of Anglo agrarian middle-class life, non-white seasonal farm workers fueled the labor force for the few elite landowners of the region, allowing a small cadre of farmers to become extremely wealthy.²

The wealth of corporate farming greatly increased the interest of the state of California in promoting agribusiness. The state's role in funding, construction, and

² Starr, *Inventing the Dream*, 170-175.

management of the Exposition Building through its governance over the Sixth District Agricultural Association (managers of the Park and Building) heavily influenced the exhibits. Despite Bowen's impressive campaign to create Exposition Park, the state still required the Sixth District to hold agricultural fairs at least once annually. Due to the central mission of the City Beautiful movement to create an ordered and harmonious environment to promote civility and the city's offerings, however, Sixth District members hesitated to mar the Park with a temporary fairground every year, especially as horse racing lingered on the grounds. Instead, they decided to create a permanent exposition space.³ At the time of its conception, the Exposition Building meant to educate and promote commerce to locals and visitors alike. From the 1910s to the 1930s, agriculture was central to that mission.⁴ In addition to agriculture, the Exposition Building contained exhibits on other major California industries. Its E-shaped plan featured two stories and a basement. The wings housed horticulture, animal industries, and mining. In the basement, exhibits focused on state parks and their resources.⁵ Its permanent exhibits featured the best of California's notable industries. Top-tier agricultural products were encased in preservative glass jars and "scientifically classified and installed" in a classical Beaux Arts structure. Once inside, visitors could no longer be tempted by glimpses of the

³ California Assembly Interim Committee on Fairs and Expositions, *Report of the Assembly Interim Committee on Fairs and Expositions* (1949).

⁴ Sixth District Agricultural Association, *California's Exposition, Permanent*.

⁵ Cory Stargel and Sarah Stargel, *Postcard History Series: Early Los Angeles County Attractions* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2008), 71-76.

racetrack grandstand.⁶

By 1915, the Sixth District published an exhibit guide for interested visitors.⁷ It emphasized over 50,000 square feet of exhibit space on the resources and industries of California for educational purposes. The guide recommended that visitors make a trek to see the regions of the state they enjoyed most in the exhibit. The fact that the exhibit was free solidified the Exposition Building as both a place for the public and as a boosterism venture. The booklet prided itself on listing the professional and “uniform” installation practices within, including preservation processes, show cases, and some labeling. The technology needed to create preservative jars for perishable items, known as processing, was available in-house for any interested exhibitor. This was necessary for regions that shipped fresh produce and flowers for display, which the Sixth District also ensured was free through partnerships with railroads throughout the state. In these early days, the Exposition Building included a 400-seat lecture hall, administrative offices for the Sixth District, and a reference library. It also, significantly, housed a Bureau of Information that included both written material and names of “experts” on the various industries included in the exhibit. The existence of the Bureau of Information gave the Exposition Building a definitively commercial focus that reflected the museum’s role in building the

⁶ Southern California Panama Expositions Commission, *Southern California: Comprising the Counties of Imperial, Los Angeles, Orange, Riverside, San Bernardino, San Diego, Ventura* (1914), 93-94, Google eBooks.

⁷ Sixth District Agricultural Association, *California’s Exposition, Permanent*. The booklet, while undated, lists Clinton E. Miller as Sixth District president. According to *The California Alumni Monthly* 15, no. 1 (January 1922), 204-205, Miller served the Sixth District as a member and later as president in the years 1915-1916. Miller wrote the article accompanying this information, as well. Notably, Miller was another Los Angeleno who served on the Chamber of Commerce in his lifetime.

city of Los Angeles through industry sales and partnerships.

The Sixth District divided exhibit halls in this early period as: agriculture, horticulture, forestry, fish and game, minerals, machinery, manufactures, arts and crafts, and miscellaneous, with contributions from counties throughout the state.⁸ In this way, the exhibits mirrored many of the industries featured in late nineteenth century Agricultural Park fairs. Detailed information on early exhibits housed at the Exposition Building is scarce, but the Sixth District featured one exhibit in some depth in the 1915 booklet: the *California Fish and Game Resource Exhibit*.⁹ The Sixth District employed creativity and attention to detail to incorporate industrial endeavors into all aspects of the picturesque exhibit. The exhibit, housed in the Marine Room (60 by 40 feet), displayed industries of the state through a scene that evoked the coastline. Murals on the walls and scenes of the California coast featured prominently on a frieze. Reproductions of rocks, trees, canyons, and grottos filled the room, complete with running water and live fish. These reproductions were not merely generic canyons or mountainsides, but of actual locations around the state, encouraging visitors to spend time and money at these locations. The exhibit included aquariums of local live fish from these locations along some of the walls, and mounted “arranged” dead fish along another. A miniature reproduction of a family of deer and a mountain lion, showcasing “one of those grim tragedies so characteristic of forest life,” sat below a collection of recreated California birds. Finally, a fountain created by a local art tile company out of Moorish tile stood in

⁸ Sixth District Agricultural Association, *California's Exposition, Permanent*.

⁹ The booklet contains a smaller write-up on the State Exposition Building Aviary.

the center of the room.¹⁰ Unlike natural history museum exhibits, the Fish and Game exhibit did not attempt to only showcase the wonders of the natural world, but how man could interact with the specific amenities offered in the state, from fishing to design.

Clearly, the Exposition Building had already embarked on a path of modernizing exhibits to make them more life-like and interactive. Instead of merely presenting objects in scientific order, the Exposition Building used spectacle, a fantastic form of display that presented a commodified message about the objects as dictated by Anglo elites. As Nick Prior notes, international expositions since the 1850s combined industry, commerce, and art to create “spaces of visual seduction.”¹¹ The *California Fish and Game Resource Exhibit* operated similarly. It used sensory techniques not only to educate visitors but to entice them to visit and experience these places throughout the state. It also featured commercial products, like Moorish tile, to encourage consumption of local commodities by visitors. In essence, the exhibit commodified the natural resources of California.

The language and technology featured in this early booklet also tied the Exposition Building to two older influences: the nineteenth century commercial museum and, much closer to home, the permanent exhibit housed in the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce building. Both of these institutions set a precedent for what the Exposition Building attempted to accomplish. As established in Chapter 1, the Chamber of Commerce emerged as a controlling civic organization in Los Angeles by the 1880s, containing local business and political leaders from across the region. The Chamber of

¹⁰ Sixth District Agricultural Association, *California's Exposition, Permanent*.

¹¹ Prior, in *A Companion to Museums Studies*, 509-524.

Commerce began the era Michael Dear referred to as “The Emergence of the Entrepreneurial State,” from 1880 to 1932. This group aspired to make the city into a global leader of commerce and industry for local Anglo elites.¹² Led by *Los Angeles Times*’ owner and publisher, “General” Harrison Gray Otis, the Chamber of Commerce won the fight against the Southern Pacific railroad to develop the Los Angeles harbor, supported the construction of the Los Angeles aqueduct, and destroyed the city’s nascent labor movement. As a result, members of the Chamber of Commerce established long-lasting power in real estate, politics, and finance.¹³ It is important to understand how the Chamber of Commerce impacted the exhibits in the Exposition Building to fully understand the institution’s methodology. It is also vital to explore how the Exposition Building and Chamber of Commerce approach mirrored other nineteenth century commercial museums, such as the Philadelphia Commercial Museum.

From 1890 to 1920, the Chamber of Commerce operated at its greatest power, and used a two-fold promotional strategy to help them achieve its goals toward growing the city’s industries and population. First, the organization created many publications and advertisements to highlight industries, products, and opportunities in Los Angeles. Second, the Chamber of Commerce created numerous traveling exhibits for fairs and expositions around the country that allowed visitors to experience everything they had read about in the publications firsthand. These exhibits even included fresh produce for visitors to taste. In addition, the Chamber of Commerce operated a permanent exhibit in

¹² Dear, 76-105.

¹³ Mike Davis, *City of Quartz*, 110-114.

its own building. Due to the Chamber of Commerce's efforts, Los Angeles evolved from an American unknown to one of the nation's best-known regions.¹⁴

These efforts did not come fully formed from the singular vision of Otis. William E. Hughes, an East coast transplant, helped Otis formulate the Chamber of Commerce's structure based on existing versions he had experienced back home. One of Hughes' earliest undertakings for the newly-established Chamber of Commerce was a traveling exhibition titled *California on Wheels*, which showcased California industries and products to entice Midwesterners westward. This was so successful that the Chamber of Commerce created a permanent exhibit centered on Southern California agriculture at its headquarters. Leaders added a Superintendent of Exhibits position to the Chamber of Commerce in 1890 and appointed member Frank Wiggins, who had shown a predilection for creative display tactics at world's fairs. From that point onward, Wiggins became the primary source for all exhibition initiatives by the Chamber of Commerce. He installed the first permanent exhibit in Chamber of Commerce headquarters at the Mott Building that same year and started other traveling exhibits around the nation, beginning with Chicago's Citrus Carnival in 1891.¹⁵

Charles Dwight Willard, Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce from 1891 to 1897, wrote a history of the organization's earliest days that provides detail to Wiggins' intentions for the permanent exhibit. According to Willard, Wiggins initially cobbled exhibits together from a collection of materials curated by Captain F. Edward Gray of

¹⁴ Fogelson, 69-71.

¹⁵ Newmark, "A Short History of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce," 56-79.

Alhambra (a suburb of Los Angeles) for the Southern California Citrus Fair in 1890. These materials primarily consisted of leftover fruit. From that point onward, Wiggins decided to create displays that featured the products of the region, namely agricultural. To sustain this style of presentation meant that the Chamber of Commerce went out into local agricultural districts continuously—“a large amount of work ... but little gain in the exhibit as a whole,” according to Willard—for new perishable items. Willard’s “little gain” comment hinted at larger issues for the exhibit. The exhibit intended “to demonstrate to new-comers and to casual visitors that Southern California could produce a great variety of marketable things, thus supplying an answer to the taunt so frequently flung at this county ... that ‘people could not live on climate.’” Yet, Willard recognized that it was too costly and time consuming to procure fresh fruit to maintain displays.¹⁶

A new exhibition technique, preserving fluid, proved beneficial. It meant the Chamber of Commerce had little need to expend large amounts of effort to sustain the permanent exhibit. With this added free time, the permanent exhibit became a proving ground for the exhibits Wiggins began to send out across the nation, and later the world. As Wiggins expanded his empire, he viewed his exhibits as the finishing touch for bringing Chamber of Commerce brochures to “tangible, visible form.” Being able to touch, smell, or even just view an orange provided a “taste” of Southern California to the Midwest and East in ways that seemed unthinkable before expositions. Wiggins’

¹⁶ One might ask why this worked at the Chamber of Commerce and not the Sixth District’s agricultural fairs. The timeline of the city is important to consider. By 1890, the city had many more residents than it had in the 1870s and 80s. By the time a sizeable, tighter knit population arrived, Agricultural Park had already turned to horse racing and gambling.

spectacular exhibits began to take on more and more grandiose forms, such as a tower in the shape of corn made from hundreds of ears or a life-size elephant constructed out of walnuts.¹⁷

Frank Wiggins served as the Chamber of Commerce's exhibition designer first and foremost, but there are clear signs that he also played a significant role in the development of Exposition Park, specifically, the State Exposition Building. Aside from Bowen and William Mulholland, Wiggins was the only other person given an entire page in the 1913 commemorative booklet. The booklet only mentioned him as "the father of the *celebration*," (emphasis mine) but other sources show a more substantive connection to the Park. In Bowen's 1915 rebuttal to accusations of corruption, he defended money given to him by the Sixth District for travel purposes. When Bowen stated that he received this money as a travel stipend to observe expositions around the country, he specifically listed Wiggins (and only Wiggins) as the man who suggested the idea to the Sixth District in the first place. In addition, after the Park's opening, the *Times* mentioned Wiggins' involvement in the initial setup of the Exposition Building's exhibits through his acquisition of the agricultural and industrial products displayed there.¹⁸ Finally, preserving fluid featured heavily in the 1915 Exposition Building booklet. An entire room of the building had been dedicated to producing it for industries around the state. It's clear that the Chamber of Commerce, and Wiggins in particular, inspired the

¹⁷ Charles Dwight Willard, *A History of the Chamber of Commerce of Los Angeles, California: From its Foundation, September, 1888 to the Year 1900* (Los Angeles, CA: Kingsley-Barnes & Neuner Company, 1899), 86-97.

¹⁸ "Industrial Progress: Shipping and Grain--Copper Market.: Material for Many Columns; California Editors Conclude Successful Trip; Entertained at Luncheon at Exposition Park; Wonders of Imperial Prove a Revelation to All," *Los Angeles Times*, February 25, 1914, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

Exposition Building.

Wiggins' work for the Chamber of Commerce played an influential role in early Exposition Building exhibits, and also reflected larger trends in permanent commercially-based exhibition spaces in the United States. Steven Conn writes: "knowledge can only exist in some framework of understanding." Like other institutions that provide knowledge, museums must create frameworks to present the knowledge they hold. Conn argues that the Philadelphia Commercial Museum's late nineteenth century's "object-based epistemology" operated to establish the United States' commercial imperialist actions as on par with older European nations. The Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce used its exhibits similarly to establish the city's industries alongside America's older metropolises. Conn describes object-based epistemology as a "visual sentence," where exhibits showcase objects that have been specifically chosen and ordered to create a narrative of progress and evolution. Nineteenth century museums of all kinds used this epistemology. In fact, scientists and museum directors intended that different types of museums must be viewed together as "an attempt to put the whole of the world's knowledge under glass."¹⁹ In this way, museums operated like encyclopedias that focused specifically on presenting a "positivist, progressive, and hierarchical view of the world" reinforced by scientific analysis and the objects presented.²⁰

The role of objects in this style of presentation was paramount. They were meticulously classified in glass cases. Common features of today's museums, such as

¹⁹ Steven Conn, *Museums and American Intellectual Life, 1876-1926* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 24-25.

²⁰ Conn, 31.

labeling, were notably absent to prevent any other stimuli from affecting the visitor's relationship to the object. Order reigned in direct contradiction to antebellum museums, such as P.T. Barnum's American Museum spectacles. Museum officials believed that, through this order, the visitor would learn and comprehend more easily than text could reveal.²¹ Consequently, the Park housed both an exposition building and a natural history museum to try and reach that totality. Preserving agricultural products, in the case of the Exposition Building, or arranging mammoth fossils from the La Brea Tar Pits, in the case of the Museum of History, Science, and Art, both represented this style of display. Interior photographs from the earliest years of these institutions indicate this approach, with long, glass counters housing artifacts in ordered rows.²²

According to Tony Bennett, the nineteenth century museum was also a civilizing institution in its treatment of visitors. As museums became public institutions in the nineteenth century, they used the physical layout of exhibits to enact control over visitors and show methods of proper behavior. Through the museum's design, the crowd regulated itself according to middle-class ideals. Objects on display within museum exhibits helped to create a hierarchy of progress. In this way, the museum reformed the public and informed not only on scientific, historical, or artistic development but also on larger narratives of societal advancement.²³ The Exposition Building's interior and

²¹ Conn, 4-20. Also, see Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1993), 154. Kammen calls museums one of the largest developments in the United States from the 1870s onward.

²² I found no photographic evidence that the State Exposition Building displayed produce in the spectacular forms exemplified by Wiggins.

²³ Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1995).

exterior design reflected this approach. The Sixth District purposely chose neoclassical architecture and named wings in accordance with established industrial types to further this “civilized” vision.

Conn provides a list of common museum types in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: natural history, anthropology, commercial, history, art, and technology. In this period, the Exposition Building best fit under the definition of a technological or commercial museum.²⁴ Conn explores nineteenth century commercial museums through the Philadelphia Commercial Museum, “a semi-official repository” for American material displayed at world’s fairs between 1893 and 1926. He views the institution as large, influential, and singularly unique in this period. Its purpose was to “convince the public” to support American commercial expansion abroad and to assist American companies in colonization through commerce. The museum’s nationwide mission, with international imperial visions, differed from the city-centric initiatives present in Exposition Building’s displays and the Chamber of Commerce’s permanent exhibit. However, the Commercial Museum contained key similarities to Los Angeles’ initiatives in that it focused on the same two approaches to achieve success: exhibits and publications. Just as important was the role of informational assistants to foster

²⁴ Conn determines these museum types from George Brown Goode, an administrator at the Smithsonian in this period who wrote multiple books on museum management and structure. Conn also lists the commercial museum as the only museum of its type. The Exposition Building was very much a regionally-focused version, but many aspects of the museum align with the Philadelphia Commercial Museum. Although the Exposition Building would later use some of the techniques associated with natural history museums (most notably the diorama), the types of objects and institutional focus of the Exposition Building lay in promoting industry. The Museum of History, Science, and Art, located across the sunken garden, dealt in nineteenth century science through taxonomy and the natural world. The technology museum, which had its origins in the teaching of applied science, is a useful model for understanding the Exposition Building’s transition into a push-button paradise in the 1950s.

commercial growth and expand the economy, like the Exposition Building's Bureau of Information. These two branches operated in the same way, where publications helped draw in, or at least substituted for, exhibits in person.

The Commercial Museum's message firmly placed commerce at the center of American progress. This evolved from earlier world's fair exhibitions throughout the nineteenth century (where commerce and object display met for a short moment in a singular event) into a permanent exposition. The Commercial Museum used exposition-inspired neoclassical design and exhibit pieces to recreate a version of the world's fair that remained United States-centric. Because the museum was a permanent institution instead of a short-term fair, it also evolved into a more complex institution. Over time, the Commercial Museum began to hire leading scientists and acted as an educational institution. It treated commerce as a science that could be controlled and its patterns revealed, just as it had been classified in the museum. As a result, the Commercial Museum became an institution that acted as a formidable force in installing the United States as a new imperial actor on a world stage filled with established European colonial powers. Similarly, the Los Angeles' Chamber of Commerce helped the city establish itself among the nation's older and larger cities.

By placing commercial items in a museum context and using them for imperial expansion, the Commercial Museum gave the objects a new role beyond monetary value. These objects became central to the Commercial Museum's narrative of civilization and growth. As such, objects used in the Commercial Museum were not merely products, but sources of knowledge when placed in the broader context of nineteenth century

museums. This is significant in understanding the role the commercial object played in promoting progress in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.²⁵

As the Exposition Building introduced a commercial-based vision that promoted the ideals of the Chamber of Commerce through the 1910s and 20s, the Sixth District Agricultural Association sought to host its first major exposition at Exposition Park. The Sixth District may have rejected the continuance of the pedestrian agricultural fair, but nineteenth century exhibitions, still wildly popular in the 1910s, combined boosterism with the ideals that had been set forth in the Park: racialized progress and civility. In addition, hosting a successful exposition held a special allure for Los Angeles (specifically, the Chamber of Commerce) in large part due to the fact that both San Francisco and San Diego had hosted their own successful fairs in 1915: The San Francisco Panama-Pacific International Exposition of 1915 and San Diego's Panama-California Exposition of 1915, both of which celebrated the completion of the Panama Canal in 1914, a scientific marvel and major achievement for international commerce.

The idea of a Panama Canal commemorative exposition originated with San Francisco businessmen in 1904 after Roosevelt created a commission to oversee the construction of the Panama Canal and the opening of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition. They used the 1906 earthquake as a promotional rallying cry to rebuild San Francisco through the exposition. By the end of that year, the businessmen successfully lobbied for state funding and held smaller festivals to help advertise the exposition. Then, in 1909, San Diegans announced intentions to hold their own fair commemorating the Panama

²⁵ Conn, 115-150.

Canal. This booster effort organized by San Diego's Chamber of Commerce hoped to engender economic growth from the Canal's commercial traffic, as well as create political and cultural consensus to assist in San Diego's development. Seeing an opportunity to take advantage of this divide, business leaders in the Deep South threw New Orleans' hat into the ring.

At that point, Los Angeles (more specifically, the Chamber of Commerce) jumped into the fray to ensure that California hosted the exposition. The Chamber of Commerce suggested that it would serve the state best to hold a meeting in Santa Barbara to discuss how to resolve the competition between the two cities. Leaders throughout the state chose San Francisco as the site in 1910, as it held more financial capital and population. San Diego accepted this on the condition that they would hold their own federally-supported regional fair supported by San Francisco. San Francisco next won against the South by emphasizing the unpaid debt left over from New Orleans's last exposition in 1885. Fights over funding and prestige between San Francisco and San Diego followed, but ultimately both 1915 fairs were successful.²⁶ The San Francisco Panama-Pacific International Exposition of 1915 attracted almost nineteen million visitors. San Diego's Panama-California Exposition of 1915-16 drew three and a half million, an acceptable number given its regional focus. Both fairs presented nineteenth century ideologies of progress rooted in racial order.²⁷ California-style imperialism

²⁶ Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 208-233.

²⁷ Ibid.

emphasized the Pacific Rim and commercial connections with Asian and Pacific Island nations.

It's unclear as to why the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce didn't jump into the fray to claim the exposition as their own, although the recent construction of Exposition Park and the lack of benefit of adding another potential California city to the mix (particularly against San Francisco's piteous image) may have seemed like not a risk worth taking. Ultimately, the Sixth District requested that San Francisco send fine art exhibited at the fair to Exposition Park at its conclusion, making the argument that that Los Angeles County had "loyally backed the Exposition from the start."²⁸ This did not mean that Los Angeles was unaware of the fact that they had not hosted a significant exposition. No doubt the Chamber of Commerce found this especially grating as they fought for commercial contracts against San Francisco and San Diego. This feeling of inadequacy, combined with the growing war in Europe, led Los Angeles to host the California Liberty Fair in 1918.

Officially, the Liberty Fair was to serve primarily as a Los Angeles war-aid effort for World War I, combining exposition attractions with instruction on how the home front could assist American war efforts. Essentially, the federal government intended for Liberty Fair exhibits, along with exhibits hosted at other similar fairs throughout the nation, to introduce wartime propaganda to the local populace. Their interest in the Liberty Fair, specifically, focused on "stimulating agriculture and livestock production in

²⁸ Frank S. Daggett, letter to Robert B. Harshe, Los Angeles, California, May 8, 1915.

Southern California” for the war effort.²⁹ This aligned with the continued ascendancy of Los Angeles agribusiness in the 1910s. The joint exhibit run by the Fair and the federal government’s Office of Exhibits in the Department of Agriculture became one of many federal government-supported fair exhibits held around the nation in 1918. According to the Department, these exhibits appeared to be fairly similar, promoting both agricultural production and “the strongest feelings of loyalty.” During the war, American farming output increased exponentially to assist in the Allied war effort, and the federal government helped finance that growth. Department records state that these exhibits oftentimes drew large crowds. The exhibition held at the California Liberty Fair illustrated cooperation from the departments of War, Navy, the Interior, the Food Administration, and the Committee on Public Information (CPI).³⁰

Because of this patriotic focus, the Liberty Fair Association purposely avoided the standard midway entertainment, opting for a “higher standard of fair activity,” in line

²⁹ Henry Z. Osbourne, in “Government is Backing Fair,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 9, 1918, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

³⁰ United States Department of Agriculture, *Department of Agriculture in the War*, by Dixon Merritt (Washington DC, 1919), 176-179, <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/loc.ark:/13960/t4jm2wn3j>; Deborah Fitzgerald, *Every Farm a Factory: The Industrial Ideal in American Agriculture* (Yale University Press, 2003), 11-12; and United States Committee of Public Information, *Complete Report of the Chairman of the Committee of Public Information*, by George Creel (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1920), 71-74, <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/loc.ark:/13960/t7cr6hg6c>. The CPI, the federal government’s primary propaganda arm during World War I, created the Division of Exhibit at State Fairs on March 11, 1918 to encompass all fair exhibits across the nation. The CPI designed and provided partial financial support for the display and transport of the standard exhibit across the country. The CPI divided the exhibit’s travel itinerary into six circuits, with the Liberty Fair occupying part of the fifth circuit, along with state fairs in Nebraska, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Arizona (not held due to influenza), and South Dakota. The entirety of the exhibit was meant to be delivered to each fair in each circuit, and for the most part, that ended up being the case. Led by Captain Joseph H. Hittinger, the CPI considered the entire affair to be a success.

with the efforts of Bowen's "civilized" Park aspirations.³¹ In July 1918, Sixth District board president and Chamber of Commerce member Richard W. Pridham stated,

"This is not to be a money-making fair. This is to be an educational exhibit, in which the public is to be taken into the confidence of the directors, and the management proposes to work together to make a fair that will show to the world the part California is taking in helping to feed the Allies who are pressing the Hun back into his own territory."³²

In the months leading up to the fair, the Chamber of Commerce and interested California industries lauded the event's patriotic elements, particularly food conservation. They also, however, viewed it as an opportunity to showcase the resources of Los Angeles. The *California Poultry Journal* wrote on exhibits featuring technological feats in road building, mining, and, of course, racing horses. The *California Citrograph* quoted F.J. Zeehandelaar, secretary of the Chamber of Commerce's Merchants and Manufacturers Association, who emphasized the fair as the first appropriations by the State for such an event. Zeehandelaar went on to say, "Los Angeles never made a failure of anything and it is now up to us to make good." In *Holly Leaves*, the Chamber of Commerce further emphasized that, although the fair was war effort-based, the sheer number of state resources ensured that it would be of "World Fair proportions."³³ Later, the Fair's official booklet referred to "war-aid" fairs and state fairs as two sides of the same propaganda

³¹ California Liberty Fair Association, *Pronouncement: The California Liberty Fair Association Announces The First Annual Fair* (1918).

³² "Government Has Big Part in Liberty Fair," *Los Angeles Times*, July 21, 1918, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

³³ "The California Liberty Fair at Exposition Park," *California Poultry Journal* 3, no. 1 (1917), 212, Google eBooks; "California Liberty Fair Endorsed by Government," *The California Citrograph* 3 (October 1918), 302, Google eBooks; and "California Liberty Fair," *Holly Leaves* 7, no. 7 (October 5, 1918), 24, Google eBooks.

coin; either style of fair provided an opportunity to promote industry and production to a large number of citizens.³⁴ Regardless of the federal government's aims with the Liberty Fair, the Chamber of Commerce would showcase Los Angeles' industries.

Despite the earlier resolves for a fair that eschewed the commercial, the Liberty Fair abandoned its "higher standard" to ensure sizeable crowds. The Fair contained a midway and carnival run by Great Wortham Carnival Shows, featuring wild animals, wax figures, and rides. "Exotic" Hawaiian singers and musicians that reflected the Pacific Rim-centric imperial approach of the 1915 fairs. Like previous events at the Park going back to its Agricultural Park days, horse racing and livestock featured prominently, along with fine art and flower collections.³⁵ Finally, the burgeoning appeal of football became evident at the Fair when the University of Southern California played Whittier State School on the Park grounds.³⁶

Unfortunately for the Liberty Fair, however, timing was everything. In mid-September 1918, cases of influenza surfaced in the Los Angeles Harbor and spread throughout the city within the month. While Los Angeles, for the most part, successfully contained influenza, the fact that the Fair's run date coincided with the epidemic's peak period undoubtedly affected the event's popularity. The Fair's board of directors had to postpone its opening multiple times. This meant that exhibitors were stuck in the Los

³⁴ California Liberty Fair Association, *Pronouncement*, 19.

³⁵ California Liberty Fair Association, *Pronouncement* and "Advertisement: California Liberty Fair," *Los Angeles Evening Herald*, no. 15, November 19, 1918, California Digital Newspaper Collection.

³⁶ Chris Garmire, "Football, Flu, and a Fair: The Story of the Whittier State School Football Team of 1917-18," *California Originals: A Quarterly Newsletter of the California State Archives* III, no. 3 (Spring 2015), 3, <http://archives.cdn.sos.ca.gov/pdf/vol-3-no-3.pdf>.

Angeles-area far longer than intended, leading to increased costs for those who had sponsored the event. In addition, they had to accommodate health authorities who inspected Fair buildings and the Park prior to its opening.³⁷ After a succession of starts and stops, the city allowed public gatherings again, and the Fair finally opened on Wednesday, December 4, almost two months later than planned and after the end of the war.³⁸ The Fair ran for a total of thirteen days and ended on December 16 with a closing day crowd of 20,000 who primarily used the gathering as a victory party.³⁹ While Pridham defended the success of the fair for its educational and representative value for the state of California, he also acknowledged the toll of the “discouraging features” that plagued the Fair from October to December.⁴⁰

Despite its failure, the California Liberty Fair revealed the looming problems in

³⁷ “Los Angeles, California,” *The American Influenza Epidemic of 1918-1919*, The University of Michigan Center for the History of Medicine and Michigan Publishing, University of Michigan Library, accessed September 8, 2018, <http://www.influenzaarchive.org/cities/city-losangeles.html>; “Liberty Fair is Certainty,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 17, 1918, ProQuest Historical Newspapers, and “Health Authorities Inspect Buildings of Liberty Fair,” *Los Angeles Evening Herald*, November 7, 1918, California Digital Newspaper Collection.

³⁸ “‘Funless’ Season Ends Today,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 2, 1918, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

³⁹ “Crowd of 20,000 Attends Liberty Fair Closing Day,” *Los Angeles Evening Herald*, no. 38, December 16, 1918, California Digital Newspaper Collection.

⁴⁰ R.W. Pridham, “Our First Fair to Be Historic,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 15, 1918, ProQuest Historical Newspapers; “Underwriting Plan for Fair Discussed,” *Los Angeles Evening Herald*, no. 303, October 21, 1918, California Digital Newspaper Collection; “Liberty Fair Sure; C. of C. Responsible,” *Los Angeles Evening Herald*, no. 308, October 26, 1918, California Digital Newspaper Collection; “Municipal League Urges Passage of Lyons, Fleming Acts,” *Los Angeles Evening Herald*, no. 79, February 1, 1919, California Digital Newspaper Collection; and “Appropriation of Millions is Asked in a General Bill,” *Sacramento Union*, no. 37, April 6, 1919, California Digital Newspaper Collection. The Liberty Fair sustained some success, but the costs incurred in keeping exhibitors in the city for the long, uncertain period of time during the influenza outbreak was damaging. Infighting over the Fair’s liability between the board of directors, city, county, Chamber of Commerce, and professional associations began shortly after the postponed opening and lasted for months. The Chamber of Commerce accepted some level of financial responsibility, but even with this agreement, extra costs still required passage of a bill to provide state appropriations to cover the Fair’s deficit. The bill’s eventual appropriations amount numbered \$75,000.

the new Exposition Park and State Exposition Building's foundation. Spectacular, innovative display of agricultural products using techniques created by the Chamber of Commerce and scientific, hierarchical methods cemented ideals of progress in the museum as first envisioned by the creators of Exposition Park. Yet, the Sixth District struggled to find a balance between entertainment, education, and commercialization. In the 1920s, this struggle became further compounded by the explosion of new industries and technologies in a rapidly growing Los Angeles.

1920s: Making Modern Los Angeles

Since the 1880s, "General" Otis and the Chamber of Commerce had focused their efforts on tourism, real estate, and transportation.⁴¹ As the city grew, these leaders led the charge to build new attractions in the city, grow capital, and diversify the local economy. In 1915, the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce created a Committee on Manufactures to address industrial developments; however, the end of World War I marked the beginning of Los Angeles' skyrocketing growth.⁴² According to Jules Tygiel, "Los Angeles assumed much of its modern form in the 1920s."⁴³ Petroleum, Hollywood, aerospace, and manufacturing spurred a decade-long boom. When the 1920s ended with a crash, the Chamber of Commerce continued to play a key role that sustained the city through the Great Depression.

⁴¹ Norman M. Klein, "The Sunshine Strategy: Buying and Selling the Fantasy of Los Angeles," in *20th Century Los Angeles: Power, Promotion, and Social Conflict*, eds. Norman M. Klein and Martin J. Schiesl (Claremont, CA: Regina Books, 1990), 2.

⁴² Fogelson, 125.

⁴³ James Tygiel, "Metropolis in the Making: Los Angeles in the 1920s," in *Metropolis in the Making: Los Angeles in the 1920s*, eds. Tom Sitton and William Deverell (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001), 11.

In the 1920s, the Chamber of Commerce still relied heavily on the leadership of the *Los Angeles Times*, although the ownership of the newspaper had changed. In 1917, “General” Otis died. Later that year, his son-in-law, Harry Chandler, took control of the *Times* and led boosterism in the city. Chandler, who rose from the circulation management section of the *Times*, impressed Otis enough to gain both his daughter’s hand and control of the company. Chandler viewed the *Times* as a vehicle for larger regional aspirations that centered on increasing the value of real estate. The Chandler-led Chamber of Commerce supported improvements that benefited the downtown area because of Anglo elite real estate holdings there. From this vantage point, Chandler used the *Times* to build a newspaper empire that heavily promoted city growth initiatives.⁴⁴ Through his work with the Chamber of Commerce, he successfully maintained Anglo-Saxon power in the region, although growing industries outside of Anglo control, such as Hollywood and national corporate manufacturing began to push back against this status quo.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, Chandler’s Chamber of Commerce supported new industries in specific ways to ensure that this group maintained power.

In 1913, the Chamber of Commerce had celebrated the creation of the Los Angeles aqueduct. They viewed the aqueduct not only as a stepping stone toward the city’s residential growth but for its vital role in building Los Angeles into an industrial powerhouse and worked to ensure that would happen. While a sizeable number of Chamber of Commerce members worked in “home industries,” including food and iron

⁴⁴ Kevin Starr, *Material Dreams: Southern California Through the 1920s* (London: Oxford University Press, 1991), 101-103.

⁴⁵ Mike Davis, *City of Quartz*, 114-120.

manufacturers, and wanted to promote city growth through encouraging consumption of local goods, bankers and land developers drove the campaign for outside capital through branch plant manufacturing. In their eyes, local capital was insufficient in making Los Angeles a world city.⁴⁶ Boosters traveled to Chicago to best learn how to develop the city as an industrial center as early as 1921. Local banks, run by boosters, provided much of the capital for industrial growth, although East coast investors also provided financing. The Chamber of Commerce also facilitated the growth of the city's harbor throughout the 1920s to transport endless barrels of petroleum from booming oil fields, ensuring that Anglo elites reaped the benefits of the boom. Even Hollywood, seen as a Jewish industry well outside the bounds of traditional Anglo powers, received investment, primarily in the form of real estate, from Anglos in this period.⁴⁷

Throughout the 1920s and 30s, locals and recent transplants also established the burgeoning aircraft industry.⁴⁸ The Chamber of Commerce formed a Department of Meteorology and Aeronautics in 1918 to promote the climate of Los Angeles as a perfect American aeronautics headquarters.⁴⁹ World War I provided the inspiration for this development. Chandler saw economic opportunity in local small firms. He used the *Times* and the Chamber of Commerce to build up the concept of an aviation industry and

⁴⁶ Mike Davis, "Sunshine and the Open Shop: Ford and Darwin in 1920s Los Angeles," in *Metropolis in the Making: Los Angeles in the 1920s*, eds. Tom Sitton and William Deverell (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001), 103.

⁴⁷ Starr, *Material Dreams*, 90-100.

⁴⁸ Allen J. Scott and Edward W. Soja, "Introduction to Los Angeles: City and Region," in *The City: Los Angeles and Urban Theory at the End of the Twentieth Century*, eds. Allen J. Scott and Edward W. Soja (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996), 6-8.

⁴⁹ Tom Zimmerman, "Paradise Promoted: Boosterism and the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce," *California History* 64, no. 1 (Winter 1985): 22-33, www.jstor.org/stable/2515827.

attract more manufacturers to the region. They also subsidized land purchases for airfields and factory locations. As the industry matured, new aviation companies split from earlier ones and established their own bases in Los Angeles. To ensure the growth of a skilled labor pool, Chandler and the Chamber of Commerce helped create the California Institute of Technology (Caltech) from the Throop Institute in 1921 and recruited East Coast scientists to build it into a formidable educational facility.⁵⁰

After World War I, Chandler's Chamber of Commerce drew national manufacturers to Los Angeles through the promise of the anti-labor open shop, ensuring companies low wages for higher profit margins. The city's growing population, proximity to raw materials, and market connections made it a prime spot for "branch plant establishment," or the creation of factories located in regions far removed from company headquarters, but it was the Chamber of Commerce that ensured the city's acquisition of these industries. Los Angeles' early branch plants included automobiles, rubber tires, and women's clothing.⁵¹ Once again, boosters developed the region more than climate, labor, or supplies could do alone.

Yet, the Chamber of Commerce's 1920s boosterism also created growing problems for their stranglehold over power in the city. Suburban growth, helped by the automobile, encouraged residents to find other places than downtown for entertainment or business. In addition, support of non-Anglo or non-local industries resulted in growing

⁵⁰ Michael Oden, "When the Movie's Over: The Post-Cold War Restructuring of Los Angeles," in *Local Consequences of the Global Cold War*, ed. Jeffrey A. Engel (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), 117-139.

⁵¹ Mike Davis, *City of Quartz*, 116-118 and Fogelson, 129.

influence by groups such as the Westside Jewish elite and East coast investors.⁵²

Regardless, the Chamber of Commerce's actions successfully drew new residents. By 1930, the city contained a population of 1.2 million.⁵³ Industrial and manufacturing growth created a racially diverse city, but non-whites were heavily marginalized and segregated under the open shop system and race-based housing covenants. In the 1920s, Los Angeles contained the second highest percentage of non-whites of any major city in the United States, including a large number of immigrants, both Mexican and Japanese immigrants as well as African American migrants. Many new industries, such as tires, meat packing, and steel, hired Mexican American workers in significant numbers, but agriculture continued to hire Mexican Americans in large numbers as well. According to historian Douglas Monroy, Mexican Americans functioned as the both “backbone of the agriculture *and* service economy” (emphasis mine) during the 1920s. Many commuted to work via streetcar because they were unable to purchase homes close to places of work due to housing restrictions or because jobs lay far beyond city boundaries. Meanwhile, African Americans came from the South seeking better opportunities. Many settled in Watts, a formerly White subdivision southeast of Los Angeles with undesirable terrain, using savings and the wages provided by manufacturing work. In comparison to Mexican Americans, Blacks formed a small percentage of the Los Angeles population in the 1920s, allowing them a level of freedom unseen in most American cities. However, they were still restricted in terms of where they could live and the type of jobs available to

⁵² Mike Davis, *City of Quartz*, 106-128.

⁵³ Fogelson, 74-79.

them in comparison to White residents of every class.⁵⁴ For the Chamber of Commerce and other Anglo leaders, these residents did not fit the dream they had held since the 1850s. Los Angeles was destined to be an Anglo-Saxon utopia, not a multicultural immigrant city. City leaders ensured that significant parts of Los Angeles remained available to Whites only. Corporate Los Angeles remained virtually closed to all non-Anglo-Saxon men throughout the 1920s, preventing many non-whites from attaining higher income levels. Anglo leaders ensured that a racial hierarchy remained even as industry expanded. This created an economic hierarchy as well.⁵⁵

Thus, the Chamber of Commerce remained a vital political and cultural force in the 1920s. The organization's hand in new city industries also ensured an interest in the presentation of these industries. Ties continued to bind the Chamber of Commerce and Exposition Park. The Chamber of Commerce listed Bowen as a member of the standing committee for boulevards, parks, and roads in 1921. In addition, Richard W. Pridham, a Sixth District board member, served as a director of the Chamber of Commerce that same year and became president in 1925.⁵⁶ However, the Chamber of Commerce's approach to presenting the new, growing Los Angeles shifted with larger trends in industry promotion.

⁵⁴ Starr, *Material Dreams*, 147-150; Douglas Monroy, *Rebirth: Mexican Los Angeles From the Great Migration to the Great Depression* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999), 124; and Susan Anderson, "A City Called Heaven: Black Enchantment and Despair in Los Angeles," in *The City: Los Angeles and Urban Theory at the End of the Twentieth Century*, eds. Allen J. Scott and Edward W. Soja (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996).

⁵⁵ Mike Davis, *City of Quartz*, 5-15.

⁵⁶ Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce. *Members' Annual: Thirty-Third Year* (1921); Guinn, "The Museum of History, Science, and Art;" and "Front Matter," *The Quarterly: Historical Society of Southern California* 27, no. 2/3 (June-September 1945), www.jstor.org/stable/41169697.

Steven Conn's analysis of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum addresses this shift and the larger decline of nineteenth century museum methods. Over time, the object-based epistemology used to such success in the Commercial Museum resulted in its downfall. By the 1920s, "objects in museum displays were no longer relevant to the business of business." Instead, data collected by experts became central.⁵⁷ Publications, with all of their scholarly graphs, charts, and tables, eventually superseded the museum its objects by providing effective data-backed knowledge to industries seeking advice for business growth. The nineteenth century commercial museum experienced a fate similar to all other museums in this period. They began the period as centers of knowledge and expertise but lost this role to other institutions by the end of the 1920s.⁵⁸

The Commercial Museum's demise can be credited in part to its national-level focus, but similar evolutions also took place in Los Angeles. In 1924, Frank Wiggins died, yet his propaganda machine continued to evolve. The new technology of photography, along with guide books and brochures, allowed the Chamber of Commerce to rely less on towers of produce and more on imagery of the city as a place where industry melded seamlessly into the natural environment. The Chamber of Commerce continued to build a massive "propaganda arsenal" that ran from city guides to photograph files to scientific studies of climate. The Chamber of Commerce presented

⁵⁷ Conn, 27.

⁵⁸ Conn, 115-150. The Commercial Museum also collapsed due in part to World War I and the federal government's subsequent takeover of foreign trade initiatives through the Department of Commerce, which was modeled suspiciously similarly to the Commercial Museum.

pictures of branch plants, bungalows, oil fields, and beaches.⁵⁹ By the 1930s, the Chamber of Commerce spent less manpower on exhibits and stopped hosting a permanent exhibit by 1956. Yet, they continue to publish, to this day, a variety of booklets on the city and its industrial offerings.⁶⁰

How then did the Exposition Building, an institution modeled on nineteenth century museums, not only survive, but evolve into one of the most popular museums in the country by the 1950s? In the 1920s, the Exposition Building shifted away from (but did not completely abandon) scientific, ordered, and preserved display. Bowen and the Sixth District utilized dioramas, murals, special effects, and relief maps to present the industries and resources of the region in exciting new ways.

The modern diorama, defined as “scenic arrangements in which life-like stuffed animals and plants were displayed in accurate environments, often with a curved back wall to represent illusionistic space,” became a popular display technique in natural history museums in the first three decades of the twentieth century. The diorama embodied spectacle, combining new multimedia and lighting with enticing presentation of a scene commodified for visitor consumption. Prior lists dioramas as one of the primary influences on department store design, while Michelle Henning describes the technique as cinematic, voyeuristic, and so organic-feeling that the visitor can “forget”

⁵⁹ Starr, *Material Dreams* and Zimmerman, 22-33. Zimmerman notes that exhibits declined in prominence during the Great Depression years and never recovered. All permanent exhibits definitively ended in 1956 when the Chamber of Commerce moved to a new, smaller location.

⁶⁰ “Chamber Publications,” Los Angeles Area Chamber of Commerce, accessed September 8, 2018, <https://lachamber.com/news-and-publications/chamber-publications/>.

that they're merely representation. In the midst of modern entertainments such as cinema, museums created dioramas to "produce rapt attention" through the creation of an illusion that left visitors in awe. Through the diorama, visitors became visual consumers of "natural" environments constructed by the museum.⁶¹ These dioramas used sensational display styles in comparison to the static, ordered presentation that had previously been used to study the form and evolution of animal specimens. The diorama was an all-encompassing experience that transported the visitor into a particular time and place. Creating an effective diorama was labor-intensive and required artistry and attention to detail to achieve realistic effect. Dioramas had value because they both sold the museum through "admission receipts," but more importantly, especially in light of the State Exposition Building's free admission, sold the narrative that elites wanted to sell about the images depicted within. Like other types of spectacle, dioramas were successful at this because of their realistic imagery and the emotional responses they could draw from visitors.⁶²

Dioramas were traditionally associated with natural history museums. Thus, Bowen's power over all Exposition Park institutions in the 1920 and 30s must be noted. Bowen intended to retire after the Park's completion in 1913 but did not do so. Instead,

⁶¹ Prior, in *A Companion to Museums Studies*, 514; Michelle Henning, "New Media," in *A Companion to Museum Studies*, ed. Sharon Macdonald (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006): 304; and Michelle Henning, *Museums, Media, and Cultural Theory* (New York, NY: Open University Press, 2006), 37-69.

⁶² Carla Yanni, *Nature's Museums: Victorian Science and the Architecture of Display* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 149-151; Menachem Wecker, "The History and Future of the Once-Revolutionary Taxidermy Diorama," *Smithsonian.com*, October 11, 2016, <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/science-nature/ode-once-revolutionary-taxidermy-display-180960707/>; Asma, 40-43.

he remained, serving on the board for the Sixth District, helping bring about the Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum, and notably serving as director of the Museum of History, Science, and Art.⁶³ Like the Exposition Building, the 1920s marked large-scale expansions of diorama creation and use at the Museum. Some of these dioramas are still on display today.⁶⁴ In addition to Bowen, exhibition designers Hanson Duvall Puthuff and Perry McNeely completed dioramas for both the Exposition Building and the Museum of History, Science, and Art.⁶⁵ Exposition Building manager W.N. Harris also played a vital role in the rise of the diorama at Exposition Park. Harris had had expertise in designing exhibits for the state of California in various expositions around the country prior to his time at Exposition Park.⁶⁶ Under Harris, the Exposition Building's exhibits used diorama-centric depictions of the state's resources. It remained so after his death in 1926.⁶⁷

Thus, the 1920s marked the introduction of new “visually exciting” dioramas at the Exposition Building. In 1928 Los Angeles, dioramas were new and exciting. Lee Shippey's *Times* column, “The Lee Side o'L.A.,” noted the dioramas on display and

⁶³ Marquis, 57-61.

⁶⁴ “Diorama Artists,” Natural History Museum, Los Angeles County, accessed September 9, 2018, <https://nhm.org/site/explore-exhibits/diorama-artists>.

⁶⁵ Lee Shippey, “Lee Side o'L.A.,” *Los Angeles Times*, April 13, 1928, ProQuest Historical Newspapers; “Redwood Empire at Los A. Exposition,” *The Sotoyome Scimitar* 35, no. 9, June 1, 1933, California Digital Newspaper Collection; Edan Hughes, “Perry McNeely,” CalArt: California & American Art, accessed September 9, 2018, http://www.calart.com/Data/Artists/Perry_McNeely.asp; and “Diorama Artists,” Natural History Museum, Los Angeles County.

⁶⁶ “Death Takes W.N. Harris,” *Los Angeles Times*, June 29, 1926, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁶⁷ “California Resources Mirrored at Exposition Park,” *Los Angeles Times*, March 21, 1926, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

called them “rare combinations of practicality and art.” He confessed that he, along with most other visitors, had never seen or heard of a diorama before, confirming its innovativeness.⁶⁸The horticulture exhibit featured “methods of production, packing, and preparation” through film, preserved produce, and dioramas of this process. The story of the orange was one of the most notable dioramas in this period for *Times* writer Helen L. Coffin. Behind plate glass, this “marvel of modern ingenuity” showed a lush grove surrounded by “majestic” snow-capped mountains. The diorama then transitioned into a depiction of girls in “tiny packing-houses, trig [true] and alert” as they checked the fruit in an assembly line, and finally ended with each box making it to market. At the end of the exhibit, the Exposition Building provided brochures and informational guides on starting one’s agricultural endeavors. Coffin marveled at how realistic these depictions felt, as if one could see the girls’ “fingers fly as they do in real life” when inspecting oranges on the table. Coffin made no mention of the struggles of labor or any presentation of race in the girls on the assembly line. Her review reads as an idyllic treatise on Los Angeles rural life. Coffin notes that the beautiful, detailed composition of the dioramas were designed to market California agricultural pursuits to potential new business owners, implying the audience as White and upper-class.⁶⁹ Now, the visitor could envision the commodified process of the orange and seek to make it his or her own.

⁶⁸ Shippey, “Lee Side o’ L.A.,” and Paul Jordan-Smith, “Lee Shippey’s New Book 20 Years in the Making,” *Los Angeles Times*, January 25, 1948, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. A popular feature of the *Times* from the late teens to the forties, Shippey’s articles focused on “human interest stuff anywhere in the State ... what the ordinary and extraordinary people of California are about.”

⁶⁹ “State Wonders Filmed: Beauties and Industries of California Displayed in Permanent Exhibit at Exposition Park,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 3, 1922, ProQuest Historical Newspapers and Helen

The Sixth District also hired muralist James Edwin McBurney to paint artwork on the building.⁷⁰ McBurney, a student of well-known American illustrator Howard Pyle, received silver medals for his mural work at the Panama Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco. He taught high school art in Los Angeles and created murals for a variety of educational institutions.⁷¹ Murals acted as key features of dioramas in the Exposition Building. They were also present throughout the structure's interior. Before photography and international travel were commonplace, murals played an important role in making places come alive for museum visitors.⁷² A series of murals recreating the effect of a forgotten forest fire was particularly eye-catching for Shippey. The Exposition Building used stage effects to bring the fire-ravaged trees to life with a "flame" of red silk and compressed air and "smoke" created from a special effect straight out of a Hollywood film.⁷³ Again, the museum used spectacle to teach and entertain visitors and consumers of California's resources. The forestry section showcased the general movement of the Exposition Building toward exhibits that were experience- instead of object-driven, and thus more inclined to rely on spectacle.

The 1920s was also the age of large-scale relief maps. Relief maps are three

Coffin, "The Quickest of all Ways to Visualize the Golden State's Agriculture," *Los Angeles Times*, March 21, 1926, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁷⁰ "Notes and Briefs," *Los Angeles Times*, November 20, 1927, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁷¹ "McBurney, James Edwin," Schoonover Studios Ltd., accessed September 9, 2018, <http://www.schoonoverstudios.com/howard-pyle-a-students/pyle-students-bios/102-mcburney-james-edwin.html>.

⁷² Claire O'Neill, "In the Background: Art You May Never Notice," *NPR*, December 14, 2013, <https://www.npr.org/2013/12/14/250797697/in-the-background-art-you-may-never-notice>.

⁷³ Shippey, "Lee Side o'L.A."

dimensional depictions of a landscape and have been used historically for scientific analysis that allows the viewer to see larger patterns and connections in a given area. The Exposition Building featured multiple relief maps throughout its exhibits to show the state's terrain and resources. Like the diorama or mural, relief maps allowed viewers to visualize aspects of California in a new way. This illustrated and communicated geological data in a fashion that was engaging and understandable.⁷⁴

As the Exposition Building introduced new exhibition techniques, the Sixth District hosted another ambitious fair at Exposition Park in 1923: the American Historical Revue and Motion Picture Exposition Commemorating the Monroe Doctrine Centennial. Colloquially known as the Monroe Doctrine Centennial Exposition, its most memorable contribution is a coin. Collectors have written numerous articles on the coin's significance to numismatists. The fair was unsuccessful, making the coin extremely difficult to find and, thus, a highly valuable collectible. Like many expositions, fair managers sought an historic event to serve as a theme and used the 100th anniversary of the Monroe Doctrine. (Apparently the anniversary of the Boston Tea Party was more appealing, but no one knew how to connect that to Los Angeles.) The United States Mint created the coin to encourage interest in the Centennial, as well as the fair.⁷⁵ Due to the fair's lack of success, few today know the impact the exposition had on Exposition Park's future.

⁷⁴ Melanie Schleeter McCalmont, *A Wilderness of Rocks: The Impact of Relief Models on Data Science* (Victoria, BC, Canada: FriesenPress, 2015).

⁷⁵ Leisa A. Martin, "The Monroe Doctrine: Critical Thinking through the Use of a Commemorative Coin," *The Social Studies* 98, no. 3 (May/June 2007): 93-98.

The Monroe Doctrine may have been the fair's primary theme, but Hollywood had greater plans for the event than celebrating a centennial. By the early 1920s, Hollywood's booming motion picture industry needed positive press. Recent scandals included the trial of actor Roscoe "Fatty" Arbuckle for rape and manslaughter, as well as the unsolved murder of well-known director and film star, William Desmond Taylor. These scandals plagued one of the city's largest industries and reflected negatively on the rest of Los Angeles. To counteract them, film studios created the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America (MPPDA) and hired Will Hays, Postmaster General in the Harding Administration, to head it. Hays operated as the "sheriff" of the industry and provided Protestant "morality" to the perceived Jewish "controlled" industry. Some of Hays' best-known early impacts on Hollywood included creating morality clauses for actors (in which film and studio contracts ensured model behavior from celebrities), publicity campaigns, and film guidelines. These reforms boosted the industry's influence in local politics and helped Hollywood achieve grudging acknowledgement by Chamber of Commerce elites like Harry Chandler, who saw the industry's massive money-making potential.⁷⁶ According to historian Hilary Hallett, film was the largest business on the West Coast and fourth-largest business in the nation by the end of World War I.⁷⁷

To assist in these moralizing efforts, Hays and the industry decided to organize an

⁷⁶ Vincent Brook, *Land of Smoke and Mirrors: A Cultural History of Los Angeles* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2013), 71-75.

⁷⁷ Hilary A. Hallett, *Go West, Young Women!: The Rise of Early Hollywood* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2013), 8.

exposition and film festival and use the proceeds to produce educational pictures. Los Angeles encouraged the fair, hoping that it could serve as the city's own version of San Francisco's Panama-Pacific or Chicago's World's Columbian Exposition. Many prominent Los Angelenos desired the rest of the nation to view their city as significant on the world stage and felt that this fair carried the potential to put it on the map.⁷⁸

To change Hollywood's (and Los Angeles') tarnished image, Hays envisioned an exposition that blended high- and middlebrow entertainment with a wholesome bent. Hays convinced President Harding—a close friend—to attend the event and give it further legitimacy. Hays had other professional responsibilities, so he appointed Walter J. Reynolds, secretary of the Motion Picture Producers Association of Los Angeles, to direct the exposition. This decision created a culture of mistrust and confusion amongst the studios; they preferred to deal with Hays directly and doubted Reynolds would make the exposition a success. With more than enough capital to invest and the Chamber of Commerce's eventual approval and backing in May of 1923, plans for the exposition moved forward. Many investors were unaware of these unstable beginnings and, confident in the ability for Hollywood to “sell” regardless of product, focused advertising on the “educational merits and . . . invocation of traditional American values” instead of the alluring appeal of the film industry to the common person.⁷⁹

Like the 1915 fairs, the Monroe Centennial presented a race-based vision of

⁷⁸ Luci Marzola, “Hollywood's Lost World's Fair: The Failure of the Motion Picture Exposition of 1923,” *The Spectator* 32, no. 1 (Spring 2012): 10-16.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

progress that centered on Southern California's scientific and technological advances.⁸⁰ For example, the science and technology highlighted at the fair were specific to advances in film. In contrast, the presentations focused on the histories of the Indigenous and Spanish were racialized fantasy pasts that romanticized these cultures while showing them as inferior and increasingly obsolete. The fair tied these regional pasts to the history of the Monroe Doctrine and America's imperialistic designs in the Americas. The fairgrounds were constructed in Spanish mission style, and the featured show each night was titled, "Montezuma, the Fall of the Aztec Nation." Another pageant, titled "Ballets of the World's Nations," told the story of "the discovery, the settlement, the liberation, and the development of the nations of the New World." California university presidents designed the stories within the pageant, the narratives of which heavily centered on European exploration, settlement, and colonization, as well as independence efforts to excise other colonizing nations, such as Spain, from influence in the Americas. Ultimately, these narratives emphasized Latin America's purpose as in service to the goals of the United States.⁸¹

Exposition Park's newly built Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum, a tribute to local World War I veterans, featured prominently in the exposition. The Sixth District faced a long-fought battle for its construction. Despite the transformation of the Park into a City Beautiful modern playground in the 1910s, horse racing prevailed on the northern end of the property, much to the chagrin of Bowen and the Sixth District. In 1919, Bowen joined

⁸⁰ Rydell, "The Literature of International Expositions," 1-57.

⁸¹ "Monroe Doctrine Centennial," *The Santa Fe Magazine* 17, no. 8 (July 1923), 22, Google eBooks and "Draws Americas Closer," *Los Angeles Times*, Jan 07, 1923, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

forces with William May Garland, a Los Angeles real estate investor and president of the California Fiestas Association (CFA). In 1919, the mayor of Los Angeles, Meredith P. Snyder, formed the CFA to revive “the old Spanish atmosphere of Los Angeles.” Essentially, the CFA was a booster organization designed to create events centered on the city’s Spanish fantasy past and consisted of many of the power players present in the Chamber, including Harry Chandler.⁸² CFA members brought up the possibility of hosting the 1924 Olympics and sent Garland to the International Olympic Committee (IOC) headquarters in Switzerland to nominate Los Angeles as a host city. Boosters hoped to use the Games to attract tourists and showcase the city’s financial might to the East Coast. The IOC advised Garland to build a stadium worthy of its consideration. After he returned, the CFA rebranded as the Community Development Association (CDA) and took on the responsibility of constructing the Coliseum. Thus, the CDA essentially became the organization that brought the Olympics to Los Angeles.⁸³

Bowen offered Exposition Park as a location for the Coliseum and became a member of the CDA to advance this plan. He brought on the president of USC, George F. Bovard, who promised that the school would play football games in the Coliseum. The

⁸² James H. Charleton, “Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum,” National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, June 21, 1984, United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, <https://npgallery.nps.gov/GetAsset/01d28312-f7fd-46da-9e9b-655126d0ecd2>.

⁸³ Adam Tomlinson, “Los Angeles 1984 and 1932: Commercializing the American Dream,” in *National Identity and Global Sports Events: Culture, Politics, and Spectacle in the Olympics and the Football World Cup*, eds. Adam Tomlinson and Christopher Young (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2006), 171-172; Matthew J. Burbank, Gregory D. Andranovich, and Charles H. Heying, *Olympic Dreams: The Impact of Mega-events on Local Politics* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2001), 55-56; Kevin Starr, *The Dream Endures: California Enters the 1940s* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1997), 174-176; and Steven A. Riess, “Power Without Authority: Los Angeles’ Elites and the Construction of the Coliseum,” *Journal of Sport History* 8, no. 1 (Spring 1981), 50-65, www.jstor.org/stable/43611450.

Sixth District approved the bond election for the Coliseum in August 1920.⁸⁴ This did not result in immediate construction of the stadium for a variety of reasons. First, while the CDA began to use creative tactics to undermine horse racing, they did not cause an exit of the activity from the Park. One of the more practically-minded proposals, which became one of the major points of contention between the racers and the Sixth District, was the use of the speedway grounds for parking.⁸⁵ Litigation over this issue continued at the state level until a legislative ruling sided with the Sixth District and the city of Los Angeles, stating that neither entity had an obligation to upkeep the track or stables, despite earlier lease agreements.⁸⁶ Nevertheless, racing enthusiasts stayed on despite the presence of cars surrounding the track.

Second, the 1920 city bond election to build the Coliseum failed to pass. The CDA was forced to find another source of funding. These efforts fell primarily to Harry Chandler, who convinced the publishers of the four other major Los Angeles newspapers—his professional rivals—to back the enterprise: Guy Barham of the *Los Angeles Herald*, Maximilian Ihmsen of the *Los Angeles Examiner*, Fred Kellog of the *Los Angeles Evening Express*, and H.B.R. Briggs of the *Los Angeles Record*.⁸⁷ With the

⁸⁴ “Call War Memorials Necessity for City,” *Los Angeles Times*, August 26, 1920, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁸⁵ *Price, Chick, Chick, Maben, and Durfee v. Sixth District Agricultural Association, County of Los Angeles, City of Los Angeles, Community Development Association, and Simpson, Harrison, Paul, Burnham, Miller, Mitchell, Murphy, and Story, as Directors of Sixth District Agricultural Association*, Findings of Fact, Conclusions of Law, Agreement and Resolution (Calif. Sup. Ct. 1923-1924), Deputy Attorney General John Maltman Papers, California State Archives, Sacramento, CA and Chas E. Lamb, letter to Sixth District Agricultural Association, November 5, 1923, Deputy Attorney General John Maltman Papers, California State Archives, Sacramento, CA.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* Also, see Issel, 140.

⁸⁷ Berges, “The Coliseum a Tribute.”

support of all major city newspapers, the CDA successfully garnered enough private funding and public support to build the Coliseum.

With the Coliseum's construction in 1923, Bowen successfully extinguished the speedway's existence. Because the Coliseum was built *inside* the track, spectators could no longer see a good portion of the race from the grandstand. This ultimately ended the reign of horse racing at the site, and opened the doors for one of the most lucrative future uses of the Park: football. Before football's rise, however, the Coliseum played a key role in the Monroe Centennial and promoting Spanish fantasy past. It hosted the "Montezuma" show each night on a ground floor designed to resemble an ancient Aztec temple. Three tiers hosted an orchestra, dancers, and floats. Outside the stadium, Spanish mission style buildings held lackluster exhibits from Hollywood's film studios. The area was deemed "The Location," named after a large-scale movie set. Some exhibits focused on the process of filmmaking, while others used movie stars and filmmaking techniques to showcase a "respectable" Hollywood. These exhibits emphasized education over spectacle. Unlike the Liberty Fair and many other fairs of the time, the Monroe Centennial had no carnival or midway when it opened.⁸⁸ Organizers consciously overlooked the fact that many successful expositions had relied on the role of the midway prior to this point. Instead, they tried to project a wholesome image. They felt that "The Location" was a natural sequel to the midway, so that despite a very different approach and the lack of an admission charge for attractions this fair would nonetheless be

⁸⁸ Ibid.

financially successful.⁸⁹

These planning decisions, though well intended, ultimately resulted in the massive economic failure of the exposition within its first week. Many visitors had no interest in the Monroe Doctrine, and were much more excited about the potential to meet film stars that weren't present in the numbers visitors had hoped. After a week of poor attendance and sales, organizers acted quickly. The nightly pageant in the Coliseum expanded to include vaudeville acts and circus performers.⁹⁰ The studios, which had thus far neither come together nor made serious efforts to involve themselves in the project, also added films and stars to the pageant to entice new visitors. A midway appeared by the second week. This boosted attendance, but it wasn't enough to save the exposition.⁹¹ Hoping to net over a million visitors, the fair only drew 300,000, many of whom were young locals given free admission. In addition, President Harding fell ill and died before attending. Even the commemorative coins were not popular (at the time). Many coins went unsold and were sent into general circulation during the Depression.⁹² By the Centennial's end, Reynolds had resigned, and the exposition announced bankruptcy.⁹³ Hollywood would not attempt another celebration of the film industry until the founding of the Academy

⁸⁹ "Film Exposition Rounding into Shape," *The American Cinematographer* (April 1923): 9-10, 22, Google eBooks.

⁹⁰ "Photoplay Art Revealed," *Los Angeles Times*, July 6, 1923, ProQuest Historical Newspapers and "New Attractions Add to Crowds at Exposition," *Los Angeles Times*, July 13, 1923, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Michael Garofalo, "Hooray for Hollywood!" *The Numismatist* (February 2015), 34-40 and William E. Pike, "A Silver Half for the Silver Screen," *The Numismatist* (March 2003), 47-48.

⁹³ Marzola and "Revue Admits Bankruptcy," *Los Angeles Times*, August 4, 1923, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

Awards in 1929.⁹⁴

Ultimately, visitors wanted the spectacle-filled allure upon which Hollywood had built its reputation. They didn't want to be educated on the technical and procedural aspects of making a film but wanted to catch that voyeuristic glimpse into the life of the actor, placed on display for the masses. The sensational lives of Hollywood's stars enticed many locals and non-locals alike in the 1920s, yet the Monroe Centennial sought to bury it under morality, education, and an imperialistic narrative that lacked the midway, an entertainment initiative that had helped make previous fairs successful. In essence, fair creators failed to understand the important role of spectacle in 1920s display, particularly for Hollywood, an industry built on a cultural commodity. While some elements of the fair may have been spectacular, it did not provide enough Hollywood stars, the valuable cultural commodity visitors expected.

After the failure of two ambitious expositions in a five-year span, the Sixth District made no future attempts made to host a fair at the Park. In November 1923, the city playground department commented, "Certain types of expositions and exhibits are a failure and should not be encouraged as a program for a park of this type."⁹⁵ This was not merely a problem for Los Angeles, however. After World War I, nineteenth century fairs declined precipitously. They had already been viewed as outdated; the California Liberty

⁹⁴ "Academy Story," Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, accessed September 9, 2018, <http://www.oscars.org/academy-story>.

⁹⁵ C.B. Raitt, Playground Department of the City of Los Angeles, letter to Sixth District Agricultural Association, November 5, 1923, Deputy Attorney General John Maltman Papers, California State Archives, Sacramento, CA.

Fair booklet even referred to itself as an “Olden Tyme Fair.”⁹⁶ World War I destroyed the idea presented by nineteenth century fairs that commerce could create world peace and civilization, and journeys overseas to fairs no longer held the excitement and wonder they once had. New technology also allowed Americans to experience excitement on the silver screen or from home via radio. They no longer needed to travel to a world’s fair to gain such exposure. In 1926, the Philadelphia Sesquicentennial International Exposition marked public interest’s shift toward spectator sports. Its most notable legacy was a boxing match rather than any technological or architectural achievements.⁹⁷ Nineteenth century fairs had come to an end. Expositions in United States, generally speaking, suffered a slump until the new era of “World of Tomorrow” fairs began by the 1933 Chicago World’s Fair.⁹⁸ By then, however, Los Angeles had already hosted one of the largest exposition-like events in the world: the Olympics.

1930s: The 1932 Olympics

By 1930, Los Angeles ranked first in manufacturing output among cities on the Pacific Coast thanks in no small part to the Chamber of Commerce.⁹⁹ When the Great Depression arrived, the region wasn’t as adversely affected as the rest of the country due to the choices made in the previous decade. Los Angeles had established itself as a central location for producing planes, oil, film, tires, and other manufactures. A large

⁹⁶ California Liberty Fair Association, *Pronouncement*, 17.

⁹⁷ Conn, 30, 144-145, 235-247.

⁹⁸ Robert W. Rydell, *World of Fairs: The Century of Progress Expositions* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1993).

⁹⁹ Fogelson, 132.

labor market already existed from the 1920s boom, and continued to grow in the 1930s, particularly due to Dust Bowl migration. From the 1920s to the 1940s, only Detroit rivaled Los Angeles in manufacturing job growth.¹⁰⁰ By the end of the 1930s, Los Angeles emerged as the fourth largest metropolitan area in the nation and led all other regions in aviation, film, and agricultural production.¹⁰¹

Each of these industries built on the foundations established in part by the Chamber of Commerce in previous decades. From Caltech came the Jet Propulsion Laboratory (JPL) in 1936, which would later become the primary spacecraft center for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) in 1958. In 1939, Caltech received the first rocketry research project sponsored by the federal government. The federal government funded most of this development by recruiting and subsidizing skilled labor to the area in order to further production, specifically on the Pacific coast. This support fostered infrastructure development that helped Los Angeles improve trade capacity, as well as setting off a massive influx of diverse migrants. This, in turn, attracted more industrial development.¹⁰²

From 1930 to 1946, Hollywood experienced its golden age and achieved phenomenal success as relatively inexpensive entertainment throughout the Depression and war years. Mike Davis refers to Los Angeles as a “city with two heads” during this period, with Hollywood Jews on one side and the old downtown Anglo-Saxon guard on the other. Yet, the Chamber of Commerce, which continued to consist of Harry Chandler

¹⁰⁰ Scott and Soja, “Introduction to Los Angeles: City and Region,” 6-8.

¹⁰¹ Zimmerman, 22-33.

¹⁰² Oden, 117-139.

and “his cronies,” according to historian Kevin Starr, supported and received support from Hollywood when necessary. The most prominent of these brief collaborations was when the *Los Angeles Times* and Hollywood teamed up to take down Socialist Upton Sinclair’s gubernatorial campaign in 1934. Chandler and the Chamber of Commerce still held deep ties to real estate development, and saw reform efforts, such as public housing, as a clear challenge to their control over the city and potential money-making opportunities in it. Both heads vigorously defended the open shop, industry-first environment that had helped Los Angeles become a major city.¹⁰³

Industrial farming in Southern California also reached its peak in the 1930s. The aqueducts built at the turn of the twentieth century ensured a water supply that expanded agricultural production in addition to fueling Los Angeles’ urban growth.¹⁰⁴ Agribusiness played a significant role in Los Angeles’ economy, which accounted for its central position in the State Exposition Building throughout this period. As the center of fruit production in North America, the industry relied heavily on university scientists, advances in chemicals, and revolutionary techniques of irrigation. By exploiting climate, environment, and local demand, California’s agricultural industry became a highly commercial, technological, and continental system.¹⁰⁵ In 1929, the Agricultural Department of the Chamber of Commerce boasted that Los Angeles was “the center of an

¹⁰³ Kevin Starr, *Endangered Dreams: The Great Depression in California* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1996), 193; Mike Davis, *City of Quartz*, 120; Brook, *Land of Smoke and Mirrors*, 81-82; and George J. Sanchez, “Disposable People, Expendable Neighborhoods,” in *A Companion to Los Angeles*, eds. William Deverell and Greg Hise (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), chap. 8, Credo Reference.

¹⁰⁴ Scott and Soja, “Introduction to Los Angeles: City and Region,” 6-8.

¹⁰⁵ Steven Stoll, *The Fruits of Natural Advantage: Making the Industrial Countryside in California* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998).

agricultural empire.” It defined agriculture as “all the economic products of the soil, as well as those industries necessarily dependent on these products,” where climate still played a central role. Agribusiness was an aspect of the economy in which the Chamber was “vitaly interested.” The Chamber grounded this identity as fundamentally industrial and science-minded: “all economic agricultural effort is intelligent, scientific and necessarily a business proposition.”¹⁰⁶

Because farming and irrigation still played a prominent role in the local economy in the 1920s and 1930s, the Los Angeles aqueduct continued to sow seeds of discontent between rural and urban powers in Southern California. The city water board began to buy out irrigation ditches that provided necessary water to individual ranchers and farmers in the Owens Valley, located in Northern California. This spurred acts of sabotage and resistance by Owens Valley residents, which led to the city eventually buying most of the Owens Valley farm property in the 1930s. While the city utilized the water for commercial reasons, such as citrus groves, this development also served in the growing suburbanization of the region, allowing water to be diverted to new communities as the city acquired more and more surrounding land.¹⁰⁷

Suburbanization had been well-established in Los Angeles since the turn of the century, primarily as a result of the streetcar. However, the Great Depression’s impact on public services, in addition to Los Angeles’ residents’ discontent with streetcar amenities

¹⁰⁶ Agricultural Department, Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, *Los Angeles: The Center of An Agricultural Empire* (1929).

¹⁰⁷ Carl Abbott, *How Cities Won the West: Four Centuries of Urban Change in Western North America* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2008), 153-154.

and quality, began the shift toward the automobile's prominence in Los Angeles. This led to the construction of the city's first parkway—the Arroyo Seco—in 1938.¹⁰⁸

Suburbanization and the rise of the automobile created a new type of city in Los Angeles, in which 94% of residents lived in single-family homes by 1930, and 80% of all local trips were made by car in 1937.¹⁰⁹

Housing, however, remained racially divided and only became more so in the 1930s. The Chamber of Commerce had long promoted the “cultivation of a White, native-born, middle-class metropolis,” and, with the automobile and industrial booms of the 1930s, they partially achieved it through increased formalized segregation. By 1930, almost one-fourth of men working in Los Angeles held white-collar jobs, but it remained virtually impossible for non-whites to enter that realm.¹¹⁰ As Whites moved to the suburbs, the University Park neighborhood began to represent one piece of the growing, and increasingly Black, South Central neighborhood. Racial tensions rose with Dust Bowl migration, both Black and White, and Black residents more than doubled in the city from 1930 to 1940. Housing covenants and harassment by Whites increased in turn, signaling the beginning of a decline in quality of life and housing conditions that would only intensify in following decades.¹¹¹

The State Exposition Building's exhibits attempted to represent Los Angeles'

¹⁰⁸ Dear, 94.

¹⁰⁹ David L. Clark, “Los Angeles: Improbable Los Angeles,” in *Sunbelt Cities: Politics and Growth Since World War II*, eds. Richard M. Bernard and Bradley R. Rice (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1983), 272.

¹¹⁰ Clark Davis, 3, 72-73.

¹¹¹ Anderson, 342-343.

fast-paced developments that it deemed valuable, such as economic growth. Throughout the 1930s, dioramas, murals, and relief maps continued to feature prominently in exhibits. According to a 1930s assessment by the Federal Writers Project of the Works Progress Administration, the entrance consisted of a two-story rotunda lit with stained glass windows inspired by Los Angeles' history. Inside the rotunda, relief maps prominently displayed the Los Angeles (formerly San Pedro) Harbor, San Francisco Bay, and the state. In addition, many exhibits continued to use a variety of miniatures and models to explain California's industries.¹¹² A panoramic view of the Los Angeles port celebrated its role in the city's major industrial growth since its creation in 1907, bolstered by the opening of the Panama Canal in 1914.¹¹³ The Sixth District also continued to display new dioramas, such as a Redwood Empire diorama in 1936, to promote the forest to vacationers.¹¹⁴ The exhibits steadfastly ignored any references to race.

All of these developments generally reflected changes in museum environments throughout the nation. As Steven Conn notes, the Philadelphia Commercial Museum "used a historical framework to give legitimacy to its activities and to the world of commerce," but new abstract scientific advancements like quantum mechanics made objects alone lose their "explanatory power." Systematic display also led to nineteenth century museums' decline because of the cost and time required for upkeep. The

¹¹² Federal Writers Project of the Works Progress Administration, *California in the 1930s: The WPA Guide to the Golden State*, ed. David Kipen (1939; compiled with intro., Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2013), part II, ProQuest eBook Central.

¹¹³ W. Drake, "Shipping News and Activities at Los Angeles Harbor," *Los Angeles Times*, October 29, 1930, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

¹¹⁴ "Dedication Plans Laid," *Los Angeles Times*, April 13, 1936, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

technological and scientific inventions of the age advanced more quickly than museum infrastructures, resulting in American museums being referred to as boring and outdated.¹¹⁵ Objects no longer had scientific meaning of their own; instead, they became context for understanding larger ideas. Thus began the museum's institutional shift away from scientific order into places of entertainment and amusement.¹¹⁶

The Exposition Building in many ways fit this framework. It initially presented objects as paramount and used advanced preservation techniques to make them central. The Sixth District, as well as the Chamber of Commerce at their permanent exhibit, supplemented these objects with expert informants to promote commercial growth. The Sixth District planned to make the Exposition Building partially a research institution in the 1910s. It created a partnership with the State Department to secure materials to support educational exhibits in agriculture, horticulture, and other similar types of industries in California.¹¹⁷ In addition, they invited local university professors to lecture there.¹¹⁸

By the 1920s, however, the diorama became the primary medium to present California's industries. It recreated an entire world, instead of merely showing the products of that world. This occurred as urban Los Angeles grew and pushed rural life to the margins. Yet, the diorama couldn't keep up with advances in industry. In the 1930s,

¹¹⁵ Conn, 22.

¹¹⁶ Conn, 22, 235-247.

¹¹⁷ "New Displays for Exposition Park," *Los Angeles Times*, January 10, 1919, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

¹¹⁸ "Risk Men Scheduled," *Los Angeles Times*, October 3, 1915, ProQuest Historical Newspapers and "The City and Environs," *Los Angeles Times*, April 23, 1916, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

an Exposition Building brochure began to refer to some of the dioramas as “historical.” The Exposition Building began to use Hollywood-inspired state-of-the-art film equipment to showcase new industries. Brochures highlighted small exhibits on new industries like automobiles and airplanes, but the industries not featured in the dioramas.¹¹⁹ The labor and cost required for diorama production was just too high.

As the Exposition Building struggled to keep pace with technological and commercial development in Los Angeles, Exposition Park hosted one of the largest events in the city’s history: the 1932 Games of the Xth Olympiad. The Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum, a major structure that still draws the biggest crowds to the Park to this day, served as the impetus for this development. The Coliseum had opened just in time for the Monroe Centennial in 1923, but that had never been its intended purpose. The Coliseum’s potential had always lain in the realm of spectator sports, specifically the Olympics.

After the Community Development Association successfully built a major stadium in 1923, they turned their ambitions toward hosting the Olympics. They obtained a state grant of one million dollars following a precedent set by San Francisco, who had used state funds to build the 1915 Pan Pacific Exposition in the aftermath of the devastating 1906 earthquake.¹²⁰ After securing the bid in 1923, the CDA supported a

¹¹⁹ “The Wonders Filmed,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 3, 1922, ProQuest Historical Newspapers and Sixth District Agricultural Association, *California State Exposition Building*, brochure, author’s collection. Although this brochure is undated, the text’s reference to Boulder Dam (instead of Hoover Dam) places it some point in the 1930s or early 1940s.

¹²⁰ Grace A. Somerby, “When Los Angeles Was Host to the Olympic Games of 1932,” *The Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly* 34, no. 2 (June 1952): 125-132, www.jstor.org/stable/41169078.

successful bond act to raise one million dollars to host the event, which the public approved in 1928, just before the stock market crash. After the Depression hit, local industries such as Hollywood stepped in to ensure the continuance of the Games, as the city lost state and federal support.¹²¹ The construction of the Exposition Club House in 1922 and the Los Angeles Swimming Stadium in 1932 joined the Coliseum to mark the series of improvements that led up to the Games.¹²² The Association also added smaller amenities, such as benches, artwork, and lighting across the Park for the occasion.¹²³ The State Exposition Building was “considerably enlarged and remodeled” beginning in 1930 for the Olympics, as well.¹²⁴

Before detailing the unique aspects of the 1932 Games, it’s important to assess the ideology behind the modern Games, as these Games were markedly different from the average exposition. French aristocrat Baron Pierre de Coubertin established the modern Olympics in the late nineteenth century. Coubertin felt that the ancient Games contained useful principles for the modern world: amateur sport as healthy competition and sacred truces as promotion of world peace. He believed that reviving the Games would allow

¹²¹ John R. Gold and Margaret M. Gold, *Cities of Culture: Staging International Festivals and the Urban Agenda, 1851-2000* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2005), 162-166.

¹²² Hillel Aron, “The Story of Los Angeles’ 1932 Olympics, When Everyone Was Poor,” *LA Weekly*, Aug 13, 2016, <http://www.laweekly.com/news/the-story-of-los-angeles-1932-olympics-when-everyone-was-poor-7251494>. Los Angeles “won” the bid because no other cities applied to host in the midst of the Great Depression. Few cities lobbied for hosting Olympic games until after World War II, although Los Angeles had been lobbying for hosting since the 1921 Games. (Gold and Gold, 140-141 includes a chart of bidding cities in this early period.)

¹²³ Tom Sitton, “Exposition Park Rose Garden,” National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, August 6, 1990, United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, <http://npgallery.nps.gov/pdfhost/docs/NRHP/Text/91000285.pdf>, 3.

¹²⁴ “Fete Arranged for Dedication,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 21, 1932, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

nations to gain understanding of one another and ultimately result in harmony among all peoples.¹²⁵

Each host nation put its own spin on Coubertin's vision and, over time, their actions transformed the Games. They began to emphasize national patriotism through athletic achievement. The 1932 Olympics helped advance this idea through creation of the medal ceremony—adding a podium and playing the winning athlete's national anthem. They also emphasized 'eurhythmy,' otherwise known as the "harmonious marriage of sport and culture, athletics and art, muscle and mind," through artistic competitions, symbolism and ritual, and inclusion of arts and cultural activities alongside athletic competition. Notably, earlier Games, such as those in Paris (1900) and St. Louis (1904), played a secondary role in their respective world's fair expositions. Unlike these two examples, which the IOC considered financially "disastrous," Los Angeles focused solely on the Games.¹²⁶

The 1932 Games fared well in terms of attendance, significance, and revenue given the constrictions of the Great Depression. This was in large part due to the city's commercial approach to hosting. By heavily subsidizing athlete attendance through private industry initiatives in air, steam, and rail travel, the Games were able to bring 1500 participants from 34 nations.¹²⁷ Though President Herbert Hoover decided to be the first head of state of the host country not to attend the event, there were over 1.2 million

¹²⁵ John J. MacAloon, *This Great Symbol: Pierre de Coubertin and the Origins of the Modern Olympic Games* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1981) and David C. Young, *The Modern Olympics, A Struggle for Revival* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).

¹²⁶ Gold and Gold, 144-149.

¹²⁷ Gold and Gold, 162-166.

attendees. Los Angeles also drastically reduced the length of the Games from eighty-plus days, as was typical, to only sixteen, and became the first host city to seriously advertise the event through the creation of the Olympic Press Department. Advances in broadcasting allowed large audiences, nation- and worldwide, to share in the Games. Despite the uncertainty wrought by global economic collapse, the Olympics fostered global relations in the vein of the fabled “Olympic spirit,” most notably with the first incarnation of the Olympic Village for male athletes in Baldwin Hills. Male athletes paid two dollars per day for room, board, and transportation throughout the event.¹²⁸ Exposition Park played a central role in fostering this spirit. The impressive Hollywood-glamorous ceremonies took place at the Coliseum. Opening ceremonies included an orchestra and choir number numbering 1500 people and the release of hundreds of doves.¹²⁹ The Coliseum also served as the location for all track and field events, among other major sports. In addition, the Swimming Stadium hosted swimming and the armory fencing.¹³⁰

Los Angeles leaders intended from the outset to boost not only the Olympics but also the city at this exposition. Like other city booster promotions in this era, Harry Chandler and the CDA used the Olympics to present the city as a “community product.” While the official booklet claimed a lack of commercialization, the CDA drowned the event in it. To reiterate the origins of the CDA—private, local, business investors—is key

¹²⁸ Tomlinson, 171-173.

¹²⁹ “Los Angeles 1932: California Welcomes the World,” International Olympic Committee, September 13, 2017, <https://www.olympic.org/news/los-angeles-1932-california-welcomes-the-world>.

¹³⁰ Charleton, “Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum” and *Gold and Gold*, 165.

to understanding the commercial nature of the entire enterprise. Chandler, Bowen, and Garland treated it like a world's fair, where the end goal was to present Los Angeles to the world rather than simply host the Games. This, in turn, resulted in increased value and revenue for the real estate developers and other businessmen who served on the CDA. Comparisons made between the Olympics and the 1915 fairs were no accident—elite Los Angelenos had been hungering for a successful fair of their own for over a decade.

The CDA, which served essentially as an extension or affiliate of the Chamber of Commerce (they even held meetings in the Chamber of Commerce building), created publications to advertise the Games. The Chamber of Commerce had already been doing this for decades and continued as the Olympics' official Press Department. The CDA distributed brochures and photographs at a rate never before seen for an Olympic event, just as they had done to promote the city. These images were not only of Exposition Park and other Olympic sites, but of the entire city—the same images from the large photograph file they had begun to compile in the early 1920s. The CDA presented the city itself as the primary draw.

This approach conveyed the message that Los Angeles was a unified and organized White utopia. Even when Olympic events stretched to surrounding towns and areas, the CDA tried to ensure a public view unmarred by any slums or blemishes. Guide maps omitted unseemly or even unremarkable locations. In addition, when Los Angeles subsidized attendance, it did so to build upon industry ties and promote industrial development. Los Angeles-manufactured aircraft flew in visitors from Canada and Mexico. Hollywood stars recorded ads to entice potential European attendees. The

Olympics' Press Department, run by the Chamber of Commerce, solicited advertising firms to use the Olympic grounds as a backdrop for local corporations' photo advertising.¹³¹

Because of its heavy boosterism, *The Official Report of the Xth Olympiad* reveals the CDA's aspirations. A caption below a photograph of California sequoias listed them as the only living things contemporary to the ancient Olympiad. The introductory piece emphasized visitors coming "from all corners of the earth" to Los Angeles even in "the depths of a dark abyss" of global economic depression. It identified Los Angeles as one of the few cities honored with ever hosting the Games and, further, one of the only cities of that list able to pull off the Olympics to perfection. The *Report* also noted that Coubertin had "evidenced a strong personal support" of the city from the start. These combined elements presented Los Angeles as the pinnacle of modernity and capability, fueled by industry and private investment.¹³²

Unlike previous Games, the 1932 Olympics resulted in sizable revenue for the host city, allowing Los Angeles to pay back the one-million-dollar bond and still have a surplus of \$206,000.¹³³ The Olympic committee remained in place after the Games, and

¹³¹ Jeremy Scott White, "Constructing the Invisible Landscape: Organizing the 1932 Olympic Games in Los Angeles" (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2005), 30-44, ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global.

¹³² Xth Olympiade Committee, *The Games of the Xth Olympiad—Los Angeles 1932—Official Report* (Los Angeles, CA: Wolfer Printing Company, Inc., 1932), 29-32, <http://library.la84.org/6oic/OfficialReports/1932/1932s.pdf>. In terms of design, the 1932 Olympics predated the creation of a planned "look," but organizers still had a particular vision in mind. "Arts characteristic of the Southwest," reigned in the Olympic Village, including Spanish mission style and Navajo rugs.

¹³³ Aron, "The Story of Los Angeles' 1932 Olympics."

continued to try and bring the Games back every cycle.¹³⁴ They would remain unsuccessful until 1984.

In many ways, the Olympics represented the culmination of the Park's longtime civic goal to transform Los Angeles from a West Coast backwater into a modern American metropolis. In addition, Bowen and the Sixth District emerged from the Games with a new, popular stadium, building renovations, and an evolved understanding of what modern, urban visitors wanted from their facilities—entertainment. A 1938 Exposition Park booklet reiterated the Park's role in the city's mission to sell Los Angeles—“Exposition Park, with these cultural, educational and recreational advantages has spread the prestige and glory of Los Angeles, not only throughout the state, but to the entire world.”¹³⁵

After the Olympics, Bowen continued to promote and expand the offerings brought into existence by the Games. Horseshoes, the Exposition Card and Checker Club, a playground for children, and a community center building all formed from Olympic construction and renovation. A local radio broadcasting station (KFWB) used the Park bandstand for concerts on Sunday afternoons.¹³⁶ The Exposition Building instituted an open photography competition and provided the maps for Park visitors for the first

¹³⁴ Somerby, 125-132.

¹³⁵ Sixth District Agricultural Association, *Exposition Park* (Los Angeles, CA, 1938), Federal Writers' Project of California records, 1932-1942, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

time.¹³⁷ The introduction of Christmas Tree Lane and its spectacular electrical light display attracted crowds, in particular. Put on by the Chamber for the first time in 1934, Christmas Tree Lane may have been one of the first corporate sponsorships in the Park, using the Municipal Bureau of Water and Power and the Los Angeles Gas and Electric Corporation to fund it.¹³⁸

In 1937, only five years after the Games, Bowen died of pneumonia two weeks after suffering a stroke. He was venerated in death, particularly by the Otis-Chandler dynasty. Harry Chandler was an honorary pallbearer at his funeral. In many ways, Bowen was the force who continued the vision of the Park from its creation in 1913. He served as head of the Museum of History, Science, and Art board and the Sixth District until 1936.¹³⁹ He created crossovers of display technique between the two museums, kept the Park on the city's radar through its membership on the Chamber, and was one of the major reasons the Olympics came to Los Angeles and headquartered at Exposition Park.

For Anglo elites, Exposition Park served as the center of an interconnected, idealized Olympic City only briefly. By 1938, the four entities in the Park—the state (including the Sixth District), county, city, and newly formed Coliseum Commission—

¹³⁷ “Passes Aid in Contest,” *Los Angeles Times*, August 19, 1936, ProQuest Historical Newspapers and “Park Visitors Given Ground Maps,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 4, 1936, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

¹³⁸ “Mayor Gives Christmas Greeting to People,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 25, 1936, ProQuest Historical Newspapers; “Park Trees Will Shine,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 18, 1934, ProQuest Historical Newspapers; and “Los Angeles Christmas-out-of-doors in Fall Glow,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 20, 1934, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

¹³⁹ “Death Takes W.M. Bowen: Father of Exposition Park Victim of Stroke and Pneumonia,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 23, 1937, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

began to bicker over its management and finances.¹⁴⁰ At the same time, the city turned its attentions toward new opportunities wrought by World War II. The city, and Exposition Park by extension, would be forever changed by it.

1940s: World War II and a New Direction for the Exposition Building

World War II was a watershed moment for Los Angeles and its evolution into a major metropolis. In the war years, Los Angeles became a major nexus for production of aircraft, war supplies, and ammunition, including major firms such as Douglas, Northrop, and Lockheed.¹⁴¹ Southern California had already attracted half of the aircraft industry from the Northeast between World War I and II, but Los Angeles' prime position in aerospace became fully established during the war.¹⁴² Robert W. Lotchin traces the origins of what he refers to as the "metropolitan-military complex" of Los Angeles to the short-lived fleet anchorage in Los Angeles Harbor in 1922. From there, local desire to turn the business of war into government welfare for the region fueled growth.¹⁴³ This was not an industry-based effort, but a city-based one. Economic anxiety and competition among Los Angeles, San Diego, and San Francisco created an environment where new avenues of industry formed to stabilize local economies.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁰ "Acquisition of Park Urged," *Los Angeles Times*, November 16, 1938, ProQuest Historical Newspapers and California Assembly Interim Committee on Fairs and Expositions, *Report*.

¹⁴¹ Allen J. Scott, "High-Technology Industrial Development in the San Fernando Valley and Ventura County: Observations on Economic Growth and the Evolution of Urban Form," in *The City: Los Angeles and Urban Theory at the End of the Twentieth Century*, eds. Allen J. Scott and Edward W. Soja (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996), 276-277.

¹⁴² Clark, 283.

¹⁴³ Roger W. Lotchin, *Fortress California 1910-1961: From Warfare to Welfare* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1992), 2 and 108.

¹⁴⁴ Lotchin, 16. The details of this development are explored in more depth for LA and the aircraft industry in Chapter 4: "Dive Bombers in the Land of Oz: Los Angeles and the Aircraft Industry," 64-130.

Los Angeles benefited from World War II more than any other American city. The city massively expanded due to capital provided by the federal government through defense contracts, both in terms of maturation and population growth. The entire state of California experienced the greatest growth of any state in the Union in this period, but Los Angeles fared best because of its leadership. Compared to San Diego and San Francisco, Los Angelenos ensured a place in the room for government contracts by establishing special offices to meet with federal officials. “The Los Angeles Plan” placed the Chamber of Commerce in the thick of making decisions on how city manufacturing plants could be used for the war effort. Los Angeles swam in so much opportunity, it faced manpower shortages during the war despite massive migration. As a result, diverse new residents flocked to the area in great numbers from across the country and Mexico.¹⁴⁵ Due to its new identity steeped in the military-industrial complex, Los Angeles strived to be “a city of airplanes, shipping, oil, and steel.” Leaders aggressively pushed the city to assume a grand new national and global role.¹⁴⁶ Ultimately, World War II opened the gates to a period of immense prosperity and growth for Los Angeles that would reverberate for decades.

Massive industrial and manufacturing growth led to a greater influx of diverse inhabitants and expanded suburbanization. Southern California boasted the largest concentration of scientists and engineers holding doctoral degrees in the world during the

¹⁴⁵ Gerald D. Nash, *The American West in the Twentieth Century: A Short History of An Urban Oasis* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1973), 195-200 and Lotchin, 131-134.

¹⁴⁶ Klein, 7 and 16. Klein marks this dividing line between two periods: the sunshine city (1885-1929) and the Depression, war-time, industrial city (1929-1945).

war.¹⁴⁷ The aircraft industry in Los Angeles County grew from 20,000 skilled craftsmen in 1939 to a 243,000 strong assembly-line operation in 1943. Many local companies helped the industry grow and stay in the region after the war and into the Cold War period.¹⁴⁸ While many associate Los Angeles' White flight with the postwar period, massive planned changes to the city and region by the Regional Planning Commission began in 1941 in response to fears over urban "blight," the potential future economy, and rising rates of African American inhabitants.¹⁴⁹ This, combined with the new, primarily White middle-class, brought in by the aerospace and defense industry, began the city's gradual loss in share of total population in the region as Whites moved out into the all-white suburbs of Los Angeles County and Orange County. Population and political power grew in surrounding counties.¹⁵⁰ In addition, Mike Davis notes that the old Anglo dynasties did not become heavily involved in postwar suburban growth, choosing instead to invest energy in revitalizing downtown, where they owned property.¹⁵¹ The area's shift into a "multi-tropolis"¹⁵² would come to greatly affect the position of the old Anglo elite in Los Angeles. It also affected the Exposition Park area, now part of the primarily Black and economically-disadvantaged South Central region of Los Angeles.

¹⁴⁷ Davis, *City of Quartz*, 17.

¹⁴⁸ Carl Abbott, *The Metropolitan Frontier: Cities in the Modern American West* (Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, 1993), 11.

¹⁴⁹ Klein, 18.

¹⁵⁰ Clark, 285 and Scott and Soja, "Introduction to Los Angeles: City and Region."

¹⁵¹ Davis, *City of Quartz*, 106-128.

¹⁵² Klein's term.

Between 1940 and 1942, only 3,000 of 131,000 new migrants to Los Angeles were Black, primarily due to discriminatory industrial hiring practices on the eve of American entrance into World War II. However, once the US entered the war, the subsequent growing labor shortages, the strength of civil rights “Double Victory” campaign against fascism at home and abroad, and the federal government’s creation of the Fair Employment Practices Committee in 1941 provided an impetus for further Black migration to the region. Between 1942 and 1945, 340,000 Blacks migrated to California, with the majority settling in Los Angeles. Major employers, such as Lockheed Aircraft and the California Shipbuilding Company and Consolidated Steel Yards, began hiring Black workers for factory jobs that year. Many Whites responded to this influx with racism. Housing covenants pushed Blacks into a small area of the city unable to accommodate the number of new arrivals. As wealthier Black residents moved into White neighborhoods, conflict increased in the later years of the war. White residents began to flee, enlarging the South Central district to fit this new demographic.¹⁵³ This transformed the city, further developing racial enclaves. This included the growing neighborhood of South Central that absorbed Exposition Park after the war.

In the midst of these changes, the Sixth District Agricultural Association began to make moves to address changes in local industry at the Exposition Building but did little to address changes in population demographics. In 1940, the Sixth District hired Louis C. Venator to manage the Exposition Building. Venator served both as former commercial

¹⁵³ Gerald D. Nash, *The American West Transformed: The Impact of the Second World War* (Bloomington, IL: Indiana University Press, 1985), 89-97.

attaché for the United States Department of Commerce in China, as well as China correspondent for the *New York Times*.¹⁵⁴ Under Venator, the Exposition Building began to dabble in increased audience interaction and navigation. By 1940, the Sixth District began to make concerted efforts to expand and change the Exposition Building's offerings. Extended hours on Sundays, increases in exhibit overhauls, and new industrial business partnerships began to emerge.¹⁵⁵ In the summer of 1940, a \$184,000 Works Progress Administration art project—one of the largest ever—modernized the animal husbandry, agricultural, and horticultural wings of the building.¹⁵⁶ A year later, the Sixth District claimed that attendance had increased 23% from the previous year, bringing a total of 296,000 people to the building.¹⁵⁷

World War II stalled some of these changes by turning the Exposition Building primarily into a place for civil defense and wartime education. The Western Mineral Exposition of 1941 first signaled this development, with ores and gems displayed as resources for European allies.¹⁵⁸ Similar to World War I, the building held a “Victory Exposition” in 1942, including educational displays on home gardening and volunteer enlistment. The Army's continued presence in the armory also increased patriotic fervor

¹⁵⁴ “Louis Venator, State Museum Executive, Dies,” *Los Angeles Times* May 4, 1955, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

¹⁵⁵ “State Exposition Building's Exhibit Scope to Be Widened,” *Los Angeles Times*, March 22, 1940, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

¹⁵⁶ “Park Building Work Nears,” *Los Angeles Times*, June 15, 1940, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

¹⁵⁷ “State Exposition Building Visited by 296,000 in 1940,” *Los Angeles Times*, January 3, 1941, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

¹⁵⁸ “State's Minerals Called Defense Aid,” *Los Angeles Times*, February 21, 1941, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

in the Park.¹⁵⁹ In 1943, the *Times* hosted another event titled *Victory Garden at the Park*.¹⁶⁰ During the war, staff members worked extra hours to provide civil defense awareness to visitors.¹⁶¹ The Park also featured a quantity of military equipment, with a focus on the use and creation of war materials, as it did during World War I.¹⁶²

After the war, Los Angeles continued its meteoric growth, yet felt a growing sense of unease when military contracts decreased in peacetime. This was especially important because World War II had granted Los Angeles a prime national position in aerospace. This fear would prove to be short-lived with the rise in Cold War tensions with the Soviet Union and the arrival of the Korean War in 1950.¹⁶³ Meanwhile, the Exposition Building returned from its role in supporting the war effort to celebrate war-time inventions produced in the state, particularly synthetic materials. In 1946, the Exposition Building hosted a plastics show, as well as a temporary frozen foods and refrigeration exhibit.¹⁶⁴ The museum hadn't yet abandoned dioramas, however; in 1947, the building hosted a model of a "modern" Los Angeles created by students at USC that

¹⁵⁹ "Exhibits Will Aid War Effort," *Los Angeles Times*, February 8, 1942, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

¹⁶⁰ "Times' Victory Garden Fair to Open Sunday," *Los Angeles Times*, September 10, 1943, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

¹⁶¹ "Exposition Staff Would Work Extra," *Los Angeles Times*, December 19, 1941, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

¹⁶² "Huge Mechanized Show Set by Army for Sept. 12," *Los Angeles Times*, August 22, 1943, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

¹⁶³ Scott and Soja, "Introduction to Los Angeles: City and Region."

¹⁶⁴ "Plastics Show Opens Today," *Los Angeles Times*, March 26, 1946, ProQuest Historical Newspapers and "Frozen Food Week to Open Monday," *Los Angeles Times*, October 5, 1946, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

included postwar developments such as freeways.¹⁶⁵ As in previous decades, these exhibits centered on progress defined by and for Whites, with no mention of how, for example, the freeway system had impacted neighborhoods surrounding the institution by essentially ensuring the creation of South Central, the United States’ “first large suburban ghetto.”¹⁶⁶

In 1949, disputes among the four entities—the city, county, state, and Sixth District— over Exposition Park’s management reached state legislators. The discussions and decisions made there reveal much about the direction the Park and Exposition Building had taken in the decade since Bowen’s death and help explain the Exposition Building’s evolution into a new museum by 1951. In the *Report of the Assembly Interim Committee on Fairs and Expositions* of 1949, the state legislature determined financial obligations for the Park among the four managing jurisdictions. The *Report* identified major point of contention: Bowen’s ingenuity and vision had designated the Park as public land, thereby ensuring continued state appropriations for its stewardship. Because the Sixth District was (and remains) the state entity that managed the Park and the Exposition Building simultaneously, this designation ensured both were forever interconnected, barring legislative change. As the legislature defined it, the Sixth District and the Park had by this point assumed “an anomalous position.” The Sixth District had started as an agricultural fair organizer but had become the manager of a sports-cultural complex (handling 1.3 million visitors in 1948 for football alone). Yet, a legislative order

¹⁶⁵ “Students’ Plan to Modernize City on Display,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 6, 1947, ProQuest Historical Newspapers

¹⁶⁶ Scott and Soja, “Introduction to Los Angeles: City and Region,” 10.

still required it to host “the only year-round exposition” in the state.

Venator, who was present at the negotiations, acknowledged this position and added another layer of contention in the relationship between the state and city over the Exposition Building’s purpose. State legislators hesitated to fund the Exposition Building because they felt that it was a “Los Angeles activity,” while locals derided the Sixth District as “a sort of leech” on the Park’s revenue for the state. By this point, Venator pinpointed the Exposition Building’s estimated attendance for 1949 at 750,000, with anywhere from 66-78% of visitors coming from inside Los Angeles County, depending on the time of year. Only 16% of the remaining visitors came from outside the state.

The statistics listed above, combined with the fact that 74% of all visitors in 1948 were over the age of 20, also showed a demographic that would change drastically over the next ten years. Venator’s plea to release the Sixth District from its financial obligation to maintain the Park emphasized the cost of exhibits and renovation plans as the Sixth District’s primary concern. (By this point, Agricultural Hall contained 104 exhibits alone!) While the city of Los Angeles felt that “the park [was] an asset and should be continued as a park,” the Sixth District asserted their position on being institution-centric, rather than park-centric. Venator’s speech identified the Exposition Building as important for the city and the state and justified the Sixth District’s singular attention to it.¹⁶⁷ It’s clear that the Sixth District was at a crossroads in the postwar period. Venator made clear in the *Report* that the Association’s mission centered Exposition Building, rather than

¹⁶⁷ California Assembly Interim Committee on Fairs and Expositions, *Report*.

Exposition Park.¹⁶⁸ This decision was highly significant because it allowed the Exposition Building the attention and funding to evolve into a full-fledged museum. Yet, at the same time, it greatly affected the role and purpose of the outdoor areas in the Park for decades to come.

From the 1910s to the 1940s, the Sixth District struggled to find a way to present and promote industries in Los Angeles, as the city grew at a rapid pace. In many instances, spectacle played a key role in ensuring success and survival of Exposition Building exhibits and Exposition Park exhibitions. Whether aviation or agriculture, the Sixth District found its greatest success in providing immersive and entertaining experiences to visitors. These approaches continued to draw on methods and ideologies pushed by the Chamber of Commerce, particularly in promoting a spectacular, industry-driven modern city for White residents. From recreational sites to sporting events, the Sixth District assured visitors that Los Angeles existed for White consumption. Meanwhile, non-whites, particularly African Americans, Mexican Americans, and Native Americans, were either forgotten or commodified in a racial hierarchy first established in the 1880s.

Despite the inclusion of new styles of display like dioramas and murals, the Sixth District found themselves in a perpetual state of catch-up by the 1930s. Under its original model, the Exposition Building was ill-equipped to present rapidly-evolving industries by World War II. The 1949 state legislative report demonstrates the Exposition Building still

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

had to present the “scenic and recreational features” of California.¹⁶⁹ The Sixth District chose to continue to meet state’s requirements, while making the Exposition Building relevant and cutting-edge. This required embracing postwar Los Angeles’ new position as a national leader in industry and the center of the new military-industrial complex. By the end of the decade, the Sixth District began a large-scale remodeling of the Exposition Building into a new type of museum: the interactive science museum. In 1951, the California Museum of Science and Industry would help usher in a new age for Exposition Park.

¹⁶⁹ Dudley C. Gordon, “State Exposition Building,” in *The Cultural Assets of Los Angeles* (Los Angeles, CA: Ward Ritchie Press, 1940).

CHAPTER 3

THE CALIFORNIA MUSEUM OF SCIENCE AND INDUSTRY, 1949-1967: EARLY COLD WAR LOS ANGELES

From 1940 to 1950, Los Angeles increased from 1.5 to 1.9 million residents. That population number would jump again to 2.4 million by 1960, and 2.8 million by 1970. This alone is a significant increase, yet Los Angeles County's was even more astounding: from 2.7 million in 1940 to 7 million in 1970.¹ For Los Angeles, the Cold War continued the wartime prosperity of World War II, while also inciting new apprehensions brought about by population boom and postwar technology. The federal contracts Los Angeles gained during World War II continued into the Cold War as relations with Russia turned icy, and because of armed conflict, such as the Korean War. From the 1940s until the end of the Cold War in the late 1980s, Los Angeles operated as the center of aerospace and electronics in the Western world. Los Angeles County's aircraft industry grew to 100,000 jobs in 1950, 275,000 in 1955, and 350,000 in 1967. This accounted for roughly one third of the area's jobs, directly or indirectly.²

Los Angeles' role as the center of American scientific and technological development for the national military-industrial complex, in a period where the stakes for these developments were particularly high, gave it a unique position in the booming science center arena. Popular interest in science and technology grew as the visiting public perceived technologies, such as aerospace and computers, as both more abstract

¹ "Historical General Population City & County of Los Angeles, 1850 to 2010," Los Angeles Almanac.

² Abbott, *The Metropolitan Frontier*, 57-58.

and more dangerous. Cold War era concerns influenced industries to use Exposition Park's State Exposition Building's renovation into the California Museum of Science and Industry (CMSI) to present a message of Los Angeles' technological supremacy and progress, as well as promote the attractiveness of the area to white-collar migrants.

Under these developments, old and new city powers forged industrial and cultural development. In the 1950s, the old Anglo elite, now a few generations removed from their originators, became primarily concerned with inherited real estate Downtown, and attempted to exercise power through the *Los Angeles Times* and the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce by promoting transportation initiatives and urban renewal programs that benefited Downtown ventures. The *Times*' Chandler dynasty continued after Harry Chandler's death in 1944, but relations soon changed between the Chandlers and other Anglo elite families. In the 1960s, Buffy Chandler, wife of *Times* publisher Norman Chandler, led a new coalition between old Anglo and new Jewish powers to create high culture institutions, including museums and music halls, to establish Los Angeles as a world city. These Jewish leaders came from the savings and loan and home builders industry and took interest in the CMSI's potential to promote the military-industrial complex that supported postwar suburbanization and the modern Westside. Together, the new coalition and their industries became a driving force in the city's economy and the museum's exhibits.

In 1955, Westside elite J. Howard Edgerton became president of the Sixth District Agricultural Association. Under his tutelage, the CMSI created and managed close-knit financial and design ties between its exhibits and corporate sponsorship. CMSI exhibits

reflected a key trend present in postwar science centers—interactive spectacle. The seductive power spectacle uses to present commodities through messages dictated by the ruling class to the passive spectator continued in this period, and exhibit methods became more advanced to reach visitors. Public concerns over the nation’s use of nuclear power and the ever-developing space race to create an unsustainable global social order required a response by elites. The CMSI created displays that focused on the city’s industrial assets rather than technology’s potentially dangerous effects on humanity. Exhibits used hands-on displays that presented industry commodities to the public, simultaneously “educating” the public on the fundamentally positive nature of new technology while encouraging visitors as consumers to accept (and hopefully, purchase) them. For the museum, like greater Los Angeles, corporate sponsorship was paramount. The ability to garner exhibits from major corporations, such as IBM and GM, solidified Los Angeles’ position as a leader in industry and allowed them the funding and access to make engaging exhibits. At the same time, presenting exhibits designed by major modern designers, such as Raymond Loewy and Charles and Ray Eames, further confirmed Los Angeles as not just an industrial hub, but a cultural and artistic one. California’s brand of mid-century modern design became an exemplar of modern, capitalist American living. Aerospace industries used the style to entice white-collar workers, such as engineers, to partake in the middle-class, White American dream offered in Los Angeles.

Regardless of narrative, new technological, economic, and cultural offerings in Los Angeles combined to draw new residents in droves, White and non-white alike. As the CMSI grew into a popular push-button paradise, South Central, Los Angeles’

primarily-African American community, grew exponentially and absorbed Exposition Park, an established White cultural institution in Los Angeles since 1913, in the 1960s. These demographic changes created conflict between the cultural coalition's vision and the reality of the city's racial makeup. The Watts Rebellion of 1965 signaled a watershed moment in race relations and White perceptions of Black Los Angeles. City elites began to view Exposition Park as a dangerous place in decline, rife with gangs and drug use. They attempted to remove White cultural institutions, such as parts of the Museum of History, Science, and Art, from the Park to new cultural centers on the Westside.

Los Angeles continued to rely on themes established by Anglo powers from the 1880s through the 1940s: an industry-centric vision that used non-white labor when useful, but otherwise ignored them in their narrative of progress. The museum also embraced the spectacle established in earlier decades through explicit partnership with corporations and modernist designers. But, the Cold War and the postwar boom had also prompted major changes in elite ideology. The growth of new industries, particularly aerospace, forced elites to reconstitute geopolitical Cold War concerns into local assets. This reconstitution occurred not only because of the boom, but because Americans genuinely feared science and technology's power. Elites had to present the aerospace industry as not only profitable, but as fundamentally good and vital to democracy, to ensure the industry's acceptance by the public. This created an avenue for the city to promote itself to White professionals as the primary location to live out Cold War American ideals, such as suburbia, modernism, and democracy, grounded in capitalism.

1949-1955: J. Howard Edgerton and The California Museum of Science and

Industry

As established in Chapter 2, World War II benefited Los Angeles exponentially, due in large part to the number of government defense contracts city leaders obtained. The problem, however, was that the city's specialized homegrown industries had no outlet after the war was over. In comparison to Midwestern and Eastern companies such as Ford, which moved back into the lucrative commercial market, Los Angeles' industries looked desperately to the government. As they latched onto diminishing projects, Caltech remained active in government-sponsored studies in preparation for the next inevitable conflict.

That conflict didn't take long to arrive. The Korean War (1950-1953) required continued immediate need for aircraft manufacturing, while the Cold War ensured America's need for weapons research. While prior American military strategy used mass mobilization to prepare for conflict, President Dwight D. Eisenhower made the conscious decision to shift to what he referred to as New Look policy in 1952. New Look policy attempted to keep the United States economy stable while remaining a formidable military force during the Cold War by using nuclear weapons as a deterrent, covert operations against USSR-friendly nations and leaders, and building alliances with neutral nations and governments.³ Eisenhower's concerns about sustaining superiority in mass mobilization grew as China proved formidable in Korea. Thus, from Korea onward, Eisenhower favored "atmospheric warfare," including nuclear, jet aircraft, rockets, and

³ Chester J. Pach, Jr., "Dwight D. Eisenhower: Foreign Affairs," Miller Center, University of Virginia, accessed September 9, 2018, <https://millercenter.org/president/eisenhower/foreign-affairs>.

spy satellites, guided by a “technological imperative:” instead of surpassing China and the Soviet Union in mobilization, the United States must use technological superiority to maintain power. This meant that the military needed a base that could meet any scientific, technological, and production need. Continual production of new defense technology became essential to the survival of the United States and democracy.

The nation’s technology race against the Soviet Union, backed by federal military policy and underlined by the technological imperative, ensured massive research and production for specific defense industries in Los Angeles. Local aerospace companies and research facilities, which had built their names on constructing planes, actively pursued intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) instead of competing with Seattle’s Boeing B-17 Flying Fortress. By the 1960s, Los Angeles dominated new sectors in electronics, space systems, and heavy weapons systems. This led to further Los Angeles-based military-industrial partnerships in the Air Force and NASA. Los Angeles produced spy planes, stealth bombers, surveillance satellites, and ICBMs, all dependent on the nation’s needs. The city exploited that need with aplomb. Essentially, this development created an environment in which global politics, rather than local business development, more heavily impacted Los Angeles’ economy.⁴

Although geopolitics played a large role in Los Angeles’ growth, local powers still enacted significant control over the direction that growth would take. After the war, city leaders split between the “old” elite, filled with Anglo Midwestern stock primarily concerned with Downtown real estate, and the “new” Westside Jewish elite, formed from

⁴ Oden, 117-139.

Hollywood and the growing stocks and bonds industry. After the war, Jewish savings and loan magnates Howard F. Ahmanson and S. Mark Taper emerged as major power players on the political and cultural scene. High demand for housing in a booming postwar Los Angeles, helped along by the Federal Housing Authority and Fannie Mae, newly revitalized real estate speculation and suburban growth.⁵ The savings and loan industry was predicated on the GI Bill and postwar home ownership, and thus created a familiar, yet differently-structured suburbanization than had occurred in previous decades. While old Anglo families focused on old inheritances Downtown, Jewish businessmen built their fortunes on the backs of aerospace and the families who moved to work in that industry.⁶

Yet, the Otis-Chandler dynasty and the rest of the city's Anglo-Saxon elite remained powerful. The centralized, commercial Los Angeles the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce had worked to build since the 1880s had succeeded in diversifying and growing local industry to levels they had always dreamed of. Los Angeles now stood as a major metropolitan area. Now dealing with a region with skyrocketing growth, the Chamber of Commerce turned to broadly addressing "modern issues associated with a major metropolitan center." The organization promoted local industries, such as aerospace, creating reports on the region to showcase it a nexus of the military-industrial

⁵ Davis, *City of Quartz*, 121-125.

⁶ Eric John Abrahamson, *Building Home: Howard F. Ahmanson and the Politics of the American Dream* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2013), 14-19, 69-70, 83. Edgerton entered military service in part to escape a prison sentence for shady dealings in the savings in loan business. The indictment was later dismissed.

complex.⁷ Yet, the Chamber of Commerce ultimately represented Downtown economic interests, where Anglo elite held significant real estate holdings. In 1948, the Chamber of Commerce created a transportation plan that centered Downtown by drawing all freeway and rail lines to the area. This ultimately failed, as Westside developers and newly-formidable suburban cities in the area blocked the proposal. Frustrated and concerned about their slipping control, the Chamber of Commerce used significant media control and political power to make a stand for their commercial interests in the early-1950s.⁸

In 1944, Harry Chandler's son, Norman, took the *Los Angeles Times*' mantle following Harry's death. Norman's *Times* coverage ensured Downtown's control in city politics by heavily relying on Cold War-era anti-socialist rhetoric. This rhetoric usually served Downtown economic initiatives, particularly in preventing public housing developments. This Anglo elites' pro-industry and pro-development stance continued through the 1950s, resulting in Downtown's victory in the mayoral race with Congressman Norris Paulson over incumbent (and public housing supporter) Fletcher Bowron. Under the guidance of Anglo powers, Paulson evicted 12,000 low-income Los Angelenos from the Downtown area to renew and gentrify Bunker Hill and, in 1962, build Dodger Stadium at Chavez Ravine. Just a few years earlier, the Chamber of Commerce played a key role in the city's acquisition of the Los Angeles Dodgers.⁹

⁷ "History of the Los Angeles Area Chamber of Commerce," Los Angeles Area Chamber of Commerce, accessed September 9, 2018, <https://lachamber.com/about/history-of-the-los-angeles-area-chamber-of-commerce/> and Kevin Starr, *Golden Dreams: California in an Age of Abundance, 1950-1963* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2009).

⁸ Davis, *City of Quartz*, 106-128.

⁹ "History of the Los Angeles Area Chamber of Commerce," Los Angeles Area Chamber of Commerce and Davis, *City of Quartz*, 121-123.

Norman, however, is less important than who he married in understanding Los Angeles' boosterism in the 1950s and 60s. His wife, Dorothy "Buffy" Chandler, daughter of a department store owner and Midwestern migrant, became the sole uniting force between Downtown and the Westside, and directed massive fundraising ventures that greatly raised the cultural offerings of the city by 1970. Mike Davis characterizes this period as "a hybrid of matriarchy and regency." Buffy, along with Kyle Palmer, Harry Chandler's proxy, became involved in local cultural institutions when she helped reopen the Hollywood Bowl in 1950. Buffy also began conversation and collaboration with the Westside. Because Westside powers were Jewish, this was controversial for Anglos accustomed to ensuring a White vision of the city's progress. Through personal acts of desegregation, she utilized a new group in Los Angeles' upper echelon to facilitate the construction and growth of cultural institutions that would blossom in the next decade.¹⁰ New visions of progress would no longer be solely tied to Anglo-Saxon control.

The Chandlers may have slightly loosened cultural control to allow powerful Jewish residents, but this did not signal broader acceptance of the growing non-white population in Los Angeles. During World War II African Americans flocked to the city, primarily for the job opportunities afforded to them during the war, but also to leave the South. Heavy labor shortages in defense manufacturing centers and increased industrial demand forced employers to seek out a diverse workforce. President Franklin D. Roosevelt's policy actions during the war also sought to reduce racial discrimination in

¹⁰ The Mark Taper Foundation Sky Court, the (now defunct) Mark Taper Hall of Economics and Finance, and the renamed original State Exposition Building into the Howard F. Ahmanson Building.

the workplace.¹¹ As civil rights conflict in the 1950s and 60s grew, more Black southerners made the conscious decision to cross the Sunbelt in search of a better life.¹² This great migration forever changed these cities, and in Los Angeles, black migration transformed the area surrounding Exposition Park.

Exposition Park initially developed on the outskirts of Los Angeles, but by World War II it firmly resided within the city's boundaries. Similarly, Agricultural Park, and later Exposition Park, originally sat outside of "South Central"—the Black business district that originated just south of Downtown (and southeast of Exposition Park) in the late 1800s and came into its prime by World War I.¹³ By 1970, however, as the Black population ballooned in size but was legally prevented from moving into White neighborhoods and White residents fled for the suburbs, the Park became a White institution in the midst of a Black neighborhood. Restrictive housing codes enforced segregation and played a key role in Exposition Park's absorption into the South Central district. Housing covenants existed in Los Angeles from as early as the 1890s, and the California Real Estate Association used them specifically to keep Blacks, Hispanics,

¹¹ Rawn James, Jr., *The Double V: How Wars, Protest, and Harry Truman Desegregated America's Military* (New York, NY: Bloomsbury Press, 2013), 37-143. Roosevelt was pressured by activists involved in the Double Victory campaign: victory against fascism abroad and victory against racism at home.

¹² Josh Sides, *L.A. City Limits: African American Los Angeles from the Great Depression to the Present* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2006), 2-3.

¹³ Sides, 16-17. Sides' historical maps section at the end of the book, although unlabeled and difficult to read if one isn't familiar with the area, also shows Exposition Park's gradual inclusion into the South Central district. Another, easier to read map that contains today's boundaries for South Central can be found via Google Maps:
<https://www.google.com/maps/place/South+Los+Angeles,+Los+Angeles,+CA/@33.9700821,-118.303981,12z/data=!3m1!4b1!4m5!3m4!1s0x80c2b7dbd41fb7e9:0x24a2ff6a792f2618!8m2!3d33.9891116!4d-118.2914872>.

Asians, and Jews out of certain neighborhoods into the 1960s. Yet, policies differed between earlier restrictions and postwar restrictions. Before the war, covenants separated between White and “other.” This created multiracial, vibrant neighborhoods shared among all other groups.¹⁴

Los Angeles housing in the postwar period, although still governed by White segregation, differed in key respects: civil rights legislation had greatly weakened covenants, housing became more affordable, and African Americans made more money than ever. This fueled Black ambition for better livelihoods, but Whites resisted Black integration even at the “expense” of diversifying White neighborhoods through acceptance of Hispanics, Asians, and Jews. In addition, not all Blacks enjoyed the same financial gains as others in this period, another factor that led to a growing South Central district that was increasingly segregated and increasingly solely Black. While some African Americans were able to break the segregation barrier, most Black homeowners helped expand the size of Black neighborhoods far beyond what they had been pre-war by buying up nearby homes. This brought about further White hostility, flight, and segregation reinforced by institutional groups such as realtors, banks, and private developers.¹⁵ South Central became a predominantly African American neighborhood by the 1960s for these reasons.

Despite these changes, South Central still housed Exposition Park and its amenities. Moreover, wealthy Jewish and Anglo residents ran Exposition Park in

¹⁴ Sides, 18-20.

¹⁵ Sides, 95-108.

accordance with their own postwar interests. In 1949, the directors of the Sixth District Agricultural Association decided to remodel the State Exposition Building to meet the needs of a major metropolitan area that served as a hub for the United States' massive military-industrial complex. The museum's self-described narrative places the newly-named California Museum of Science and Industry's origins in 1951, but the *Times* didn't begin to refer to it as such until 1954. Yet, from 1949 to 1954, the museum had begun a slow process of renovation that retained some of the long-time aspects of the institution as it gradually implemented new directives. The driving forces behind the museum's postwar change included longtime Anglo affiliates of the museum; newly interested, local, wealthy Jewish philanthropists; and aspiring politicians.

The Sixth District's decision to rebrand reflected broader changes in museum offerings in the mid-twentieth century. Science museums did not have the same cultural capital in the 1950s and 60s as an art museum or a music hall. Yet, their popularity and economic potential enticed city leaders and led them to flourish in Cold War America. Although the CMSI did not initially function as a science museum, the general historical evolution of science museums is important to understanding the world it emerged into. Victor Danilov describes the modern science center as "contemporary, participatory, informal educational instruments ... in an enlightening and entertaining manner" for the "average person."¹⁶ Two general developments helped the science museum become one of the most popular museological institutions in America by the 1970s: a participatory approach that made it more inviting to non-elites and the potential for the museum to

¹⁶ Victor J. Danilov, *Science and Technology Centers* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1982), 2.

easily convey educational scientific concepts to a public that increasingly saw the value of science and wanted to learn more. Danilov tracked the origins of the modern science museum to the 1930s, when the Depression forced them to turn to interactive techniques to stay afloat.¹⁷

According to Steven Conn, the nineteenth century technology museum began to transition at the same time. Originally designed as an expert-driven teaching center, where objects served to assist the teaching process, technology museums lost their role as educator to universities. They then pivoted to the casual learner, where science was made understandable by being portrayed rather than created. Museums began to use hands-on experiences, rather than objects, to explain science. At the Franklin Institute in Philadelphia, for example, interactivity and push-button technology entered the scene in 1934.¹⁸

Many modern science museums did not start out as collections-centered institutions, history of science museums, or as institutions designed to be science-critical. Instead, many originated as educational or entertainment-based institutions begun by private and public parties invested in furthering public knowledge of these fields. While Danilov placed many modern science museums' creation post-1960, he acknowledged that "local, regional, or national science education needs" often drove this development.¹⁹ The CMSI was one such institution.

¹⁷ Danilov, 5-9.

¹⁸ Conn, 248-251.

¹⁹ Danilov, 12-13.

Based on name and timeline alone, the CMSI's primary inspiration was most likely Chicago's Museum of Science and Industry (MSI), which opened in the Field Museum's old structure during the city's Century of Progress exposition in 1933.²⁰ The MSI took its exhibit style from the Deutsches Museum in Munich, Germany, otherwise known as the first "new-style science and technology museum." The Deutsches Museum introduced the idea of working models and demonstrations, full-size replicas, and interactive exhibits beginning in 1906. The MSI was the first museum to adapt this style in the United States and became a lasting model for every science museum in the nation that followed. Founded by Julius Rosenwald, chairman for Sears, Roebuck & Company, the MSI sought to entertain, educate, and inspire scientists and amateurs alike. MSI exhibits covered agriculture, electricity, communications, and minerals, among other subjects. In its first year, the MSI received almost 300,000 visitors. After Rosenwald's death and the Great Depression, the MSI cultivated financial solvency in a manner that many other science museums would follow: corporate partnership. As the forerunner to American science centers, the MSI's choice resulted in the development of the science

²⁰ David E. Nye, "Electrifying Expositions, 1880-1939," in *Fair Representations: World's Fairs and the Modern World*, eds. Robert W. Rydell and Nancy Gwinn (Amsterdam, The Netherlands: VU University Press, 1994), 154-156 and Rydell, *World of Fairs*. The new era of "World of Tomorrow" fairs began with the 1933 Chicago World's Fair after the decline of Victorian fairs in the 1920s. Fair organizers focused on modernist architecture and "the prospect of salvation" from economic woes, where technological progress acted as "ideological repair and renewal" from World War I, the Great Depression, and crises facing capitalism like working-class unrest. Century of Progress fairs placed more emphasis on entertainment; Robert Rydell deems these fairs as "the triumph of the Midway." As a foray into public relations, science was meant to be consumed but not intellectually considered. Scientists helped corporations push the idea that corporate entities can and should be trusted with America's evolution, making science and technology inextricably linked to consumerism. Century of Progress fairs presented a utopian tomorrowland. In these fairs one can see the beginnings of postwar America: modernism in design, a stripping away of ornamentation, and a focus on technology and appliances that reduced and streamlined household labor. These fairs attempted to celebrate the triumphs of technological progress—speed, efficiency, convenience—unimpeded by reality.

museum into an institution more focused on contemporary technology and industry than historical analysis or presentation.²¹

Science museums' new mission helped create the concept of the hands-on museum. Traditionally, museums were no-touch zones that preserved the integrity of the object. The nineteenth century museum, as seen in earlier chapters, also emphasized controlled, civilized behavior for the visitor. The hands-on museum, then, was particularly revolutionary, as it was designed to encourage visitors to interact with displays. There are a few parameters that mark the uniqueness of science center displays: real phenomena, as opposed to simulated; ability for the user to enact control over the exhibit; and opportunity for the user to engage in creative experimentation. Creative engineering and design work create an organic experience for the visitor. Creating a hands-on exhibit requires understanding these parameters. The goal of the exhibit is to teach scientific process and phenomena, which cannot be taught by objects alone. It is a means of communication for visitor interpretation significantly different from the intrinsic value of a traditional museum object. This shift in focus changed the museum experience in myriad ways, some of the most important being communication and upkeep. The primary goal of the museum became communication via display, which in turn encouraged interpersonal communication. When exhibits offer interpretation and experience, visitors feel compelled to discuss them. In addition, communication cannot be achieved if exhibits do not operate correctly and don't communicate efficiently. Investment in the continued operation of the exhibit is much higher and more involved

²¹ Danilov, 19-27.

than a static exhibit. Interaction causes faster degradation of exhibits, which in turn keeps visitors invested in returning when new exhibits replace the old.²²

In the early postwar period, the MSI embraced the hands-on museum model by firing their curators, ending collection-centric exhibits, and adding many corporate-sponsored interactive exhibits.²³ It must be noted that at this time, interest in science and technology was a two-way street. Industry leaders and governments may have wanted to enhance science education due to the technological imperative, but the public was also hungry to learn. Whether it was skepticism, fascination, or dread that drove them, public preoccupation with innovations such as the atomic bomb and space travel ignited a postwar building boom of science museums. Those that arose in this period included the CMSI, along with natural history museums that broadened or changed focus, such as the Dallas Museum of Natural History's transformation into the Dallas Health Museum (1946) and the Boston Museum of Natural History's into the Boston Museum of Science (1951). Throughout the 1960s and 70s, more than twenty new science museums were founded around the world.²⁴

In this new age of the science museum, Danilov established three branches bound by "similar underlying philosophy:" comprehensive centers, specialized centers, and limited centers. He listed the CMSI as a comprehensive center, or, "older and more extensive science and technology museums with large staffs, budgets, and attendance."

²² Ian Simmons, "A Conflict of Cultures: Hands-On Science Centres in UK Museums," in *Exploring Science in Museums*, ed. Susan Pearce (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: The Athlone Press, 1996), 79-88.

²³ Danilov, 31.

²⁴ Danilov, 31-32.

Within that definition, he subdivided the category into industrially oriented, educationally oriented, or scientifically oriented, and placed the CMSI within the first. Under this definition, the CMSI “places considerable emphasis on industrial developments and relies to a large degree on exhibits and funding from industry.” While Danilov states that the museum can be more multifaceted and education-oriented than this definition allows, it ultimately relies on industry support and focuses on industrial development.²⁵

Industrially oriented science museums became a significant medium for corporations and the government to create narratives about scientific and technological development. As Sharon Macdonald states: “Museums which deal with science are not simply putting science on display; they are also creating particular kinds of science for the public.”²⁶ To understand the CMSI’s role in the presentation of a particular ideology of progress in Los Angeles, it’s important to evaluate which “kinds of science” the institution deemed worthy of display and how it displayed them. Given that Los Angeles created much of the technology for the military-industrial complex at this time, it’s worth analyzing how ideologies of progress and superiority formed at its best-known science museum.

Management over the CMSI’s early 1950s modernization program fell to Louis C. Venator. He had served as the Exposition Building’s general manager since 1940, and

²⁵ Danilov, 42-50. This is opposed to a specialized center, which restricts itself to one aspect of science, such as transportation or health, or a limited center, which is either a small institution or an addition to another type of institution, such as a children’s museum or natural history museum.

²⁶ Sharon Macdonald, “Exhibitions of Power and Powers of Exhibition: An Introduction to the Politics of Display,” in *The Politics of Display: Museums, Science, Culture*, ed. Sharon Macdonald (New York, NY: Routledge, 1998), 1-24.

ushered in the new age of the museum under the Sixth District's guidance.²⁷ The Sixth District hired industrial design firm, Raymond Loewy Associates, to construct new exhibits because of Loewy's previous efforts to "introduce dramatic spectacle" to dull business exhibitions.²⁸ As had been the case in previous decades, museums and exhibitions shared spectacle techniques and designers. Using Loewy, the CMSI renovated the old exhibition hall in lieu of new construction.²⁹ The Sixth District also began openly acknowledging negotiations with local industries for funding future endeavors.³⁰ On February 20, 1950, the newly remodeled Exposition Building opened to the public. This initial renovation ended up costing around half a million dollars, approximately \$5.2 million in 2018 dollars.³¹

The Sixth District's hiring of Loewy marked the beginning of a larger trend for the museum: the use of well-known designers and architects for the construction of new wings and exhibits to bring in modern spectacle. Loewy, known as "the Father of Industrial Design," began renovation work on the CMSI in the late 1940s. By that time,

²⁷ "Louis Venator, State Museum Executive, Dies," *Los Angeles Times*, May 4, 1955, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

²⁸ "Museum of Science," *Fortnight: California's Own Newsmagazine* 10, no. 10 (Los Angeles: O.D. Keep Associates, May 11, 1953): 35 and Pat Kirkham, *Charles and Ray Eames: Designers of the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1995), 266.

²⁹ Tom Sitton, "California State Museum of Science and Industry," Historic Resources Inventory, June 1974, State of California, Department of Parks and Recreation, Seaver Center for Western History Research, Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County, Los Angeles, CA.

³⁰ Charles C. Cohan, "Notable Exposition Project Advanced: Extensive Remodeling and Units Provided by \$2,225,000 Program," *Los Angeles Times*, February 26, 1950, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

³¹ "State Exposition Will Reopen Monday," *Los Angeles Times*, February 16, 1950, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. Calculation in today's dollars made by saving.org using the Consumer Price Index data provided by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Loewy had been known for industrial designs ranging from logos to transportation vehicles to department store interiors. Notable clients included Studebaker, NASA, and the Pennsylvania Railroad. Loewy's signature style, streamlining, defined machine age modernism.³² In 1939, he created the *Transportation of Tomorrow* exhibit for Chrysler at the New York World's Fair. The exhibit included a rocket ship designed for international travel. In the postwar years, Loewy's company reached new heights of popularity with consumer products focused on suburban domestic life. In the 1960s and 70s, he went on to design interiors for the United States government, including Air Force One and NASA's Saturn-Apollo and Skylab projects.³³

Loewy's design appeal lay in his attention to streamlined transportation. Streamlining design techniques came from aviation and ballistics research and arrived in California in 1928 from New York. Although Loewy was a French immigrant, the style was used ubiquitously in Hollywood film sets and became popular with Southern California's car culture.³⁴ Modernism exploded on the American film scene when

³² Hänsel Hernández-Navarro, "Art Deco + Art Moderne (Streamline Moderne): 1920-1945," CIRCA, January 8, 2016, <https://circaoldhouses.com/art-deco-art-moderne/>. Known as an evolution of Art Deco, Streamline Moderne emerged in the 1930s and lasted into the 1940s. Designers of this style were inspired by air, land, and sea vehicles of the machine age. Century of Progress expositions used Streamline Moderne frequently in their architecture, including the San Francisco Golden Gate International Exposition of 1939 and 1940.

³³ "Raymond Loewy Archive," Manuscripts and Archives Department, Hagley Museum and Library, accessed September 9, 2018, <http://findingaids.hagley.org/xtf/view?docId=ead/2251.xml&doc.view=content&brand=default&anchor.id=0#ref2.1> Project material listing and description can be found under Volume 11: Pre '55 Interiors – "State Museum of Science and Industry, exhibits, Los Angeles, 1954" and "State Exposition Building, exhibits, Los Angeles, 1948-1950."

³⁴ Christopher Long, "The Rise of California Modern Design, 1930-41," in *Living in a Modern Way: California Design, 1930-1965*, ed. Wendy Kaplan (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2014), chap. 2, ProQuest eBook Central.

European modernist designers fled growing fascism in Europe post-World War I. The spectacle-filled modern “cinematic city” featured in film became a model for architectural and urban design in actual cities, the beginning of architects and designers using movie-making techniques as a representation for both teaching and creating design, and served as a new mediator for analyzing “social, economic, and cultural processes” in real cities.³⁵ When Loewy designed for Studebaker, he used new industrial materials such as fiberglass, a product of World War II.³⁶ In a 1964 interview in *Science & Mechanics* magazine, Loewy stated that the one design principle all designers should use was aerodynamics. He emphasized that aerodynamic vehicles “all have a look of going somewhere, a look of fast, efficient action.” Loewy praised the idea of using wind tunnels and modeling automobiles from the aerospace industry’s design aesthetic. However, he cared about usefulness more than appearance. “Phony design,” as he put it, did nothing to help the car’s function. According to Loewy, design development should stem from function. Streamlined, aerodynamic design meant that the entire design concept was created with the user in mind. In addition, Loewy’s designs veered on tomorrowland-esque, as in the case of his “electrotaxi.” The idea utilized unusual design, sidewalk charging outlets, and automatic payments to create a more utopian world, where downtowns would have reduced “traffic jams, decrease[d] noise ... [and] eliminat[ion of]

³⁵ Rafael E. Pizarro, “Urban Design and the Cinematic Arts,” in *Companion to Urban Design*, eds. Tridib Banerjee and Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris (Routledge, 2011), chap. 16, Google eBooks.

³⁶ Bill Stern, “War and Peace: Unexpected Dividends,” in *Living in a Modern Way: California Design, 1930-1965*, ed. Wendy Kaplan (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2014), chap. 6, ProQuest eBook Central.

air pollution.³⁷

A mid-1950s self-titled CMSI booklet provides explanation of the museum's new Loewy-influenced spectacle-filled aesthetic and ideological approaches. The CMSI described exhibits as a combination of "entertainment and sugar-coated education." Modernization was a key word used throughout, and the language emphasized the continuance of the Exposition Building, updated and made modern through Loewy's design. The 1950s renovations addressed new ways of understanding technology and science's role in society, particularly in the midst of the Cold War. Permanent exhibits included many holdovers from the previous era, including Agricultural Hall, the Marine Room, Mineral Hall, and the Redwood Empire Room, but the exhibit design reflected contemporary concerns. Agriculture continued to feature prominently in the CMSI because California remained the nation's leader in agriculture into the 1950s.³⁸ Loewy's transformation of Agriculture Hall was more about change in display than change in object, which still consisted of dioramas and preserved fruit. He used backlit preserved jars of produce artistically within exhibits and hung agriculture and animal models from mobiles. *Fortnight's* 1953 review of exhibits stated that Loewy's display approach "could be easily mistaken for those in a museum of rational modern art." Loewy also used old dioramas of industrial California locations, such as harbors and airports, to present a narrative of the state's crop cycles. In the spirit of the Exposition Building's Marine

³⁷ James R. Berry, "An Interview with Raymond Loewy," *Science & Mechanics* (March 1964): 66-69, 114, http://digital.hagley.org/2251_0049.

³⁸ Gerald D. Nash, *The American West in the Twentieth Century*, 217-246.

Room live fish (explored in Chapter 2),³⁹ a transparent hive with live bees showed the process of pollination.⁴⁰

In addition, Sixth District staff redesigned the museum's other exhibits. Mineral Hall reflected the most basic level at which the CMSI thrust new exhibition techniques onto old objects. Now, visitors could push buttons to see rocks react to blacklight or determine their location of origin on an electronically-lit relief map. The museum also contained notable additions that hinted at an ideological shift in understanding these dioramas differently. The Water Resources exhibit, for example, contained old relief maps and dioramas of dams and aqueducts, but these inventions were now framed as explaining "one of California's most vital problems," rather than celebrating awe-filled feats of engineering.⁴¹ More interactive features were added to the exhibit to enhance the maps as well, including visitor-activated water fountains that required the user to understand California's water distribution system via button-pushing before drinking. These features significantly changed the framework of knowledge from appreciation of invention to analysis of a contemporary problem that personally affected the visitor. In doing so, it showed the entire network of water acquisition from rain to reservoir to

³⁹ The Redwood Empire Room hosted the fish by the 1950s.

⁴⁰ "Museum of Science," *Fortnight* and Sixth District Agricultural Association, *Museum of Science and Industry of California*, exhibition catalogue, accessed June 30, 2017, <http://whimsicalwill.tripod.com/CMSI/CMSIBooklet1.html>. While undated, Goodwin J. Knight is listed as governor, Edgerton is listed as president of the Sixth District, and Micciche is Secretary Manager. This places the visitor booklet sometime between 1955 and 1956. The fact that none of Don Muchmore's notable changes to the museum are listed also points toward the booklet being printed in this time frame.

⁴¹ "Museum Water Exhibit to Stress Modern Role," *Los Angeles Times*, August 20, 1953, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

consumer; in other words, it explained the *process* of the technological system.⁴²

Similarly, Industry Hall concentrated its exhibits on the process of modern California manufacturing. Loewy used historical analysis, running from the 1700s to modern manufactures, to showcase the state's industrial evolution. The booklet's explanation of Industry Hall's offerings hinted at another feature of process-based display that played a central role in the ascendancy of the science center. It stated that the Hall illustrated "how men and machines work together to produce an end result." This rather vague statement (What machines? What work? What end result?) responded to the underlying anxiety Los Angelenos felt about scientific and technological advancements in the Cold War era.⁴³

Los Angeles may have been booming economically, but there remained an underlying anxiety that infused the entire nation postwar. In the early years after Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the concept of atomic energy in American culture perceived it as a potential blessing in disguise. Uninformed journalists and popular media regarded it as a cure-all that would bring peace, prosperity, and leisure. Reinforced by the government and legitimate news organizations, the positive potential of atomic energy resonated most with college-educated Americans, even when they learned troubling information about radioactive isotopes.⁴⁴ Hopefulness bordering on unrealistic visions of utopia regarding atomic energy notwithstanding, many Americans genuinely feared and

⁴² Sixth District Agricultural Association, *Museum of Science and Industry of California*.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Paul Boyer, *By the Bomb's Early Light: American Thought and Culture at the Dawn of the Atomic Age* (New York, NY: Pantheon Books, 1985), 109-121.

distrusted science by 1950. As science became more elevated in society, it also became more distant. The public felt that scientists sought to control national and international affairs. In popular culture, scientists were (and continue to be) portrayed as sociopaths obsessed with research at the expense of all else as often as they are humanitarian idealists. The atomic bomb had shifted science from an unequivocal social benefit borne of the enlightenment to a potential harbinger of doom.⁴⁵

Siegfried Giedion's "Man in Equipoise," from his seminal work *Mechanization Takes Command*, credits World War II with destroying humanity's faith in progress through mechanization. People came to connect mechanization to the devastation it caused and to the scientific advancement that transformed people's thinking about mechanization as teleological development to understanding it as constant "motion and unending change."⁴⁶ Los Angelenos felt that harbinger of doom as readily as anyone, if not more so. Because of their position as the locus of defense industry development in the West, Southern Californians felt anxious about the bomb, particularly with the "atomic" sunrise caused by nuclear testing at the Nevada Test Site throughout the 1950s. Of course, the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) ensured that Los Angeles wasn't in the fallout zone when completing these tests, so the sunrise functioned as public exhibition of the bomb's power. Local news station KTLA even broadcast a test detonation in 1952. However, it must be noted that aside from interest by local news sources, the AEC did

⁴⁵ Boyer, *By the Bomb's Early Light*, 266-274.

⁴⁶ Siegfried Giedion, "Man in Equipoise," in *Mechanization Takes Command: A Contribution to Anonymous History* (1949; repr. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1970), 714-723, ACLS Humanities eBook.

not announce testing times or dates, making the sunrise an odd occasional fact of city life.⁴⁷ In this way, it symbolized the nuclear age's creeping fear, but it also represented the lack of information or control citizens had regarding this new, terrifying creation.

As the CMSI matured in the late 1950s and 60s, it would become the Park's primary location to address city residents' scientific and technological concerns, but in its earliest years, the Sixth District used the Exposition Park armory to display most weaponry exhibits. As early as 1952, Exposition Park hosted its first atom-centric exhibit at the armory. The *Alert America* Convoy, created in 1951 by the Federal Civil Defense Administration (FCDA), was the first national exhibition sponsored by the organization since its creation by President Harry S. Truman in 1950. *Alert America's* trailers traversed the continental United States in the early 1950s, and essentially existed to explain the usefulness of civil defense to the American public. The Convoy brought the threat of the Cold War going "hot" to life using dioramas, posters, and films. Significantly, the Convoy approached nuclear weapons as dangerous and devastating. It vividly depicted the effects of nuclear warfare to instill the importance of defense, given Soviet aggression. The Convoy traveled to seventy cities and was visited by over one million people.⁴⁸ When the Convoy arrived at the Park, Los Angeles City Schools sent

⁴⁷ Scott Harrison, "From the Archives: Journalists Witness Nevada A-bomb Tests," *Los Angeles Times*, July 7, 2017, <http://www.latimes.com/visuals/photography/la-me-fw-archives-journalists-witness-nevada-abomb-tests-20170525-story.html>; Doug Bierend, "Throwback Thursday: The Glowing Dawn of the Atomic Age, Seen from 1950s Los Angeles," *Wired*, January 1, 2014, <https://www.wired.com/2014/01/throwback-thursday-the-glow-of-the-atomic-age-seen-from-the-golden-state/>; and Sarah Alisabeth Fox, *Downwind: A People's History of the Nuclear West* (Lincoln, NE: UNP Bison Books, 2014), 15, 93-94.

⁴⁸ Guy Oakes, *The Imaginary War: Civil Defense and American Cold War Culture* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1995), 82-83.

over 100 buses full of schoolchildren.⁴⁹ Visitors viewed items, equipment, and even a dummy from the Nevada Test Site that created Los Angeles' atomic sunrises.⁵⁰ *Alert America* reflected the government's early Cold War rhetoric surrounding the bomb, which embraced and emphasized fear and terror. This would change in the 1950s, as would the Sixth District's approach to exhibition in Exposition Park.

The Sixth District's CMSI renovations marked the first step in major changes at Exposition Park. In 1955, the Sixth District's 75th anniversary, the organization swore J. Howard Edgerton in as a new board member. Edgerton, president and CEO of California Federal Savings and Loan and USC graduate, was both a colleague and long-time friend of Howard Ahmanson's since attending USC together in the 1920s. Appointed to the Sixth District board by his old friend, California Governor Goodwin Knight (Republican), Edgerton belonged to the new Jewish elite class in postwar Los Angeles, and was thus invested in success for the local military-industrial complex as the impetus for his own industry's growth. Edgerton was elected president of the Sixth District board two weeks after his swearing in and would take charge of the CMSI's (and surrounding Exposition Park's) development for decades to come.⁵¹

⁴⁹ "Students to See 'Alert America' Show at Armory," *Los Angeles Times*, May 5, 1952, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁵⁰ "'Alert America' Convoy in L.A. for 5 Days," *Los Angeles Times*, May 15, 1952, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁵¹ "Agricultural Board's New Directors Sworn In," *Los Angeles Times*, January 22, 1955, ProQuest Historical Newspapers; "J.H. Edgerton Named Head of Park District," *Los Angeles Times*, February 2, 1955, ProQuest Historical Newspapers; and Abrahamson, 14-19, 83, 221. Edgerton was also elected to serve on the board for the Coliseum Commission at this time. He dedicated much of his time and energy to Exposition Park by serving on the board for the Sixth District Agricultural Association, chairman of the boards of the California Museum of Science and Industry and California Museum Foundation, and a member of the Coliseum Commission. He was also involved in local and state politics, helped elect Knight to the governorship, and used this relationship to gain access to the Sixth District and funding for the

Venator died unexpectedly of a heart attack a few months following Edgerton's ascension.⁵² Within a month, the Sixth District appointed Joseph J. Micciche, public relations officer for the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors, as general manager.⁵³ Micciche's primary accomplishment in this period was managing the Park's 75th anniversary diamond jubilee by turning back the clock to the late nineteenth century. Outdoor attractions included a reenactment of President Hayes' trip to the first state fair at the Park, an 1880s style parade, and a prize horse and cattle exhibition, as well as an exhibit in the CMSI titled *California in the 1880s*. On first glance, this event contrasted with the CMSI's new focus. The contemporary science museum template had shifted away from historical narrative and into contemporary and future scientific advancement, yet the CMSI hosted a major event to celebrate the history of the Park, complete with period-appropriate costuming, props, and machinery. This event cast light on the nuance of the CMSI's continued governance of the Park, of course, but it also revealed concern over the historical narrative of the city. It's clear from the speeches given that day that the Sixth District viewed this event as part of a grander narrative. A reenactor presented President Harding's speech, emphasizing California as the "vanguard of progress." "Harding," breaking character for just a moment, went on to say, "Your fair city, I feel,

CMSI. (See Myrna Oliver, "Obituary: J. Howard Edgerton; Former Chief of Cal Fed, Prominent Civic Leader," *Los Angeles Times* October 24, 1999, <http://articles.latimes.com/1999/oct/24/local/me-25822> and Sixth District Agricultural Association. *Museum of Science and Industry of California* for more on Edgerton's service.)

⁵² "Louis Venator, State Museum Executive, Dies," *Los Angeles Times*, May 4, 1955, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁵³ "Micciche Gets Sixth District Group Post," *Los Angeles Times*, June 9, 1955, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

will undoubtedly take its place as one of the primary examples of this western progress, as indeed present conditions of excellence would indicate.” Later in the day, Lieutenant Governor Harold J. Powers spoke on the “wonderful heritage” of the city. Micciche tied this progress and heritage not solely to the Park, but specifically the museum:

“Now we are on the threshold of a new era of Exposition Park. The Sixth District is proud to have had a part in the development of Los Angeles and the Southland. We are pleased that the people enjoy the California State Museum. We will try to make it even more of a community asset in the years to come.”⁵⁴

With this speech, Micciche outlined the goals of the new museum and the role the Sixth District felt it played in the city’s progress. The word “asset” continued a tradition in the museum going back to its earliest days. The CMSI should serve a purpose and have tangible value for the community, just as it had when it functioned as a commercial exposition building.⁵⁵ Yet, the implied community continued to reflect not only a population that had never been homogenous in Los Angeles, but now lived nowhere close to the Park. The tangible value of the Park lay at odds with the realities of the city, particularly the needs of South Central.

Nevertheless, the CMSI began to gain recognition for its interactive and modern exhibit techniques.⁵⁶ The museum embraced new technologies used in the commercial

⁵⁴ “State Museum to Turn Back Calendar to 1880: Science and Industry Unit to Observe 75th Year at Exposition Park This Morning,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 23, 1955, ProQuest Historical Newspapers and “Time Turned Back to 1880 by Pageant: Diamond Jubilee of Museum Marked in Colorful Rites,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 24, 1955, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁵⁵ “Museum Head Named to 6th District Board,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 20, 1956, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁵⁶ Los Angeles County Superintendent of Schools, “State Museum of Science and Industry,” in *Historic Landmarks in Los Angeles County* (Los Angeles: Office of the County Superintendent of Schools, 1956), 73.

and domestic sphere when it hosted events, such as the World Plastics Fair and Exposition in 1955.⁵⁷ Essentially, the CMSI's permanent exhibits in the late 1950s continued to showcase, per Legislative order, "the State's economy and industry," but both economy and industry had changed drastically from ten years prior. In addition, the specific goals of Edgerton's Sixth District began to restructure the relationship between the museum and local industries.

1956-1962: The Don Muchmore Era, *Sputnik I*, and *Mathematica*

In 1957, the Soviet Union's launch of *Sputnik I* marked the official beginning of the space race, leaving Americans shocked and fearful of becoming victim to Russia's wrath. In addition, the United States' embrace of the New Look and the technological imperative by 1953 placed *Sputnik* in a new light. If the Soviet Union or China could out-mobilize the United States *and* gain technological superiority, what then? And if the Soviet Union could launch *Sputnik*, what else could they launch? Throughout the 1950s and 60s, the USSR and the United States developed nuclear weapons and delivery systems at alarming rates as a deterrent against attack from one another. Ultimately, both nations held the capability for determined virtual survival or "mutually assured destruction" of the world.⁵⁸

1940s and 50s nuclear tests in the Pacific—and their resulting nuclear fallout—added to the American public's growing concern. Civil defense efforts ramped up in the

⁵⁷ "Exposition on Plastics Set to Open," *Los Angeles Times*, October 3, 1955, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁵⁸ Allan M. Winkler, *Life Under a Cloud: American Anxiety About the Atom* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1993), 81, 166.

60s, including nuclear drills and fallout shelters, which only served to heighten concerns even before the terrifying Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962. Americans feared human fallibility and the military's nuclear strategy as much as the bomb. Stanley Kubrick's *Dr. Strangelove* (1964) hit at the heart of many Americans' resurgent concerns in this period, even as the Soviet Union and United States put them somewhat at ease with the Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty of 1963.⁵⁹

Los Angeles, now established as a center for national defense engineering and manufacturing, benefited from these fears. Elite Los Angelenos' hunger to be a world city only grew as its population and economy did. The Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce fully privatized and broadened outreach to surrounding counties, becoming the Los Angeles Area Chamber of Commerce by 1967. The organization's focus did not change, however. The Chamber of Commerce continued to support Downtown real estate development and the open shop, as they had for decades. In 1958, the Chamber of Commerce attempted to take statewide political power through the governorship to bring back anti-labor policies that had declined postwar, but lost handily to Democrat Edmund

⁵⁹ Paul Boyer, *Fallout: A Historian Reflects on America's Half-Century Encounter with Nuclear Weapons* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1998), 95-102. After the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty of 1963, Americans let nuclear fears fall to the background of everyday life. The level of collective anxiety felt by the nation over the issue for almost twenty years abated. Attention to nuclear weapons fell drastically after 1963 in all realms, including activism, media, and cultural expression. Political movements seemed to support declining interest in the issue, but actual scientific and technological development contradicted that. Both nations far surpassed testing in the five years after 1963 versus the five previous years with much larger bombs. (Underground testing also played a role in the minimization of awareness.) Boyer attributes a decline in concern for atomic devastation to many factors: the perception of reduced danger, the growing remoteness of the nuclear reality, the tranquilizing effect of the 'peaceful atom,' the arcane reassurance of nuclear strategy, and other issues and concerns such as Vietnam and the civil rights movement. Regardless, the potency of the bomb in American life declined by the mid-1960s, resulting in a decreased need for display or education featuring it after that point.

Gerald “Pat” Brown, Sr.⁶⁰

The Chamber of Commerce’s failure opened the door for the Jewish elite, as part of the new cultural coalition, to take both statewide political control and further investment in local economic and cultural initiatives. Mike Davis refers to this new political coalition as the Ahmanson-Unruh system, formed between savings and loan magnate Howard Ahmanson and South Central liberal Democratic assemblyman Jesse Unruh. Using Westside money, Unruh helped Democrats gain control of the state legislature and created a lasting relationship between Los Angeles’ Jewish elite and the liberal wing of the party. This helped establish the Westside as a dominant economic, political, and cultural player in Los Angeles.⁶¹ To ensure they could maintain that position, Westside elite sought out initiatives that gave the area “culture.” Davis notes that modernism, due in one part to the area’s real estate boom and in another to separate themselves from Anglo neo-classical design, came to represent Westside cultural identity. Aside from Hollywood film sets, John Entenza, editor and publisher of *California Arts and Architecture* magazine from 1940 to 1962, heavily featured modernist architecture as a specifically Westside feature. Modernist designers, including Charles Eames, regularly met with Entenza for conversation on the field in the area.⁶²

Heedless of the impact of their decision on the rest of the population, the new elite

⁶⁰ “History of the Los Angeles Area Chamber of Commerce,” Los Angeles Area Chamber of Commerce and Davis, *City of Quartz*, 121-123.

⁶¹ Davis, *City of Quartz*, 124-125.

⁶² Davis, *City of Quartz*, 72-73.

coalition expanded efforts to bring sophistication to the city through the arts.⁶³ As Los Angeles boomed in the postwar years, city leaders worried about sustainability of growth, particularly Downtown, where buildings and businesses were falling into decline. Before 1957, the city couldn't even build the skyscrapers that marked a modern metropolis due to earthquake regulations.⁶⁴ Los Angeles elites' obsession with ensuring the city's advancement played out across economic, political, and cultural arenas. They fought against their history as an "adolescent city," when leaders prioritized private enterprise over public planning of communal spaces.⁶⁵ This definition particularly stung because it hinted at Los Angeles' continual struggle to be significant and worthy of attention in relation to established American cities in the Midwest and East. Showing investment in local and national art and culture also played an ideological role in counteracting the city (and country)'s insecurities in relation to Russia's "sophisticated" cultural output. While Moscow had ballet, composers, and fine art, Los Angeles—the mecca of the modern military-industrial complex—had "crass materialism."⁶⁶ City leaders focused on White upper-class culture to achieve these ends through elite museums and music halls. Cultural capital, while intended to draw the city together and package it as a worldly destination, conveniently forgot about cultures that didn't fit the image Los Angeles wanted to project. In addition, these new amenities were financially inaccessible for local residents.

The 1960s began the city's coming-of-age era when control of the *Times* passed

⁶³ Margaret Leslie Davis, *The Culture Broker: Franklin D. Murphy and the Transformation of Los Angeles* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2007), xi-xv.

⁶⁴ Margaret Leslie Davis, 23-24.

⁶⁵ Margaret Leslie Davis, 36-37.

⁶⁶ Abrahamson, 274.

from Norman to son Otis in 1960. The opening of the Los Angeles Music Center in 1964; Los Angeles County Museum of Art, largest museum west of the Mississippi at the time, in 1965; and the fast evolution of the University of California - Los Angeles (UCLA) from mere satellite school to an academic force soon followed.⁶⁷ Dorothy Chandler used her political savvy to fund many of these projects and Franklin D. Murphy, the city's "culture broker," organized them. Murphy met Chandler when he served as chancellor at UCLA and she as a University of California Los Angeles regent. Through collaboration with the Westside, Chandler's brigade helped shape the entire region.⁶⁸

The motivating factors for cultural development in this period vary, as Chandler's coalition was fairly loose. At a most basic level, the coalition wanted Los Angeles to be a "new type of modern city." For Chandler, this more specifically tied to Downtown and its revitalization, where the Chandlers still owned significant real estate holdings. She also recognized the power of cultural assets and exchange through her trips abroad, where civic leaders endorsed her role as a university regent and head of a symphony organization more than they did her husband's work. In addition, the installation of her son, Otis, as the head of the *Times* also marked a sea change in the newspaper's focus from local to global, and from conservative to liberal. As Chandler continued to serve the *Times* during this period, she surely had an impact on this development.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Margaret Leslie Davis, 39-40, 75, 79, and 42-74. Much of the collection at LACMA came from the Museum of History, Science, and Art at Exposition Park, which would become the Natural History Museum at this time.

⁶⁸ Abrahamson, 274.

⁶⁹ Margaret Leslie Davis, xi-xv and Mike Davis, *City of Quartz*, 122-127.

In line with the city's cultural ambitions of the period, the Sixth District hired modernist Raymond Loewy's professional colleague and one-time partner, Charles Luckman, to create a master plan for Exposition Park in the late-1950s.⁷⁰ Luckman's plan intended to solve "current problems" in the area (traffic and parking primarily), but also defined what the Sixth District's mission for the Park should be for the 1960s. The master plan called for reducing the number of offerings available and focusing on two "principal activities:" "cultural-educational" and "spectator sports." In this period, one of the flaws of the Park (as had been the case since its creation) was its location in relation to other cultural entities in the city. Exposition Park was definitively urban in this period but was too far south to be considered Downtown. Luckman still recommended keeping and promoting cultural institutions along with sporting events. This meant removing some of the Park's other offerings, such as recreation fields and the armory.⁷¹ This plan is significant for a few reasons: one, it showed that the museums were going to be prioritized alongside the Coliseum. This also meant that other offerings were cut; the armory would no longer host infantry regiments by 1961. Two, it also marked the Sixth District's shift toward making Exposition Park institution-centric. By removing recreational facilities and centering on stadiums and museums, the plan diminished the

⁷⁰ Christopher James Alexander, *Julius Shulman's Los Angeles* (Los Angeles, CA: The Getty Research Institute and J. Paul Getty Museum, 2011), Plate 24. Luckman and Loewy worked together in creating an interior display at Los Angeles' J.W. Robinson's Department Store in 1951. The master plan is undated, but Charles Luckman Associates formed in 1958 after splitting from Pereira, according to Clay Stalls, "Charles Luckman Papers, 1908-2000," William H. Hannon Library, Loyola Marymount University, 2008, Online Archive of California, http://oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/c8057gfv/entire_text/?query=exposition%20park.

⁷¹ Charles Luckman Associates, *A Master Plan for Exposition Park: Los Angeles, California* (Los Angeles, CA: Charles Luckman Associates). Undated but post-1954 according to page 14 in the document.

Park's value as a community space.⁷² Instead, the Sixth District removed recreational offerings, causing the general decline of the outdoor spaces. These spaces had, by the 1960s, become central for the African American community in South Central.

White Los Angeles elites held no interest in the African American community's role in the city's progress and they saw South Central's growth next to the historically Anglo spaces, such as the CMSI, as a threatening encroachment. Fears over changing demographics permeated among Anglo elites. Charles Luckman had described South Central as a "medium-class residential community" in the late-1950s.⁷³ Yet, by 1962, CMSI director William F. Fitzgerald wrote to the *Times* that Exposition Park leaders had, in collaboration with the LAPD, created an Exposition Park Security Committee to assuage White visitors' fears about the area.⁷⁴ The CMSI's focus didn't specifically cater to African American visitors either, although corporate museum sponsors advertised in local Black papers like the *Los Angeles Sentinel*.⁷⁵ In addition, both the *Sentinel* and Black leftist paper, the *California Eagle*, regularly published reviews or general notices about exhibits at the CMSI and greater Exposition Park. In general, though, Black residents felt unwelcome in the area in the postwar period, particularly at USC. Some felt that this discrimination dated as far back as the 1920s, such as local Black attorney

⁷² There did not appear to be any individual institution master plans created for the different entities as recommended to start that process, and the Park still remains under a tripartite government structure along with the Coliseum Commission.

⁷³ Charles Luckman Associates, *A Master Plan for Exposition Park: Los Angeles, California*.

⁷⁴ William F. Fitzgerald, "Letters to the Times—Exposition Park: Action Taken to Increase Visitors' Protection," *Los Angeles Times*, October 4, 1962, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁷⁵ "What's Doing," advertisement, *Los Angeles Sentinel*, September 17, 1959, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

Charles H. Matthews, who recalled students being barred from extracurriculars or moving on to advanced graduate degrees.⁷⁶ Local Black female activist Joyce Sumbi recalled how, as a student in 1960, she experienced housing segregation: “The interesting thing was the community ... I looked in the housing thing at USC. They had an office where they had suggested housing in the area. So when I went to look at those, they actually had signs on the lawn, ‘No blacks allowed’ ... The community around USC ... they had strong discrimination.”⁷⁷

The opening of the Los Angeles Memorial Sports Arena in 1959 showcased another side to Angelenos’ fears over the care given to cultural assets in the city.⁷⁸ Debates raged publicly and privately on the role sports structures would play in the Park, including on whether cultural offerings would be allowed to perform in the Coliseum or Arena.⁷⁹ Similarly, reviewers of the CMSI interpreted a great divide between the low- and high- art visitors of the Park: “We wonder how many thousands of Southwest football fans have walked up the ramp of the Coliseum without even knowing about the

⁷⁶ Charles H. Matthews, interview by Joel Gardner, May 13, 1973, transcript, Recollections about Ralph Bunche, Oral History Collection, Center for Oral History Research, University of California, Los Angeles, [http://oralhistory.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz000nmdd8&title=Matthews,%20Charles%20H.,%20\\$d%201906-1985](http://oralhistory.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz000nmdd8&title=Matthews,%20Charles%20H.,%20$d%201906-1985).

⁷⁷ Joyce Sumbi, interview by Alva Moore Stevenson, session 2, May 5, 2008, transcript, Black Women Activists in Los Angeles, 1950-2000, Oral History Collection, Center for Oral History Research, University of California, Los Angeles, <http://oralhistory.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz0009d4gm&title=Sumbi,%20Joyce>.

⁷⁸ “Los Angeles Memorial Sports Arena,” Important Precedents in Stadium Design, *Housing the Spectacle: The Emergence of America’s Domed Superstadiums, 1965-1992*, Columbia University, accessed September 9, 2018, http://www.columbia.edu/cu/gsap/BT/DOMES/TIMELN/la_mem/la_mem.html.

⁷⁹ Braven Dyer, “Sports Parade: Where Does Culture End and Sport Begin?” *Los Angeles Times*, April 8, 1955, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

fine exhibit halls not more than a hundred yards away.”⁸⁰ City elites had begun to determine that Exposition Park wasn’t the best location for appreciation of “high art” offerings.

The construction of the Sports Arena, along with a 1960 expansion of the Museum of History, Science, and Art, also reflected minimization of the Park as an actual usable, communal space for the Black community.⁸¹ The CMSI contributed to the shrinking of parkland with the construction of a Horticultural Hall and new courtyard. In 1956, it broke ground between the east and west wings of the original State Exposition Building. The Hall was made of metal siding and glass set in aluminum for a “light and airy” appearance and contained a wide balcony to view large exhibits from above in addition to at ground level.⁸² Called “the biggest window in town,” the Hall (at 178 by 30 feet) was completed and dedicated in 1957. The structure included free standing cantilevered stairs and lounge chairs for guests to rest on between exhibits, emphasizing the role of the museum as a public leisure space instead of the Park.⁸³ In 1959, an 11,000 square foot courtyard for outdoor exhibits entered planning stages. Placed just south of Horticultural Hall, Edgerton described the courtyard as “the primary entrance” for the museum, using a concrete block fence and a pebble-concrete floor. This addition was

⁸⁰ “Museum Browsing ... With Some Push-Button Participation,” *Sunset* (February 1957), <http://www.whmsicl.cnc.net/CMSI4.html>.

⁸¹ Lawrence Culver, “From Paradise to Parking Lot,” *L.A. Forum*, Los Angeles Forum for Architecture and Urban Design, January 15, 2010, <http://laforum.org/article/from-paradise-to-parking-lot/>.

⁸² “New \$268,700 Wing Set for State Museum,” *Los Angeles Times*, January 22, 1956, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁸³ “Addition to Exposition Park Museum Dedicated,” *Los Angeles Times*, April 25, 1957, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

completed later that year and remains the museum's main entryway.⁸⁴ Both of these additions were designed to be modern and enticing, yet their presence made the Park less available for recreational uses.

New construction marked the beginning of major changes at the CMSI. In 1956, the Sixth District hired a new museum director, but unlike Chicago's postwar changeover at the MSI, the CMSI hire's background wasn't in industry. Instead, Don Moncrief Muchmore arrived with expertise in public relations. He held an assistant professorship and was director of public relations at Long Beach State College⁸⁵ and ran his own campaign management and public relations firm. As such, his goal was first and foremost concerned with increasing attendance and revenue. Within this mission, Muchmore stated a desire to create new exhibits that featured the following Southern California industries: aviation, electronics, petroleum, and motion pictures. These, of course, lined up with the contemporary, dominant industries of the age in Los Angeles.

Interestingly, a 1956 pre-*Sputnik* interview with Muchmore introduced a concept commonly associated with science museums post-*Sputnik*: the role of the museum as "a focal point for interesting young people in careers in science and in industry."⁸⁶ The post-*Sputnik* science museum differed in significant ways from older institutions. It continued to emphasize education and current technological developments, but in light of the Cold

⁸⁴ "Development Begun at Exposition Park," *Los Angeles Times*, June 7, 1959, ProQuest Historical Newspapers and "Pictures Lure Visitors to View New Exhibits: California Museum of Science, Industry Stimulates with Storytelling Approach," *Los Angeles Times*, May 16, 1960, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁸⁵ Now California State University, Long Beach.

⁸⁶ "New State Museum Head Seeks to Double Visitors," *Los Angeles Times*, November 22, 1956, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

War arms race, science literacy meant more than merely education and enlightenment—it now represented the preservation of democracy and the American spirit. The science museum’s new goal was to ensure that the public (including legislators) understood the vital role of science in society, particularly in regard to funding. Many science museums centered their approach on “the excitement of discovery,” or the process of science. In many ways, this reflected an older American ideology of the frontier, a comparison most aptly noted by Captain Kirk in the 1960s series *Star Trek*: “Space: the final frontier ... to boldly go where no man has gone before!” The “space race” became both external in competition with the USSR and internal in the need to fill scientific career shortages throughout the nation.⁸⁷

Many historians and science educators specifically credit *Sputnik* for revolutionizing science education in America, including the science museum.⁸⁸ Others assert that educational reform had already begun in the United States before *Sputnik* through the work of university professors and curriculum designers.⁸⁹ Los Angeles’

⁸⁷ Steven W. Allison-Bunnell, “Making Nature ‘Real’ Again: Natural History Exhibits and Public Rhetorics of Science at the Smithsonian Institution in the Early 1960s,” in *The Politics of Display: Museums, Science, Culture*, ed. Sharon Macdonald (New York, NY: Routledge, 1998), 80-81 and *Star Trek* (1966-1969).

⁸⁸ Cathy Wissehr, Jim Concannon, and Lloyd H. Barrow, “Looking Back at the Sputnik Era and Its Impact on Science Education,” *School Science and Mathematics* 111, no. 7 (November 2011): 368-375, Wiley Online Library; Zuoyue Wang, *In Sputnik’s Shadow: The President’s Science Advisory Committee and Cold War America* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2008); Ian Kennedy, “The Sputnik Crisis and America’s Response” (master’s thesis, University of Central Florida, 2005), <http://stars.library.ucf.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1578&context=etd>; Robert A. Divine, *The Sputnik Challenge* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1993); and Richard Toon, “Science Centres and Legitimacy,” (PhD diss., University of Leicester, 2003).

⁸⁹ Rodger W. Bybee, “The Sputnik Era: Why is this Educational Reform Different from All Other Reforms?” *Reflecting on Sputnik: Linking the Past, Present, and Future of Educational Reform*, symposium hosted by the Center for Science, Mathematics, and Engineering Education, October 4, 1997, <http://www.nas.edu/sputnik/bybee1.htm> and George E. DeBoer, “What We Have Learned and Where We Are Headed: Lessons from the Sputnik Era,” *Reflecting on Sputnik: Linking the Past, Present, and Future*

unique position in the growth of the military-industrial complex offers an explanation beyond educational reform that predates *Sputnik*, however. One, it must be noted that neither Edgerton or Muchmore were educators, scientists, or from industries promoted by the museum. Instead, one was a savings and loan multimillionaire who had used knowledge of the operations between industry and government in Los Angeles' military-industrial complex to build an empire through the exploitation of federal housing programs.⁹⁰ The other was a public relations newcomer who worked in everything from universities to political polling. In addition, the CMSI had always been a museum focused on industry, the promotion of industry in the region, and ways in which citizens could assist in industrial development. Technological imperative aside, one of the driving reasons behind advocating science education in the CMSI was less about science *or* education, and more about the economic opportunities provided through industry, commerce, and the massively profitable military-industrial complex that had just only begun to make its home in Los Angeles by 1956. If Los Angeles could build its own base of educated, white-collar workers, the city could also ensure the continuance of military-sponsored investment in the region. This type of worker was also one that Los Angeles hoped to attract as indicative of a cultured, global city. Cultivating that type of citizen from within would have been appealing to the new booster set.

In 1958, the museum explained this reasoning thusly:

of Educational Reform, symposium hosted by the Center for Science, Mathematics, and Engineering Education, October 4, 1997, <http://www.nas.edu/sputnik/deboer.htm>. Educators' concerns grew from two different contexts: the technological imperative and growing criticism of progressive education and its usefulness for technical work. Both of these coalesced as early as 1946 into a concern that threatened the nation's survival, as seen in a report compiled by President Truman's Scientific Research Board.

⁹⁰ Abrahamson.

“WHY A MUSEUM OF SCIENCE AND INDUSTRY? One of the greatest challenges facing intelligent people today is how to interest young people to become scientists and engineers. Within ten years America will be short thousands of scientists and engineers and hundreds of thousands of technicians. One effective way to reduce the gap between demand and supply is to put the museums to work encouraging young people, through the use of exciting exhibits, to become interested in industry and the sciences. At the same time, it is important that the adults realize what is happening in the industrial and scientific worlds so they may be prepared to accept change. The California Museum of Science and Industry is dedicated toward these ends.”⁹¹

Evaluating the language used in this explanation is important because it reaffirms the CMSI’s industry-focused approach. According to the CMSI, scientists and engineers were part of a “demand and supply” system, which would have certainly been true in 1958 Los Angeles and well-understood by civic leaders such as Edgerton.

In addition to this industry focus, the CMSI also stated that it intended to help adults “be prepared to accept change” in a world mired in Cold War anxiety. Keeping in mind Los Angeles’ unique position in this industrial arena and its proximity to atomic testing, the CMSI was aware of the general public’s heightened interest in these technologies. If the public had to accept change, it wasn’t going to be because of the museum, but because of the military-industrial complex that created that world. But, the museum could prepare them for that eventual acceptance. As industry sponsorship emerged in museum exhibits, it became clear that the entity that most wanted people to “accept change” was industry itself, enacted through museum exhibits. Many of these industry sponsors had personal connections to Southern California. Thus, the newly

⁹¹ *The California Museum of Science and Industry*, exhibition brochure, 1958, <http://www.whmsicl.cnc.net/1950sBrochure.html>.

named California Museum of Science and Industry evolved into Danilov's "industrially oriented center," where rationale for the exhibits and funding relied on industry itself.⁹²

When the museum expanded its focus from teaching about California industry to include adolescent and adult science education, it began to rely even less on museum objects and more on the process of storytelling and interaction. There was no one better to explain this development than Muchmore, the consummate public relations man. "There is the clutter-case museum which collects, and then there is the museum which tells a story," Muchmore claimed in 1960, deriding the Smithsonian Institution as an example of the former. Describing his approach as "blending Aristotle and P.T. Barnum to provide knowledge," Muchmore championed a hybrid intellectual and entertainment-centered approach.⁹³ For Muchmore, the ability to "explain the how and the why," instead of showcasing the finished product, was central to this method. Muchmore spoke boldly, and his approach—making a museum so interesting that "people can't stay away," while simultaneously making "the young mind want to think"—worked.⁹⁴ In 1957, a year after his appointment, Muchmore lowered cost to the museum per attendee to 29 cents (in comparison to a one dollar national average) and increased annual attendance by 200,000 to a total of 660,000.⁹⁵ One of the major reasons for this jump in

⁹² Danilov, 22-27.

⁹³ Don M. Muchmore in "Pictures Lure Visitors," *Los Angeles Times*.

⁹⁴ Norris Leap, "Museum Reckons Profit in Enlightened Clients: Every Customer Causes 30-Cent Loss, but Director Works to Keep Turnstile Spinning," *Los Angeles Times*, January 1, 1962, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁹⁵ "Muchmore Ends First Year at State Museum," *Los Angeles Times*, November 20, 1957, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

attendance was a conscious shift toward child visitors through school field trips. By 1956, the Los Angeles County Superintendent of Schools advertised the CMSI as a location for teachers to take their students “to keep the public in touch with the most modern trends in industry, to point up problems, and to suggest job training possibilities.”⁹⁶ By 1959, the museum became the second most attended museum in the United States.⁹⁷

As the museum grew in influence, the Sixth District and wealthy Los Angelenos formed the privately-run California Museum Foundation (CMF) in 1958 to financially support the CMSI. The CMSI needed more funding to create innovative and interactive exhibits than the state government could provide. The CMF filled the funding gap through forming partnerships with private industry. The foundation played the middleman between the non-profit museum and major corporate donations. In 1962, the Sixth District renamed itself as (confusingly) the California Museum of Science and Industry.⁹⁸ (From here onward, they will be referred to as “the Board.”) While the Board remained affiliated with the state and its officers were appointed by the governor, this change signaled the Board’s new museum-centric mission.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ Los Angeles County Superintendent of Schools, 73.

⁹⁷ “Science Museum Now Second Largest in U.S.: Three Years of Progress Marked; Goal of Million Visitors Set for Coming Year,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 1, 1959, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. Muchmore also played an active role in restructuring parking payments garnered by the Coliseum to benefit the museum with a sizeable amount of revenue (\$50,000 per year).

⁹⁸ Marvin L. Holen, interview by Carlos Vasquez, 1990, transcript manuscript, California State Archives State Government Oral History Program, Oral History Collection, Center for Oral History Research, University of California, Los Angeles, 215-216 and “The Story of the California Museum of Science and Industry,” University of Southern California, accessed June 30, 2017 via the Internet Archive, https://web.archive.org/web/20100602000035/www.usc.edu/CSSF/History/CMSI_History.html.

⁹⁹ Art Seidenbaum, “Once-Stuffey Museum Now Magic Teacher,” *Los Angeles Times*, April 28, 1963, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. This began in 1950, as the institution transformed into a museum.

Projects started small. In 1959, Muchmore opened the completely industry-sponsored Omnibus Room, which featured small exhibits on mining, steel, engineering, and electronics, among others. In addition, a Hall of Electronic Communications exhibit, sponsored by the Pacific Telephone and Telegraph, opened.¹⁰⁰ Visitors could hear their own voices through the telephone and compare the evolution of phone technology into the “future.”¹⁰¹ The exhibit, while small, showcased the telephone’s function as well as its always-positive historical evolution. As time went on, this progressive narrative became more distinct, and more celebratory.

The CMSI’s positivist narratives reflected larger trends in science museums’ approach to the interpretation of technology and science. Technological progressivism, or the belief that “current processes or . . . modern machines represent[ed] the finest in man’s history,” implied that technological progress and social progress were linked in an ever-upwards trajectory. This interpretation was not so far removed from earlier exposition eras. Danilov and Edward P. Alexander associate this with presentism, where machines and concepts are not considered in a larger historical context, and therefore lose avenues by which to be analyzed.¹⁰² The CMSI was no different in this regard, and oftentimes struggled with finding a balance between Aristotle and P.T. Barnum in sponsored exhibits. This became more pronounced as the museum shifted further towards the

¹⁰⁰ “Science Museum Now Second Largest in U.S.: Three Years of Progress Marked; Goal of Million Visitors Set for Coming Year,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 1, 1959, ProQuest Historical Newspapers and California Department of Finance, Budget Division. *State of California Budget: For the Fiscal Year July 1, 1960 to June 28, 1961* (1960).

¹⁰¹ “What’s Doing,” *Los Angeles Sentinel*.

¹⁰² Danilov, 10-11.

applied sciences when it opened its Science Wing in 1961.¹⁰³ It was especially true when dealing with some of the hottest button issues of the Cold War: the atom bomb and the space race.

In addition to the hopes and fears wrought by the creation of atomic energy during World War II, Americans also had to deal with the post-war threat of aggression by the Soviet Union. Americans expected war at any moment, particularly after *Sputnik*, and used the power of nuclear weaponry as a security blanket against annihilation. After Russia tested their own bomb in 1949, Americans unequivocally sided with science despite their fear. As a result, their perception of scientific development began to link science to a life-threatening competition with Russia rather than one of control over a chaotic environment. Thus, entered the age of the space race, and the sublimation of atomic terror into obsessive American superiority in 1950.¹⁰⁴

This shift began with government and industry-led media stories on the atom's potential for "peacetime applications" in the late 1940s and was solidified by Eisenhower's "Atoms for Peace" speech, delivered to the United Nations General Assembly in 1953.¹⁰⁵ The military-industrial complex advanced this idea in a variety of mediums, including exhibits. As seen in exhibitions of years prior, display of technologically-advanced products wasn't new. However, postwar America's advertisement of technology reached a new pinnacle, marking the beginning of

¹⁰³ Mary Matthew, "'World of Numbers' Exhibit Opens New Science Wing," *Los Angeles Times*, March 24, 1961, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

¹⁰⁴ Boyer, *By the Bomb's Early Light*, 334-351.

¹⁰⁵ Boyer, *By the Bomb's Early Light*, 291-302 and Ira Chernus, *Eisenhower's Atoms for Peace* (College Station TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2002).

“commodity scientism.” Because so many new inventions were difficult for average Americans to comprehend, technological products appeared to work magically to consumers. This allowed the federal government and advertising entities to imbue technological products with meaning that did not necessarily coincide with their function. At the same time, these technologies became more central to Americans’ everyday lives. Ultimately, commodities produced from technology became seen as science itself. In exposition spaces, new technologies not only showcased innovative products, but made statements on the progress and superiority of the creator, nation, potential consumer, and man over nature. Progress (both personal and social) became equated with technology and technology became equated with commodities. The federal government used advertising techniques for the atomic bomb by presenting it as a commodity that provided opportunities for the nation, bringing technological display to global politics. Presenting the bomb as a symbolic weapon was just as important as the weapon itself. This spurred the further proliferation of nuclear weapons in following decades.¹⁰⁶

By the end of the 1950s, atom rhetoric changed significantly enough that, in 2006, Steven Conn lamented that he had yet to find a science center exhibit on nuclear power that covered the exhibit in any depth. At museums like the Bradbury Science Museum in Los Alamos, New Mexico, nuclear power was presented as a “guardian of national security in a hostile world” in the Cold War era. Exhibits sponsored by government and industry leaders invested in this narrative wanted audiences to “love the bomb” instead of

¹⁰⁶ Michael L. Smith, “Selling the Moon: The U.S. Manned Space Program and the Triumph of Commodity Scientism,” in *The Culture of Consumption: Critical Essays in American History, 1880-1980*, ed. Richard Wightman Fox and T.J. Jackson Lears (New York, NY: Pantheon Books, 1983), 175-209.

fear it.¹⁰⁷ Peter Kirstein's evaluation of atomic museums calls them borderline "overt propaganda." In 1958, Chicago's MSI hosted *Seapower*, a Navy-subsidized atomic exhibit, exemplifies this narrative. *Seapower* explained the power of the military's ballistic submarines with the phrase, "no spot too distant." The primary focus of the exhibit lay in the submarine's capabilities but paid little attention to the effect it would have if ever activated. The exhibit made little effort to explain the process behind the science of ballistic submarines. In this example, only the narrative of "magical" peace-bringing nuclear submarines remained.¹⁰⁸

The CMSI never succeeded at completing a permanent exhibit on atomic energy, although it certainly tried. Plans for an Atomic Energy Wing began in 1960. It intended to address "the peaceful uses of atomic energy" in collaboration with the federal government, but it never achieved that.¹⁰⁹ Instead, atomic exhibits were limited to temporary traveling installations created by the Atomic Energy Commission in collaboration with the Oak Ridge Institute throughout the 1950s and 60s. The first, titled *This Atomic World* (1958), explained the "inner workings of the atomic nucleus" and the creation of atomic energy. However, from there, the exhibit showed that the "atomic world" consisted almost solely of peaceful uses: nuclear reactors and disease treatment. A piece of Hiroshima roof tile is mentioned briefly in a write-up on the exhibit, but nothing

¹⁰⁷ Steven Conn, "Science Museums and the Culture Wars," in *A Companion to Museum Studies*, ed. Sharon Macdonald (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 494-508.

¹⁰⁸ Peter N. Kirstein, "The Atomic Museum + Cold War Era Graphics," *Art in America* 77, no. 6 (1989): 44-57.

¹⁰⁹ "Pictures Lure Visitors," *Los Angeles Times*.

in exhibit brochures or in the tone of reviews conveys gravitas.¹¹⁰ Later exhibits included *Radiation and Man* (1966) from the 1964 New York World's Fair and *Life Science Radiation Laboratory* (1967), both of which covered similar topics: atomic and radioactive atomic structures, types and levels of radiation in the environment, and the usefulness of natural radiation in domestic life.¹¹¹

None of these exhibits were unique to Los Angeles residents. It's important to take historical context into account when assessing the failure of permanent exhibits on atomic energy at the CMSI in the 1960s. The 1963 Nuclear Test Ban Treaty caused public interest in atomic testing to fall sharply. It's plausible that interest would have waned by the time the exhibit would have progressed beyond the planning stage. The exhibit's intended focus on the benefits of atomic energy commercially and domestically would have certainly seemed outdated by 1963. In addition, state budget cuts under Governor Ronald Reagan in the coming decade slowed creation of new exhibits; at least one museum source attributed the specific failure of the permanent atomic energy exhibit to these cuts.¹¹²

Exhibits on the space race and other types of Cold War technology were a

¹¹⁰ DW, "This Atomic World," New York Hall of Science, March 11, 2014, <https://nysci.org/this-atomic-world/> and "250,000 Volts: Nuclear Display to Show Atomic Energy," *Los Angeles Times*, August 7, 1958, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

¹¹¹ Irving S. Benglesdorf, "Exhibit Describes Effects of Radiation on Man: Structure of Atomic Nuclei Pointed Out," *Los Angeles Times*, January 28, 1966, ProQuest Historical Newspapers; Irving S. Benglesdorf, "Tests in Radiation Made at Museum," *Los Angeles Times*, January 27, 1967, ProQuest Historical Newspapers; <https://orise.orau.gov/about/history.html>; and Boyer, *By the Bomb's Early Light*. The Oak Ridge Institute was originally a secret atomic bomb research site in Tennessee that became an institute focused on research and promotion of peacetime use of nuclear power.

¹¹² Jack Smith, "The Museum That Wants to be Touched," *Westways* (November 1971), <http://www.whmsicl.cnc.net/CMSI3.html>.

different story. In 1958, the CMSI's temporary *Weapons of Today* exhibit featured a real Nike missile, a model of the Missile Master that served as a command center and nuclear bunker, and a photographic exploration of the missile's use after production. This exhibit was a collaboration with the 554th Missile Battalion at Fort MacArthur near the San Pedro harbor in Los Angeles.¹¹³ However, the CMSI strongly desired a space-based exhibit. On a federal level, the national space program embraced commodity scientism and spectacle by being formed as iconography from the outset. Initial reports on its creation listed "national prestige" at the same level as defense in terms of the program's purpose. Scientific justification for the program was vague, and NASA scientists added to the unknown, magical quality of the enterprise by equating space travel to westward expansion.¹¹⁴ NASA had become a major symbol of American democracy, and the CMSI sought to present how closely the endeavor was tied to Los Angeles' industries.

In 1958, the first Space Age Museum in the nation entered the planning stage. The CMSI intended for the museum to include exhibits on "industrial concerns active in the space field," but also serve as a celebration of Los Angeles' contributions to that field. In 1959, the state Assembly Committee on Industrial Relations and the Senate Interim Fact-Finding Committee on Commerce and Economic Development began an interim study on the feasibility of a Space Age Museum. They compiled messages of support for CMSI to host the venture from a variety of city leaders, including local industry leaders from Aerojet General, Thompson Ramo-Wooldridge, Inc. (TRW), and Packard Bell

¹¹³ "Exhibition of Missiles Now at Park," *Los Angeles Times*, March 16, 1958, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

¹¹⁴ Michael L. Smith, 175-209.

Electronics. On a broader level, NASA, General Electric, and the Army supported the museum's creation, as well. Dan A. Kimball, president of Aerojet General and former secretary of the Navy, had this to say in his speech:

“California already has forged to the forefront in the field of rockets and missiles. It is important to the State's economy and well-being to maintain this leadership as the Space Age gets into full swing ... I can think of no better way ... than to establish a State-sponsored Space Age Exposition and Space Age Museum ...”

Packard Bell president, Robert S. Bell, added bluntly that such an institution's value would be in drawing more technology-centered business to the region. Aside from Kimball, many industry supporters felt that financial support should come from industry and use “the business man's approach.” The CMSI also received support from organized labor through John M. Annand, President of the Joint Council of Teamsters No. 42, the Institute of Radio Engineers, and the West Coast Electronic Manufacturers Association. Finally, CMSI board members advocated for the museum, including J. Howard Edgerton, who hoped that the Space Age Museum would feature equipment specifically developed in Southern California. The CMSI's board also included Dr. Raymond B. Allen, UCLA Chancellor, and Dr. Rufus B. von Kleinsmid, USC Chancellor, both of whom emphasized the educational potential present in such an institution.¹¹⁵

In 1961, Kimball was tapped to lead the project and the first temporary traveling

¹¹⁵ Ted Sell, “Plans for Space Museum Backed: Businessmen, Educators See Institution as Memorial to Southland's Science Role,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 9, 1958, ProQuest Historical Newspapers; “Pictures Lure Visitors,” *Los Angeles Times*; “Howard Edgerton Heads Cal Federal,” *Hollywood Riviera Tribune* 38, no. 28, June 28, 1962, California Digital Newspaper Collection; and State of California Legislature, Assembly Interim Committee on Industrial Relations, *Report of the Assembly Interim Committee on Industrial Relations*, March 1959, in *Appendix to the Journal of the Assembly* 1, January 5, 1959-June 19, 1959, https://archive.org/stream/supplementtoappe19591cali/supplementtoappe19591cali_djvu.txt.

exhibits opened under the auspices of the CMSI in the recently-emptied armory building later that year. By the end of the 1960s, a full-fledged museum dedicated to the space age had still not materialized due to lack of funding that would plague the museum going into the 1970s.¹¹⁶ Realization of a permanent exhibit on the local aerospace industry would not manifest for over a decade. In any case, these exhibits showcased a continued narrative in which industry and commerce played the primary role in the museum's exhibits and mission, surpassing education, patriotism, and Cold War anxiety.

The CMSI was not successful at constructing permanent atomic energy and space museums in the 1950s and 60s, but Edgerton's 1959 comments showed his commitment to creating a corporate-sponsored museum regardless:

“[The Board] feel[s the Space Museum] has considerable merit from an educational standpoint, and they think that it is sound, that the State should lay the foundation for a future development of this kind with full knowledge that considerable support would have to come from private industry in order to make it successful. We have learned in the California Museum of Science and Industry that possibly one of the reasons why we have not had more support from industry in the past, is because they haven't been asked for it. One of the changes in the philosophy of the management of our museum during the past few years has been the philosophy that we are going to insist on the major support coming from industry, for the future development of our museum instead of begging Sacramento for that support, I would like to point out that out of the next \$525,000 investments in exhibits in our museum that will be made, \$425,000 of that is coming from private industry, and it is the policy of the management of the museum that industry not only be given an opportunity but be asked very aggressively for this very worthwhile educational element that we have going here.”¹¹⁷

Los Angeles had other industries to promote and Edgerton and Muchmore intended to

¹¹⁶ “Dan A. Kimball to Head Space Museum Group,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 24, 1961, ProQuest Historical Newspapers and “Unruh Offers Bill to Speed Space Museum,” *Los Angeles Times*, April 23, 1965, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

¹¹⁷ State of California Legislature, Assembly Interim Committee on Industrial Relations, *Report of the Assembly Interim Committee on Industrial Relations*.

promote them. Their efforts led to the creation of International Business Machines' (IBM) *Mathematica: A World of Numbers ... and Beyond* (1961), housed in the museum's newly created Science Wing and designed by renowned mid-century modern designers Charles and Ray Eames. *Mathematica* was as an educational tour of "mathematical concepts and their relationship to man's life and environment ... in simple, visual terms by a series of working models, films, and pictorial displays." IBM, the Eames Office, and the CMSI collaborated, creating a masterpiece that was "part carnival, part magic show, part science laboratory."¹¹⁸ It was perhaps the museum's most successful exhibit of all time.

Understanding *Mathematica*'s construction and success requires an exploration of two contexts: the unique corporate-designer relationship at IBM and the particular perspective the Eames Office brought to the table. IBM president Thomas Watson, Jr. first formed the highly influential IBM design program when he hired industrial designer and architect Eliot F. Noyes in 1956. Noyes was given a monumental task: invent a new corporate image while Watson created a new corporate management structure, and make the image match the structure. Like other postwar corporations, Watson specifically wanted modernist design and believed in the concept that "Good Design is Good Business." This meant that well-designed products improved company culture, added taste and monetary value for the consumer, and, uniquely to IBM, contributed to good management.

¹¹⁸ "In Los Angeles ... A Mathematics Exhibit," *Sunset* (September 1961), <http://www.whmsicl.cnc.net/CMSI4.html>.

IBM's approach lay in the nature of the company itself. Its mission is to create products that give humanity control over its environment through management (computers, time systems, punch-cards, Tele-Processing, etc.). Earlier understanding of scientific management focused on heightened efficiency via unskilled workers creating products through the assembly line and interchangeable parts. But, the mid-twentieth-century era of management manifested in modern corporate business through the visible hand of managerial control. IBM's "corporate character" is control over the business environment, and IBM as a company helped make visible hand control possible through its technology.¹¹⁹ In the postwar era, this control was enacted through mathematical theories of communication and organization as embodied in the machine. This was not an easily understood system. In light of these problems, IBM began a concerted effort to create an interface between the company's work and public consumers via the "architecture" of the company (physical structures, showroom design, technician dress, etc.). IBM intended to accomplish this through the creation of a consultancy that included top minds in American design, led by Noyes.¹²⁰ In essence, IBM's "design management" system would serve as the interface,¹²¹ or connector, between "the world of things and the

¹¹⁹ John Harwood, *The Interface: IBM and the Transformation of Corporate Design, 1945-1976* (University of Minnesota Press, 2011), 7. IBM promotional material used to define the company as "a business whose business is how other businesses do business."

¹²⁰ Harwood, 4 and 162. Members of the design team included Eliot F. Noyes (the first hired, and subsequent director), Charles Eames, Paul Rand, George Nelson, Edgar Kaufmann Jr., as well as hiring scores of other high-profile architects on a commission basis.

¹²¹ Harwood, 9. Harwood states that the original nineteenth century definition for interface was "the surface along which two adjacent bodies meet," but evolved postwar into meaning "the site at which the human body interacts with a complex mechanical apparatus."

world of numbers.”¹²²

Charles Eames was one of the major figures on the IBM design team, and his design approach grounded *Mathematica*. Eames, with his wife Ray Eames, worked in corporate design throughout his life, and embodied important principles of mid-century modern design that appealed to Noyes before the war. For example, Eames’ and Eero Saarinen’s 1940 “Conversation” chair applied structural principles to make an elegant piece of furniture, free of unnecessary ornamentation, that could be easily produced through material that molded to and supported the human body. Noyes defined this style as “organic design,” where structure, material, and purpose came into “harmonious organization.”

A partnership between Eames, Noyes, and IBM did not form until after the war, however. In trying to convince Watson of the usefulness of design for IBM’s advancement, Noyes presented Charles and Ray Eames’ *A Communications Primer*, a 1953 film adaptation of Warren Weaver’s introduction to Claude Shannon’s text, *The Mathematical Theory of Communication* (1949). Although best known for furniture design, the Eameses created over 125 films in the attempt to “get across an idea” in the most efficient and understandable way. *A Communications Primer* was their first attempt at film as a medium for communicating their design principles. The film presented high-level mathematical theories to a public audience by using communications science (known today as graphic design).¹²³ The film was engaging, understandable, and accurate

¹²² Harwood, 5-9.

¹²³ Sarah Cowan, “The Best for the Most for the Least,” *The Paris Review*, June 14, 2017, <https://www.theparisreview.org/blog/2017/06/14/the-best-for-the-most-for-the-least/> and Harwood, 43-46.

to the text it drew from, and used typography and illustration to explain complex mathematical concepts. It equated design with communication, where messages could be controlled and transmitted through design choices. Watson was intrigued by the potential to control audience perception of technology in this manner. Thus convinced, he brought the Eameses in to consult on various projects in the following decades, including IBM's exhibits for the Brussels World's Fair in 1958.¹²⁴

As the design consultancy built a new IBM interface, the company began to explore avenues to communicate to a broader audience than just technology geeks and industry. This urgency was compounded in part by legal concerns regarding IBM's monopoly in the field at the time, but this was only one piece of a growing technophobia in the Cold War United States that had extended to the computer. The efficiency and communicative calculation power of the computer had begun to build fear among those working in newly-mechanized occupations. 1950s popular culture references to the computer's "brain" didn't help, and the public began to feel uneasy about the computer's potential to take over the world.¹²⁵ As such, IBM felt it necessary to find a means to communicate the idea that computers were an "moral, technological, economic ... social good."¹²⁶

In 1958, IBM decided to embrace public communication through children's education, partly due to anxiety about the computer and partly due to *Sputnik*. The

¹²⁴ Harwood.

¹²⁵ Nathan L. Ensmenger, *The Computer Boys Take Over: Computers, Programmers, and the Politics of Technical Expertise* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2010).

¹²⁶ Harwood, 162.

company recognized an opportunity to accomplish this through museum exhibits and decided that the Eames Office was the best design firm for the job, based on their ability to present complex theories in engaging ways. Inspired by *A Communications Primer*, *Mathematica* sought to provide hands-on knowledge of the presence of math in all things. The exhibit focused on wide ranging “things”—biology, architecture, politics—but IBM’s primary goal was to naturalize and center the role of the computer in advancing the field of management.

The Eames Office and IBM took great care to emphasize this throughout the exhibit, from making jokes that asserted the humanity inherent in computers to developing charts that compared human and machine decision making.¹²⁷ The Eames Office played a central role in this ultimately successful approach by using design to present the computer not merely as an extension of natural life, but also as contradictorily remarkable and new—worthy of attention and capable of changing the world.¹²⁸ IBM’s past efforts to explain the tension between these two assertions ended in confusion, but the Eames’ design strategy embraced this dichotomy in a way that the public could accept. They created an environment that used hands-on experience, a physical manifestation of the interface in a comfortable environment, to naturalize the computer. The Eames approach combined “high-stakes concepts” with humor and personal attention.

Images and brochures from *Mathematica* give a sense of the Eames’ ability to

¹²⁷ Harwood, 175-182.

¹²⁸ Harwood, 194-195.

accomplish this work. Exhibit walls were covered in history and art collages that related both fields to mathematical theory. Simple interactive devices, such as in the Celestial Mechanics section, taught complex ideas, such as Kepler's laws of planetary motion, and the brochure itself helped describe the same principles through illustration and concise text. The exhibit's section on the Mathematical Machine most clearly related to IBM's vision. It explained the history of "mechanical aids to calculation" back to the Middle Ages, and forward to the first machine able to calculate without "ongoing guidance by its human operator:" Blaise Pascal's adding machine in the early seventeenth century. Exhibits explained the computer's evolution and process as a program with memory capable of input and output of data. The end of the section specifically featured IBM's role in the modern computer.¹²⁹ However, the clear majority of the exhibit was not IBM-centric. Instead, most sections featured mathematical theories on their own, without a corporate product to supplement the explanation.

Mathematica was a massive hit. The exhibit remains one of the most memorable exhibits to premiere at the museum and was, at the time of its closure at the CMSI in 1998, the longest running corporate-sponsored installation in the world.¹³⁰ Some of its components became central to IBM's pavilion at the 1964 New York World's Fair, also designed by the Eames Office.¹³¹ *Mathematica* duplicates arose in other locations, such

¹²⁹ *Mathematica: A World of Numbers ... and Beyond*, brochure, accessed September 9, 2018, <http://whimsicalwill.tripod.com/CMSI/MathematicaBrochure.html>.

¹³⁰ "Mathematica: A World of Numbers ..." *designboom*, 2001, archived from original: <https://web.archive.org/web/20011116214752/http://www.designboom.com:80/eng/funclub/mathematica.html>.

¹³¹ Harwood, 183.

as the Museum of Science, Boston in 1981, but the original is also still in existence and has been on display at the New York Hall of Science since 2004.¹³² In 2012, IBM collaborated with the Eames Office to create “Minds of Modern Mathematics,” an iPad application that contains many of the elements of the original exhibit, including images of artifacts and the Eames’ designed “IBM Mathematics Peep Show” animated videos.¹³³ IBM considers *Mathematica* the “signature example” of the company’s efforts to popularize math and science, and listed the exhibit as one of its top 100 Icons of Progress when the company celebrated its centennial.¹³⁴

What made *Mathematica* work so well for it to maintain such popularity? A large part of the exhibit’s success should be attributed to the Eames Office. According to John Harwood, Charles and Ray Eames created an accessible message about the computer’s relationship to man and humanity that IBM executives failed to articulate amongst themselves: that the computer functioned as a tool of mankind, but also as a natural extension of it. From humanity’s mass chaos of information, the computer acts as the interface to communicate order calculated via complex mathematical theory. Through the spectacle of interactive multimedia display, the Eames Office performed a balancing act between presenting educational, thought-provoking material, while still communicating

¹³² “Mathematica: Permanent Exhibit,” Museum of Science, Boston, accessed September 8, 2018, <https://www.mos.org/exhibits/mathematica>; Stephen Uzzo, “Mathematica: A World of Numbers and Beyond,” *ExhibitFiles*, Association of Science-Technology Centers, January 19, 2009, <http://www.exhibitfiles.org/mathematica>; and “Queen of the Sciences,” New York Hall of Science, accessed September 9, 2018, <https://nysci.org/home/exhibits/mathematica/>.

¹³³ “Free iPad App from IBM and Eames Office Reinvents Iconic ‘60s-Era Infographic on History of Math,” news release, IBM, April 5, 2012, <http://www-03.ibm.com/press/us/en/pressrelease/37247.wss>.

¹³⁴ “Popularizing Math and Science,” *IBM at 100*, IBM, August 30, 2011, <http://www-03.ibm.com/ibm/history/ibm100/us/en/icons/>.

the message IBM wanted. *Mathematica* represented the ambiguity and intangibility of modern science and technology in an innovative and engaging way. Objects alone could not explain these ideas, but interactivity through sound design could. The Eames Office operated as both content curator and designer.¹³⁵ Very few exhibit designers other than the Eames Office, and few corporations other than IBM, could have produced such an expertly crafted display.

Mathematica, like many of the newly renovated exhibits in the CMSI, represented the development of mid-century modern design, a style exemplified in Los Angeles from 1930 to 1965. Raymond Loewy had, in fact, already exemplified early modernism through streamlining, but Charles Luckman and the Eameses solidified the specifically Southern Californian strand of the movement. Wendy Kaplan describes this style as the “California Look:” a temperate climate that allowed for joint indoor/outdoor living spaces, a “sunny” color scheme filled with yellows and greens, and new industrial materials such as plastic and fiberglass, all mixed with handicraft displays. Combined, the Look represented an approach to modern postwar living that was specifically Californian. These values included an “endless capacity for growth, inventiveness, and individuality.” While many of the characteristics associated with the California Look had evolved from the Arts and Crafts movement, Scandinavian Modern, and the Bauhaus in Europe, California’s climate and culture gave it a distinctive aesthetic. The Look took the “functionalist, anti-ornament, and utopian” principles of modernism and applied it to

¹³⁵ Kathleen McLean, “Museum Exhibitions and the Dynamics of Dialogue,” *Daedalus* 128, no. 3 (Summer 1999), 83-107, www.jstor.org/stable/20027568.

regional needs and desires, as the Arts and Crafts movement had done in the 1920s and Scandinavian Modern in the 1940s. Place played a central role in the Look, and designers who were part of the movement created educational tools (including exhibitions) to share it with a wide audience. Kaplan credits California's large demand for construction of single-family housing for much of this development, as mid-century modern styling was especially appropriate for domestic interiors. Movies also promoted the California Look. However, many designers entered the movement due to partnerships with the military-industrial complex.¹³⁶

Exhibitions and associated media served as one of the most effective ways to present the Look to a broad public. The collaborations designers engaged in, whether with IBM, department stores, or furniture/ceramics producers, created "a period of creative experimentation and fluid boundaries between art and commerce." California, then, represented the American dream to residents and non-residents alike. Los Angeles art museums displayed it, boosters created exhibits specifically focused on it, and both provided information on where to purchase items viewed. When Disneyland opened in 1955, Tomorrowland's Monsanto-sponsored *Home of the Future* epitomized futuristic and utopian mid-century modern potential. The federal government also created international Cold War exhibits centered on domestic life consumerism. The "soft power" of these domestic goods were supposed to inspire visitors to embrace capitalism and democracy, according to architectural historian Greg Castillo. International designers in

¹³⁶ Wendy Kaplan, "Introduction: 'Living in a Modern Way,'" in *Living in a Modern Way: California Design, 1930-1965*, ed. Wendy Kaplan (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2014), chap. 1, ProQuest eBook Central.

the 1950s almost unanimously credited the Eames Office as making the most notable contributions to American modernist style. In fact, during the 1959 *American National Exhibition* in Moscow, which featured the infamous “kitchen debate” between President Richard Nixon and USSR leader Nikita Khrushchev, the Eames Office presented *Glimpses of the USA*, entrusted by the federal government to best represent “a day in the life of the United States” to Moscow. Perhaps even more notably, Los Angeles-area native Nixon used California’s perceived position in modernism to great effect when he showed Khrushchev the model kitchen. He stated, “I want to show you this kitchen. It is like those of our modern houses in California,” despite the fact that the modern kitchen was designed by a firm in Florida. Thus, California was presented to the world as the “carefree, comfortable future” of America in multiple arenas that were connected to science.¹³⁷

The Sixth District’s earlier decision to hire Luckman to design Exposition Park’s master plan also represented the Look’s dominance outside of the domestic sphere. According to Stuart W. Leslie, Luckman was among a small cadre of architects who “captured the exhilarating spirit of Southern California’s aerospace era,” also known as “cold war avant-garde.” In essence, Luckman’s style embodied California’s “blue sky dream,” where aerospace provided an opportunity to reach ever higher in Western

¹³⁷ Wendy Kaplan and Staci Steinberger, “‘It Has to Be Sold’: The Dissemination of California Design, 1945-65,” in *Living in a Modern Way: California Design, 1930-1965*, ed. Wendy Kaplan (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2014), chap. 10, ProQuest eBook Central; Greg Castillo, *Cold War on the Home Front: The Soft Power of Midcentury Design* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2010); and “Glimpses of the U.S.A. Film,” Eames Office, accessed September 9, 2018, <http://www.eamesoffice.com/the-work/glimpses-of-the-u-s-a-film/>.

industrialization, suburban stability, military superiority, and never-ending good fortune.¹³⁸ Southern California, as the center of the aerospace industry, also became the only region to develop a modernist design style based specifically on aerospace. This style was extremely popular with skilled workers in the defense industry, and many of the designed structures by Luckman and his colleagues were made for aerospace companies to attract employees.¹³⁹ In fact, IBM's Noyes-designed Aerospace Headquarters building (1963) in Los Angeles was mid-century modern.¹⁴⁰

While domestic mid-century modern represented American "soft power" through household items and suburban homes, Southern California's Cold War avant-garde clothed the secret machinations of "hard power." The popularity of this style played a key role in why aerospace companies hired designers such as Luckman. As Los Angeles tried to draw skilled labor that "embraced a version of the California Dream brought to them by the military-industrial complex," Cold War avant-garde meant "young, non-conformist, highbrow, abreast of current trends in the arts and fascinated by the challenges of the final frontier." This style was a collaborative effort between designers and engineers, and company leaders regularly corresponded with design teams to make the style "work" for company use and aesthetic. Aerospace modernism epitomized an age when Southern Californians "aimed for the stars and thought its future could last

¹³⁸ David Beers, *Blue Sky Dream: A Memoir of America's Fall from Grace* (New York, NY: Doubleday, 2012).

¹³⁹ Stuart W. Leslie, "Southern California's Aerospace Modernism," Docomomo US, September 28, 2017, <http://docomomo-us.org/news/southern-california-s-aerospace-modernism>.

¹⁴⁰ "Otis College of Art and Design," Los Angeles Conservancy, accessed September 9, 2018, <https://www.laconservancy.org/locations/otis-college-art-and-design>.

forever.”¹⁴¹ Simon Ramo of TRW justified working with Luckman on corporate facilities in part because he was known around Southern California and because of his history doing work on military facilities during the war. Ramo noted this conscious choice to “do it right ... like a campus, so it’s a nice place to come to work.”¹⁴² In essence, Los Angelenos, whether industrial or civic leaders, hoped to impress tech professionals through the California Look. Through use in military, commercial, and domestic structures, the Look served as a vital piece in the development of California as an arbiter of national taste. This aligned with the state’s ascendancy to most-populated state in the nation by 1962.¹⁴³

Many interviews conducted with white-collar aerospace workers confirm this idea. While some men mentioned climate as a motivating factor, the real pull of Southern California was the work being accomplished there and the potential for prosperity. This included housing and salary, but it also meant opportunities for workers’ children and wives. When asked if California’s natural amenities drew him, Malcolm R. Currie responded, “No. It was the thought of a new enterprise which Ramo was obviously building at Hughes Aircraft.” George Paulikas felt similarly: “No. California was a place where I wanted to go to school. I was remarkably ignorant about the geography of California ... [In California] the beauty about aerospace ... it was new, it was different, it

¹⁴¹ Stuart W. Leslie, “Aerospaces: Southern California Architecture in a Cold War World,” *History and Technology* 29, no. 4 (December 2013), 331-368, Academic Search Premier.

¹⁴² Simon Ramo, interview by Peter Westwick, December 4, 2010, transcript, Aerospace Oral History Project, The Huntington Library, San Marino, CA, <http://hdl.huntington.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15150coll7/id/7971>.

¹⁴³ Wendy Kaplan, “Introduction: ‘Living in a Modern Way,’” 54.

was the ground floor, whereas the other organizations were established. So that was really the deciding factor for me.” Ramo also noted the appeal of a school such as Caltech, far removed from “established” university authority and free to innovate. In the 1960s, some engineers and scientists also felt compelled by the Cold War “mission.” Elliott Katz remembered having the idea “drummed to our head that we are working at the only anti-communist, anti-Russian activities anywhere.” Most felt, however, that aerospace was “insulated in our little technical world.” Many of the interviewees felt no relationship to California counterculture movements, Vietnam, or even racial upheaval. When asked about Watts, Paulika responded, “It seemed far away.” Instead, aerospace workers became ensconced in mid-century modern all-white suburban neighborhoods around mid-century modern corporate parks, worked eighty-hour workweeks, and obsessed over discovering and perfecting the latest innovation.¹⁴⁴

The Look boldly showcased itself in *Mathematica*’s design. This was due in large part to the Eames’ key role in shaping Southern California’s mid-century modern movement ever since they had moved to Los Angeles in 1941. Their first partnership with the United States Navy in 1943 used fiberglass and molded plywood to create an efficient, structural, and inexpensive leg splint for soldiers on the front. The Eames’

¹⁴⁴ Malcolm R. Currie, interview by Peter Westwick, May 9, 2013, transcript, Aerospace Oral History Project, The Huntington Library, San Marino, CA, <http://hdl.huntington.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15150coll7/id/9299>; George Paulikas, interview by Volker Janssen, September 4, 2009, transcript, Aerospace Oral History Project, The Huntington Library, San Marino, CA, <http://hdl.huntington.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15150coll7/id/7844>; Ramo, Aerospace Oral History Project; and Elliott Katz, interview by Peter Westwick, June 14, 2010, transcript, Aerospace Oral History Project, The Huntington Library, San Marino, CA, <http://hdl.huntington.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15150coll7/id/7967>.

design innovations contained many similarities with aerospace postwar, particularly in the manipulation of modern material such as plexiglass, fiberglass, and wood laminates. Designers felt a need to explore these wartime materials and their potential for domestic, peacetime use.¹⁴⁵ The Eames' specific approach in the larger California modern movement centered on "harnessing science and industrialization to the arts of living." It was thus a perfect fit both for IBM and the CMSI.¹⁴⁶

Another important dimension in understanding the appeal of the Look to the CMSI is in understanding its role in communications science. The Eames used communications science theory to create *Mathematica*, particularly in designing the exhibit's ability to serve as an interface between man and machine. Therefore, it's worth looking at the field's impact on the creation of the Look. Graphic design includes visual material ranging from magazine covers to advertisements, yet also includes exhibition graphics. Jeremy Aynsley tracks two motivations for the explosion of graphic design innovation in California by the 1930s: industrial production and tourism. Through highway billboards and *Sunset* covers, graphic design helped shape California's image, whether that was Spanish fantasy past or modern mecca of fun. In *Mathematica*, the Eameses created their first exhibit using a variety of multimedia styles—three-dimensional typography, film, photography, and more—to communicate mathematical

¹⁴⁵ Ryan Reft, "Charles and Ray Eames: How Wartime L.A. Shaped the Mid-Century Modern Aesthetic," *KCET*, September 1, 2016, <https://www.kcet.org/shows/lost-la/charles-and-ray-eames-how-wartime-la-shaped-the-mid-century-modern-aesthetic>.

¹⁴⁶ Nicholas Olsberg, "Open World: California Architects and the Modern Home," in *Living in a Modern Way: California Design, 1930-1965*, ed. Wendy Kaplan (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2014), chap. 4, ProQuest eBook Central.

theory. In this presentation, both Charles and Ray Eames emphasized the significance of fun and play in education. They saw toys and games as “the prelude to serious ideas.” But this was very planned fun and play that fostered innovation and intellectual growth.¹⁴⁷

While *Mathematica*'s primary focus remained teaching mathematical theory and history to mass audiences, the Eames' approach ensured that the Look played a central role in the exhibit's design for this reason.

Ultimately, *Mathematica* communicated key aspects of early-1960s Los Angeles' ideology of progress: a place of innovation in design and technology that promised the best of American capitalism and democracy for white-collar Anglos. On a surface level, the interactive, hands-on nature of the exhibit fit the CMSI's needs. Yet, for the CMSI, the innovative nature of the Eameses work appealed less than hosting Eames Office exhibits sponsored by IBM. The company didn't fully take root in Los Angeles until two years after *Mathematica* in the iconic Aerospace Headquarters building, but that didn't mean it wasn't already in the city. In fact, Watson announced “a big West Coast expansion” as early as 1956 because IBM recognized the potential of Los Angeles' role in the military-industrial complex.¹⁴⁸ The company campaigned for its processing and computing services on the phrase, “Man can't get to outer space without computers,” from their new Los Angeles headquarters by 1965.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁷ Jeremy Aynsley, “Developing a Language of Vision: Graphic Design in California,” in *Living in a Modern Way: California Design, 1930-1965*, ed. Wendy Kaplan (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2014), chap. 9, ProQuest eBook Central

¹⁴⁸ H.J. Nelson, “The Trader: Gives His Views of the Market,” *Barron's National Business and Financial Weekly* (February 1956), 2, Google eBooks.

¹⁴⁹ “Otis College of Art and Design,” Los Angeles Conservancy.

Also, while IBM already had motivations for entering the realm of public education, “super-salesman” Edgerton helped them decide to use a museum as the medium.¹⁵⁰ Edgerton and the Board approached IBM to contribute something to the soon-to-be-built Science Wing.¹⁵¹ From there, Charles Eames stated that IBM specifically asked him to “do something” in Los Angeles “that expresses the ideals and principles and feelings of the company ... appropriate to IBM’s interest.”¹⁵² In addition, the Eameses had settled in Los Angeles and opened the Eames Office during World War II. Together, these elements created an exhibit that the CMSI hungered for: tying industries from the military-industrial complex specifically to Los Angeles, interactive and process-based techniques, and, finally, mid-century modern design. The interior of the exhibit and its educational principles may have moved from product to process, but for the CMSI, *Mathematica* itself was the product, and it was a product that sold very well. The Sixth District would remember *Mathematica*’s success going forward.

1962-1967: The William Fitzgerald Era and *The Turning Wheel*

As Los Angeles continued to thrive and white-collar professionals flocked to the suburbs through the mid-60s, the city’s racist housing and employment policies created an isolated Black postwar ghetto. South Central residents were deprived of benefits and opportunities they had previously received as residents in multiracial neighborhoods. Despite increased employment opportunities, African Americans’ segregation in housing,

¹⁵⁰ Art Seidenbaum, “Once-Stuffey Museum.”

¹⁵¹ Kirkham, 297.

¹⁵² Digby Diehl, “Q&A: Charles Eames,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 8, 1972, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

and education as a result, counteracted the opportunities brought about by the war. Neighborhoods that upwardly mobile Blacks sought to integrate deteriorated. City, county, and state institutions stopped investing in the health of newly majority-Black neighborhoods.¹⁵³ African American concerns about Anglo attention in South Central grew as the African American population increased. Black community members recognized that as the area became more Black, White elites would use race to justify shuttering amenities at Exposition Park. *Sentinel* editorialist Stanley G. Robertson wrote an impassioned plea in 1962 regarding an increase in gang activity:

“You may as well face reality and call a spade a spade. If the Exposition Park situation isn’t settled soon, put to an end, made pleasant again for people to enjoy, the Negro is going to be made the ‘heavy’ in the whole affair! You know it as well as I do. The gangs in the park are predominately Negro. The area in which the park is located has become a predominately Negro area. Because of the proximity to their homes, a large percentage of those who patronize the park are Negros.”¹⁵⁴

Robertson recalled spending days in the Park as a youth playing ball, as an adolescent on dates in the rose garden, and in the museums as an engaged learner. He felt an affinity for the Park and recognized its role public space for the community had become threatened by racial unrest and White flight.

These developments contributed to the creation of an “urban crisis” in Los Angeles, where the city gained notoriety for the highest segregation levels in the state.¹⁵⁵ The election of Sam Yorty for mayor in 1961 escalated tensions. While Yorty pledged to

¹⁵³ Sides, 108-115.

¹⁵⁴ Stanley G. Robertson, “L.A. Confidential,” *Los Angeles Sentinel*, September 13, 1962, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

¹⁵⁵ Sides, 130.

fire the LAPD's Chief William Parker for his White supremacist views and racist treatment of Black citizens, he ultimately sided with the police department and the White population's desire for continued segregation. This unrest led to the 1965 Watts Rebellion, one of the city's watershed moments in race relations. Police harassment of minorities due to White fears of Black racial integration and equality had become commonplace by this point, particularly in areas newly brought into the South Central ghetto, such as Watts. In the event that served as the catalyst to the Watts Rebellion, police harassment of two Black youths over drunk driving incited Black observers to retaliate by throwing trash at the officers. This sparked an even larger revolt, lasting five days and leaving over 30 dead and 1,000 wounded, along with almost 4,000 arrests and tens of millions of dollars in property damage. Chief Parker responded to the tragedy by comparing Black residents to "monkeys in a zoo." Racial implications aside, comparisons of Black neighborhoods in Los Angeles to zoos showcased the role Black enclaves played in the topography of the city in the eyes of suburbanized Whites. Other groups in the city viewed any political activism, particularly when violent, through this lens, creating a divided identity politics that interpreted Black justice as separatist and militant Black nationalism guided by rage.¹⁵⁶

Black residents keenly remembered the city's perception shift after the Watts Rebellion. "Watts has moved to a concept, and it has a broader meaning, and basically it means where blacks live," Los Angeles civil rights leader Celes King III stated. "There

¹⁵⁶ Eric Avila, *Popular Culture in the Age of White Flight: Fear and Fantasy in Suburban Los Angeles* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004), 50-55.

was no concept to rebuild a black community because status was to get away from it.”¹⁵⁷ *Sentinel* sports writer Clayton Moore expressed concerns over another sportswriter’s remarks about the Exposition Park neighborhood being a place where “a guy will steal your bridgework.” “An area or community like the one surrounding the Coliseum often loses enough without the thought of taking something else from it,” he wrote. “It is this kind of ill-timed remark that helps give others who read but don’t visit the area the wrong impression.”¹⁵⁸

After Watts, Los Angeles’ Downtown and Westside powers confirmed this shift when they continued to move “high art” ventures away from Exposition Park. This occurred in ways that were newly conscious of Black presence. One of the greatest examples of this new consciousness was the decision to move the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (LACMA) from Exposition Park to mid-Wilshire Boulevard, a White and Jewish upper-class neighborhood. Previously, LACMA, as part of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Science, and History, had merely ignored Los Angeles’ Black presence by excluding Black artists from exhibits. In 1965, however, LACMA left the area entirely with a keen awareness of the increasingly Black neighborhood surrounding Exposition Park.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁷ Celes King III, interview by Robin D.G. Kelley, tape XII, August 7, 1985, transcript, Black Leadership in Los Angeles, Oral History Collection, Center for Oral History Research, University of California, Los Angeles, <http://oralhistory.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz0008zgns&title=King,%20Celes%20III>.

¹⁵⁸ Clayton Moore, “The Winning Blow,” *Los Angeles Sentinel*, December 2, 1965, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

¹⁵⁹ Paul Von Blum, “Before and After Watts: Black Art in Los Angeles,” in *Black Los Angeles: American Dreams and Racial Realities*, Darnell Hunt and Ana-Christian Ramón, eds. (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2010), 249 and “Overview,” Los Angeles County Museum of Art, accessed September 9, 2018, <http://www.lacma.org/overview>.

Cecil Fergerson, a Black community activist and art curator, spoke on the racialized nature of Exposition Park, the Museum of History, Science, and Art, and the art within the museum as a long-time employee there. The museum had limited Fergerson to custodial and “helper” positions in exhibit design; all skilled work was essentially inaccessible to non-whites. He described the Museum of History, Science, and Art as “nothing but just this little old place” for the city’s elite when it was located at the Park, with little interaction from the Black community. In the years leading up to LACMA’s move to Wilshire Boulevard, he witnessed elite support for the museum’s move hinge on the murder of a White female student at USC by a Black man. While he also acknowledged the struggle between old and new money to control the arts, he stated that in casual conversation, Whites essentially believed that they needed to “get away from black people” and “move this museum someplace” else. Because of the museum’s lack of attention or acceptance of non-elites and non-whites, Fergerson noted that the museum’s largest concern regarding the Black community was transportation for Black workers, as Wilshire Boulevard was a much longer commute from Watts than Exposition Park. His founding of the Black Arts Council later led to LACMA finally instituting its Black art exhibits in the 1970s.¹⁶⁰

Racial concerns certainly colored LACMA’s split from the Museum of History, Science, and Art at Exposition Park. There were other concerns as well. Much of the

¹⁶⁰ Cecil Fergerson, interview by Karen Anne Mason, 1990-1994, transcript, African-American Artists of Los Angeles, Oral History Collection, Center for Oral History Research, University of California, Los Angeles, http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz0008zqs7&title=%20Fergerson,%20Cecil&_ga=2.259326090.1206214368.1518196870-362052272.1517526581

reasoning behind LACMA's move centered on making Los Angeles a modern metropolis by not mixing high- and low art enterprises, and by ensuring Los Angeles was considered cultured by owning an institution solely dedicated to fine art versus a hodgepodge of dioramas, mammoth fossils, and paintings.¹⁶¹ For elites, neither the Museum of History, Science, and Art nor Exposition Park represented high culture in modern Los Angeles. There were, however, some attempts by elites to "save" the area. Black residents who stayed faced an uphill battle against increasingly negative publicity. They also had to fight back against more destabilizing changes brought about by USC's urban renewal initiatives through the Community Redevelopment Agency's Hoover Project, which had been sponsored by influential White Los Angelenos such as Franklin Murphy.¹⁶² Some joined block clubs to prevent the university from condemning entire neighborhoods.¹⁶³ As unrest continued between the university and the community, residents strove to improve and beautify the Park, including increasing parkland for youth.¹⁶⁴ These struggles would continue into the 1970s and 80s.

Meanwhile, the CMSI continued to thrive, bolstered by *Mathematica*'s success.

¹⁶¹ Anthony Thormin in Arthur Millier, "L.A. Museum Future Aired: Replies Made to Suggestion of Autonomous Art, Science Units," *Los Angeles Times*, April 3, 1955, ProQuest Historical Newspapers and Margaret Leslie Davis, 217-234.

¹⁶² Franklin D. Murphy, interview by James V. Mink, 1976, transcript, Oral History Collection, Center for Oral History Research, University of California, Los Angeles, <http://oralhistory.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz0008z89q&title=Murphy,%20Franklin%20D.> More on the Hoover Project in Chapter 4.

¹⁶³ Lillie Davis, interview by Alva Moore Stevenson, sessions 2-4, May 21, 2008-July 11, 2008, transcript, Black Women Activists in Los Angeles, 1950-2000, Oral History Collection, Center for Oral History Research, University of California, Los Angeles, <http://oralhistory.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz0009d4h4&title=Davis,%20Lillie.>

¹⁶⁴ "Exposition Area Residents Start Improvement," *Los Angeles Sentinel*, December 30, 1965, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

However, the CMSI faced upheaval when Muchmore resigned in 1962 to take a post as the vice chancellor of California State Colleges, leaving the museum to find a replacement through a national search.¹⁶⁵ Later that year, the Board hired Dr. William F. Fitzgerald, a political science professor from Loyola University of Los Angeles,¹⁶⁶ as new director of the CMSI. His mission was to continue the institution's new educational focus, but his tenure did not last long.¹⁶⁷ Uniquely, he wrote letters to the editor of the *Times* more than once on behalf of the institution. But, he did not achieve many memorable financial, creative, or population-based accomplishments in this period. In fact, it was difficult to determine just who was in charge of the museum from 1962 to 1967. The public barely noticed his departure from the institution. Instead, the Board took control in this period. Impressed by *Mathematica*'s success, they initiated a similarly styled exhibit a year into Fitzgerald's appointment through a partnership with another large American corporation, General Motors (GM).

General Motors' history in Los Angeles went as far back as the branch plant era, when they established the South Gate Assembly plant in a city suburb of the same name in 1936. The plant was the second branch plant created by the company, and the first west of the Mississippi River. South Gate was also the first to produce cars from different lines (Buick, Oldsmobile, and Pontiac). During the war, it manufactured aircraft parts, among

¹⁶⁵ "Professor Named Museum Director," *Los Angeles Times*, July 12, 1962, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

¹⁶⁶ Now Loyola Marymount University.

¹⁶⁷ "New Director Sees Growth for Museum" *Los Angeles Times* July 18, 1962, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

other military transportation vehicles. By the 1950s, it produced the highest output of any GM plant in the United States.¹⁶⁸

Like IBM and aerospace companies throughout California, GM used mid-century modern design by the 1940s. GM relied on multiple Raymond Loewy designs in the 1940s and hired Eames' former co-designer Eero Saarinen to design the General Motors Technical Center in the early 1950s.¹⁶⁹ (GM, however, remained headquartered in Detroit.) GM also operated similarly to other 1950s institutions in using a “soft power” design approach to showcase the strength of capitalism as a central American principle through remodeling or creating new modernist car styles throughout the early postwar period.¹⁷⁰ In 1956, a GM-designed traveling exhibit titled *Motorama* made its way to Los Angeles and featured newly available cars, Frigidaire's *Kitchen of Tomorrow*, and prototypes of futuristic cars.¹⁷¹

GM was not new to the exhibit game. The first major GM exhibit premiered as a pavilion at Chicago's 1933 Century of Progress exposition. That same year, they

¹⁶⁸ “South Gate Assembly Plant, South Gate, Los Angeles County, California, USA,” PreservedTanks.com, World Register of Surviving Historic Armoured Vehicles, accessed September 9, 2018, <http://preservedtanks.com/Locations.aspx?LocationCategoryId=54950>; James M. Rubenstein, *The Changing US Auto Industry: A Geographical Analysis* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1992); and Becky Nicolaides, *My Blue Heaven: Life and Politics in the Working-Class Suburbs of Los Angeles, 1920-1965* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

¹⁶⁹ “Greyhound Scenicruiser' Bus Model,” Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, accessed September 9, 2018, <https://www.mfa.org/collections/object/greyhound-scenicruiser-bus-model-600654> and “General Motors Technical Center,” Michigan Modern, excerpted from the *General Motors Technical Center National Landmark Nomination*, accessed September 9, 2018, <http://www.michiganmodern.org/buildings/general-motors-technical-center>.

¹⁷⁰ “1931-1958, Emotion, A Golden Era of Style,” GM Heritage Center, accessed July 1, 2018, https://history.gmheritagecenter.com/wiki/index.php/1931-1958,_Emotion,_A_Golden_Era_of_Style.

¹⁷¹ “1956 Motorama: Design for Dreaming,” GM Heritage Center, accessed July 1, 2018, https://history.gmheritagecenter.com/wiki/index.php/1956_Motorama:_Design_for_Dreaming.

published a similarly-themed company history titled *The Turning Wheel*. The Hall of Progress' pavilion used modern design aesthetic and combined new GM-specific developments with other spectacle-filled interactive technological feats in the GM Research Laboratory, such as playing music on a light beam to emphasize the role of industry in scientific innovation. As the largest private exhibitor at the fair, the pavilion additionally featured automobile showrooms, GM household appliances, and, notably, an assembly line to market the company. However, it ultimately lost the visitor battle to Ford in the 1934 fair season. Ford shifted toward corporate image-making in exhibits, rather than centering on product display.¹⁷² GM and other corporate entities followed their lead.

GM's exhibit-based modernism focused specifically on innovative urban design that featured highways. Initiatives included a partnership with industrial designer Norman Bel Geddes, who started his career designing film sets in Los Angeles. Bel Geddes, an advocate of streamlining, created a mechanized diorama titled *Futurama* for the 1939 New York World's Fair, which featured an imagined, ideal America twenty years in the future. GM also included the *Parade of Progress*, a traveling exhibit based on the Century of Progress Exposition. The exhibit ran from 1936 to 1941 and was known for the streamlined Futurliners that carried exhibit pieces from city to city. GM emphasized the *Parade* as educational, scientific, and accessible to all. These exhibitions, aside from

¹⁷² Allison C. Marsh, "Taking the Factory to the Fair," *Meet Me at the Fair: A World's Fair Reader* eds. Laura Hollengreen, Celia Pearce, Rebecca Rouse, Bobby Schweizer (Pittsburgh, PA: ETC Press, 2014), 175-180, Google eBooks and Lisa D. Schrenk, "Fordism, Corporate Display, and the American Expositions of the 1930s," *Meet Me at the Fair: A World's Fair Reader* eds. Laura Hollengreen, Celia Pearce, Rebecca Rouse, Bobby Schweizer (Pittsburgh, PA: ETC Press, 2014), 181-195, Google eBooks.

one-off collaborations with people such as Bel Geddes, were oftentimes created in-house by GM's design team. After the war, the Futurliners were incorporated into a traveling exhibit titled *Motorama*. One theme resonated throughout these exhibits, both big and small. Like IBM, GM intended to use these exhibitions to make positive emotional connections between consumers and their products. GM wanted to use spectacle to "remake the American landscape" around the automobile, not unlike how Hollywood film sets created cities that architects and planners later used as inspiration in real urban environments. According to GM's exhibits, American progress itself could not exist without the automobile. In its various recreations of a future or model city, GM presented an environment that embraced the automobile, and what better actual city than the nation's number one automobile market to represent that?¹⁷³

The CMSI's GM exhibit presented a postwar, mid-century modern evolution from its Century of Progress predecessor.¹⁷⁴ *The Turning Wheel*, a 1963 automotive exhibit sponsored by General Motors and named after the 1930s biography of the company, cost close to three-quarters of a million dollars. The exhibit opened in the new Science Wing, across the hall from *Mathematica*.¹⁷⁵ One of its most effective displays taught the difference between manual and power steering: a visitor would stand on a platform and

¹⁷³ Jean-François Jobin, "GM Futurliner: Modern Streamliner on Wheels," Detroit Area Art Deco Society, accessed July 1, 2018, <http://www.daads.org/modern/1901/futurliner.htm>; Schrenk, 181-195; and Bob Thomas, "Evolution of Auto Traced at GM Exhibition," *Los Angeles Times*, May 3, 1963, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

¹⁷⁴ William L. Bird, Jr., "*Better Living*": *Advertising, Media, and the New Vocabulary of Business, 1935-1955* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1999), 24-47.

¹⁷⁵ Bob Thomas, "Evolution of Auto Traced at GM Exhibition," *Los Angeles Times*; Arthur Pound, *The Turning Wheel: The Story of General Motors Through Twenty-Five Years, 1908-1933* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., 1934); and Seidenbaum, "Once-Stuff Museum."

attempt to turn a steering wheel to raise themselves up after choosing between “manual” or “Power” with a push of a button. The degree of difficulty in moving the platform using arm strength was noticeable between the two choices. In fact, many of the exhibits centered on the physics of the automobile as a machine, as designed by GM’s own “styling department.”¹⁷⁶

Bob Thomas, *Times* Auto Editor at the time of the exhibit’s opening, took his teenage son on a tour of the exhibit to see if it lived up to the mission of the museum, given that “today’s children seem to be more blasé about things ... and progress ... than yesteryear’s.” Thomas concluded that the exhibit was “a button-pusher’s paradise ... and teen-agers are button-pushers.” His son, however, believed that older drivers and women would also enjoy the exhibit as car technology novices.¹⁷⁷ Clearly, the interactive nature of the new CMSI played a central role in this exhibit. Its goal was to help “non-experts” understand the automobile as a product for future purchase.

The Turning Wheel signaled the next stage in museum’s shift toward commercialized exhibits by becoming more acquiescent to the desires of corporate marketing. The exhibit was like *Mathematica* in terms of intent. It focused on the evolution of the car from “the awkward, temperamental, self-propelled buggy, a plaything of the well-to-do” to “the graceful, reliable automobile, the cornerstone of our modern transportation system.” It’s clear from the imagery and text in the exhibit guide

¹⁷⁶ “The Turning Wheel,” *Motor Trend* (July 1963): 62-67, accessed June 30, 2017, <http://whimsicalwill.tripod.com/CMSI/MotorTrend1.html>.

¹⁷⁷ Bob Thomas, “Motorwise: ‘Wide-Eye’ Look at Auto Evolution,” *Los Angeles Times*, May 5, 1963, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

that the exhibit contained significant educational components. However, *The Turning Wheel* lacked the artistic vision of *Mathematica*, an exhibit once referred to as “the most ambitious and influential science exhibition of its time.”¹⁷⁸ Imagery in the exhibition catalog demonstrates this. GM displayed automotive pieces conventionally in front of text-heavy labels. Interactive displays were also present in abundance, but they lacked the depth of knowledge the Eameses employed in both design and science to create engaging and creative displays that communicated understanding of complex theories. In addition, *Turning Wheel* was much more commercially-focused, and used GM properties to the exclusion of other important inventions in automobile history, such as Ford’s Model T. Many processes were explained within the context of the work of the GM Research Laboratory. Like its earlier exhibits, *Turning Wheel* incorporated the assembly line model of display (they used film and photography this time) and showcased GM vehicles. The exhibit also addressed “the changing landscape” of the Los Angeles area, presenting the automobile as a necessary item in modern living.¹⁷⁹ This was consistent with GM’s mission.

Nevertheless, the exhibit embraced the mathematical, scientific, and engineering components of automobile technology—metals, semiconductors, and polymers. These were among the many aspects of the automobile that a layperson might find intimidating,

¹⁷⁸ Celia Pearce, “Eames at the Fair,” *Meet Me at the Fair: A World’s Fair Reader* eds. Laura Hollengreen, Celia Pearce, Rebecca Rouse, Bobby Schweizer (Pittsburgh, PA: ETC Press, 2014), 211, Google eBooks.

¹⁷⁹ *The Turning Wheel: Milestones in Man’s Mobility*, exhibition catalog, accessed June 30, 2017, <http://whimsicalwill.tripod.com/CMSI/TurningWheel1.html>.

but most times the exhibit succeeded in explaining them.¹⁸⁰ It used spectacle to communicate the message GM wanted: to establish the automobile as “our fourth necessity” after food, clothing, and shelter, and to familiarize the public with its manufacture. The exhibit successfully elucidated the inner workings of a subject that few understood.¹⁸¹

The automobile did not carry the same level of stigma as the computer in 1963, but both reflect a larger anxiety over mechanization. Siegfried Giedion expands on this dilemma: “From the standpoint of the consumer the product becomes increasingly difficult to master. When the motor of his car fails, the owner often does not know which part is causing the trouble ... As a result, the individual becomes increasingly dependent on production and on society as a whole.” Americans feared and did not understand postwar technology, but they depended on the products created by them. As exhibits like *The Turning Wheel* show, ideals of technological progress did not fade away in the postwar period. Yet, the idea of equipoise best explains the accomplishment of *Mathematica*: a balance between rational and irrational, a recognition of “the burden of the past and the responsibility of the future,” and between the organic and artificial.¹⁸² *Turning Wheel*, in comparison, solely concerned itself with a positivist narrative.

After *The Turning Wheel*'s opening, all involved parties credited its completion

¹⁸⁰ “What’s Under the Hood?” *Sunset* (November 1963), <http://www.whmsicl.cnc.net/CMSI4.html>. *Sunset*'s review of the exhibit states that it “very nearly succeeds” and is still “good fun even when it doesn’t.” They tested the exhibit by bringing a ten-year-old.

¹⁸¹ *The Turning Wheel: Milestones in Man’s Mobility*, exhibition catalog.

¹⁸² Giedion.

and success to the Board. In fact, Fitzgerald himself credited Edgerton, Los Angeles “culture broker” Franklin Murphy, and board vice president G.E. Kinsey. An anonymous GM executive was also quoted as saying, “I have to give this museum credit. They decide what they want and *this board* goes to the top and they get it.”¹⁸³ Like *Mathematica*, a collaboration between GM and the CMSI, revealed much about Los Angeles’ position on a national level. There are a few compelling factors: the fact that Southern California was the major American market for car purchases and car manufacturing, but also the importance of hosting the exhibit in Los Angeles rather than Chicago or Detroit. Los Angeles sold itself as the city of the future in terms of its physical layout and growth, particularly “individual control over personal travel.” It had become a city designed around high speed, and GM’s interest in an exhibit there reflected that development.¹⁸⁴ Art Seidenbaum’s *Times* review also noted that no other science museum in America other than Chicago’s MSI had the level of exhibition material the CMSI held by 1963. In fact, he emphasized that *Mathematica* had been duplicated at the MSI because of its popularity in Los Angeles.¹⁸⁵ Both *Mathematica* and *The Turning Wheel* represented major acquisitions, in the same way that an art or history museum might acquire a painting or artifact. The CMSI’s “acquisition” of IBM and GM represented the museum’s power and capital, and, by extension, that of Los Angeles’.

In the early Cold War era, the CMSI brought new, invigorating approaches to its

¹⁸³ Emphasis mine.

¹⁸⁴ Abbott, *The Metropolitan Frontier*, 126-128. Abbott describes Venturi as describing Vegas as the “new Florence to the New Rome of Los Angeles.”

¹⁸⁵ Seidenbaum, “Once Stuffey Museum.” Emphasis mine on the executive quote.

exhibits that account in part for its burst in popularity in the postwar period. The museum also owed its success to Cold War fears exacerbated by *Sputnik*. They exploited the public's concerns to their own ends by showcasing atomic, aerospace, automotive, and other new industrial developments in the context of the central role that Los Angeles played in their advancement. At the same time, it presented a relationship among progress, science, and technology anchored by industrial power in an engaging, positivist way. In the 1950s and mid-60s, celebratory narratives tended to trump real concerns over the negative impacts of technological development.¹⁸⁶ After all, atomic fears from the Soviet Union had helped Americans embrace the bomb and invest in scientific education postwar.¹⁸⁷ The CMSI, in open and eager fiscal partnership with industry, sided with industry-guided narratives. Both *Mathematica* and *The Turning Wheel* allowed private corporations to present technology and science as national, good, and central to human progress. In turn, the CMSI presented the city and its industries as modern, cutting-edge, and cool. The California Look embodied American capitalism with a flavor specific to Los Angeles: a combination of soft and hard power that intended to draw white-collar workers, yet also inadvertently attracted more diversity to the region. Los Angeles became not just an industrial power, but also a cultural one, as shown through the fusion of corporation and designer.

The California Look, however, disguised roiling discontent among non-white Los Angelenos. This discontent burst to the forefront with the Watts Rebellion. Now

¹⁸⁶ One can make an argument that this is still the case.

¹⁸⁷ Boyer, *By the Bomb's Early Light*.

discontented with Yorty, Buffy Chandler used her cordial relationship with the Westside to formulate a plan to regain power in the city. Her son, Otis, joined the coalition and supported Black mayoral candidate Tom Bradley for an ultimately unsuccessful campaign in 1969. The Chandlers, and the *Times* by extension, caused a schism within the old Anglo power structure, but it didn't matter. The Chandlers' willingness to cross the aisle, along with larger activist efforts among Hollywood, religious groups, Jews, African Americans, and liberals, solidified the establishment of a new, powerful coalition.¹⁸⁸ These decisions would influence relations between the Park and its surrounding community in the 1970s.

In 1967, the CMSI also hired a new director, William J. McCann, vice president of the Southern California Industry-Education Council and founder and former mayor of Santa Fe Springs, California.¹⁸⁹ The museum thrived under McCann's leadership, faced growing problems in South Central, and saw the return of their most esteemed director, Don Muchmore. As the Cold War continued into the 1970s, the CMSI would also be forced to deal with the geopolitical concerns that still dominated manufacturing, military installations, and scientific development in Los Angeles. The museum also fell into serious legal trouble as the 1984 LA Olympics brought unprecedented attention to the Park. The 1980s was a period of the highest highs and lowest lows, where the museum had to once again determine which ideology of progress it would present for Los Angeles and its industries.

¹⁸⁸ Davis, *City of Quartz*, 125-128.

¹⁸⁹ "Metropolitan," *Los Angeles Times*, September 28, 1967, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

CHAPTER 4

THE CALIFORNIA MUSEUM OF SCIENCE AND INDUSTRY, 1968-1988: THE RETURN OF MUCHMORE AND THE 1984 OLYMPICS

A 1974 National Endowment for the Arts survey found that 38% of all museum visits were to institutions placed under the blanket definition of science museum.¹ In comparison, only 24% were to history museums and 14% to art.² The Association of Science-Technology Centers was founded in 1973 to deal with the explosion in popularity of such institutions.³ Within this development, the California Museum of Science and Industry (CMSI) became “the nation’s most attended science museum.”⁴ Los Angeles’ growth played a large part in this; it overtook Chicago as the second largest metropolitan area in the United States by 1982.⁵

Despite the CMSI’s high visitorship, it struggled to find financial support from the state of California. In the 1970s and 80s, Governor Ronald Reagan’s tax cuts and the later slashing of museum funds caused by Proposition 13 under Governor Edmund Gerald Brown, Jr. drastically reduced state funding for cultural institutions, including the CMSI. In this same period, Los Angeles’ local economy suffered from deindustrialization. CMSI leaders, such as J. Howard Edgerton and Don Muchmore,

¹ This included science centers, natural history museums, and other science-oriented institutions.

² Danilov, 5.

³ Danilov, 8.

⁴ “CMSI Entrance from Rose Garden,” postcard, accessed September 9, 2018, <http://www.whmsicl.cnc.net/CMSIpc16.html>.

⁵ “Los Angeles Replaces Chicago as Second City,” *New York Times*, April 8, 1984, <http://www.nytimes.com/1984/04/08/us/los-angeles-replaces-chicago-as-second-city.html>.

turned to local corporations to sponsor exhibits. The museum introduced a plethora of ambitious projects from the late-60s to early-80s, ranging from the Hall of Health to the Aerospace Museum. Like other science museums in this period, the CMSI became youth-centric and created educational workshops and programs for students of all ages. In this “exciting educational reality,” the museum functioned as a place of entertainment, learning, and artistic vision simultaneously.⁶ Yet, because the CMSI leaned more heavily on industry sponsorship for exhibit funding, its exhibits increasingly presented the corporate point of view.

In the 1980s, Reagan’s ascendance to the presidency further solidified the corporate-museum relationship. Refocused attention on the Cold War arms race led to large-scale federal funding to aerospace, a leading industry in Los Angeles. Reagan’s policies built a close relationship between the military and military-industrial complex on a local and federal level. Yet, tax dollars for science museums, including the CMSI, did not increase. As a result, the CMSI decided to build an aerospace museum that celebrated the United States’ Cold War victories in aerospace, designed and built in Los Angeles, as victories of American democracy.

They were helped considerably by the arrival of the 1984 Olympics in Los Angeles. The Games, hosted once again at Exposition Park, gave the museum the opportunity to vastly expand and update their offerings on a grand stage. Coming directly after the 1980 Games in Moscow in a revived Cold War atmosphere, the Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee (LAOOC) used the 1984 Games to present Los Angeles

⁶ Ernest J. Loebbecke, “The ‘Now’ Museum,” in *Pacific Business* (May-June 1971): 25-27.

as the pinnacle of American capitalism. During the Games, the CMSI and LAOOC both used spectacles created by local designers to present the city's ideology of progress as delivered by the military-industrial complex. This included hosting the Games with private monies and generating private profits through corporate sponsorship. The CMSI helped present an industry-centric ideology of progress for Los Angeles by taking the same approach for the Aerospace Museum and other new exhibits in the months leading up to the Games. The corporate-museum relationship strengthened through and after the Games, resulting in exhibits such as *Byte of Food*, a nutrition exhibit sponsored by McDonald's. By the end of the decade, the CMSI became heavily dependent on corporate sponsorship.

Los Angeles' ideology of progress may have evolved because of geopolitics, industrial evolutions, and exhibition advancements, but it maintained century-long thematic echoes of racism. From the late-1960s to the mid-1980s, the majority-Black community of South Central struggled with continued police brutality from Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD), and struggled to advance community-centric initiatives against local institutional forces. The CMSI provided scholarships to South Central youth and helped develop the California Afro-American Museum in the 1970s, which in turn gave them support from Westside donors and diversity grants for exhibits but did not invest in South Central community efforts. Instead, they built new buildings on communal Park spaces against the wishes of local development groups. They also collaborated with the LAOOC and LAPD to evict what they deemed "undesirable" South Central residents from Exposition Park leading up to and during the Olympic Games.

After the Games, South Central descended into violence, as institutional forces abandoned the area once threats to Los Angeles' global image under the Olympic spotlight abated. Only elite-approved portrayals of "multiculturalism" existed in Olympic performance and design.

1967-1970: The Hall of Health and William J. McCann

The late-1960s continued a trend of unprecedented growth for Los Angeles, but relations between city powers were strained. The *Los Angeles Times*' Otis-Chandler dynasty, now under the command of Norman and Buffy Chandler's son, Otis, broke away from other leading Anglo-Saxon families to support Tom Bradley's 1969 mayoral campaign. Bradley, an African American former LAPD officer, was unsuccessful in his first attempt, but came away from the election with the support of the Chandlers and the Jewish Westside. This opened the door a new coalition that would rise in the 1970s.⁷

The Downtown powers' schism had less immediate impact on the CMSI, however, than the state's election of California's 33rd governor, Ronald Reagan (Republican) in 1967. As a state-funded institution, the CMSI's shift to heavy corporate sponsorship rested in many ways on Reagan's budgetary methods. Reagan served as governor from 1967 to 1975 on a platform of "cut, squeeze, and trim," and valued ideology over pragmatism in his attempts to achieve that platform.⁸ While Reagan's time in office resulted in the largest increase in taxes of any state at that time and an increase

⁷ Davis, *City of Quartz*, 126-127.

⁸ Jackson K. Putnam, *Modern California Politics*, 2nd ed. (San Francisco, CA: Boyd & Fraser Publishing Company, 1984), 59.

in state budget each year, his ideological approach created symbolic cuts that greatly affected the museum. In 1968, state budgetary disputes made it impossible for the museum to garner the funds to hire the five employees needed for day-to-day operations.⁹ The CMSI specifically blamed a lack of state funding for the failure of the atomic energy exhibit.¹⁰ Despite the museum's success in the late 1960s, Reagan slashed its budget once again in 1969.¹¹ Unbalanced budgets in 1970 and 1971 due to Reagan's reluctance to raise taxes continually left institutions like the CMSI with drastically reduced funding until the budgets were resolved.¹²

During these disputes, the California Museum of Science and Industry continued to thrive. New director William J. McCann arrived at the position in 1967 from a civic background as the mayor of Santa Fe Springs, California, but also had experience as an accountant and controller for private corporations, as well as an executive for a steel plant. McCann managed the CMSI while also serving as a city councilman for Santa Fe Springs.¹³ McCann never fully relinquished his involvement in Santa Fe Springs, and was re-elected as mayor in 1975 while serving as CMSI director.¹⁴ While McCann balanced leadership roles at the museum and in his hometown, Don Muchmore returned to the

⁹ "Museum Snafu Is Ridiculous," *Los Angeles Times*, May 10, 1968, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

¹⁰ Jack Smith, "The Museum That Wants to be Touched."

¹¹ Tom Goff, "Legislature Releases Budget and Reagan Signs It at Once," *Los Angeles Times*, July 4, 1969, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

¹² Putnam, 61-63, 66-67.

¹³ Keith Takahashi, "Dust Hasn't Got a Chance in His Museum," *Los Angeles Times*, April 3, 1972, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

¹⁴ "McCann Named Mayor," *Los Angeles Times*, July 10, 1975, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

CMSI when elected president of the Board of Trustees for the California Museum Foundation (CMF) in February of 1968.¹⁵ Under both Muchmore and J. Howard Edgerton, the CMSI maintained an aggressive approach toward management and sponsorship behind the scenes that ensured the museum's success.¹⁶

McCann's CMSI mirrored techniques established under Muchmore's directorship. Museum publications used a variety of Muchmore-approved terminology to describe itself in this period, from "The World's Most Motivating Museum," to a "Push-button University." Their motto, "Tradition was Yesterday," exemplified the type of museum the Board wanted: cutting-edge and unconcerned with its past of "dust-musty jars of canned tangerines and pomegranate jellies, and glass-covered ears of corn and pods of cotton." The Board boasted 2.3 million museum visitors in 1967 and credited their school-centered approach for a large part of their success. The *Times*, however, regarded the Edgerton-led Board's "gung-ho" approach as equally influential. In 1969, *Times* writer Maggie Savoy commented on Edgerton's "work-or-be-fired" mentality for a volunteer organization, ranging from the Board to his "ruthless" vetting of volunteers regardless of community status. This included "firing" an entire debutante class from docent work for not living up to CMSI standards. In exhibit negotiations, Savoy described the Board's style as "browbeating and badgering big companies (IBM, Southern Counties and Southern California Gas, Southern California Edison, Santa Fe Railroad, Pacific Telephone, and General Motors) to finance permanent exhibits. They

¹⁵ "Muchmore to Head Unit of Museum," *Los Angeles Times*, February 26, 1968, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

¹⁶ Jack Smith, "The Museum That Wants to be Touched."

ran the place with business principles.” The “unfusty, undusty, wacky, ‘with-it’ museum,” was backed by a steel core of strict management and hardline bartering. The museum used a business mentality in exhibit design, as well. In 1969, Muchmore stated, “executives want to see things in a hurry and go back with the knowledge ... if it works for executives, it works for kids.”¹⁷

Other reviews of the time recognized local industry connections expansion through corporate partnership. *Sunset*'s 1969 review noted the primary role that local business and the community played in presenting exhibits to create the “most heavily attended museum in Southern California.” According to the anonymous writer, “the display in each case is some private industry or profession in Southern California,” including the “rocket and missile collection” hosted at the Space Museum¹⁸ in the appropriated armory building. *Sunset* also recognized the CMSI's continued focus on explaining scientific and technological processes, and defined it positively as “exploit[ing] showmanship to translate abstruse scientific or technological principles into the fun of the toy at its best—the gadget that functions both to instruct and delight.”¹⁹ In a 1971 *Westways* article, Jack Smith reflected on the museum's offerings and concluded that the Eames Office-designed *Mathematica* still reigned supreme ten years after its debut. Smith, a self-described hater of mathematics, commented that “it would take a full day, more likely a month, simply to have a superficial look at everything in the

¹⁷ Maggie Savoy, “Museum that Grooves With Young Megalopolis,” *Los Angeles Times*, January 19, 1969, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

¹⁸ Although called the Space Museum, this was still a wing of the CMSI.

¹⁹ “Spend a Lively August Afternoon in L.A.'s Do-It-Yourself Museum,” *Sunset*, August 1969, <http://www.whmsicl.cnc.net/CMSI4.html>.

Mathematica room” because it’s “so complex, various, and stimulating.” The CMSI, however, seemed to be on a different path that would come to define its exhibition style in another direction. According to CMSI docent Barbara Levin, the content mattered much less than the museum as an entity: “They may not remember what I say to them, but they remember the feeling they had when they were in the museum, that they felt smart about some things, and this is our job. We’re selling the museum. We’re not selling information to the children—we’re selling them that they should want to come.” Essentially, the spectacle of interactive, corporate-sponsored exhibits sold the museum as a place that visitors would want to return to not only be educated, but stimulated and motivated. In turn, interest in consistently new offerings enticed further sponsorship and new exhibits. McCann added, “If it’s a good show, if it involves the community—bring it in. The whole idea is not to be hard-nosed or doctrinaire about what you bring in. Let it be a little exciting, theatrical, and fun.”²⁰

These interviews held a consensus on the CMSI: museum management’s exhibition concerns clearly centered on local industry partnerships, entertainment, and self-promotion via child-centric educational offerings. McCann’s time as director from 1967 to 1982 marked a period in which the museum gradually expanded by continuing that vision, and he listed the museum’s goals as trying to “educate, stimulate, [and] motivate” children and families.²¹ One of McCann’s greatest successes, which he inherited from former director, William F. Fitzgerald, was the long-languishing Hall of

²⁰ Jack Smith, “The Museum That Wants to be Touched.”

²¹ Ibid.

Health, which finally opened its doors in 1968 after years of budget disagreements and stalled construction.²² The construction of this new building and the exhibits within arose from a collaboration that had thrived between the Los Angeles County Medical Association and the museum since 1960.²³ The Hall was intended for the public, “especially school children,” to view “first rate medical and biological displays.” State, county, and trustee/booster donations all provided some level of funding towards its completion. Yet, Reagan’s budget cuts prevented it from opening once the new building was completed.²⁴ At this point, the museum had already lost fifteen positions in the state’s 1967-68 budget and had closed its lower level and some exhibits for a couple days each week to account for a lack of staffing.²⁵

Ultimately, the Board took on the cost to ensure the Hall’s opening, largely thanks to long-time CMSI board member G.E. Kinsey, a real estate speculator and major

²² “Work Starts on Museum’s Hall of Health,” *Los Angeles Times*, September 22, 1964, ProQuest Historical Newspapers and “Museum Snafu is Ridiculous,” *Los Angeles Times*. It’s unclear as to why Fitzgerald left the CMSI at this time. Even Fitzgerald’s faculty biography (See “William F. Fitzgerald,” Loyola Marymount University, accessed September 9, 2018, <https://alumni.lmu.edu/connect/facultyhalloffame/williamfitzgerald/>) fails to mention his time as director, which seems to hint at the position just not working out. Construction began in 1964 but did not finish until 1968.

²³ “Health Hall Planned at County Fair: Twenty Agencies Pool Resources for Exhibit at Pomona,” *Los Angeles Times*, August 27, 1950, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. The Los Angeles County Medical Association and the Los Angeles County Dental Society had collaborated on exhibits as far back as 1950 at the Los Angeles County Fair in Pomona to educate the public on how to be in “tip-top condition and mental health.” This early version included videos and free check-up services.

²⁴ “Museum Snafu Is Ridiculous,” *Los Angeles Times*.

²⁵ Ray Zeman, “One Agency to Control Exposition Park Urged: Fiasco on Opening New Hall of Health Stirs Merger Plan,” *Los Angeles Times*, May 11, 1968, ProQuest Historical Newspapers and “Museum Snafu Is Ridiculous,” *Los Angeles Times*.

financial contributor, after whom the Hall would later be named.²⁶ The Hall officially opened in June 1968 as “a complete presentation of the mechanics of the human body and the miracle of life.”²⁷ CMSI and CMF staff, in conjunction with the Medical Association, designed the exhibit in-house.²⁸ The guiding mission of the Hall of Health read very similarly to *Mathematica* and *The Turning Wheel*: “The mysteries are possibly not quite as simple as they are made to appear, but the net effect is to reduce the mechanics of the body to a level no more complicated than, say, an internal combustion engine.” This was also the museum’s first new building construction project entirely designed for the permanent exhibit it housed. The CMF saw the Hall as “the world’s most extensive permanent exhibition of the mechanics of human biology and possibly unique in its field.”²⁹

The completely new, 10,000 square foot building “explain[ed], by means of provocative permanent exhibits of contemporary design, the workings of the body from the smallest blood cell to the great organ system.” The primarily pictorial exhibit brochure clearly showcased the CMSI’s focus on youth by presenting the exhibit through the eyes of five children, ranging from ages ten to fifteen. Exhibits included *Circulatory*

²⁶ G.M. Bush, “G.E. Kinsey, Major Force Behind Sports Arena, Dies,” *Los Angeles Times*, November 14, 1983, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

²⁷ “Museum Will Open Hall of Health Today,” *Los Angeles Times*, June 27, 1968, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

²⁸ *California on Display: Permanent Exhibits*, press book, accessed September 9, 2018, <http://www.whmsicl.cnc.net/Pressbook.html>. Undated, but based on exhibits offered, printed in the late-1970s to early-1980s.

²⁹ Henry Sutherland, “Science Museum’s Hall of Health Offers Inside Look at Mankind: Visitors Given Biological Tour of Human Being Via Recorded Lectures, Illustrated Models and Displays,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 1, 1968, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

Man (an interactive model of the circulatory system), *Neuroman* (a pop art statue of the nervous system), *The 5 Senses* (hands-on displays that engaged the senses), *Transparent Woman* (a full-scale clear model that showed locations of human organs), *Narcotics* (the relationship between the body and drugs), *Reproduction* (stages of the fetus and birth), *The Bone Structure* (the skeletal system, particularly joint movement), and *The Glandular System* (chemical effects in the body).³⁰

Like *Turning Wheel*, the Hall of Health showcased process, in this case, human biology and the ways in which it affected everyday interactions between one's physical body and the outer world. The exhibit was intended to be all-encompassing by showing the ways in which systems work in unison throughout the body. By this point, exhibits in the museum had also become more sensory. In addition to light-up diagrams, visitors could "hear how food progresses through the digestive system" and trace a path of human cells that ran across the entire hall, tying the exhibit together. The primary feature, however, was the Transparent Woman. She appeared to visitors from behind a curtain, using a "feminine voice" to describe the organs and their relationship between one another, revolving and lighting up as she illustrated each part.³¹ McCann's leadership and success with the Hall of Health led to 3 million CMSI visitors in 1969, apparently higher than the number visiting the Smithsonian.³²

³⁰ *Hall of Health*, exhibition booklet, accessed September 8, 2018, <http://whimsicalwill.tripod.com/CMSI/HealthBook1.html>. The last page of the brochure goes in much more depth on the exhibit itself.

³¹ *Hall of Health*, exhibition booklet.

³² Mary Lou Loper, "Health Quackery Exhibit," *Los Angeles Times*, August 30, 1970, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

The Transparent Woman, and health museums in general, have a long history tied to class and race in the mid-twentieth century. Health exhibits originated as a way for the state to promote hygiene and safety for laboring classes during industrialization and urbanization in the nineteenth century. Germany's affinity for hygiene exhibits led to its creation of hygiene museums that used interactive features such as films and demonstrations. This, like other nineteenth century museums, hoped to guide working classes toward proper behavior. From this came the transparent figure, which sought to present an ideal representation of humanity based on social and racial hierarchy. The Deutsches Hygiene Museum³³ introduced a male model of "the human body as a machine" in the 1920s, and later added a transparent woman. Before and during World War II, Nazis took control of the Museum and used transparent figures to justify eugenics pseudoscience. In fact, the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum has displayed a replica of the transparent man in a traveling exhibit on pre-Holocaust German health policy.³⁴ In the 1930s, Germany's transparent man traveled to Los Angeles, among other American cities, to promote eugenics ideology through an exhibit titled *Eugenics in New Germany*. When the exhibit arrived in Los Angeles in 1934, industry leaders such as Harold Doolittle, chief consulting engineer at Southern California Edison, praised its Social

³³ "About Us," Deutsches Hygiene-Museum, accessed September 9, 2018, <https://www.dhmd.de/en/about-us/>. Not to be confused with the Deutsches Museum in Munich mentioned in Chapter 2, the Deutsches Hygiene Museum was founded in Dresden in 1912.

³⁴ Manon Niquette Vogel and William J. Buxton, "'Sugar-coating the Educational Pill': Rockefeller Support for the Communicative Turn in Science Museums," in *Patronizing the Public: American Philanthropy's Transformation of Culture, Communication, and the Humanities*, ed. William J. Buxton (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2009), 152-193 and Robert Rydell, Christina Cogdell, and Mark Largent, "The Nazi Eugenics Exhibit in the United States, 1934-43," in *Popular Eugenics: National Efficiency and American Mass Culture in the 1930s*, eds. Susan Currell and Christina Cogdell (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2006), chap. 14, ProQuest eBook Central.

Darwinist rhetoric. The American Public Health Association (APHA) sponsored the exhibit, which opened during its annual conference in Pasadena's Civic Auditorium. This exhibit placed the transparent figure squarely in a larger narrative of racial pseudoscience and eugenics practices, such as sterilization. Afterward, the exhibit was so popular that it moved to the Museum of History, Science, and Art in Exposition Park for two months to "high media publicity and popular demand."³⁵

The Deutsches Hygiene Museum continued to make these models throughout the war and afterward from East Germany.³⁶ Some exhibit designers from the museum fled to the West after the war and created transparent women that ended up in American institutions such as the Cleveland Health Education Museum in 1950, an institution directed by a former employee of the Museum. The transparent woman was shocking to audiences, some of whom thought it was vulgar to view a "naked" female figure.³⁷ However, the innovative design marked a way for visitors to view the internal makeup of the human body without dissection; it was an artistic, yet clearly more palatable,

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ "Juno, the Transparent Woman, and #WomensHistoryMonth," Dittrick Medical History Center, Case Western Reserve University, last modified November 1, 2017, <http://artsci.case.edu/dittrick/2017/03/20/juno-the-transparent-woman-and-womenshistorymonth/>; Lynn Peril, "Museum of Femoribilia: The *Visible Woman*," *BUST* 37 (February/March 2006), repr. HiLobrow, June 18, 2015, <http://hilobrow.com/2015/06/18/museum-of-femoribilia-9/>; and Valerie Minnett, "Public Body, Private Health: *Mediscope*, the Transparent Woman, and Medical Authority, 1959," in *Contesting Bodies and Nation in Canadian History*, eds. Patrizia Gentile and Jane Nicholas (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 286-304. There are multiple theories on why transparent women became more popular than transparent men, ranging from the woman's ability to showcase the process of pregnancy to elucidating the "mystery" of women writ large to women's traditional representative role as domestic, with a fit body representative of a well-kept home.

rendering.³⁸

The rise and fall of the Nazi regime and eugenics pseudoscience's role in the Holocaust made eugenics exhibits unacceptable by the postwar period. Although a "nationwide network of free-standing health museums ... never materialized" as the APHA envisioned, its basic concepts lived on at the CMSI and other museums around the United States in an evolved form.³⁹ What form did a permanent health museum take in 1960s Los Angeles? Postwar California's civil rights activism repudiated eugenics, as did many scientists and social scientists. However, Los Angeles had been a "critical hub of American eugenics" prior to the war. Prominent sociologists at USC, such as Emory Bogardus, wrote on Mexican American "bad ancestry" through the 1940s and 50s. The year the Hall of Health opened, Los Angeles' Chicanos staged walkouts in East Los Angeles over public school tracking programs, which had been used for eugenics research.⁴⁰ The exhibit also opened only three years after the Watts Rebellion.

During the Cold War, transparent figures became propaganda fodder, due in part

³⁸ Klaus Vogel, "The Transparent Man—Some Comments on the History of a Symbol," in *Manifesting Medicine: Bodies and Machines* (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic, 1999), 31-61; "Celebrating Juno, the Transparent Woman," Dittrick Medical History Center, Case Western Reserve University, December 11, 2013, <http://artsci.case.edu/dittrick/2013/12/11/celebrating-juno-the-transparent-woman/>; "Object of the Month: The Transparent Woman," Wellcome Collection, December 3, 2013, <https://wellcomecollection.org/articles/object-of-the-month-the-transparent-woman/>; and Jodith Janes, "Celebrating Juno, the World's First Transparent Woman," Cleveland Museum of Natural History, November 28, 2016, <https://www.cmnh.org/juno>.

³⁹ This style is still extremely popular today through the blockbuster exhibit *BodyWorlds*, yet according to Erin Mcleary and Elizabeth Toon, "Here Man Learns About Himself," *American Journal of Public Health* 102, no. 7 (July 2012): e27-e36, Academic Search Premier, many of the health exhibits that came out of the prewar period held no interest to postwar audiences, including the transparent man.

⁴⁰ Alexandra Minna Stern, *Eugenic Nation: Faults and Frontiers of Better Breeding in Modern America* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2016), ProQuest eBook Central.

to the Hygiene Museum's competing designers in the East and West. This time, the transparent figure's message was restructured to educate visitors more generally on "pursu[ing] a healthy lifestyle."⁴¹ The exhibit emphasized a general "normal physiology" in examples. Health concerns in the Hall coincided with these aims; however, the exhibit also focused on drug use, including "opiates, hallucinogens, barbiturates, amphetamines [sic], and delirians."⁴² It's important to note that Los Angeles County accounted for disproportionately high arrest rates for minority drug use. Seventy percent of all drug arrests in the state at the time came from Los Angeles County, and that of those arrests, the vast majority were Hispanic and Black residents. Generally, arrest rates for Black and Hispanic residents were higher in Los Angeles County than other counties in the state, showing the racialized approach to curbing undesirable behavior.⁴³ Francis J. Baker, president of the Women's Auxiliary to the Los Angeles County Medical Association in 1969, became involved in the exhibit in large part due to the fact that "even in an upper-middle income area," such as the San Fernando Valley, youth drug use was on the rise. Yet, in her comments, she specifically compared the Valley only to Watts and East Los Angeles, African American and Mexican-American majority areas respectively, as established "prime problem" communities for drug use.⁴⁴ In essence, the region's high

⁴¹ Elena Canadelli, "The Diffusion of a Museum Exhibit: The Case of the Transparent Man," in *Understanding Cultural Traits: A Multidisciplinary Perspective on Cultural Diversity*, eds. Fabrizio Panebianco and Emanuele Serrelli (New York, NY: Springer International Publishing, 2016).

⁴² *Hall of Health*. Exhibition booklet.

⁴³ Michael R. Aldrich, Tod H. Mikuriya, and Gordon S. Brownell, *Preliminary Report: Fiscal Costs of California Marijuana Law Enforcement, 1960-1984* (Berkeley, CA: Medi-Comp Press, 1986), chap. 1, <http://druglibrary.org/schaffer/hemp/moscone/chap1.htm>.

⁴⁴ Barbara Riker, "Valley Drug Abuse Problem," *Los Angeles Times*, August 22, 1969, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

levels of punishment for drug use by non-white offenders, a very recent history of violent relations between arresting authorities and Black residents, and a history of support for eugenics-based science place the exhibit in a larger, Los Angeles-specific context of racialized health concerns. The terminology of much of the exhibit attempted to provide general educational information on the human body. But, the fact that there was only one specialized exhibit, and that it featured drug use, shows the continued function of health museums as a controlling social force. This was especially true given that the CMSI remained located in South Central.

After the 1965 Watts Rebellion, politicians, police officers, and everyday citizens became newly conscious of racial tension and feared further African American retaliation to Los Angeles' long-running racist policies. Exposition Park had once been a center for recreational enjoyment in Los Angeles, but decisions made by elites to either emphasize or transfer away amenities had reduced the Park's role significantly. The bandshell that used to host weekly concerts on the lawn had become a toolshed by 1969.⁴⁵ "It seems that all of Exposition Park is almost one huge parking lot," the *Sentinel* lamented later that year. The Citizens Community to Save Exposition Center (the Park's 1939 recreation center), fought against demolition of the community space that same year to "keep at least a portion of Exposition Park true to the principles for which it was originally dedicated."⁴⁶ Public historian Dolores Hayden's *The Power of Place* used urban planner Kevin Lynch's 1960s and 70s cognitive maps to show how class, race, gender, and age

⁴⁵ Savoy, "Museum that Grooves."

⁴⁶ "Save Expo Recreation Center," *Los Angeles Sentinel*, May 29, 1969, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

affect perceptions of cities. Lynch had residents from various neighborhoods in Los Angeles draw maps or directions to better gain a sense of how residents viewed their spatial environment. In 1971, Avalon, an African American inner-city neighborhood in South Central, saw Exposition Park as theirs: while Anglo American cognitive maps from Westwood recognized only the Coliseum and Sports Arena, and Latino maps from Boyle Heights did not have any of the area present at all, African American maps centrally located Exposition Park as part of their community parameters.⁴⁷ South Central activists were determined to ensure that it survived as a community resource despite other amenities on the property geared toward city elites. South Central continued to organize for political power, creating a coalition much more powerful than other ethnic and racial minorities in Los Angeles, and helped propel Bradley to the mayor's office in 1973.⁴⁸

1970s: Expanding Service and Sponsorship

Despite the city's racial discord, Los Angelenos elected Tom Bradley, Los Angeles' first Black mayor, in 1973. A new coalition of forces that included Downtown, the Westside, and South Central used *Times* editorials, significant financial resources, and grassroots efforts to ensure victory. Bradley's election signaled a new age for city elites. His moderate, industry-oriented policies won over racist Downtown elites. As a result, the Westside-Downtown power struggle significantly diminished in the 1970s.⁴⁹

Meanwhile, the Los Angeles metropolitan area continued to grow, particularly in

⁴⁷ Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1997), 28-29.

⁴⁸ Clark, 302 and Davis, *City of Quartz*, 127.

⁴⁹ Davis, *City of Quartz*, 132-138.

Los Angeles' surrounding counties. Yet, deindustrialization affected Los Angeles as it did the rest of the United States in the 1970s. While high-paying White collar and low-paying service/manufacturing jobs increased, blue collar positions decreased as plants moved overseas. This disproportionately affected non-white workers, who were barred from advancing into White collar careers. At the same time, Los Angeles became the primary United States immigration port and "probably the world's most ethnically and racially diverse metropolis."⁵⁰

Growing diversity included South Central Los Angeles. In 1970, Los Angeles' African American population had increased to 750,000, ten times the population it had been in 1940.⁵¹ Due to racist policy and White resistance to integration, African American residents had been firmly relegated to South Central. In the eyes of White suburban residents, the area now represented the post-industrial city's "role as a locus of immorality, criminality and disorder—a temptation, trap and punishment," particularly through stories of drugs, crime, and gangs. From the 1970s to the 1990s, South Central Los Angeles featured prominently in movies, video games, comics, and, notably rap music, in this light.⁵²

Decreased economic opportunities for non-whites created more racial discord. Throughout the 1970s, tensions between disadvantaged minority communities in Los Angeles and the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) continued to escalate. Eighty-seven people, the majority of whom were unarmed minorities, were shot and killed by

⁵⁰ Scott and Soja, "Introduction to Los Angeles: City and Region," 11-14.

⁵¹ Clark, 299.

⁵² Phil Hubbard, *City* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2007), 61.

police officers from 1975 to 1977. South Central Los Angeles became a battleground between African American citizens and police forces. Black community leaders referred to police in Watts as an “occupying army” to the *Times* in 1978, while police chief Daryl F. Gates responded in a *Times* editorial that same year that “South Central Los Angeles has never been easy to police ... it has always required an aggressive effort by the department in order to cope with a crime level that is a plague upon those who live in the area.” Shortly thereafter, LAPD officers shot an unarmed Black woman by the name of Eulia Love twelve times over a \$12 unpaid gas bill. Love’s murder contributed to hearings, inquiries, and commissions on the LAPD’s relationship to minority communities and found them lacking. While city leaders made efforts to rectify the issue, problems grew over discrimination in hiring practices, surveillance tactics, and corruption into the 1980s.⁵³

The new economic realities of 1970s Los Angeles affected more than neighborhoods like South Central. Housing prices skyrocketed in Southern California due to aerospace job in-migration and baby boomer maturation, with median home prices at \$50,000 above the national average by 1981. With higher home prices came higher tax assessments. Conservative lawmakers proposed a restriction on property tax to one percent of the assessed valuation of a property and restricting future rises to two percent a year unless the property was sold. This legislation, known as Proposition 13, would

⁵³ Martin J. Schiesl, “Behind the Badge: The Police and Social Discontent in Los Angeles Since 1950,” in *20th Century Los Angeles: Power, Promotion, and Social Conflict*, eds. Norman M. Klein and Martin J. Schiesl (Claremont, CA: Regina Books, 1990), 178-189.

primarily benefit commercial property owners and homeowners who did not move.⁵⁴ At the same time, these tax assessments funded state cultural institutions, such as the CMSI. A significant decrease in assessments signaled trouble for the museum.

In 1978, California's Proposition 13 passed during the governorship of Reagan's successor, Edmund Gerald "Jerry" Brown, Jr. (Democrat; 1975-1983). While attempts to pass similar measures had begun under Reagan's administration, Proposition 13 succeeded because of the state's large treasury surplus. Considered "an exercise in 'radical conservatism,'" Proposition 13 not only benefited commercial property owners and homeowners who did not move, but also the affluent who received more tax savings on more valuable property. Nevertheless, lower- and middle-income homeowners heavily supported it. Proposition 13 passed with a larger margin of victory than Brown's own Democratic Party re-nomination in 1978. As a result, Brown supported it and swept back into the governorship at the same popular vote percentage as the proposition had months earlier.⁵⁵

Proposition 13 greatly hurt the CMSI, along with other cultural institutions around Los Angeles County, when it cut \$11.6 million worth of appropriations.⁵⁶ It ensured that the funds from these tax assessments no longer existed. The museum had already been vocal about its "sparse budget" and staff cuts. Visitors and staff noted perpetually broken

⁵⁴ Clark, 296-297.

⁵⁵ Putnam, 83-85.

⁵⁶ Dorothy Townsend, "Private Group Offers to Operate County Museum at 'Reduced Level,'" *Los Angeles Times*, June 15, 1978, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

buttons, outdated exhibits, and “hard use” on moving parts as early as the late-60s.⁵⁷

Proposition 13 further exacerbated the museum’s problems.

Due to financial woes from a decade of declining state support, the Coliseum and its sports offerings became the Board’s priority.⁵⁸ Parking revenue from games now provided a significant percentage of their shrinking budget. Traditionally, the CMSI received all parking revenue at Exposition Park, regardless of whether it came from games at the Coliseum or from museum visitors. With professional sports teams, such as the National Football League’s Los Angeles Rams, providing vast amounts of revenue to be gained from parking, other interested groups began to call for the Coliseum to receive at least part of it for renovations.⁵⁹ By the 1970s, the Coliseum had become severely outdated, both in terms of facilities for athletes and amenities for spectators. Due to long-running conflicts between local and state authorities, the Coliseum also struggled to find responsible parties for funding the expensive renovation venture. The CMSI was successful in keeping the revenue, but the Rams left the Coliseum for Anaheim in 1978 in large part due to the stadium’s decrepitude.⁶⁰

The museum persevered, primarily offering new temporary exhibits throughout the 1970s. This included a centennial celebration of Exposition Park in 1972, with an

⁵⁷ Savoy, “Museum that Grooves.”

⁵⁸ Jim Murray, “Old Lady in the Park,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 19, 1973, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁵⁹ “CAO Supports Rams/Coliseum Pact,” *Los Angeles Sentinel*, April 1, 1976, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁶⁰ “Bill Would Provide \$3 Million for Improvements at Coliseum,” *Los Angeles Times*, March 14, 1978, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

exhibit on the Park's history.⁶¹ Other exhibits focused on California artisans through clay, paintings, serigraphs, woodcuts, photographs, and design showcases.⁶² Still more addressed California industry through horticulture, wine and food societies, film, and a tribute to Los Angeles' bicentennial in the Rose Garden.⁶³ For an institution as ambitious as the CMSI, temporary exhibits were not enough. Decline in revenue from the state and NFL games forced the CMSI to turn toward outside funding sources, namely grants and corporate sponsorship.

These developments, of course, can only be understood as part of a larger shift in American museums in the 1960s and 70s. Since the 1960s, many museums shifted to a financial business model to survive losses in state funding, as well as increased reliance on grants. Endowments and private donations still formed a major piece of funding. For these reasons, museums assumed a new professional approach to manage money. Because most grants focused on social needs, disadvantaged groups became more highly represented in museum exhibits. The financial relationships for museums and the public became "business revenue (money in) and social and educational service (money out),"

⁶¹ "Exposition Park's History Reviewed," *Los Angeles Times*, November 19, 1972, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁶² Beverly Edna Johnson, "Clay: A Staff for the Body, a Song for the Soul," *Los Angeles Times*, July 1, 1973, ProQuest Historical Newspapers; Beverly Edna Johnson, "Once Upon a Hill," *Los Angeles Times*, July 22, 1973, ProQuest Historical Newspapers; and Beverly Edna Johnson, "Design West," *Los Angeles Times*, June 9, 1974, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁶³ Dan MacMasters, "Small World," *Los Angeles Times*, March 30, 1975, ProQuest Historical Newspapers; "Dr. Teller to Discuss Nuclear Initiative," *Los Angeles Times*, May 6, 1976, ProQuest Historical Newspapers; Kim Blair, "On View: Museum to Form Wine Society," *Los Angeles Times*, August 18, 1977, ProQuest Historical Newspapers; Rose Dosti, "Cooking for a Fund Raiser: French Master Ad-Libs a California Experience," *Los Angeles Times*, October 27, 1977, ProQuest Historical Newspapers; "Film and Video Week Nov. 9 at Science & Industry Museum," *Los Angeles Times*, October 13, 1977, ProQuest Historical Newspapers; and Jody Jacobs, "Tribute to L.A. Bicentennial," *Los Angeles Times*, December 16, 1979, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

which in turn also affected the physical spaces of museological institutions. Food service, gift shops, classrooms, and auditoriums are among the ways in which museums altered the traditional permanent, exhibit-focused museum structure. With the CMSI's lack of an entrance fee, the space became "street-like," with diverse visitors coming and going for a variety of reasons and lengths of time. Like many other child-based institutions, the CMSI also used this type of environment to create "unprogrammed discovery spaces" that invited free exploration, both among familiar faces (such as classmates and family) and strangers.⁶⁴

This free exploration can be placed into a larger theory of play. 1979's International Year of Children thrust the theory of play into the limelight, both for traditional and non-traditional education. That year, the Fall 1979 issue of the CMSI's short-lived magazine *In Focus* was dedicated completely to the Year of the Child, where Edgerton noted that "every year [is] a year of the child at CMSI."⁶⁵ This development helped engender the concept of play as learning, as opposed to the previous belief that play existed in opposition to learning. Theories of play that asserted this belief had emerged outside of the museum by the 1950s. Play served as the means for children, adults, and animals to experience diverse situations for myriad reasons. In the science center, play and learning exist in a cyclical relationship, where visitors actively rotate between the two throughout the course of their visit according to their needs. As a result,

⁶⁴ Elaine Heumann Gurian, "Function Follows Form: How Mixed-used Spaces in Museums Build Community, (2001)," in *Civilizing the Museum: The Collected Writings of Elaine Heumann Gurian* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2007) 103-114.

⁶⁵ J. Howard Edgerton, "Museum Notes from the Chairman," *In Focus* 2, no. 3 (Fall 1979), 2.

visitors become the center of understanding itself, and can explore scientific concepts according to their own needs.⁶⁶ *Mathematica*'s approach reflected these developments.

Under this type of management, science centers become not merely audience-centered, as seen in the previous chapter, but service-centered. 1960s social movements influenced museological institutions, particularly in the shift from “temple,” or “the ‘victor’s’ resting place for spoils,” to the “forum,” a “site for engaging in ‘battles’ of ideas.” Even the use of the word *center*, which the CMSI would adopt by the 1990s, implied a gathering place of diverse peoples and ideas. Service to audiences became the priority in museums’ missions, rather than objects or interactive exhibit design.⁶⁷ For example, the Hall of Health and its subsequent dental expansion (sponsored by the Southern California Dental Association), specifically geared itself toward student visits. Within the exhibit, dental assistant students and high school students volunteered as “hosts,” some of whom were bilingual for the Spanish-speaking population. In addition, the museum provided traveling programs to remote areas of the state for extended student education.⁶⁸

Because the museum began to focus on the service of education rather than just

⁶⁶ Ibrahim Yahya, “Mindful Play! Or Mindless Learning!: Modes of Exploring Science in Museums,” in *Exploring Science in Museums*, ed. Susan Pearce (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Athlone, 1996), 123-147.

⁶⁷ Edward P. Alexander and Mary Alexander, *Museums in Motion: An Introduction to the History and Functions of Museums*, 2nd ed. (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2008), 207-212.

⁶⁸ Harold E. Shull, “The Development of a Community Health Museum Model as a Component of a Health Care Delivery System at Loma Linda University” (PhD diss., University of Nebraska, 1972), 146-147, ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global and *Hall of Health: Dental Exhibit*, exhibition booklet, accessed September 8, 2018, <http://whimsicalwill.tripod.com/CMSI/Dental1.html>.

industrial accomplishment, women gained a foothold in the institution for the first time, if primarily behind the scenes. At the highest level, Westside elite Howard Ahmanson's death opened the door for his wife to serve on the CMF board.⁶⁹ More common, though, were the wives of board members who served on the women's auxiliary, the Muses. J. Howard Edgerton and his wife formed this auxiliary in 1963 so that women could help the CMSI focus on youth educational efforts.⁷⁰ The organization was successful from the start; from 1963 to 1969, membership increased from nine members to 540.⁷¹

One of the Muses' early accomplishments debuted with the Hall of Health. Muses leaders had sought crossover between women's educational role in the museum with pertinent social issues through a docent program as early as 1965, when they used young debutants in the Space exhibit.⁷² They hit their stride with the *Narcotics* section of the Hall of Health.⁷³ Hall of Health docents consisted primarily of "young vivacious mothers," rather than "society types" that typified older Muses' membership. Docents created new interactive projects, such as the Graffiti Wall, where children could write anything they imagined while waiting in line for other exhibits.⁷⁴ The museum

⁶⁹ Mary Lou Loper, "Muses in a Musing Mood at Museum Gathering," *Los Angeles Times*, May 18, 1970, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁷⁰ "Auxiliary for Aid of Museum Formed," *Los Angeles Times*, March 15, 1963, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁷¹ Mary Lou Loper, "Orientation for New Muses," *Los Angeles Times*, September 19, 1971, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. Of the over 500 women in the Muses, about 125 actually were actively involved, with the other 375 solely paying dues from \$10 to \$25.

⁷² Virginia A. Horn, "Coronet Debs Shoulder Space-Age Responsibility," *Los Angeles Times*, August 25, 1965, ProQuest Historical Newspapers and "Space Flights a la Coronets," *Los Angeles Times*, December 16, 1965, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁷³ Barbara Riker, "Valley Drug Abuse Problem," *Los Angeles Times*.

⁷⁴ Jack Smith, "The Museum That Wants to be Touched."

specifically asked for docent volunteers from minority communities, “including blacks,” in 1972.⁷⁵ Interestingly, advertisements for docents oftentimes mentioned accepting female volunteers despite lack of scientific background, when in fact many of the men involved in the running of the museum had no scientific background.⁷⁶

While the docent program was popular, the most lucrative and influential Muses program was the Summer Science Workshop. Created in 1962 for the forty children of CMF members and wealthy donors, the program grew to over 3,000 in 1968. The workshops focused on “high-ability” children of both sexes, from first to ninth grade, interested in furthering an interest in science. Courses ranged from radiation biology to biochemistry. Much of the coursework was offered outside a classroom setting and provided 50% of the curriculum in a hands-on lab.⁷⁷ The CMSI stated the mission of the workshop as a challenge to “start a romance with science that will last as long as they live ... by offering our students a penetrating glimpse into the mysteries of our universe.” By 1971, the program even began to offer classes for interested parents. Fees at this time ranged from \$12 to \$24 per course, with museum members receiving a 50% discount. All upper division courses were taught by doctorates, with both men and women teaching upper and lower division courses.⁷⁸ By 1972, the workshops hosted over 5,000 students,

⁷⁵ “Museum’s Docent Tour Guides Open New World to Youngsters of Ghetto,” *Los Angeles Sentinel*, October 5, 1972, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁷⁶ Sue Avery, “Zoo, Museum Docents Learn It’s Not Hard to Develop Scientific Background,” *Los Angeles Times*, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁷⁷ Ursula Vils, “Science a Pet Project,” *Los Angeles Times*, August 20, 1968, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁷⁸ California Museum Foundation, *Summer Science Workshop 1971*, course catalog, 1971, <http://whimsicalwill.tripod.com/CMSI/CMSI-Workshop71-1.html>.

had expanded to satellite programs across the Los Angeles area, and had begun to offer scholarships.⁷⁹ However, satellite classes cost almost twice as much at \$45 for college extension courses.⁸⁰

In addition to these offerings, the CMSI also began to create programming for South Central Los Angeles' youth. The museum entered a bleak environment. In 1995, Dolores Hayden calculated that 97.7% of Los Angeles' designated cultural-historical landmarks were Anglo American, and only 4% of those landmarks dealt with any aspect of women's history. Similarly, both cultural critics and historians ignored areas such as East Los Angeles and South Central when they wrote about Los Angeles. Instead, they focused on the clichés of the city—"Disneyland, swimming pools, and freeways"—all of which rendered people of color and their impacts invisible.⁸¹ Yet, because the CMSI continued free admission, children and families who came to the museum included South Central's African American population. McCann claimed that, due to the programs offered, "the people of the area feel very strongly that it's their museum ... that all the programs we have relate not only to the total community but to the local community," and the CMSI created or made programming available that reflected an interest in Black visitorship.⁸² The *Sentinel* recognized multiple Black student recipients of the Muses'

⁷⁹ "Museum Offers Summer Science Workshop," *Los Angeles Sentinel*, June 8, 1972, ProQuest Historical Newspapers and "Summer Science Workshop Stirs Youth Curiosity," *Los Angeles Times*, July 5, 1973, SF1, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁸⁰ California Museum Foundation. *Summer Science Workshop—1972: California Museum of Science and Industry*, 1972, <http://whimsicalwill.tripod.com/CMSI/CMSI-Workshop72-1.html>.

⁸¹ Hayden, 86-87.

⁸² Jack Smith, "The Museum That Wants to be Touched."

Summer Science Workshop scholarship in 1969. They also advertised the Summer Science Workshop in 1972.⁸³ In addition, the museum created the Higher Horizons program. This program offered nine-week courses for children, ages 4 to 17, from “disadvantaged as well as lower middle-class homes” on science, art, and math, beginning in 1969.⁸⁴ Sponsored via a bill by State Senator Mervyn Dymally, chairman of the board for the Urban Affairs Institute, Higher Horizons intended to “stimulate the children’s interest in education” through non-traditional teaching means.⁸⁵

In the 1970s, initiatives geared toward Los Angeles’ African American community focused on Black industries and their accomplishments. This included the temporary exhibit, *Five Soulful Years*, a celebration of “black initiative and success” in line with the creation of Soul Publications, a Black Bicentennial Achievement Exhibit in 1973, African American former professional football player Ernie Barnes’ art exhibit titled *The Beauty of the Ghetto* in 1974, a Biddy Mason festival in 1976, a Black film

⁸³ “Science Scholarships,” *Los Angeles Sentinel*, October 16, 1969, ProQuest Historical Newspapers and “Museum Offers Summer Science Workshop,” *Los Angeles Sentinel*, June 8, 1972, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁸⁴ Ray Rogers, “‘Discovery Method’ Used: Math Helps Stretch Minds of Disadvantaged Children,” *Los Angeles Times*, August 25, 1969, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁸⁵ “180 Children Helped By ‘Higher Horizons,’” *Los Angeles Times*, August 20, 1970, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

festival in 1977, and an exhibit on Black Americans who served in Congress in 1982.⁸⁶ In 1974, the museum received a \$55,000 grant from the National Endowment for the Arts to create the Black Bicentennial Achievement Exhibit and a larger educational program on Black traditions and culture.⁸⁷ Most notably, in 1981, the Board opened the California Afro-American Museum (CAAM) at Exposition Park inside the CMSI with Lonnie Bunch, later head curator of the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History and founding director of the Smithsonian's National Museum of African American History and Culture, as director.⁸⁸ In 1977, Congresswoman Yvonne Brathwaite Burke, who had previously collaborated with the CMSI to create the Black Bicentennial Achievement Exhibit, ensured CAAM's state charter. CAAM also received backing from state and local politicians. McCann offered CAAM an office at the CMSI as they waited for funding to come through, ensuring more African American-centric exhibits in the museum through the early 1980s.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ "Soulful Celebration Marks Anniversary," *Los Angeles Sentinel*, April 1, 1971, ProQuest Historical Newspapers; "Program Offers Museum Tours," *Los Angeles Sentinel*, July 27, 1972, ProQuest Historical Newspapers; "Yvonne Burke Chairman Black Bicentennial Exhibit," *Los Angeles Sentinel*, November 8, 1973, ProQuest Historical Newspapers; Stanley Williford, "Artist Sees Beauty of The Ghetto," *Los Angeles Sentinel*, May 16, 1974, ProQuest Historical Newspapers; "Biddy Mason Noted," *Los Angeles Sentinel*, August 5, 1976, ProQuest Historical Newspapers; "The Biddy Mason Festival At Calif. Museum of Science," *Los Angeles Sentinel*, August 12, 1976, ProQuest Historical Newspapers; "Black Cinema," *Los Angeles Sentinel*, February 10, 1977, ProQuest Historical Newspapers; and "Special Exhibit Opens," *Los Angeles Sentinel*, February 11, 1982, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁸⁷ Josine Ianco-Starrels, "National Endowment Grants Given," *Los Angeles Times*, July 7, 1974, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁸⁸ Epting, 69.

⁸⁹ "Black Achievement Exhibit Scheduled Here," *Los Angeles Sentinel*, October 3, 1974, ProQuest Historical Newspapers and "Birth of the California African American Museum in Los Angeles," Conference of California Historical Societies, archived December 14, 2014, accessed September 9, 2018, <http://archive.li/0Hbgi>.

Black residents participated in or led many of these initiatives. Dymally credited the Higher Horizon program's success not just to the CMSI, but also to "the enthusiastic response of parents" who placed their children in courses.⁹⁰ The *Sentinel's* report on the docent program revealed the CMSI's point of view on serving minority residents when they quoted Sue Platt, docent chairman: "All of us were frightened at the prospect of giving tours to children and adults with widely varying backgrounds. But after ... the first one or two, [we] actually began to enjoy the challenge."⁹¹ Non-residents of South Central also recognized this relationship. When *Westways'* Jack Smith visited the museum in 1971, he described the neighborhood as "Black" and "the ghetto," but that South Central residents respected the museum and its place in the community.⁹²

Embracing education and the South Central community provided some level of financial support, but not enough to ensure that the CMSI could continue its ideal position as a premiere science museum in the United States. For that, the museum turned to its most reliable funding source—corporate sponsorship. In addition to the sponsorships that had garnered them *Mathematica*, *The Turning Wheel*, the Hall of Health, and numerous small exhibits, the CMSI received \$300,000 from CBS to create a contemporary communications exhibit in 1978.⁹³ By 1979, a study prepared for the Center for Science in the Public Interest listed the CMSI among those accused of exhibits

⁹⁰ "180 Children Helped By 'Higher Horizons,'" *Los Angeles Times*.

⁹¹ "Museum Docent Tour Guides Open New World to Youngsters of Ghetto," *Los Angeles Sentinel*, October 5, 1972, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁹² Jack Smith, "The Museum That Wants to be Touched."

⁹³ Barbara Isenberg, "CBS Gives \$2.1 Million to 12 L.A. Groups: Grant Among Largest Ever to Cultural Organizations," *Los Angeles Times*, September 22, 1978, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

“biased in industry’s favor.”⁹⁴ These accusations did little to stop McCann and the Board. Once museum leaders knew the 1984 Olympics was coming to town, corporate sponsorships increased. The CMSI accelerated plans to break ground on a Hall of Economics and Finance in 1980, with intent to open in 1983. Other planned buildings included a Sports as an Industry building, a Space Technology Center, a California Museum of Afro-American History and Culture, and a California Resources Multi-Cultural Facility. Amazingly, a significant number of these came to fruition in less than five years. As the CMSI grew, McCann noted the larger shift taking place when he stated that, “probably we could be called a science and technology center rather than a museum.” The CMF would raise 75% of the museum’s \$3 million budget for these projects through private donations.⁹⁵

1980-1984: Cold War Revival, the 1984 Olympics, and the Return of Don Muchmore

By 1979, seven of California’s largest seventeen industries were in either aerospace or electronics.⁹⁶ The area “continued on a high growth path into the 1980s,” and aerospace reigned as the region’s leading industry.⁹⁷ Then, in 1981, Ronald Reagan, former governor of California, became president of the United States. Reagan’s ideological Cold War revival meant increased investment in the defense industry, and

⁹⁴ “Report Criticizes Museum Exhibits,” *The Hartford Courant*, July 8, 1979, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁹⁵ Ina Aranow, “Economics: It’s a Labor of Love: Making ‘the Dismal Science’ Accessible to Young,” *Los Angeles Times*, September 8, 1981, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁹⁶ Clark, 288.

⁹⁷ Oden, 117-139.

economic growth for Los Angeles. In 1983, Reagan announced his Strategic Defense Initiative, also known as “Star Wars.” Reagan intended for Star Wars to create “an impenetrable shield” against nuclear attack, but the Initiative never succeeded. Nevertheless, Reagan’s focused warnings on nuclear threat reignited fears in the American populace, and fueled defense spending.⁹⁸ Reagan helped build a close relationship between California’s high-tech sectors and the military, fueling a boom in Southern California. Yet, the area also continued to deindustrialize.⁹⁹ Unlike Los Angeles’ basic manufacturing jobs of earlier decades, high-tech and non-durable manufacturing did not sustain stable, secure jobs for blue-collar workers. Despite the dollars and influence California gained from high-tech manufacturing, it also suffered from high levels of job turnover and instability that caused displacement for many working-class residents.¹⁰⁰ In addition, skyrocketing prices in homes and land made it increasingly difficult for working class peoples to afford homeownership.¹⁰¹

New non-local entities came into power because of deindustrialization. Like other cities in the United States, Los Angeles increasingly imported products from other countries in the Pacific, such as Japan.¹⁰² Los Angeles’ economy diversified from Hollywood and aerospace to include banking and finance as part of the new Pacific Rim

⁹⁸ Boyer, *Fallout*, 167-181.

⁹⁹ Clark, 288.

¹⁰⁰ Michael B. Teitz and Philip Shapira, “Growth and Turbulence in the California Economy,” in *Deindustrialization and Regional Economic Transformation: The Experience of the United States*, eds. Lloyd Rodwin and Hidehiko Sazanami (Boston, MA: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 81-103.

¹⁰¹ Davis, *City of Quartz*, 128-130.

¹⁰² Davis, *City of Quartz*, 132-138.

economic system. Globalization of the city's economy led to an increase in international investment and capital. Non-local American investors also gained a foothold in the city, making Los Angeles beholden to outside financial centers.¹⁰³

Historian Mike Davis described the late 1970s and 80s arts scene in Los Angeles as “mercenary [and] corporate-dominated,” yet thriving, due to the influx of international real estate capital intent on using culture to sell the city. The Downtown and Westside powers still existed but were now joined by this new powerful contingent of international investors to form what Mike Davis refers to as the neo-boosters. These powers gradually accepted a regional approach to the city, divided by industry and culture. Art museums used cultural acquisitions from outside of the area to show the city's global power. They ignored the cultural output by the “have-nots.” Cultural centers funded by this new elite remained Downtown or on the Westside, while inner city Los Angeles continued to suffer.¹⁰⁴ Exposition Park was an exception.

In the midst of this great economic and cultural change, Los Angeles once again gained the opportunity to host the Olympics at Exposition Park. The Olympics came back to the city 52 years after its first appearance, after five decades of effort. Los Angeles had formed the Southern California Committee for the Olympic Games in 1939, just seven years after hosting, and submitted host bids for 1948, 1952, 1956, 1976, and 1980, perennially hoping for the Games to return.¹⁰⁵ Mark Dyreson argues that this was rooted

¹⁰³ Davis, *City of Quartz*, 128-130.

¹⁰⁴ Davis, *City of Quartz*, 68-80.

¹⁰⁵ Gold and Gold, 179 and 198.

in boosterism, an attempt to establish the city as “the epicenter of the American West.” He tracks the years between the two Games as a period in which Los Angeles positioned itself as an upstart Western city against the East Coast establishment.¹⁰⁶ The city viewed the 1984 Olympics’ promotional potential similarly to how the city had envisioned this potential in 1932: “to market California and its culture, to generate tourism and commerce, and to confirm Los Angeles as the lifestyle capital of the world.”¹⁰⁷ But, Los Angeles would find that it also had to address the myriad changes the city had undertaken in those intervening years.

By the 1980s, Los Angeles’ public image had been tarnished due to urbanization and racial unrest. Critics referred to it as “soulless,” lacking in vision and identity. Once again, Los Angeles boosters would use the Olympics to assert an ideology of Los Angeles’ progress through the Games: a cohesive dreamscape that evoked its Western character and its “urban ultra-modernity.”¹⁰⁸ The neo-boosters would later refer to themselves “a small group of dreamers” who “suffered many disappointments” before recapturing glory.¹⁰⁹ They were anything but.

The city finally “won” the opportunity to host the Games as the only bidder in the midst of Olympic scandals, beginning with the hostage tragedy at the 1972 Munich

¹⁰⁶ Mark Dyreson, “The Endless Olympic Bid: Los Angeles and the Marketing of the American West,” *Journal of the West* 47, no. 4 (Fall 2008): 26-39, Google eBooks.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee, *Official Report of the Games of the XXIIIrd Olympiad Los Angeles, 1984*, vol. 1, *Organization and Planning* (1985), <http://library.la84.org/6oic/OfficialReports/1984/1984v1pt1.pdf>.

Games, Denver's withdrawal from the 1972 Winter Games, and boycotts at the 1976 Montreal Games. In addition, the Games had become costly to host due to construction costs and expensive television deals.¹¹⁰ City leaders, particularly Tom Bradley, saw an opening. In his presentation speech to the International Olympic Committee, Bradley stated that Los Angeles could bring "credit to the Olympic movement" through the following offerings: being "one of the great sports cities of the world," having "the finest law enforcement agencies in the world," and being "the world center of television and other communication facilities." In addition, he highlighted the area's climate and its people as "the truly special attraction."¹¹¹

Yet, Los Angeles held widespread "local apathy and resistance" to this attempt to win the 1984 bid.¹¹² Residents were particularly opposed if public funds were to be used. The city thus refused customary financial responsibility, forcing private entities to take over planning, which made the International Olympic Committee reluctant to hand the bid to Los Angeles. There was, however, no other city to turn to. Thus, the International Olympic Committee placed management of the Games in the hands of the United States Olympic Committee and the Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee (LAOOC), a private corporation. Together, the two entities spearheaded all Olympic

¹¹⁰ Stephen R. Wenn, "Peter Ueberroth's Legacy: How the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics Changed the Trajectory of the Olympic Movement," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 32, no. 1 (2015): 157-171, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09523367.2014.958665>.

¹¹¹ Tom Bradley, Olympics presentation speech to International Olympic Committee, May 1978, Athens, Greece, transcript, Mayor Tom Bradley Administration papers, 1920-1993, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles, Los Angeles, CA.

¹¹² Clark, 294.

decisions, including grounds and facilities. As a result, they became formidable figures in the transformation of Exposition Park.¹¹³

Peter Ueberroth, a local travel industry executive, led the LAOOC with the express intent that the Games “pay for itself.” Sponsorship and private financing commercialized the 1984 Games at unprecedented levels.¹¹⁴ The LAOOC achieved this through three initiatives: television revenue, corporate sponsorship, and, importantly for the Park, renovation of existing structures as opposed to construction of new ones.¹¹⁵ Because the LAOOC wasn’t a government entity, it was prohibited from using government funding for the Games. This proved a primary factor in turning to television rights, sponsors, and ticket sales. This was a new development, as previous Games had relied primarily on government funding or lotteries. Sponsorships ranged from corporate advertisements to official Olympic products, to the tune of over \$126 million.¹¹⁶

Like the 1932 committee, the LAOOC presented itself as merely another “small group” that didn’t want “over-commercialization.” Instead, limited sponsorship contingent on major financial contributions was supposed to make the entire affair exclusive to prestigious corporations. Corporate partnerships reflected both local industry—Pacific Bell, Southern Pacific Company, the Times Mirror Company, McDonnell Douglas (formerly Douglas Aircraft)—and the power of the city to draw

¹¹³ Gold and Gold, 199 and Wenn, 158.

¹¹⁴ Gold and Gold, 199.

¹¹⁵ Wenn.

¹¹⁶ Mark L. Brace, “Revisiting Los Angeles: A Financial Look at the XXIIIrd Olympiad,” *Southern California Quarterly* 83, no. 2 (Summer 2001): 161-180, www.jstor.org/stable/41172069.

major international firms that were able to pay the \$4 million minimum to participate.

However, the LAOOC claimed that their approach to the Games was neither

“nationalistic [n]or ... a local political focus,” but a “modest but successful Games.”¹¹⁷

But, nationalism played an elevated role in the 1984 Olympics. Since the advent of television, the Olympics became an event filled with increasingly elaborate commodified spectacle. Previous host nations created “looks” to distinguish the Games in their cities from other years and locations. Opening ceremonies became more modern and country-specific, tied to culture rather than sport alone.¹¹⁸ Yet, Los Angeles had to deal with more than television. The city hosted the 1984 Olympics amid a revived Cold War directly following the 1980 Olympics in Moscow. As such, Los Angeles was tasked with showcasing the United States’ political ideology and strength. The 1980 and 1984 Olympics “rival games” of Moscow versus Los Angeles focused on the themes of “economy and pragmatism” as reflected through communism and capitalism, respectively. Both nations were also influenced by the boycott of the other nation, beginning with the United States’ boycott of Moscow after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. Moscow’s response—lavish spectacle of Soviet achievement on international television, cultural programs that centered on industry and work as part of the apparatus of the Soviet state, and an architectural approach that showcased Soviet technological expertise alongside economic planning—“threw down the gauntlet” to Los

¹¹⁷ Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee, *Official Report of the Games of the XXIIIrd Olympiad Los Angeles, 1984*.

¹¹⁸ Gold and Gold, 180-194.

Angeles in 1984.¹¹⁹ Los Angeles met this threat with a commercialized exposition on a scale the Olympics had never seen before.

The ensuing explosion of spectacle unmatched by any previous Games was anything but modest. The LAOOC knew that “poorly done” Opening Ceremonies would result in a lasting negative image for Los Angeles as the “entertainment capital of the world.” Thus, they turned to the master of entertainment, Walt Disney Productions, Inc. The ceremonies included five skywriting airplanes that spelled out “welcome,” a man who flew into the stadium on a jetpack, over a thousand golden balloons, flowers for every spectator, 85 grand pianos, and 4,000 homing pigeons released into the sky, the last as a tribute to the 1932 Games. The narrative segment, titled *Music of America*, followed American history from the Revolutionary War to the present, with an individual section on “The Pioneer Spirit,” that included the recreation of a western town through props.¹²⁰

Los Angeles also used its design program, or the “Look of the Games,” to great effect. First and foremost, the Look united the region into “a common and easily recognizable celebratory presence” for spectators, television viewers, and locals. Because many residents disapproved of hosting, the LAOOC hoped the Look would turn disbelievers into supporters. The Look was simply described as “urban confetti,” as it descended like an “invasion of butterflies” on the Los Angeles landscape of 4,500 square miles. In developing the Look, the LAOOC turned to local designers for the *Star in Motion* emblem used on practically every official Olympic creation, as well as the sports

¹¹⁹ Gold and Gold, 194-198.

¹²⁰ Gold and Gold, 200-202 and Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee, *Official Report of the Games of the XXIIIrd Olympiad Los Angeles, 1984*.

pictograms that make Olympic signage readable to visitors of every language. Southern Californian animators and film studios competed to create the Olympic mascot, with Walt Disney Productions winning once again to create Sam the Olympic Eagle.¹²¹

By using pre-existing facilities, the Games sprawled out across the Los Angeles region, requiring deliberate design choices to create an “ephemeral environment” that linked the disparate venues.¹²² The environmental component of the Look was created by two Los Angeles-based firms: husband and wife design team Sussman/Prejza and architectural firm Jerde. Deborah Sussman worked at the Eames Office from the mid-1950s to mid-1960s, and, together with her husband, Paul Prejza, created other “visual communications programs” on urban landscapes in the area. Jon Adams Jerde’s firm specialized in commercial structures such as malls, including Minnesota’s Mall of America, Las Vegas’ Treasure Island Casino, and Universal CityWalk in Los Angeles. Together, they created a pastel eleven-color palette known as “festive federalism” to enhance the Look. It drew from the Olympic rings, evoked the Mediterranean, Asia, and Latin America, and looked good on camera. They also created an inexpensive “kit” of shapes and styles to use interchangeably across the sites as needed. In the “Design Coordination Guidelines,” the anonymous author advised, “If the Games are to avoid being perceived as fragmented as Los Angeles itself, their visual presence must be powerful enough to unify the otherwise unpredictable chaos of their geographical

¹²¹ The LAOOC had initially intended the mascot to be Southern California-themed, but later transitioned to national symbolism.

¹²² Gold and Gold, 199-200.

parts.”¹²³ For two weeks, Los Angeles became unified through the spirit of the Games and its design. The LAOOC clearly focused the Games’ design as an opportunity to showcase local designers and industries.

The nature of Los Angeles’ topography made Exposition Park the closest thing the 1984 Games had to a central meeting place, primarily due to the Coliseum and swim stadium. Yet, conditions in South Central Los Angeles did not fit the LAOOC’s Olympic vision. The organization and the CMSI turned to the LAPD to ensure that the Park would be “as secure as Westwood Village,” the community surrounding USC’s rival university, UCLA, on the city’s Westside.¹²⁴ Security costs were projected at \$3.5 million.¹²⁵ The 1984 Olympics played a large role in the development of the LAPD in this period. The Games “helped to militarize the LAPD, bolstered its ability to wage a war on crime that lasted well into the 1990s, and accelerated the mass arrest and incarceration of African American men.”¹²⁶ Organizers used the LAPD not to protect members of neighborhoods such as South Central, but to quell the discontents that would give Los Angeles a bad image.

¹²³ “Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee: 1984 Los Angeles Olympics,” Sussman/Prejza, accessed September 9, 2018, <http://www.sussmanprejza.com/portfolio/project/1984-los-angeles-olympics>; “1984 Olympics,” Jerde, accessed September 9, 2018, <http://jerde.com/places/detail/1984-olympics>; and Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee, *Official Report of the Games of the XXIIIrd Olympiad Los Angeles, 1984*. Other firms already hired for the Games also assisted in this process.

¹²⁴ Mary Louise Oates, “An Old Museum Outfitted for the Future: Updated, Expanded Facility Adds Lots of New Features,” *Los Angeles Times*, May 20, 1984, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

¹²⁵ Herbert A. Sample, “Assembly Approves Coliseum Panel Bill,” *Los Angeles Times*, June 19, 1982, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

¹²⁶ Max Felker-Kantor, “The 1984 Olympics Fueled L.A.’s War on Crime. Will the 2028 Games Do the Same?: How the Olympics Accelerated Mass Incarceration in Los Angeles,” *Washington Post* (August 6, 2017), https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/made-by-history/wp/2017/08/06/the-1984-olympics-fueled-l-a-s-war-on-crime-will-the-2028-games-do-the-same/?utm_term=.4425ee0d6fcd.

While the 1984 Olympics brought prosperity to Southern California in many ways, it did not reach the community surrounding Exposition Park. Instead, community members faced machine guns, advanced spying, and communication technology provided by the LAPD, which was paid for by the Olympic budget. Commander William Rathburn, the LAPD's Olympic coordinator, fast-tracked recruits into targeted operations for security reasons at "unprecedented" levels. The Olympics Major Crime Task Force (made up of LAPD, Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department, and FBI officers) swept gang members, drug dealers, and the homeless from Exposition Park before the Games began. Along with the Department of Defense, the LAPD "sanitize[d] the area" for the duration of the Games as well.¹²⁷

Once "sanitized," the Park hosted many prominent Olympic events, including the Opening and Closing Ceremonies. It was one of the most decorated Olympic sites and operated like a festival, with over one hundred tents hosting food and concessions and two stages for live entertainment. This entertainment was intended to represent "the multi-ethnic culture of Los Angeles" as approved and managed by city elites through classical music, dance, "ethnic" music, jazz, mime/juggling, and "other" (marching drill team and sign language).¹²⁸ Both the Natural History Museum of Los Angeles (formerly the Museum of History, Science, and Art) and the newly-built CAAM hosted official Olympic exhibits, yet the CMSI did not. This reflected larger tensions between the

¹²⁷ Lynn Simross, "The New Science Museum: Far Out!: Renovation Project Results in a High-Tech Panorama," *Los Angeles Times*, November 11, 1984, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

¹²⁸ Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee, *Official Report of the Games of the XXIIIrd Olympiad Los Angeles, 1984*.

LAOOC and the Board leading up to and during the Games.

The 1984 Olympics, headquartered in Exposition Park, provided the CMSI with an unprecedented opportunity to expand its reach and focus on a local, state, and national level. In 1982, the CMSI was among five of the most popular American science museums considered an industrially oriented comprehensive center, along with the Chicago Museum of Science and Industry, the Franklin Institute in Philadelphia, the Oregon Museum of Science and Industry in Portland, and the Center of Science and Industry in Columbus.¹²⁹ The museum continued to focus primarily on providing visitors with interactive, service-based experiences.¹³⁰

Despite Proposition 13, Governor Brown's personal interest in aerospace and science ensured that the CMSI received significant funding in the years leading up to the Olympics, thanks to a complete and total outsider. 36-year-old Janis Schwartz Berman successfully lobbied Brown at the 1982 Democratic National Convention to give the CMSI almost \$12 million. This reflected Brown's established interest in aerospace and science, and their role in his larger ecological New Age agenda for the state.¹³¹ In 1977, Brown had already held a space symposium in Los Angeles and, the following year, proposed six million dollars in state funding toward a space institute and communications

¹²⁹ Danilov, 42-50. This is opposed to a specialized center, which restricts itself to one aspect of science, such as transportation or health, or a limited center, which is either a small institution or an addition to another type of institution, such as a children's museum or natural history museum.

¹³⁰ Deborah Bergman and Alan Bergman, "Special People: Don Muchmore," *Westways* (March 1983), 53-55.

¹³¹ Simon Sadler, "The Bateson Building, Sacramento, California, 1977-81, and the Design of a New Age State," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 75, no. 4 (December 2016): 469-489, <https://doi.org/10.1525/jsah.2016.75.4.469>.

satellite at the University of California - Berkeley.¹³²

This funding support had a major impact on the CMSI's plans leading up to the Olympics. In comparison to the 1932 Games, the CMSI was on the outside looking in for the 1984 Games and had little direct involvement in the LAOOC or the Olympic planning process.¹³³ Nevertheless, the CMSI viewed the coming Olympics as a prime opportunity to bring expansion and improvement to both museum facilities and the Park. It was dealt a blow when, in 1982, McCann died suddenly of a heart attack at the age of 57.

McCann's final accomplishment for the museum was his negotiation with the LAOOC for \$800,000 in landscaping and parking improvements.¹³⁴ The Board took greater control in the wake of McCann's death and made ambitious goals for the money acquired from Brown. As the Games grew closer, they narrowed this down to a hall of aerospace, a museum of Afro-American history, and general improvements in parking and landscaping.¹³⁵

By the end of 1982, the Board reappointed Don Muchmore to the directorship, trusting that he would serve the institution as well as he had in the 1960s. One of his first orders of business was to renegotiate McCann's landscape and parking improvement deal, which a state agency had declared null and void. The \$800,000, regarded by the

¹³² Putnam, 82.

¹³³ According to Wenn and Brace, Ueberroth ran a tight ship to keep costs down, leaving decisions primarily in the hands of himself or his second-in-command, Harry Usher.

¹³⁴ "Councilman, 57, Dies in Santa Fe Springs," *Los Angeles Times*, May 2, 1982, ProQuest Historical Newspapers and Peter Bennett, "Director Ran Both Old Museum and New City He Helped Start," *Los Angeles Times*, May 3, 1982, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

¹³⁵ Judith Michaelson, "Creative Funding Benefits Museum: Science and Industry Facility Is Targeted for Expansion," *Los Angeles Times*, July 12, 1982, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

CMSI as a set amount, had been intended by the LAOOC as an “up to” figure. The CMSI refused any negotiations. The agreement’s vagueness, in conjunction with potential conflict of interest regarding CMSI board members also serving on the LAOOC, began a rift that would only continue to grow between the two groups throughout the Olympics. This occurred even though the LAOOC had satisfied its contractual obligation to the museum according to the state auditor.¹³⁶

Disagreements continued into 1984. The LAOOC clashed with CMSI board members on creating a bus turnaround, statue base, and plaza in front of the Coliseum only months before the Games were scheduled to begin. *Times* writer Peter H. King described meetings between the LAOOC and CMSI board as “long and sometimes volatile.” This conflict advanced in part because the LAOOC had decided to use existing structures and locations, such as Exposition Park, instead of building new ones.¹³⁷ The LAOOC didn’t care for the outdated Coliseum, and, as time went on, disliked the CMSI and its Board specifically. When the Games ended, they consciously chose to donate archival material to Exposition Park’s Natural History Museum of Los Angeles, an institution “run by mature professionals with whom we already have a harmonious relationship,” because of their ongoing feud with the CMSI, who was “greedy in their

¹³⁶ Kenneth Reich, “Museum Seeks to Alter Olympic Pact: Contract Is Declared Void After State Agency Finds It Too Vague,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 1, 1982, ProQuest Historical Newspapers and Thomas W. Hayes, *Auditor General’s Letter Report Concerning the Funds Spent by the Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee on Behalf of the California Museums of Science and Industry*, sent to Joint Legislative Audit Committee, June 15, 1985. The auditor later found that the LAOOC satisfied its contractual obligation to the museum.

¹³⁷ Peter H. King, “Organizers Go Operational: The Race Is On, 140 Days Before the Olympic Games,” *Los Angeles Times*, March 10, 1984, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

dealings with the LAOOC.”¹³⁸

The LAOOC was not the only organization the CMSI came into conflict with leading up to the Olympics. Deteriorating conditions at Exposition Park, “the only park, recreational, educational facility in the inner city,” drew concerns from community members and city leaders. In 1980, the Board admitted to the Park’s sorry state when they stated that there had been “no major improvements within Exposition Park” in the past twenty-five years.¹³⁹ Although the museum had become actively involved in South Central community outreach in the 1970s, this did not prevent the CMSI’s plans for a large-scale takeover of many of the Park’s remaining outdoor spaces without community consent in the years leading up to the 1984 Olympics. Los Angeles’ influential Community Redevelopment Agency (CRA) stepped in to combat these changes.

Los Angeles city officials created the CRA in 1948 to combat “vicious cycles of urban deterioration and disinvestment” during postwar suburbanization. But, the CRA was most influential from the mid-1970s to late-1980s. One of the CRA’s primary concerns was availability of low-income, affordable housing. In its earliest days, private business and industry-focused entities such as the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce opposed its creation, because they saw it as a gateway to “racial integration, political

¹³⁸ Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee, *Exposition Park Final Report*, Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee Records, 1978-1984, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles, Los Angeles, CA and Darrell Vange, letter to Harry Usher, August 23, 1984, Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee Records, 1978-1984, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles, Los Angeles, CA. The LAOOC listed the CMSI as the second worst entity dealt with after the LAPD.

¹³⁹ Sixth District Agricultural Association (California Museum of Science and Industry), *Exposition Park—Los Angeles*, promotional writing, August 6, 1980, Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee Records, 1978-1984, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles, Los Angeles, CA.

instability, and socialism.” Under Bradley’s mayorship however, the CRA undertook large-scale redevelopment of Downtown as part of his vision to make Los Angeles a “world class city.” In addition, the passage of Reagan’s budget cuts, along with Proposition 13, made redevelopment much more appealing than it had been in the past to revitalize the city’s economy. The CRA facilitated a partnership between proponents for low-income housing and industry leaders. While the controversial corporate-friendly urban renewal of Bunker Hill in the 1960s and 70s was the CRA’s most memorable project, the CRA also undertook the redevelopment of Olympic (Exposition) Park in the 1980s.¹⁴⁰

Like many CRA projects, 1960s urban renewal ambitions for corporate growth (for the Park, this was known as the Hoover Project) transitioned into 1980s preservation projects for low- and moderate-income residents. As seen in Chapter 3, the Hoover Project initially intended to help USC take control of land immediately surrounding the university and met active community resistance. In 1983, the CRA expanded the Hoover Project to include many of the surrounding neighborhoods in decline, with a new approach. They were keenly aware of the potential for destruction of community spaces and amenities as the Olympics loomed on the horizon. Now known as the Hoover Expansion Redevelopment Project, Exposition Park was firmly included in its bounds, and the CRA tasked themselves with using the Park to assist in community revitalization

¹⁴⁰ Mara A. Marks, “Shifting Ground: The Rise and Fall of the Los Angeles Community Redevelopment Agency,” *Southern California Quarterly* 86, no. 3 (Fall 2004): 241-290, www.jstor.org/stable/41172224.

through “improvement of neglected community facilities.”¹⁴¹ That same year, the CRA requested the CMSI halt construction of its ambitious expansion plan, as it ignored the community’s need for recreation space.¹⁴² Ultimately, the CRA felt that the CMSI didn’t consider the Park as a space for the community, or as a public space of much value at all. Instead of viewing the land as recreational space with opportunities for pedestrian use and community access, the CMSI regarded it as real estate for museum expansion. Despite objections by the LAOOC and CRA, Muchmore began an almost impossibly fast transformation of the CMSI, anchored by the Aerospace Hall.

The origins of the CMSI’s Aerospace Hall go at least as far back as 1970, although desire for a similar institution formed with the Space Museum in the 1950s, as seen in Chapter 3. This time, however, the CMSI had gained potential support from the federal government. This support stemmed from Congress’ creation of the nation’s best-known aerospace museum, the Smithsonian’s National Air and Space Museum (NASM). In 1946, an act of Congress created the institution, although it did not gain its own building until 1976. The Cold War space race played a large role in its expansion. In the 1970s, the NASM was highly collections-focused and included artifacts associated with major accomplishments such as the Wright Flyer, the *Spirit of St. Louis*, and a lunar rock. The NASM promoted a narrative of American technological progress, one confirmed by the legislative and military branches responsible for its creation and development. A

¹⁴¹ “Exposition/University Park Redevelopment Project,” CRA/LA, accessed September 9, 2018, <http://www.crala.org/internet-site/Projects/Hoover/about.cfm>.

¹⁴² Michael D. Thomson, letter to Joseph Cerrell, October 14, 1983, Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee Records, 1978-1984, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles, Los Angeles, CA.

crucial part of this narrative was the role the NASM should play in guaranteeing “the future of aviation itself” by advertising its significance to the masses. From there, future generations would hopefully continue the narrative of American technological superiority.

Design critic Ada Louise Huxtable referred to the museum as a “a cross between Disneyworld and Dr. Caligari,” where the collections became overshadowed by “settings of overreaching gimmickry or rich corn.” Yet, the museum didn’t attempt much interaction between artifacts and visitors. Instead, the objects were supposed to speak for themselves.¹⁴³ The NASM used artifacts to display innovation in aerospace yet included little else on their creators or historical context. This lack of context obscured connections between the federal government and the companies who created the objects. It also ignored controversial aircraft in its collections, such as the *Enola Gay*.¹⁴⁴ Essentially, the NASM existed to promote an idealized version of America’s military-industrial complex.

In this context, Congress began contemplating a regional aerospace museum in the West in 1970. They conducted a feasibility study to evaluate accessibility of aerospace artifacts to citizens of Western states due to the region’s significant contributions to aerospace. Congress intended the study to address the physical and financial constraints of the proposed institution and also its management—should the

¹⁴³ It should be noted that interactivity with aerospace artifacts is particularly hard to do, due to size.

¹⁴⁴ “National Air and Space Museum and Udvar-Hazy Center,” Smithsonian Institution Archives, accessed September 9, 2018, <https://siarchives.si.edu/history/national-air-and-space-museum-and-udvar-hazy-center>; Michal McMahon, “The Romance of Technological Progress: A Critical Review of the National Air and Space Museum,” *Technology and Culture* 22, no. 2 (April 1981): 281-296, www.jstor.org/stable/3104902; and Ada Louise Huxtable, “Supermuseum Comes to the Mall,” *New York Times*, July 4, 1976, <https://www.nytimes.com/1976/07/04/archives/architectural-view-supermuseum-comes-to-the-mall.html>.

Western aerospace museum be a branch or affiliate of the Smithsonian? Congressional members also laid out the potential institution's mission in relation to the NASM and its patriotic bent:

“The Congress has already directed that the national development of flight shall be memorialized; that air and space objects of historical and scientific significance shall be preserved and displayed; and that educational material for the study of air and space history and development shall be provided. (20 U.S.C. 77a.) This action is the culmination of 23 years of Congressional encouragement and legislative action in the interest of air and space science and history.”¹⁴⁵

The NASM, in conjunction with NASA, completed and presented this study to the House of Representatives on July 31, 1972. The study recommended that developing aerospace exhibits at existing Western museums would be preferable to establishing a new museum entirely. However, if Congress decided upon the latter, the committee recommended the CMSI due to the museum's ambitious proposal, which promised major expansion. The study based this recommendation on attendance numbers (3.3 million annually and significantly higher than any other museum proposed), the availability of a building capable of renovation, and endorsement by the governor of California.¹⁴⁶

Longtime CMSI and CMF board member, J. Howard Edgerton, presented the CMSI's proposal to the study group. He included detailed information on the role the museum would play as a “learning center for the citizen, the student, the worker and the industrialist.” The museum also emphasized its role in making the public more aware of

¹⁴⁵ Committee on Science and Astronautics, House of Representatives, *Feasibility Study, Regional Aerospace Museum*, July 16, 1970, in Smithsonian Institution, National Air and Space Museum, *Feasibility Study of an Aerospace Museum in the Western United States*, 1972, 72-H702-16, 105-106, ProQuest Congressional. Twenty-three years refers to Congress' act of establishing the National Air Museum as part of the Smithsonian in 1946.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

the “peaceful uses” of aerospace research, like earlier atomic exhibits.¹⁴⁷ The functions of the museum included a repository, laboratory, living library, and meeting space, referred to as the Space Library (temporary exhibits), Space Laboratory (permanent exhibits), Space Theater, and an Institute for Aerospace Science studies. The CMSI also included sections in the proposal focused on existing programs, such as summer workshops, as well.¹⁴⁸ While this collaboration never came to fruition, it shows how long the CMSI had seriously planned for an aerospace wing, and how those plans eventually coalesced in 1984.

The Aerospace Museum, free of NASA and the Smithsonian’s influence, opened in July 1984—just in time for the Olympics. The CMSI stated the total construction time for the Aerospace Museum at thirteen months, a significant reduction from the Hall of Health’s four-year-long construction from fifteen years earlier. In that time, the CMSI and CMF raised \$4 million dollars for its completion (much of it from local aerospace firm Northrop), and combined it with funding from Brown’s appropriations. Designed by Frank O. Gehry & Associates, the seven-story 16,000 square foot building contrasted markedly with the Park’s other structures. It included a Lockheed F-104 Starfighter jet perched on the outside of a stucco and sheet-metal building topped with a large sphere. With a 75-foot ceiling, 105,000 cubic feet of space for exhibits, and a collection valued at

¹⁴⁷ In comparison, the NASM’s original intention in 1948 was to “memorialize the development of aviation; collect, preserve, and display aeronautical equipment; and provide educational material for the study of aviation.” See “History,” National Air and Space Museum, Smithsonian Institution, accessed September 9, 2018, <https://airandspace.si.edu/history-0>.

¹⁴⁸ California Museum of Science and Industry, *Proposal*, July 18, 1972, in Smithsonian Institution, National Air and Space Museum, *Feasibility Study of an Aerospace Museum in the Western United States*, 1972, 72-H702-16, 105-106, ProQuest Congressional.

\$8 million, the CMSI intended to rival the Smithsonian's NASM. This began, as it had since the Park's origins in 1913, with design.¹⁴⁹

Architectural choices have always played an important role in museums. Traditionally, museum buildings were made to house collections, yet the meaning behind the architecture aligned with ideals perpetuated both within and outside the exhibits, as was the case with Beaux Arts neoclassical design in Exposition Park. Rising modernist styles in the 1930s, seen in Century of Progress fairs and at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, began to broaden museum architectural styles and connect art along more universal lines, as opposed to nationalistic showboating. Then, in 1959, Frank Lloyd Wright's Guggenheim Museum in New York changed the game in terms of aesthetic and design, creating a memorable modernist "defiant spiral." Although the building felt "impenetrable, it featured natural lighting" to protect the works of art inside. From that point onward, museums sought out architects to create "the ultimate contemporary trophy" for aspiring world-class cities. Modernism reigned until the 1970s, when Robert Venturi introduced a "postmodern revolt" that emphasized the return of meaning in architecture through ornamentation.¹⁵⁰ Gehry was one of the rising stars who created

¹⁴⁹ Judith Michaelson, "Creative Funding Benefits Museum: Science and Industry Facility Is Targeted for Expansion," *Los Angeles Times*, July 12, 1982, ProQuest Historical Newspapers; Sam Hall Kaplan, "Aerospace Museum Is Geared for 'Maiden Flight': City Review," *Los Angeles Times*, July 20, 1984, ProQuest Historical Newspapers; and California Museum of Science and Industry, *CMSI Aerospace Museum*, exhibition booklet, 1984, <http://whimsicalwill.tripod.com/CMSI/CMSI-Aerospace80s-1.html>. The image from the booklet shows just how different (and perhaps cramped) the aerospace building appeared in relation to the Armory, one of the earliest structures in the Park.

¹⁵⁰ Jayne Merkel, "The Museum as Artifact (The Once and Future Museum)," *The Wilson Quarterly* 26, no. 1 (Winter 2002): 66-79, www.jstor.org/stable/40260572 and Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown, and Steven Izenour, *Learning from Las Vegas: The Forgotten Symbolism of Architectural Form* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1972).

postmodernist structures on the West coast, beginning with the Geffen Contemporary located Downtown, just a year before the Aerospace Museum opened. In both modernist and postmodernist design, museum structures “have become objects in their own right,” representative of the museum’s mission, but also of the changing role of the museum in society as entertainer, service provider, and educator.¹⁵¹

Frank Gehry, known as the architectural “father of the ‘Los Angeles School,’”¹⁵² has a design approach described simply as “irreverent, exploded-then-reassembled punk style.” Today, Gehry’s best-known creations include the Guggenheim Museum in Spain and the Walt Disney Concert Hall in Los Angeles. Mike Davis describes Gehry as a “major arts logo” designer for Los Angeles, a man who was “heralded as [creator of] the first major indigenous style since the bungalow.”¹⁵³ According to Davis, Gehry uses “decayed and polarized ... bad urban spaces” and transforms them into “light and airy expressions of a happy lifestyle.”¹⁵⁴ Charles Jenks refers to Gehry’s style as hetero-architecture, where designers “accept the different voices that create a city, suppress none of them, and make from their interaction some kind of greater dialogue.”¹⁵⁵ In 1983,

¹⁵¹ Merkel, 79.

¹⁵² The controversially-named LA School comes from Marco Cenzatti, *Los Angeles at the L.A. School: Postmodernism and Urban Studies* (Los Angeles, CA: Los Angeles Forum for Architecture and Urban Design, 1993). This loosely-affiliated group of urban studies and geography scholars sought to understand the city’s public spaces after deindustrialization and globalization. Mike Davis and Edward Soja are two of the leading scholars considered part of the School. Gehry, as Davis shows, exemplifies the postmodern character of the city through his architectural design.

¹⁵³ Davis, *City of Quartz*, 238-240.

¹⁵⁴ Davis, *City of Quartz*, 81, 236-240.

¹⁵⁵ Charles Jencks, “Hetero-Architecture and the L.A. School,” in *The City: Los Angeles and Urban Theory at the End of the Twentieth Century*, eds. Allen J. Scott and Edward W. Soja (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996), 47-75, EBSCOhost.

however, the Aerospace Museum was Gehry's first major public commission. Prior to this, he had primarily designed residences in the Los Angeles area and had not achieved landmark status as representative of Los Angeles' architectural style.¹⁵⁶ Instead, the Aerospace Building was an initial proving ground for Gehry as he moved forward in his career.

Why, then, did the CMSI hire Gehry to represent its mission? The CMSI stated that they chose him in part for his connections to Los Angeles. The local component cannot be underestimated. Just as the LAOOC did in the planning for 1984 Olympics design, the CMSI specifically chose a "sentimental hometown favorite" to represent the museum—a local who had yet not done a project on this scale!¹⁵⁷ The museum also stated that Gehry was chosen for his ability to make the structure "dynamic, the themes of human interaction, of movement, of intimacy ... integrated into the design."¹⁵⁸ Gehry designed the structure with little knowledge of what exhibits would be held inside aside from aerospace artifacts, such as planes and missiles. As James Steele states in his study of the structure, museums dedicated to flight were relatively rare and new at this time, in part due to the amount of square footage necessary to accommodate items. Gehry and the CMSI agreed that the space should not just house exhibits or resemble a hangar, but reflect "the new frontier provided by limitless space." This created a clear clash in style

¹⁵⁶ James Steele, *Architecture in Detail—California Aerospace Museum: Frank Gehry* (London, England: Phaidon Press Ltd, 1994).

¹⁵⁷ Merkel, 76.

¹⁵⁸ California Museum of Science and Industry, *CMSI Aerospace Museum*; Michaelson, "Creative Funding Benefits Museum;" and Sam Hall Kaplan, "Aerospace Museum Is Geared for 'Maiden Flight.'"

with the rest of the Park (a *Times* critic referred to it as dominant, yet cramped among “lackluster” surrounding buildings),¹⁵⁹ but Gehry “enjoy[ed] the awkwardness” of different forms and styles, claiming that it reflected real cities and their building relationships.¹⁶⁰ The choice of architect worked. The *New York Times*, ever critical of Los Angeles’ cultural output, called the building one of “great tension and energy in a city often criticized for lacking these qualities,” using compelling sculptural forms to recreate the imagery of planes lifting off into the sky.¹⁶¹

Inside the building, Gehry explained his design as “the closest thing I’ll ever get to ... a Gothic cathedral,” an altar to Southern California’s aerospace contributions. His vision was compromised almost immediately by the unrelated design firm sent in to complete the interior. Nevertheless, the essence of Gehry’s work remained, providing multiple levels of viewing platforms that led the visitor through a large space filled with hanging objects. Gehry also used natural light to great effect in a top-lit approach. This reflected his earlier works and operated in the spirit of Wright’s Guggenheim. Steele places the significance of the Aerospace Museum in Gehry’s oeuvre as two-fold. First, it suffered from the time and budget constraints of the 1984 Olympics, yet still succeeded at showcasing museum artifacts in the interior as well as the “city within a city” approach that reflected the emergent Los Angeles School’s style. Secondly, the timing of the

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Steele. Some practical decisions remained, such as placing it next to the old Armory for potential future exhibit space and because it deferred to the historical structures when viewing the park from the perimeter.

¹⁶¹ Joseph Giovannini, “Design Notebook—Bold Imaginings: 10 California Architects,” *New York Times*, July 14, 1983, <https://www.nytimes.com/1983/07/14/garden/design-notebook-bold-imaginings-10-california-architects.html>.

project showed Gehry's remarkable transition from residential to larger institutional projects.¹⁶²

The structure's significance for the CMSI also operated on multiple levels. First, it added a notable landmark to the city landscape, one created by a local designer who went on to be an international architectural superstar. This made the CMSI and the Park a landmark by association. Second, it epitomized the goal of the Aerospace Museum, one the CMSI had strived to attain for decades. Excitement surrounding the opening of the building centered on its meaningfulness for the local aerospace industry, with journalists calling it a "national resource" and part of the state's heritage.¹⁶³ This reflected a Southern Californian variation of the NASM and continued a narrative from the early Cold War period: not only was aerospace part of California's legacy, but the public needed to learn about that legacy so as to ensure the region's continued dominance in the industry for decades to come. Amid Reagan's Cold War revival, this was particularly pertinent.

Inside, the museum served as "a monument to the efforts and determination of the aerospace community, political officials, corporate and foundation donors, and a host of individual volunteers and supporters."¹⁶⁴ The exhibits within included aircraft ranging from a 1902 Wright glider to an Air Force T-38 Trainer hanging from the seventy-foot ceiling. A multi-sensory presentation written by science fiction author and Los Angeles

¹⁶² Steele.

¹⁶³ Wayne Warga, "L.A.'s New Place to Fly," *Westways* (December 1984), 21-22.

¹⁶⁴ California Museum of Science and Industry, *CMSI Aerospace Museum*.

native Ray Bradbury, titled “Windows on the Universe,” was a popular feature.¹⁶⁵

Bradbury’s narrative on the history of the cosmos read like self-described preaching in a “cathedral of space, where you go to worship the universe,” as opposed to “boring the hell out of everyone” through traditional teaching methods. The show was originally intended for the NASM’s planetarium, but Bradbury claimed that disagreements between himself and museum staff led him to break his contract and offer it to the CMSI instead. The CMSI echoed this approach, intending “not to fill the building with hardware, but to create a setting where people could walk through the entrance into virtually another realm to discover the universe and the wonders of outer space.”¹⁶⁶

Other exhibits in the Hall included “the evolution of flight, the principles of aerodynamics, [and] the use and benefits of satellites,” to balance the fantastical with grounded scientific development. Like other CMSI exhibits, many objects were touchable, including the planes. Although not yet open in 1984, the CMSI’s plan for the second phase of the museum included “the commercialization of space,” culminating in the production of materials on a near-future space station.¹⁶⁷ This plan aligned with the

¹⁶⁵ Sam Hall Kaplan, “Aerospace Museum Is Geared for ‘Maiden Flight’” and Simross, “The New Science Museum: Far Out!” *Los Angeles Times*.

¹⁶⁶ David Brin, “Ray Bradbury, An Appreciation,” *Nature* 486 no. 7404 (June 28, 2012): 471, Academic Search Premier; William S. Murphy, “Spacecraft, Airplanes in Exposition Park,” *Los Angeles Times*, January 10, 1987, ProQuest Historical Newspapers; and Thomas M. Sipos, “Ray Bradbury on Mel Gibson’s Fahrenheit 451, Preaching Science, and the Universe,” *Hollywood Investigator*, April 22, 2002, <http://www.hollywoodinvestigator.com/2002/bradbury.htm>. Bradbury, another Los Angeles local, epitomized the exploration of science fiction and fantasy throughout his writing career, elevating it from pulp magazines to art. His writing is said to have influenced space exploration and the ideology behind it in the Cold War period, and he was often interviewed throughout his life about major advancements in the field, despite his lack of concern or knowledge of science.

¹⁶⁷ California Museum of Science and Industry, *CMSI Aerospace Museum*; Michaelson, “Creative Funding Benefits Museum;” and Sam Hall Kaplan, “Aerospace Museum Is Geared for ‘Maiden Flight.’”

consistent theme of CMSI exhibits across decades: local opportunity and advancement through industry. The last major piece added to the Aerospace Museum reflected this ideology. The construction of an attached IMAX theater began in September of 1983 at a cost of \$1.8 million. At the time of its construction, the only other IMAX theater in California resided in the Bay Area, at Marriott's Great American Pictorium in Santa Clara. IMAX technology may not have been Californian, as it debuted at the 1970 Exposition in Osaka, Japan and was invented in Canada, but it was extremely relevant to Hollywood's needs. With this addition, the CMSI marketed the theater's use for film producer screenings, as well as for public benefit.¹⁶⁸

The Aerospace Museum marked the culmination of decades of attempts to celebrate one of the city's most influential industries. Muchmore and the CMSI may not have been on the best of terms with the LAOOC, but the museum aligned with the organization's goals. Through the Aerospace Museum, Olympic visitors could see the tangible evidence of the city's contributions to Cold War American democracy. They could also recognize, helped along by Gehry's design, Los Angeles' position on the edge of the future and the frontier. The museum had immortalized the city's "blue sky dream" of the 1950s and 60s.

The Aerospace Museum accompanied other renovations throughout the CMSI, including new exhibits in the Hall of Health. Muchmore led the charge, and while developing the new and improved CMSI, fully embraced commercialism by stating, "we

¹⁶⁸ Mitchell S. Rossi, "IMAX: The Scope of the Future," *Los Angeles Times*, December 18, 1983, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

have had no problems—basically, not a single problem—with commercialism.” The CMSI was subjected to the LAOOC’s ire on more than occasion for unauthorized use of corporate sponsorship from companies such as McDonalds, Kodak, and Famous Amos.¹⁶⁹ This was perhaps best represented in the Hall’s new nutrition exhibit, titled *Foodworks!* The exhibit debuted in July 1984, with the slogan “eat well, be well,” and contained the CMSI’s now familiar hands-on style. Much of the exhibit focused on making visitors more aware of personal health through nutritional content and medical analysis of the body. Yet, it also contained a McDonald’s in the *Byte of Food* section, where visitors ordered fast food while learning about the role of computers in fast food production and sales.¹⁷⁰

Exhibits like *Foodworks!* (and, even more egregiously, *Byte of Food*) created a dynamic that centered on consumption and the audience member as consumer to the complete detriment of an exhibit supposedly focused on nutritious eating. Sharon Macdonald’s analysis of the Science Museum, London’s 1989 exhibit, *Food for Thought: The Sainsbury Gallery*, gets at the root of these concerns. When exhibits are regarded as “products to be marketed” and visitors as consumers with discretionary spending, the concept of the museum itself becomes commercialized. Like the CMSI’s food exhibits, *Food for Thought* focused on the process of consumption in relation to food (shopping

¹⁶⁹ Oates, “An Old Museum Outfitted for the Future,” *Los Angeles Times* and Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee, *Exposition Park Final Report*.

¹⁷⁰ “Nutrition Exhibit to Highlight Diet,” *Los Angeles Times*, April 24, 1984, ProQuest Historical Newspapers and Karen Gillingham, “Food for Thought at Museum: Kids Get Nutrition Education at Hands-On Exhibit,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 26, 1984, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

and eating) and intended to provide familiarity and choice to visitors. The concept of choice runs throughout the exhibit, from what parts of the exhibit to experience to which food to “check out” at the supermarket. Ultimately, consumption itself becomes a marker of individuality, and objects of the museum become commodities.¹⁷¹ Notably, the CMSI differed from the Science Museum, London in that it did not, and still does not, charge admission, but this does not erase the commodity-based relationship between its exhibits and audiences. *Foodworks!* was the quintessential example of a science museum exhibit biased in industry’s favor. It also showcased the evolution of spectacle, where capitalist products could now be purchased and consumed in the museum exhibit.

By the time the Olympics came to town, Muchmore and the Board had successfully raised \$43 million in funding and erected four new buildings.¹⁷² CAAM also opened its own building.¹⁷³ The CMSI had successfully used the Olympics as an opportunity to add key exhibits that fit the institution’s new mission. Despite their many conflicts with the LAOOC, the CMSI’s initiatives held many similarities to the 1984 Olympics. Both groups centered local industry in commodified spectacle, showcasing Los Angeles as the quintessential American city at the edge of the frontier. The CMSI, true to style, celebrated by hosting a closing ceremonies party. Los Angeles industry leaders mingled in the Aerospace Museum, planes dangling above them in Gehry’s shrine

¹⁷¹ Sharon Macdonald, “Supermarket Science? Consumers and ‘the Public Understanding of Science,’” in *The Politics of Display: Museums, Science, Culture*, ed. Sharon Macdonald (New York, NY: Routledge, 1998), 118-138.

¹⁷² Beth Ann Krier, “Controversy Dogs Director of Science Museum: Muchmore Matches His Achievements With Conflicts,” *Los Angeles Times*, May 16, 1985, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

¹⁷³ Epting, 69.

to their own creations. Men wearing NASA spacesuits socialized with the crowd and drank soda through a feed/drink port without removing their helmets. The soda was 7-Up, and the event was sponsored by the 7-Up Bottling Co.¹⁷⁴

Meanwhile, the official Olympic Closing Ceremonies used Hollywood's technology of spectacle by forming the entire affair around an 'alien spaceship' landing. This included blue-filtered flashlights for every audience member, a 30-minute fireworks display, 300 break dancers, lasers, smoke effects, and singer Lionel Ritchie. In addition, an "alien" emerged from the ship to announce, "I've come a long way because I like what I've seen." Apparently even extraterrestrial beings able to travel at lightspeed would have found the 1984 Olympics awe-inspiring. At the end of it all, the city benefited: local universities received new facilities and Southern California gained an estimated a \$2.4 billion boost to the local economy.¹⁷⁵ The 1984 Games ended up with a \$232 million profit. It provided a multitude of benefits for Los Angeles, most notably in gaining the distinction of being the city that "revived" the Olympic Games. This created a heightened profile for the city as one that could not only host, but succeed at hosting, a major exhibition event. The city would go on to host World Cup finals and multiple Super Bowls.¹⁷⁶

Comparisons between 1984 and 1932 abounded in the *Report*; the "unbelievable" accomplishment of a budget surplus in the midst of the Great Depression was only

¹⁷⁴ "Olympic Social View: Private Closing Ceremonies Abound," *Los Angeles Times*, August 14, 1984, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

¹⁷⁵ Gold and Gold, 200-202 and Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee, *Official Report of the Games of the XXIIIrd Olympiad Los Angeles, 1984*.

¹⁷⁶ Wenn.

slightly more unbelievable than a Games “organized entirely by a private corporation.” Both Olympics epitomized innovation and showcased local industry. The X Olympiad used state-of-the-art radio and newswire enhanced by Hollywood celebrity power. The XXIII Olympiad used Hollywood’s technology similarly through celebrity appearances, film score-style music crafted by John Williams, and dynamic special effects.¹⁷⁷ The *Report*’s message was clear: Los Angeles may have evolved over the years, but local boosters, with their commitment to spectacle, remained a central piece in its success.

1985-1988: The Fall of Don Muchmore

After the Olympics, the museum began to refer to itself as the “new” California Museum of Science and Industry, where visitors could “Come Touch Tomorrow.” Many initiatives and exhibits remained, including Industry Hall (which now housed agriculture), the Science Wing’s iconic *Mathematica* and *Wheels of Change*¹⁷⁸ exhibits, and Summer Science Workshops. Plenty of other things had changed, though. The Science Wing now contained a sizeable amount of exhibit space dedicated to the computer, and services ranged from teaching computer literacy to large scale models explaining the operating system. A new Hall of Economics and Finance¹⁷⁹ (sponsored by

¹⁷⁷ Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee, *Official Report of the Games of the XXIIIrd Olympiad Los Angeles, 1984*.

¹⁷⁸ Previously *The Turning Wheel*.

¹⁷⁹ Heidi Evans, “Museum’s New Hall of Economics and Finance Sets Lofty Goal: Equation: Games+Gadgets=Fun,” *Los Angeles Times*, April 24, 1985, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. Despite being one of the earliest and most urgent plans prior to the Olympics, the Mark Taper Hall of Economics and Finance did not open to the public until afterward in April of 1985 and cost \$7 million. As the first such exhibit of its kind, the Hall seemed to appeal to adults confused about budgeting as much as it did children. Nevertheless, the Hall never got the Olympics “boost.” Perhaps it was the subject matter: making economics and high finance “simple and fun for the average person.”

Westside savings and loan magnate Mark Taper) finally brought the savings and loan industry into the museum. Finally, two gift shops in Industry Hall and the Aerospace building opened, specifically “fitted to the museum.”¹⁸⁰ Commercialization, service, and locally-focused industry continued to dominate the museum’s offerings.

Although the CRA and local activists had not supported the CMSI’s Olympic construction projects, South Central residents enjoyed the new amenities at the Park. In the years immediately following the Olympics, the CRA hired Carr, Lynch Associates, a design firm known for “creative, practical, and affordable design solutions,” to create a community-centric master plan for the Park.¹⁸¹ The plan included a survey of one hundred Park visitors, of which 66% were minorities, 37% had less than a high school education, 41% reported an income of less than \$10,000, and 26% walked to the Park rather than drove. Within this demographic, the institution that received the highest percentage of visitors after the rose garden (70%), was the CMSI (61%). Furthermore, when asked about favorite and least favorite Park amenities, only White respondents listed the CMSI as their least favorite institution.¹⁸² The CMSI also remained (and still

¹⁸⁰ Anthony Russo, “Getting Students Hooked on Math and the Sciences,” *Los Angeles Times*, June 23, 1983, ProQuest Historical Newspapers; Jane W. Applegate, “General Automation Part of 5-Year Exhibit: Company’s Latest Computers Will Soon Be Museum Pieces,” *Los Angeles Times*, April 29, 1984, ProQuest Historical Newspapers; Mary Schnack, “Creative Computer’ on the Way: Artist Paints a Rosy Picture of Installation,” *Los Angeles Times*, May 20, 1984, ProQuest Historical Newspapers; and Advisory Board of the California Museum of Science and Industry, *California Museum of Science & Industry*, exhibition brochure, 1984-5, <http://whimsicalwill.tripod.com/CMSI/Brochure1980s-1.html>. The Space Museum was listed in the map key image from the brochure in the armory building, as it had been for decades.

¹⁸¹ “Firm Profile,” Carr, Lynch, and Sandell, Inc., accessed September 9, 2018, http://www.carrlynchsandell.com/firm_profile/index.html.

¹⁸² Carr, Lynch Associates, Inc. *An Olympic Park for Los Angeles: Master Plan* (Cambridge, MA: July 1985), Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee Records, 1978-1984, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles, Los Angeles, CA. Although the surrounding neighborhood

remains) free to enter, which accounted for its popularity and accessibility for Park goers. The CMSI's reduction of parkland had not discouraged South Central visitors, but some survey respondents voiced concerns with a lack of outdoor facilities.

Under Muchmore, the CMSI increased attendance by 60% (to 5.2 million visitors), volunteers by 25%, museum memberships by 600%, and received an annual 30% increase in the state budget during his time as director.¹⁸³ While some of this can be attributed to the Olympics, Muchmore deserves credit for his ability to accomplish this in such a short span of time. After the Games, Muchmore also pushed for local initiatives for minorities in museums, recognized a need to recruit minority students in science and engineering, and publicly advocated for a Museum of Latino History as “exceedingly important.”¹⁸⁴ He viewed the last couple of years as a renovation on par with 1951 and went on record about changing the “stodgy” name of the institution as early as 1984 to fit these changes. Finally, he took pride in running “the last major museum in Los Angeles that is free to the public,” bolstered by the investment of corporations and private individuals, both in donations and volunteerism.¹⁸⁵ By all accounts, Muchmore seemed poised to bring the CMSI to the next level of greatness.

Yet, the museum's accomplishments over the course of the Olympics did not

remained majority Black, the largest ethnic/racial group of visitors surveyed (48%) were Hispanic. Also, the survey listed the Aerospace Museum separately at 43% visitorship, the third most popular institution in the Park.

¹⁸³ Krier, “Controversy Dogs Director of Science Museum,” *Los Angeles Times*.

¹⁸⁴ Von Jones, “Are Black People Ready For the Year 2000?” *Los Angeles Sentinel*, June 13, 1985, ProQuest Historical Newspapers and Marita Hernandez, “Museum Proposed as Showcase of Latinos' American Roots,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 22, 1985, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

¹⁸⁵ Simross, “The New Science Museum: Far Out!” *Los Angeles Times*. This article contains a map of where all the buildings were located or planned to be located as of 1984.

come without controversy. Muchmore may have been a savior to the Board, but his Edgerton-directed management style created tension with employees, especially in comparison to the “easygoing” McCann. CMSI employees cited poor morale as a result of degradation and mental harassment. Muchmore hired and fired a succession of five secretaries in the two-and-a-half-year period of the renovation process. What is more, he canceled the annual Christmas party following the Olympics because construction projects had left the museum \$1.6 million in debt.¹⁸⁶

Local Black leaders were also unimpressed with the lack of goodwill shown toward South Central during and after the Olympics. Some local politicians, such as State Assemblywoman Maxine Waters, and *Sentinel* editorials applauded the LAPD’s heavy presence during the Olympics but felt betrayed when police presence decreased afterward.¹⁸⁷ Paula Perry, a South Central homeowner, stated plainly the root issue for Black residents after five youths were killed by gang violence in her home in October 1984. Perry, who told the *Sentinel* that none of the children were gang members, said, “Any time anything related to gang violence or Black on Black violence occur, the police take their time getting here.” She recalled police officers stepping over the prone body of a still-living thirteen-year-old victim to investigate the scene. Paramedics arrived twenty minutes after her initial call, and the boy had already died from his injuries.¹⁸⁸ According

¹⁸⁶ Krier, “Controversy Dogs Director of Science Museum,” *Los Angeles Times*.

¹⁸⁷ “Waters Urges Police to Stop Violence,” *Los Angeles Sentinel*, October 18, 1984, ProQuest Historical Newspapers; “Pattern is clear,” *Los Angeles Sentinel*, October 11, 1984, ProQuest Historical Newspapers; Robertson, “L.A. Confidential,” *Los Angeles Sentinel*; and Von Jones, “Chief Daryl Gates Criticizes His Many Critics,” *Los Angeles Sentinel*, November 8, 1984, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

¹⁸⁸ Harold Johnson, “7 More Dead, Authorities Declare War,” *Los Angeles Sentinel*, October 18, 1984, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

to Black residents, the LAPD only cared about South Central crime victims during the Olympics, when they had the potential to be White. In a 1992 interview, California Democratic politician and civil rights activist Augustus F. Hawkins confirmed this belief when he stated:

“I thought that the Olympic games in Los Angeles [1984] presented us with an opportunity for a follow-through. Unfortunately, I don't think that the Olympic games brought to the area the benefits that it should have. It should have resulted in more involvement of the area itself in the operation of the games and the aftermath of the games. The people in the area supported the games; they certainly did cooperate in providing the type of safety to those who came to the games, making it truly a great international event. But the area has not profited from the holding of the Olympic games in Los Angeles as much as I thought it would.”¹⁸⁹

In the years following, Olympic fund-provided military resources not only did not prevent growing gang violence in South Central, but terrorized residents, even imprisoning young African American men accused of gang activity in a special holding facility at the Coliseum.¹⁹⁰ In light of continuing violence and unrest, the CMSI installed a long-term official (i.e., militarized) police force at the Park in 1985 by replacing security guards with state police officers.¹⁹¹ Muchmore justified this approach, believing that the Olympics could serve as a catalyst to revitalizing the entire Park, stating it was “once the social center of Los Angeles, and it’s coming back ... We’re changing the

¹⁸⁹ Augustus F. Hawkins, interview by Clyde Woods, tape III, November 18, 1992, transcript, Black Leadership in Los Angeles, Oral History Collection, Center for Oral History Research, University of California, Los Angeles, http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz0008zpr7&title=%20Hawkins,%20Augustus%20F.&_ga=2.262679948.1206214368.1518196870-362052272.1517526581

¹⁹⁰ Felker-Kantor, “The 1984 Olympics Fueled L.A.’s War on Crime.”

¹⁹¹ Krier, “Controversy Dogs Director of Science Museum,” *Los Angeles Times*.

nature of the place. It used to be bad here, but we've cleaned it up.”¹⁹² Yet, in 1986, over 300 protestors met in Chesterfield Square, just three miles southwest of Exposition Park, to shed light on widespread police brutality in the area.¹⁹³ By 1988, *Sentinel* editors addressed the local NAACP chapter's reception of over one thousand police brutality claims by stating that it was, “more than a little amusing to listen to [LAPD] Police Chief Daryl Gates rant and rave about the criminals in the streets and call them obscene names,” while commanding “over-zealous and callous officers who think all minorities are less than human.”¹⁹⁴

Ultimately, the CMSI's Olympic accomplishments led to Muchmore's demise. The scrutiny of the Games triggered an audit by the state with unfavorable results for the museum. Many issues revolved around the incestuous and questionable relationship between state employees of the CMSI, its board, and the CMF, as well as CAAM,¹⁹⁵ as its management structure had been modeled after (and briefly controlled) by the CMSI. State investigators audited the institution multiple times for “a pattern of questionable decisions that has steered [away] tens of thousands of dollars in royalties and rents apparently belonging to the State of California.” In 1988, the state found both institutions

¹⁹² Simross, “The New Science Museum: Far Out!” *Los Angeles Times*.

¹⁹³ Von Jones, “Protestors Express Dissatisfaction,” *Los Angeles Sentinel*, April 10, 1986, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

¹⁹⁴ “A Matter of Concern,” *Los Angeles Sentinel*, October 6, 1988, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

¹⁹⁵ Jess Bravin, “Afro-American Center's Chief Attacked for Management: Tenacious Museum Leader Faces Criticism and Inquiry,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 19, 1987, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. The Afro-American museum also faced an audit in 1985 as a “junior replica” administratively affiliated with the institution. In 1986, the state auditor publicly criticized the CMSI for allowing the African American museum to take money paid by outside groups for the use of museum facilities. According to state law, the state's general fund should have received all payments made by private organizations for the use of state property.

guilty of operating an improper relationship between the museum and its private foundation. This led to the state providing an outside accountant to assist in future endeavors.¹⁹⁶

Unfortunately for Muchmore, the audits specifically centered on his hiring and compensation within the CMSI's structure. The split in funding between the CMF/private donors (exhibits) and the state (operations) provided an avenue for the Board to pay Muchmore a higher salary than the state was able to provide. When Muchmore was rehired in 1982, the CMF paid him consultant fees to "perform certain services as the foundation's executive vice president," including exhibit design management and fundraising, while the state paid him for the museum's administrative management. The problem with this system lay in the state's Government Code; because both Muchmore's exhibit-based and operations-based duties were listed in the CMSI director job description, he was unable to receive "outside compensation for work performed within ... official duties."

Edgerton and the Board objected strenuously to this conclusion and claimed that Muchmore's duties were different from and more rigorous than McCann's. This theoretically allowed him to be able to receive consulting fees for duties not listed in his specific job description. However, Edgerton admitted during the audit that the Board set the system up because "state salary alone is not sufficient to attract a quality museum director." This implied that the Board handcrafted the system specifically to draw

¹⁹⁶ Jess Bravin, "Museum Funds Given to Private Group, State Finds," *Los Angeles Times*, January 29, 1988, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

Muchmore back into the position, but it also showed the view the CMSI held of itself as an elite science museum.

Ultimately, this argument failed. The payment system created by the CMSI was in clear violation of the Government Code. However, the audit report also revealed the confusing relationship that had developed between the CMF and the CMSI dating back to the 1950s, and the ways in which the CMF conflicted with the Code from its inception. The museum director of the CMSI (officially “Director of Exposition Park and Museum Programs”), upon being hired, became the Executive Vice President (“Executive Secretary”) for the CMF. By its nature, this created a conflict of duties between state employment and private employment, and between state funding and private funding. Administration of the museum and of the exhibits were inseparable duties. If the museum’s exhibits were not being properly monitored, as the state audit found, who was responsible for funding them? When the director fixed exhibit problems, in what capacity was he or she fixing it?¹⁹⁷ The two-pronged funding approach, although financially beneficial to the state, had created major conflicts of interest between the state, private industry, and the museum’s employees.

The state legislature eventually approved a bill to resolve the problem within the code. Nevertheless, in June of 1988, Muchmore resigned as director at the age of 65, although he stayed on for some time as executive vice president of the CMF. This began Muchmore’s gradual phase out over the course of the next year. Muchmore was replaced

¹⁹⁷ Thomas W. Hayes, *Report by the Auditor General of California: The California Museum of Science and Industry: A Limited Review*. April 1983.

by Jeffrey N. Rudolph, the managing director of the museum at the time and CEO of its current iteration as the California Science Center. By this point, Rudolph had already been doing much of the directorial work for the past year aside from fundraising, which Muchmore continued to control for the next year. Muchmore raised a total of \$68 million in his time at the CMSI.¹⁹⁸ He was undoubtedly a key piece to the museum's long-term success.

Despite global economic changes post-World War II, Los Angeles local industry and boosterism continued to dictate the city's ideology of progress in the 1970s and 80s. The new coalition between Downtown and the Westside coalesced under Tom Bradley's mayorship to advance industry-centered initiatives. The creation of institutions and educational initiatives, like the California Afro-American Museum and Higher Horizons program, and the evolution of organizations like the Community Redevelopment Association, signaled elites' new concern for underrepresented communities in the city. The CMSI used corporate sponsorship and grants to expand services to South Central visitors for the first time, and hosted CAAM exhibits until construction of their own building on Exposition Park property in 1981. The new narrative of Los Angeles' progress presented multiculturalism as a key piece of being a modern, American city. Yet, elites shaped this narrative as necessary to their own benefit. Police oppression of South Central residents increased throughout the 1970s and 80s, reaching an apex with the 1984 Olympics. The CMSI ignored Exposition Park's value for Black residents, and

¹⁹⁸ John Kendall, "Science Museum Director Resigns Post," *Los Angeles Times*, June 28, 1988, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

actively helped remove them from the property. Afterward, elites abandoned South Central to unprecedented levels of gang violence and crime.

Meanwhile, elites continued to rely on ever more spectacular presentations of the city and its industries to accomplish their visions. Since the late nineteenth century, Los Angeles has presented itself as capitalist and industry-oriented; Reagan's Cold War revival merely amplified it. The LAOOC used Hollywood effects and efficient design to present a cohesive, idealized, capitalist American city. The Aerospace Museum, in turn, reflected the CMSI's long-time determination to celebrate Southern California's scientific and technological aerospace accomplishments, a central piece, they believed, of maintaining American democracy. Because elites established an ideology of progress that tied the military-industrial complex to capitalism and democracy, the CMSI's focus on aerospace also had a practical component. Elites recognized the value of training local talent to continue Los Angeles' supremacy in technology. Programs such as the CMSI's Summer Science Workshops dictated both narratives of science and the relationship local youth should have with science education.

Yet, the CMSI ended the 1980s in a state of uncertainty, just years after some of its greatest triumphs. The organization had erected a temple to aerospace, one of the region's largest industries, an architecturally-renowned building, and new prosperous partnerships with local and international corporations despite and because of almost a complete lack of funding by the state for decades. The CMSI, a state institution, had fully embraced a corporate management style, using all possible opportunities to advance its needs and become a leading American science museum. These decisions had

consequences, but they also paid dividends. The CMSI entered the 1990s poised for another leap forward as one of the most visited museums in the United States. They were bolstered by attendance from Los Angeles, the second most populous metropolitan area in the nation.¹⁹⁹ Beneath these dreams, long-simmering racial tensions came to a boil.

¹⁹⁹ United States Census Bureau, *Table 3a: Population in Metropolitan and Micropolitan Statistical Areas Ranked by 2000 Population for the United States and Puerto Rico: 1990 and 2000*, released online December 30, 2003, <https://www.census.gov/population/www/cen2000/briefs/phc-t29/tables/tab03a.pdf>.

EPILOGUE: THE CALIFORNIA SCIENCE CENTER

The Ahmanson Building, renamed from the original State Exposition Building and host to countless exhibits and renovations since 1912, was closed and considered for demolition due to structural issues in 1991. By this point, Exposition Park was the most-visited museum complex in the West.¹ The California Museum of Science and Industry received about 3.5 million visitors a year. California Museum Foundation board member Marvin L. Holen described it as “an interactive museum where the kids are not just simply bombarded by static educational materials.” In a “world of technical understanding,” the museum embraced corporate sponsorship to create a remarkable institution that encouraged interactive learning.² Due to the Ahmanson Building’s structural issues, along with the management upheaval of the late 1980s, the CMSI board planned another major renovation with a 1992 Master Plan. This community-centric plan had six objectives: provide a vision for the future of the Park as both community resource and host, develop pedestrian and recreational features, connect the Park more closely to local neighborhoods, preserve the history of the Park, establish consistent design standards, and make Park management more efficient.³ Like previous decades, the CMSI felt confident in enacting its ambitious goals despite lack of funding from the state.

¹ “Seismic Problems Shut Down 1912 Exposition Hall,” in *Los Angeles Conservancy News* (January/February 1991), 5.

² Holen, 216-218.

³ Zimmer Gunsul Frasca Partnership, *California Museum of Science and Industry Exposition Park Master Plan*, 1992.

Industry, the museum believed, would pull through.⁴

These plans clashed against escalating gang violence in South Central. The Los Angeles Police Department initiated “Operation Hammer” in 1988, which led the department into full-scale war with youth gangs and drug traffickers on the streets. Of the over 600 people arrested, less than half had a gang affiliation. Such abuses continued throughout 1988 and 1989. South Central residents, on top of lack of job prospects and upward mobility, now faced undermined civil liberties and lived under constant threat of violence from their so-called protectors.⁵ Then, the Rodney King incident in 1991 devastated South Central architecturally, economically, and communally. Many felt that frustrations that caused the riots of 1992 directly led from the Watts Riots of 1965, where there had been little invested in redeveloping and revitalizing the community after its earlier devastation. The policies of previous decades had shrunk jobs in the area and developed Downtown and the Westside, leading residents to combat each other and new immigrants, sometimes violently, to survive. Mayor Tom Bradley convinced Peter V. Ueberroth, head of the 1984 Olympics, to “Rebuild L.A.,” shortly after the riots, but unlike a planned, short-term exposition, South Central needed more than a facelift. It needed stable job centers that offered livable wages.⁶

At Exposition Park, South Central residents expressed concern over its direction.

⁴ Diane Haithman, “2 L.A. Museums Threatened with Closure in June,” *Los Angeles Times*, May 26, 1993, ProQuest Historical Newspapers and A. Wallace, “Exposition Park Plan Exhibits a Lush Look Renovation,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 13, 1992, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁵ Schiesl, “Behind the Badge,” 178-189.

⁶ Hayden, 243-244.

Barry Reeves, a thirty-year resident of the area stated, “A lot of the community has felt like the park was hostile to the people who live around it. It's like you're welcome and yet you're not welcome.” Museum leaders assured wary residents that they would finally have a voice at the table in the renovation process.⁷ In 1996, the museum closed completely to enact the 1992 Master Plan and reopened in 1998 as the California Science Center.⁸ State audits from 1999 revealed continued issues with the museum’s funding apparatus and treatment of staff, but, as always, the museum continued to grow.⁹ Throughout the 2000s, more renovations and additions occurred at the Park, including the creation of a Science Learning Building and Science Center School in 2004 and an Ecosystems wing in 2010. In 2012, the California Science Center became the final resting place for the Space Shuttle *Endeavour*, cementing the institution as one of the premier science centers in the nation.

In the course of the California Science Center’s history, many things have changed, including management, financial structure, and vision. Some things remain the same. Los Angeles’ unique character, a constant striving for not only wealth and population, but for true greatness, has always been present. So too has the central role of local industry in its ideology of progress. This past January, the 104th Rose Bowl, one of the city’s premier annual events, included a flyover of a Northrup Grumman *B-2 Spirit*

⁷ Wallace, “Exposition Park Plan Exhibits a Lush Look Renovation,” *Los Angeles Times*.

⁸ Epting, 62.

⁹ California State Auditor, *California Science Center: The State Has Relinquished Control to the Foundation and Poorly Protected Its Interests* (Sacramento, CA: April 1999) and California State Auditor, *California Science Center: It Does Not Ensure Fair and Equitable Treatment of Employees, Thus Exposing the State to Risk* (Sacramento, CA: August 1999).

stealth bomber in its pregame show, designed and manufactured in Southern California. Football fans nationwide marveled at the sight of the aircraft above almost 100,000 people sitting below in the afternoon sun.¹⁰ Like the Rose Bowl, the narrative of the museum fused technology, progress, and Southern Californian imagery to create an idyllic picture of Los Angeles. This ideology was consistently governed by the city's most elite power players, and even as those elites changed, the vision remained. In the era of the blockbuster traveling exhibit, it's useful to look beyond the narrative of cookie-cutter science centers. In a town that grew into a world city because of technology and science industries, it's vital.

Returning to the *Endeavour's* 2012 parade presents a snapshot of that continued role. In the days before the shuttle's arrival, city officials discouraged crowds on the streets. "We don't want to tell people to stay away," LAPD Lieutenant Andy Neiman said. "But what we want to do is encourage them to ... wait until the shuttle is at the Science Center." A few days later, the shuttle made its final leg eastward through South Los Angeles¹¹ on Martin Luther King Boulevard. The city cut down over 400 trees, disrupted traffic routes, and turned off the power for hundreds of residents to push the shuttle through. South Los Angeles responded by packing Martin Luther King Boulevard 100,000 strong—some in pajamas, some straddling fences, some sitting on top of their cars—straining to catch a glimpse of a one-in-a-lifetime spectacle in an area of the city

¹⁰ Alexis C. Madrigal, "How to Take a Picture of a Stealth Bomber Over the Rose Bowl," *The Atlantic*, January 3, 2018, <https://www.theatlantic.com/technology/archive/2018/01/how-to-take-a-picture-of-the-stealth-bomber-over-the-rose-bowl/549545/>

¹¹ In the rest of the dissertation, South Los Angeles is referred to by its previous name, South Central.

that almost never gets to host them. Afterward, LAPD Police Chief Charlie Beck called them "the best, most enthusiastic—this is the best crowd we've ever worked with."

California Science Center CEO Jeffrey Rudolph added, "I couldn't be happier with the result."¹²

¹² Angel Jennings and Kate Mather, "South L.A. Shuttle Boosters are Feeling Jettisoned," *Los Angeles Times*, October 4, 2012, <http://articles.latimes.com/2012/oct/04/local/la-me-shuttle-anger-20121005>; Troy Anderson, "Endeavour Crawls through L.A. Streets on Slow Roll to Museum," *Reuters*, October 13, 2012, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-space-shuttle/endeavour-crawls-through-l-a-streets-on-slow-roll-to-museum-idUSBRE89A10E20121014>; Andrew Khouri and Marisa Gerber, "Space Shuttle Endeavour Within Sight of Exposition Park," *Los Angeles Times*, October 14, 2012, <http://latimesblogs.latimes.com/lanow/2012/10/endeavour-within-sight-of-exposition-park-.html>; and Andrew Khouri and Marisa Gerber, "Endeavour Arrives at California Science Center," *Los Angeles Times*, October 14, 2012, <http://latimesblogs.latimes.com/lanow/2012/10/endeavour-arrives-at-california-science-center.html>.

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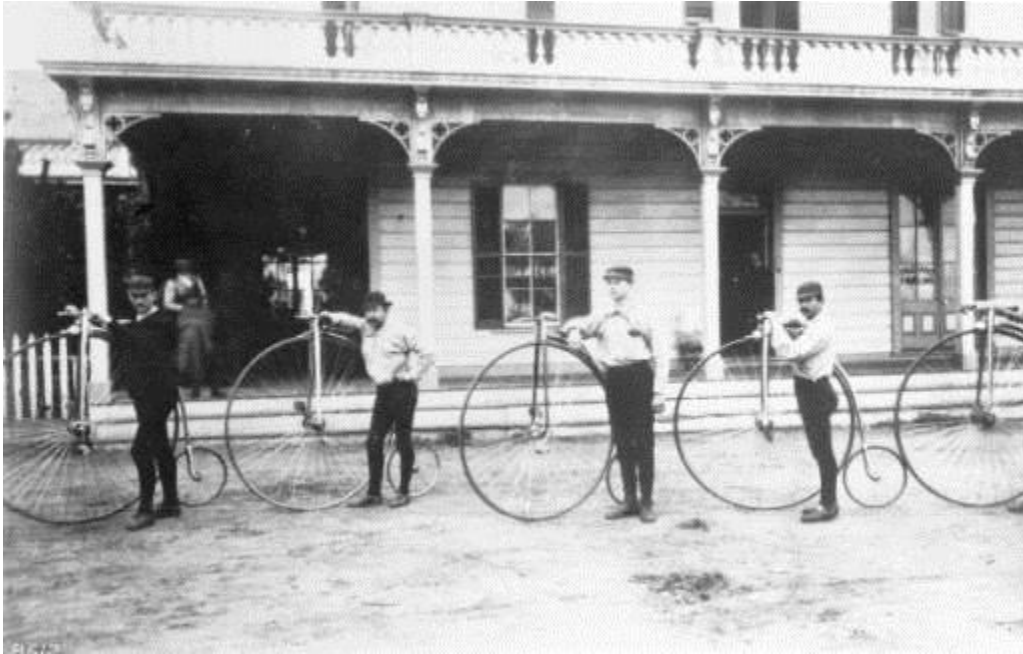
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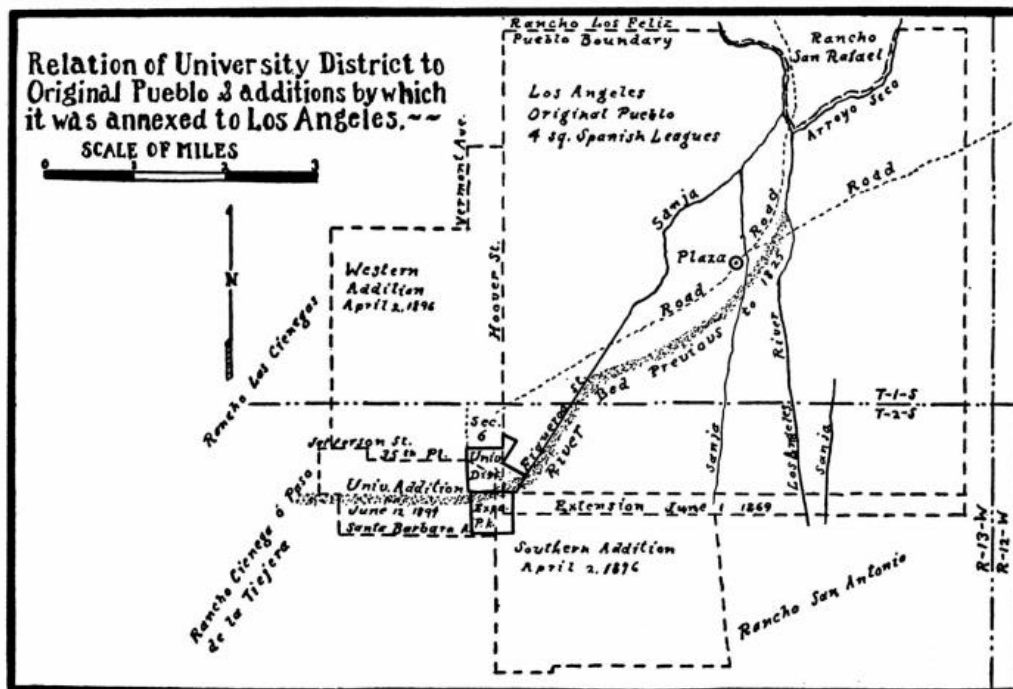
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APPENDIX A
FIGURES



Portrait of 5 Riders of the Los Angeles Bicycle Club with their High Wheeler Machines, in front of Agriculture Park Roadhouse, ca. 1887. California Historical Society Collection, 1860-1960, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, California. Accessed October 11, 2018.

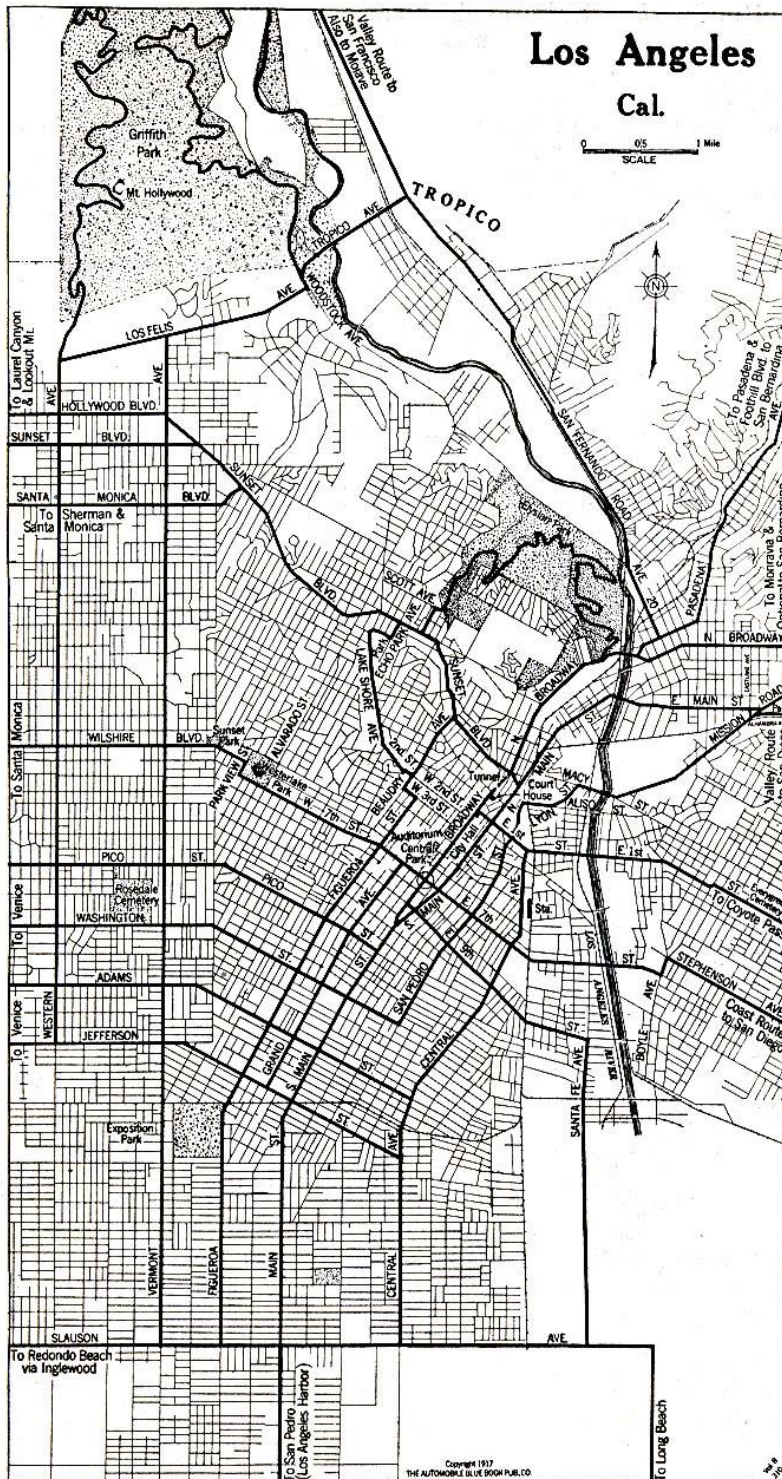
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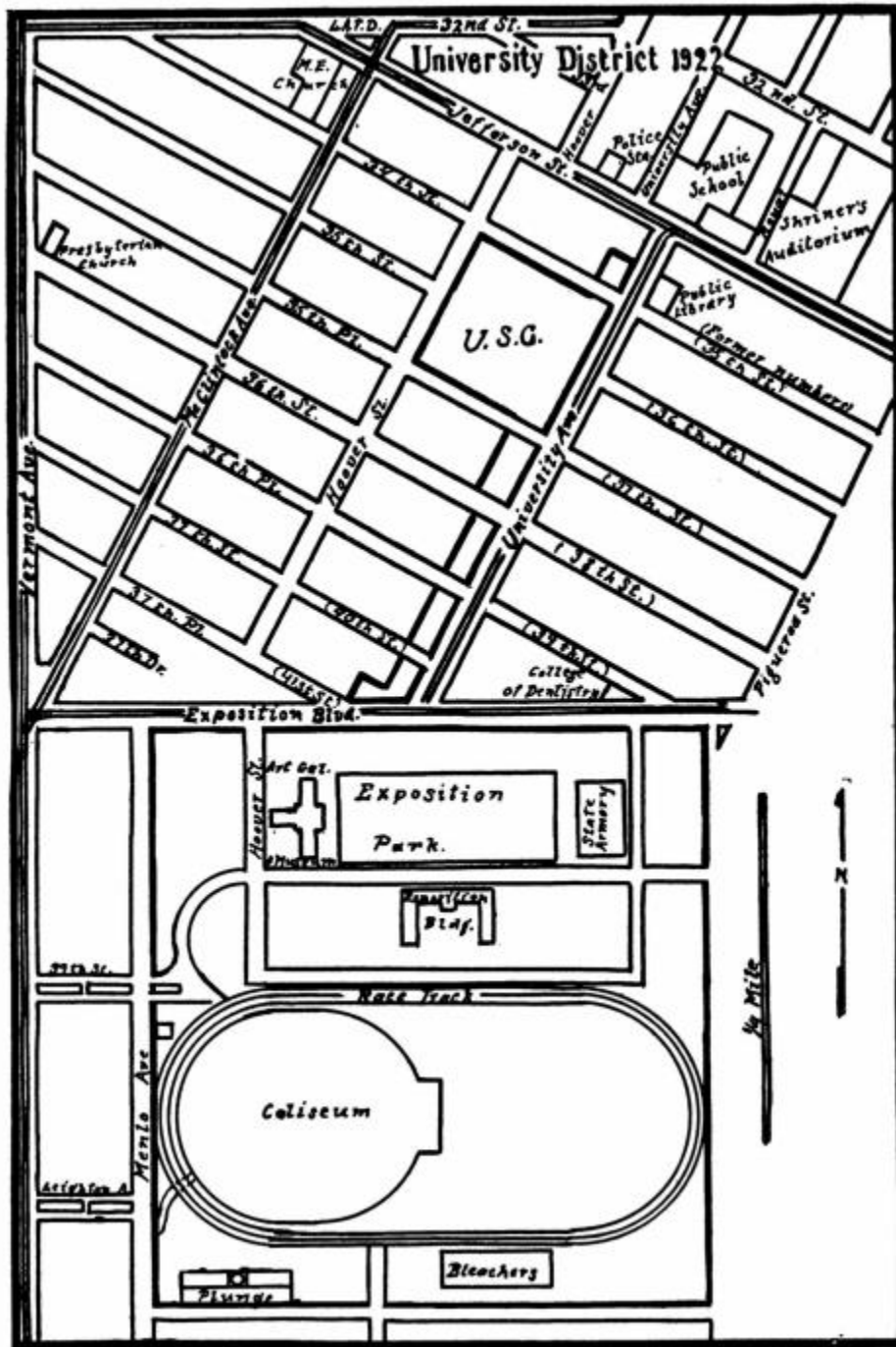
California State Exposition Building, Exposition Park, [s.d.]. California Historical Society Collection, 1860-1960, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, California. Accessed October 11, 2018.
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Los Angeles, 1917. Perry-Castañeda Library Map Collection. Courtesy of the University of Texas Libraries, The University of Texas at Austin.



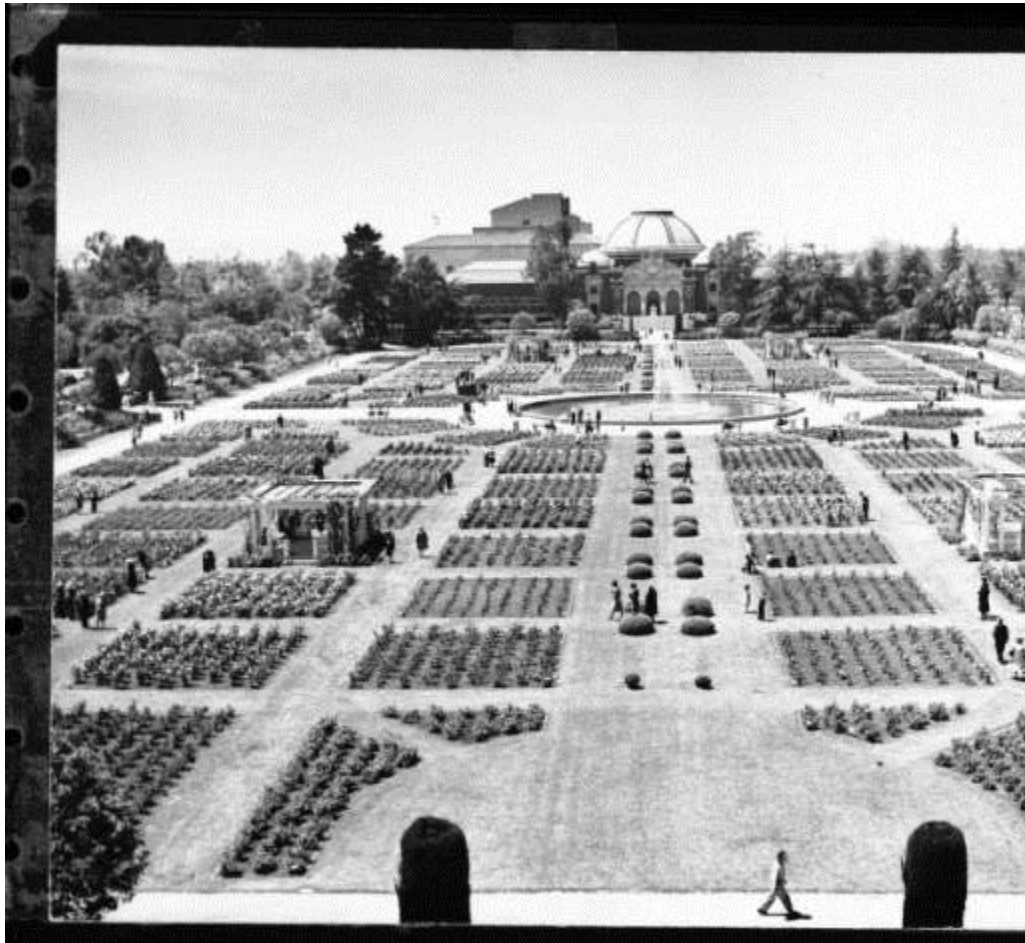
Aerial View of Exposition Park Looking South with Vermont Avenue in the Foreground, 1918. California Historical Society Collection, 1860-1960, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, California. Accessed October 11, 2018.
<http://digitallibrary.usc.edu/cdm/ref/collection/p15799coll65/id/3611>.



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The main floor of this room, containing 7,800 square feet, is devoted to an exhibit of California horticulture, including valuable information on methods and localities of production covering all commercial horticultural crops of the state. The large mural painting at the end of the room is entitled "The Spirit of Progress in California." On the balcony are the agronomy exhibits including examples of all the general farm crops together with much information regarding methods and areas of production. 1930s. Personal postcard collection of William Simpson. Used with permission. Accessed October 16, 2018. <http://www.whmsicl.cnc.net/CMSIpc7.html>.



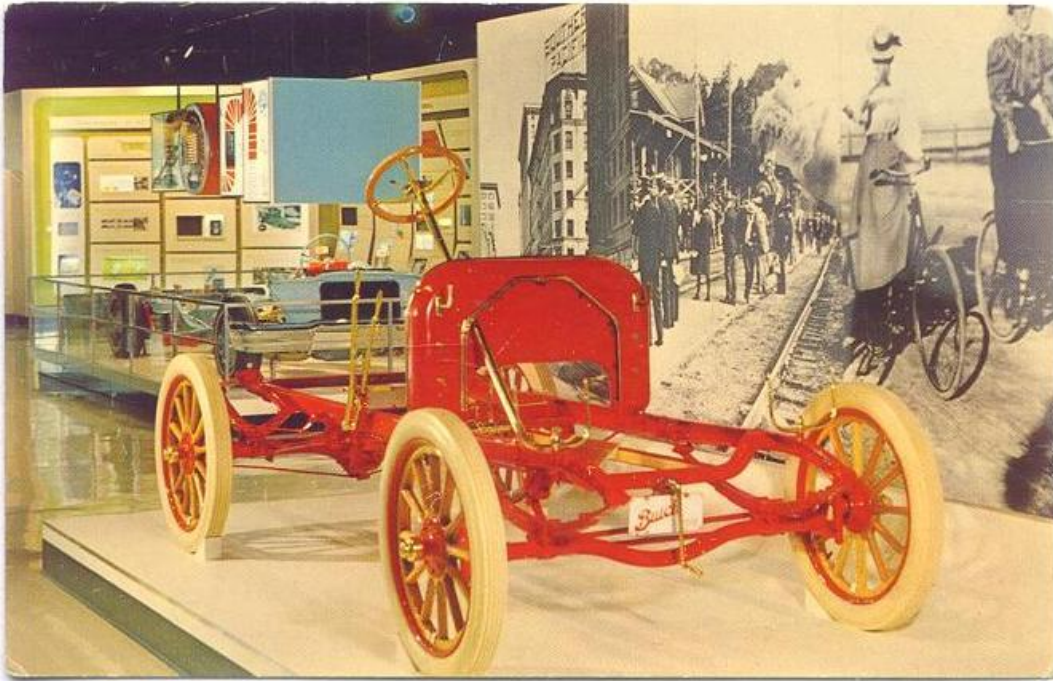
Birdseye View of the Sunken Rose Garden at Exposition Park, ca. 1950. California Historical Society Collection, 1860-1960, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, California. Accessed October 11, 2018.
<http://digitallibrary.usc.edu/cdm/ref/collection/p15799coll65/id/4543>.



One of the most famous wings in the California State Museum of Science and Industry, Los Angeles, is Agricultural Hall, containing 104 different exhibits covering every important phase of the state's billion dollar farm industry. One attraction (left) is a display of the prize fruits and vegetables preserved in giant glass jars - some more than 30 years old. Another feature is a colony of bees living and working in a transparent hive. 1960s. Personal postcard collection of William Simpson. Used with permission. Accessed October 16, 2018. <http://www.whmsicl.cnc.net/CMSIpc3.html>.



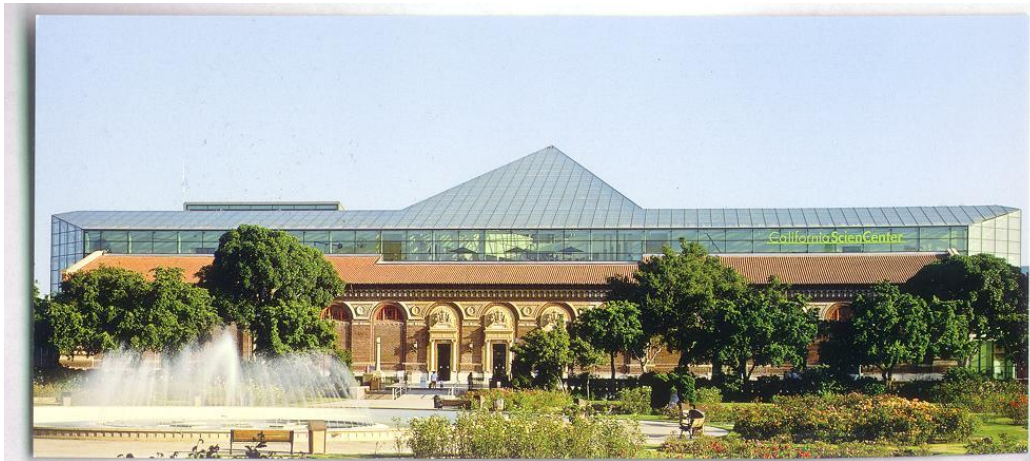
"Mathematica," an IBM sponsored exhibit which makes the learning of mathematics fun, is one of the outstanding educational features at the Museum. Intriguing games and devices teach basic principles of mathematics. Shown here is the entrance to the 3000-square foot exhibit, the first in the world to be devoted exclusively to mathematics. 1960s. Personal postcard collection of William Simpson. Used with permission. Accessed October 16, 2018. <http://www.whmsicl.cnc.net/CMSIpc6B.html>.



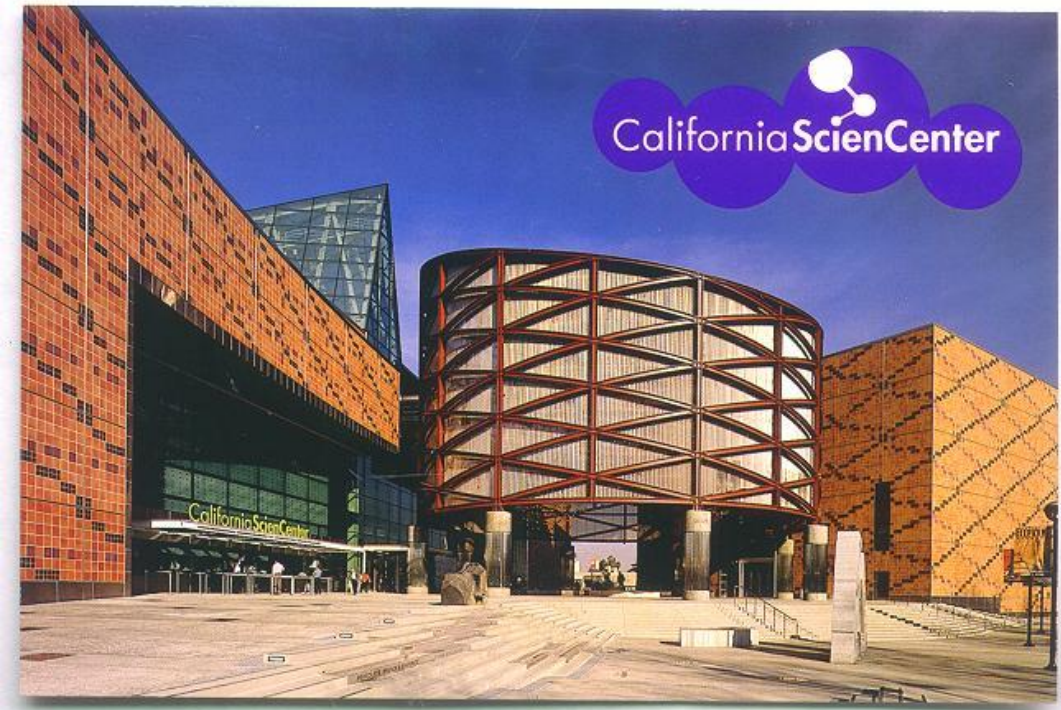
A unique mechanical science exhibit depicting the evolution of the automobile is located at the California Museum of Science and Industry and sponsored by General Motors Corporation. 1960s. Personal postcard collection of William Simpson. Used with permission. Accessed October 16, 2018. <http://www.whmsicl.cnc.net/CMSIpc2.html>.



Mary Ann Sullivan. *The South Facade*. Digital Imaging Project: California Aerospace Museum, Exposition Park, Bluffton University, Bluffton, Ohio. Accessed October 16, 2018. <https://www.bluffton.edu/homepages/facstaff/sullivanm/aero/southfacade.jpg>.



California Science Center and Exposition Park Rose Garden, Los Angeles. With 145 varieties to admire, the 7 1/2-acre Rose Garden is in bloom from March 16 to December 31. 2002. Personal postcard collection of William Simpson. Used with permission. Accessed October 16, 2018. <http://www.whmsicl.cnc.net/CMSIpc15.html>.



Opened in 1998, the Science Center and IMAX Theater feature interactive exhibits and programs to make science learning fun and accessible. 2002. Personal postcard collection of William Simpson. Used with permission. Accessed October 16, 2018. <http://www.whmsicl.cnc.net/CMSIpc14.html>.