

CALIFORNIA'S MUSICAL WEALTH
SOURCES FOR THE STUDY OF MUSIC IN CALIFORNIA

Papers Presented at the Joint Conference of the
Northern and Southern California Chapters
of the Music Library Association

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For this volume the authors worked diligently preparing their conference papers for publication. In many instances additional research and discoveries contributed even more to their work and to the book. Each deserves recognition here. They are: Garrett Bowles, Music Library, UC, San Diego; David Cloud, Music Department, UCLA; John Emerson, Music Library, UC Berkeley; Kathryn Glennan, GSLIS Program, UCLA; Michael Heisley, Southwest Museum, Pasadena; Richard Keeling, Lowie Museum, UC Berkeley; Jerry McBride, Arnold Schoenberg Institute, USC; Jeannie Pool, Music Department, CSU Northridge; Ronald Riddle, Music Department, UCLA; and, Catherine Smith; Music Department, University of Nevada, Reno. The Board of Directors of the SCCMLA, under the successive leadership of many fine chairpersons, supported and prodded this book into completion. I extend my warmest thanks to all of you.

Stephen M. Fry

STONE PILES IN CALIFORNIA'S MUSIC

Stephen M. Fry

More than forty California music librarians and researchers met Friday and Saturday, May 17 and 18, 1985, at the spacious Glendale Public Library and Glendale's lovely Brand Library of Art and Music for an important conference on California's musical heritage. The conference, titled *California's Musical Wealth: Sources for the Study of Music in California*, was sponsored jointly by the Southern and Northern California Chapters of the Music Library Association.

During the conference more than a dozen scholars in the fields of musicology, ethnomusicology, librarianship and anthropology presented extensive papers describing the primary sources which document California's rich musical evolution. Many of the presentations were enhanced with recorded musical examples and informative handouts. The proceedings were recorded with the idea in mind of making the event available to a wider audience than the original participants, of documenting the questions and answers which followed many of the presentations, of providing the original recorded examples, and especially of capturing the excitement and stimulation the conference extended to all those who attended. Reports of the conference have appeared in the *MLA Newsletter* (Philadelphia: Music Library Association, no.62, October, 1985; p.10.), and in *Cum Notis Variorum* (Berkeley, CA: University of California, Berkeley Music Library, no.94, July, 1985; p.16-18.)

The present book includes the major papers presented at the conference in a form edited by the authors and by the compiler. Each of the sessions focused on a particular broad aspect of music in California, including the Works Progress Administration music projects, the musical émigré community, the music of indigenous ethnic groups, oral histories and archives as documentation, and such special topics as Los Angeles music periodicals and recordings, and women in music in California.

One of the sessions which was not recorded nor included as an essay in this collection, however, was the final "summing up," in which respondents offered a critical view of the previous sessions, and members of the audience suggested ideas and musical areas for future documentation. Respondents for this part of the program included: Session 1: Mel Rosenberg, Los Angeles Public Library; Session 2: William Rosar, President of the Society for the Preservation of Film Music, Los Angeles; Session 3: Stephen M. Fry, Music Librarian, UCLA; Session 4: Jeannie Pool, Director of the International Congress on Women in Music; Session 5: Carlos Hagen, radio producer for KUSC, KCRW, and other local stations. Many creative and valuable ideas came up at this session. Silent film music, sound film music, mission music, California recording companies, popular music, contemporary composers and their music, and alternate music media (e.g., sound sculpture) were a few suggestions for future topics. Several participants suggested that archivists and librarians, as well as scholars, should obtain training in local history, oral history techniques, archival organization and preservation and in other pertinent areas in order to preserve and make available documents of our precious local musical heritage.

Perhaps the most far reaching of the ideas generated from this session was the thought of issuing a scholarly journal devoted to California music history. Some suggested that one or both of the California Music Library Association chapters sponsor the journal. Others suggested a new organization to take up the task. A giant step in this direction has now been taken. Lance Bowling, President of Cambria Records, and several of his scholar friends have founded the Society for the Preservation of Southern California Musical Heritage. He is also producing the organization's new journal *Hazard's Pavilion*,

named for an important early landmark concert hall in Los Angeles. We hope other efforts will spring forth.

Author Louis L'Amour often includes detailed aspects of life and lore relating to California in his exciting Western novels. The ways of the California Indians are especially important to his work, and in an episode of his book *The Lonesome Gods* he describes "the old ones," those mystical Indian shamen whose all-but-forgotten trails lead off to places unknown and who appear mysteriously from time to time. One of the customs of some California Indians, according to L'Amour, was to toss a hefty stone into a pile of previously accumulated stones at the junction of a commonly used trail and one of these sacred paths. The stone represented a gift to these lonesome gods, a contribution toward recognizing their importance and toward their perpetuation as an accumulation of the spirit of the people. If you will forgive the allusion, this conference, and consequently this book, is an accumulation of stones in a small hill of the existing documentation of California's musical heritage. In our endeavor, finding stones and preserving them seem the primary problems. Our stones get buried under dirt and effluvia, they weather away unprotected, we lose them. As the music scholars, librarians and archivists of California we are the keepers of the stones. We should not only pick up the stones of our musical heritage as we see them, but should devise and implement entire mining operations. This book of conference presentations could well be the beginning of a musical "gold rush." That was one of the conference's primary objectives.

SOURCES FOR THE STUDY OF THE WPA MUSIC PROJECTS IN LOS ANGELES

Stephen M. Fry

In this essay I will briefly outline the Federal Music Project, focusing on the Los Angeles program, and describe the most important resources documenting this important aspect of Los Angeles's musical heritage.¹

In October of 1929 the stock market crash brought on the worst depression ever witnessed in this country. In an effort to aid the jobless and maintain a cultural standard in the country, President Roosevelt signed the Federal Emergency Reconstruction Act (FERA) of 1932. "Arts in a democracy" became an important theme and within 3 years more than a dozen federal governmental agencies became involved in special arts projects, including "Musicians Project no. 8047".

The State Emergency Relief Administration (SERA) had been established in California by 1935. The program administered federal funds for a variety of projects, in many fields, including the arts. Then in May of 1935 President Roosevelt established the Works Progress Administration. The Federal Arts Program was approved as WPA sponsored "Federal Project no. 1" on September 12, 1935 to provide employment for qualified artists, musicians, actors and artists on local relief rolls. It superceded all art projects operating under FERA or WPA state programs. The program comprised the Federal Writers Project, The Federal Theater Project, the Federal Art Project, the Federal Music Project and the Historical Records Survey. A year later the Historical Records Survey became an independent unit.

The Federal Music Project was thus born. It was to affect music development in this country like no other other program ever has. The transition for many musicians from the despair and poverty of the post-1929 depression into this new vital program is poignantly illustrated in the FMP's Second Preliminary Report Covering the first 9 months of activities. It reads:

The Federal Music Project, formed as a unit of the Works Progress Administration to employ, to retrain and rehabilitate musicians who lost employment in the depression, had on its rolls approx. 15,000 individuals on June 30. On this date the first nine months of the project had been completed. As of July 1 each of the project units was to be rewritten for a period of three months. Between March 31 and June 30, 700 musicians had left the Music Project rolls, to return to private employment, to institutional work or to resume teaching. In this nation-wide movement, inaugurated when communities recognized an irreparable injury threatened the whole structure of American music, there are enrolled instrumentalists, vocalists, composers, teachers, copyists, arrangers and librarians, tuners and instrument repairers. These are the musicians who faced deterioration of skill, the relaxations of vital energies and waning morale with the loss of employment.²

Dr. Nicolai Sokoloff was chosen as Director of the Federal Music Project. He divided the country into 11 areas. Area 10 included Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Missouri, Wyoming, Nevada and Northern California. Area 11 included Utah, Colorado, Arizona, New Mexico and Southern California. Bruno David Ussher administered both regions. However, the regional organization was quickly found to be unwieldy and was disbanded in 1936.

The Southern California Federal Music program established 10 areas of support: 1) Symphony orchestras, 2) dance orchestras, 3) concert bands, 4) chamber music ensembles, 5) choral groups, 6) Instrumental and vocal soloists, 7) opera production units, 8) music teachers, 9) Librarians, copyists, binders, piano tuners, musical instrument repairers, and 10) statistical and analytical projects.

A surprising number of musical performing groups flourished in Los Angeles under the FMP. Excellent ensembles not only gave public concerts but also several orchestral and choral groups provided rehearsals for new works by the composers supported under the program. In 1936 Sokoloff began recording and broadcasting 15 minute radio shows of music and interviews with composers and performers. Many of these broadcast transcription discs are housed in the Film, TV and Radio archives at UCLA. RCA Victor recorded and released on disc Federal Music Project folk music concerts in Los Angeles.

Several black and hispanic performing groups were funded by the FMP. It is important to note that these groups, including the famed Los Angeles Colored Chorus, sang black or hispanic oriented music for black or hispanic audiences. Emphasized throughout the FMP documentation is the program's main purpose of providing paying jobs for out-of-work people in all fields of endeavor and in all areas of society.

There are mountains of primary source materials documenting the Los Angeles WPA music projects. Most of the reports, correspondence, guides, analyses, and other officially issued papers are located in the National Archives in Washington DC. Record Group 69 includes the narrative, performance, employment, education and miscellaneous reports. I have found several important guides to the contents of RG 69 files. The "Guide to the National Archive of the United States," published by the National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration, 1974, describes the 792 linear feet of correspondence, monthly, quarterly and annual reports, and the clippings files of Federal Project no.1. Cornelius B. Canon's Ph.D. dissertation *The Federal Music Project of the Works Progress Administration: Music in a Democracy* (University of Minnesota, 1963), outlines the contents of the archives in great detail.

The FMP District reports for California describe an inspiring cross section of performing groups organized by the supervisors within each city. In a report from the Glendale Units, for example, dated March 27, 1936, project supervisor T. H. Keene delineates nine quite different units rehearsing and performing in his program:

1. CONCERT ORCHESTRA OF 22 pieces, described above.
2. MEXICAN TIPICA ORCHESTRA of 24 pieces. This orchestra is composed of native Mexicans, playing their typical Mexican style of music and giving excellent service in and around the San Fernando Valley in Hospitals, Missions and C.C.C. Camps - one of the most popular units we have.
3. MILITARY BAND of 17 pieces. This band is under the very capable direction of Mr. Gus Guentzel, formerly with the Gilmore Band, and is getting excellent results in the various C.C.C. camps in popular military band programs.
4. BANJO ENSEMBLE utilizing stringed, fretted instruments with special arrangements. This unit was formed to utilize the musicians who apparently flooded our dance orchestras with an overflow of rhythm. They are using

special arrangements of popular and semi-classical melodies, and are very successful in both the C.C.C. camps and the school auditorium periods from an educational standpoint, exemplifying a new use for guitars and banjos (single stringing).

5. HAWAIIAN or NATIVE SOUTH SEAS GROUP. This unit is composed entirely of natives from the South Sea Islands, mostly Hawaiians, a few from the Samoan Islands, from Guam and the Philippine Islands. They are musicians who have toured throughout the United States on Orpheum and Keith Circuits and Chautauqua programs - an exceptionally high type of South Sea Island entertainment, extremely popular wherever they appear.
6. A MODERN DANCE BAND with fairly complete instrumentation, featuring a vaudeville-stage type of entertainment in conjunction with programs of dance music. Mr. Owen Fallon, the Director, has gained some fame throughout the country with his own name-band, Owen Fallon's Californians.
7. A MODERN "HOT" DANCE BAND of small instrumentation. This is a smaller combination for use where the larger group is impractical, and for audiences who prefer the modern, so-called "hot" type of music.
8. DANCE BAND IN THE OUTLYING DISTRICT OF SAN FERNANDO, playing both modern and old-time dance music. This band is functioning very satisfactorily in programs in the outlying district where they are located and where transportation is not available for the metropolitan units.
9. CHORAL UNIT of mixed voices. This unit is under the capable direction of Mr. Hal Crain. It is a mixed group of about 25 voices doing a high type of work, featuring Bach and all English Chorals.

One of the most intimately descriptive series of documents relating to the Los Angeles FMP program is *Narrative Report[s], Los Angeles, California, District No. 11,* which appears in the *District Narrative Reports, Federal Music Projects, State of California, Up to February 29, 1936.*

In a heart-rending report dated March 4, 1936, Modest Altschuler writes about "problems encountered" within the symphonic unit he initiated four months before:

The first problem encountered was the inability of the players to perform acceptably from a purely musical viewpoint. The reasons for their inability were several. First, many of them were physically not able to stand the required hours of rehearsal, due basically to mal-nutrition and hardship suffered prior to the advent of the project. Psychologically their morale was poor; they were in many instances incapable of sufficient concentration to enable them to correctly count the measures of rest and hence frequently came in before or after they should have. In addition, many of them had suffered musically from having been allowed in previous relief work to simply put in the required amount of time without regard to whether they played well or badly. This naturally had a demoralizing effect upon their ambition and their musicianship. Others were simply out of practice, while still others were never good players.

George Foster's report in the *Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress* (No. 1, 1943) entitled "Record of program operations and accomplishments: The Federal Music Project, 1935-43" draws heavily from the performance, employment, and statistical reports in the RG 69 files. Especially important in the files are the

Composers' Forum Transcripts in which the Federal Music Project work of William Schumann, Aaron Copland, Roy Harris, Marion Bauer, and Werner Josten are documented.

William Francis McDonald's book *Federal Relief Administration and the Arts*, published by Ohio State University Press in 1969, draws heavily from the files in the National Archive and offers insights on the successes of the programs. He describes in detail the names of administrators, musicians and performing groups involved in the Southern California music projects.

The Federal Music Project compiled works lists for all the composers who wrote music under the program. These appear on cards in a large file under the jurisdiction of the Music Division of the Library of Congress.

The Folklore division of the Library of Congress has transcribed 237 discs of folk songs recorded at concerts and in the field in California. These are described in Herbert Halpert's article "Federal Theatre and Folksong" in the *Southern Folklore Quarterly*, v.2, 1938. He also cites notes on the recordings gathered from the Federal Music Project's Folklore Archive.

The Baton, a newsletter issued by the Los Angeles Federal Music Project from 1936 to 1937, contains descriptions of a variety of local project activities.

Many collections of primary source materials relating to the Southern California projects are located in local institutions and archives.

The Los Angeles Public Library houses about 3,000 printed and manuscript works from the project. They also own a few of the reports of the project which are duplicated in the National Archives collection.

The Music Department at University of California, Riverside, owns a collection of about 2,000 sets of performing scores and parts which came to them from UCLA and the Ontario Public Library in 1966. The UCLA Music Library stacks also contain several hundred performing editions of works from the local Federal Music project. These materials were part of the basic music collection when a separate Music Library was established there in 1942. The UCLA, Ontario Public Library and LAPL collections were the fruits of the music copyists and composers supported through the Los Angeles Federal Music Project.

Two other valuable primary sources relating to the local Federal Music Project are found at UCLA. The first is the oral history project of Charles Seeger, titled *Reminiscences of an American Musicologist*. Within the 513 page transcript of interviews conducted by Adelaide Tusler and Ann Briegleb are many allusions to the local Federal Music Project activities in which Seeger participated.

The second is a recently discovered cache of Federal Writers Project papers in the Special Collections Department of the UCLA Library.

Several of the Writers Project materials found in this collection were part of FMP projects. In one box one can find the folksong questionnaire designed by the Joint Committee on Folk Arts of the WPA for the use of folklore fieldworkers to gather the songs now housed in the Library of Congress's Folklore Division collection. In another box is George E. Jenks' substantial essay *Do it with Music*, describing the emotional and physiological power of music.

In yet another box lies a film script for a documentary travelogue of the Southern California WPA project. Sequence 9 of the script covers the Federal Music Project in Southern California. The author calls for film shots of the Negro Chorus with

Carlisle Scott, the Mexican Tipica group in costumes playing a rhumba, the Cappella Choir, the Radio Negro Chorus, a negro and a white dance band and a segment on making sheet music. A note to the director pleads for the use of "sound" film rather than silent film, at least in the musical sequences.

Also in the archive are a variety of articles by the WPA supported writers on the History of the Hollywood Bowl, a survey of symphony orchestras in Los Angeles, and music for the films. Unfortunately files 540 through 546, dealing with the music orchestras, choral organizations, film music and opera productions supported by the Federal Music Project are listed in an index to the collection but have not yet been found in the more than 200 boxes in the collection.

I hope music scholars will use these resources to bring to light the activities of the Southern California Federal Music Project, perhaps the most important musical influence in the area.

Footnotes

¹My description of the WPA Federal Music Project is drawn primarily from William Francis McDonald's *Federal Relief Administration and the Arts* (Ohio State Univ., 1969).

²Works Progress Administration. *Federal Music Project: The Second Preliminary Report Covering Its Scope and Activities During Its First Nine Months*. Washington: Division of Women's and Professional Projects, (1935), p.7.

THE WPA FEDERAL MUSIC PROJECT IN SAN FRANCISCO:
A GUIDE TO EVENTS AND SOURCES

John A. Emerson

The Federal Music Project in San Francisco—gone, but not forgotten. This chapter in the history of our regional musics is now removed from us by three wars; thus, the epitaph serves well: to prod the memory, to recognize accomplishments, and to celebrate a golden jubilee.

Fifty years ago, on May 6, 1935, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order no. 7034, which established the Works Progress Administration. The Order called for "an honest, efficient, speedy, and coordinated execution . . . to move from the relief rolls . . . the maximum number of persons in the shortest possible time."¹ Some people hailed the emergency measure as a bold humanitarian decision to relieve poverty during the blackest days of the Great Depression by putting some seven million destitute and able-bodied persons to work, rather than keeping them on the relief dole. As Roosevelt stated in his annual message to the Congress (January 4, 1935), "The Federal Government must and shall quit this business of relief." Others regarded the WPA as Roosevelt's dastardly experiment in socialistic collectivism. Particularly vulnerable to bitter attack by politicians and newspapers were the WPA subsidized art programs for painters, writers, actors, musicians, and other artists. They were widely hailed as frivolous boondoggles—and worse, hotbeds for leftists and Communists.

The Federal WPA Music Project in San Francisco flourished for seven years and four months, from November 1935 to March 1942. Its activities were numerous and diverse, and the full story has not been told. Much research is needed before the contributions (and failings) of the Project can be evaluated and set within a proper historical perspective. Manifestations of managerial ineptitude and political intrigue are evident, but these appear as flashes of pettiness within the sum total of grand accomplishment. Our purpose is to chronicle these events briefly and to identify documentary sources for others who may wish to explore further. The experience should prove thoroughly enjoyable and worthwhile.

The WPA Music Project did not sprout newborn, rather it was grafted to older stock, the established SERA music programs. The State (Emergency) Relief Administration of California commenced operations in March, 1933, and assumed responsibility for distributing federal relief funds and inducing individual counties within the State to meet their share of the costs. An enormous number of activities were carried on in California under the auspices of SERA, including numerous music programs. According to an official statement, the SERA music program sponsored by the City and County of San Francisco provided "a central entertainment organization which employed 350 musicians, actors, stage hands, etc., continuously. Operating in three units—symphony, novelty orchestras, vaudeville and radio entertainment, and choral and chamber music—the groups gave free performances in public institutions such as veterans and military hospitals, county hospitals, county homes, and schools."²

In early January, 1934, Kajetan Attl, harpist with the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra, was appointed to direct the SERA music programs in San Francisco.³ At first the SERA program was separated into three performing divisions, the Symphony Orchestra (60 members) conducted by Attl, the Band (35 members) directed by Phil Sapiero, and a Novelty Orchestra (18 members). There was also an entrance

program for musicians rusty on their instruments. Later in the year, on July 11, 1934, the relief rolls in the City of San Francisco were increased dramatically from 5,100 to 15,000 persons. This action impacted the music program immediately, for two weeks later an independent 50-voice SERA chorus was formed by Giulio Silva, director of the Bach Choral Society. These musicians were all paid \$1.00 per hour for their services.⁴

Ernst Bacon, then a music critic with the *Argonaut*, commented on two SERA concerts and drew a stern distinction between the performing styles of the Symphony and Chorus:

The SERA Orchestra which contains so many able players has the right to be engaged in serious music, under the guidance of a fine conductor. Mr. Attl's capabilities as a harpist are recognized. But the levity and, may we say, almost beer-garden manner of directing he displayed is not in keeping with the serious aims of this project. Far different was the concert given by the SERA Chorus under Mr. Giulio Silva's direction. Extensive extracts from the *Orpheus* of Gluck and the *Orpheus* of Monteverdi were sung—not too perfectly by any means, but with a spirit and understanding that reflected immeasurable credit on the director, and that proves something is on the way to being done.⁵

The last of the SERA music programs was given by the Chorus and Orchestra on August 6, 1935 at Larkin Hall. Choral works by ten American composers were featured: Randall Thompson, Horatio Parker, Robert Delaney, Henry Burleigh, Silva, and others. Several weeks later, on August 22, 1935, the Emergency Work Program (EWP) collapsed, and many of the unemployed SERA musicians were transferred to a new federal authority, the relief rolls of the WPA.

As we begin this discussion of the WPA Music Project in San Francisco, it is well to keep its activities in proper perspective. By December 31, 1937, that is two years after the new government relief programs got under way, there were 282 different WPA projects in progress in the City and County of San Francisco. These ranged from the construction of roads and buildings to the maintenance of child care centers and sewing programs. In the humanities group there were the San Francisco Theatre Project, the California Art Research Project, the Federal Writers' Project, the History of Journalism in San Francisco Project, the Newspaper Index Project, the Historical Records Project, the Anthropological Project, the Archeological Project, the Sutro Library Project, etc. Music was but one of many. Then, too, there were active music projects in other cities in northern California: Fresno, Sacramento, Stockton, San Rafael, Oakland, San Jose, Burlingame, and Carmel.

The distinct geographical separation of Oakland and San Francisco from one another, and the need of the WPA to serve the musical needs of many communities in the East Bay, led to the formation of an independent Music Project in Oakland with its own administration and performing organizations. The Oakland headquarters was located at 32 Home Place East, and housed the Oakland Concert Orchestra, the Northern California Colored Chorus, the Oakland Mixed Chorus, and the Oakland Dance Band. When the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge opened on November 11, 1936, exchanges between District 8 (Oakland) and District 7 (San Francisco) were greatly facilitated. On April 15, 1938, both districts were placed under a single general supervisor, Homer Henley, and the Oakland Auditorium Theater became a favorite center for WPA musical programs. Even so, the cost of transporting large forces of musicians back and forth across the San Francisco Bay for concerts remained a constant problem.

The origins of the WPA Music Project in San Francisco can be traced back to November 10, 1935, when the *Chronicle* announced that "an all-embracing music project under the Works Progress Administration is about to be established in San Francisco, with Ernst Bacon, composer, pianist, and conductor as general supervisor." At a meeting at the Palace Hotel, Dr. Nicolai Sokoloff, National Director of the WPA Federal Music Project, offered the position to Bacon. It was at this meeting that a decision was made to form a separate Oakland Music Project, and Bacon recommended that Gastone Usigli, a well-known conductor in the Bay Area, be appointed its general supervisor.⁶ Later, Usigli served as director of the WPA Music Project in Los Angeles from January 1937 to July 1939.

In rapid order Bacon set up a combined office, auditorium, and rehearsal rooms on the second floor of a building at 678 Turk Street, corner of Van Ness (later the offices were moved to 960 Bush Street, and this was also the location of the Federal Music Theatre). From the beginning, work was provided for some 300 needy professional singers, instrumentalists, music teachers, copyists, arrangers, and office workers in a series of sub-projects which included the symphony orchestra, chorus, chamber ensembles, music instruction, dance orchestras, bands, and music library work.

An honorary Advisory Board provided Bacon with influential backing. It consisted of nine prominent figures in the Bay Area, like Alfred Frankenstein, music editor of the *Chronicle*, Albert Elkus, chairman of the Music Department at the University of California at Berkeley, and Dr. Leo Eloesser, a distinguished physician and amateur violist. The business staff included secretaries, a booking agent, a production manager, and various publicity and assignment clerks. Wages varied from \$55.00 to \$94.00 per month, according to the degree of skill. In addition to his managerial responsibilities, Bacon conducted the Federal Symphony Orchestra; Giulio Silva, who came over from the SERA program, conducted the Federal Chorus; Frederick Preston Search, one of the most prolific composers in the Bay Region at the time, was appointed conductor of the Federal Concert Band and supervisor of the copying and arranging division; Allen Bier, a pianist, managed the Project Music School; and, Raisch (Horatio) Stoll directed the dance bands and worked closely with Bacon as an advisor. Later, in 1939, when the WPA Music Project was reorganized, Ruth C. Young took over the Music School, Ray Green replaced Silva, and Arthur Gundersen succeeded Search at the Concert Band.

Bacon, who had earlier criticized the SERA Symphony for not taking its charge seriously, was now in a position to initiate reforms, and this was reflected in the programming schedules from the very start. The first concert sponsored by the Music Project took place at the Veterans Auditorium on January 9, 1936, and featured Beethoven's *Symphony no. 2* and Search's *Exhilaration*, an overture for orchestra (see photo, page 15). Later in the month Silva and the Federal Chorus performed Palestrina's *Missa brevis* (January 23), and in Oakland the East Bay Symphony Orchestra under Usigli played Schubert's *Unfinished Symphony* (January 22).

Except for some antagonism towards Bacon and his musical groups by the musicians' union under Mr. Walter Weber, which considered them meddlers who had no business interfering within their jurisdiction, the Music Project prospered for the first 18 months.⁷ This relative tranquility abruptly ended on May 25, 1937, when Bacon was suddenly fired by Miss Harle Jervis, State Director of Music Projects, who was located in Los Angeles. This action prompted a messy furor in the press, and Bacon sent a stinging letter of grievance to the National Director of the WPA, Harry Hopkins.⁸ Despite strong local support for Bacon, Miss Jervis prevailed, and

Alfred Hertz, former conductor of the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra, was appointed Regional Director for Music Projects in northern California.⁹ Hertz remained with the Project in an administrative capacity for 18 months from June 23, 1937, until mid-December 1938. His heavy-handed manner, his luxurious life style, and the conduct of his hand-picked subordinates brought him under heavy fire from both the press and the Project musicians. Philip Reilly, editor of the *Free Press*, a liberal New Deal weekly published in Oakland, ran a series of 45 vitriolic articles excoriating Hertz and his cronies for chiseling and inept management. These appeared from January 18, 1938, to June 27, 1939. All of this came to a head during the last two months of March 1938, when Mrs. Jehanne Bietry-Salinger (Carlson) (mother of Pierre Salinger!) and a group of workers rebelled and demanded the dismissal of Hertz. Additional savage newspaper articles appeared, but Sokoloff was summoned from Washington and quelled the uprising.¹⁰ When Nathan Abas took over in January 1939, peace was restored, and he went on to serve as Project Director until it was discontinued in early 1942.

But, there were happier times—making music.

One of the memorable programs sponsored by the Project took place at the Columbia Theatre on December 2, 1936, the premiere of *Take Your Choice*, a lively musical satire in two acts and 16 scenes, by Bacon, Stoll, and Phil Mathias, all WPA members. A year later, on September 13, 1937 at the Alcazar Theatre, a massive oratorio called *The Bridge Builders* commemorated the formal dedication of the Golden Gate Bridge. Frederick Preston Search, the Project bandmaster, composed the music, and Cornel Lengyel, who later organized and supervised the WPA *History of Music in San Francisco* series, wrote the libretto (see program, page 16). Another popular attraction was the "Dime Concerts" series held at the Civic Auditorium in the fall of 1938. The slogan was "10,000 seats at 10 cents."¹¹ Antonia Brico conducted the first concert on August 30th amidst great fanfare. And, during the Golden Gate International Exposition, the World's Fair at Treasure Island in 1939, musical groups from the Project put on numerous concerts.

The Music School was another successful program. The main conservatory occupied the defunct Arrillaga Music College building at 2351 Jackson Street, and eventually it operated three branches: at 1736 Stockton Street on Telegraph Hill, in Visitation Valley at 86 Raymond Street, and in Precita Valley at 534 Precita Avenue. Piano lessons were also held at the Booker T. Washington Center, where nearly 100 Black students received instruction each term. Founded in November 1935 with an initial staff of six teachers and 45 students, by mid-1941 the staff numbered 38 (they were paid 50 cents per hour for their services), and the enrollment reached 535 students per term. During one period—from January 1, 1939, through April 23, 1940—9,315 classes and 34,666 lessons were given at the School.¹²

In its first three years of operation, the Federal Music Project confined its activities to two types of endeavors, musical performances and music education. In 1938 a broader vision ensued, and two innovative research programs were approved, the *California Folk Music Project* supervised by Miss Sidney H. Robertson (later Mrs. Henry Cowell), and the monumental *History of Music in San Francisco* series edited by Cornel Lengyel. Since these projects got underway so late, they were forced to shut down in mid-stream with the outbreak of World War II. Nonetheless, what they accomplished starting from scratch in three short years was quite remarkable.

The WPA was restructured and renamed the Works Projects Administration under the provisions of the Relief Act of 1939.¹³ Several hard-hitting provisions went into effect: (1) workers who had been on relief for over 18 months were ordered off the

rolls as of June 30, 1939; (2) responsibility for the administration of the federal arts projects was shifted from a national to a state basis. The San Francisco Music Project was placed under the authority of the California State Department of Education, and William B. Lawson, State Administrator; and (3) the Federal Theater Project was disbanded entirely. In San Francisco Elmer Keeton's extremely popular stage hit *Swing Mikado*, which was playing at the Fair, was forced to close. The new federal law impacted the local Project in other ways. After July 1, 1939, its resources were directed outward to neighboring communities much more than had been done in the past. For example, during October and November 1940, the Northern California WPA Symphony Orchestra under Abas gave concerts in Sacramento, Ukiah, Santa Cruz, San Jose, Watsonville, San Luis Obispo, Fresno, Wasco, Taft, Marysville, Chico, and Eureka. During the fiscal year 1940-41, the Orchestra played over 65 concerts in 25 cities to a combined audience approximating 103,000 persons.¹⁴

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It is clear from this brief review of activities by the WPA Music Project in San Francisco that additional sources will have to be consulted before the story is told in its entirety. This information falls into four distinct categories. First, there are primary sources which have not been used that are deposited with the National Archives in Washington, D.C.; the most important are assembled in Record Group no. 69 of the Federal Project files, entitled "Narrative Reports from California." Second, there are secondary sources, published monographs, which offer broad overviews of the national WPA Arts Projects; naturally we are drawn to any which deal with Federal music. Third, there are extant documents dating from 1935 through 1942 which were generated by the Music Project and other San Francisco agencies, and which survive in local archives. Fourth, there is living testimony. Fortunately, the opportunity still remains to gather oral memoirs from persons who participated in the actual events and who retain invaluable memorabilia, such as photographs, programs, newspaper clippings, correspondence, internal memos circulated within the several sub-projects, etc.

Seven books published between 1963 and 1980 are required background reading.¹⁵ These studies offer historical insight into themes common to all the arts projects: (1) their administrative histories—how the projects were organized and how they carried out their individual missions; (2) abuses which crept into all of the projects—cronyism, administrative ineptitude, abuse of authority, favoritism, graft, etc.; (3) the widespread belief that some of these arts projects had run wild, that they were larded with politics, and that they had been infiltrated by Communists; (4) and the haunting questions: "Were these arts projects or relief projects?" "Should the arts be subsidized by the United States government?" The definitive study by William F. McDonald is a comprehensive survey of all the arts projects. It was undertaken between 1942 and 1945, but published much later in 1969. Mrs. Margaret Kerr and Mrs. Betty Carr gathered the music materials. The book by Jerre Mangione is a powerful statement; not only is it well written by a professional writer, but the viewpoint is from one who held a high administrative post in the national Writers' Project. The dissertation by Cornelius B. Canon on the Federal Music project stands alone, since it really has no competitor. It draws on the McDonald study and the author spends much effort wrestling with the problem of the arts being subsidized by the Federal government. For a neat, compact review of the Federal Music Project, Barbara Zuck has done an outstanding job.

Since so many diverse WPA performing groups were active in San Francisco between 1936 and 1942, an obvious question is posed: Do any recordings of these performances survive? RCA Manufacturing Company in New York and Hollywood; Allied Phonograph & Record Company in Hollywood; Decca Records, Inc. in New York; and the National Broadcasting Company in New York, Hollywood, and Washington, D.C. recorded musical programs for the WPA. These 16-inch transcriptions were destined for radio broadcast and were issued in six annual series: 1936-37, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, and 1942. According to the *Catalogue of Electrical Transcriptions, WPA 1936-1942*, a total of 364 separate programs were recorded. The Northern California WPA Symphony Orchestra under the direction of Nathan Abas contributed 15 programs: in the 1940 series, programs 27 and 28; in the 1941 series, programs 2, 34, 36, 38, and 47; in the 1942 series, programs 18a, 19a, 26, 28, 31a, 38, 42, and 50. The Northern California WPA Negro Chorus under the direction of Elmer Keeton recorded three programs: in the 1941 series, programs 45 and 52; and in the 1942 series, program 35.

Musical programs are primary research documents, particularly if it is possible to consult a large, unified collection. A study of programs reveals the frequency of performance, the names of performers, the names and addresses of local places of amusement, the dates of concerts and recitals, and the type of music which was performed. Sometimes program notes may contain information pertaining to local conditions which cannot be found elsewhere. Fortunately, the Art and Music Department of the San Francisco Public Library holds a splendid collection of musical scrapbooks. These were meticulously prepared by Jessica Fredericks, Head of the Music Library from 1917 to 1950, and it is obvious that Miss Fredericks was high on the Project's mailing list. The History Room of the Oakland Public Library holds a useful collection of programs pertaining to the Oakland Project.

Articles published about the Music Project in various newspapers ranged from trifling ditties and announcements to thoughtful reviews and headline scandals. For us today some have assumed the stature of historical eyewitness documents of considerable value, and their content could hardly be reconstructed. For example, John D. Barry, eminent drama critic of the *Daily News*, described at length a typical day at both the Oakland and the San Francisco headquarters.¹⁶ In another feature article Alfred Frankenstein proposed that the Music Project place more emphasis on its music education programs, and not attempt to compete on an artistic level with other professional musical organizations in the city (this appeared after the Bacon-Jervis brouhaha).¹⁷

This brings up the question: How can newspaper articles, now lost in time, be relocated systematically without grinding willy-nilly through endless boxes of microfilm? One practical means is to consult the back files of the *Chronicle* and the *Examiner*. Although cumbersome to use, these immense collections of newspaper clippings are arranged by different categories of names and subjects, and are held by the California Historical Society and the History Room of the San Francisco Public Library respectively. The scrapbooks of Jessica Fredericks are also of inestimable value. For there, compacted together by the uniform subject of music, is a wide variety of reviews and programs. Most important, the WPA clippings are embedded within the larger mosaic of all musical events which took place in San Francisco during those years. Also, in the California Section of the State Library in Sacramento there is an extensive index to the newspapers of San Francisco, and among the WPA cards there are many entries on music. In passing, it should be reported that the Music Project in Los Angeles issued a newsletter called *The Baton* from July 1936 through June 1937, but it has only marginal interest for events in

San Francisco and northern California (a full run of this mimeographed and scarce periodical is held by the San Francisco Public Library).

The most widely-heard WPA performing group was the Federal Concert Band. As mentioned, it was founded by Frederick Preston Search, composer of *The Bridge Builders*, and "a very popular man among his boys."¹⁸ Source materials pertaining to the Band's activities are particularly rich, and include rehearsal schedules and programs.¹⁹ The *Index of American Composers* held by the Music Division of the Library of Congress lists 27 original works by Search for band and orchestra which were given over 130 performances by various WPA groups throughout the USA.²⁰

The WPA Theatre Research Project, with offices at 175 Twelfth Street, was the most productive enterprise among the humanities group in San Francisco—at least in terms of volumes published. Lawrence Estavan, then in his early 30s, was the general editor. Between 1939 and 1942, the Project issued 18 monographic studies; three others which were announced never appeared, but it is conceivable they may exist somewhere today in draft form. Some of the volumes have lengthy appendices listing names and chronologies which are of enormous worth. Biographical studies about musical entertainers include Stephen C. Massett, Tom McGuire, Lola Montez, Lotta Crabtree, and John McCullough.

In addition, there are volumes on minstrelsy and burlesque, and five volumes are devoted to the history of theaters and playhouses. The most ambitious research is contained in *The History of Opera in San Francisco*, nos. 7 and 8 in the series. These were published in November and December 1938, and the two volumes remain our definitive study of the subject. The author was Cornel Lengyel, poet and writer, and there can be no doubt that the genesis of Lengyel's subsequent *History of Music in San Francisco* series emanated from his historical acquaintance with regional opera in northern California.

Like medieval Benedictine monasteries, the WPA Music Project offices in Oakland and San Francisco had their own scriptoria. Workers were assigned to score arrangements for the novelty orchestras, the rumba bands, the theater orchestra, the swing bands, the several choruses, and to copy parts for the symphony orchestras and concert bands. When the Project was dismantled in the early 1940s, about 50 sets of orchestra parts were given to the Department of Music at the University of California at Berkeley and a good many others went to the Music Library of the San Francisco Public Library.

Besides these laboriously hand-copied reproductions of commercially published music (many sets of parts were copied from the library of the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra with the cooperation of Pierre Monteux), the San Francisco Public Library holds another collection of music prepared by WPA copyists. This is a priceless archive of over 50 original works, both parts and scores, composed by resident musicians of San Francisco who worked between 1890 and 1940. All are unique. Among the local composers who are represented are Ernst Bacon, Domenico Brescia, Arthur Fickenscher, Hermann Genns, Henry Holmes, Julia Klumsky, William McCoy, Herman Perlet, William Sabin, Giulio Silva, Humphrey J. Stewart, Theodore Vogt, and Frederick Zech. (It would be marvelous if a concert of this music were one day programmed, performed, and recorded for posterity).

Cornel Lengyel, author of the two-volume WPA *History of Opera in San Francisco* and the librettist of Search's *The Bridge Builders*, organized the *History of Music in San Francisco* series Project in October 1938. Lengyel had just celebrated his 25th birthday. The series continued rather smoothly until June 4, 1940, when it collapsed

due to a lack of funds, but lurched back to life again on September 8th under the aegis of the Federal Writers' Project and continued until July 1941. Some volumes which were in the pipeline continued to be published into early 1942. Seven historical studies were actually published under the editorial guidance of Lengyel. In 1970 these were reprinted by the AMS Press in London.²¹

In addition to the seven known volumes in the series, I have located eight additional studies. All are complete, save one. Among the titles are a splendid history of choral societies in San Francisco and a comprehensive dictionary of local instrument makers. A complete administrative history of Lengyel's Project and a full discussion of the newly discovered volumes will be published separately.²²

The California Folk Music Project (also cited in the literature as the Archive of California Folk Music) was organized and supervised by Miss Sidney H. Robertson, and sponsored by the University of California at Berkeley (see photo, page 17). Begun in 1938 with offices at 2108 Shattuck Avenue in Berkeley, the Project published one volume under the title *Check List of California Songs* (1940). It indexed by title and first line the contents of songsters and broadsides published mostly in San Francisco and Sacramento between the years 1851 and 1892. A second series of volumes were to have been published with the full texts and tunes containing references to California. The residue of the research materials produced by the Folk Music Project is now sorted into 287 folders and stored in 12 archival boxes in the Music Library at U.C. Berkeley. Nothing has been added since 1942.²³

Materials of interest include typescript copies of the songster texts, photostats of the original songsters, a substantial number of field recordings of folk music made in northern California (north of Fresno) during the period from March 7, 1938, to September 11, 1940, together with information about these performances: names, dates and places, photographs of the informants, drawings of some folk instruments, and assorted indexes. Also available are photostats of important California mission music manuscripts and many translations from the German of articles about folk music and folk instruments.

Even today there is no critical and comprehensive edition of California folk music. Miss Robertson and her staff were nearing that goal over 40 years ago, but were cut short in their efforts by World War II. What they accomplished must be considered unique and heroic; unfortunately they left us only unfinished research. Still, the Project files now at Berkeley remain important to any scholar who might desire to follow in their footsteps.

With the disaster of Pearl Harbor, the nation mobilized for war against the Axis Powers, and WPA fizzled into oblivion. Among the unnoticed casualties was the San Francisco Bay Area Music Project. About all that survived was the debris of office files that found their way into library storage shelves, and memories held by those who had participated.



San Francisco Federal Orchestra, Ernst Bacon, Conductor, 1936. *Courtesy Mr. Ernst Bacon.*

**FEDERAL CHORUS
SOLOISTS AND ORCHESTRA
OF SAN FRANCISCO**

Conductor

**GIULIO SILVA
FREDERICK PRESTON SEARCH
PROGRAM**

Cantata, No. 21 Bach
[I had much sorrow in my heart]

PART ONE

[Sung in original German text]

1. Sinfonia—Oboe, Mr. Plemenik
2. Chorus—"I had much sorrow"
3. Aria—"Sighs, tears"—for soprano
4. Recitative—"Why hast Thou, My God, forsaken me", for tenor
5. Aria, "Springs of salted tears", for tenor
6. Chorus "Why art Thou sad, my Soul?"

PART TWO

7. Recitative, "Oh, Jesus, my repose", for soprano and bass
8. Duet, "Come, my Jesus", for soprano and bass
9. Chorus, "Be now again at Peace"
10. Chorus, "The Lamb, that has perished"

Anna Nettelmann, soprano
Robley Lawson, tenor
Walter Lorenz, bass

Intermission

"The Bridge Builders", a Rhapsody
Frederick Preston Search
(Text by Cornel Lengyel)

Composer Conducting

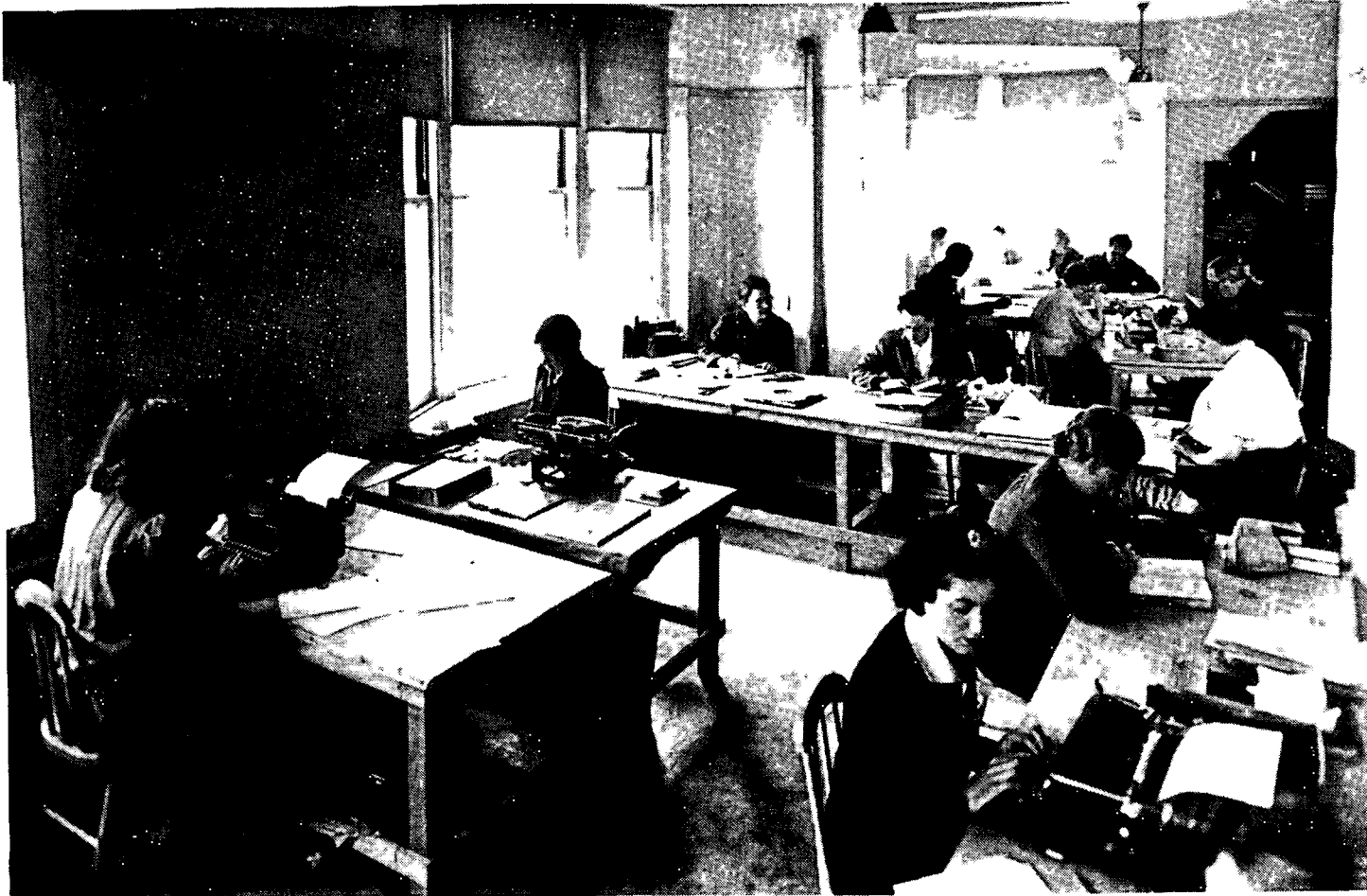
St. Francis..... Andrew Robertson
1st laborer Robley Lawson
2nd laborer..... Robley Lawson
3rd laborer..... Raymond Jordan
A riveter Walter Lorenz
A caulker..... Raymond Jordan
A cementer..... Andrew Robertson
A sandblaster..... Walter Lorenz
A bridgeman Robley Lawson
A diver..... Raymond Jordan
A bargeman Walter Lorenz
Chief of the Engineers Walter Lorenz
"Song of the Night"..... Anna Nettelmann

ALCAZAR THEATRE

Monday, September 13, 8:20 p. m.

Presented by the Federal Music Project of the Works Progress Administration, Dr. Nicolai Sokoloff, National Director, Miss Harle Jervis, State director, Dr. Alfred Hertz, Bay Region director

The Bridge Builders. Rhapsody for Soloists, Chorus, and Orchestra, September 13, 1937. Commemorating the Opening of the Golden Gate Bridge. Courtesy Music Library, University of California at Berkeley.



California Folk Music Project. Berkeley Office, August 1939. *Courtesy Music Library, University of California at Berkeley.*

Footnotes

I wish to express my gratitude to Mr. Cornel Lengyel and to Mr. Ernst Bacon for sharing their memories of the San Francisco Music Project with me, and to Mary Ashe, Art and Music Librarian of the San Francisco Public Library, for guiding me through their archival materials.

¹Executive Orders 6801-7100A (1934-1935) (Washington, D.C., 1935).

²*Review of Activities of the State Relief Administration of California, 1933-1935* (San Francisco, April 1936), p. 264; for a survey of California relief programs, see Leiby, James, "State Welfare Administration in California, 1930-1945," in *Southern California Quarterly*, vol. 55:3 (Fall 1973), pp. 303-18; and, for informative reviews of WPA activities, see *Report on Progress of the Works Program in San Francisco* (San Francisco, January 1938), 160 pp., and *Northern California's Three Years of Achievement under the WPA, 1935-1938* (Sacramento, June 1939), 360 pp.

³*San Francisco News*, January 12, 1934, p. 14.

⁴*San Francisco News*, July 27, 1934, p. 5; later these organizations were enlarged (see the *San Francisco Examiner*, January 27, 1935, p. E9).

⁵*The Argonaut* (San Francisco), September 7, 1934, p. 11.

⁶Interview with Mr. Ernst Bacon at his home in Orinda, California, May 23, 1985.

⁷Bacon interview, May 23, 1985.

⁸*San Francisco News*, June 1, 1937, p. 12, and July 10, 1937, p. 5.

⁹*Call-Bulletin* (San Francisco), June 24, 1937, p. 4.

¹⁰*San Francisco News*: March 21, 1938, pp. 3 and 6; March 22, 1938, p. 3; March 28, 1938, p. 3; March 29, 1938, p. 3. *San Francisco Chronicle*: March 19, 1938, p. 9; March 30, p. 28. *Call-Bulletin*: March 18, 1938, p. 1; March 22, 1938, p. 1.

¹¹*San Francisco Examiner*, July 17, 1938, p. S7.

¹²*The Argonaut*, May 3, 1940, p. 15. Earlier in a *Bulletin of Recent Program Activities by the Federal Music Project* (December 1938), the following statistics were released which covered the period from November 1935 to November 1938: 559 school concerts, 1,023 programs at various recreation centers, 800 programs at other agencies, 257 paid performances with an attendance of 193,783.

¹³Earl V. Moore, "The WPA Music Program," in *Who is Who in Music, 1941 Edition* (Chicago and New York, c. 1940), pp. 388-90.

¹⁴The Northern California WPA Symphony Orchestra. *Programs* for October 25, 1940, and April 23, 1941.

¹⁵Canon, Cornelius Baird. *The Federal Music Project of the Works Progress Administration in a Democracy*. Ph.D. dissertation. University of Michigan, 1963. UM no. 63-07915. 380 pp.

Mangione, Jerre. *The Dream and the Deal: The Federal Writers' Project, 1935-1943*. Boston/Toronto: Little, Brown and Co., 1972. 416 pp.

Mathews, Jane De Hart. *The Federal Theatre, 1935-1939: Plays, Relief, and Politics*. New York: Octagon Books, 1980. 342 pp.

McDonald, William Francis. *The Federal Relief Administration and the Arts: The Origins and Administrative History of the Arts Projects of the W.P.A.* Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1969. 869 pp.

Meltzer, Milton. *Violins and Shovels: The W.P.A. Arts Projects.* New York: Delacorte Press, 1976. 160 pp.

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Zuck, Barbara A. "Musical Americanism and the W.P.A.," *A History of Musical Americanism*, Chapter 7. *Studies in Musicology* No. 19. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1980. pp. 155-82.

¹⁶*San Francisco News*, June 2, 1938, p. 16.

¹⁷*San Francisco Chronicle*, July 18, 1937, p. D5.

¹⁸Bacon interview, May 23, 1985.

¹⁹The musical compositions and memorabilia of Frederick Preston Search were presented to the Music Library at the University of California in two installments by Mr. Stephen Heron on August 12, 1980, and February 16, 1981. A full inventory of the Search Collection is available from the Music Library.

²⁰C.B. Canon, *op. cit.*, p. 118. Among the Search materials at Berkeley is a typescript list dated March 24, 1938, which cites 101 performances.

²¹Vol. 1, *Music of the Gold Rush Era* (1939); vol. 2, *A San Francisco Songster, 1849-1939* (1939); vol. 3, *Letters of Miska Hauser, 1853* (1939); vol. 4, *Celebrities of El Dorado, 1850-1906* (1940); vol. 5, *Fifty Local Prodigies, 1906-1940* (1940); vol. 6, *Early Master Teachers* (1940); vol. 7, *An Anthology of Music Criticism* (1942).

²²Interview with Mr. Cornel Lengyel and his wife, Theresa, at their home in Georgetown, California, April 20, 1984.

²³A full inventory of the WPA California Folk Music Project archive is available from the Berkeley Music Library.

THE FEDERAL MUSIC PROJECT IN SAN DIEGO:
THE SOURCES FOR RESEARCH

Garrett H. Bowles

The sources available for research into the operation of the Federal Music Project in San Diego are remarkable small when one considers the vitality and magnitude of its operations. This essay will survey the extant sources and also will present an outline history of the project's activities in San Diego. We begin with the currently available sources listed in their general order of importance and conclude with a review of the San Diego project.

1. *San Diego Union*. Issues of this newspaper are indexed by the San Diego Public Library starting in 1930. The newspaper is available on microfilm, and the index is available on microfiche. The "Home" edition is indexed, but the microfilm sometimes includes other editions. This is the most comprehensive source of information on the Federal Music Project in San Diego and includes program listings, reviews of concerts, administrative documentation, and miscellaneous information. There are over 100 cards under "Works Progress Administration—Music Project" representing more than 250 articles; in addition, there are another approximately 45 citations under "State Emergency Relief Administration" concerning its music activities. Additional information about the Federal Music Project can be found under the names of those who participated in it, including local composers whose works it performed.
2. Charlie Cannon's Starlight Opera Collection. No.1: Scrapbook, 1931-1944. Housed in the San Diego Historical Society. Includes newspaper clippings, programs, and letters documenting Cannon's involvement as a baritone in the San Diego community and with the Federal Music Project. It is the largest source of primary materials related to the project.
3. Mehren, Peter William. *The WPA Federal Arts Projects and Curriculum Project in San Diego*. M.A. Thesis - (UC Davis, 1972). His chapter "The Federal Music Project in San Diego, 1935-1943" (pages 58-128) is based principally upon the *San Diego Union*, augmented with interviews. He is depositing much of his research material in the San Diego Historical Society.
4. Mehren, Peter William. "San Diego's Opera Unit of the WPA Federal Music Project," *Journal of San Diego History* 18:3 (Summer 1972):12-21. Principally extracted from his thesis.
5. Charlie Cannon Oral History Interview, 12/27/78. Housed in the San Diego Historical Society. Includes a few references to his involvement with the Federal Music Project.
6. Connolly, Pamela Smith. *A History of the San Diego Civic Light Opera, v.1: Star-Light, the First Seventeen Years*. Typescript [1980], housed at the San Diego Historical Society. Apparently a thesis. Briefly covers the beginnings of Starlight Opera and its relationship to the Federal Music Project's Opera Unit.
7. Tracy, Mildred Lyman. *The development of the San Diego Symphony Orchestra*. M.A. Thesis (San Diego State College, 1962). A very short

- survey of the Symphony's development, including a few comments about its relations with the Federal Music Project. Most important for its "Appendix B" which includes transcriptions of a few documents showing a relationship between the Symphony and the Federal Music Project.
8. San Diego Symphony Association Archive. Housed at San Diego State University's Center for Regional History. The only relevant items in this collection are the Board of Directors' Minutes, September 7, 1938-1955, and Executive Committee Minutes, September 12, 1938-1955. (Box 8, items 1 and 2). They contain several references to cooperative programs undertaken with the Federal Music Project.
 9. National Archives St. Louis Personnel Center. Information from personnel files about administrators involved with the music project can be requested from the Personnel Center, and could include information about previous employment, length of service with the project, and kinds of duties performed.
 10. National Archives, Record Group 69: Federal Music Project. State Correspondence Files, California. Approximately 5 to 6 feet. May include statistics, interim and final reports, newspaper clippings, and correspondence.
 11. *The Federal Music Project*. [Washington, D.C.: Works Progress Administration, 1936]. A report covering the period from October 1935 to July 31, 1936; it was reprinted to include data through August 31, 1936. Gives details of the administrative structure of the project, outlines the various units, and provides statistics on the general size of the project and its accomplishments.
 12. *Report on Progress of the WPA Program*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1937-42. Annual reports of the WPA projects from 1937 through 1941. Provides an overall view of the general project and often includes a general summary of the music project.
 13. *Final Report on the WPA Project, 1935-1943*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1947. Includes a summary of the music project on pages 63-64.

The Federal Music Project in San Diego

These sources can provide one with much information about the Federal Music Project's operation in San Diego, but a survey of its operation is necessary to fully appreciate the extent and vitality of its activities.

In 1930, San Diego had a population of about 148,000. It was the fourth largest city in California; only Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Oakland were larger. If it is possible to attribute psychological conditions to cities, San Diego could be said to have had feelings of cultural "inferiority" relative to San Francisco, and of general inferiority to—or domination by—Los Angeles. In fact, San Diego was reasonably cultured. Between 1919 and 1932 the San Diego Civic Opera had produced over 40 French and Italian operas. The Savoy Players was one of America's most successful stock companies with a continuous run of over seven years at a time when such companies usually lasted less than a year. In the area of light opera or operetta, a San Diego cast presented Gilbert and Sullivan's *Pinafore* in the old Horton's hall in

1879, one year after it opened in London and 18 years before it was produced in New York.

During the Depression years, there were three programs of federal support for music in San Diego. The State Emergency Relief Administration, which was funded by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, began on June 4, 1934, and ended on November 18, 1935; its emphasis was on popular music and established the basic administrative and performance patterns which were to be followed by the succeeding two projects. The Works Progress Administration Federal Music Project began on November 18, 1935, and ended on September 1, 1939. During this project the emphasis was on classical music, and it supported a large force of performing musicians. The Work Projects Administration Music Program began on September 1, 1939, and ended on June 30, 1943. This project saw the decline and end of federal support to music in San Diego; it principally emphasized popular music.

The first ensemble to be organized was the SERA band. It was approved on June 4, 1934, to employ 51 musicians, and was sponsored by the City of San Diego. An account of its founding by Ruth Taunton, the music reviewer for the *San Diego Union*, was published on November 22, 1936. It is a subjective report, but presents an excellent image of the times:

My editor told me to go down to the city warehouse and see what kind of musical project the SERA could possibly be trying to organize there. Rumor had it that an orchestra had been in Uncle Sam's mind, but that every unemployed musician who had shown up was a trombone player. And it was said, furthermore, that these musicians didn't have any trombones. Most of them didn't even have clean shirts.

I found James Larkin, with years of experience in organizing and directing bands, trying to interview 20 men who had SERA cards, in a shed of the warehouse. Planks across two props served as desks.

"In order to find these men," Larkin said, "we had to hang around the food depots and visit the day-labor projects. Musicians, some of them with long, expensive training and fine talent, had finally despaired of ever again finding work in their profession and were toiling with picks and shovels to earn money for their families.

"The radio and sound pictures had taken jobs from many musicians. The general depression had brought others to what looked like a hopeless future of permanent unemployment. It was in this unhappy moment that the national government decided to do something for its musicians and in San Diego I was instructed to organize a band." Ten days after Larkin started to round up his musicians from the food depots, the first rehearsal was held. The city council and manager agreed to sponsor the project, with the very explicit understanding that it was not to cost the city a cent.

Federal funds were appropriated to pay salaries only. Immediately there was the problem of where to obtain music, where to get uniforms, how to obtain transportation. When the band would have had to give up, music came from San Diego music stores and private libraries of individuals interested in trying to help. Trucks were offered for transportation within the city. And the musicians decided to skip the uniforms.

In return for their federal salaries, the musicians were to give public concerts, bringing entertainment and cheer to those who had no money to buy theater tickets. Free entertainment and cheer were certainly needed in those days.

So, in their shirt sleeves, many without ties and wearing trousers that showed plenty of wear, the musicians gave their first free concert on Broadway Pier July 27, 1934, at 7:30. Larkin directing.¹

That first concert opened with the newly composed *SERA March* by Larkin and was the first of several premieres presented by the federal music units in San Diego.² On a subsequent September 30th concert, Larkin directed the premiere of *San Diego Exposition* by Charles A. Jones, a 93-year-old march composer;³ and on November 25th, Larkin premiered his own *Salute to San Diego Fair* on a program which also included his *The Chamber of Commerce March*.⁴

By October, it was reported that the band was playing almost nightly. It numbered 80 members, and gave regular concerts Sunday afternoons in Balboa Park and Friday nights on the roof of the water taxi building adjacent to the municipal pier.⁵ It was also reported that it had played at four of the camps for transient men. It was so popular that one reviewer of the *San Diego Union* thought the SERA Band was the potential municipal organization of the future.⁶

By October 1934, SERA was encouraged with the band's success and began to support other musical activities. An orchestra was approved October 12, 1934, to employ 63 musicians under the sponsorship of the City Council. It was formed and conducted by Dr. Charles O. Breach, and rehearsed on the Pier. The ensemble was begun with 40 members, 19 of whom were formerly with the San Diego Symphony. By November a reviewer stated that Breach was working wonders with his SERA concert orchestra.⁷ It generally performed at around 45-50 members. During its existence, at least 4 members of the symphony were copyists. The music library was at UCLA, and music received from there was copied and returned.

Out of these two organizations was formed the SERA dance band of 41 members, J. Ward Hutton Director. They rehearsed six days per week in a room donated by the San Diego Hotel and gave at least eight concerts in their first three weeks of existence.

On October 29, 1934, the SERA community singing project was approved to employ 41 musicians.⁸ It was sponsored by the City Council and its initial director was Mrs. Emma C. Spade. She was rapidly replaced, because on December 2, 1934, it was reported that the chorus of 30 was rehearsing daily at Broadway Pier under Don Smith and that it would soon make its debut before hospital patients and various charitable organizations.⁹ The chorus gave its first performance on December 12, 1934.¹⁰ A letter received by John L. Bacon, director of SERA, and printed in the *San Diego Union* of December 12, 1934, is one of the most eloquent statements of the feelings of those being employed by SERA.

After the inspiring three hours spent as a worker with the choral group I am so filled with gratitude I must express my thanks at this pre-Thanksgiving period to you, to SERA as an organization, to my state and my government, all of whom have made this great boon to the discouraged, a tangible thing.

You would have been touched, as many of us were, by the hidden artistic talent disclosed during the audition hour. No one can ever know what it

means except those who have experienced it, to find themselves unwanted after having had the plaudits and financial success of a popular artist.

Adversity saps the morale, destroys the magnetism of personality, mars the health and starves the hungry soul. I came home from work today with a restored confidence that means more to me than a pay envelope. It is a great privilege to be under the guidance of Mr. Don Smith — he not only gives us the benefit of his musical genius, but I receive from him a spiritual uplift, a feeling of camaraderie for my fellow man, all of which has been lacking since privation prompted me to crawl into the recesses of solitude.

Please convey my thanks to all the workers who have been instrumental in bringing about the speedy recognition of my needs. I shall give the best that is in me to the choral group, or to any other task that is brought to my attention.¹¹

The last SERA musical organization approved for San Diego was a band for the northern part of San Diego County, approved on December 31, 1934. It was sponsored by the County to employ 35 members.

The Works Progress Administration Federal Music Project

The Works Progress Administration Federal Music Project started November 18, 1935, with the 350 musicians from SERA.¹² There were in existence dance orchestras of about 58 members, a budding opera company developing out of the chorus, an orchestra, a federal civic band, and another band. By December 1935, there were more than 400 musicians.¹³

The administration of the project was under the general direction of Nicolai Sokoloff, whose office was in Washington, D.C. The Regional Director for California, Colorado, Utah, Arizona, Idaho, New Mexico, Washington, Oregon, Montana, Wyoming, and Nevada reported to him. In December 1935, it was reported that Kejitian Attl, a San Francisco Symphony harpist, was appointed to the regional post;¹⁴ he almost immediately resigned, and was succeeded by Dr. Bruno David Ussher, a Los Angeles critic and writer. Miss Harle Jervis was the Director for California;¹⁵ she was succeeded by Karl Wecker in February 1940.¹⁶ Edwin Skedden was the San Diego and Orange counties coordinator;¹⁷ he resigned in April 1936 and was succeeded by Charles Marsh of National City.¹⁸ Marsh resigned in February 1940 as the project declined and apparently was not replaced. Instead, William L. Dean who had been appointed office manager in March 1936, was appointed temporary supervisor.¹⁹

At the start of the WPA, musical ensembles continued to be directed by the original SERA personnel; however, changes soon occurred as the musical emphasis altered. The symphony orchestra was initially directed by Dr. Charles O. Breach; he resigned in April 1936 to devote his attention to the arranging bureau and the government music library in San Diego.²⁰ He was replaced by Dr. Julius Leib who resigned in November 1938 to be replaced by Leo Scheer.²¹

The very popular civic band continued to be conducted by James B. Larkin until December 1936 when he was replaced by Carl Kuehne.²² Larkin claimed he was removed because he did not heed warnings by local project administration in May 1936 to stay away from city and county officials. He was "kicked upstairs" to Promotional Director for the District.

J. Ward Hutton, the initial director of the dance orchestras, left to play at the California-Pacific Exposition in 1935 and he was replaced by Eddy Wheeler.²³ Don A. Smith, the first conductor of the chorus, was succeeded by Edwin Skedden,²⁴ who was replaced in March 1936 by Charles H. Marsh.²⁵ The chamber music unit was directed by Kathleen Pike Skedden.

In 1936 it was reported that about 20 performances per week were given by the symphony, dance orchestra, concert band, Mexican Band, Jubilee singers, chorus, opera company, and chamber music units.²⁶ About \$200,000 had been paid in federal wages during 1935 and 1936; the average pay was \$85 per month while the maximum was \$94.

In October 1936, a new policy to lend assistance to local talent was announced. Composers were encouraged to attend Monday morning rehearsals where their compositions would be read with the intent of finding new music to perform.²⁷ Some of the apparent results of this policy were premieres by the band of *Atlantis, Suite no.2* by V.F. Safranek, performed with his *Don Quixote Suite* on November 29, 1936;²⁸ *Federal Band* march by Dr. Charles O. Breach, conducted by the composer on December 4, 1938;²⁹ and *Point Loma by the Sea*, a song by San Diegan Joseph Forna on October 9, 1938.³⁰ The band also performed *Prairie Sketches* by Charles Wakefield Cadman, "the famous San Diego composer," arranged by guest conductor George H. Buchholz on June 19, 1938.³¹ The symphony featured Cadman's *Thunderbird Suite* on March 14, 1937, and *Trail Pictures* on January 10, 1939;³² and premiered works by other San Diego composers, such as *Three Fairy Tales* by Charles H. Marsh on November 9, 1936;³³ *Chant and Dance* by Leo Scheer on May 31, 1937;³⁴ and *I have a Rendezvous With Death* by Harald Lutz of Grossmont on May 5, 1939.³⁵ The orchestra also premiered several composition by Los Angeles area composers, such as *The Headless Horseman* by Scott Bradley on October 26, 1937;³⁶ *Hindu Rhapsody* by Clifford Vaughn on March 7, 1939;³⁷ and *Interlude from Gettysburg* by Morris Ruger and *Idyll for String Orchestra* by Guy Bevier Williams, both performed on April 23, 1939.³⁸ A joint opera, choral, and orchestra concert on May 1, 1939 premiered *The Chanson of the Bells of Osung* by San Diegan Alice Barrett Stevenson.³⁹ In addition, William Grant Still conducted performances of his music.⁴⁰

A typical week's program during the heyday of the project is that for October 25, 1936:⁴¹

Sunday - Band concert at Balboa Park.

Wednesday - WPA dance and floor show at Broadway Pier Ballroom featuring the Dance orchestra, Spanish orchestra, Jubilee singers, and Moving pictures.

Jubilee Singers performance at Edison School and the County Hospital.

The Gondoliers presented at Fullerton High School.

Thursday - Jubilee Singers performance at the Goodwill Store and at Boys and Girls Aid.

Dance orchestra performance at Vasa Hall.

The Gondoliers presented at Laguna Beach High School.

Friday - Dance orchestra performance at the County Hospital and Hawlton School.

The Gondoliers presented at Santa Ana High School.

Saturday - Dance orchestra performance at the Coronado street dance.

Jubilee Singers performance at the Chula Vista Home for the Aged.

Sunday - Band concert at Balboa Park and Oceanside.

A highlight of 1936 was the production of Bach's *Coffee Cantata* performed with special costumes and scenery for the first time in America on December 10.⁴² It was presented by a 60-voice chorus accompanied by a 30-piece orchestra conducted by Julius Leib and staged under supervision of Charles Marsh. Because it was relatively short, the program also presented four a cappella choruses, the *Blessed Damosel* by Debussy, and the West Coast premiere of *Benedicite* by Vaughan Williams.

The production of opera had become an important, if not dominant, aspect of the project by 1937. More than 73 performances had been given in San Diego before more than 79,000 people by September 1937.⁴³ Productions included *Cavalleria Rusticana*, *Hansel and Gretel*, *Mikado*, *Geisha Girl*, *The Gondoliers*, and *The Gay Grenaders*; most had been performed many times throughout San Diego and Orange counties. Bach's *Coffee Cantata* was given often in schools. Productions were practically self-supporting, except for salaries, and were covered by small admission charges at the Savoy Theater and the Zoo bowl. Julius Leib was the orchestra conductor while Charles H. Marsh, district supervisor, trained the voices.

Because of these very popular productions, there was general consternation when a blanket order from Washington threatened prohibiting opera productions on September 3, 1937.⁴⁴ The local reviewer encouraged her readers to write Washington protesting the order. Her efforts were apparently successful, for soon it was announced that San Diego was the only city in the United States with a federal opera company.⁴⁵ It was reported that San Diego was granted an exception because of its wealth of musical talent, the excellent conducting by Julius Leib, and the economy of its productions. The profits of \$600 realized in a series of performances of *The Geisha Girl*, given in the Zoo bowl where no rent was charged were then used to produce Gilbert and Sullivan's *Iolanthe* on September 22, 1937.

In 1938, the San Diego project continued to produce operas. The *Merry Widow* was presented in cooperation with the San Diego Symphony on November 12, 1938.⁴⁶ It was the first production since Julius Leib had moved to State College. While it was getting more and more difficult to produce music programs, the project was clearly at its peak. A report to the San Diego Symphony Board of Directors on August 19, 1939, stated that 1,320 musicians were on the active payroll of the project.

The Work Projects Administration Music Program

However, the era of opera production was coming to an end. In June 1939, it was reported that no opera had been presented by the project since February and blamed the Southern California district office for the hold-up.⁴⁷ Very shortly thereafter, all project presentations were eliminated; the last concert for some time was presented on August 11, 1939, although there were school performances.⁴⁸ The opera unit, which employed 125 people in the orchestra and chorus, was discontinued on January 13, 1940.⁴⁹ These actions were caused by the reorganization of the project into the Work Projects Administration, which brought with it several restrictions. The "18 month rule" stipulated that after 18 continuous months employed by the project, an individual was to be dropped from the rolls. The intent of this rule was to encourage federally supported workers to find employment in the private sector. This rule caused most of the San Diego music units to fold for a time because the majority of musicians had been employed by the project for longer periods of time.

A second restriction which caused many problems for the music project was the requirement that sponsors had to cover 25% of all costs of all projects within a district, including salaries. When an ensemble was invited to perform, the usual

rental costs of the hall, janitor service, lights and heat could be counted toward sponsorship. On January 23, 1940, this restriction was enforced by Herbert Legg, administrative head in Southern California, who ordered 51 San Diego musicians dropped from the rolls due to lack of local sponsors.⁵⁰ Only 54 remained in the project. The chorus was reduced from 44 to 16 voices and an accompanist; four were dropped from the symphony (2 of these due to the 18 month rule). The band was completely wiped out. As a result of this chaotic time, the band was not reorganized; the reasons given were its low level of output, the general reduction of projects quotas nationwide, and the increasing military presence which brought its own bands. These decreases saw the symphony decline from 52 members at the beginning of 1940 to 34 members in April, and it further shrank to 23 members in May 1940. Aside from a janitor and a typist, the project consisted entirely of musicians.

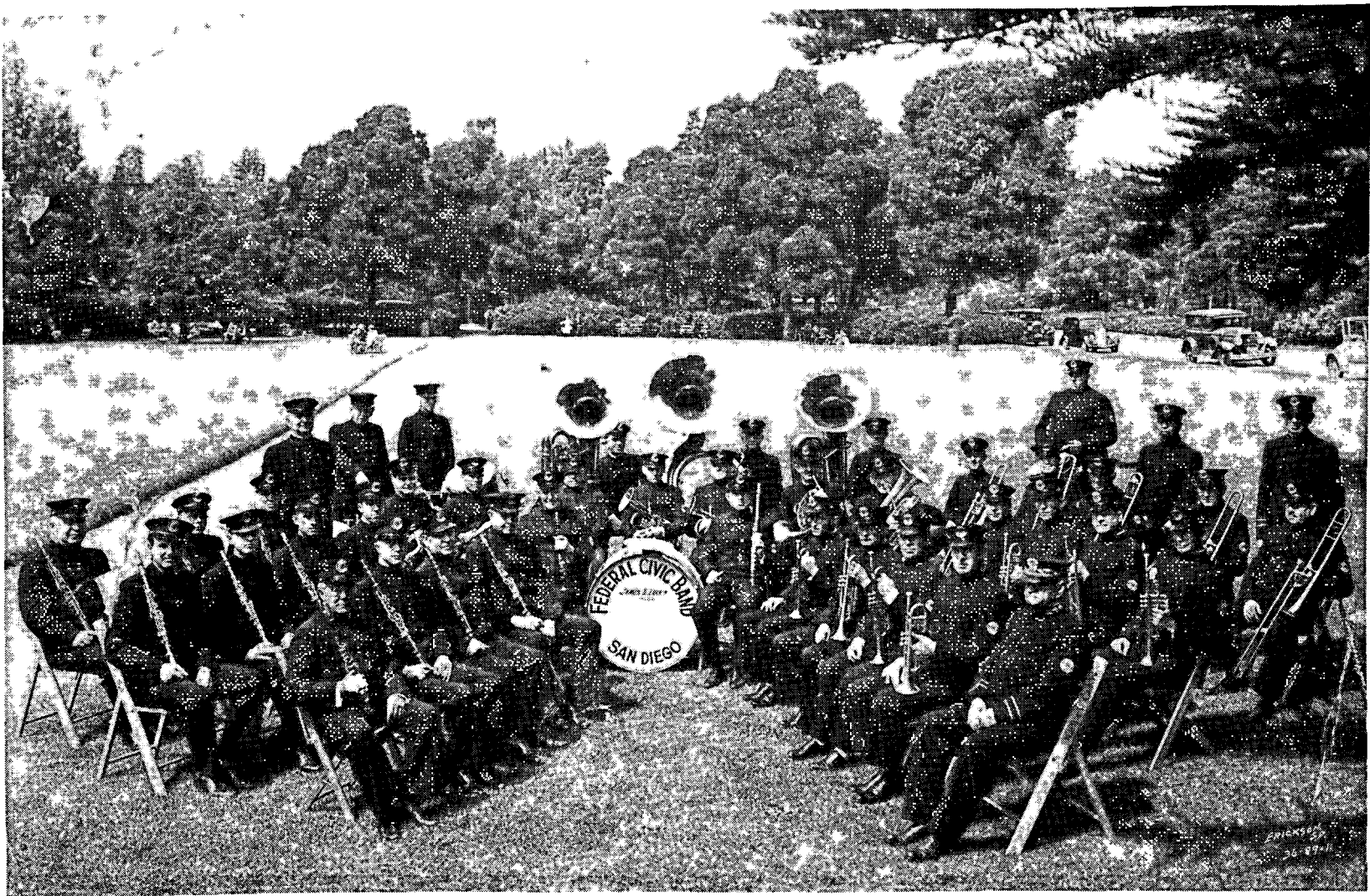
It was at about this same time that Nicolai Sokoloff, the national director of the Federal Music Project, resigned. On February 26, 1940, he was offered the conductorship of the San Diego Symphony, which he accepted by April 1.⁵¹

By that time the San Diego project was beginning to come back with many of its reorganized units headed by new directors and with a new focus: "modern American music". Edwin G. Mann directed the re-organized dance orchestra, Carlton Kelsey conducted the orchestra and chorus,⁵² Charles Cannon directed the vocal octet, and Katherine Pike Skedden directed the piano trio.⁵³ Clearly the forces of the units were substantially smaller. A series of light operas in Balboa Park was approved for the summer utilizing a 34-piece orchestra and 30 singers.⁵⁴ In July it was announced that approval from Washington for 19th-century light opera had been obtained. "Production of the more recent light opera is not being permitted because of our belief that it might be construed by the public as in violation of the Emergency Relief Acts of 1939 and 1940 which prohibit the operation of a theater project."⁵⁵ However, the approval was withdrawn almost immediately because of the potential conflict with that prohibition.⁵⁶ None the less, the planned *Barber of Seville* opened in Wegforth Bowl for 5 performances on August 21, 1940, under the auspices of the San Diego Zoo and in cooperation with the WPA.⁵⁷ The production was very popular, and three to four hundred people were turned away the first night.⁵⁸

The first combined orchestra and chorus concert of "modern music" following the announcement of the shift in program emphasis on May 2, 1940, featured works by Jerome Kern, Cole Porter, Sigmund Romberg, and Victor Herbert arranged by the conductor.⁵⁹ At this time, most concerts were being given at CCC and military camps. From May 1 to October 1, 1941, the project presented 356 performances for the armed forces in San Diego to audiences totaling 164,606.⁶⁰ Programs were generally one hour long and fell into three classes: Spanish orchestra, swing orchestra, and light opera. All programs featured singers and dancers. In addition, the project provided entertainment for three or four weekly dances for the military sponsored by community organizations which furnished facilities, refreshments, chaperonage, and girls. In addition, there was a demand for vocal quartets and string trios for Sunday religious services.

For the remainder of the life of the project, only the dance orchestra units remained in existence. The glories of the symphony, civic band, and opera units faded into oblivion. Finally, even the dance orchestras faded out. There remained, however, a strong feeling of having accomplished something worthwhile in San Diego, and after the war, several of those who had been involved in the opera unit banded together to form "Starlight Opera," a continuing presentation of light opera

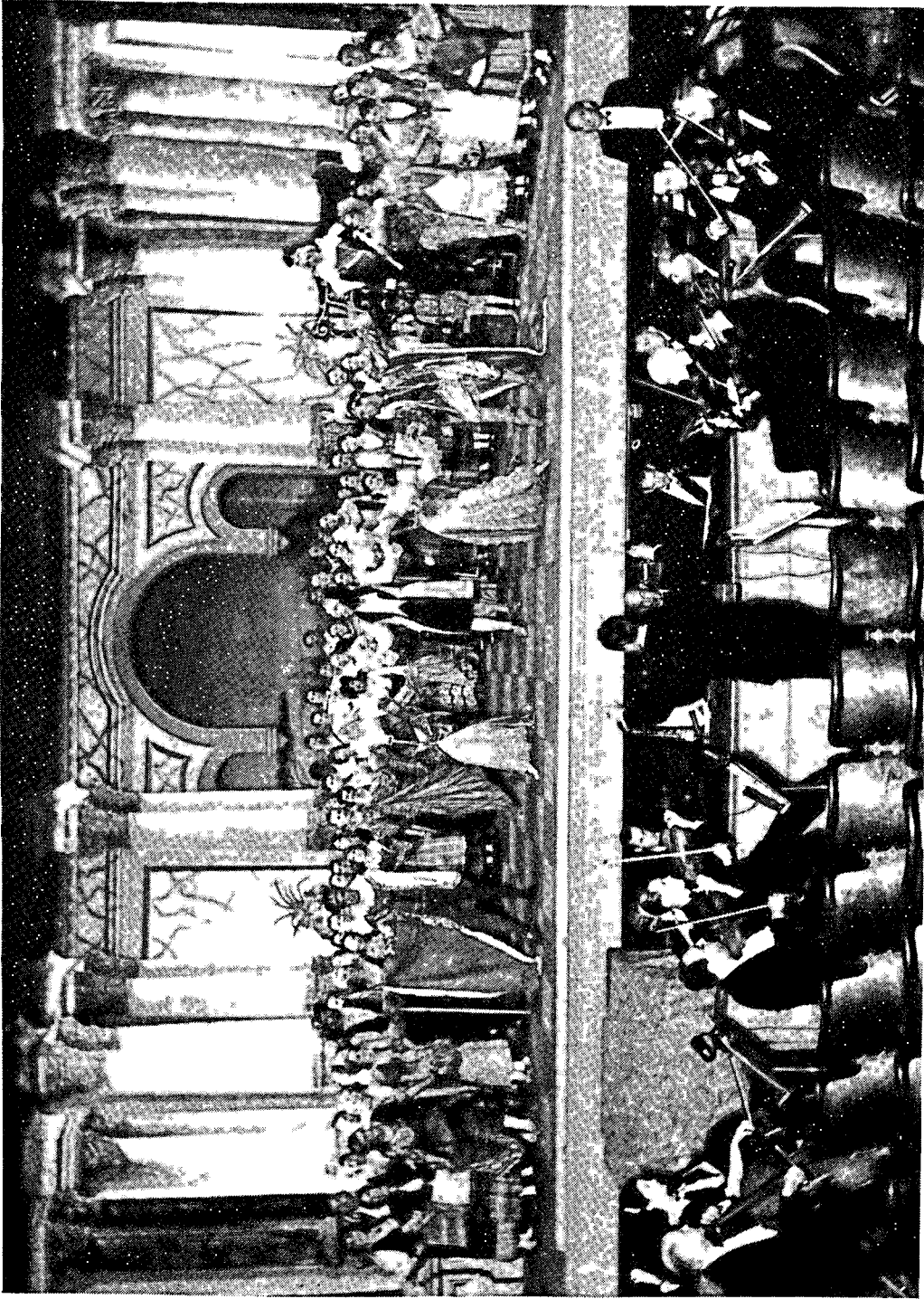
during the summer months. Clearly, the federal music projects in San Diego left a legacy, but few sources.



The Federal Civic Band conducted by James B. Larkin (seated right center) in 1936. It performed on Sunday afternoons near 6th and Laurel Streets in Balboa Park, where this picture was taken. *Picture courtesy of Ray Tellez.*



One of the many smaller WPA ensembles, this *Tipicia* orchéstra usually performed with dancer. *Picture courtesy of Ray Tellez, trumpet.*



The Gondoliers was a popular San Diego WPA production following its premiere on May 8, 1936, at the Savoy Theater under the direction of Dr. Julius Leib. Picture courtesy of the San Diego Historical Society—Ticor Collection.

Footnotes

¹Ruth Taunton. "Relief wages total \$200,000 as jobs given scores in music revival here." *San Diego Union* (November 22, 1936): sec.II, p.1.

²Wallace Moody. "New city band proves popular at Bay concert." *San Diego Union* (July 28, 1934): 5.

³"Municipal Band will play today." *San Diego Union* (September 30, 1934): sec.II, p.1.

⁴"Larkin's latest work played by SERA Bandsmen." *San Diego Union* (November 26, 1934): 5.

⁵"Human interest story behind roll of SERA Band members: many once played in famous organizations." *San Diego Union* (October 21, 1934): 4.

⁶Wallace Moody. "Critic sees SERA Band as potential municipal organization of future." *San Diego Union* (November 5, 1934): sec.III, p.6.

⁷Wallace Moody. "Music and Drama." *San Diego Union* (November 29, 1934): 3.

⁸"SERA announces singing project." *San Diego Union* (November 8, 1934): sec.II, p.1.

⁹"SERA choral group draws many artists of experience and ability." *San Diego Union* (December 2, 1934): 3.

¹⁰"New SERA Chorus will sing on pier." *San Diego Union* (December 12, 1934): 7.

¹¹"SERA choral group draws many artists of experience and ability." *San Diego Union* (December 2, 1934): 3.

¹²"Music projects start tomorrow." *San Diego Union* (November 17, 1935): Auto, p.6. The first concert under the new administration was reviewed by Wallace Moody, "Civic band plays S.D. composer's gay expo march." *San Diego Union* (December 2, 1935): 2.

¹³Wallace E. Moody. "400 musicians employed by WPA in S.D. county." *San Diego Union* (December 29, 1935): sec.II, p.1-2.

¹⁴Wallace E. Moody. "Matters musical." *San Diego Union* (December 8, 1935): Club, p.5.

¹⁵Wallace Moody. "Federal Music Project's Director, Aide visit S.D. on inspection trip." *San Diego Union* (January 16, 1936): 9.

¹⁶"New supervisor arrives." *San Diego Union* (February 5, 1940): sec.A, p.3.

¹⁷"Dean takes duty as Manager here of Federal Music." *San Diego Union* (March 15, 1936): sec.II, p.1.

¹⁸"Marsh appointed Music Head as Project expands." *San Diego Union* (April 20, 1936): 1.

¹⁹"Music Project supervisor quits." *San Diego Union* (February 5, 1940): 1.

²⁰"Marsh appointed Music Head as Project expands." *San Diego Union* (April 20, 1936): 1.

²¹Ruth Taunton, "Merry Widow Well Received." *San Diego Union* (November 12, 1938): 5.

- ²²“Kuehne greeted as band director.” *San Diego Union* (July 27, 1936): 8.
- ²³“Dean takes duty as Manager here of Federal Music.” *San Diego Union* (March 15, 1936): sec.II, p.1.
- ²⁴Wallace E. Moody. “Matters musical.” *San Diego Union* (January 5, 1936): *Women's World*, p.7; “Dean takes duty as Manager here of Federal Music.” *San Diego Union* (March 15, 1936): sec.II, p.1.
- ²⁵“Marsh appointed Music Head as Project expands.” *San Diego Union* (April 20, 1936): 1.
- ²⁶Ruth Taunton. “Relief wages total \$200,000 as jobs given scores in music revival here.” *San Diego Union* (November 22, 1936): sec.II, p.1.
- ²⁷“Music Project seeks works of S.D. composers.” *San Diego Union* (August 2, 1936): 14.
- ²⁸“Band to feature music of local composer today.” *San Diego Union* (November 29, 1936): sec.II, p.3; Ruth Taunton. “WPA Band plays to record crowd in Park program.” *San Diego Union* (November 30, 1936): sec.II, p.1.
- ²⁹“Kuehne honored at concert today.” *San Diego Union* (December 4, 1938): sec.F, p.1.
- ³⁰“Bowl band concert to begin at 1:15.” *San Diego Union* (October 9, 1938): 12.
- ³¹Ruth Taunton. “S.D. Band scores in Cadman Suite.” *San Diego Union* (June 20, 1938): sec.II, p.1.
- ³²“Symphony concert planned at Savoy Sunday afternoon.” *San Diego Union* (March 12, 1937): 14.
- ³³Ruth Taunton. “Young violinist scores heavily at WPA concert.” *San Diego Union* (November 10, 1936): 6.
- ³⁴“Weeks Programs.” *San Diego Union* (May 30, 1937): 2.
- ³⁵Ruth Taunton. “S.D. Federal Music Project diva to sing with St. Louis Symphony.” *San Diego Union* (May 5, 1939): sec.B, p.12.
- ³⁶Ruth Taunton. “Composers wins ovation as tone poem presented.” *San Diego Union* (October 27, 1937): 3.
- ³⁷Ruth Taunton. “Hindu Rhapsody wins praise.” *San Diego Union* (March 8, 1939): sec.A, p.3.
- ³⁸“Federal group plans fine concert.” *San Diego Union* (April 23, 1939): sec.C, p.4.
- ³⁹“Federal Music units plan choral concert.” *San Diego Union* (April 30, 1939): sec.C, p.4.
- ⁴⁰Sally Brown Moody. “William Still to conduct.” *San Diego Union* (August 7, 1938): sec.C, p.2; “William Grant Still to conduct own work.” *San Diego Union* (July 30, 1939): sec.C, p.4.
- ⁴¹“Weeks program.” *San Diego Union* (October 25, 1936): sec.11, p.2.
- ⁴²“WPA plans first true U.S. rendition of Bachs ‘Coffee Cantata’ comedy.” *San Diego Union* (December 10, 1936): 3.

⁴³Ruth Taunton. "Federal Opera ban threatened: protests urged." *San Diego Union* (September 3, 1937): 14.

⁴⁴Ruth Taunton. "Federal Opera ban threatened: protests urged." *San Diego Union* (September 3, 1937): 14.

⁴⁵"S.D. only city in U.S. with Federal Opera." *San Diego Union* (October 3, 1937): 3.

⁴⁶Ruth Taunton. "Merry Widow well received." *San Diego Union* (November 12, 1938): 5.

⁴⁷"Opera season urged: L.A. hit for 'objections'." *San Diego Union* (June 1, 1939): 5.

⁴⁸"Most WPA jobs cease today for Federal Project musicians." *San Diego Union* (August 14, 1939): sec.A, p.8.

⁴⁹"WPA opera project halted." *San Diego Union* (January 13, 1940): sec.B, p.1.

⁵⁰"Federal Music Project cut: lack of sponsors makes 51 jobless." *San Diego Union* (January 26, 1940): 1.

⁵¹San Diego State University. Center for Regional History. San Diego Symphony Association Archive, Board of Directors' Minutes, February 26 and April 2, 1940; "Sokoloff to lead concert series." *San Diego Union* (April 17, 1940): sec.A, p.2.

⁵²"Kelsey named Head of Federal Orchestra." *San Diego Union* (March 9, 1940): 5.

⁵³"WPA music groups face busy week." *San Diego Union* (April 6, 1940): sec.A, p.2.

⁵⁴"S.D. light opera for Balboa Park gets project o.k." *San Diego Union* (April 24, 1940): 8.

⁵⁵"Music Project gets light opera o.k." *San Diego Union* (July 14, 1940): sec.B, p.1.

⁵⁶"WPA aid lost to opera project." *San Diego Union* (July 19, 1940): sec.A, p.5.

⁵⁷Sally Brown Moody. "Opera veteran will lead S.D. production cast." *San Diego Union* (August 21, 1940): sec.A, p. 10.

⁵⁸Sally Brown Moody. "*Barber of Seville* scores smash hit on opening night." *San Diego Union* (August 22, 1940): sec.A, p.3.

⁵⁹"Modern music concert slated Sunday in Bowl." *San Diego Union* (May 2, 1940): sec.A, p.5.

⁶⁰"WPA Music Project attendance at Camp Callan reaches 50,000." *San Diego Union* (November 30, 1941): sec.C, p.4.

ÉMIGRÉ MUSICIANS IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Jerry McBride

In the 1930s and 40s the United States was the haven of some of the greatest artists and intellectuals from Europe seeking refuge from political and social turmoil. Numerous books and articles, not to mention films and television programs, have been written and produced on nearly every aspect of the causes and effects of Hitler's rise to power and the Second World War. Much of this literature has focused on the more sensational horrors of religious, ethnic, political persecution, genocide, and the general terrors of warfare. However, many people were lucky enough to escape by emigrating and starting a new life in a new country. Research has only recently begun to document the full extent of emigration from Europe during this period.

The story of emigration is largely that of the Jewish population, who account for roughly 94 percent of the refugees of this period.¹ Emigration of these people was greatly influenced by laws passed after Hitler was elected to the Chancellorship. The Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Servant of 1933 resulted in the dismissal of a large number of Jewish academics and politicians. This law was further strengthened by the Nuremburg Laws of 1935 which eliminated all exceptions found in the previous legislation and virtually barred Jews from any possibility of employment.² These laws greatly affected musicians because most cultural and educational institutions were state supported.

The third great wave of emigration occurred in 1938. All Jewish businesses had been sold, and Jews had absolutely no civil rights by this time. 1938 also marked the annexation of Austria, where many Germans had fled after 1933. Thus, they were forced to move again. What should have been perceived by the rest of the world as a great opportunity—namely, the rescuing of hundreds of Central Europe's finest minds and talents—was seen as a burden.

The enormity of the refugee problem should not be understated. From 1938-41 there were 500,000 immigrants from Central Europe. The United States absorbed 132,000 from Germany and Austria mainly after 1938.³ For 1933-44 the United States accepted 1500 immigrant musicians, most of whom remained on the east coast centered around New York.⁴

In the United States there were no changes to the immigration laws during this period. The laws that most affected applications for visas were drafted in the 1920s instituting the quota system allowing only a certain number of persons per country and excluding certain countries entirely. A visa applicant had to have proof of a position or, more commonly, an affidavit from a United States citizen who would "sponsor" them should they fail to find employment. There was also a loophole in the laws for clergy and academics which was the most frequent means of securing a visa for intellectuals. (Unfortunately, most colleges and universities in the United States were plagued with declining enrollments due to the low birth rate and the general economic depression of the time.) This law and other immigration policies insured that the United States would generally receive the elite of Europe's intelligentsia.⁵

A surprisingly large and distinguished émigré community developed in Southern California during the 1930s and 40s—a community which emerged largely because of the presence of the film industry and the promise of both lucrative and satisfying professional opportunities. Many who were able to accept the artistic and creative limitations of Hollywood made an enormous impact on films, and consequently, on

American culture generally. Many others were unwilling or unable to accept Hollywood esthetics and either left or pursued other careers. A significant number of books and articles have been written about this émigré community. However, the majority of these deal primarily with people active in the film industry or in literature. Very little has been written about the émigré musicians outside of individual studies of major figures such as Schoenberg and Stravinsky or those connected with the film studios.

The Collections

After New York, Los Angeles was the main center of émigré activity in music. Considering the reasons for leaving Europe and the conditions there, it is surprising that the émigrés were able to bring any archival materials with them. In many cases, manuscripts and documents were left behind and may or may not have survived the war. Nonetheless, there does exist a sizeable body of material created by the émigrés while they lived in California. Many of these materials are no longer here, having been dispersed throughout the country or returned to Europe with the small but significant percentage of musicians who returned. Appended to this paper is a list of nearly one hundred émigré musicians who either lived and/or worked in California during the 1930s and 40s. Yet there are only about a dozen major archival collections available in public institutions in the state. Some of the reasons for this are obvious: 1) in some cases, the lack of any archival materials to preserve, 2) the relative newness of California research institutions, 3) the aggressive collection policies of institutions in the eastern United States and Europe, and 4) the fact that many émigrés either moved out of the state or back to Europe taking their materials with them.

In compiling the list, several sources were essential. The *International Biographical Dictionary of Central-European Émigrés, 1933-1945*⁶ was used to identify the majority of musicians who came to California in this period. The dictionary includes 9,000 biographies of immigrants from Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia. The biographical files at the Research Foundation for Jewish Immigration consist of a total of 25,000 biographies from which the dictionary was compiled. *Resources of American Music*⁷ and *Guide to the Archival Materials of the German-speaking Emigration to the United States after 1933*⁸ provide information on most of the collections cited. The list is intended as a quick guide to the major archival collections of émigré musicians and provides brief biographical information. The list includes only emigrants from Europe from 1930-50 who came to live or work in California. A few exceptions have been made for musicians who came before 1930 and were extremely influential (e.g., Max Steiner, Alfred Hertz). An absolutely complete listing of all the archival resources available was beyond the scope of this article. The books cited above and the repositories themselves will necessarily serve as the final authority. The more extensive collections found in Southern California will be discussed below.

The University of California, Los Angeles, music library is the repository of the Ernst Toch (1887-1964) and Eric Zeisl (1905-1959) archives. Ernst Toch arrived in New York ca. 1934 where he lectured at the New School of Social Research before moving to Hollywood in 1937. He composed music for films and was a professor of composition at the University of Southern California in 1940-41. The archive consists of about forty-five linear feet of material including nearly forty music manuscripts. Toch subscribed to a clipping service, so there exist thirteen boxes of clippings and other ephemera. An extensive collection of correspondence (15,000 letters from 1906-1972) including the letters of Lilly Toch. There are written

manuscripts including rough drafts of his two books, *Melodielehre* and *The Shaping Forces of Music*. There is a complete collection of the published music, forty-two recordings both commercial and private, and diaries from the years 1948-53 and 1956-64. A series of card files indexing his library listing premieres of musical works and addresses was compiled by Toch himself. Other gifts including two film scores from Columbia Pictures and the oral history tapes and other memorabilia of John Scott Trotter have added to the holdings. The other significant collection of Toch's manuscripts is in the Library of Congress and consists of fifty-three musical scores.

The Eric Zeisl archive is a fitting complement to the Toch papers. Zeisl came to the United States in 1939 and moved to Los Angeles in 1941 where he composed film music for MGM until 1943. He transported all of his papers except for a few early songs which have been lost. He taught theory and composition at the Southern California School of Music from 1943-49 and at Los Angeles City College from 1949-59. The archive consists of 170 music manuscripts, nearly one hundred of which are songs dating from 1920-38. The music manuscripts of his later period consist of nine choral works, nine stage works, nineteen chamber works, and fifteen orchestral pieces. There are a total of thirty-five published scores. The eighteen sketchbooks and numerous loose sketches are a particular strength of the archive. Even though there are fifteen recordings including some of Zeisl playing his own works and radio transcriptions, the sound and/or performance quality of many make these of limited value for research. There are numerous photographs from 1905-58, which family members have helped to identify, and personal documents such as certificates, contracts, etc. An especially interesting category of materials are the teaching documents. His own writings are rather limited: only two newspaper articles, a lecture, a diary, and a transcription of a radio interview.

Aside from these archival collections the UCLA Oral History Archives has interviews and transcripts of Alice Ehlers, Dorothy Huttenbach, Lawrence Morton, Jan Popper, Sven Reher, Charles Seeger, Nicolas Slonimsky, Lilly Toch, Peter Yates, and Gertrud Zeisl which contain information about émigré musicians.

At the University of Southern California music library there are the collections of Ingolf Dahl and Ernest Kanitz. Dahl (1912-1970) emigrated to the United States around 1935 and moved to Hollywood in 1938 where he worked in the film industry as a conductor, composer, and arranger, and as a pianist and conductor for the Hollywood Theater Alliance. He was an active participant in the Evenings on the Roof organized by Peter Yates which subsequently became Monday Evening Concerts. From 1945-70 he taught at USC. The Dahl collection is quite complete, consisting of ninety-two boxes of materials—primarily manuscript scores and sketches, manuscript writings, and teaching materials all dating from 1935-70. Many performance copies of his music contain annotations of great importance for performance. The collection also contains ephemera (programs, reviews and scrapbooks). His library is also included. However, much of his correspondence remains in the possession of the family.

Ernst Kanitz (1894-1978) was also a USC faculty member from 1945-49 and emigrated first to South Carolina in 1938. The USC collection consists of 23 boxes of manuscripts and published music both by Kanitz and others. These include sketches, parts and scores for operas, orchestral and chamber music from 1920-78. There are seventeen personal documents and a library of twenty-nine books on music. The collection also includes correspondence.

The USC department of special collections has the archives of Warner Brothers Pictures from 1912-68. This collection contains a number of film scores by émigré musicians including three scores of Ernest Gold, one score of Wener Richard Heymann, five of Friedrich Holländer, two by Bronislaw Kaper, six by Erich Wolfgang Korngold, three by Andre Previn, forty by Max Steiner, and twelve of Franz Waxmann.

The archives of the Arnold Schoenberg Institute contain all of the composer's manuscripts and memorabilia which were still in his possession at the time of his death. The most significant part of the collection is embodied in the music manuscripts consisting of fair copies, first drafts, sketches, and unfinished works. There are also other manuscripts not written by Schoenberg including fifteen works by other composers. The second most important section of the manuscript collection encompasses Schoenberg's writings. These comprise texts and *libretti* of vocal compositions, textbooks for the teaching of music theory and composition, essays, aphorisms, and other sketches, notes and fragmentary texts. In addition, there are the documents of the Verein für musikalische Privataufführungen (Society for Private Musical Performances) established by Schoenberg (1918-21) for the performance of modern music in Vienna. This collection contains correspondence to Schoenberg concerning the programs and operation of the Society, bylaws of the Society, printed communications to the members, concert programs, advertisements, financial statements, scrapbooks, newspaper clippings, etc. There are also other personal documents—report cards, visas, death certificates, honorary certificates, etc.

Aside from the manuscript material the Institute houses Schoenberg's entire library. Many of these volumes contain annotations by Schoenberg comprising an extensive collection of annotated scores of Schoenberg's own published works. The remainder of Schoenberg's library consists of editions of the works of the great masters of music and a considerable body of works by Schoenberg's contemporaries. The book collection contains 171 annotated volumes. As one would expect there are volumes on music, but many of the volumes are literature, philosophy, and art catalogs and portfolios. Schoenberg also subscribed to various periodicals, the most significant of which deal with music. Other printed materials include programs, posters, handbills, and newsclippings.

Outside of printed and written materials, there is also an audio collection. The collection contains a number of private recordings and almost all of the commercial recordings issued to date. Aside from the musical recordings, there are lectures and interviews with Schoenberg and some oral history interviews. There are ten films of Schoenberg and one documentary film. The largest non-print collection consists of photographs, which provide an amazingly complete pictorial chronicle of Schoenberg's life and associates.

In addition to original source materials, the Institute collects microforms of Schoenberg manuscripts housed in other libraries. These consist exclusively of music manuscripts and correspondence. The Institute has located and obtained copies of collections of Schoenberg correspondence from about twenty-five other institutions.

The University of California, San Diego, library possesses the writings of Ernst Krenek from his arrival in America in 1938 up to 1978. Krenek moved to California in 1947, a base from which he has conducted his international career. The collection contains 25 linear feet of correspondence primarily from other people. The manuscripts of his books and articles occupy as many as 500 folders. An oral history project of about forty hours of interviews by John Stewart has been deposited in the collection but is not yet available to researchers. Krenek's pre-1938 manuscripts and

the majority of his American music manuscripts are at the Wiener Stadtbibliothek. The UCSD library possesses copies of many of these music manuscripts and a copy of his unpublished autobiography which covers his life through 1950. (This work will not be accessible until fifteen years after his death.) The original manuscript of the autobiography and about thirty music manuscripts are to be found in the Library of Congress.

The University of California, Santa Barbara, houses the Lotte Lehmann (1888-1976) papers. Lotte Lehmann emigrated in 1938 and eventually became associated with the Music Academy of the West. The collection consists of nine linear feet of material of which five boxes are devoted to correspondence. There is a complete collection of her letters with Bruno Walter and also correspondence between her and Toscanini, Thomas Mann, Puccini, Richard Strauss and Otto Klemperer. The manuscript writings include one book and various lectures. Audio-visual materials comprise some twenty tapes and a documentary film. Aside from personal documents (e.g., contracts) and photographs there are twenty-six scrapbooks of clippings.

Due to his long association with Santa Barbara, the musicologist Karl Geiringer (b. 1899) should be mentioned. Geiringer came to the United States in 1940 and to California in 1962. His papers are presently in his possession.

Oswald Jonas (1897-1978) came to the United States in 1938 and settled in Chicago. He became an adjunct professor at the University of California, Riverside, in 1966. Here he deposited his own papers including correspondence with Moritz Violin and Heinrich Schenker. However, it is the rather large collection of Schenker's manuscripts which Jonas saved from almost sure destruction that accounts for the inestimable value of this collection.

California State University, Long Beach, should be mentioned as a special case. In 1974 the Oral History of the Arts Archive was founded to document the musical activity of Southern California in the 1930s and 40s. To date, about 300 hours of interviews have been conducted. Immigrant musicians, with the exception of Paul Pisk, are not represented but are frequently the subjects of the interviews. The printed and written documents covering the period 1920-50 are in the process of being indexed by computer. Three databases have been established consisting of 1600, 230, and 700 citations respectively. The retrieval capabilities of each database are improved over the previous one, i.e., the newest database has the most access points. Although the project is far from complete, it does provide some access to heretofore totally inaccessible information and can be searched from any California State University campus. Information on the specifics can be obtained from Dr. Clare Raynor, CSULB.

Film music of émigré composers poses a special problem. Frequently, these manuscripts remained the property of the studios and have either been destroyed or scattered among various institutions. In California, UCLA, USC, and to a much more limited degree the Burbank Public Library have collections of film music, such as the Edward B. Powell collection at UCLA. Since film archives have come to have such great appeal, many collections are finding their way out of California, e.g., the Franz Waxman papers at Syracuse University, the manuscripts of Ernest Gold (1935-69) at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, and Bronislaw Kaper's scores at the American Heritage Center of the University of Wyoming, and now the Erich Korngold Collection at the Library of Congress. Of course, a number of composers have retained their manuscripts.

Although this paper focuses on Southern California, some mention should be made of collections in the North. The University of California, Berkeley, has two major musicological collections, Manfred Bukofzer and Alfred Einstein. Excellent finding aids have been prepared for these collections. The Ernest Bloch and Alfred Herz collections may fall slightly out of the scope of this paper but deserve mention (also at Berkeley). Lastly, the Darius Milhaud Collection at Mills College is a significant resource.

The émigré composers may have had little to bind them together before coming to California; but once here, they found themselves to be a small elite community. Some took refuge in that community and avoided, to one degree or another, assimilation into American society, while others sought to cut their European ties and merge invisibly into the fabric of life in a new country. In either case their impact on American culture and the cultural life of Los Angeles was enormous, a fact which can be documented by the archival collections in some of California's own institutions.

Footnotes

¹Herbert A. Strauss, "Jews in German History: Persecution, Emigration, Acculturation," in *International Biographical Dictionary of Central European Émigrés, 1933-1945*, Vol. 2, Part 1 (Munich; New York: K.G. Saur, 1980), p. xii.

²*Ibid.*, p. xxiv.

³Herbert A. Strauss, "The Movement of People in a Time of Crisis," in *The Muses Flee Hitler: Cultural Transfer and Adaptation, 1930-1945* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1983), p. 50.

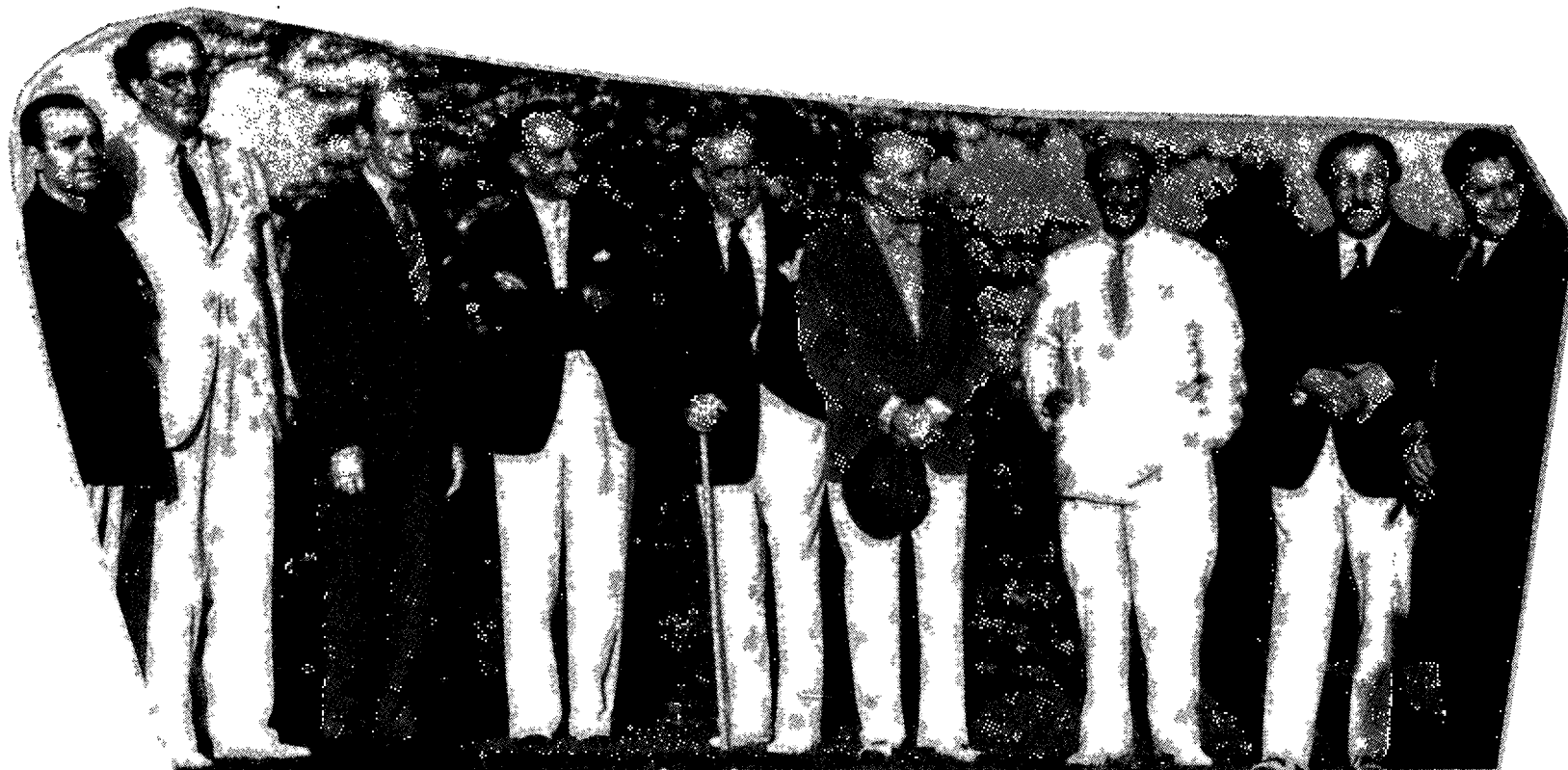
⁴*Ibid.*, p. 54.

⁵For an excellent summary of American immigration policy and its effects on the émigrés of this period, see Roger Daniels, "American Refugee Policy in Historical Perspective," in *The Muses Flee Hitler: Cultural Transfer and Adaptation, 1930-1945* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1983).

⁶Werner Röder and Herbert A. Strauss, eds., *Biographisches Handbuch der deutschsprachigen Emigration nach 1933/International Biographical Dictionary of Central European Émigrés, 1933-1945* (Munich; New York: K.G. Saur, 1980-1983).

⁷D.W. Krummel, ed., et al., *Resources of American Music History: A Directory of Source Materials from Colonial Times to World War II* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981).

⁸John M. Spalek, *Guide to the Archival Materials of the German-speaking Emigration to the United States after 1933/Verzeichnis der Quellen und Materialien der deutschsprachigen Emigration in den U.S.A. seit 1933* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 1978).



Émigré conductors at the home of Otto Klemperer, c.1935. I-r: José Iturbi, Klemperer, Richard Lert, Henry Svedrofsky, Pietro Cimini, Bernardino Molinari, Arnold Schoenberg, Pierre Monteux, and William Van den Berg. From a scrapbook of John O. Northcut, Los Angeles Music Center Operating Company Archives.



Émigré composers at the Beverly Hills Hotel, c.1948. l-r: George Antheil, Eugene Zador, Arthur Bergh, Italo Montemizzi, Miklos Rosza, Richard Hageman, William Grant Still, Igor Stravinsky, Ernst Toch, Louis Gruenberg, and Erich Wolfgang Korngold. From a scrapbook of John O. Northcut, Los Angeles Music Center Operating Company Archives.

Listing of Émigré Musicians in Southern California

The name of each émigré is followed by the dates of his or her life and the dates of emigration/immigration, if known. Occupations are listed on the next line of each entry, followed by the location (in *italics*) of any known archival collections.

Abravanel, Maurice (1903-): left Germany in 1933; came to the U.S. in 1936 via France and Australia.

Co-founder of the Music Academy of the West, Santa Barbara (1955-1980).

Conductor of the Utah Symphony Orchestra (1947-79).

Oral history tape at the Mormon Church Archives, Salt Lake City, UT.

Achron, Joseph (1886-1943): 1925 from Palestine; came to Hollywood in 1934.

Violinist for film studios. Composer.

Adler, Kurt Herbert (1905-): 1938 from Czechoslovakia; came to San Francisco in 1943.

General Director of the San Francisco Opera Co.

University of California, Berkeley.

Adorno, Theodor W. (1903-1969): 1934 to England (Oxford); 1938 to New York; 1941 to California; 1949 returned to Germany.

Sociologist and musicologist; directed Research Project on Social Discrimination in Los Angeles (1944-49).

Houghton Library, Harvard University—Leo Lowenthal Collection; Adorno Archives, Frankfurt (main repository).

Amfiteatrov, Daniele (1901-): from Russia to the U.S. in 1937; to Los Angeles in 1941.

Composer; active as a film composer; associate conductor of the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra (1937-38).

Back, Gilbert (1902-1967): from Berlin to Los Angeles in 1945 via Tel Aviv and Ankara.

Violinist.

Bernheimer, Martin (1936-): from Germany to U.S. in 1940; to Los Angeles in 1965.

Music critic for the Los Angeles Times.

Besag, Otto.

Composer.

Breisach, Paul (1896-1952): U.S. in 1939 from Austria.

Conducted the San Francisco Opera in 1946.

Bukofzer, Manfred (1910-1955): from Switzerland to U.S. in 1939; Berkeley in 1941.

Professor of Musicology at the University of California, Berkeley.

University of California, Berkeley—Research materials, microfilms and personal papers. Library of ca. 800 v.; 200 microforms of pre-1600 music.

Byrns, Harold (1903-1977): U.S. in 1936 via Italy.

Founding conductor of the Los Angeles Chamber Orchestra.

Castelnuovo-Tedesco, Mario (1895-1968): New York in 1939 from Italy; Beverly Hills in 1940.

Composer.

- Clemens, Hans** (1890-1958): U.S. from Germany; Los Angeles in 1938.
Operatic tenor and vocal teacher.
- Cleve, George** (1937-): left Austria in 1938; U.S. in 1940.
Conductor of various orchestras including San Francisco.
- Collin, Erich** (1899-1961): from Germany to U.S. in 1940 via Austria; resided in Los Angeles.
Singer with the group Comedian Harmonists; designer for a plastics manufacturer.
- Cycowski, Roman** (1901-): from Germany to Austria in 1935; to California in 1940; resides currently in Palm Springs.
Singer with the Comedian Harmonists (1927-1940); Cantor in Los Angeles (1940-47) and in San Francisco (1947-71).
- Dahl, Ingolf** (1912-1970): from Switzerland to U.S. ca. 1935; Los Angeles in 1938.
Composer; Professor of music at USC.
Extensive collection at USC; small holdings at the Library of Congress and Moldenhauer Archives.
- Dessau, Paul** (1894-1979): from Germany to France in 1933; to New York in 1939; to Los Angeles in 1944; to East Berlin in 1948.
Composer and conductor; active as a film composer in Los Angeles.
- Ebert, Carl Anton Charles** (1887-1980): from Germany to Switzerland in 1933 but also active in Italy, Argentina, Austria, and Great Britain; to Turkey in 1936; and to Los Angeles in 1948.
Opera director and actor; Professor of music at USC (1948-54); Director of the Guild Opera Co., Los Angeles (1950-61).
- Ehlers, Alice** (1887-1981): to the U.S. in 1936, residing in Los Angeles in 1941.
Harpsichordist; Professor of music, USC (1941-67).
Interview at the UCLA Oral History Archives.
- Einstein, Alfred** (1880-1952): from Germany to England in 1933; to Italy in 1935; and to U.S. in 1938 via Switzerland.
Musicologist and music critic; Professor of music, Smith College, Mass.
University of California, Berkeley—Research papers and library of 2500 v., 15 boxes of material on Mozart and 5.5 feet of research papers on other topics. Other significant collections at Smith College, Columbia University and Princeton University.
- Eisler, Hanns** (1898-1962): left Germany in 1933 and traveled extensively in Europe; attempted to enter U.S. several times beginning in 1933 and applied for citizenship in 1940 and was deported in 1948 as a result of the House UnAmerican Activities Committee hearings to Vienna; to East Berlin in 1950.
Composer; composed for films in Los Angeles and New York (1938-48); Instructor at USC.
Hanns Eisler Archives at the Deutsche Akademie der Künste, East Berlin. Other minor holdings found in various U.S. libraries including 11 letters at the Center for Exile Studies, USC.
- Foss, Lukas** (1922-): from Germany to France in 1933 then to the U.S. in 1937.
Composer, conductor, pianist. Professor of music, UCLA (1953-62); Director of the Ojai Festival (1955-57).
Oral history tapes at California State Univ., L.A., and Yale Univ. (Hindemith Coll.); some music mss. at the Buffalo and Erie County Public Libraries.

Fraenkel, Wolfgang (1897-1983).

Freudberg, Joanna.

Pianist; wife of Nikolai Graudan.

Front, Theodore (1918-): from Germany to the U.S. in 1938.

Music dealer in the Los Angeles area. Successor to Ernest E. Gottlieb.

Fuchs, Hilda (?-1976): from Austria to the U.S. in 1938.

Music teacher and President of the Viennese Culture Club, Los Angeles.

Fuchs, Viktor (1891-1966): from Austria to the U.S. in 1938.

Opera singer and teacher; founder of the Viennese Culture Club, Los Angeles.

Geiringer, Karl (1899-): from Austria to England in 1938 then to the U.S. in 1940; to Santa Barbara in 1962.

Professor of music at the University of California, Santa Barbara (1962-72—emeritus 1971).

Collection of research materials at UCSB, personal papers held privately; small collections of letters held in other U.S. institutions including the Library of Congress, Univ. of Georgia, Columbia Univ., UCLA, etc.

Gimpel, Bronislaw (1911-1979): from Germany to Sweden in 1931 and then to the U.S. in 1937.

Violinist; concertmaster of the Los Angeles Phil. Orch. (1937-1942).

Gimpel, Jakob (1906-): from Palestine to the U.S. via Cuba in 1938; lived in Los Angeles since 1958.

Pianist; distinguished Professor-in-Residence, California State Univ., Northridge (1971-).

Glaz, Herta (1908-): from Germany in 1933 eventually coming to the U.S. in 1940 and settling in Los Angeles in 1977.

Opera singer; teacher at USC since 1977.

Gold, Ernest (1921-): from Austria to New York in 1938 and to Los Angeles in 1945.

Composes mainly film music; conductor for the Santa Barbara Civic Opera Association (1958-64) and founder of the Senior Citizens' Orchestra, Los Angeles, in 1964.

Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences Archives—7 scrapbooks, published essays, and ephemera. State Historical Society of Wisconsin—40 boxes of papers (1935-69) including ms. sketches and scores for orchestra, stage and film music

Gottlieb, Ernest E. (1903-1961): from Germany to the U.S. in the 1930s.

Music bookseller; established business in Beverly Hills in 1948.

Graham, Bill (1931-): from France to the U.S. in 1941.

Multifaceted career; show business producer and manager; producer for the San Francisco Mime Troupe (1964-65); managed the auditorium, Fillmore West, in San Francisco and produced rock concerts there (1966-71); manager for numerous rock bands and popular singers since 1966; founded Millard Agency in 1972 in San Francisco.

Granichstaedten, Bruno (1879-1944): from Austria to the U.S. in 1938.

Operetta and film composer, singer, and cabaret pianist.

Graudan, Nikolai (1896-1964): from Russia to Germany in 1922; to England in 1935 then to the U.S. in 1938 settling in Los Angeles in 1950.

Cellist and music teacher; instructor at the Music Academy of the West and at UCLA.

Graveure, Louis (1888-1965): resided in England, Germany and France before coming to the U.S. in 1947 and eventually to Los Angeles.

Concert singer and teacher.

Herbert, Walter (1902-): from Austria to the U.S. in 1938.

Conductor with the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra and other organizations in S.F. (1938-43); General director of the San Diego Opera (1969-76).

Heymann, Werner Richard (1896-1961): from Germany to Los Angeles via Paris in 1933.

Composer of many scores for films.

USC—ms. for "Always Together," Warner Coll.

Hoffmann, Richard (1925-): from Austria to New Zealand in 1935; to Los Angeles in 1947.

Composer and professor of music; studied with Schoenberg and at UCLA (where he was also an instructor) (1948-53).

Holländer, Friedrich (1896-1976): from Germany to Los Angeles via France and England in 1933; returned to Germany in 1955.

Film composer.

USC, Warner Collection—5 ms. scores.

Holländer, Victor (1866-1940): from Germany to Los Angeles in 1933.

Operetta composer (wrote under the name Arricha del Tolveno) and conductor.

Jonas, Oswald (1897-1978): from Austria to the U.S. in 1940; to California in 1966.

Musicologist; Professor of music, University of California, Riverside.

University of California, Riverside—Research papers on Brahms and Schenker; Schenker papers and library.

Jurmann, Walter (1903-1971): from Austria to the U.S. via France in the 1930s.

Composer primarily for films.

UCLA—papers, published and ms. music.

Kanitz, Ernest (1894-1978): from Austria to the U.S. in 1938; to Los Angeles in 1945.

Composer; Professor of music at USC (1945-59), Marymount College (1960-64).

University of Southern California—23 boxes of ms. and published materials, 29 books; some items in Moldenhauer Archives.

Kaper, Bronislaw (1902-): from Germany to France in 1935; to the U.S. in 1939; and to Los Angeles in 1940.

Film composer.

University of Wyoming, American Heritage Center—2 boxes of ms. scores; USC, Warner Collection—2 ms. scores; American Film Institute Oral History tape from 1975.

Katscher, Robert (1894-1942): from Austria to Los Angeles in 1938.

Operetta and film composer.

Katz, Erich (1900-1973): from Germany to England in 1939; to New York in 1943; to Santa Barbara in 1959.

Composer and musicologist; held various positions after coming to New York where he founded the American Recorder Society; from 1959-73 he was an instructor at Santa Barbara College.

Klemperer, Otto (1885-1973): from Germany to Los Angeles in 1933; returned to Europe in 1947.

Conductor; Los Angeles Philharmonic Orchestra (1933-39).

Main collection in the Royal Academy of Music in London; California State University, Los Angeles—213 annotated published scores; Leo Baeck Institute, New York—6 music mss.

Kohn, Karl (1926-): from Austria to New York in 1938; to Claremont, Calif. in 1950.

Composer and pianist; Professor of music at Pomona College and Claremont Graduate School.

Korn, Peter Jona (1922-): from Germany to England in 1933; to Palestine in 1936; to Los Angeles in 1941; returned to Germany in 1965.

Composer and conductor; studied with Schoenberg, Dahl, Rosza, Toch and Eisler; founded the New Orchestra of Los Angeles (1948-1956); wrote for films.

Korngold, Erich Wolfgang (1897-1957): from Austria to Los Angeles in 1936.

Composer and conductor; under contract with Warner Bros. from 1939-47.

Library of Congress—main collection of mss. and papers; USC, Warner Collection—6 scores; smaller collections at the Leo Baeck Institute and the Moldenhauer Archives and other U.S. repositories.

Korngold, George W. (1928-): from Austria to the U.S. in 1939.

Music ed. for 20th Century Fox; son of Erich.

Korngold, Hans Robert (1892-1965): from Austria to the U.S. in 1939(?).

Brother of Erich.

Korngold, Julius (1860-1945): from Austria to Los Angeles in 1938.

Music critic.

Korngold, Luise (1900-1962): from Austria to U.S. in 1936.

Singer, actress, pianist; wife of Erich.

Kreisler, Georg (1922-): from Austria to Los Angeles in 1938; returned to Europe in 1955.

Singer and song composer; entertainer for émigré cabaret productions, composer and arranger for radio and TV.

Krenek, Ernst (1900-): from Austria to the U.S. in 1937; moved to Los Angeles in 1947 and currently resides in Palm Springs.

Composer.

University of California, San Diego—Extensive collection of his writings and oral history interviews. Wiener Stadtbibliothek—Primary collection of music mss. Numerous mss. in other collections of composers and musicians throughout the U.S.

Landau, Anneliese (1903-): from Germany to England in 1939; then to the U.S. in 1940; moved to Los Angeles in 1944.

Musicologist and journalist; music director of the Jewish Centers Association (1944-1968).

László, Alexander (1895-): from Hungary to the U.S. in 1938; to Los Angeles in 1945.

Pianist and composer; composed for films and with NBC; director for Guild Publications of California, music publisher.

Lehmann, Lotte (1888-1976): from Austria to the U.S. 1938; settled in Santa Barbara.

Opera and Lieder singer; taught at the Music Academy of the West. *University of California, Santa Barbara—nine linear feet of papers and mss.; total of 25 linear feet including clippings, photographs, scrapbooks and other memorabilia.*

Lowinsky, Edward Elias (1908-): from Germany to the Netherlands in 1933; to Cuba in 1939; then to the U.S. in 1940; lived in San Francisco 1956-61.

Musicologist and Professor of music at the University of California, Berkeley (1956-61).

Papers still held privately.

Mahler-Werfel, Alma (1879-1964): from France to the U.S. via Spain and Portugal in 1940; settled in Los Angeles in 1940.

Widow of Gustav Mahler.

University of Pennsylvania—Correspondence and other personal papers.

Mann, Michael Thomas (1919-1977): from Germany to Switzerland in 1933; to the U.S. in 1938; moved to San Francisco in 1938.

Violinist with the San Francisco Symphony (1942-49) and teacher at the San Francisco Conservatory, also with the Pittsburgh Symphony (1950-57). Professor of German Literature at the University of California, Berkeley (1961-77). Son of Thomas Mann.

Massary, Fritz (1882-1969): from Germany to Austria in 1933; to England in 1938; then to Los Angeles in 1939.

Singer and actress appearing primarily in operettas. Retired in 1934.

Milhaud, Darius (1892-1974): from France to San Francisco in 1940; returned to France in 1947.

Composer. Professor at Mills College (1940-71).

Mills College—All published works, mss., photography, recordings, and memorabilia. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris—primary collection.

Monteux, Pierre (1875-1964): from France to the U.S. in 1936.

Conductor of the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra (1936-52).

Nilson, Einar (1881-1964): from Germany to the U.S. 1934.

Composer; arranger and music editor for Warner Bros. (1943-60).

Olitzki, Walter (1903-1949): from Germany to New York in 1939; to Los Angeles in 1947?

Operatic baritone with the Metropolitan Opera (1939-47).

Perl, Lothar (1910-1975): from Germany to France in 1933; to Los Angeles in 1939.

Composer and pianist; wrote music for M.G.M. and R.K.O. and was an accompanist for many popular singers.

Pisk, Irene Hana (Schwarz) (1895-1981): from Austria to U.S. in 1938.

Opera singer.

Pisk, Martha Maria (1893-1973).

Pianist and teacher.

- Pisk, Paul A.** (1893-): from Austria to New York in 1936; to California 1937.
Musicologist and composer; Professor of Music—University of Redlands (1937-51); University of Texas, Austin (1951-63); Washington University, St. Louis (1963-72); resided in Los Angeles since 1973.
Primary collection at the University of Texas (3 lin. ft.); secondary collection at Washington University (3 lin. ft.); smaller collections at the Library of Congress and the Moldenhauer Archives.
- Previn, André** (1929-): from Germany to France in 1938; to Los Angeles in 1939.
Conductor, composer, and pianist. Composer for M.G.M. (1945-60) and concurrently conductor and pianist; music director of the Los Angeles Philharmonic Orchestra (1985-).
- Previn, Charles.**
Cousin of André; music director at Universal Studios.
- Rachmaninof, Sergei** (1873-1943): from Europe to the U.S. in 1935; moved to Los Angeles in 1942.
Composer.
Primary collections at the Gosudarstvennyi Tsentral'nyi Musei Muzykal'noi Kul'tury Imeni M.I. Glinki (State Central Glinka Museum of Musical Culture); Library of Congress.
- Rathaus, Karol** (1895-1954): from Germany to France in 1932; to England in 1934; and to the U.S. in 1938.
Composer; wrote film music in Los Angeles in 1939, thereafter moving to New York.
- Rebner, Arthur** (1890-1949): from Germany to Austria in 1933; moved to Los Angeles in 1947 after living in France and Mexico.
Song composer.
- Reif, Paul** (1910-1978): from Austria to Sweden in 1938; came to the U.S. in 1941 after living in Norway and Haiti.
Composer. Arranger and composer for Republic Pictures and TRA Records 1946.
- Reinhardt, Delia** (1892-1974): from Germany to the U.S. in 1937; returned to Europe in the 1940s and re-emigrated to Santa Monica in 1948; returned to Switzerland in 1962.
Operatic soprano and painter.
- Riesenfeld, Hugo** (1879-?): from Austria to the U.S.; moved to Los Angeles in 1938.
Violinist.
- Rózsa, Miklós** (1907-): from England to Los Angeles in 1940.
Composer; wrote numerous film scores.
Many scores still held privately, but a few at California State University, Long Beach, and at various studios.
- Salter, Hans** (1896-): from Germany to the U.S. in 1937; resides in Los Angeles.
Composer for films and TV.

Schoenberg, Arnold (1874-1951): from Germany to the U.S. in 1933 via France; lived in Los Angeles 1935-51.

Composer.

Arnold Schoenberg Institute, USC—main repository of music mss. and writings. Library of Congress—correspondence and 14 music mss.. Other mss. owned primarily by publishers.

Schuster, Joseph (1903-1969): from Germany to New York in 1934; later moved to Los Angeles.

First cellist with the New York Philharmonic Orchestra (1936-44).

Schwarz, Vera (1889-1964): from Germany to the U.S. in 1938; returned to Austria in 1948.

Operatic soprano; music teacher in Los Angeles (1939-48).

Sendry, Alfred (1884-1976): from Germany to France in 1933; then to Los Angeles in 1940.

Music teacher and collaborator with his son, Albert, on film music projects; Professor of music: Westlake College of Music (1948-52) and the University of Judaism (1962-73) in Los Angeles; music director of the Sinai Temple of Westwood (1956-65).

Spielman, Fred (1906-): from Germany to France in 1938; to the U.S. via Cuba in 1939.

Composer of popular music; composed for films and TV in Los Angeles.

Steinberg, William (1899-1978): from Germany to Palestine in 1936; to the U.S. in 1938; retired to Atherton, Calif. in 1976.

Conductor.

Steiner, Max (1888-1971): from Austria to England in 1904; to France in 1911; then to the U.S. in 1914; settled in Los Angeles in 1929.

Film composer.

USC—Warner Collection, 42 music mss.; University of Utah—6 linear feet of music mss., arrangements, and school notebooks; also Library of Congress.

Stolz, Robert (1880-1975): from Germany to Austria in 1933; to France in 1938; then to the U.S. in 1940; returned to Austria in 1946.

Composer; wrote film music in Los Angeles.

Straus, Oscar (1870-1954): from Austria to France in 1938; to the U.S. in 1940 residing in New York and Los Angeles; returned to Austria in 1948.

Composer of operettas.

Stravinsky, Igor (1882-1971): from France to the U.S. in 1939; lived in Los Angeles 1940-69; in New York 1969-71.

Composer.

Paul Sacher Foundation—main repository.

Tansman, Alexandre (1897-): from France in 1940 to Los Angeles; returned to France in 1946.

Composer.

Mills College—music mss. Library of Congress—some music mss. and individual letters.

Teutsch, Walter Siegfried (1909-): from Austria to the U.S. in 1938; resides in San Diego.

Professor of music theory, San Diego Mesa College.

Toch, Ernst (1887-1964): from Germany to England via France in 1933; to the U.S. in 1935, moving to Los Angeles in 1936.

Composer.

UCLA—main repository. Library of Congress—53 music mss.

Volbach, Walther R. (1897-): from Germany to Austria in 1933; to England in 1936; then to the U.S. in 1937.

Professor of theater arts, stage and opera director. Professor of theatrical history, Univ. of Calif., Santa Barbara (1971).

Wachsmann, Klaus Philipp (1907-): from Germany to Uganda in 1938; to England in 1958; then to Los Angeles in 1963, moving to Chicago in 1968.

Ethnomusicologist; Professor of Music, UCLA (1963-68), Northwestern Univ. (1968-).

Walter, Bruno (1876-1962): from Germany to Austria in 1933; to France in 1938; then to the U.S. in 1939.

Conductor; resided in Los Angeles (1939-62), retiring in Beverly Hills.

New York Public Library—main repository.

Waxman, Franz (1906-1967): from Germany to France in 1933; to Los Angeles in 1934.

Composer; head of the music department of Universal Studios (1935), with MGM (1936-43), Warner Brothers (1943-48), founder of the Los Angeles Music Festival at the Hollywood Bowl (1947-67), freelance work (1948-67).

Syracuse University—main repository (12.5 linear feet). USC, Warner Collection, 12 music mss.

Zador, Eugene (1894-1977): from Vienna to the U.S. in 1939, moving to Los Angeles in 1940.

Composer; active in films.

UCLA—main repository. Smaller collections at the Library of Congress and the University of Wyoming.

Zeisl, Eric (1905-1959): from Austria to France in 1938; to the U.S. in 1939, moving to Los Angeles in 1941.

Composer; composed for MGM (1941-43); taught at the Southern California School of Music (1943-49) and at Los Angeles City College (1949-59).

UCLA—main repository.

Zweig, Fritz (1893-1984): from Germany to France in 1933; to Czechoslovakia in 1934; returned to France in 1938; then to the U.S. in 1940, moving to Los Angeles in 1947.

Conductor and teacher; taught privately and at the Music Academy of the West in Santa Barbara while in California.

USC—library of 158 annotated scores.

Zweig, Mathilde Klara (1888-): wife of Fritz Zweig, see previous entry. Known by her stage name, Tilly de Garmo.

Singer and music teacher.

SOURCES FOR THE STUDY OF MEXICAN MUSIC IN CALIFORNIA

Michael Heisley

This essay surveys published and archival materials relating to the study of folk and popular music performed by persons of Mexican descent residing in California.¹ It does not consider music associated with the missions founded in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries nor does it take up the subject of classical music by Mexican composers in California.² Given the wide scope of this essay, my comments are necessarily brief and largely descriptive rather than analytical or definitive. What follows is meant to give an overview and to suggest broad contours of research and documentation. Perhaps the easiest way to approach this diverse and complex subject is to consider it chronologically. This serves my purposes in two ways because I wish to emphasize historical changes in the social bases of this music in California and the increasing importance of the recording media in documenting it.

In general the study of California-Mexican folk and popular music has been greatly neglected when compared with the attention given parallel traditions in the Mexican communities of Texas and New Mexico. For example, important regional studies of Spanish-language folksongs from these states have been published while no comparable collection has been attempted for California.³ The reasons for this neglect are several and are related to cultural and intellectual trends which have affected the study of other aspects of Mexican American culture in the state. Beginning in the late nineteenth century, the tendency of many Anglo observers and some individuals of Spanish or Mexican descent to romanticize the social life of early California had an effect on subsequent accounts of the music of this era. On the one hand, this romanticization encouraged attention to lyrical songs and dance music of the large *bailes* and *fandangos* which were so often commented upon by observers of the *rancho* period of the nineteenth century.⁴ On the other hand, the preoccupation with a romantic "Spanish" past which Carey McWilliams aptly labeled the "Fantasy Heritage" of California has discouraged thorough and critical studies of this period's music.⁵ It has also contributed to the false view that Mexicans in California failed to maintain and develop their culture in the face of the influx of Anglo settlers who entered the state during and after the Mexican War (1846-1848). As a result, many observers adopted a retrospective view of Mexican music and song in California, a view that did little to encourage systematic scholarship of more recent developments, particularly from Mexican immigrant groups and urban populations of the present century. To some extent, greater attention is now being given to the diversity of California-Mexican folk and popular music. Nevertheless, in comparison to the music of Mexican American populations in other states or, for example, blues or jazz scholarship and research, this subject is not well documented or researched.

The five general historical periods which I consider in this essay are: 1) the music of Colonial Spanish and Mexican communities of the nineteenth century; 2) music related to the immigration and migration of Mexicans to California from the time of the Mexican Revolution through the Depression; 3) music from urban areas such as Los Angeles which became an important center for the production of Mexican American popular music beginning in the 1940s; 4) Chicano rock-and-roll since the 1950s; and 5) songs of the Chicano Movement of the 1960s and subsequent music related to the political movements and the cultural renaissance among many young Chicanos.

Excluding the music of the missions, the best documented music of the Colonial Spanish and Mexican periods of the state's history are the traditional songs and dance music associated with *pueblo* and *rancho* life. This way of life was characterized by an agrarian economy and a lifestyle which featured large-scale celebrations. Due to the rapid influx of Anglos during the gold rush and particularly during the late nineteenth-century southern California real estate booms, this way of life was radically altered in the course of less than half a century. Many *californio* ranch owners were dispossessed and artisans and *vaqueros* (cowboys) were forced to find work in the cities or in large-scale agriculture.

Collections relating to the forms of music characteristic of this period are of several types. First, there are manuscripts and early publications by the literate upper class *californios* and early Anglo travelers and writers who wished to preserve their impressions of this period. Such works rarely provide anything more than general descriptions of dance forms and occasions for singing. For the most part these reports are rather romanticized recollections by *californios* or observations by Anglo writers whose comments are heavily colored by prejudicial views of Mexicans as lazy and indolent or treacherous and cowardly people.⁶ Nevertheless, there are numerous manuscript collections which await a careful survey by a scholar with an interest in California-Mexican music. Important collections of this era which should be surveyed for materials about California-Mexican music include the following:

The Coronel and Del Valle Collections

The Seaver Center for Western History
The Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History
Los Angeles, California

The De la Guerra Collections

Owen Coy Room
University of Southern California
Los Angeles, California

Early California Collection (including the manuscripts of Juan Bautista Alvarado, Benjamin Hayes, José del Carmen Lugo, and Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo)

Bancroft Library
University of California, Berkeley
Berkeley, California

The Santa Barbara Historical Society Library
Santa Barbara, California

Sherman Collection of Early California Music
Society of Pioneers Library
San Francisco, California

Charles F. Lummis Manuscripts
Braun Research Library
Southwest Museum
Los Angeles, California

Music Biography File
Los Angeles Public Library, Main Branch
Los Angeles, California

The *Golden Songster for the Land of Sunshine and Flowers*, a songbook published in 1875, appears to be the first printed source of songs in Spanish from California.⁷ A careful search of the works of early California printers such as Zamorano or of

the numerous Spanish-language newspapers published in California-Mexican communities in the nineteenth century may turn up earlier examples. Many of these early newspapers are available on microfilm at the Chicano Studies libraries at the University of California, Berkeley, and the University of California, Los Angeles.

Perhaps the most unique early collection of Mexican songs from California appears, surprisingly enough, on sound recordings. The collection of approximately 340 wax cylinder records at the Southwest Museum in Los Angeles was recorded by Charles F. Lummis (1859-1928) in Los Angeles and Ventura Counties between 1904 and 1912.⁸ The fragile cylinders have been re-recorded onto magnetic tape and are available to the public through listening facilities at the museum's Braun Research Library. In 1923, Lummis published fourteen of the songs from this collection in *Spanish Songs of Old California*, but for the most part the collection has remained largely inaccessible until now.⁹ The songs recorded by Lummis came from approximately thirty singers of Mexican descent and are possibly the earliest sound recordings of Mexican American folksong in California. Among the performers on these recordings was Rosendo Uruchurtu (see photo, page 69), a talented guitarist who sang in the Mexican *canción* tradition and accompanied others on the Lummis recordings. The museum's Braun Research Library also has lyrics and musical transcriptions of some of the songs, the latter prepared by composer Arthur Farwell, Lummis' collaborator on this project. There are also three handwritten notebooks of early California-Mexican song lyrics in the Lummis manuscript collection at the Southwest Museum. The oldest of these manuscripts dates from the late nineteenth century and is by José de la Rosa, a printer who came to California in 1833 and was an accomplished guitarist and composer.¹⁰ The second notebook is from Manuela García and contains lyrics to most of the 150 songs which she recorded for Lummis in 1904. The notebooks in which Lummis jotted down his field notes and the lyrics to some of the Spanish-language songs which he recorded are also found in this collection.

Also at the Southwest Museum are the papers of Eleanor Hague (1875-1954), an independent scholar who published *Spanish American Folk Songs* (1917) and *Early Spanish Californian Folksongs* (1922) as well as several articles containing Spanish-language songs from California.¹¹ Somewhat more scholarly than Lummis, she nevertheless tended to focus on the more romantic aspects of "Spanish" California folksong.

Another important collection was amassed by the California Folk Music Project, a Work Projects Administration (WPA) effort directed by Sidney Robertson Cowell from 1938 to 1942. Now housed at the Department of Music, University of California, Berkeley, the materials produced by this project contain Spanish-language folksongs and music as well as music traditions of other linguistic groups from the state. John A. Emerson points out in his list of contents of this collection that the materials relating to Spanish-language songs include research notes, indexes of songs, and tape copies of recordings made by field researchers from the project.¹² The work of the California Folk Music Project was terminated in mid-stream at the beginning of World War II and apparently has not received the attention of students of California-Mexican folksong. Cowell's comments in an article in *California Folklore Quarterly* suggest that the researchers for this project were concerned largely with "survivals" from the singing of descendants of nineteenth century *californios*.¹³

Other collections published in songbook format during the early part of this century also document the singing of nineteenth-century Californians of Spanish and

Mexican descent. These include Arthur Farwell's *Folk-Songs of the West and South: Negro, Cowboy, and Spanish-American* (1905), William J. McCoy's *Folk Songs of the Spanish Californians* (1926), and Antoni van der Voort's *Old Spanish Songs as Sung by Sra. Da. María Antonia Jimeno de Arata* (1928).¹⁴

Aurelio M. Espinosa (1880-1958), who taught at Stanford University, is well known for his pioneering research in New Mexican folklore. He also paid some attention to California-Mexican songs in his writings on Spanish ballads in America. Two articles by Espinosa, "*Los romances tradicionales en California*" and "*Folklore de California*" are important early studies of California folksong.¹⁵ In addition, Espinosa's papers are in the possession of his son, Aurelio Espinosa, Jr., in Palo Alto, California, and should prove to be invaluable documents on the work of this important scholar of Hispanic culture in the New World. A recent work edited by and with chapters on this pioneering folklorist's work by J. Manuel Espinosa, another son, provides a descriptive and uncritical view of the elder Espinosa's folklore research.¹⁶ Madeleine Fernández continues Espinosa's interest in Spanish balladry in California in her essay "*Romances from the Mexican Tradition of Southern California*" published in 1966.¹⁷ She presents six examples of this ballad tradition as sung by a Los Angeles woman who learned them in the 1910s and 1920s while growing up near Guadalajara, Jalisco.

Regarding early California dance music, three sources attempt to reconstruct these traditions. Lucille K. Czarnowski's *Dances of Early California Days* was published in 1950.¹⁸ This work, oriented toward a popular audience of folk dance enthusiasts, is based on field research and recordings. California Alegre, an organization of descendants of Spanish settlers of late eighteenth-century California, also has researched the music of the early Spanish and Mexican settlers of California. They have produced a record album entitled "*Las Danzas de Alta California*" of dance tunes and songs from this early period of Hispanic California music. (NOTE: All commercially available recordings cited in this essay are listed in the *Discography* following the footnotes.) Finally, Anthony Shay has considered the settings in which dances took place in early California in a recent article. Focusing on *fandangos* and *bailes*, his essay in *Southern California Quarterly* is concerned with the ways in which these dances fit into the social life of the *ranchos* and *pueblos* in the period 1790-1860.¹⁹

Migration and immigration to California from Mexico have been constant features of the history of Spanish-speaking peoples in California since the first settlements of *pueblos* such as San Jose and Los Angeles in the eighteenth century. It was the Mexican Revolution of 1910-1917 which, perhaps more than any other factor, intensified this movement of people across the border. Mexican immigrant songs and music in California from the Mexican Revolution through the Depression—the second historical period considered here—have not received adequate attention from scholars. It was during this period that the Mexican *colonias* in rural areas and urban *barrios* developed and became centers in which Mexican immigrant and Mexican American lifestyles flourished and influenced one another. Notably, this process took place not in isolation but in interaction with other minorities and the dominant Anglo society. As a result of the establishing of these immigrant and ethnic neighborhoods (often in segregated areas of a community) two important trends emerged in Mexican music in California. First the already established *corrido* (ballad) tradition became an important vehicle for expressing the concerns of many immigrants who came to the area from Mexico. Frequently, *corridos* and other songs expressed the immigrant's sense of victimization and injustice which was born of experiences north of the border. Second, in urban *barrios*, a nascent Spanish-

language radio and recording industry emerged. This latter development, which happened somewhat earlier in California than in other parts of the Southwest, provided both entertainment and an important bond for the Mexican community during this period. Through programs featuring local artists, the electronic media during the 1920s and 1930s expanded the audiences of numerous traditional forms of music. Recordings, home phonographs, and *sinfonolas* (jukeboxes) put these songs in the hands of large numbers of listeners and helped expand the careers of local singers and musicians of Mexican descent to areas outside of the state.

Two important collections relating to the life and music of Mexican immigrants to the United States in the 1920s and 1930s are at the University of California's Bancroft Library in Berkeley. Both the Manuel Gamio Collection and the Paul S. Taylor Collection contain source materials gathered by these two pioneering social scientists concerned with Mexican immigration. The Gamio Collection includes the notes, interviews, case histories, and folklore collected between 1926 and 1928 from Mexican immigrants in the United States. Gamio, a pioneer in Mexican anthropology who was trained at Columbia University and the University of Chicago, published a chapter on songs of the immigrant in his study entitled *Mexican Immigration to the United States* (1930).²⁰ Gamio also noted the popularity of phonographs and records among many immigrants.²¹ The Paul S. Taylor Collection contains lyrics to songs by Mexican immigrants and striking agricultural laborers from the 1930s. An economist, Taylor and his photographer wife Dorothea Lange documented the plight of Mexican as well as Dust Bowl migrants during the Depression. Taylor published some ballads by Mexican immigrants in his monographs on Mexican labor in the United States and in the *Publications of the Texas Folklore Society*, but other songs may be found in his manuscripts at the Bancroft Library.²²

An additional field collection of migrant ballads from California is at the Library of Congress. Charles Todd and Robert Sonkin visited California migratory labor camps in 1940 and 1941 in order to record the music and songs of these displaced people. Their field recordings may be heard at the Library's Archive of Folk Culture.

Ironically the best source of material on the music of Mexican immigrants in the 1920s and 1930s was created by the commercial recording industry and not by intrepid field researchers.²² Recordings, usually on 78 r.p.m. discs produced for Mexican audiences in the Southwest, provide a valuable source of information on this phase of Mexican music in California. Some of this material has been reissued recently on the Folklyric label by Arhoolie Records of El Cerrito, California. Although this series of approximately two dozen albums is titled "Texas-Mexican Border Music," many of the selections on these records were originally recorded in Los Angeles between the two World Wars. Examples of *corridos* recorded in Los Angeles can be found on Volumes 2 and 3 of this series. Acquisition of the entire "Texas-Mexican Border Music" set is recommended for any collection of Mexican American music because of the historical significance of the recordings and the informative program notes which accompany some of the albums in this series.

Among the artists whose works were sold on 78 r.p.m. records is Pedro J. González who recorded with *Los madrugadores* and *Las hermanas Padilla*. González, whose ensemble usually consisted of a trio of male voices and guitars, influenced a generation of Mexican American singers via his recordings and early-morning broadcasts heard throughout southern and central California during the Depression and early 1940s.²⁴ A recent reissue of some of *Los madrugadores'* early recordings on Folklyric Records covers the period 1933-1936. González was also the subject of a recent television documentary produced by Cinewest Productions of San Diego

entitled "Ballad of an Unsung Hero." His papers, memorabilia, and numerous photographs of his career are now housed at the Chicano Studies Research Library at the University of California, Los Angeles.

The recording and radio careers of *Las hermanas Padilla* began in the late 1930s in Los Angeles. Margarita and María Padilla were among the first women singers to gain wide acceptance among Mexican American audiences.²⁵ They also travelled widely in the United States and Latin America and appeared regularly on radio programs occasionally accompanied by other ensembles such as *Los madrugadores*. Their popular recordings of romantic songs became standards on *sinfonolas* in Mexican communities in California. Some of these early compositions by *Las hermanas Padilla* have been reissued on "The First Women Duets/*Los primeros duetos femininas*," an album in the Folklyric Records series mentioned above.

The Padillas, like *Los madrugadores*, tended to emphasize traditional genres such as the *corrido* and *canción* in their repertoires. Their early recordings document the popularity of these types of compositions in Mexican immigrant communities. The popularity of traditional genres, of course, extends to areas beyond California and ensembles from other parts of the southwest, notably San Antonio, Texas, also brought traditional music to mass audiences through recordings and the radio. Twentieth-century migration and immigration helped develop complex and diverse cultural expressions in Mexican American communities. Immigrants came not simply from rural Mexican backgrounds but represent various regional, social class, and urban experiences. Likewise their music and songs reflected not simply the diversity of the backgrounds of immigrants, but also the variety of their new experiences in the United States as electronic media and recordings changed the nature of opportunities for musicians and singers and expanded the audiences of many performers.

Besides 78 r.p.m. recordings, a significant yet largely unexplored source on early radio and recording artists are *cancioneros*, or songbooks published by local Mexican merchants who often sponsored artists such as *Los madrugadores* and *Las hermanas padilla* on the radio. Two examples of *cancioneros* probably dating from the 1930s in the Southwest Museum's collections combine advertisements of Mexican American records and merchants with lyrics to songs and photos of performers. The songs contained in *Cancionero mexicano* (Los Angeles, n.d.) and in *Nueva edición de la lira mexicana* (Los Angeles, n.d.) range from widely known Mexican compositions such as "Las mañanitas" and "Alla en el rancho grande" to *corridos* and other songs such as "Sonora querida" and "Soy tapatio" which reflect the immigrant origins of many of the buyers of these pamphlets. While the publications mentioned here may be rare, it is important to note that songbooks continue to be produced and sold in Mexican communities throughout the United States. Their contents reflect a similar balance between new hits and older songs attached to memories of *la patria chica*.

Most studies and collections of Mexican immigrant music focus primarily on song lyrics as sources for understanding the attitudes of and social conditions experienced by immigrants. An example of this approach is María Herrera-Sobek's *The Bracero Experience: Elitlore vs. Folklore* which compares and contrasts the depiction of Mexican immigrants in fiction and in traditional ballads.²⁶ Lacking are studies of other aspects of singing and song traditions, instrumental traditions, and dance music among Mexican immigrant populations in California. It is well known that Mexican Americans migrating from other areas of the southwest and immigrants from Mexico introduced numerous regional styles of Mexican music and dances to California. For example, Lydia Mendoza, the powerful Texas-Mexican singer,

frequently toured the San Joaquin Valley of California as part of *carpas* (tent shows) during the Depression and Andrés Huesca, the *jarocho* harpist, performed for Mexican communities in the state. In addition, *tandas de variedad* (variety shows similar to vaudeville) brought musicians from Mexico to many Mexican communities throughout the United States.²⁷ Finally, as noted above, many Spanish-language radio stations in cities throughout the Southwest also provided outlets for musicians. These settings and contexts for music making have not been researched adequately in California, but they are important for understanding how music was woven into the social fabric of Mexican immigrant communities.

A recent book by Manuel Peña (with a companion record album in the Texas-Mexican Border Music series of reissues), is an important contribution to our knowledge of how a specific borderlands musical style emerged and evolved in this country. *The Texas-Mexican Conjunto: History of a Working-Class Music*, is a pioneering study of an important instrumental tradition which is associated with the push-button accordion and the *bajo sexto*.²⁸ Peña's work analyzes the evolution and social base of this musical style which originated in the Texas-Mexican border region and is now heard throughout the southwest and northern Mexico.

The popular music which emerged in urban centers such as Los Angeles is the third period of California-Mexican music which I shall consider. By the 1940s, urbanization and the development of Spanish-language media in California helped bring into prominence musical expressions in the Mexican community which differed markedly from that of earlier Mexican immigrant populations. These differences were due, in part, to the size, diversity, and earning powers of Mexican audiences in areas such as Los Angeles which had become an important media and entertainment center by the early 1940s. Long able to attract many of the most popular and highly paid entertainers from Mexico, Mexican audiences in California also supported local musicians and singers who developed distinctive styles of expression. Often these entertainers were influential in other areas of the United States where Mexicans resided as well as in Mexico.

Performers such as Eduardo "Lalo" Guerrero (see photo, page 70), who moved to Los Angeles from Arizona in the late 1930s, created a music based on North American jazz and big band sounds, popular latin rhythms such as the rumba, and lyrics based on Mexican American speech patterns. The result, a musical hybrid with bilingual lyrics, in some ways presaged the poetry of the Chicano Renaissance of the 1960s and 1970s. In the repertoire of a dynamic performer and prolific composer such as Guerrero one finds compositions based on Mexican models such as the *canción* and *corrido*, romantic songs and dance rhythms popular throughout Latin America such as the *bolero* and *cumbia*, and parodies in English and Spanish of popular songs from the United States and Mexico.

The mixture of Latin rhythms and North American popular and big band music characteristic of Guerrero's bands had its parallels in south Texas where Beto Villa and others organized bands which vied with regional or folk music ensembles such as the Texas-Mexican *conjunto* as a focus for Saturday night sociability. "Lalo" Guerrero was one of the pioneers of this band music in California and his group toured many areas of the southwest following the Second World War.²⁹ He is perhaps best known for his parodies and his *ardillitas* (chipmunk) songs for children. His *pachuco* songs, composed during World War II, were recently incorporated into the music for Luis Valdez' play and movie *Zoot Suit*. A sound track album for *Zoot Suit* which includes some of Guerrero's *pachuco* songs performed and rewritten by others was issued in 1981. Two of Guerrero's original

recordings from this era, "*Marijuana Boogie*" and "*El pachuco y el tarzan*" have been reissued on "The Chicano Experience" on the Folklyric label. Oral history interviews with Guerrero and tape copies of many of his recordings from the 1940s to 1960s are available at the Southwest Museum's Braun Research Library.

Little systematic research has been done on Mexican American popular music in California during the 1940s and 1950s. Nevertheless, this was a period of important developments as the Spanish-language media and recording companies began to exert greater influence over Mexican popular music. Many regional musical styles from Mexico—notably the *mariachi*—were transformed by the media into pan-Mexican phenomena. The interviews and articles by ethnomusicologist Philip Sonnichsen are important resources on post-World War II Mexican American musicians in southern California including such figures as "Lalo" Guerrero and composer Manuel S. Acuña.³⁰ "*Canciones de Manuel S. Acuña*," produced by Circulo Social Amigos Nacozarenses, a Mexican social club in Los Angeles, presents many of the works by this prolific composer. Steven J. Loza's dissertation completed at UCLA in 1985 also contains important biographical information about Mexican American musicians in the Los Angeles area.³¹ His study covers the period 1945 to 1985 and examines the lives of Mexican American performers in the light of changing social and cultural contexts of Los Angeles during this period. An important aspect of Loza's study is its attention to the development and changes in these musicians' attitudes toward Mexican and North American music styles.

Two recent studies focus upon the social contexts in which particular types of Mexican or Chicano popular music are performed. Steven Ray Pearlman's research into contemporary *mariachi* ensembles in southern California suggests the ways in which the performance contexts and audiences of California *mariachis* differ from those of similar ensembles in Mexico.³² An example of a polished and highly professional *mariachi* from the Los Angeles area, *Los Camperos de Nati Cano*, can be heard on "*El super mariachi los Camperos*," an album on the Discos Latin International label. Manuel Peña considers a different tradition, popular dance music from south Texas as it is heard in Mexican communities in the San Joaquin Valley. Peña analyzes audience interaction and dancing at Saturday night dances for which the *orquesta texana*, or Texas-Mexican big band plays. The music of the *orquesta texana* is influenced by North American dance bands and Latin American popular music as filtered through the Chicano experience and transported to California from Texas via the migrant stream of farm workers.³³ A popular dance band from Fresno, The Ray Camacho Group, incorporates *salsa* and popular Chicano dance music in their performances. Two recent albums by this group, "*Para los Chicanos*" and "*Salsa Chicana*," have been released on Camacho's own label.

During the 1950s and 1960s, Mexican and Chicano musicians in East Los Angeles developed a special blend of jump blues, rhythm and blues, and early rock and roll. This synthesis of urban musical forms is the fourth kind of musical expression to be considered in this essay. It was heavily influenced by Black performers, but it also showed Mexican influences through such elements as vocal harmonies, language, and guitar techniques.³⁴ Like the generation before them these young musicians brought a distinctive sensibility to North American popular musical styles. Perhaps the best known among these early Chicano rockers was Ritchie Valens (née Valenzuela) from Pacoima, California. His 1958 hits "Donna" and "La bamba" (the latter an *jarocho son* in a rock-and-roll arrangement) brought the music of the *barrio* to national attention. Valens' success encouraged dozens of Chicano rock-and-roll groups which formed in East Los Angeles and other areas of the state in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Prominent among these groups were Thee Midnites who

had a major hit record in 1964 with "Farmer John." The following year Cannibal and the Headhunters, another East Los Angeles band, came to national attention with their recording of "Land of a Thousand Dances." Numerous other Chicano rock-and-roll groups emerged in the 1960s in the Los Angeles area. They found outlets for their music in clubs and dance halls such as the El Monte Legion Stadium, at "battle of the bands" contests at parks and colleges, and through local recording companies and disc jockeys who catered to the Mexican American musical scene.

Although often overlooked by rock critics and music historians, Chicano rock-and-roll musicians produced a creative fusion of musical elements during the 1960s which was similar in some respects to what was happening in other parts of the country during the formative period of this music. East Los Angeles, like Memphis, Chicago, or New Orleans, was the site of a musical confluence which brought regional or ethnic sounds into the flow of rock-and-roll during the early years in which this music developed.³⁵ However, with the exception of a few hit songs, the "East L.A. Sound" never became a national influence on rock and roll. By the late 1960s, the burst of rock musical activity in the *barrios* was drastically curtailed. There are a number of possible explanations for this hiatus including: the inability of Chicano bands to secure contracts with major record labels which would have made rock-and-roll a viable career; the emergence of new trends in rock music which were not absorbed into this scene; and the military draft which claimed many Chicano musicians.³⁶

The numerous bands that contributed to the "East L.A. Sound" of the 1960s were recorded primarily on 45 r.p.m. records produced for local audiences and are now out of print. Two l.p. albums which surveyed the principal bands from East Los Angeles are *West Coast Eastside Review, Volume One* and *West Coast Eastside Review, Volume Two*. These records are out-of-print classics of Chicano rock-and-roll. A more recent retrospective album, *The History of Latino Rock, Volume I-1956-1965: The Eastside Sound*, is available from Rhino Records. Early recordings by Thee Midneters have been reissued on an l.p., "The Best of Thee Midneters" on the same label. Loza's dissertation, mentioned above, as well as Philip Sonnichsen's article, "Chicano Music," Rubén Guevara's suggestive chapter on the history of Chicano rock-and-roll in *The First Rock & Roll Confidential Report*, and George Lipsitz' application of postmodern categories to the analysis of Chicano rock-and-roll in a recent article in *Cultural Critique*, are sources on the development of the diverse sound of rock-and-roll music among Mexican Americans.³⁷ For the most part, writings on Chicano rock-and-roll and other popular music are to be found in countless magazines and newspapers aimed at Mexican American readerships and in music trade publications. While many of these articles are listed in *The Music Index*, two other bibliographic works also are helpful. These are the *Chicano Periodical Index* (which covers materials published since 1967) and the *Hispanic American Periodicals Index* (which includes publications since 1970).³⁸

From the formative period of the 1960s came many of the personnel who played in more recent Chicano rock groups such as *Azteca*, *El Chicano*, *Malo*, and *Santana*. These groups landed recording contracts in the 1970s with major record producers. Their talents as recording artists on major labels and as concert performers not only brought recognition of Chicano musicians to wider audiences in the United States, but, like Ritchie Valens in the 1950s, they contributed to the styles of mainstream rock-and-roll. Notable among these musicians was Carlos Santana, a Mexican-born guitarist who became an important part of the San Francisco rock scene in the 1960s. His blend of acid-rock, urban blues, and New York *salsa* music heard on the

Santana album released in 1969, was to set the stage for the Latin-Rock movement of the 1970s. As John Storm Roberts notes, Santana was one of numerous musicians who made San Francisco the center of a musical mixture of rock, jazz, blues, and Latin elements in the 1970s.³⁹ The impetus for this music came not from Mexico but from Cuba and New York. Latin jazz and *salsa*, although firmly rooted in the work of older musicians such as Tito Puente and well established on the East Coast and in the Caribbean, had their exponents in California with groups such as *Santana*.

No one sound or style characterizes the popular music of the Chicano community in California in the 1980s. In the past, Chicano rock-and-roll and popular musicians usually were isolated from the mainstream of the music industry in the United States and frequently were ignored by Spanish-language radio programmers who featured prominent Mexican and Latin American "superstars" over local talent. Chicano musicians are now transcending labels such as "ethnic," "regional," or "traditional" which are often imposed by recording companies and are exploring a wide variety of musical forms. Many of these musicians are featured on a recent sampler album, *Los Angelinos: The Eastside Renaissance* which includes music ranging from punk and new wave sounds of The Brat and The Plugz to the folkloric music and social commentary in the music of *Los Perros del Pueblo*. *Los Illegals*, a group which combines rock music with social criticism, can be heard on their recent album *Internal Exile*.

Perhaps the best known group with its roots in both Chicano rock and traditional Mexican music is *Los Lobos* (see photo, page 71). Until 1973, this group played a variety of top 40 songs for the Los Angeles Chicano club and party circuit. Having grown weary of this musical direction and at the same time inspired by the Chicano movement with its emphasis on Mexican roots, the group decided to drastically change its music. They undertook a musical apprenticeship in which members of *Los Lobos* learned traditional acoustic instruments and regional styles of Mexican music and song. A 1978 album, "Just Another Band from East L.A." highlights this musical rediscovery with *rancheras*, *boleros*, *sones jarochos*, and music of the *huasteca* region of Mexico. In 1981, the band began to explore a synthesis of roots rock, country, blues, and Texas-Mexican *norteña* music in their own compositions. *Los Lobos* have succeeded in creating a unique blend of music on three recent albums. The first of these recordings, . . . *and a time to dance*, won a Grammy in 1983. Their two most recent albums, *How Will the Wolf Survive?* (1984) and *By the Light of the Moon* (1987) incorporate social commentary into a style which has won acceptance among mixed Anglo and Chicano audiences. Like Ritchie Valens, *Los Lobos* have successfully blended a wide variety of styles from North American and Mexican music into unique synthesis. As Frank Del Olmo recently noted, "*Los Lobos* play up their ethnic background and draw white, mainstream rock fans into it."⁴⁰

The songs and music of the Chicano movement of the 1960s and the subsequent cultural renaissance and political struggles which it launched comprise the fifth and final topic which I shall consider. The farm workers' movement and *El Teatro Campesino* (The Farm Workers' Theater) were important and early influences on the Chicano movement in urban areas of the state. The efforts to organize farm workers in the agricultural valleys stimulated a variety of musical expressions which emphasized Mexican cultural identity as well as social protest. *El Teatro Campesino* produced two records during the farm workers' strikes of the 1960s which are now out of print. A new recording of these songs was produced in 1976 by this group under the title "*¡Huelga en general!*" It is well to keep in mind, however, that

recent militancy and political activism (and the music associated with these developments) have deep historical roots in the Mexican communities of California. The relative lack of documentation of nineteenth-century songs with social and political commentary in their lyrics reflects—as noted earlier—the romantic biases and predispositions of the observers who recorded the musical life of this period. In reality, the nineteenth century was a turbulent era with many expressions of protest and political activity in the Mexican community.⁴¹

The *corrido* (ballad) tradition in twentieth-century California is a major vehicle of social commentary and protest. It has not been as well studied in this state as it has, for example, in Texas.⁴² Nevertheless the *corrido* is the best starting place for understanding the cultural background of modern protest songs. It is this tradition which links the music of the present generation with that of earlier immigrants from Mexico. The earlier roots of this music—particularly in the Mexican *corrido* tradition—are exemplified by studies of California singers and songs by Terrence L. Hansen, Bess Lomax Hawes, and Luis Leal.⁴³ For a guide to this literature and other features of Mexican American traditional songs and music, see the chapter on “Singing, Dancing, and Music Making Traditions” in my *An Annotated Bibliography of Chicano Folklore from the Southwestern United States*.⁴⁴

Two studies based on extensive field recordings document the compositions of contemporary singers who compose in the *corrido* tradition. Philip Sonnichsen's M.A. thesis focuses on the life and songs of a Mexican American prisoner who composed ballads about the leaders of the Chicano movement.⁴⁵ My dissertation is a study of two Mexican American farm-worker singers involved in the United Farm Workers' Union.⁴⁶ It documents the local traditions of songmaking in which composers recount and comment upon their experiences as immigrants and rank-and-file strikers. In 1977, the UCLA Center for the Study of Comparative Folklore and Mythology issued a long-playing record album of selections from my field recordings of these singers under the title “*Las voces de los campesinos*.”

A 1980 collection of *corridos*, largely from the Santa Barbara and Santa Paula areas, was published in a book with selections on a record album, both entitled *Corridos y canciones de Aztlán*.⁴⁷ This book and recording include numerous examples of materials from oral tradition which touch on local events and the farm workers' struggles.

Topical *corridos*, primarily from commercial recordings, have been considered in Herrera-Sobek's *The Bracero Experience*, mentioned earlier, and in Dan Dickey's *The Kennedy Corridos*.⁴⁸ The latter work—although drawing upon recordings from Texas—points out an important theme in Mexican American balladry. President John F. Kennedy and his brother Robert F. Kennedy were lionized in Mexican American communities throughout the country. They also were the subjects of numerous recorded *corridos* by Mexican American singers. These recordings about the Kennedys are excellent examples of the most recent stage in the evolution of the tradition of the broadside *corrido* from printed *hojas sueltas* during the Mexican Revolution to 78 r.p.m. recordings in the 1920s and 1930s to present-day 45 r.p.m. records. These broadsides, stamped in vinyl, are often produced soon after the events which they comment upon or recount. A study similar to Dickey's research into Mexican American ballads about President Kennedy could be undertaken on songs which appeared on commercial records during the 1960s and 1970s about César Chávez in California.

In California, topical songs, especially on 45 r.p.m. records and on independently produced record albums, are important outlets for poets and songmakers who wish

to comment on social conditions in their communities. Perhaps the most common form of this expression is found on 45 r.p.m. records produced by small companies such as *Discos Caminante* of San Jose, California. Their recent "*La vengansa del mojado*" is just one example of numerous songs composed and recorded by local musicians which appear in *barrio* record stores. Frequently employing a *mariachi* or *norteño* back-up ensemble, these *corridos* recount community tragedies, speak of the experiences of immigrants from Mexico, or celebrate Chicano heroes or leaders from a working-class perspective.

Another approach to songs of social significance is found on usually self-produced record albums by young socially and politically committed Chicano singers and musicians. These ensembles reflect a variety of personal songmaking styles and musical tastes. Daniel Valdez' album, "*Mestizo*," is an important and early example of songs which incorporate themes of farm workers, social justice, and ethnic identity. It has recently been reissued on cassette by *El Teatro Campesino* after being out of print for many years. Agustín Lira of Fresno sings his compositions about the lives of farm workers on his first album "*From the Fields to a New Beginning/Desde los campos a un distinto comienzo*." Included on this record is his moving song about the farm workers' historic march from Delano to Sacramento in 1966, "*La peregrinación*." San Diego's *Los Alacranes Mojados* sing compositions incorporating border and farm worker themes as well as "*Chicano Park Samba*" about the struggle to establish a cultural center in the San Diego *barrio* of Logan Heights. "*¡Sí se puede!*", an album produced in 1976 to highlight the farm workers' struggle, features the first recordings by *Los Lobos* and appearances by numerous other artists from Los Angeles. Al Reyes of Fresno sings his compositions about farm workers, Viet Nam veterans, and Chicano life in the San Joaquin Valley on his "*California Corazón*" album.

De Colores, an ensemble from Santa Rosa, sing a combination of Chicano *corridos*, other traditional songs from Latin America, and *la nueva canción* (new song), the protest songs with roots in recent Latin American liberation struggles. José-Luis Orozco, a young Mexican singer now residing in the San Francisco Bay area, sings a selection of Mexican and Chicano *corridos* and songs on "*160 años del corrido mexicano y chicano*" and "*Yo soy chicano*." His "*Lírica infantil con José-Luis Orozco*" presents children's songs and games in Spanish. Two recent albums by groups whose music expresses the identification of many young singers with Latin American social struggles are "*Los Peludos*" by the group of the same name from San Francisco and "*Formando un puente*" by *Sabiá*, a Los Angeles group heavily influenced by *la nueva canción* movement. Finally, *Casindio* and The Royal Chicano Air Force from Sacramento bring the work of two Chicano poets, José Montoya and Esteban Villa, to lively musical settings blending traditional Mexican music, jazz, and rhythm and blues on their "*Chicano Music All Day*" album. Their songs, while frequently humorous and composed with a poet's awareness of the Chicano vernacular, also evoke a serious response through social criticism and concrete reflections on Chicano life.

Numerous Chicano Studies programs at the University of California campuses and the California State University system have small collections of records which include much material on the music of social commentary and protest associated with the Chicano Movement. These collections may be found at the University of California campuses in Berkeley, Davis, Los Angeles, and Santa Barbara. Stanford University and the California State University campuses in San Diego, Northridge, and Fullerton also have recordings in their Chicano Studies collections. In addition, the Ethnomusicology Archive at the University of California, Los Angeles, has a

collection of materials on phonograph records and field tapes relating to Mexican and Chicano folk music.

The overview of five periods of Mexican music in California presented above suggests a need for new research perspectives and greater attention to preserving and cataloging sound recordings as a source for further study. The music of the early *ranchos* and *pueblos* recorded by romantic and nostalgic writers at the turn of the century needs to be reconsidered in the light of recent social histories which have focused on social change and cultural conflict as central themes of this period of Chicano history.⁴⁹ Many studies of immigrant songs and music of the twentieth century tend to focus on an analysis of song texts and themes and neglect specific consideration of singers and their audiences. Finally, Mexican American urban music, like its counterparts throughout Latin America, has been largely neglected by researchers.⁵⁰ This is perhaps understandable given the retrospective orientation and preference for studies of rural enclaves on the part of many folklorists and ethnomusicologists. However, the experiences of Mexicans in the United States in this century have been largely urban ones. *Barrios* in California cities have served as *foci* for musical life at least since the 1940s. For example, local clubs in downtown and East Los Angeles and the dance bands which they supported in the 1940s and 1950s are important examples of cultural productions directed by Mexicans. This musical scene was particularly significant because it occurred during a time when the prejudices of the entertainment industry severely limited the opportunities of Mexican American musicians. Likewise, the clubs and dance halls associated with Chicano rock-and-roll music in the 1950s and 1960s supported musicians who were largely excluded from the mainstream venues of rock concerts and clubs. These examples suggest only a few of the musical expressions which developed in cities and have been largely ignored by researchers concerned with Mexican music in California.

The cultural diversity within Mexican American communities in California also presents a challenge to students of music from this community. As this discussion of five admittedly overlapping and fluid "periods" of Mexican music in California suggests, musical tastes within the community are subject to a variety of influences over time. This diversity is important to note, not only because of what it indicates about the complexity of expressive styles of Mexican American musicians, but also for the potential insights which it may yield for understanding how and why musical styles are maintained, changed, or rejected in specific social and historical contexts.

At the present, the Mexican community exhibits change and continuity in cultural expression which are rooted in a variety of factors. On the one hand, as a recent history of Mexican Los Angeles argues, "The values and customs that once united the Spanish-speaking residents . . . no longer serve to bind the majority of English-speaking Mexicans to their most ancient traditions. Today, new immigrants from Mexico have as little in common with the Latino upper middle class as they do with the Anglo mainstream."⁵¹ On the other hand, there are continuing cultural and economic conflicts which ensure social unity and cultural continuity. The continuing vitality of the *corrido* tradition among farm workers and some recent immigrants is a good example of this latter trend. Another development is the pan-Latino character of some cultural expression within the Mexican community. This is particularly true of the San Francisco Bay area where increased immigration from Central America, a distinctive social and political climate, and the relative long distance from Mexico have combined to "create an internationalized Latin American atmosphere that distinguishes San Francisco from the Mexican-dominated Hispanic

populations found elsewhere in California."⁵² This pan-Latino identity can be observed in the combinations of Mexican and other Latin American musical performances at celebrations of *Cinco de Mayo*. In short, there are numerous directions evident in music-making in California-Mexican communities. These reflect the constantly evolving character of expressive culture as it relates to different historical experiences and concepts of Mexican identity.

To conclude this discussion, I wish to underscore the need for two parallel directions for research and documentation in which music librarians can play a vital role. First, there is a need to record and preserve the contemporary musical developments in one's immediate community. For example, there are traditions of songs composed about local events in many Mexican communities in our state. Joseph G. Nalven's article on songs from San Diego area *barrios* provides excellent examples of the kind of compositions about local events which California-Mexican singers create using a variety of musical forms.⁵³ New or hybrid musical forms frequently emerge and are not documented during their initial stages. This type of documentation can be carried out in cooperation with existing institutions. Cultural centers such as Plaza de la Raza in East Los Angeles or La Peña in Berkeley frequently produce public programs and performances, but these are rarely recorded. Such centers often lack the funding, equipment, and interest in documenting their activities for the future. In addition, they rarely conceive of themselves as archives. Nevertheless, I believe that these cultural centers would cooperate with a nearby library in order to document their musical programs.

The second area in which music librarians can help to advance research on the music of California-Mexican communities is through increased attention to the discipline of discography. Whereas blues, jazz, and country music scholars have come a long way in terms of documenting sound recordings, practically nothing is known about the numerous regional recording companies and local producers who have made records of Mexican American music in California. This information needs to be gathered and organized into useful discographies. Finally, due to the control many companies and producers maintain over their historically significant but unavailable recordings, it is important that a way be found for making copies of these materials available to researchers. Perhaps legislation is needed in this area so that materials, for example, on early 78 r.p.m. recordings and early Chicano rock-and-roll can be made available. This could be accomplished in the future by requiring copies of each recording to be deposited at the Library of Congress as a part of the copyrighting process. In the meantime, special collections in music libraries may be our best alternative for gathering these recordings on a regional and local basis.



Rosendo Uruchurtu recording Mexican folk songs on Charles F. Lummis' wax cylinder machine, Los Angeles, California, June 5, 1904. Photo by Charles F. Lummis courtesy of the Southwest Museum, copy negative 2431a.



Trio Imperial, Los Angeles, California, ca. 1946. Left to right: José Coría, Eduardo "Lalo" Guerrero, and Mario Sánchez. Photo courtesy of "Lalo" Guerrero.



Los Lobos with push-button accordion and *bajo sexto* in a recent publicity photo. Left to right: David Hidalgo, Steve Berlin, Conrad Lozano, César Rosas, and Louie Pérez. Photo by Caroline Greyshock courtesy of Los Lobos.

Footnotes

¹This study was completed while I was an Institute of American Cultures Postdoctoral Fellow at the University of California, Los Angeles, Chicano Studies Research Center during 1986-1987. I would like to thank the Center's Director, Professor David Hayes-Bautista, and its staff for their support and kindness during my tenure as a fellow. I also would like to thank Richard Chabrán, Librarian at the Chicano Studies Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles, for his helpful suggestions and criticism of this paper. I am also indebted to Dr. Archie Green and Philip Sonnichsen for their suggestions of recent recordings.

²For a study of the music of the early Spanish missions of California see Owen da Silva, O.F.M., *Mission Music of California* (Santa Barbara, California: The Schauer Printing Studio, Inc., 1941). A recording by the John Biggs Consort presents arrangements of Spanish, Mexican, and California Indian music and songs from the missions. See *California Mission Music*, KSK Recording KSK-75218 produced for University Extension and Extension Media Center, University of California, Berkeley, 1974.

³See, for example, Arthur L. Campa, *Spanish Folk-Poetry in New Mexico* (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1946) and Américo Paredes, *A Texas-Mexican Cancionero: Folksongs of the Lower Border* (Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1976).

⁴The romanticizing of early California-Mexican folklore is discussed by Stanley L. Robe in "Problems in Mexican American Folk Tradition: The Southern California Scene," in *Contemporary Mexico: Papers of the 4th International Congress of Mexican History*, ed. James Wilkie, Michael Meyer, and Edna Monzón de Wilkie (Berkeley and Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Studies, 29, 1976), pp. 542-549

⁵For a discussion of the historical contexts of this romanticization, see Carey McWilliams, *North From Mexico: The Spanish-Speaking Peoples of the United States* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1968), pp. 35-47 and Leonard Pitt, *The Decline of the Californios: A Social History of the Spanish-Speaking Californians, 1846-1890* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1966), pp. 277-296.

⁶For a comprehensive survey of views of Mexicans and Mexican Americans by Anglo writers, see Cecil Robinson, *Mexico and the Hispanic Southwest in American Literature* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1977).

⁷Howard Swan makes this claim in *Music in the Southwest 1825-1950* (San Marino, California: The Huntington Library, 1952), p. 135. Published in Santa Barbara by the Daily Press, the songster noted by Swan is one of numerous songbooks of nineteenth-century California. For a survey of the contents of many of these early songsters, see *Check List of California Songs* (Berkeley: Work Projects Administration, 1940).

⁸For a consideration of Lummis' folklore collecting, see Michael Heisley, "Lummis and Mexican American Folklore," in *Charles F. Lummis: The Centennial Exhibition*, ed. Daniela P. Moneta (Los Angeles: Southwest Museum, 1985), pp. 60-67, and Danys Jemison, "A New Look at the Lummis Cylinder Recordings," *Masterkey*, 34 (1960), pp. 19-21. Other sources on Lummis' folksong collecting include Dudley C. Gordon, "Charles F. Lummis: Pioneer American Folklorist," *Western Folklore*, 28 (1969), 175-181; Henry Edmond Earle, "An Old-Time Collector; Reminiscences of Charles F. Lummis," *California Folklore Quarterly*, 1 (1942), 179-183; and Frances E. Watkins, "'He Said It With Music': Spanish-California Folk

Songs Recorded by Charles F. Lummis," *California Folklore Quarterly*, 1 (1942), 359-367. For Lummis's own view of his song collecting see his "Catching Our Archaeology Alive," *Out West*, 22 (1905), 35-45.

⁹(New York: G. Schirmer, 1923).

¹⁰See John E. Baur, "José De La Rosa, Early Ventura's Centenarian Printer," *Ventura County Historical Quarterly*, 18:4 (Summer, 1973), pp. 14-25.

¹¹For California Spanish-language songs published by Hague, see *Early Spanish-Californian Folk-Songs* (New York: Fischer, 1922), "El trovador," *Masterkey*, 26:4 (1952), 121; "La música en California," *Anuario de la Sociedad Folklórica de México*, 6 (1945), 83-86; "Some California Songs-I," *Masterkey*, 8:1 (1934), 15-18; "Some California Songs-II," *Masterkey*, 8:4 (1934), 115-117; "California Songs-III," *Masterkey*, 11:3 (1937), 89-93; "Spanish Songs from Southern California," *Journal of American Folklore*, 27 (1914), 331-332; *Spanish-American Folk Songs*, Memoirs of the American Folklore Society, 10 (Lancaster Pennsylvania: American Folklore Society, 1917).

¹²This information comes from "Primary Documentation of the W.P.A. Music Projects in San Francisco," materials provided by Mr. Emerson for his talk at the Joint Meeting of the Northern and Southern California Chapters of the Music Library Association, May 17-18, 1985, Glendale, California.

¹³Sidney Robertson Cowell, "The Recording of Folk Music in California," *California Folklore Quarterly*, 1 (1942), 7-23.

¹⁴Farwell, *Folk-Songs of the West and South: Negro, Cowboy, and Spanish-American* (Newton Center, Massachusetts: The Wa-Wan Press, 1905); McCoy, *Folk Songs of the Spanish Californians* (San Francisco: Sherman and Clay, 1926); and Van der Voort, *Old Spanish Songs as Sung by Sra. Da. María Antonia Jimeno de Arata* (Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Music Shoppe, 1928).

¹⁵Espinosa, "Los romances tradicionales en California" in *Homenaje a Menéndez Pidal*, (Madrid: Librería y Casa Editorial Hernando, 1925), pp. 299-313 and "Folklore de California" in *Miscelánea filológica dedicada a D. Antonio M. Alover* (Palma de Mallorca: Imprenta Vda. de S. Piza, 1932), pp. 111-131.

¹⁶*The Folklore of Spain in the American Southwest: Traditional Spanish Folk Literature in Northern New Mexico and Southern Colorado* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985).

¹⁷Madeleine Fernández, "Romances from the Mexican Tradition of Southern California," *Folklore Americas*, 26 (1966), 35-45.

¹⁸(Palo Alto: Pacific Books, 1950).

¹⁹"Fandangos and bailes: Dancing Events in Early California," *Southern California Quarterly*, 64:2 (Summer, 1982), 99-113.

²⁰(Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930; republished by Dover Publications, New York, 1970), pp. 84-107.

²¹Gamio, p. 70.

²¹See, for example, "Songs of the Mexican Migration," in *Puro Mexicano*, ed. J. Frank Dobie, *Publications of the Texas Folklore Society*. 12 (1935), 221-245.

²³For a selection of some of the Mexican American songs recorded by commercial record companies between 1928 and 1965, see Guillermo Hernández, *Cancionero*

de la Raza: Songs of the Chicano Experience (Berkeley: El Fuego de Aztlán, 1978). The effects of early commercial recordings on traditional songs in Mexican American tradition are considered by Professor Hernández in "From Traditional to Popular Culture: Early Commercial Phonographic Recordings and the Transmission of Texts," *El Mirlo: A National Chicano Studies Newsletter*, 10:3 (Summer, 1983), pp. 1-2 and 5-6.

²⁴For a brief discussion of this ensemble, see Philip Sonnichsen, "Los madrugadores: Early Spanish Radio in California," *La Luz* (June, 1977), pp. 15-18.

²⁵See the album notes by Philip Sonnichsen to "The First Women Duets/*Los primeros duetos femininas*," *Texas-Mexican Border Music, Volume 17* (Folklyric Records 9035).

²⁶(Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications, 1979).

²⁷For recent studies on *carpas* and *tandas*, see Tomás Ybarra-Frausto, "I Can Still Hear the Applause: *La farándula chicana, carpas y tandas de variedad*," in *Hispanic Theater in the United States*, ed. Nicholas Kanellos (Houston: Arte Publico Press, 1984), pp. 45-60 and Museo Nacional de Culturas Populares, *El país de las tandas: teatro de revista, 1900-1940* (Mexico, D.F.: Museo Nacional de Culturas Populares, 1986).

²⁸(Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985).

²⁹Personal interview with "Lalo" Guerrero, February 21, 1986.

³⁰In addition to the works by Sonnichsen cited in notes 24 and 25 above, see "Lalo Guerrero: Pioneer in Mexican American Music," *La Luz* (May, 1977), pp. 11-14; "Hispanic American Music," *La Luz* (September, 1978), pp. 46-50; and "Chicano Music," in *The Folk Music Sourcebook*, ed. Larry Sandberg and Dick Weissman (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976), pp. 44-51.

³¹Loza, "The Musical Life of the Mexican/Chicano People in Los Angeles, 1945-1985: A Study in Maintenance, Change, and Adaptation." Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1985.

³²Pearlman, "Mariachi Music in Los Angeles," *Caminos* (November, 1983), pp. 12 and 47; "Standardization and Innovation in Mariachi Music Performance in Los Angeles," *Pacific Review of Ethnomusicology*, 1 (1984), 1-12.

³³"Ritual Structure in a Chicano Dance," *Latin American Music Review*, 1 (1980), 47-73.

³⁴Rubén Guevara, "The View from the Sixth Street Bridge: The History of Chicano Rock," in *The First Rock & Roll Confidential Report*, ed. David Marsh and the Editors of *Rock & Roll Confidential* (New York: Pantheon, 1985), p. 115.

³⁵Guevara, p. 117.

³⁶See the comments on the record jacket notes to *West Coast Eastside Review, Volume Two* (Ramparts Records 3305) and the notes by Tom Waldman and David Reyes to *The History of Latino Rock, Vol. I, 1956-1965: The Eastside Sound* (Zyanya Records RNL P 061).

³⁷Loza, "The Musical Life of the Mexican/Chicano People in Los Angeles"; Sonnichsen, "Chicano Music"; Guevara, "The View from the Sixth Street Bridge"; and George Lipsitz, "Cruising Around the Historical Bloc—Postmodernism and

Popular Music in East Los Angeles," *Cultural Critique*, 5 (Winter, 1986-1987), 157-177.

³⁸Francisco García-Ayvens and Richard Chabrán, eds. *Chicano Periodical Index: A Cumulative Index to Selected Chicano Periodicals Between 1967 and 1978* (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1981); *Chicano Periodical Index 1979-1981: A Cumulative Index to Selected Periodicals, 1979-1981 With Selected Serials Indexed Retrospectively* (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1983); *Chicano Periodical Index: An Index of Chicano Periodical Literature, 1982-1983* (Berkeley: Chicano Studies Library, 1985); *Chicano Periodical Index: A Comprehensive Subject, Author, and Title Index for 1984-1986* (Berkeley: Chicano Studies Library Publications, 1987); and *Hispanic American Periodicals Index (1970-1974)* (Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications, 1984). Annual supplements to this latter work have been published subsequently in separate volumes for each year for the period 1975-1986. Another useful index is *Chicanos In These Times: A Cumulative Subject Index to Articles About Chicanos in the Los Angeles Times* (Santa Fe Springs, California: ATM Information Services, 1986-). This publication includes listings of articles and reviews on music and Chicanos.

³⁹*The Latin Tinge: The Impact of Latin American Music on the United States* (Tivoli, New York: Original Music, 1985), p. 184.

⁴⁰"Cross-Over Band: Music to Our Ears," *Los Angeles Times*, 18 July, 1985, Sec. 2, p. 7, col. 1.

⁴¹See, for example, Richard Griswold del Castillo, *The Los Angeles Barrio, 1850-1890: A Social History* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1979).

⁴²A classic study of border *corridos* from south Texas is Américo Paredes' *With His Pistol in His Hand* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1958).

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SOURCES FOR RESEARCH CONCERNING MUSIC AMONG INDIANS
OF THE CALIFORNIA REGION

Richard Keeling

Introduction

It is probably fair to say that most of us associate the idea of Indians with other places, such as the rugged Plains or the great American Southwest. When we think of Indians, it is natural for us to envision a line of Sioux warriors on horseback, for example, or a crafty Apache hidden midst a painted desert. After all, these are the images that television and Western movies have made more real than life itself. But in fact, we should think of California when we think of Indians, for in the years before the white man, California was the most densely populated region in all of North America (Kroeber 1953:134-42).

It is generally recognized that there were about sixty tribes in California (Heizer, in *Handbook* 1978:1), but in considering musical traditions of the California Indians, it has been useful to recognize the following seven sub-regions or stylistic divisions within the area as a whole:

- 1) *Northwestern California*: Yurok, Tolowa, Hupa, Karok
- 2) *Northeastern California*: Achumawi, Atsugewi, Modoc, Northern Paiute
- 3) *North-Central California*: Yuki, Pomo, Wintun, Nomlaki, Patwin, Coast Miwok, Lake Miwok
- 4) *Sierra Nevada Region*: Maidu, Concow, Nisenan, Sierra Miwok, and adjacent Basin tribes
- 5) *San Joaquin Valley*: Yokuts, Western Mono, and westerly coastal peoples (Costanoan)
- 6) *Southern California*: Cahuilla, Chumash, Luiseño, Diegueño
- 7) *Southeastern California (Colorado River Region)*: Mohave, Yuman, Chemehuevi

In studying California Indian cultures, it is important to recognize that different areas of the state were settled by Euro-Americans at different periods and under vastly different circumstances. This has significantly affected our available evidence concerning musical practices of the various tribes. For example, tribes of the northern and Sierra Nevada regions had virtually no contact with whites for nearly three hundred years after cultures of the southern coastal Indians had been affected by Spanish contact. Thus, while many of the latter tribes were extinct or acculturated by 1800, some of the northerly Indians did not even know whites existed until 1830 or so (Pilling, in *Handbook* 1978:140-41).

Ethnographic Sources

The earliest ethnographic study was Stephen Powers' *Tribes of California*, published in 1877 and based upon the author's travels in 1871 and 1872. Powers was a journalist, and not an anthropologist *per se*. Thus, many readers might be offended by his sensational tone, or by his Victorian presumptions. But this is still our single most valuable source on California Indians based on observations made before 1900. Powers does not address the Indians' musical practices specifically, but he does provide vivid descriptions of rituals in which singing was a major element. Also, the

book includes rough musical notations for six Indian songs transcribed from memory.

In 1901, ethnographic research began in earnest with the founding of the Department and Museum of Anthropology at UC Berkeley. The series entitled *University of California Publications in American Archeology and Ethnology* (UCPAAE) was launched in 1903 with the appearance of Goddard's *Life and Culture of the Hupa*. Then there followed a steady stream of publications concerning the cultural life of California's native peoples. Social customs, languages, folklore, religion — all were documented early enough to capture the recollections of elderly Indians who had been born before the Gold Rush. In all, the series contains 241 separately authored contributions, published in 50 volumes spanning the period from 1903 to 1964.

This continuing research owed mainly to the efforts of Alfred L. Kroeber, author of the monumental *Handbook of the Indians of California* (1925). Kroeber not only wrote the *Handbook* and more than seventy other publications on California Indians, but he also coordinated the work of other major investigators in the area. Through the years between 1900 and 1940, Kroeber raised funds to support the fieldwork of his graduate students and colleagues and also saw that their research was published in the UCPAAE series.

Published Writings on California Indian Music

Ironically, the great volume of data which has been collected on Indian cultures generally is matched by a real scarcity of published writings on the Indians' music. California has been called the most abundantly documented region in ethnographic literature world-wide (Bean and Blackburn 1976:5); yet California Indian music has remained perhaps the least known of all North American styles (Vennum 1979:349).

Kroeber himself noted the central importance of music as a dimension of culture and apologizes in his prefatory remarks for having omitted to describe the Indians' singing in his *Handbook of the California Indians* (1925:viii). This gap in the cultural record has scarcely been narrowed over the years, and in a volume recently published by the Smithsonian Institution, William Wallace summarized the state of our knowledge on the subject as follows:

California Indian music represents a neglected field of research, and there is no comprehensive study of the whole field. Too few ethnologists have given consideration to music as a significant component of culture (Wallace, in *Handbook* 1978:648).

There are actually annually a number of studies concerning the music of specific tribes, and the Bibliography that follows includes about forty-five titles. Most of these works are of limited value for future research, but a couple of them deserve special mention.

George Herzog's study entitled *The Yuman Musical Style* (1928) is a model of descriptive method that has probably influenced nearly all subsequent researchers on musical traditions of North American tribal groups. The study is based upon a huge corpus of Mohave songs that were collected by Kroeber in the early 1900s.

Another important essay is *La Musique des Indiens de la Californie du Nord*, written in 1931 by Jaime de Angulo and Marguerite d'Harcourt. Angulo was born in Spain around 1890, but he was brought up in France. He emigrated to the United States in his teens and became a cowboy in Wyoming. By 1910 or so, he had

established himself as a horse rancher in Modoc County and he remained in California most of his life. Rancher, medical doctor, novelist, and student of folklore — Angulo was a man of many parts and one of the most remarkable characters in California history. He spoke several California Indian languages and served as a translator for Kroeber and other academic researchers. It would be easy to digress and discuss Angulo's life at greater length, but for now suffice it to say that his essay is loaded with useful insights on the Indians' singing.

On the whole, however, the published literature is weak. Our resultant lack of knowledge is reflected in reference works such as *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1980:Vol. XIII, 292-320) and in other general studies of North American Indian music. For example, a recent chapter on the subject not only omitted California tribes from textual discussion but also failed to recognize the area on a culture-map provided (MacAllester, in May, *Musics of Many Cultures* 1980:307-31).

Only two studies have seriously attempted to describe the music of the California tribes in relation to that of other culture areas in North America: Helen Roberts' essay, "Musical Areas in Aboriginal North America" (1936) and Bruno Nettl's lengthy paper, "North American Indian Musical Styles" (1954). Nettl criticizes the earlier study by Helen Roberts mainly on the grounds that it focused on distribution of musical instruments rather than on musical styles *per se* (Nettl 1954:3). Roberts makes some interesting comments about Indian music in California, but she devotes only two pages to the subject (Roberts 1970:30-32). This is especially regrettable since she conducted more fieldwork in the area than any other music specialist — mainly during the 1920s. Roberts published a most important study on music of the Luiseño Indians and neighboring Southern California tribes (*Form in Primitive Music*, 1933), and she collected wax cylinder recordings among various tribes of northwestern and north-central California. These recordings, along with well-organized field notes, were donated to the Library of Congress in 1937.

As I mentioned, Bruno Nettl criticized Helen Roberts' study as being superficial (Nettl 1954:3), but Nettl's own analysis presents more serious problems. Ostensibly, his essay attempts to characterize musical style of the California culture area, generally. However, Nettl never conducted fieldwork in California, and his analysis is biased by the nature of the secondary sources that were available to him. Specifically, Nettl focuses on southern California and the Yuman tribes as described in Herzog's fine study (1928). He gives little recognition to the more distinctively Californian styles in the central and northerly regions (cf. Kroeber 1936:105).

Nettl cites two traits as typifying California Indian song performance: "(1) a relaxed, non-pulsating vocal technique . . . and (2) the Rise, a type of melodic movement" (Nettl 1954:301-302). However, these traits characterize neither the singing of California Indians generally, nor that of the adjacent Southwestern tribes; rather, they typify the Yuman tribes of the Colorado River area. The Yuman tribes extend into California, but are more properly viewed as marginal to the area.

In this sense, Nettl's influential study has created mistaken impressions of California Indian music for nearly thirty years since it was published. Today, the special qualities of music among Indians of California culture area remain largely undefined in the literature of ethnomusicology. And this important gap tends to distort our image of North American Indian music in the largest sense.

Archival Sources

The most important single source of archival recordings is the Lowie Museum of Anthropology (UC, Berkeley). The audio archive contains recordings from various regions of California that were collected by Kroeber, Samuel Barrett, Pliny Earle Goddard, T.T. Wasterman, Edward Gifford, and other major researchers who began distinguished careers on the basis of their California fieldwork.

The core of the collection consists of 2,712 items originally recorded on wax cylinders, and the research value of these early (1900-1930) recordings is enhanced by excellent documentation (musical transcriptions, textual translations, and other ethnographic information) that can be found in published writings or in manuscripts currently located in the University Archives (Bancroft Library).

Since 1930, an even greater corpus (figured in hours) of California Indian music has been accessioned. Despite their later date, these recordings on tape have special value relative to the wax cylinders. The cylinders not only limited collectors with respect to length (a maximum duration of about four minutes is typical), but also in microphone amplification. Indeed, there was none on the Edison-type machine, and the sound source was collected through the same conical tube that was employed for playback. Although more than one performer can be heard at once on some of the recordings, the collectors' habit was to feature a single performer. Thus, there are less than twenty cylinder recordings that preserve evidence of ensemble singing techniques.

Since various types of multi-part singing are a striking characteristic of California Indian music, this tendency to record only solo performances was most critical. It limits the research value of wax cylinder recordings in most collections. But fortunately, our tape collection at the Lowie Museum contains many tape recordings that fill this gap in the evidence.

Presently, we are in the final stages of the California Indian Music Project, a two-year effort that had two main goals:

- 1) To distribute duplicate recordings among Indians in (mainly rural) communities throughout California, and
- 2) To prepare a catalog of the ethnographic sound recordings among our holdings.

A preliminary draft of the catalog has recently been completed. This *Annotated Guide to Ethnographic Sound Recordings at the Lowie Museum of Anthropology* (a working title) cites documentation for all California Indian recordings among our holdings and contains a listing of 299 references cited.

Although this is the single most important archive for research on the subject, other collections of cylinder recordings need to be mentioned. In some cases, they preserve recorded evidence of tribal groups not represented among the Lowie Museum's holdings. These include the following institutions:

- 1) The Archives of Traditional Music (University of Indiana at Bloomington)
- 2) The American Museum of Natural History (New York)
- 3) The Southwest Museum (Los Angeles), and
- 4) The Library of Congress (Washington, D.C.)

Prospects for Future Investigation

Even though Indian populations were severely reduced during the settlement of California by white people, it is totally incorrect to think of the Indians as extinct. Judging by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) roll for 1970, there are at least 70,000 Indians in California (Cook, in *Handbook* 178:93). Today, in rural communities all over the State, Indians are trying to recover information concerning traditional arts, and in many areas ceremonies have been revived that were once considered extinct. There is, indeed, a renaissance of Indian music in California and a great need for support and feedback from the scholarly community. I only hope that within five years we shall have the general study that can endow these musical traditions with the recognition they deserve.

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CELESTIAL NAVIGATION ON THE GOLD MOUNTAIN

Ronald Riddle

The following piece is a more or less verbatim rendering of an informal talk which I gave to assembled librarians and fellow-travelers in Glendale. I say "more or less" because the remarks were designed strictly for oral presentation, and I have accordingly omitted occasional anecdotal meanderings. I would emphasize that research on the musical cultures of American Asian minority communities is not an uncommon activity in the present decade, and indeed much bibliographical help is now available to the researcher. This was not the case when I first dove into the uncharted waters described below. The adventures that I write about occurred as I gathered material for what would become my dissertation *Chinatown's Music: Music and Music-drama in San Francisco's Chinese Community*. University of Illinois, 1976), later transmogrified into the book, *Flying Dragons, Flowing Streams* (Greenwood Press, 1983). Unlike the talk below, the book is not without organization and sobriety. The talk, by contrast, might well have been titled, "How I Done My Dissertation" and combines reminiscence with an expression of lifelong affection for librarians, who really made so much of this work possible and who continue to assist me in further delights and misadventures. Note: "Gold Mountain" is from the idiomatic Cantonese, meaning "San Francisco." America's Chinese immigration began in Gold Rush days, when tens of thousands of "Celestials" (as they were often referred to in those days) sailed from southern China to seek their fortune in San Francisco and, incidentally, to transplant a fascinating musical culture.

My experience with California celestial research begins in the early seventies, when I arrived in San Francisco fresh from the Illinois prairie. I was no stranger to the region, having grown up across the bay in Berkeley, but I was certainly a pluperfect stranger to the community about whose musical life I proposed to write my doctoral dissertation.

I had been warned by an anthropologist on my committee that San Francisco's Chinatown might not *have* a musical culture. After all, what evidence existed that it did? I explained, through some kind of logic, that a total lack of a musical culture was itself a viable subject for a dissertation; and indeed to write the world's *thinnest* dissertation would amount to a distinction of sorts.

But in truth I knew by instinct—bolstered by experience among urban populations in Taiwan and Hong Kong—that I would find a musical life that thrived beneath the surface. And I was consoled that if I *was* wrong, San Francisco was a lovely place in which to be unemployed.

I planned a project consisting of about equal parts of field and historical research. And I was *ultra*-intrigued with the idea—not just because of my abiding fascination with Chinese music, but because I would be doing major research on a subject for which there existed *only* primary sources: no one, to my knowledge, had written as much as a single article on the musical culture of *any* overseas-Chinese community, let alone San Francisco's Chinatown.

In this scenario, we now fade out from Urbana, Illinois, to a shot of an aging graduate student standing in a telephone booth at the corner of Grant Avenue and Washington Street. He seeks to meet people to interview. He is dressed in a suit and

tie and carries an attaché case. He is a Ph.D. candidate, so it does not immediately occur to him that he is a damn fool. It will take a few weeks for this to penetrate his thick skull: any Caucasian man who walks around Chinatown in the midday sun in formal attire and with an attaché case is probably up to no good. He is either out to ask awkward questions about Internal Revenue obligations or to document some fussy matters regarding immigration records. I would learn.

Anyway, I'm standing in this phone booth in my first stage of research, namely going through the Yellow Pages, making a list of entries under the heading *Chinese*. I remember this little scene with something approaching total recall—even the items I wrote down, most of which turned out to be of no use whatever. During the years of research that followed, I typically spent my nights as an interviewer, observer, and occasional participant in Chinatown's musical life. My days were spent in libraries, tracking down the past, through myriad sources of information stretching back to the mid-nineteenth century, when America's Chinese immigration began, after reports about gold at Sutter's Mill made their way to Canton and the surrounding countryside.

After some years of a crazy-quilt pattern of field and historical research, I was able to document the existence of a rich musical culture indeed. My experience in this multifaceted project plus subsequent research—forays into Asian-American musical life have served to underscore in my mind a number of considerations about the nature and location of research materials dealing with California's Asian populations.

I shall pass over, for the most part, my fieldwork experiences as not being appropriate for this particular meeting and—especially regarding my early blunders—not suitable to be read aloud at the family hearth. But as for research in libraries and the like, I have had a heavy and continuing dose.

Several basic approaches which I had learned in earlier years resurfaced in my mind as I worked. As a composer I had learned the obvious point that it is often best to avoid the obvious, as long as the avoidance itself does not become obvious. And as an Army basic trainee many years earlier I had learned a valuable fact during night maneuvers, namely that in order to see something clearly you must never stare at it directly. If you do, it will disappear. But if you simply focus on things to the left and right of it, and above and below, the object in question will remain confidently secure in your peripheral vision. These were comforting thoughts as I sailed into uncharted seas where little would be obvious and focal points were few and far between.

This long and serendipitous voyage would include a number of surprising and seemingly irrelevant ports of call. Fortunately I'm a fast reader, and even more fortunately I did not discourage easily, since I'm a buff: I enjoy reading virtually everything that has to do with the Chinese experience in America, however far afield the subject matter might be from music as such.

So I plowed through literally thousands of pages of newspapers and magazines dating back to the eighteen-forties. I struggled through materials in European languages, even some things in Chinese—though my classroom training in that language did not anticipate the special nature of journalistic Chinese, which is almost a separate language. I read countless travelers' accounts of California in the nineteenth century, unearthing tons of irrelevant Victorian prose for every precious nugget that dealt with Chinese musical life.

I went through old city directories, shipping data, and fiction and reminiscent essays and letters by such early Californians as Mark Twain and Bret Harte and Mary

Austin and Ambrose Bierce. I went through a delightful assortment of old scrapbooks, personal letters, and diary jottings, which are kept in Fort Knox-like security at the Bancroft Library in Berkeley. I gradually became aware of a multitude of historical societies throughout California—city, county, state, ethnic—some of which publish newsletters and other items. I was dealing with a restless and peripatetic people who would not stay in one place for the convenience of the historical researcher. The Chinese were everywhere in nineteenth-century California. No municipality or mining site or sizable farm was without a Chinese or contingent of them. And where there were Chinese there was evidence of their culture, so handily portable and so pervasive.

To say I *sifted* through a mountain of material is not quite the case; rather my activity was like that of a hungry baleen whale—I just opened my mouth and took it all in. I would estimate that perhaps one half of one percent of what I read would find its way directly into my written research-results. I have never regretted having ingested all this ostensibly useless information, because I have an abiding belief that nothing relating to California's Chinese is *unrelated* to their musical culture.

But not all researchers have an omnivorous appetite and a dilettantish tolerance for digression and time-consuming side-trips. To serve the more impatiently goal-directed, libraries might well help to improve focus and efficiency in areas of ethnic tradition in which little indigenous material exists that relates directly to the chosen subject. Newspaper indexing is one area that is in serious need of improvement.

My own newspaper reading was prodigious, as indeed the archived materials seemed infinite. Most of my newspaper research took place at the Bancroft and newspaper libraries of the Berkeley Campus, the San Francisco Public Library, and the California State Library in Sacramento. There are two large problems that accompany the vast richness of these collections—as decidedly is the case with *all* such collections that I am aware of. The first is heartbreaking, the second merely a chronic and often royal pain felt lower down. The heartbreaking part is that every file of newspapers everywhere is incomplete—assuming that the newspaper lasted for more than one issue. I exaggerate, perhaps, but the researcher cannot help but feel that the single issue that is missing from a given month's collection is the very one with the news item or feature story that will provide the crux for a whole new historical outlook. What can be done about these ubiquitous gaps? I guess that if we knew, the gaps would not exist; but perhaps efforts could be made to plead for a donation—at least for photocopying—of any newspaper that emerges from an old attic or as the lining of an old dresser drawer or steamer trunk among a family's effects. And, ideally, clearinghouses for such donations could be established.

The second problem is more readily soluble, requiring only money. That is the indexing, the *thorough* indexing of all newspapers—which is to say *every* news-related proper noun that appears, and an extensive and exhaustive referencing and cross-referencing of subject matter. The only newspaper that I am aware has systematically done this for years is the *New York Times*, and *its* indexes, useful as they are, are far from complete. Given the funds, such indexing for any paper requires only time and competent personnel. Perhaps computers will help (you know more about this than I do), but I think nothing less than an all-inclusive approach will solve the problem. As anyone knows who is involved in *any* area of historical investigation, what is journalistically important at a given time will be less so in some future historical cycle; and what is *less* important will be *more* so in years to come. A case in point: At this juncture, American minority groups *are* important, and thus their musical cultures are important. But a hundred years ago, America's

Chinese, as an example, were important only as an economic threat (and source of exploitation) on one hand, and an object of ridicule on the other. I have uncovered innumerable accounts of Chinese life—with or without music—in which one must sort out with lapidary tedium the rare particles of usable fact among the cackles, guffaws, and labored hyperbole of nineteenth-century writers. "John Chinaman" was quaint and laughable when he wasn't being a menace to all right-thinking and gentle denizens of Gold Rush California. I have reprinted verbatim many such accounts—typically of the tomcat-yowling and boiler-factory cacophony of Chinese opera in Chinatown and of the risible behavior of its pigtailed audience. Most of this is pretty sorry stuff all round; but a conscientious indexer of, say, a farcical account of a Chinese opera or funeral might well take note of any mentions of specific instruments or performance techniques, which even the most determinedly Rabelaisian of reporters might let slip through.

One reason for the crucial nature of newspaper indexing in this specific area is that there are not available *Chinese* accounts of early musical life in their community in nineteenth-century San Francisco. America's Chinese—now one of the highest academic achieving sectors of our population—was once largely illiterate; and Chinese newspapers did not appear in America's cities till late in the nineteenth century, after nearly half a century of Chinese settlement. Even then—as now—they took little if any note of musical and dramatic goings-on. The activities of professional actors and musicians (traditionally at the bottom of the Chinese social scale) were not regarded as a fit subject for the serious Chinese reader, much as those performers' art served to brighten the otherwise dull and arduous existence in an often hostile New World. So there's not much to find in the *Chinese* press to offset the inaccuracies and gross ridicule that color the white man's reportage—but sadly, that is about the only reportage we have got.

I would also mention some other sources that I encountered along the way and which proved valuable to my written research. One is the publications that have emanated from time to time from the many music clubs that form part of the vast panoply of organized social groups in the urban Chinese community. The Chinese are by nature inveterate joiners and organizers. It is said that any time you get two Chinese together you have an argument, but that if you get *three* Chinese together you have an opera club. The Chinese are, after all, the real inventors of opera as well as bureaucracy. Even the traditional Chinese heaven is a highly organized bureaucracy for which the recently departed mortal is provided an ample supply of paper money in order that suitable bribes can be offered to officials as one rises from one level to another in the celestial table of organization. And if the Chinese heaven contains opera clubs—of which I have no doubt—then these organizations will put out occasional commemorative volumes, like their earthly counterparts. I have managed to accumulate such terrestrial volumes from three different clubs, printed in Chinese for the most part and ranging over different decades. As a researcher in urban Chinese music, I would place such a volume's value at a rank slightly below that of a Gutenberg Bible and considerably above anything that is ordinarily available in a research library. The moral of this, stated briefly, is that the internal publications of the multitude of Chinese social, professional, and service clubs ought to be sought for by any library that wants to do justice to scholarship involving the social history of the Chinese community.

These observations are stated with necessary brevity and are based on my direct experience. More recent research which I have made into Korean and Japanese community life reinforces in my mind that the need for both extensive newspaper indexing and the acquisition of privately printed intramural publications is just as

urgently needed to provide the raw materials for scholarship in other Asian groups and indeed all ethnic minority groups on this continent. The Chinese, who it appears also invented *history*—together with paper, the chromatic scale, movable-type printing, the compass, the wheelbarrow, the egg roll, and probably libraries—have established excellent historical societies in both San Francisco and Los Angeles. These are of incalculable help to any aspiring researcher, whether the individual is headed for field or historical research. One would hope that similar institutions will emerge in, say, the Filipino, Korean, and Japanese communities. Many useful research facilities are available from the consulates of these and other Asian countries, but, like many of my colleagues, I have a traditional distrust of official government sources, much as I depend on a particular government source for my livelihood, my medical and dental care, and the freedom to take a day off to deliver a few words of love and gratitude about two ethnic groups whose existence I shall always cherish—namely the Chinese and the Librarians. Both of these enlightened peoples have made it possible for me to learn immeasurably about the overall cultural heritage that we all have the privilege to share.



The Flowing Stream Ensemble of San Francisco
— photo courtesy of the Ensemble

PRIMARY DOCUMENTATION OF CALIFORNIA COMPOSERS

Catherine Parsons Smith

The purpose of this article is to propose two projects, both essential if we are to know enough about our musical past to savor or study it fully in the future. An appendix listing composers known to have been active in the Los Angeles area between 1918-1941 is provided in support of my proposals.

First, there is an immediate and urgent need to find and insure the preservation of the extensive primary resources on music in California which are not yet in libraries. Some of these resources are now so precariously situated or so undervalued that they are in danger of being destroyed or lost; others are in the possession of individuals who would like to see them preserved but are uncertain how to achieve that end.

"Music in California" here means not just examples of music from other places as it has appeared here, but also music composed within the state, no matter who composed it or what it's like. It's essential for this collecting project that the phrase "music in California" be given a very broad interpretation. Libraries really do need to collect good-sized samples of everything concerning music, no matter how bad or commonplace or even unmusical it now seems. Music traditions that seem fixed at any given moment may be in fact quite transitory and vulnerable to destruction. We can't know who is going to be interested in them or what our successors will make of them, and so we should be very cautious before we consign one or another of them blithely to oblivion by failing to preserve it.

Second, there is a crying need for a published guide to the music resources, particularly those on music in California, which are already in California libraries. The guide should cover as many libraries as possible, whether or not they contain special music sections or departments. It should be prepared and published as soon as possible, then followed by periodic supplements which reflect the ongoing acquisition and inventorying of primary sources. Such a guide will surely stimulate further research and new insights into California's variegated music cultures.

The balance of the paper is intended to support its stated purposes with examples from its author's bibliographic adventures in connection with the rediscovery of California composer Mary Carr Moore (1873-1957) and her cultural *milieu*. The fruits of this research, most of which has been a joint project with Cynthia S. Richardson of Western Washington University, now include a biography, *Mary Carr Moore: American Composer* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1987), a reprint (Da Capo 1981) of Moore's opera *David Rizzio* (New York: Da Capo, 1981), and a record of Moore's songs (Cambria C-1022), as well as several articles and numerous talks. A second reprint, *Twenty-Four Songs by Mary Carr Moore* (Da Capo, planned for 1989), is in the offing, as are further, so far less well-defined projects.

What has become a voyage of discovery about California's indigenous music culture began with the preparation of a brief survey of women in American musical life in 1975. From this very modest beginning it moved to a specific interest in Moore, whose determination to compose operas and other extended works made her stand out. Working with Moore has led to other topics whose existence was unsuspected at the start. Most of these are connected with the First Los Angeles School, the name Richardson and I assigned to the musical life of Los Angeles. The First Los Angeles

School included many now unknown composers both male and female, from its early years up to the start of World War II.

Our finds of primary source material concerning Moore and her culture have been dramatic. Shortly before our individual quests brought us together and we began our collaboration, we had located between us little more than a handful of articles, including some error-plagued entries in biographical dictionaries; one person who had studied with Moore; and one box of her music—scarcely enough for an article. At that point a lucky "hit" turned up the married name of Moore's daughter in a current Orange County phone book. Before long I found myself in San Marcos, in a hot and dusty garage belong to the daughter's grandson, going through eight rusted file drawers and five dusty, once-waterlogged boxes while the daughter made notes. There were some 20 scrapbooks covering almost 50 years; a typewritten autobiography taking Moore up to her mid-30's; and quantities of music, most of it in manuscript.

The family's holdings and their cooperation did not stop there. Mrs. Quinn, Moore's daughter, discovered more items after the episode of the garage. There were datebooks covering 25 years of Moore's activity. There was a red leather-bound journal which contained, miraculously, a handwritten catalog listing and dating Moore's 388 compositions as well as giving dates of major personal events. There were scrapbooks assembled by her mother and grandmother, and lots of photos. Now most of these items are at UCLA in the Mary Carr Moore Archive, which has swelled from from one box to 30. In the course of all this, we addressed innumerable questions to Mrs. Quinn. We received patient, gracious answers to them all.

We asked virtually everyone we could think of for help in interpreting our find. In addition to the scholars who have been unfailingly generous, we began to interview persons who had known Moore as friend, colleague, or teacher. Neither of us had experience with oral history, but we wanted to follow where the material led. Our procedure was often informal, though we always made notes and often taped the interviews as well. Few of the people we talked to are famous, and most are rather shy and private individuals who were mildly surprised that anyone was interested in their opinions or recollections or mementos at all. The interviews (more than 70) helped us immeasurably in getting the atmosphere of Moore's life and times clear, for Victorian ladies like Moore were reticent about their personal lives. Often we were able to borrow music, letters, and other kinds of materials, most of them unique. It goes without saying that living subjects continue to age, even as do their interviewers. Several of our subjects have died since we talked to them, and there are others we missed who would have been around had we started a little sooner . . .

Using library resources to complement the materials in private hands and the interviews was something of a game. Moore was sufficiently obscure beyond the limits of her strong regional reputation, and her culture was so little recorded that there are relatively few catalog entries which lead directly to information about her. One useful gambit was to try other names in the card file of the now-obscure persons which developed almost of its own accord in the course of my search. Another was to listen carefully as the reference librarian described an archive and its organization. More than once this led to something that neither of us had thought would be productive. There isn't space here to list all the libraries we consulted and what we found that was useful for our project. A few examples from the several dozen we consulted with unique and relevant materials, however, give some of the flavor of our search.

The California State Library in Sacramento has biography cards filled out by prominent Californians, including Moore and others in her family. Three early songs are there and only there. A newspaper index there yielded information about Moore's 1925 San Francisco production of the opera *Narcissa*, including a lawsuit that her papers don't record.

The Huntington Library, although it does not list Los Angeles music or American music among its specialties, houses the papers of Los Angeles English teacher and writer Neeta Marquis, with whom Moore had an uneasy collaboration on the opera *Los Rubios*. In the apparent absence of a major stash of papers about the Federal Music Project in southern California, the papers of supervisor John Anson Ford gave the flavor of the political atmosphere which surrounded the WPA overall in Los Angeles. Since this paper was read in 1985, the author has investigated Collection 306 (Special Collections, URL, UCLA), Federal Writers Project materials including information on music in Los Angeles. A large amount of material on the Federal Music Project in California has also been studied at the National Archives.

The Bancroft Library at UC Berkeley does not list Moore in its card catalog, but it does contain notes of interviews made in the 1930s with the two teachers who formed her voice and her compositional skills in the 1890s. The reference keys to the papers of individuals prominent in San Francisco's cultural life turned up several collections, some yielding items on what else was going on in San Francisco during Moore's years there, including the early history of the San Francisco Conservatory.

Public libraries in several smaller communities hold unique information. In Lemoore are several early songs and some rare programs from Moore's years there at the turn of the century, as well as more on her mother's career. In Napa there is an index to the local newspapers which contains many references from the 1880's to Moore's parents. The index is a project of local volunteers. A guide to California music resources should certainly include these smaller libraries.

Larger public libraries always seemed to have something of interest. The Newark (New Jersey) Public Library, mentioned in a booklet prepared by the Greater New York Music Library Association on the music resources of its area's libraries, sent copies of Moore's correspondence with Edward Hipsher in connection with his book on American opera.

Los Angeles Public had the richest resources for our project of any public library we consulted. There were copies of many of Moore's published songs there, as well as much music by other now little-known composers of the First Los Angeles School. There was a vertical file with clippings and programs about many local music figures. A series of monumental scrapbooks covered musical events in the first decades of the century. In addition, there were useful general items like a partial index to the *Los Angeles Times*, old telephone books and city directories, and old *Los Angeles Blue Books*.

Universities and their libraries are likely resources, and many in southern California were. Among them, Chapman College, where Moore once taught, made a file of Moore's correspondence with the administration available to us. At Claremont's Honnold Library there is a 1927 pamphlet called *Los Angeles County Culture and the Community* which enumerates the spectacular array of music schools, community orchestras, bands, choruses, and music clubs along with statistics on other local cultural activities. At Scripps College next door I found a file of correspondence in the president's office with Bessie Bartlett Frankel, a prominent music patron and close friend of Moore. Steve Fry of UCLA's Music Library was immensely helpful

in creating the Mary Carr Moore Archive. The University Research Library at UCLA has several sizable collections that were of value, such as the papers of Mrs. Frankel, Alexis Kall, and Fannie Charles Dillon. Dillon's papers are divided between the URL and the Music Library.

It's not in southern California, but I must add my home library at the University of Nevada Reno here. The presence of several periodicals and some older general histories of Los Angeles and southern California reveals that Reno's cultural influences didn't all come from its closest and oldest large city neighbor, San Francisco. Through UNR's Inter-Library Loan I obtained innumerable out-of-print books and films of rare periodicals. University libraries as far away as Yale and Syracuse helped as well, and one must never forget the Library of Congress, whose Copyright Office and Music Division both produced treasures from their massive collections.

Runs of periodicals that were mines of information include: the *Pacific Coast Musical Review* at UC Berkeley; *The Music World* at USC; the *Pacific Coast Musician* at UCLA and UNR; *Co-Art Turntable* at Detroit Public and UCLA. Current catalogs such as Krummel's *Resources of American Music History* and Block and Neuls-Bates' *Bio-Bibliography of Women in American Music* are very important to our research, as are catalogs on peripheral subjects, the best example in our case being Hinding's *Women's History Sources: A Guide to Archive and Manuscript Collections*. We have found many older local and regional catalogs and who's who-type publications, some seemingly quite rare, very helpful. Several of these are listed in the appendix.

The most obvious conclusion from all this is that Richardson and I were able to construct a biography of an important Los Angeles composer and document her cultural *milieu* from sources that were, when we started, in private hands. The ease with which we found these materials supports the view that there remain major resources on Los Angeles' cultural life which are not in libraries and which need locating and collecting. Had our interest been caught by some other composer or some ethnic group other than the white, largely U.S.-born middle class of heterogeneous religious background on which we concentrated, a comparable research effort would very likely have located extensive "new" resources, and the burden of this paper's argument would not be very different.

To help illustrate both the potential resources so far unlocated and the need to find out what is already in our libraries in a more systematic way, an appendix to this article lists composers known to have been active here between 1918 and 1941. For many of these c.467 names, the references listed here may be the only information that survives about them. For how many of them is there any surviving music? Are there any papers which describe their lives and their art, or can they or their descendants still tell us anything about them? What names should be added to these, and what misinformation corrected? I submit that they need to be studied and understood in order to form a balanced picture of American musical life, just as other aspects of our music culture have already attracted archival and scholarly attention. How will we know about our own music history if we don't become more aggressive and eclectic about collecting it?

Appendix: Composers in the Los Angeles Area, 1918-1940, as listed in regional directories and other sources (tentative working list as of June 30, 1987)

The following information is given for each name:

— place of birth, if known, is indicated by *U* (U.S.-born) or *E* (born elsewhere);

- sources in which each person is mentioned are indicated by numbers (listed below);
- year of arrival in southern California, if known;
- city of residence in southern California, if outside the Los Angeles basin;
- membership in ASCAP is indicated by an asterisk (*);
- *AG* indicates that the person is also listed in Hitchcock and Sadie, eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of American Music*. London: Macmillan Press and New York: Grove's Dictionaries of Music, 1986.

The persons whose names are given in **bold print** are thought to have arrived in Los Angeles in 1935 or later. These are names which appear in regional directory #4 below for the first time or who are identified in other sources as having arrived in Los Angeles in 1935 or later.

Regional Directories (in order of publication)

1. Colby, Frank H., ed. *Who's Who in Music in California*. Los Angeles: Colby & Pryabil, 1920; Supplement, 1922; *Pacific Coast Musician* 16 (1927), 36.
2. Ussher, Bruno D., ed. *Who's Who in Music and Dance in Southern California*. Hollywood: Bureau of Musical Research, 1933.
3. Fredricks, Jessica M., compiler. *California Composers: Biographical Notes*. San Francisco: California Federation of Music Clubs, 1934.
4. Rodriguez, Jose, ed. *Music and Dance in California*. Hollywood: Bureau of Musical Research, 1940.

Note: Persons mentioned in regional directories are listed here only if their names occur in entries under their own names. All names are listed, however, for whom there is any mention of composition in their entries or in other sources (see below).

Other Sources

5. Mead, Rita H. *Henry Cowell's New Music 1925-1936*. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981.
6. Southern, Eileen. *Biographical Dictionary of Afro-American and African Musicians*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1982.
7. Stevens, Otheman. *Press Reference Library: Notables of the Southwest*. Los Angeles: The Los Angeles Examiner, 1912.
8. *ASCAP Biographical Dictionary*. Third edition. New York: The Lynn Farnol Group, Inc., 1966. Fourth edition. New York & London: Jacques Cattell Press, R.R. Bowker, 1980.
9. UCLA Music Library, Mary Carr Moore Archive.
10. Other sources, mostly correspondence with the author.

- Achron, Joseph E; 4; AG; 1934*
 Aguilar, Juan A. E; 4,10; 1918 or 1919
 Akers [Phillips], Madalyn U; 2,4
 Albanese, Anthony M. E; 4
 Alchin, Carolyn U; 3
 Alderman, Pauline U; 2
 Amfiteatrof, Daniele E; 4; AG*
 Anderson, Earnest U; 9
 Angermayer, Albert E; 2; 1922
 Antheil, George U; AG; 1936*
 Arlen, Harold U; AG; 1934*
 Arnaud, Leo N. E; 4; 1936
 Axt, William U; AG; 1931*
 Bakaleinikoff, Michel E; 2
 Baldwin, Anita M. U; 3
 Barnett [Stevenson], Alice U; 2; AG;
 San Diego*
 Bartlett, Lucy Seator U; 3; 1913
 Bassett, Reginald H. U; 2
 Bassman, George U; 4*
 Batchelder, Alice Coleman U; 2
 Beal, Bernice U; 2,3; 1911
 Bendix, Theodore U; 1,3; 1920
 Bennett, Robert Russell U; AG; 1930*
 Bergh, Arthur U; 9*
 Betty, Helen Margaret U; 3; 1906
 Bickford, Vahdah Olcott U; AG
 Bickford, Zhar M. U; 4,9
 Biggs, Richard Keyes U; 2,3; 1928*
 Blakeley, Arthur E; 1,2; 1912
 Blakeslee, S. Earle U; 1,2,4; 1906
 Blechschmidt, Hans E; 2,4
 Bliss, Arthur E; 5; 1923-25; Santa
 Barbara
 Bond, Carrie Jacobs U; 2,3; AG; 1919*
 Borisoff, Alexander E; 2*
 Borisoff, Josef [Piaastro] E; 2,3; 1928
 Bowers, Clarence W. U; 1; San Diego
 Bowler, Mrs. S.J. U; 1
 Bradley, Scott U; 9
 Breeskin, Elias E; 4
 Breil, Joseph Carl U; 1,3; AG
 Breyn, Sylvan U; 4
 Brignall, Roy Reid E; 4
 Britain, Radie U; AG; 1940*
 Bronson, Carl U; 1,10; c.1907
 Brooke, Mary Rucker U; 4
 Browda, Morris U; 1,10; by 1930
 Brown, Nacio Heerb U; AG; 1928*
 Brown, Royal A. U; 2; San Diego
 Buck, Lena Ethel U; 1
 Bush, Grace E. [Mrs. Guy Bush] U;
 2,3,4; 1913*
 Buttolph, [James] David U; 4; 1933*
 Byers, Roxana Weihe U; 2
 Cadman, Charles Wakefield U; 1,2,3,4;
 AG; 1911*
 Cage, John U; 5; AG*
 Cailliet, Lucien E; 4; AG*
 Camprubi, Henry E; 2; Bakersfield
 Carbonara, Gerard U; 4*
 Carr, Arthur U; 4;9
 Castellucci, Louis U; 4
 Castelnuovo-Tedesco, Mario E; AG;
 1940*
 Cavanah, Howard Edward U; 1; 1909
 Chalfin, Mabel U; 3
 Chaney, Charles Ross U; 2,3; 1913;
 Sanger
 Chase, Waldo F. U; 2
 Chernis, Jay U; 4*
 Chestnut, Lora Perry U; 4
 Churchill, Frank U; 10*
 Cianfoni, D. Cesar U; 2
 Clarke, Herbert L. U; AG; 1923*
 Clerbois, Georges [Roger] E; 1,2; 1912;
 Santa Barbara
 Clokey, Joseph W. U; 2*
 Coates, Albert E; 4
 Cohen, Sol [Andre Vaneuf] U; 1,3;
 1920*
 Colby, Frank H. U; 1,2; 1895
 Collins, Anthony Vincett E; 4
 Copping, Cecil S. U; 2
 Couper, Mildred E; 2,4; Santa Barbara
 Courcil, Louis E; 3; 1928
 Curci, Gennaro M. E; 2
 Curtis, Louis Woodson U; 1,2,3,4
 Cutter, Murray E; 4*
 Dahl, Ingolf E; AG; 1938*
 Daniels, Charles Neil U; AG; 1920s
 Danz, Louis U; 2,3,4
 Darvas, Franz E; 2,3; 1925
 Davise, Hugo U; 2,3
 Debrovsky, Louis E; 4
 Del Mar, Henry Fisher U; 4
 Deutsch, Adolph E; 4*
 Diggle, Roland E; 2,3; AG; 1914*
 Dillon, Fannie Charles U; 3; AG;
 1890*
 Doak, Clover Meadows U; 1
 Dober, Conrad K. [Con Conrad] U; 10;
 1929*

- Dolin, Max E; 2
 Donaldson, Walter U; AG; 1929*
 Donner, Max U; 3; 1925
 Douglas, Ernest U; 2,3; 1906
 Draa, Charles Clifton U; 1,2
 Dragon, Carmen U; 4; AG*
 Duff, Joan E; 2
 Duffield, Ella W. U; 1,2; 1910
 Eames, Henry Purmont U; 2,3; 1928
 Earle, Henry Edmond U; 3; 1896
 Edson, Charles Farwell U; 3
 Edwards, George U; 1; 1909; San Diego
 Edwards, Gus E; AG; late 1920s*
 Edwards, Jessie Safford U; 2; 1915
 Eichheim, Henry U; 2,4; AG; Santa Barbara
 Ellis, Cecil U; 3; 1919
 Ellis, Will W. U; 1
 Engel, S. Camille E; 3; San Diego
 Erickson, Thelma Holm U; 4
 Eyre, Gardner [Mrs. Agnes de Jahn] U; 2
 Farnese, Harold E; 2,3; 1916
 Farrelle, Vitold C. U; 3
 Farwell, Arthur U; 3; 1918-27*
 Ferir, Emile E; 2,4; 1919
 Ferry, Charles T. U; 1,3,4
 Feuer, Cy U; 4
 Finston, Nathaniel U; 2,4; 1928*
 Fisher, Fred U; AG*
 Fisher, H. Francis U; 1
 Fitch, Dudley Warner U; 3,4
 Flaig, Eleanora U; 2,9
 Francesco, Louis de E; 2
 Frank, Lydia Fossler U; 1; San Diego
 Frankel, Bessie Bartlett U; 1,2,3
 Frederiksen, Sigurd Erhard E; 2,3; 1923
 Freebey, Grace Adele U; 1,2
 Freeman, Carrie Stone U; 2,4
 Friedhofer, Hugo W. U; 2,4
 Friml, Rudolf E; AG; 1925*
 Fuller, Arthur Franklin U; 1,3; 1908
 Gabriel, Charles H. [used pseud. Charlotte G. Homer] U; AG*
 Gabriel, Charles H. Jr. U; 8*
 Gage, Gloria U; 2
 Garroway, Will U; 1
 Gershwin, George U; AG; 1936*
 Girard, Harry U; 7; 1909
 Glasser, Albert U; 10*
 Gookins, George B. U; 1
 Gordohn, Theodor E; 1,3; 1913
 Gottschalk, Louis F. U; 3
 Gray, Herbert Edward U; 2
 Green, John W. U; AG; 1930*
 Green, Leonard G. U; 4
 Grever, Maria E; 10; 1920
 Griffin, Vashti Rogers U; 1; 1916; San Diego
 Griggs, Alice Maynard U; 2; Long Beach
 Griselle, Thomas U; 10*
 Grofe, Ferde U; 4; AG*
 Groton, Frederic U; 1,2,3; 1889
 Gruenberg, Louis E; AG; 1936*
 Grunn, Homer U; 1,2,3; 1910*
 Gustlin, Clarence U; 2
 Hageman, Richard E; AG; 1938*
 Hailman, Elizabeth E. E; 1; 1919
 Hakel, Fred Lewis U; 2; San Diego
 Hamblen, Bernard E; 2*
 Hamilton, Harley U; 1; by 1892
 Hammer, Heinrich Albert Eduard E; 2
 Hand, Herman E; 2
 Hansen, Edgar Joseph U; 2
 Harline, Leigh U; 4; AG; 1928*
 Harling, William Franke E; 2*
 Harris, Roy U; 2,3; AG; Glendora
 Hartley, Walter E. U; 2,3; 1887
 Haskins, Vernon C. U; 2
 Hastings, Ray U; 3; 1903
 Hastings, Ross Ray U; 8*
 Hatch, Wilbur J. U; 4
 Haugh, Benjamin S. U; 3; 1904
 Haynes, J. Francis U; 1; 1911
 Healy, Lillian U; 2
 Herrmann, Bernard U; AG
 Herrmann, Frederick U; 3; 1913
 Heymann, Werner R. E; 4
 Hibbs, Cleo Allen U; 3; 1920
 Hibler, Mrs. Nellie U; 3; 1902
 Hines, Jerome U; AG*
 Hodek, Frank U; 4
 Hoffman, George E; 2
 Howe, Winifred U; 2
 Howell, Julia U; 2,4
 Hubbell, Frank Allen U; 4*
 Hubble, Harris U; 4
 Hughes, Rupert U; 3; AG; 1920*
 Hurd, Robert U; 2
 Hyde, Alex E; 4*
 Jackson, Howard U; 4*

- Jamison, Abbie Norton U; 1,2,3
 Janssen, Werner U; 4; AG; 1940*
 Jenkins, Gordon U; 4; 1938*
 Jerome, Mabelle Hill U; 1; San Bernardino
 Johnson, Hall U; 4*
 Jones, Spike U; AG*
 Jones, Vincent U; 1
 Kaper, Bronislaw E; AG; 1936*
 Karnbach, Alexander E; 2,4
 Kastner, Alfred E; 1,2,3; AG
 Kaun, Bernhard U; 2
 Kay, Arthur E; 2,4
 Keeney, Russell U; 2; San Diego
 Keller, Lue Alice U; 3; 1909
 Kendall, Raymond U; 2
 Kern, Jerome U; AG; 1934*
 Kerwin, Lewis A. U; 1; 1905
 Keyes, Phyllis Lucy U; 1; 1910
 Kilenyi, Edward E; 2,4; AG*
 Killgrove, William Taliaferro U; 2,4
 Kinsey, Hague E; 1,2
 Kirschner, Leon U; 1928-1950; AG
 Klein, Baruch U; 9
 Klein, Emanuel U; 4
 Klemperer, Otto E; 2,4; AG
 Kolin, Feodor E; 4,5
 Konevsky, Lennard Leonard E; 4
 Kopp, Rudolph E; 1,2,4*
 Korngold, Erich E; 4; AG; 1934*
 Kovach, Charles E; 4
 Krieg, Melitta U; 4
 Kuzdo, Victor E; 2
 Lange, Arthur U; 2,4; 1929*
 LaViolette, Wesley U; AG; 1940*
 Leach, Rowland U; 2,3; 1933
 Leeson, Cecil Burton U; 2
 Leftwich, Vernon E; 4,9*
 Leginska, Ethel E; 9; AG; 1940
 Lemare, Edwin Henry E; AG; after 1929
 Leonard, Joseph L. E; 4
 Leonardi, Leonid E; 4*
 Levy, Ellis U; 10
 Liebling, George Lothar E; 2,3; 1929
 Lindsay, Pearl [Conklin] U; 3; 1884
 Lippman, Sidney U; 2*
 Loesser, Frank U; AG; 1936*
 Lorenzo, Leonardo de E; 1,3; 1919-23
 MacPherson, Cameron O'Day U; 2
 Mader, Clarence U; 2; AG; 1920, 1929-
 Magliocco, Francis E; 4
 Malotte, Albert Hay U; 4; AG; 1927*
 Manning, Kathleen Lockhart U; 3; AG*
 Maquarre, Andre E; 10
 Marcelli, Nino E; 2,3; 1920; San Diego*
 Marcelli, Ulderico E; 3; 1914
 Marquardt, Paul A. E; 4
 Marsh, Charles U; 9*
 Marsh, Lucile Crews U; 9
 Martin, Frances Mae U; 1
 Mason, Morton F. U; 1; AG; by 1890
 Mattersteig, Paul H. E; 2
 Maxwell, Charles E; 4,9; 1929
 Mayhew, John H. U; 4
 McCoy, L.D. U; 1; Long Beach
 McCray, Bertha U; 3; 1893
 McFeeters, Raymond U; 2*
 McHugh, Jimmy U; AG; 1930s*
 McManus, George Stewart U; 1,2,4
 McNeil, J. Charles U; 9*
 McPherson, Aimee Semple U; 10; 1922
 Merrick, Mahlon L. U; 4
 Meservey, Ann U; 2
 Miller, Amy Grau U; 2
 Miller, James Alden U; 9
 Miller, Ruth U; 2
 Millier, Henry George E; 4
 Mills, Felix U; 4
 Mills, Harlow John U; 4,9
 Mirovitch, Alfred E; 2
 Mockridge, Cyril J. E; 4; AG; 1932
 Monaco, James V. E; 10*
 Monger, Howard Smith U; 2
 Moore, Mary Carr U; 2,3,4; AG; 1926*
 Moore, Willard C. U; 3
 Moross, Jerome U; AG; 1937, 1940-*
 Morrison, James H. U; 9
 Morros, Boris E; 4
 Morton, Arthur U; 4
 Morton, Jelly Roll [La Mothe; Lemott, Ferdinand] U; AG; 1917-22
 Mueller, Hattye E; 1
 Mueller, Kurt E; 2
 Muse, Clarence U; 4,6; 1929*
 Mustol, Samuel J. E; 2
 Nagel, Dr. Frank U; 1, 1922
 Newman, Albert M. U; 8*
 Newman, Alfred U; 2,4; AG; 1930*
 Nicholson, L. DeVere U; 1; 1909
 Nield, John B. E; 2

- Nies-Berger, Edouard E; 2
 Nightingale, Mae Wheeler U; 2*
 Nord, Arthur Christian U; 2
 Oehlmer, Leo U; 3; 1907
Ogle, Joseph U; 4
 Ohman, Phil U; AG; 1934-46*
 Olds, William Benjamin U; 2,3; 1923;
 Redlands*
 O'Leary, Marguerite Hauber U; 2
 Olive, Everett Samuel U; 2
 Omeron, Helen U; 2
Packh, Maurice de U; 4
 Paige, Raymond U; 2
Palange, Louis U; AG; 1936*
 Parsons, Gertrude U; 1,2
 Pascal, Julian E; 1,3
 Patterson, David U; 4; 1928
 Pease, Sibley G. U; 1,3; 1902 or 1903
 Peeples, Katherine B. U; 2
 Pemberton, Charles Edmond U; 1,2,3;
 1883
Pennario, Leonard U; 4; AG*
 Perry, Adelaide T. U; 2
 Peyke, Frieda U; 1,3; 1910
 Piantadosi, Al U; AG; 1930*
Piastro, Josef E; 4
 Pierce, James Washington U; 1
Pisk, Paul E; 4; AG; 1937; Redlands
 Poister, Arthur W. U; 2; AG; 1928-37;
 Redlands
 Pollack, Lew U; 10*
 Preston, Matilda Loeb Evans U; 1,3;
 1882 San Bernardino
Previn, Charles U; 5; by 1937*
 Purves-Smith, Claude E; 2
 Quinn, Alfred Price U; 3; 1926
 Rabinowitsh, Max E; 2
 Rainger, Ralph U; AG; 1930*
 Raksin, David U; 10; 1935*
 Ralston, Frances Marion U; 2
 Rasbach, Oscar U; 2,3; AG; 1895*
 Read, Herbert C. U; 2
 Reiser, Alois E; 2,4*
 Ridder, Allard de E; 2,3,4; 1920
 Ridderhoff, N.L. U; 1; 1902
 Ridgway, Charles Arthur U; 2
 Riesenfeld, Hugo E. E; 4; 1928*
 Risher, Anna Priscilla U; 1,2,3; 1918
 Robinson, Mrs. M. Hennion U; 1,2
 Robinson, Vernon U; 2
 Rodgers, Richard U; AG; 1930-34*
 Rodriguez, José E; 2,4
 Roemheld, Heinz U; 8,10*
 Rogers, James H. U; 2*
Romani, Romano E; 4
 Romberg, Sigmund E; 4; AG; early
 30s*
 Rosado, Virgilio E. E; 2; San Diego
 Ross, Gertrude U; 1,2,3; 1898
Rosza, Miklos E; AG; 1940
 Roth, Elton Menno U; 2,4
 Rothwell, Walter Henry E; 1,3; 1919
Rubertis, Vincent de E; 4
Rubini, Jan E; 4
 Rudhyar, Dane E; 3,4; AG; 1919
 Safranek, Vincent Frank E; AG; 1920;
 San Diego
 Sanders, Davol U; 1; 1919
 Saunders, Laurel Nemeth U; 3,4; 1926
 Saunders, Richard Drake U; 1,2,3,4;
 1916
Scharbau, Siegfried E; 4
Scheer, Leo U; 4; San Diego
 Schertzinger, Victor U; 10*
Schipa, Tito E; 4
 Schoenberg, Arnold E; 4; AG; 1934*
 Schoenefeld, Henry U; 2,3; 1904
 Schramm, Paloma U; 3
 Schultz, Leo E; 2,3; 1930
 Schwartz, Jean E; AG; c.1928*
 Seaver, Blanche Ebert U; 2,3; 1912*
 Seiling, Oskar E; 2
 Seyler, Julius V. U; 1,3; 1907
 Seymour, John Laurence U; AG; to
 1932*
Shaffer, Helen Louise U; 4
Shatto, Charles R. U; 4
Shilkret, Nathaniel U; AG; 1935*
 Shirley, Constance U; 9
 Shuken, Leo U; 4*
 Siegelman, Selma U; 2
 Simmons, Homer U; 3,4,5; 1910-31,
 1940*
 Sistarelli, Umberto E; 1,3; 1914
 Skinner, George U; 1; San Bernardino
 Sloane, Annie B. U; 1; 1885; San Diego
Snell, David L. U; 4*
 Spiegel, Mischa E; 2
 Spielter, William U; 2
 Stacey, Harriet Case U; 1
Stahl, Willi U; 4,9
Stearns, Curtis L. E; 4
 Stearns, Theodore U; 2
Steele, R. Vernon U; 4

- Stein, Heinrich Kurt von U; 2; 1912
 Steinel, Irving A. U; 2,4
 Steiner, Max E; 2,4; AG; 1929*
Steinert, Alexander U; 4*
Stern, Jack U; 4*
 Stevenson, Frederick F. E; 10
 Stewart, John Humphrey E; 3; AG;
 1915; San Diego
 Still, William Grant U; 6,9; AG; 1934*
 Stone, Louise P. U; 2,4
 Stothert, Herbert U; AG; 1929*
Strang, Gerald E; AG
Stravinsky, Igor E; AG; 1940*
 Tandler, Adolf E; 1,2,3,4; 1909
 Tandler, Heinrich Joseph E; 3; 1910
Tansman, Alexandre E; AG; 1940
 Teale, Agnes Rachel U; 3; 1906
Tessier, Albert [Al de Tedla, Tessie R. Alden] U; 4*
 Thatcher, Gladys Knesel U; 1,3
 Tiomkin, Dmitri E; AG; 1929
Toch, Ernst E; 4; AG; 1936*
 Tovey, Herbert George E; 2,3; 1919
 Townsend, Raymond U; 2
 Tremblay, Amedee E; 2; 1926
 Tremblay, George Amedee E; AG
 Trowbridge, Carrie Adelaide U; 1,3;
 1888
 Trowbridge, John Bissell U; 1; 1916
Urner [Shatto], Catherine Murphy U;
 4; AG; San Diego
 Usigli, Gastone E; 3,4
 Van Der Voort, Martin E; 2; Santa
 Barbara
 Varese, Edgard E; 4; AG; 1938-c.1943
 Vaughan, Clifford U; 9; 1933*
 Vodery, Will U; 6; 1929*
 Waldie, Lillian Barrie U; 1; Santa Paula
 Walker, Leonard E; 2,4
 Warren, Elinor Remick U; 2,3,4; AG*
 Warren, Harry U; AG; 1928*
 Waxman, Franz E; 4; AG; 1934*
 Webb, Roy U; 4; AG; 1929*
 Webster, Harold U; 1; 1912
 Weinstock, Jacob E; 3; 1911
Weiss, Adolph U; 4; AG; 1938
White, Roderick U; 4; Santa Barbara
 Whiting, Richard A. U; AG*
 Wicks, Ingwald K. E; 3; 1920; Long
 Beach
 Wicks, Ruby La Nora U; 3; 1920; Long
 Beach
 Williams, Guy Bevier U; 2
 Willson, Meredith U; 4; AG; 1929*
 Winstead, Kenneth U; 10*
 Wirsén, Claudia E; 4; by 1933
 Wood, Carlton U; 2,4; Long Beach
 Woodbridge, Charlotte Louise U; 10
 Woodworth, Mabel U; 9
 Wright, Norman Soring U; 2,4
Young, Victor U; AG; 1935*
Zador, Eugene E; AG; c.1939*
Zeisl, Eric E; AG; 1941
 Zielinski, Jaroslaw de E; 1,3; 1912
 Zoberlein, Bonnie Emerie U; 2

THREE EXAMPLES FROM
A PHONOGRAPHIC HISTORY OF ART MUSIC IN LOS ANGELES

David Cloud

Today Los Angeles is well-known as a center for the recording of popular music albums and the soundtracks for movies and television. Far less known are the personalities and circumstances surrounding the recordings of art music here—solo, chamber, and symphonic works, “concert music,” or “classical music,” if you insist—which date back to at least 1921. Here are three examples from the vast, largely untapped reservoir of the music history of Los Angeles.

1. The first commercial recordings of the Los Angeles Philharmonic

The Los Angeles Philharmonic Orchestra was founded in 1919 with the generous financial support of William Andrews Clark, Jr.¹ The post of conductor was first offered to Sergei Rachmaninoff, but with his refusal, and upon recommendation of Alfred Hertz (1872-1942), conductor of the San Francisco Symphony, the position went to Arthur Rothwell (1872-1927). Rothwell served until his death in 1927, and was succeeded by Georg Schnévoigt (1872-1947) for the years 1927-1929. Arthur Rodzinski (1892-1958) began his tenure in 1929. It was in the transition period between Schnévoigt and Rodzinski, during the summer of 1929, that the orchestra—under the name “Hollywood Bowl Symphony Orchestra”—made its first commercial recordings for Victor. The conductor for the sessions was Eugene Goossens (1893-1962), then director of the Rochester (N.Y.) Philharmonic Orchestra, and the recording site was the famed Hollywood Bowl itself. Goossens had been a frequent guest conductor at Hollywood Bowl and his previous European recordings had been considered successful from a commercial point of view. A total of twelve 12” 78 rpm sides were made and released as Victor album M-40 under the title *A Hollywood Bowl Concert: Symphonies Under the Stars*. The works recorded were: Dvořák's *Carnival Overture*; de Falla's *Ritual Fire Dance* from *El Amor Brujo*; *March to the Scaffold*, the fourth movement from *Symphonie Fantastique* by Berlioz; *Islamey* by Balakirev (orchestrated by Alfredo Casella); and six selections from *Sleeping Beauty* by Tchaikovsky (*La féé des lilas*, *Adagio*, *Pas d'action*, *Pas de caractère*, *Panorama*, and *Valse*).

Interestingly enough, we have a first-hand account of these pioneering recording sessions by Goossens himself, in an article entitled “The Gramophone in America” printed in the August 1930 issue of *The Gramophone*². Goossens writes:

Atmospheric conditions, and the fact that the microphone, placed about fifteen feet away from the platform, would inevitably have caught every movement and whisper of the public, obliged us to record for the gramophone in the mornings when the Bowl was empty. Even so, we discovered that an open-air studio had its disadvantages. Several of the first recordings were “killed” by a summer breeze wafting across the Bowl and deflecting the sound from the microphone so that the sound on the record suddenly faded in the most disconcerting manner. At first, too, we were puzzled by sounds like gunshots peppering the records here and there until experiment disclosed that the slightest crackle of turning pages had been enormously magnified by some curious atmospheric trick. And one of our finest efforts was completely ruined by an aeroplane which skimmed noisily overhead

providing a gratuitous obbligato to Dvořák's *Carnival Overture*. [Recent audiences will agree some things have not changed in the last 56 years.]

The success of this experiment, carried out with a portable recording apparatus specially brought out from New York, suggests that outdoor recordings might be attempted on a much larger scale now that electrical methods have eliminated the necessity for artists' working in studios fitted with a fixed apparatus.

Despite Goossens' favorable opinion of the "experiment," no further commercial recordings were made in the Bowl until after World War II. There were, however, numerous live radio broadcasts from Hollywood Bowl during these intervening years. Today these recordings stand as a vivid reminder of the high level of sophistication and polish that the Philharmonic had achieved only ten years after its inception.

[The recording of Dvořák's *Carnival Overture* was played at this point.]

2. The first integral recording of the Schoenberg string quartets³

In 1936, about two years after his arrival in Los Angeles, Arnold Schoenberg began giving private lessons to various film composers.⁴ Among them was Alfred Newman (1900-1970), then music director for United Artists, and later to be the composer of scores for such celebrated films as *How Green Was My Valley* (1941), *Song of Bernadette* (1943), *Captain from Castile* (1947), *The Robe* (1953), and *Anastasia* (1956). Newman had often heard Schoenberg complain about the lack of opportunity anyone had to hear his later works, in view of the rare number of performances and even rarer number of recordings. So apparently when Newman heard that the Kolisch Quartet was coming to Los Angeles in the late fall of 1936 to perform all four of the Schoenberg quartets (this would be the premiere of the *Fourth Quartet*) at Royce Hall on the UCLA campus, he conceived the idea of having all four quartets recorded at the United Artists studios in Hollywood, no less!

The records were intended as a private issue, to be sold at cost to friends and associates. The Kolisch Quartet was not paid for its work. The quartets were recorded as follows: the *First* on December 29, 1936; the *Third*, December 30, 1936; the *Second*, December 31, 1936; and the *Fourth*, January 8, 1937. It is to be assumed that the *Fourth Quartet* was recorded on the morning of January 8, for that evening the Kolisch Quartet gave the premiere! Possibly as few as 25 sets were pressed (as a custom project by Victor). The price was \$71.50 for the twenty-three 12" 78 rpm discs. One of the known purchasers was George Gershwin, Schoenberg's sometime tennis partner.

In 1950, at the urging of David Raksin, another well-known film composer who had studied with Schoenberg, the recordings were transferred to 33-1/3 rpm LPs and released by ALCO, a small Los Angeles label founded by Alec Compinsky and devoted to neglected Baroque and contemporary music. Somewhere between 300 and 500 four-disc sets were pressed, which were offered for sale to the public for the first time. The price was \$4.85 per disc.

These recordings are especially valuable, not only because the performers were so closely associated with the works, but also because Schoenberg himself supervised all aspects of the recording sessions, from devising the 78 side breaks, to sitting in at the actual sessions, approving balances, tempos, etc. Also, Schoenberg, Newman, the members of the quartet, and the recording mixer Frank Maher all recorded brief

spoken comments about the project. Schoenberg further provided some highly informative written program notes on each of the quartets.

[The opening of Schoenberg's *Fourth Quartet* was played at this point.]

3. The first commercial recordings of the Janssen Symphony of Los Angeles

Werner Janssen (1899-) first studied composition in this country with Frederick Converse (1871-1940) and later, conducting in Europe with Felix Weingartner (1863-1942). He was conductor of the Baltimore Symphony from 1937 to 1939, and in 1940 moved to Los Angeles and founded the Janssen Symphony of Los Angeles. During the years the orchestra was in existence (1940-1952), he conducted many unusual programs of contemporary music. Perhaps the most noteworthy of these was the famous "Genesis" concert of November 18, 1945. Composer, conductor, and recording company executive Nathaniel Shilkret (1895-) commissioned six composers, plus himself, to write music illustrating scenes from the Biblical book of Genesis. The astonishing list of the composers (and their choices of subject) is as follows:

Arnold Schoenberg: *Prelude*
 Nathaniel Shilkret: *Creation*
 Alexander Tansman: *Adam and Eve*
 Darius Milhaud: *Cain and Abel*
 Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco: *Noah's Ark*
 Ernst Toch: *The Covenant*
 Igor Stravinsky: *The Tower of Babel*

Janssen had many connections to the Hollywood film industry—he was married to the actress Ann Harding—and was himself a film composer. His score for *The General Died at Dawn* (1936) is described as "one of the first serious accompaniments to a Hollywood film."⁵ It is not surprising, then, that the first of a series of highly unusual recordings by the Janssen Symphony should be of music from films. Two single 78 rpm discs (double-sided) were made in 1943 and 1945, respectively. The first⁶ was devoted to Max Steiner's *Symphonie Moderne*, from the Warner Brothers film *Four Wives* (1939); of the second,⁷ one side each was given to David Raksin's *Theme from "Laura,"* from the 20th Century Fox film of the same title (1944) and to Alexander Tansman's *Scherzo*, from the Universal film *Flesh and Fantasy* (1943). These were among the first commercial recordings made of film score excerpts.

[The recording of Tansman's *Scherzo* was played at this point.]

An intriguing feature of these recordings, apart from the general excellence of the playing, is the appearance of certain performance characteristics, such as a pronounced *portamento* in the strings, which were almost completely out of fashion by this time.

Notes

¹A detailed account of his munificence is given by Robert Stevenson in his article "William Andrews Clark, Jr., Founder of the Los Angeles Philharmonic Orchestra," *Inter-American Music Review* IV, 2 (Spring-Summer 1982), 65-75.

²Reprinted in *The Gramophone Jubilee Book* (Harrow: General Gramophone Publications Limited, 1973), pp. 89-91.

³I.e., the four numbered quartets. The early D major quartet (1897), after an initial performance in 1898, did not surface again until 1952, when it was performed at the Library of Congress. The score was not published until 1966.

⁴Much of the information in this section is taken from Fred Steiner's comprehensive article "A History of the First Complete Recording of the Schoenberg String Quartets," *Journal of the Arnold Schoenberg Institute* II, 2 (1978), 122-137.

⁵Mark Evans, *Soundtrack: The Music of the Movies* (New York: Hopkinson and Blake, 1975), p. 77.

⁶Victor Red Seal no. 11-8311.

⁷Victor Red Seal no. 11-8808.

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MUSIC PERIODICALS PUBLISHED IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY, 1900-1985

A BIBLIOGRAPHY

Kathryn P. Glennan

Although Los Angeles has long been associated with both music and publishing, the results of this relationship have not been previously demonstrated in the area of periodicals. A wealth of information exists; however, it is only through research that the full extent can be discovered. This article assists in collocation and in the identification of music periodicals published in Los Angeles County.

The bibliography illustrates the growth of interest in music in the Los Angeles area from 1900 to 1985, while giving an indication of the fields of interest and research that have been followed throughout this time period. Some of these serials, unfortunately, are not available in libraries. However, simply knowing that they existed is valuable for the study of specific musical subjects or in the musical development of Los Angeles County.

For the purposes of this paper, a "music periodical" is defined as a serial that consistently devotes approximately one-half of its articles to music or musicians. Therefore, monthly journals that have only one issue (or even three issues) concerning music in a year, do not qualify. Thus the California Institute of the Arts magazine, *Articles*, and the Spanish language *Caminos* are both omitted from the list.

In this paper, Los Angeles County represents the greater Los Angeles area as the domain, since it has strict, identifiable boundaries. For inclusion, the journal must contain a direct publication statement that clearly indicates a city or community within Los Angeles County. This information does not always match the location of the publisher's main offices. Thus, some periodicals that may be associated with the area, such as *Billboard* and *Performing Arts Review* (a publication of the Entertainment Law Institute at USC) are excluded.

Serials published both regularly and irregularly are included in this paper, but they must have at least an annual frequency. The coverage of this paper is further limited by the exclusion of newspapers and other daily publications, monographic series, membership directories, concert programs without program notes, and publishers' catalogs, as well as serials that have ceased after only one issue.

The bibliography entries are arranged in alphabetical order, with the following included wherever applicable:

Title: The title of the journal as it appears on the most recent issue.

Dates: The dates attempt to cover the life of the journal, with bracketed comments about the years it was published in Los Angeles County. An opening "?" indicates that the beginning year is in question, while "c." designates an approximate starting date. If a journal has ceased, or is thought to have ceased, the closing date is also indicated or modified by a "?."

Frequency: Wherever possible, standard periods of time, such as weekly, monthly, annually, etc., have been applied. When the frequency of publication fits no particular definition, the designation "irregular" has been used.

Publisher: Normally, the most recent publisher is given. However, for dead serials, the most significant publisher appears.

Continues: If the serial was continued under another title, or if it continues/continued a previous publication, it is so noted.

This compilation has revealed some interesting facts. The earliest journal, *Philharmonic Review*, was a concert program with program notes; it began in 1902. By 1930, sixteen journals had begun publication in Los Angeles County. Today, however, things have dramatically changed: in 1984, fourteen new music periodicals started publication in the same area. As a group the earlier serials are devoted more to the general studies of music than to any one specific musical topic. In contrast, now it is much more difficult to find a current general music journal. A periodical such as *The Baton* (1922-) covered a wide range of material. These are just a few of the articles that appeared in its May 1922 issue: "The Art of Writing Music for Children," "Conducting Orchestras a Century Ago," "Changes in Musical Technique," "Kentucky Mountaineers and Their Songs," "Practical Suggestions for Trombonists," "Music and the Radio," and "The Story of the Kettle Drum." Interestingly, some musical subjects, among them jazz and sacred music, have usually had at least one Los Angeles area journal devoted to them throughout this century. Naturally, however, the number of periodicals devoted to newer topics, such as popular music, have skyrocketed with the increasing interest in the subject over the years.

Information for this paper was gathered from lists of serials, cataloging networks, music reference works and library catalogs. Among the most valuable tools were *Ulrich's International Periodicals Directory*, for all years, 1932-present; *Irregular Serials and Annuals*, all issues; *Standard Periodical Directory*; *Magazines for Libraries*; and *The International Directory of Little Magazines and Small Presses*. All of these have a classified arrangement or subject index for music. The more comprehensive lists of periodicals, the *Union List of Serials* and *New Serial Titles*, contain a great deal of information, but have no subject arrangement or index.

Other good sources of information included music reference tools: the articles on music periodicals in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* and *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*; music annuals (or irregulars) with a small section listing music periodical publishers; music books devoted to specific subjects which include an appendix about related periodicals; and union lists of serials for specific areas, as long as the place of publication information is included in the description. The Music Library Association's journal, *Notes*, was immensely helpful for both current references to serials as well as for earlier publications. In addition, the list of journals included in periodical indexes, among them *Music Index*, contain some further information.

Libraries themselves are one of the best sources for research on this topic; in fact, any research-oriented library is a good place to start, with such items as *New Serial Titles*, their own catalogs, and other bibliographic reference tools. I was fortunate enough to be able to consult several libraries; among them: the University of California at Los Angeles, the University of Southern California, Los Angeles Public Library, the Brand Library in Glendale, and the Library of Congress. Catalogs in particular are of great value, but it is not always easy to locate the necessary information within them. Subject entries vary and are often quite vague, such as "Music — Periodicals." Sometimes this string is further modified by "United States"; however, that modification is not consistently applied. Published catalogs, especially the *Dictionary Catalog of the Music Collection, Boston Public Library* and *The New York Public Library: Dictionary Catalog of the Music Collection*, furnished some further entries, but it was much more helpful to consult the catalogs in person. Consultation

of library shelflists, focusing on the ML1 classification, or simply browsing the shelves also produced results.

Automated library information systems and the cataloging networks were a final valuable source of information. The systems at UCLA and the Library of Congress both allow for searching periodicals by place of publication. In addition, OCLC and RLIN helped in confirming data and with general searches.

Although the actual journal is clearly the most accurate source of information about itself, advertisements contained in an individual publication may also give information on contemporaneous music periodicals. One further way to gain information for current serials was to contact the publisher. For the most part, the publishers are delighted to provide information for such a list, and they may even suggest further titles for investigation.

Naturally, there are problems involved in doing research of this kind. Because of their nature, bibliographic control is poor over periodicals in general, and music periodicals in particular. After all, *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature* indexes very few music journals, and *Music Index* did not begin until 1949. In addition, periodicals tend to drop in and out of existence with little notice, and publishers also come and go quickly. Once a periodical is located, the ending dates may not be at all clear. Although signs exist that the journal is struggling to keep going, publishers or editors rarely know which issue will be the last one at the time of publication. In fact, the final issue often contains subscription information and sometimes even lists titles of the next month's articles.

Difficulty also exists in searching for the actual serials. One accurate source of information, *New Serial Titles*, has a narrower scope than the online networks, since only a select few libraries contribute records. However, the bibliographic utilities have their own problems. Subject searching is not available with the standard OCLC terminal, but this is perhaps less frustrating than performing a general subject search on RLIN: "Music — Periodicals" retrieved over 5,000 hits. However, a broad search is necessary to locate records for some of these serials, due to the great variation in the practice of assigning subject headings.

Finally, these journals often fall outside of a library's collection development policy. Since these policies are infrequently, if ever, established by a place of publication, some of the local journals never make it into libraries. Those that do not are difficult if not impossible to locate, for there are often no bibliographic records for them. Local societies' newsletters often fall into this category, especially if they are subsets of a national group.

The results of this bibliography are impressive: 247 separately titled journals published in Los Angeles County from the turn of the century to the present. No periodicals published before 1900 were found that fit the other criteria for inclusion. The list reflects the various musical interests that have arisen in Los Angeles County throughout this century. It is hoped that this paper will help contribute to continuing interest in and accessibility to these publications.

ASCAP Click-Track. February 1984-____. Irregular. American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers.

Academy of Country Music. c.1967-____. Monthly. Academy of Country Music.

Accordion Federation of North America Newsletter. c.1983-____. Monthly. Accordion Federation of North America.

- Album Network Yellow Pages of Rock, The.* 1984-____. Annual. Album Network.
- Album Network, The.* ?1979-____. Weekly. Album Network.
- American Choral Directors Association: So. California Newsletter.* 1984-____.
Frequency unknown. American Choral Directors Association.
- American Harp Journal, The.* Spring 1967-____ (c.1974 in L.A.). Semiannual.
American Harp Society, Inc.
- Armenian Musical Studies.* Summer 1980-c.1981. Semiannual. University of Southern California.
- Arnold Schoenberg Institute Bulletin.* January 1975-June 1976. Irregular. Arnold Schoenberg Institute. Continued by *Journal of the Arnold Schoenberg Institute.*
- Back Door Man.* Mid 1970s. Bimonthly.
- Bard Chord, The.* May 1968-____. Monthly. Songmakers, Inc. Continues *Songmakers Newsletter.*
- Baton, The.* April/May 1922-?May 1923. Monthly.
- Baton, The.* July 1936-?. Irregular. Federal Music Project, Works Progress Administration.
- Be-Bop and Beyond.* January/February 1983-____. Bimonthly. Creative Music Collective.
- Beat, The.* ?1965-?. Biweekly. Gayle Tuck/Beat Publications.
- Beecham Society Bulletin.* 1972-____. Irregular. Sir Thomas Beecham Society.
Continues *Beecham Society Newsletter.*
- Billboard Country Music Sourcebook.* 1977/78-____. Annual. Billboard Publications, Inc.
- Billboard International Buyer's Guide.* 1958-____. Annual. Billboard Directories.
- Billboard International Recording Equipment and Studio Directory.* c.1970-____ (from c.1972 in L.A.). Annual. Billboard Publications, Inc. Continues *International Recording Studio and Equipment Directory*; *Billboard International Directory of Recording Studios.*
- Billboard International Talent and Touring Directory.* 1978-____. Annual. Billboard Directories.
- Billboard's International Club and Disco Equipment Sourcebook.* 1976-____. Annual. Billboard Publications.
- Billboard's On Tour.* 1975-____. Annual? Billboard Publications.
- Billboard's Talent in Action.* c.1973-____. Annual. Billboard Directories. Continues *Talent in Action.*
- Blitz.* ?June 1978-____. Bimonthly. Blitz Magazine. Continues *Ballroom Blitz* (published through April 1978).
- Bomp!* Winter 1976/1977-?1979. Bimonthly. Bomp Magazine/Bomp Enterprises.
Continues *Who Put the Bomp!*
- Booking Agent, The.* ?1922-?. Frequency unknown. Alberta Campbell Simmons.

- CLGA's Report*. After 1950-?. Frequency unknown. Composers and Lyricists Guild of America.
- California Organist*. 1963-c.1967. Monthly. American Guild of Organists.
- Capitol, The*. March 20, 1943-January 1952. Monthly. Capitol Publications, Inc. Continued by *Music News*, later *Music Views*.
- Church Music Bulletin*. October 1927-1928. Frequency unknown. National Federation of Music Clubs. Continued by *Music in Religious Education*.
- Classical Accordionist*. c.1984-____. Frequency unknown.
- Classics West Magazine*. March 1971-?June 1972. Monthly. KFAC Enterprises, a division of ASI Communications. Continues *KFAC Magazine and Program Guide*.
- Clef*. March 1946-September 1946. Monthly. Otto-Marble Publications.
- Co-Art Turntable*. January 1942-?May 1943. Monthly. Co-Art Recordings. Continues *Keynote*.
- Coast*. 1969-1976? (radio guide to 1972). Monthly. Macro/Comm Corporation. Continues *FM & Fine Arts*.
- Composer*. June 1969-____. Annual. Composers Autograph Publications.
- Composer and Conductor*. September 1959-September 1975. Irregular. National Association for American Composers & Conductors, Inc. Continues *News and Notes*; continued by *Composer/USA*.
- Composer/USA*. Oct. 1975-____. Quarterly. National Association of Composers, U.S.A. Continues *Composer and Conductor*, previously *News and Notes*.
- Composium*. 1970-1972. Quarterly. Crystal Record Company. Continued by *Composium Directory of New Music*.
- Composium Directory of New Music*. 1970-____ (to 1978 in L.A.). Annual. Crystal Record Co.
- Console, The*. ?1962-1975?. Monthly. International Theatre Organ Society Publishers.
- Country Sky*. 1971-?. Monthly.
- Creative World*. 1971-1979. Quarterly. Stan Kenton's Creative World.
- Cremona, The*. July/August 1978-____. Bimonthly. Organ Historical Society, Pacific Southwest Chapter.
- Cue Sheet, The*. January 1984-____. Irregular. Society for the Preservation of Film Music.
- Discographer*. 1967-?. Quarterly.
- Discotheque Magazine*. c.1981. Monthly. OBAR.
- Disk Digest*. c.1957-?. Weekly. Bill Hobson.
- Dunning Messenger*. 1926-? (from c.June 1926 in L.A.). Frequency unknown. National Dunning Teachers Association.
- Early Music Laboratory: Bulletins and Tapes*. 1967-____. Annual. Early Music Laboratory.

- Encore*. May 1965-?December 1967. Irregular. COTA (Committee on the Arts).
- Ethnomusicology at UCLA*. Fall 1983-____. Quarterly. Program in Ethnomusicology/UCLA Dept. of Music.
- FM & Fine Arts*. January 1960-1968. Monthly. FM and Fine Arts Guide, Inc. Continued by *Coast*.
- Fiddle and a Bow*. ?1972-?. Monthly. Rico Lozano/Frank Lozano.
- Film Music Notes*. Oct. 1941-1956 (to May 1946 in L.A.). Irregular. Continued by *Film and TV Music* (published until 1957-58 in N.Y.).
- Filmmusic Notebook*. Autumn 1974-1978. Quarterly. Elmer Bernstein's Filmmusic Collection.
- Finlandia Foundation Newsletter*. c.1980-?. Irregular. Finlandia Foundation.
- Flipside Fanzine*. c.1978-____. Frequency unknown.
- Folio, The*. ?1960-____. Monthly. Pacifica Foundation (KPFK).
- Folk World*. ?1963-?. Monthly. Folk World, Inc.
- Folkscene*. March 1973-____. Monthly. Folkscene Publication.
- For the Record*. 1974-____. Semiannual. National Academy of Recording Arts & Sciences.
- Good News*. April 1961-?. Monthly. Technical Services.
- Gospel Music*. April 1937-June 1942 (July 1937-June 1942 in L.A.). Monthly. Gospel Music Publishers.
- Grace Notes Magazine*. c.1972-?. Bimonthly.
- Grammy Awards Book, The*. ?1972-____. Annual. National Academy of Recording Arts & Sciences.
- Grammy Pulse*. ?1984-____. Bimonthly. National Academy of Recording Arts & Sciences.
- Grand Baton, Le*. Oct. 1964-____. Semiannual. Sir Thomas Beecham Society/Stanley H. Mayes.
- Guild Listener, The*. November/December 1979-January/February 1981. Bimonthly. KFAC Listeners Guild. Continues *KFAC Magazine*; continued by *Ovation* (New York).
- Harmony*. April 1972-?. Monthly. Licorice-Pizza.
- Hitmen*. 1982-?. Frequency unknown. S.Y. Bradley Publications.
- Hollywood Bowl Magazine*. 1925-c.1974. Weekly during the summer. John F. Huber Publishing Co. Continued by *Performing Arts*.
- Horn Trader, The*. February 1984-January 1985. Monthly. Continued by *The Windplayer Magazine*.
- Hot Rocks*. c.1970-?. Quarterly. Hot Rocks Corporation.
- Hymn Lovers' Magazine*. November/December 1948-April/June 1952. Bimonthly. Hymn Writers' Fellowship. Continues *Hymn Writers' Magazine*; continued by *Christian Etude* (Yucaipa, CA) from July 1952.

- Hymn Writers' Magazine*. August 1947-September/October 1948. Bimonthly. Hymn Writers' Fellowship. Continued by *Hymn Lovers' Magazine*, later *Christian Etude* (Yucaipa, CA) from July 1952.
- In Step*. October 1982-December 1982. Monthly. Kohler Co.
- Inter-American Music Review*. Fall 1978-____. Semiannual. Robert Stevenson, c/o Theodore Front Musical Literature.
- Intermission*. 1968-____ (from c.1984 in L.A.). Monthly. New Orleans Jazz Club of California.
- International Congress on Women in Music Newsletter*. January 1983-____. Quarterly. International Congress on Women in Music.
- International Official Talent & Booking Directory*. ?1980-?1983. Annual. Speciality Publications, Inc. Continues *Official Talent & Booking Directory*; continued by *Music & Booking Source Directory*.
- International Violin and Guitar Makers Association Journal*. 1958-c.1977, 1980-____ (1980-____ in L.A.?). Quarterly. International Violin and Guitar Makers Association.
- JEMF Newsletter*. October 1965-December 1968. Quarterly. John Edwards Memorial Foundation. Continued by *JEMF Quarterly*.
- JEMF Quarterly*. Spring 1969-____. Quarterly. John Edwards Memorial Forum. Continues *JEMF Newsletter*.
- Jazz Tempo*. c.1946-?. Monthly.
- Journal of the Arnold Schoenberg Institute*. October 1976-____. Semiannual. Arnold Schoenberg Institute. Continues *Arnold Schoenberg Institute Bulletin*.
- Journal of the Choral Conductors' Guild, The*. ?1950-____. Monthly. The Choral Conductors' Guild of California.
- Journal of the Lute Society of America*. 1968-____ (from 1973-1974 in L.A.). Annual? Lute Society of America.
- Junior Musician, The*. 1935-September 1941 (July 1937-September 1941 in L.A.). Monthly. Junior Musicians of America, Inc. Continued by *Junior Musicians of America Magazine*.
- Junior Musicians of America Magazine*. October 1941-?. Quarterly. Junior Musicians of America, Inc. Continues *The Junior Musician*.
- KFAC Magazine and Program Guide*. September 1970-February 1971. Monthly. KFAC, Inc., a division of ASI Communications, Inc. Continued by *Classics West*.
- KRLA Beat*. c.1960-?. Frequency unknown. KRLA.
- KUSC/KCPB Program Guide*. October 1978-____. Monthly. KUSC-FM.
- Keyboard*. 1969-c.1970. Quarterly. Organ and Piano Teachers Association. Continued by *Modern Keyboard Review*.
- Keyboard Arts Magazine*. ?Winter 1972-?Autumn 1977. Three per year. National Keyboard Arts Associates.

- Keyboard World*. February 1977-____. Monthly. Keyboard World, Inc. Continues *Organist*.
- Keynote*. March 1941-?December 1941. Bimonthly. Co-Art Publication/Arthur Lange. Continued by *Co-Art Turntable*.
- L.A. Opera Guide*. ?1978-c.1981. Monthly. Finders/Seekers Enterprises. Continued by *Opera Guide*.
- LAORT News*. Spring 1981-c.1983. Irregular. Los Angeles Opera Repertory Theatre. Continued by *Los Angeles Opera Theater News*.
- Laser Optix*. July 1984-____. Quarterly?
- Latin Music Yearbook*. 1981-?. Annual. Applause Publications.
- Life with Music*. August 1948-?. Monthly. Bureau of Musical Research, Inc.
- List-O-Tapes*. 1964-____ (to 1981 in L.A.). Weekly. Phono-Log Publishing Division of Trade Service Publications.
- Listening Post*. ?1970-?. Monthly. Bro-Dart Publishing Co.
- Little Sandy Review, The*. ?1960-1968. Irregular. Barry Hansen.
- Living Tapes*. 1969-?. Bimonthly. Living Tapes Magazine.
- Los Angeles Flute News Network*. November 1984-____. Irregular. c/o Lynn Ennis.
- Los Angeles Flyer*. 1972-?. Monthly? Straight Arrow Pub.
- Los Angeles Musical World*. 1950s?. Frequency unknown.
- Los Angeles Opera News*. ?Fall 1964-Winter 1965. Frequency unknown. Los Angeles Opera Associates. Continued by *Opera*.
- Los Angeles Opera Theater News*. c.1983-____. Irregular. Los Angeles Opera Theater. Continues *LAORT News*.
- Los Angeles Philharmonic Orchestra Members Newsletter*. 1963-?. Frequency unknown.
- Los Angeles Songwriters Showcase Musepaper*. ?1984-____. Monthly. Music and the Arts Foundation of America/Los Angeles Songwriters Showcase.
- Lute Society of America Inc. Newsletter*. ?January 1965-____ (?1968-January 1975 in L.A.). Quarterly. Lute Society of America.
- Lyric*. September 1958-?March 1976. Monthly. Lyric Publishing Company.
- MLA SCC Newsletter*. February 1970-____. Irregular. Music Library Association Southern California Chapter.
- MTA California Keynotes*. c.1948-____. Irregular. Music Teachers Association of California.
- Magazine of Celebrities, The*. November 1939-?1950. Irregular. L.E. Behymer. Continues *The Philharmonic Review*.
- Magazine of Popular Music*. ?May 1933-?September 1935. Monthly.
- Marquee*. ?August 1976-?. Monthly. World Wide Publishing Co.
- Max Steiner Music Society News Letter, The*. 1967-1976. Frequency unknown. The Max Steiner Music Society.

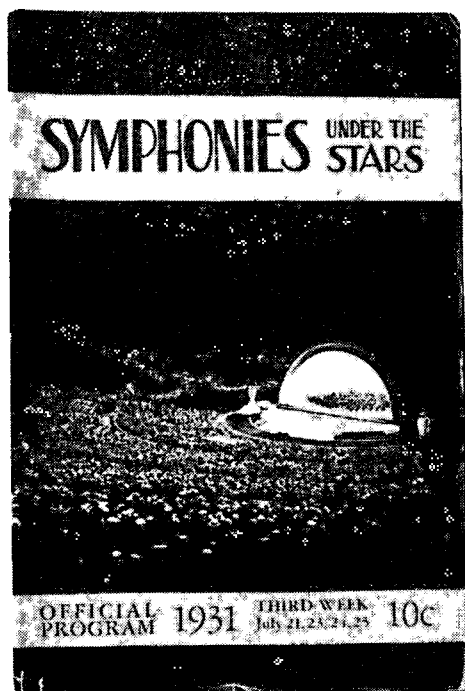
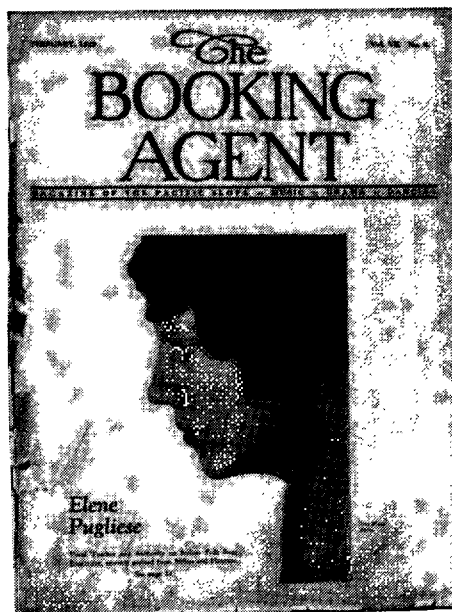
- Modern Keyboard Review*. c.1970-?May/June 1974. Bimonthly. William Irwin. Continues *Keyboard*.
- Music & Booking Source Directory*. 1984-____. Annual. Somerset Communications, Inc. Continues *International Official Talent & Booking Directory*.
- Music and Art*. ?1948-?. Bimonthly. Frank Mocciano.
- Music and Arts Magazine*. c.1954-?. Monthly.
- Music Center News*. September 1980-____. Irregular. Performing Arts Council of the Music Center of Los Angeles County.
- Music Connection Magazine*. 1977-____. Biweekly. Music Connection, Inc.
- Music in Burbank*. 1950s?. Frequency unknown. John F. Huber Publishing Co., Inc.
- Music in Religious Education*. 1929-May/June 1931. Frequency unknown. National Federation of Music Clubs. Continues *Church Music Bulletin*.
- Music Listener's Guide*. May 1957-?. Monthly. The Music Listener.
- Music Magazine*. April 1948-1964. Irregular. John F. Huber Publishing Company.
- Music News*. February 1952-August 1952. Monthly. Capitol Publications, Inc. Continues *Capitol*; continued by *Music Views*.
- Music of the West*. September 1945-1976. Monthly. Voice Publications.
- Music Student, The*. August 1915-May 1917. Monthly. Henry J. Klahn Company.
- Music Views*. September 1952-December 1959. Monthly. Capitol Publications, Inc. Continues *Capitol*; *Music News*.
- Music World Magazine*. November 1972-?. Monthly. Miller Publications, Inc.
- Music World, The*. June 1930-?March 1932. Monthly. The Music World Company.
- Musical Horizons, The Tone-Patterns Monthly*. July 1935-?1936. Irregular. The Guild of Creative Musicians.
- Musicana Newsletter*. ?1952-?. Irregular. Musicana Unlimited.
- Musician's Round Table*. Date unknown. Frequency unknown.
- Musigram*. October 1962-May 1966. Monthly. National Sheet Music Society.
- NAS Newsletter*. May/June 1984-____. Bimonthly. National Academy of Songwriters. Continues *SRS Newsletter*.
- NSOA Bulletin*. ?1960-____ (L.A.: November 1979-July 1980). Quarterly. National School Orchestra Association.
- National Association of Awareness in Music*. January 1977-?. Monthly. National Association of Awareness in Music (NAAM).
- National Sheet Music Society Newsletter*. April 1969-January 1985. Monthly. National Sheet Music Society, Inc. Continued by *The Song Sheet*.
- National Songwriters' News*. April 1943-?February 1944. Ten per year. National Songwriters' Guild.
- News and Notes*. 1955-August 1959. Irregular. National Association for American Composers and Conductors. Continued by *Composer and Conductor*.

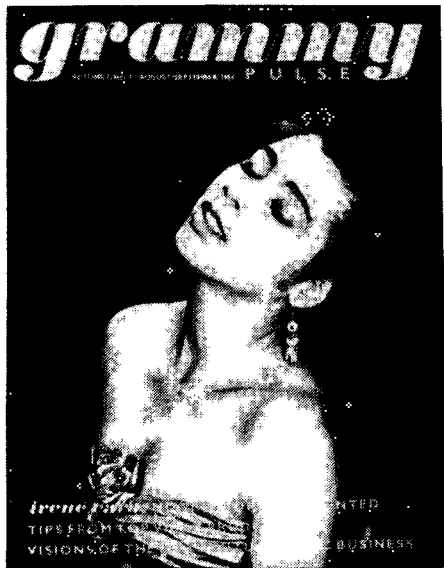
- News Letter of Orff-Schulwerk in the United States.* September 1967-?April 1969. Quarterly.
- Official Bulletin of the California Federation of Music Clubs.* February 1920-?November 1923 (to April 1922 in L.A.). Monthly. California Federation of Music Clubs.
- Official Talent & Booking Directory.* 1970-?1980. Annual. Tolin Publishing Company. Continued by *International Official Talent & Booking Directory.*
- On & Off the Record.* c.1964-?. Bimonthly. Radio Universal Recorders.
- On Stage.* 1981-____. Bimonthly. On Stage Publishing.
- On the Record.* ?1939-c.March 1951. Monthly. Gateway to Music.
- One, Two, Three, Four.* c.1984-____. Quarterly. Strong Sounding Thought Press, Inc.
- Opera.* ?1961-?Winter 1969 Irregular. Opera Associates of the Music Center. Continues *Los Angeles Opera News* [?].
- Opera Guide.* c.1981-____. Monthly? Manny Weltman. Continues *L.A. Opera Guide.*
- Optic Music.* 1980s?. Frequency unknown.
- Oratorium, The.* c.1972-?. Quarterly. National Oratorio Society.
- Organist.* January 1972-January 1977. Monthly. Bill Worrall Productions. Continued by *Keyboard World.*
- Organizer.* 1967-?. Quarterly. Peg Nielsen.
- Overture, The.* April 1920-____. Monthly. American Federation of Musicians, Local 47/AFL-CIO.
- Pacific Coast Musical Review.* ?1904-November 1933 (c.1906 in L.A.). Weekly. Alfred Metzger.
- Pacific Coast Musician, The.* November 1911-September 18, 1948. Semimonthly. Pacific Coast Musician Publishing Company.
- Pacific Review of Ethnomusicology.* December 1984-____. Annual. UCLA Ethnomusicology Students Association.
- Pavilion.* December 1964-June 1967. Irregular. Huber Publications, Inc.
- Percussive Arts Society California Chapter Newsletter.* 1970s?. Frequency unknown. Percussive Arts Society.
- Performing Arts.* November 1967-____. Monthly. Performing Arts Network, Inc. Continues *Pavilion.*
- Philharmonic Review.* 1902-April/May 1939. Monthly. L.E. Behymer. Continued by *Magazine of Celebrities.*
- Phonograph.* ?1971-____. Monthly. Cerf Publications — Phonograph Record Magazine, Ltd.
- Phonolog Reporter.* 1948-____ (to 1981 in L.A.). Weekly. Phonolog Publishing, Division of Trade Service Publications.
- Phonolog Tape Parade.* September 1964-?. Monthly. Phono-Log Publishing Co. Division of Trade Service Publications.

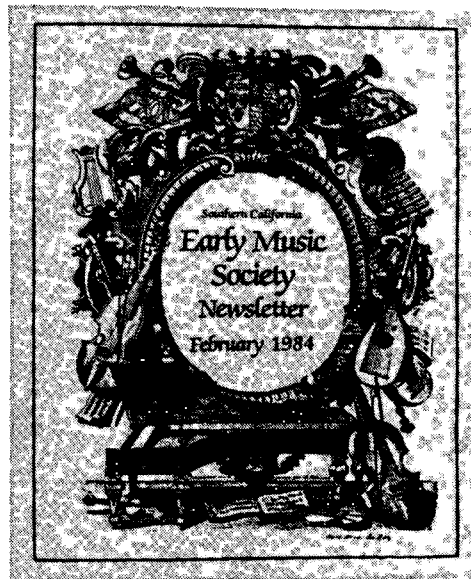
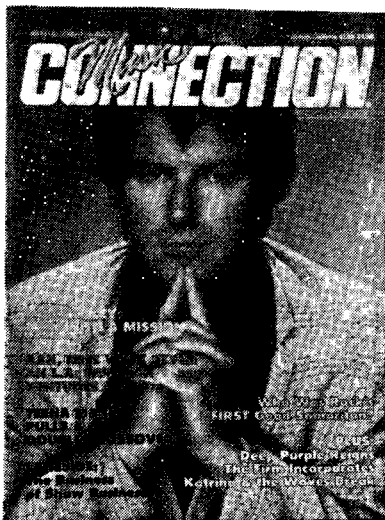
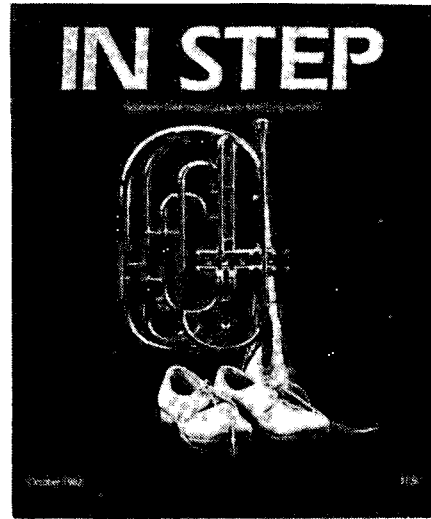
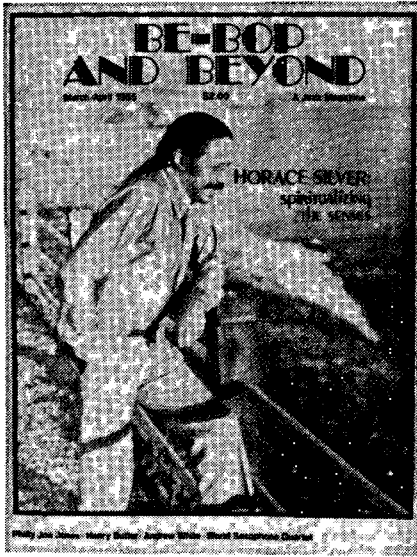
- Piano Technician's Journal*. January 1958-___ (to June 1962 in L.A.). Monthly.
Piano Technicians Guild. Continues *Tuner's Journal* and *The Piano Technician*.
- Plein Jeu*. January 1948-1952 (1952 only in L.A.). Irregular. Organ Publications.
- Pop Directory*. Summer 1970-?. Frequency unknown. Daisy Publishing Company.
- Pop Music Annual*. 1975/76-___. Annual.
- Posthorn, The*. ?1960-?. Irregular. Theatre Organ Club of Los Angeles.
- Pro Musica Quarterly*. c.1935-?. Quarterly. Pro Musica, Inc.
- Public School Music Bulletin*. December 1924-May/September 1928. Monthly.
Melvin Bartlett.
- Quarterly Opera Review*. December 1971-?Summer 1973. Quarterly. William Cagle, MD.
- R and B Magazine*. January/February 1970-?. Bimonthly. Pea Vine Music Co.
- R & R*. ?1974-___. Weekly. Radio & Records, Inc.
- Rag Times*. 1967-___. Bimonthly. The Maple Leaf Club.
- Record Collector's Journal*. July 1975-?. Monthly. Markell Publishing Company.
- Record Finder, Cobweb Corner*. ?1955-?c.1964. Irregular. Don Brown.
- Record Review*. 1976-___. Bimonthly. Ashley Communications, Inc.
- Recorder News*. ?1960-?. Monthly. Southern California Recorder Society.
- Recording Engineer-Producer*. 1970-___. Bimonthly. Gallay Communications, Inc.
- Reggae & African Beat, The*. ?1982-___. Bimonthly. Bongo Productions.
- Remo Rimshots*. January 1983-___. Irregular. Remo, Inc.
- Repertoire*. October 1980-___. Irregular. Pasadena Symphony Association.
- Replay*. October 1975-___. Monthly. Replay Publishing, Inc.
- Right On*. October 1971-?. Monthly. Laufer Publishing Company.
- Rock It*. Summer 1983-___. Quarterly. Rock It Publications.
- Rock Magazine*. April 1982-___. Bimonthly. Jolson Publications.
- Rock Musicians Newsletter*. c.September 1982-___. Monthly?
- Roland Users Group*. ?1983-___. Irregular. Roland Corp US.
- SCHJS Fanfare*. ?1969-___. Monthly. Southern California Hot Jazz Society.
- SCVA Newsletter*. Pre 1972-___. Five or six per year. Southern California Vocal Association.
- SRS Newsletter*. c.1982-March/April 1984. Bimonthly. Songwriters Resources and Services. Continued by *NAS Newsletter*.
- Sacred Musician, The*. October 1932-?. Frequency unknown. Harkness Music Company.
- Score, The*. January 1944-1953. Irregular. American Society of Music Arrangers.

- Selected Reports in Ethnomusicology*. 1966-____. Annual. Program in Ethnomusicology/Dept. of Music, UCLA.
- Senza Sordino*. 1961-____ (to c.1964 in L.A.?). Irregular. International Conference of Symphony and Opera Musicians.
- Society of Early Recorded Music Newsletter*. ?c.1964-?. Monthly.
- Song Sheet, The*. February 1985-____. Monthly. National Sheet Music Society. Continues *National Sheet Music Society Newsletter*.
- Songmakers Newsletter*. May 1967-April 1968. Monthly. Songmakers, Inc. Continued by *The Bard Chord*.
- Songmakers' Almanac*. May 1962-?. Monthly. Songmakers, Inc.
- Songwriter*. October 1975-____. Monthly. Latimer Publications.
- Songwriter's Digest*. December 1969-?. Monthly. Al Ellis Enterprises.
- Songwriter's Nation*. c.1952-?. Bimonthly. National Federation of Song Writers & Affiliated Poets and Composers.
- Soul*. 1967-?. Biweekly. Soul Publications, Inc.
- Soul Illustrated*. Summer 1968-?. Bimonthly. Soul Publications/RTS Incorporated.
- Soul and Jazz Record*. ?1974-?. Monthly. The Soul and Jazz Record.
- Sound Post, The*. c.1957-?. Quarterly? Keynote Music Service, Inc.
- Soundings*. January 1972-1976 (L.A.: January-October 1972); 1981-____. Irregular. Peter Garland.
- Southern California Early Music Society Newsletter*. ?September 1982-____. Quarterly. Southern California Early Music Society.
- Stanyan News*. ?Spring 1972-?. Irregular. Stanyan Record Co.
- Stars and Notes*. ?Early 1960s-?. Monthly. Long Beach Professional Organists Club.
- Stereo Review*. November 1968-____ (from May 1984 in L.A.). Monthly. Ziff-Davis Publishing Company. Continues *Hi Fi/Stereo Review*.
- Stereo Tape-Log*. ?1962-?. Quarterly. Tape-Log.
- Symphony, The*. 1936-1964. Irregular. Southern California Symphony Association. Continues *Philharmonic Orchestra* (c.1919-1935).
- Synapse*. 1976-____. Bimonthly. Synapse Publishing Co.
- Talent in Action*. 1970-c.1973. Annual. Billboard Publications, Inc. Continued by *Billboard's Talent in Action*.
- Tape Talk*. c.1981-?. Frequency unknown. Cassettes Unlimited.
- Teen Set*. 1965-?. Monthly. Capitol Records Distributing Corp.
- Tempo*. 1933-May 15, 1940. Monthly? W.M. Humphrey & C. Emge.
- Things Worth Knowing in Music and Art*. 1925-?1929 (to 1932?) . Bimonthly. W.A. Quincke & Co.
- Tiger Beat*. ?1965-____. Monthly. Laufer Publishing Co.
- Tiger Beat Star*. c.1970-____. Bimonthly. Laufer Company.

- USC Music News Letter*. October 1958-____. Irregular. University of Southern California, School of Music.
- United Friends of Barry Manilow Journal*. Spring 1982-____. Semiannual? c/o Deborah Riche.
- Upbeat!* October 1984-____. Monthly. Los Angeles Philharmonic Association.
- Vel-de-Nez Music News*. ?March 1953-January/March 1957. Irregular. Vel de Nez Publications. Continued by *Vellez Music News*.
- Vellez Music News*. April/June 1957-?. Quarterly. Vellez Music Publications. Continues *Vel-de-Nez Music News*.
- Voice Magazine*. January/February 1945-?. Irregular. Voice Publications.
- Voicespondent, The*. 1952-____ (from ?1972-?1980 in L.A.). Quarterly. The Voicespondence Club.
- Waxpaper*. February 1976-____. Frequency unknown. Warner Bros. Records, Inc.
- Western Music Trades Journal*. c.1903-1910. Monthly. Continued by *Western Music* (1910-1927), *Music and Radio Trades Journal* (1927-1931), *Radio and Refrigeration Journal* (1931-1933)
- Wheel of Delta Omicron, The*. c.1934-____ (to c.1945? in L.A.). Quarterly. Delta Omicron.
- Who Put the Bomp!* ?1962-Autumn 1976. Quarterly. Gregory Shaw. Continued by *Bomp!*; continues *Synthesis*.
- Who's Where in Music*. June 1975-?November 1976. Monthly. Don Jolly & Associates. Continued by *Who's Where in Music: WWIM*.
- Who's Where in Music: WWIM*. December 1976/February 1977-?. Quarterly. Who's Where in Music Corp. Continues *Who's Where in Music*.
- Windplayer*. February 1985-____. Monthly. Windplayer Publications. Continues *The Horn Trader*.
- World Countdown*. 1965-?. Biweekly. Royal Publications.
- World of Music, A*. Summer 1964-?Summer 1975. Quarterly. A World of Music, Inc./Lewis E. Hurst, Jr. Continued by *Leblanc World of Music* (Fall 1975, published in WI).
- Worship and Arts*. 1956-?. Bimonthly. Robert Mero.
- Xenharmonic Bulletin*. ?1966-?. Irregular. Electronic Music Enterprises.







RESEARCHING WOMEN IN MUSIC IN CALIFORNIA

Jeannie Pool

This is a report on my research completed as part of the project, *The Story of the All-Women's Orchestras in California, 1893-1955*. I am using the word *orchestra* in its broadest sense to include classical orchestras, marching bands, consorts of instruments, jazz combos, big bands and chamber ensembles.

The project was funded by the California Council for the Humanities, the state affiliate of the National Endowment for the Humanities, and encompassed several areas of endeavor:

- 1) the research and publication of a bibliography on the subject, compiled by Stephen Fry of the UCLA Music Library, with my assistance.
- 2) the research and publication of a pamphlet on the subject;
- 3) the preparation of a traveling exhibition which includes the photographs collected in the project. This exhibition was installed at CSUN in the Oviatt Library in November, 1984 and at the UCLA Music Library during March and April, 1985. It is available for display at other libraries and institutions in the future.
- 4) the preparation and distribution of a radio documentary and a video-taped television program. The radio documentary was broadcast in June on a number of public radio stations throughout the country and the television program, produced in the studios of Pacific Bell, as an in-kind contribution to the project, is now being shown to organizations and individuals and is available for broadcast on public and cable television.
- 5) the development of an archive of the materials used to put this project together, which is currently housed at the Music Department of the California State University, Northridge, as part of the International Institute for the Study of Women in Music.

I received a planning grant for the research in 1981-82, then received a second grant for the period June 1983-March 1985, both from the California Council for the Humanities. I am currently trying to raise money to help cover costs of distribution of the traveling exhibition to primary and secondary schools throughout the state and for publication of the pamphlet and bibliography.

Of course, these all-women's orchestras were formed to give women musicians opportunities for public performance because of the discrimination against them, which for the most part, kept them out of the mainstream professional performing groups. By participating in all-female organizations, usually conducted by a man, the women opened up new opportunities for professional careers by becoming familiar with the standard repertoire and by learning the ropes of professional musicianship. When opportunities became available to them to perform in the professional groups, the women were prepared to successfully fill those positions.

My project has not focused on documenting the prejudice against women musicians, but on documenting those creative solutions women and sympathetic men came up with to circumvent the problem and to enable them to do what they wanted to do, which was to perform.

From the beginning of musical life in California, women have played an active and essential role in the development of performing groups, educational institutions, and

organizations, which have contributed greatly to musical life here. In nineteenth-century United States, the cultural sphere was considered to be woman's province while men were to concentrate their energies and talents in building the industrial and corporate side of the country. This feminization of cultural life was so strong that many believed that culture, and specifically music, was a suitable activity for women and foreign born men only.

The history of California musical life cannot be told accurately without describing women's participation in that history. The story of the all-women's orchestras in California is an exciting part of that history and may be the key to understanding the uniqueness of the California music scene as compared to musical life in other parts of the country.

Although women were generally encouraged to help with the establishment of cultural institutions and to be active in music clubs, pursuit of professional careers as musicians (other than pianists and singers) was not sanctioned as a proper endeavor for women of good breeding and social standing. In California, however, it seems that the all-women's orchestras were accepted as important participants of the community musical scene and a respectable avenue for advancing a professional career. Many women of the all-women's orchestras in California went on to perform professionally in all types of mainstream performing groups.

Let's take a brief look at the general situation for women musicians in the United States during the last third of the nineteenth century. The changes which occurred during this period were dramatic for women musicians. Before 1870, for the most part, the only instruments which women played were piano and harp. Women composers wrote exclusively for voice and keyboard instruments. Several things happened which opened the doors for women musicians.

Violinists Camilla Urso (1842-1902) and Maud Powell (1868-1920) established precedents for women as concert artists and advocated equal opportunities for women musicians. Camilla Urso came first. She made her debut at age ten as a French child prodigy and was the first woman classical violinist ever to appear on stage in the United States. She set off a craze among young girls to play the violin and other string instruments and girls schools for instruction in string playing sprang up all over the East Coast and later, throughout the country.

Maud Powell was born in Illinois and received most of her training in music in the United States, but was, for a time, in Europe studying violin and theory. According to Nicolas Slonimsky, "Returning to the United States in 1885 she gave concerts and acquired a sort of automatic celebrity since the female species among violinists was a *rara avis* in her time." Both Camilla Urso and Maud Powell have concerts in various towns and cities throughout California.

When these girls reached adulthood they desired opportunities to continue their performance activities, but prejudice kept them out of the professional orchestras. In 1871, the Vienna Ladies' Orchestra appeared in New York City, the first of its kind ever to be heard in the United States. Similar groups were organized, most notably in Boston and New York. As women musicians began to play in the orchestras, women composers began to write for orchestra, including Amy Beach and Margaret Ruthvan Lang, among the earliest.

The 1890s was an intense period of activism among women in all professions and marked a wave of feminism which lasted until World War I and the winning of the right to vote. Women's pages in the national music magazines like *Etude* and *Musical Courier* testify to the tremendous activities of women musicians during this period.

Many of the women musicians who came to California were well-trained in Eastern music conservatories and in Europe. They came to California, like all others, in search of new opportunities. California was open to new possibilities and the discrimination which existed in the East against women musicians was not so rampant in the Western frontier.

Women musicians in California have performed in orchestras doing standard concert repertoire and the music of contemporary composers, in big bands, playing the pits of theatres, on the movie sets for large musical numbers, in marching bands, in jazz bands in supper clubs and night clubs, and jamming with men in the after-hour breakfast clubs. Women musicians in California have played all the instruments, some were unionized, they played on radio and later on television, they played both in professional and in community groups. They taught in schools, both public and private, and they played in all-female groups and in groups with men.

The women musicians who came from the East brought with them the stories of the successes of the all-women performing groups on the East Coast and were willing to be involved in similar groups in their newly adopted home. These all women's orchestras were successful in that they achieved professional or semi-professional status in the music community and they provided women with opportunities to perform, otherwise not available to them because of their sex.

What was California like in the 1890s and what happened to Easterners and Mid-Westerners after their arrival? A 1927 pamphlet of the Los Angeles Civic Bureau of Music and Art tells us:

The mental environment then includes the inspiring success of developing the territory, the romantic daring of the past, . . . widespread enthusiasm aroused by the new homeland, ambitious associates and changed living conditions, which all stimulated spontaneity of expression People, who come West from Eastern cities and farms, undergo a subtle spiritual change and find themselves in a state of mind from which the Pacific slope with its vast distances, cheerful living conditions, natural rather than traditional, mode of life had entirely released them.

Indeed, women musicians were freed from the constraints of the Eastern musical establishment and in California they dared to try new things—things they might have had some difficulty accomplishing in their hometowns.

Women musicians were only first accepted into the Musicians' Union in 1903 when the Musicians' Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, which required that there be no discrimination against women workers. The women in California, it seems, were founding members of some of the locals of the Musicians' Union up and down the state, or at least were active in the union locals' early years.

We find women as founding members of some of the major symphony orchestras in the state. Women held key roles in the establishing of music schools and music programs within the public schools. Women served on the boards of directors and in the management of these performing and educational institutions.

Throughout California music history, there have been numerous groups including the California Music Teachers Association, women's music clubs, many of which were affiliated with the National Federation of Music Clubs, founded in 1898, women's choral societies, like The Los Angeles Women's Lyric Club, and women's music study groups. Women musicians gained prominence as soloists, composers, conductors, church musicians, and concert managers. In *Music and Dance in California*, in an article by Frank Colby on "The Women's Contribution," he writes,

"Without question, the progress of music in Los Angeles and this part of California owes much to our women; they have been identified with quite every movement which has grown into a factor vitally influencing our musical life."

Colby mentions individual pianists, patronesses, music club women, instrumentalists, singers, and composers. California has also known its share of women orchestral and opera conductors: Ruth Haroldson, conductor of the Los Angeles Women's Symphony Orchestra and the Whittier College Symphony; Antonia Brico, who studied at the University of California at Berkeley and conducted in the Bay Area early in her career; Ethel Leginska, who founded and conducted an orchestra in Los Angeles called the Leginska Little Symphony Orchestra; Eva Anderson, conductor of the Long Beach Woman's Symphony; and composer Mary Carr Moore.

Many of the earlier California women composers have received recognition, including Elinor Remick Warren, Mary Carr Moore, Kathleen Lockhart Manning, Frances Marion Ralston, Rosalie Housman, Radie Britain, Alice Barnett, Mildred Couper, Carrie Jacobs Bond, Gertrude Ross and Fannie Charles Dillon, to mention a few.

Women musicians were very active in chamber music as well. There have been many more talented pianists in California than could be mentioned here. There were all-female chamber ensembles active throughout California.

The all-women performing ensembles in California beginning in the 1880s provided opportunities for women musicians to further their skills as instrumentalists and in many cases, develop professional careers as musicians. The impact of all-female ensembles in terms of audience draw and reaction must have been even stronger in California than experienced in the East because there were so few women in California—in 1890, in some parts of California, there was one woman for every nine men. There were so few women and therefore it was probably important for safety purposes that the women band together (pun intended) for protection. Since there were so few women here, the women musicians probably wouldn't have been considered to be social outcasts or suspect because of their chosen careers.

These groups existed throughout California, from San Diego to Stockton; Monterey to Riverside. A list of some of the groups included in my study is included in the handout.

Researching the women in music of California is really no different than researching the men musicians, except for maybe two special challenges:

- 1) First, the problem with names, and if you don't believe how serious this could become, try tracing the professional activities of a woman musician who just happened to marry two or three times, changing her name with each new marriage, who composed with a pseudonym or two. Such a case requires that you look in each source under several different names and this can be time-consuming and aggravating.
- 2) The second problem has to do with women concealing their birthdates. Some women constantly subtracted ten years for each 20 they had on this earth. Maintaining these lies might require that a woman lie about the exact year of her debut, or graduation from conservatory or university, travels and study in Europe and so on.

When pursuing the story of these women in music, it is also valuable to have a solid foundation in the literature of women's studies, so as to easily and accurately place

the accomplishments and challenges of these women into a perspective which comprehends the limitations imposed by a sexist society.

If one were to begin studying women in music in California, where should one start? First examine the standard sources now available on women in music like the Adrienne Fried-Block, Carol Neuls-Bates *Women in American Music: A Bibliography* (1980), and other bibliographies compiled by Hixon and Hennessee, Skronski, and Stern, and the *International Encyclopedia of Women Composers* compiled by Aaron I. Cohen.

My strategy for the project, *The Story of the All-Women's Orchestras in California*, was two-fold:

- 1) to contact the women who were still living who were involved with making this history;
- 2) to comb through the libraries, historical societies and other archives to find published materials and other documents which might help me piece together the whole story.

I have done a number of interviews, including a couple by telephone with Ruth Haroldson, conductor of the Los Angeles Women's Symphony from 1939 until 1961, before she died. When she died she made sure that I was the recipient of her carefully assembled scrapbooks on the history of the orchestra and they have been a tremendously valuable resource. In addition, I have talked with a number of women who played with the group in the 1940s and 50s.

I met Peggy Gilbert through the Musicians Union, Local 47 and have interviewed her, in fact she is the star in our television program. At 80 years old she knows a great deal about women musicians in Los Angeles beginning in the late 1920s. She was the band leader for a number of all-women groups who played in the movies, theatres, supper clubs, toured the country in the 30s and 40s. She has kept track of her career and has photographs and magazine and newspaper clippings.

In addition interviews have been done with Black trumpet player Clora Bryant, with Marilyn Mayland, bass player of the Los Angeles Women's Symphony, the organizers of the Bay Area Women's Philharmonic, members of the jazz group Alive! Transcripts of these interviews are in the Archive.

Research has been done in the following libraries and archives: Los Angeles Public, UCLA, Brand Library, Glendale Public Library, San Diego Public Library, Long Beach Public Library, San Francisco Public Library, San Diego Historical Society, Archives of the Hotel del Coronado at San Diego State University, Pioneer Museum and Historical Society in Stockton, and at Local 47 of the Musicians' Union.

Periodicals which have proved to be great sources include *The Pacific Coast Musician*, *Pacific Coast Musical Review*, *The Overture* (the magazine of the A.F. of M., Local 47), *The Musical Courier* and *Etude Magazine*.

This is not easy research, but it has been rewarding. As with any other research, the more you know, the more you realize how much more there must be to uncover.

CALIFORNIA ALL-WOMEN ORCHESTRA AND ENSEMBLES 1893-1985

- The Los Angeles Women's Philharmonic* 1893-1961
 [also known as:
 The Los Angeles Women's Symphony Orchestra
 The Women's Orchestra of Los Angeles
 The Women's Symphony Orchestra of Los Angeles
 The Women's Symphony Orchestra]
- The Saturday Morning Orchestra, San Francisco* c.1894
 Professor Rosenwald, Founder and Conductor
 Alfred Roncovieri, Conductor 1895-97
- The American Troubadours, Hotel del Coronado, San Diego* 1899-1900
 C.A. McClure, Director
- The Ladies' Concert Band, San Diego* 1904-1906
 Professor R.E. Trognitz, Conductor
- The Riverside Women's Orchestra* 1922
 Frederick Tipping, Conductor
- The Long Beach Women's Orchestra* 1925-c.1941
 [also known as:
 Long Beach Women's Symphony Orchestra]
 Eva Anderson, Conductor
- The Hollywood Women's Symphony Orchestra* 1932-1933
 Anna Priscilla Risher, Founder and Conductor
- The Glendale Women's Symphony Orchestra* 1931
 William C. Ulrich, Founder
- Women's Little Symphony Orchestra, Los Angeles* 1931
 Bessie Chapin, Founder and Conductor
- La Sinfonetta, Stockton* 1936-1938
 Virginia L. Short, Founder and Conductor
- The San Diego Women's Symphony Orchestra* 1938
 William Benner, Conductor
- The Pan Pacific Women's Orchestra, Los Angeles* 1941-1942
 Dr. Leonard Walker, Founder and Conductor
- Peggy Gilbert's All-Girl Bands* 1929-1945
 [various names including:
 Peggy Gilbert and Her Metro-Goldwyn Orchestra
 Peggy Gilbert and Her Symphonics
 Peggy Gilbert and Her Coeds]
- The Three V's (later The Four V's), Los Angeles* 1945-1948
- Ina Ray Hutton and the Melodears, Los Angeles* 1934-1949
- Babe Eagen and the Hollywood Redheads, Los Angeles* 1924-c.1937
- Ada Leonard All-Girl Big Band, Los Angeles* 1940s-1950s
- The Dixie Belles* 1975-
 Peggy Gilbert, Leader

<i>Maiden Voyage</i> Ann Patterson, Leader	1980-
<i>The Bay Area Women's Philharmonic</i>	1981-
<i>Alive!</i>	1977-

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Who's Who Among the Women of California. San Francisco & Los Angeles, CA: Security Publishing, 1922.

Who's Who in Music and Dance in Southern California. Edited by Bruno David Ussher. Hollywood, CA: Bureau of Musical Research, William J. Perlman, 1933.

Offers a survey of the musical scene in the area during the early 1930's, including bibliographic and performing information about musicians of the period.

IMPORTANT PERIODICALS

Etude Magazine

The Musical Courier

The Overture (Local 47, A.F. of M.)

The Pacific Coast Musical Review

The Pacific Coast Musician