
“The Los Angeles Way of Doing Things:”

The Olympic Village and the Practice of Boosterism in 1932

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The “Olympic Village” built by the Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee was above all a tourist attraction. This was no happenstance, but a deliberate component of a larger organizational strategy. Diverting attention to itself was not of course the village’s sole function, but it was perhaps the most crucial in terms of the Organizing Committee’s grand scheme for the Games of the Tenth Olympiad. Certainly this overall aim has been little understood, or underplayed by scholars to date, largely due to the original de-emphasis given it by organizers themselves, and perhaps because the Olympic village installation was eradicated so soon. This paper endeavours to explore this masked ‘function,’ which should rightly be understood as a vital component of the Organizing Committee’s zealous commitment to a booster’s ideology.¹

The village had three primary functions: 1) to persuade National Organizing Committees that the trip to Los Angeles was economically feasible, and that their athletes would be accommodated in a clean well-organized and private settlement; 2) to manifest fair-play and multi-national/multi-racial harmony, tenets of the philosophy articulated by Olympic movement founder and former IOC president Pierre de Coubertin; 3) to stimulate local interest in the Games; and, perhaps most importantly, 4) to generate interest in the greater United States towards Los Angeles as an attractive destination for the tourist, new residents, and business investment. The first of these functions has been dealt with by Robert K. Barney quite effectively (but not completely).² By guaranteeing NOCs a cost of \$2.00 per day per athlete, a price that included shelter, food, and transportation within Los Angeles to and from training facilities and competition venues, and coupled with pledges by steamship and railroad concerns for reduced fares, the local Organizing Committee managed to entice enough Europeans and Asians to the Games despite economic depression.³ Long-

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time booster and L.A. Organizing Committee president, William May Garland, later boasted, “we promised them...not a tentative rate, not a guess rate and problematical, but a rate they could depend upon.”⁴ The village was a crucial aspect of that guarantee, and without it, it is likely the Games of the Tenth Olympiad would have either never taken place or would have been shifted to a European host city. Nonetheless, and this is where Barney leaves off, organizers did not in fact follow through entirely with their promise: the urge to build an attraction hampered the Organizing Committee’s ability to make the camp for male athletes a private enclave.

The second function was a source of pride for the local Organizing Committee, in large part because the village seemed a tangible expression of international unity. Four months before the Opening Ceremony organizers declared that:

in the Olympic Village plan, the Committee immediately realized that it was at once fulfilling one of the primary principles of olympism in ‘bringing the youth of all the nations together in friendly sports rivalry and thus increasing the friendship and understanding between nations.’⁵

It is this aspect of the village, above all others, that received the most copy in newspapers. But this second function, a manifestation of what might tentatively be termed an Olympic ideology, was not merely important for its inspirational value. It was intimately related to function three as a distraction from what must be considered the commercialist aspect of the Games.⁶ This last statement might seem inappropriate, especially considering the Organizing Committee’s own protestation to the contrary. In its *Official Report* the Committee stated:

It is natural we should be proud of the credit that has come to our Country, to our State and to our City from the success of this great international event....Not a single note of commercialism was allowed to permeate the consummation of the task.⁷

The Organizing Committee was indeed a not-for-profit “association,” all but one of its executive members operating as volunteers. Nonetheless, the Organizing Committee was a booster’s organization, its executive members committed to the Games as a chance to promote Los Angeles to prospective tourists, residents, and especially businesses. Never mind the assertion of pride, the telescopic nomenclature of ‘state,’ ‘country,’ and ‘city’ smacked of the booster’s vocabulary, an expansionist statement that took as fact what could only be asserted, that somehow Los Angeles, its citizens, and its Organizing Committee, was (and is) the foci of attention at multiple scales.

Even if the Organizing Committee did not publicly espouse the commercial value of their endeavour, others certainly recognized perfectly well the Committee’s ulterior motives. Two weeks before the Opening Ceremony, Garland addressed the executive board of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce in a closed-door meeting. Following his presentation, the Chamber’s president had nothing but praise for the Committee’s work. “I know when you try to think of the value of this thing for years to come in the way of favorable advertising for California,” he beamed, “it is just beyond our ability to measure from the standpoint of affirmative results.” Several members concurred, and one actually suggested petitioning the governor to issue a proclamation urging Californians to attend the Games.⁸ On the opposite end of the capitalist spec-

trum, there were others who believed they understood the Organizing Committee's underlying motives. The socialist Illinois Counter-Olympic Committee issued leaflets that stated:

The Chamber of Commerce of Los Angeles boosts the Olympics as a means of drawing tourists to their city. The state of California is spending millions for the games to boost their State as the finest in the U.S.A.⁹

This socialist group may have confused the Chamber of Commerce with the Organizing Committee, but boosting was indeed a vital purpose of the Games of the Tenth Olympiad.

This was the third function of the Olympic Village -- to draw attention to itself, and thus, to the Games. This was particularly urgent in the weeks leading up to the Opening Ceremony when ticket sales were alarmingly unspectacular. The village was articulated by organizers and their allies in the local press as a utopian space, a space that was at once a tangible manifestation of an otherwise abstract Olympic ideology, and most interestingly (and importantly for this essay) a representation of Los Angeles itself. This was boosting at its best, a grand exhibition of the "Los Angeles way of doing things,"¹⁰ and it stood as a long-awaited consummation of booster ambition that went back some twelve years. It is impossible to emphasize just how committed organizers were to the project of boosting the city, which is why the first half of this paper focusses on the promotional aspects of the Committee's organizational efforts, thus contextualizing the village in what really should be understood as a commercialist milieu.

The second half of this paper deals with the village itself, a 330 acre camp that was tom down and sold off bit by bit soon after the Closing Ceremony. Designed to be demolished after the Games closed, organizers did not even wait for the Australian team to leave; they tore the village down around the lingering athletes.¹¹ It was built on donated land by the kin of "Lucky" Baldwin, a man who had made a second fortune by being one of the first Americans to recognize the vast potential of Southern California real estate.¹² The hills that bore the speculator's name was for one summer rhetorically transformed into a living simile with ancient glory; it was at once a "Mt. Olympus" and the "Plains of Elis."¹³ Plunked down on the urban periphery in the Baldwin Hills, this mirage village was ephemeral but central. The term 'mirage' denotes two possibilities, two meanings: it of course is a reference to the temporary nature of the camp, appearing then soon disappearing without an architectural trace. Its demolition left nothing to stimulate memory and in that regard wonderfully fits historian Norman Klein's assertion that Los Angeles is a landscape of "forgetting."¹⁴ But mirage also refers to the village as an ideological device, a "real League of Nations," to borrow from a cartoon that appeared the day before the Opening Ceremony.¹⁵ That village, that "unparalleled international settlement,"¹⁶ may indeed have been the largest and most important construction project of the 1932 Games, but it was a manifestation in the landscape that possessed both physical and ideological dimensions.¹⁷ It was a meeting ground for male athletes from around the world, but it was also a spatial artifact of the IOC's sexism, its masculine investment in sport.¹⁸ The Olympic Village was not built merely to facilitate athletes, nor was its only other function the tangible manifestation of the Olympic ideal. That extraordinary camp, as

a constructed form, was the crucial and most tangible component of the Organizing Committee's boosterist practice.

Boosting as an Organizing Strategy

In 1929 the first official act of the local Organizing Committee was the establishment of a Publicity Department.¹⁹ Although the Committee ultimately took great pains to address the technical details of hosting an international sport competition, its first concern was promotion - to "capture the confidence" of the Europeans. This simple act typified the manner in which Los Angeles organizers approached the task of staging the 1932 Olympic Games, and though it stemmed from the challenge of enticing foreign teams to Los Angeles, it also had much to do with local booster practice.²⁰

The Organizing Committee was the off-spring of another booster group called the Community Development Association, or CDA. The mission of the latter group, formed in 1919 by newspaper publishers, business men, politicians, university presidents, even a Nobel Prize-winning scientist, was to apply their energies and creativity toward the making of a metropolis on par with the great cities back east.²¹ This group built the Memorial Coliseum to accommodate pageants and sports events, leasing the facility primarily to USC for the purpose of graduation ceremonies and football games. Many CDA executives had been or would soon become board members of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, itself an organization that dated back to the 1880s with the declared mission of building Los Angeles into a city on par with San Francisco. The money from the bond measure was handled by another group, the Tenth Olympiad Commission. Garland and other Organizing Committee members also enjoyed executive membership in the CDA and the Tenth Olympiad Commission. It would thus be an understatement to say these organizations were intertwined. The CDA's offices, leased from Garland in a downtown building which also housed the Organizing Committee's offices, were part of Garlands vast commercial real estate brokerage empire.²² In 1920, CDA members Zack Farmer and William May Garland began soliciting the IOC for the opportunity to host the Olympic Games. By the time IOC members gave their nod to the endeavour, the CDA had already been operating for some eight years as the Organizing Committee's *de facto* publicity department. Realtor and Athletic Club executive William May Garland had ventured to Europe on several occasions in that time, carrying out the Association's persistent effort to secure for the city the chance to host the Games and show the world the Los Angeles way of doing things.

The Organizing Committee's second official action was the creation of a Sports Technical Department, and the order in which these two departments came into being epitomizes the priorities of the Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee. This prioritization belies the Committee's commitment to control its self-image and reveals just how far the term "organization" might be taken. Among other things, the local Committee did all it could to influence journalistic production in the years leading up to the Games of the Tenth Olympiad. The original CDA was, after all, instigated by the publishers of the five biggest daily newspapers in Los Angeles, most of whom were to become members of the Tenth Olympiad Commission. The Organizing Committee included executives from several newspapers, including Bill Henry, who

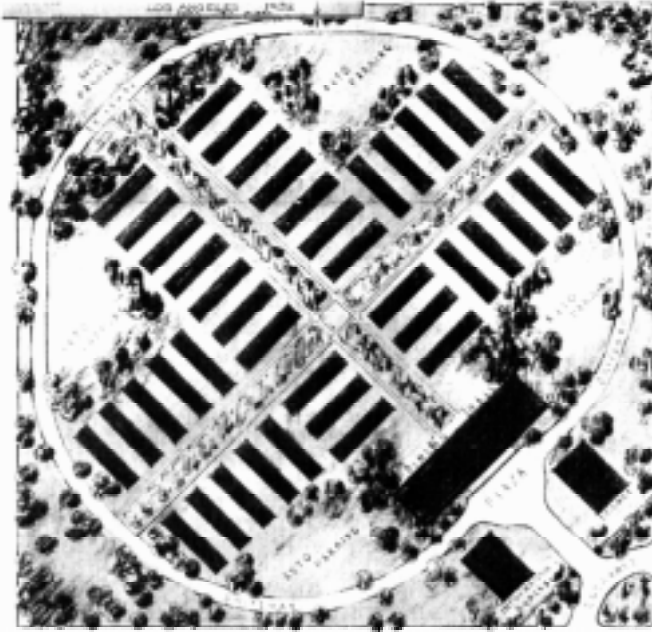
was appointed secretary of the new Sports Technical Department. He had been a long-time sports writer and editor for the *Los Angeles Times*. After the 1932 Games Bill Henry negotiated with the IOC to write a book of the Olympic movement's history, soliciting American Olympic Association president Avery Brundage for "official" endorsement in return for donating a percentage of his royalties to the AOA's coffers.²³

From the very beginning the Los Angeles committee looked to the Games as an advertising opportunity, the chance to make the most of the world's two week attention to the city. In order to persuade the state legislature and, subsequently, state voters to pass the bond measure of 1929, the CDA likened the Olympic Games to the Panama-Pacific Exposition in San Francisco and the San Diego Panama-California Exposition of 1915. The Association reminded voters how those expositions had benefited their respective communities and how they had presented the entire state with sensational promotional opportunities. It made the case that other California cities had enjoyed state funds (via a bond measure of "a much larger amount" to stage the simultaneous fairs); now it was the turn of Los Angeles. By rhetorical announcements, the CDA established the idea that this international sporting event was an exhibition in disguise, a unique form of festival suited to revealing the "glory" of the rapidly expanding Los Angeles metropolis.²⁴ The All-Year Club, an organization formed some eleven years before the Games for the purpose of advertising Los Angeles, later reinforced this idea by estimating the Olympics would fetch 325,300 tourists to the city. According to their calculations, this influx translated into nearly \$2,000,000 spent every day of the competitions.²⁵

Maintaining a publicity campaign was a means of keeping the IOC interested in Los Angeles. The 1920s brought economic disaster to a Europe recovering from the Great War, prompting grumbles that only a European venue would be financially feasible for most prospective participants and National Olympic Committees. William M. Creakbaum was named the Publicity Department's secretary and, under his management, the department published a magazine called *Olympic* for distribution primarily overseas. It was printed in both French and English and offered IOC members updates on the Organizing Committee's progress. The May 1930 issue was a particularly important publication, for it focussed on the Berlin Congress held in April and included the prototype plan of an Olympic Village.

This early village design was a circular plan, its armature two intersecting garden promenades crossing at right angles and dividing the camp into four quadrants. Each quadrant comprised barracks-style housing units as well as a parking lot, a rather local touch to what otherwise was a rather abstract layout indicative of the fact that a building site had yet to be determined. The circular form of the plan - a form signifying unity - was articulated by a vehicular ring road that defined the outer edge of the camp and tied the four quadrants and their parking spaces into a coherent design.²⁶ Garland took copies of *Olympic* with him to the Berlin Congress as well as schematic architectural drawings and a moving picture reel of a football game in the Coliseum. The Berlin Congress rejected the plan, complaining that barracks would be too noisy; carousing athletes and those finishing competitions might return late at night, disturbing those who were still preparing for their events. There was also a privacy issue, for smaller teams might have to share barracks with their competitors. The IOC, however, was excited by the village as a concept, especially as it was presented as part of

a strategy to reduce the cost of attending the 1932 Games.²⁷ The Organizing Committee estimated a cost of \$500 per athlete, a number that not only included travel to Los Angeles and transportation within the city, but room and board too. This was far less than the \$1,500 estimated by the IOC.²⁸



Creakbaum was also responsible for stimulating national interest. Although the Department embarked upon a European advertising campaign in 1930, it waited until the fall of 1931 before it commenced an aggressive campaign in the United States itself. This staggered promotional schedule, Garland later claimed, was motivated by the fear that premature advertising might encourage tourists to put off visiting Southern California in 1931 in order to wait for the Olympic summer. In April 1932, the department published a 64-page souvenir brochure primarily intended for distribution back east.²⁹ It was unique in Olympic history, Creakbaum boasted, for it included ample photographs and extensive captions of the host-city and its surroundings.³⁰ Its pages were dominated by large black and white photographs of Los Angeles area sites, many of which had little to do with the Olympic Games. Sid Grauman's Chinese Theatre, for instance, was depicted at a night-time film opening, with searchlights casting cylinders of dusty light into the sky. That theatre was not only an easily recognizable and iconic Hollywood monument; its owners were promotional impresarios themselves. The brochure also offered a photograph of scantily-clad women on Catalina Island. There were shots of the new Central Library, the Hollywood Bowl, and El Paseo de Los Angeles. The latter was accompanied by a caption that advertised the street as a "place where one can obtain everything Spanish from food to handicraft." More pages were devoted to tourist sites in San Francisco, Oakland, Santa Barbara, Mount Shasta, Lake Tahoe, Yosemite National Park, and, of course

Balboa Park, the legacy of the 1915 World's Fair. This sort of promotional literature may have been new Olympic practice, but it was vintage Los Angeles. In effect, the brochure encouraged tourists to visit Southern California as well as the Games. With hard times in the United States unexpectedly preceding the Games, by 1932 this double attraction seemed an urgent promotional strategy.³¹

The Publicity Department spent much of its time contacting newspapers with press releases. In an address to the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, Garland assured his audience by emphasizing that, "we have paid particular attention to advertising these Games in most every paper with photographs of our prospective village and public buildings, our harbor and everything of that sort."³² 'Of that sort' meant aspects of Los Angeles that would be of interest to tourists, entrepreneurs, and even industrialists. Creakbaum and his men found editors eager to lend a hand, and the copious journalistic production has remained the Games' principal historical source material, influencing the interpretation of these Games and its organizers.³³ Eagerness was particularly apparent locally in Los Angeles. Harry Harper, head of the Chamber of Commerce Citizen's Committee, suggested businesses add a post-script to all correspondence back East, to encourage tourists to come out West for the Olympics. "We need all the visitors possible this year," he said, "both to make a success of the Games from the attendance standpoint and to keep the flow of new money into the Southwest up to the volume of more prosperous times."³⁴ And, as an editor for a small local weekly insisted:

Directly or indirectly, every one of us is going to benefit in some way from these games. and that very fact calls for every one of us to boost them, support them and patronize them in every possible way.³⁵

The *Los Angeles Times* went a step further, fancying itself as the 'official' newspaper of the Games. Publisher, CDA founder, and Tenth Olympiad Commission executive Harry Chandler printed a million post-cards at his own expense, for use by local businesses and families. He urged locals to stuff their correspondence with these cards. The front-side gave "essential information pertaining to the Games and other tourist attractions" while the back-side set "forth the amazing population figures of the Los Angeles metropolitan area, a fact known to relatively few people outside the State."³⁶ By 1930, Los Angeles had become the fifth largest city in the United States, having grown a phenomenal 115 percent from 1920, a rate double that of even the automobile boom-town of Detroit. Los Angeles may have been smaller than San Francisco, Chicago, and New York, but it was expanding five times as fast, and 26 times as fast as Boston.³⁷ Boosters had worked long and hard for this kind of success. For years Garland habitually planted 'for-sale' signs around town on vacant lots he was trying to sell, each with the same sort of population figures as Chandler's, thus striving to demonstrate L.A.'s proven growth and its assured trajectory of prosperity into the future. By the late 1920s, Garland had found this advertising strategy effective enough to put those same figures, as well as his own predictions for growth, on the letterhead of his company's stationary.³⁸ The booster's spirited mood was encapsulated by Chandler's own promotional campaign on behalf of the Games. One of his editors wrote:

The *Times* is convinced that there never was a time when more people had their eyes on California and that a nation-wide distribution of these cards will stimulate an enormous tourist level. People everywhere are making their vacation plans, and now is the psychological time to act.³⁹

During the boom of the 1920s boosters departed from longstanding practice by tailoring their advertising to attract industry rather than vacationers (hence the population figures), but the Great Depression prompted a fall-back to the older strategy of enticing tourists.⁴⁰ The committee also hoped to lure members of the foreign press to the Games, but Garland's proposal to offer journalists the same discount on rail fare that athletes enjoyed was looked upon coolly by Coubertin's successor, IOC president Count Henri Baillet-Latour, a man who did not yet share L.A.'s understanding of the press as a vital promotional tool. Baillet-Latour's reaction may have had much to do with Coubertin's own wariness of large crowds, insisting that stadiums accommodating the Olympic Games should not exceed a seating capacity of 40,000. "Once seats for (that number) are built, you have to fill them, and that means drawing a crowd," he wrote in 1928, "To draw that crowd, you will need a publicity campaign, and to justify a publicity campaign you will have to draw sensational numbers." He referred to this process as creating "oversized showcases (that) are the source of corruption at the root of the evil."⁴¹ By 'evil' Coubertin had in mind sponsorships and gambling. Obviously this anxiety over spectacle was in stark contrast to the ideas motivating the likes of William May Garland. He not only celebrated the Games as a "show," but the Community Development Association had financed and built a stadium that not only exceeded Coubertin's 40,000 seat limit, it more than doubled it.⁴² Coubertin's ideas on the subject were far from consistent, however, for three years later he issued a report praising the Los Angeles boosters cum organizers for their campaign of "well-organized advertising."⁴³ This inconsistency was rather important, and useful, for it offered local organizers the rhetorical room to insert their own ideological predilections.

In myriad ways the Games were made a venue for the purpose of promotion. And in myriad ways boosters found imaginative uses for Games publicity to showcase various qualities and features of Los Angeles. Like the movie industry and the automobile, the airplane's local popularity and the growing infrastructure for its profitable use had made this new mode of transportation something of a modern icon, one that was quickly incorporated into the Los Angeles lexicon of boosting.⁴⁴ Amelia Earhart, a celebrity pilot, arrived in Los Angeles shortly before the Games, and at the official opening day ceremony of the newly constructed State Building downtown, the day before the Olympics began, she was awarded a medal by Charles Curtis, Vice President of the United States. He was in town for the Games, but was borrowed for this pre-Olympic celebration by fellow Republican city leaders such as Garland, Mayor John Porter, and Governor Rolph (a member of the Tenth Olympiad Commission).⁴⁵ They cleverly coordinated this ribbon-cutting ceremony to coincide with the Games. Having Curtis preside over the opening of a mere State building was, of course, quite a publicity coup.

Back in April, members of the Junior Chamber of Commerce got the idea of using the burgeoning aviation industry to advertise airplanes to promote the Olympics. The idea was to generate enthusiasm for the Olympics while celebrating the

city's enthusiasm for this fledgling industry. They assembled an air flotilla and mapped out an 8500 mile tour. They would have taken off the second week of May, but east-coast enthusiasts clamoured to join the party, delaying the start. This was unfortunate. By the time the vanguard of the 35-plane flotilla took off with the Organizing Committee's official invitations and a movie star, the tour immediately ran into an early June storm. The mission was scratched in just two days.⁴⁶ The official invitations to all the prospective NOCs had long-since been sent out according to protocol, these last-minute invitations were just for show. Another Hollywood actor, Neil Hamilton, embarked upon a publicized bicycle tour of his own. He started off from Sacramento with the intention, not quite fulfilled, of biking all the way to Los Angeles. This was his way of using a bit of self-promotion to boost the Games. He took along a trainer and made sure his doctor followed him in a car.⁴⁷

In an effort to capitalize on the attraction of Hollywood, organizers made Louis B. Mayer, film studio head, a member of the Tenth Olympiad Commission. In conjunction with the All-Year-Club and the Motion Picture Producers Association, the Organizing Committee broadcast two radio shows, first in May and again in July. Stars like Marlene Dietrich, Maureen O'Sullivan, Jimmy Durante, Bela Lugosi, Delores Del Rio, Stan Laurel and Oliver Hardy, invited European listeners to the Games in a number of languages. The July broadcast emanated simultaneously from the Hollywood Bowl, the men's village, and the Coliseum. It was called "Come to the Games" and it featured Mary Pickford and her husband Douglas Fairbanks, Jr., as well as comedian Will Rogers.⁴⁸ Garland and his second in command, Zack Farmer, were featured in the second of the two broadcasts. Targeting primarily tourists, they promised a grand competition, and emphasized the promise of a good time in California for those who made the journey.⁴⁹ The intimation that there would be more to see at the Coliseum than runners and hurdlers was palpable not only in those broadcasts, but in a smattering of commentaries throughout the Olympic summer.

The lure of the silver screen was evident as early as 1923 when Garland pitched his second bid to host the Games.⁵⁰ At the end of that 1923 IOC meeting in Prague, a Central European delegate insisted on shaking Garland's hand, and then asked, "Where is Los Angeles? Is it anywhere near Hollywood?"⁵¹ When Garland and Farmer showed their motion picture reel to the IOC at the Berlin Congress of 1930, the point was not merely to provide tangible proof of the Organizing Committee's efforts, but the novel presentation no doubt emphasized the notion that Los Angeles was a movie-oriented – thus exotically modern -- town. Two years later reporter John Scott advised readers the Olympic Games was sure to be a great place to spot movie stars: "Better keep your eyes peeled for your favorite actor because he may be sitting next to you." All the attention on the athletes, he said, was a great opportunity for the stars to come out in public. But the advice came with a disclaimer -- "Many notables do not look the same off-screen."⁵² Scott knew that except for radio broadcasts, the studios were reluctant to loan their actors to the Organizing Committee. They worried that too much star representation would constitute box-office competition.⁵³ Even if Hollywood wasn't much in presence despite the intimated promises to the contrary, the athletes themselves served as surrogate stars. Heinz Reichmann, a correspondent with the German team, said, "we know now how such noted Americans as Col. Charles Lindbergh, Babe Ruth, and the others...feel."⁵⁴ Indeed, Garland referred to athletes as "actors." In correspondence with IOC president Baillet-Latour, he

chronically emphasized his committee's efforts to make the Games a successful "celebration," rarely, if ever, underscoring the athletic and competitive aspect of the impending event.⁵⁵

As the depression diminished support for cultural institutions, the Games were looked to as a potential means of jump-starting financial normalcy in the world of the arts. The Hollywood Bowl, an open-air concert space in the Hollywood Hills, experienced lagging ticket sales and suffered a deficit in 1932. Faced with the prospect of closing, administrators invited Olympic Games officials and select athletes as celebrities to the night-time concert series called "Symphony Under the Stars," and boasted that despite hard times, advance season ticket sales were heavier than ever. This may have been accurate, but in May the president of the Bowl groveled before the County Board of Supervisors for an emergency grant to keep the place open. Administrators also came up with an "Olympic Pageant" to draw tourists during the summer, but the Bowl remained in the red throughout the depression.⁵⁶

The term "Olympic" and its permutations proved a popular choice for Los Angeles advertisers. Association with the Games seemed a valuable promotional practice, and some went even further. The most notorious case was that of baker Paul Helms, a wealthy businessman who won the competition to supply bread to the athletes' village. This was a boon, since the area's bakers, like the dairies and a handful of other local industries, were gripped in an alarming price war, each company lowering retail prices below cost in order to drive the competition out of business while increasing sales volume.⁵⁷ The Olympic contract gave Helms an advantage over his competitors not merely for the remuneration promised by the contract, but for the visibility it gave the Helms Bakery and the association with the biggest cultural event in Southern California since the 1915 San Diego Exposition. By July, Helms was advertising his bakery in several dailies, proudly adorning his adverts with the emblem of the 1932 Games including the five Olympic rings and the Latin motto, *citius, altius, fortius*.⁵⁸ This was a violation of the "Olympic code," according to AOA president Avery Brundage. He had already dealt with several problems of this sort, complaining that Southern California in particular was a hotbed of "rackets" scamming the Olympic insignia. He had asked the local Organizing Committee, local newspapers, as well as the Chamber of Commerce to stamp the problem out.⁵⁹

Although an anti-commercial ideal may have been an implicit component of Olympism from the start, it was hardly a consistent practice in fact. The Paris Games of 1924 featured commercial advertisements inside the Olympic stadium, and as the authors of *Selling the Five Rings* have recently noted, even Coubertin himself was forced by financial necessity to seek funding from advertisers in his journal the *Olympic Revue*.⁶⁰ But Coubertin also spent his own fortune funding the Games, for if commercial aspects were to work their way into the Olympic movement, they were to be suppressed in order to allow the educational message of the Games to have its play. The Organizing Committee of the 1932 Games, however, may have been persuaded by this educational message, but they simultaneously coveted an ulterior motive. Like Coubertin, and yet unlike him, boosters cum organizers were indeed inspired by the Olympic event.

Paul Helms was one of those boosters truly inspired by the Olympic spectacle, as well as by the inspiring ideals of amateur athletics. In the years after the Tenth Olympiad he established the Helms Amateur Athletic Foundation, as well as a small jour-

nal dedicated to publicizing local sport. He also expanded his advertising strategy. He added billboards to his repertoire, and by the mid-1930s had built a sign the size of an automobile over his bakery, illuminating it at night. He also bought airspace on the radio to advertise his product as “exclusive Olympic Bread.” Every loaf was wrapped with paper that bore the old 1932 logo, with its Olympic five rings symbol and Latin motto, *citius, altius, fortius*. Helms was a home delivery outfit, and by the 1940s he had a fleet of 300 trucks, each one ornamented with the Olympic insignia, the five rings, and the immortalized Latin phrase. When Carl Diem, the mastermind of the Berlin Games, asked Helms if he could borrow his bread recipes, Helms put the German’s letter to use in the summer of 1936 as advertising copy. This helped breathe new life into Helms’ self-promotion as the “official Olympic Baker.” A few years later he offered to send the same recipes to Japan for the 1940 Games, as well as a team of expert cooks, all free of charge.⁶¹ All this raised Brundage’s ire, as well as that of local bakers who claimed false advertising, but Helms’ practice was legal, for he had copyrighted the IOC’s logo in 1932

Avery Brundage lamented the IOC’s failure to secure copyright first, for without it he and the IOC had no leverage against Helms. In 1938 he appealed to William May Garland to get Helms to reform this advertising practice, but to no avail. In a letter that reads like a letter of recommendation, Garland responded by confessing a liking for both Helms and his advertising. In quintessential booster fashion, Garland even made the wild claim that Helms Bakeries were the cleanest in the United States. In short, Garland implored, “Mr. Helms is one of the finest gentlemen I have ever met.”⁶²

The most striking aspect of Garland’s letter, however, was the display of an apparent callousness towards what Brundage referred to in his own letters as the “Olympic code,” the anti-commercial sentiment built into Coubertin’s philosophy that scorned using the Olympics for commercial gain. Garland wrote of Helms:

It is always a joy to pass his business place for he has illuminated the shield of the I.O.C. on his building. In fact, in a nice dignified way, he keeps the thought of Olympism and the Olympic Games alive and before the people in a manner that surely is not objectionable.

Garland understood this sort of association between the Games of the Tenth Olympiad and Helms’ business to be a sound and just advertising expression, in this case he even elevated Helms’ advertising to the level of civic virtue - keeping the Games “alive and before the people.” This letter and Brundage’s prompt response reveal the monolithic misunderstanding existing between these two fellow Olympic figures. The concept of anti-commercialism was not at all universalized by the 1930s, despite Coubertin’s writings and Brundage’s ideas about a ‘code.’ Brundage leaned towards the anti-commercial end of the spectrum, certainly his response to Garland would indicate such an ideological position. Brundage attempted to explain the problem as he saw it, by explicating just what the Olympic code was all about:

Obviously, if the manufacturers and dealers in the shoes, the clothing, the various kinds of equipment that the athletes use, and in the things that they eat and drink all use the name “Olympic”, the five circle emblem and the

motto, “Citius, Altius, Fortius,” in their advertising they will soon lose their meaning. There is no reason why Mr. Helms should not say that he furnished bread for the different teams who participated in the Olympic Games at Los Angeles, but to appropriate the Olympic Insignia is something else.⁶³

Brundage employed the term “appropriate” as a verb, implying that Helms was guilty of employing the Olympic association for an aim that was foreign to the principle of Olympism. Advertising in past Games had been allowed when necessary, but for the Organizing Committee of the 1932 Games, advertising was synonymous with public relations. The IOC banned outright advertising in Olympic competition venues ever since the 1924 Games,⁶⁴ so the Los Angeles Committee was forced to rely on more subtle means to make the necessary associations. Consequently, it made its main concern the larger ideological association between Los Angeles itself and the Olympic ideal. This is where the athletes’ village proved so important, as we shall see. For boosters, public relations was the primary contact with the public sphere, a means of access to a market as well as a means of defining the booster’s sense of self. Boosters believed their own sales pitch,⁶⁵ and it wasn’t as though Garland had no cultural investment in sport, for after all, he was the president of the Los Angeles Athletic Club. Amicable weather, sunshine, sport, healthy living, perpetually increasing land values, incessant good cheer to the point of tireless boosting - this was Los Angeles.⁶⁶ The Organizing Committee, being a child of the CDA, was inherently dedicated to persuading the nation and now the world that its city was a place to do business, or at least, to spend money under the perpetual (‘all-year’) sunshine. These boosters cum organizers were positioned at the loci of a capitalist worldview, and the repartee between the two delegates reveals how Garland was either unwilling or incapable of perceiving Helms’ claim as an immoral practice. For Garland and his organizers, this commercial practice was unassailable, an inevitable and welcome happenstance of the Olympic movement. And as Garland pointed out, in this specific case, Helms’ claim to the name ‘Olympic’ was at least based on a contract. Many other ‘abuses’ of the sobriquet ‘Olympic’ were far more egregious, although most were subtle and innocuous.

Film studios, for example, made plans to use the Olympics as a colorful backdrop to more than half a dozen black and white talkies, while two different real estate companies tried to cash-in on the Games by hosting an “Olympiad home show.” The one in Leimert Park was at least in the vicinity of the Baldwin Hills, but it is doubtful the twenty “Monterey Style” “modern homes” struck potential buyers as particularly Olympic-like. Contrary to Brundage’s claims that most of the attempts to appropriate the Olympic logo and name had been squelched, Los Angeles was choked with Olympic pirates. Architect Richard Neutra and the president of the University of Southern California, Richard von Kleinsmit, himself a member of the Tenth Olympiad Commission, managed to bring the Museum of Modern Art’s architecture exhibit to Los Angeles during the summer. The models and drawings of predominantly European “International Style” buildings had absolutely nothing to do with the Games, but that didn’t matter. Even though the show and the Games took place at the same time only by sheer coincidence, the *Los Angeles Times* billed it as the “famed Olympic Architectural Exhibition.” Neutra was something of an opportunist himself, and when reporters interviewed him he did his best to articulate a connection between

amateur athletics and architecture. "The idea behind the new trend of architecture," he explained, "is as modern as the Tenth Olympiad. In our new buildings we must feel the outdoors, the sun, air and invigoration of living, all of which are lost in ordinary architecture."⁶⁷

The Organizing Committee attempted to expand the scope of the Olympics to increase interest. As part of Olympic protocol, the Committee was charged with the task of organizing a competition of art and literature, legacies of the Games' World's Fair influence, as well as an important aspect of Olympism.⁶⁸ Just in case the incessant boasting about Southern California being an inherently sport-minded place wasn't quite working, organizers sought to use art and literature to lure a larger and more diverse audience. The Los Angeles Committee assured the public that these competitions weren't just about athletics: "To broaden the concept" and entice those who share no yen for sport, the entire field of sports, as well as the idea of sport and physical culture, generally or singly, might be dealt with."⁶⁹ In practice, however, this strategy was more rhetoric than substance. Leila Mechlin, the secretary of the art competition, was quite conservative in screening works that did not meet a sport-content criteria. She disqualified a satirical piece called "Historrinner" by a Polish sculptor that took aim at Mussolini and his efforts to use sport as a surrogate and harbinger of war.⁷⁰

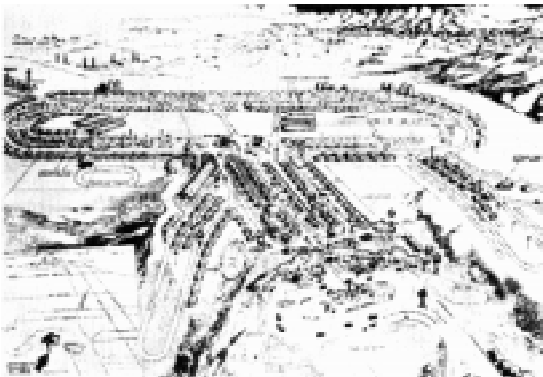
As the Games approached, the Organizing Committee used every opportunity it could find to whip-up interest for the impending event. Even the tickets to the various venues were marketed as something out of the ordinary. They came in leather folding pocket cases, that were "to be treasured as souvenirs," and sold by a team of clerks that were tri-lingual, young, and female.⁷¹ The Olympics may have been all about masculinity, the 160 women athletes arriving for the competitions excepted of course, but the Organizing Committee's publicity campaign made it clear that the civilized mark of femininity was not at all absent. Organizationally, the female athletes were segregated from their male counterparts, split-off and secured within a safe and refined haven in the Wilshire District. It was a site selected supposedly for the excellent shopping opportunities it offered the female taste.⁷² The press informed readers how these young ladies enjoyed afternoon tea while trading recipes in the Chapman Park Hotel's garden courtyard.⁷³ Boosters made an effort to represent these athletes as feminine, emphasizing the idea that these 'girls' were not all that serious about competition and had other things on their mind. This not only made them more attractive, it skirted a long-standing controversy about the harmful effects of athletics on the female body as well as the body politic in general.⁷⁴ Their presence made the Games seem like an even more interesting show.⁷⁵

By April, fearing flagging interest, Garland encouraged the press to publicize news of foreign teams making preparations to come, and to document their journeys from the east coast or from San Francisco. This sort of publicity, at the very least, would bolster Los Angelenos with confidence in this sporting event. When he met the Chamber of Commerce two weeks before the Opening Ceremony, Garland crowed, "in most every part of the world Los Angeles has been advertised during the past two years most thoroughly." But not all publicity was good. Efforts were made back east to denigrate the western organizers in an attempt to woo the Olympic Games away from Los Angeles to an eastern site. Fearing Baillet-Latour might be persuaded by such bad press, Garland urged the IOC president not to believe every-

thing he read.⁷⁶ “I was afraid (the IOC) might realize how far Los Angeles was from the center of the earth and weaken,” Garland told the Chamber. Then he added, “the Average European when he visits New York, sometimes goes to Washington and they think they have seen the United States.” And with typical booster’s flair, he said “I told (the IOC) that these Games were universal and international in character and for once they should have the Games in the heart of the universe - California.” Then he finished with coy humility. “I am not a diplomat,” he said, “but I have told them the truth, and you know the truth is only half told about California, so they are going to get an exposition of the truth when they arrive here.”⁷⁷

The Olympic Village

If the Games of the Tenth Olympiad were a surrogate exposition, then it is not surprising the Organizing Committee would hire H.O. Davis to build and maintain its biggest architectural feature. Davis was a newspaper man, but more importantly, he had developed the grounds at the 1915 San Diego Exposition, the one that sparked the CDA’s interest in hosting the Games in the first place.⁷⁸ Building the sprawling, lawn-intensive, rustic camp dubbed the “Olympic Village” was therefore a job well-suited to Davis.⁷⁹ Enclosed by an eight-foot tall woven wire fence, the village as finally designed encompassed more than 300 acres, and was vaguely organized in the shape of a race-track. The athletes were housed not in barracks but in two-room boxes, 24’ x 10’ in plan, two athletes to a room. Each box, or “cottage” as they were optimistically called, was set ten feet apart from the next along the rings of this race-track in abstraction. Chicago columnist and cynic Westbrook Pegler referred to them as “cardboard houses” and the *Official Report* of the Australian team described them as “huts.”⁸⁰ But in the exaggerated rhetoric of the Organizing Committee these hastily bolted-together frame-structures were romanticized as pseudo-Spanish “bungalows.”⁸¹



The plans for these cottages were developed in 1931, and they were supposed to be dressed in unique architectural façades, a sort of regional caricature in built form. The men from Great Britain, for example, could expect their huts to look faux Tudor, while the men from Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, and all places south of the border,

would enjoy faux adobe a la Mission Style.⁸² This plan of aesthetic regionalism, a messy concoction of race, nationality and geography, was dropped for less expensive and undecorated boxes. Davis had them painted beige with a rose-colored band along the base, which was supposed to reinforce the Mission Style theme of the Administration Building. Rather than celebrate the architectural styles of visiting nations, as in a world's fair and as originally intended, the Committee took the expedient course of celebrating an architectural style that was supposedly native to Los Angeles.⁸³



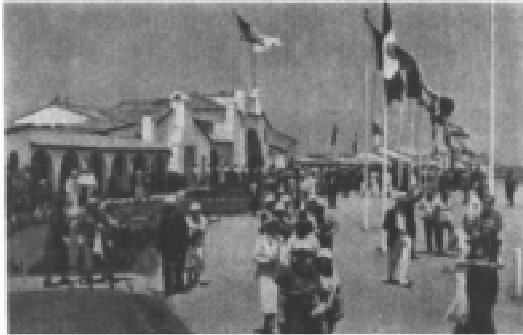
There was rhetorical value in these design decisions. Columnists frequently pointed out how many of the foreign teams included noblemen, but here in these structurally flimsy and achitecturally dismal huts they now found themselves living like commoners.⁸⁴ The small 20 feet by 20 feet dimensions of these cottages was presented to the public in a manner that de-emphasized their modest physical characteristics and accented their political implications.



In print, the Organizing Committee and newspaper reporters described these small rooms as spaces where Olympism had a great, if hidden, effect. The two beds in each room forced together rich and poor, aristocrat and worker, in a democratizing confrontation that helped spread the supposedly American way of life to the far corners of the world. Architectural sameness was a statement of international harmony,

where every nation was housed alike. This rhetoric was intended to get people excited about the village, to make it worth the trouble to see, as many clearly did. And it was also a means of distracting attention from the more commercialized aspects of the Organizing Committee's practices.

The 750 foot long Administration Building was the largest edifice in the Olympic Village. In plan it described a gentle curve that embraced the bus turn-around in front of the gate, a gesture that, architecturally speaking, suggested embrace. Fifty flag poles stood in front of this long building, as well as a lush flower bed, a freshly mowed and watered lawn, and a row of six foot tall palm trees. All the vegetation was newly planted, and many of the flowers were salvaged from miniature golf courses that went bankrupt in the early part of the year.⁸⁵ The Administration Building was designed by the Organizing Committee's in-house architectural staff to fit comfortably within the Mission Style, featuring red roof tiles and thick plaster (faux adobe) walls painted beige and a rosy pink. The building was broken into smaller masses that gave the effect of a series of forms assembled neatly together, a mildly complicated assemblage organized around a central 20 foot high archway. This arched gate was the only monumental aspect of the entire village, except perhaps the vantage of the site itself, as it overlooked Los Angeles.



STANLEY J. WATSON / GARY WELSH/REUTERS / GREGORY TULLY
 PHOTO COURTESY OF THE OLYMPIC VILLAGE

Although this building anchored the edge of the village, it was really the life-centre of the ad-hoc community. It was the interface between secure inside and chaotic outside, an architectural separator between a male interior and a public exterior, between fame and an ordinary and troubled life. A French correspondent looked about the grounds and noted an “atmosphere of quiet joy” where the “depression is left behind when visiting the Olympic Village.”⁸⁶ The site was set apart from the city, yet in view of downtown, and the unusual character of the setting, especially the unusual conglomeration of foreigners, gave the village an exotic even other-worldly flair. Reporters and columnists took a cue from the Publicity Department and offered the analogy of a Mt. Olympus and the plains of Elis.⁸⁷

The Administration Building was more than a gate, as important as a gate may have been. It enclosed a host of spaces and functions vital to the operation of the village and the athletes. Each team's attache had his own office there, and the building contained the Organizing Committee's offices as well. It also accommodated house-

keeping, a bank with a full service foreign currency exchange counter, a short-wave radio station with relay links across the globe, a post office, and a telegraph terminal. Athletes could visit a "souvenir shop" - a rather American feature of this new international building type - where they bought approximately 3,000 postcards a day as well as Los Angeles memorabilia. A "lounge" was built where athletes could mingle in a large room decorated with Navajo rugs and other "local" and "indigenous" appointments. The public was allowed in this room, as well as in an "observation room" above the archway. There a window afforded perhaps the only complete view of the village itself save from an airplane or a dirigible.⁸⁸

The local press devoted considerable attention to the village, especially before the competition started. Columnists and reporters publicized its daily life, which filled a void in newspaper copy vacated by the annual exodus of movie-stars for their summer vacations. The village was declared important, an experiment in democracy, a fulcrum of "lords and laborers," a "semi-sacred confine."⁸⁹ It was a manifestation of Coubertin's idealized vision of the Olympics, where for once the men of many nations would have to deal with each other off the playing field as well as on. The press, particularly the local press in Southern California, took a cue from the Organizing Committee's own pronouncements, and made it seem as though the village was dreamed-up strictly for its noble qualities. Caroline Walker of the *Evening Herald and Express*, for instance, taking an austere approach, described the following scene to show evidence of Olympic magic: "A trim Japanese officer in uniform, a Hungarian in a wine-colored sweat-suit, speak to each other in French - shake hands once, again, and yet again, and part."⁹⁰ Columnist Terrel Delapp's prose was more sudsy, as demonstrated by this excerpt from the last of several village stories:

"Never," was the general opinion. "You can't pen men of all nations together; men from countries, perhaps, who believe they have age-old hatreds; young men whose races, beliefs and ideals conflict." But Los Angeles did it. They were not penned, these men from all over the world; they were offered a beautiful home that became more than home to them. It grew to be their international shrine and they were proud of it. Their city of many flags, their haven. their playground.⁹¹

Journalists endeavored to project the camp's utopian possibilities. The editors of the *Los Angeles Times* were down-right effusive. "Before July ends," read their editorial, "the Olympic Village on the Baldwin Hills will in itself be a spectacle worth crossing oceans and continents to see." In print, local journalists were investing booster aspirations in this village, as the camp came to stand as an icon of the host city. Just as the Olympic Games came to represent Los Angeles, the village stood as a tangible representation of the Games. The following excerpt from the *Los Angeles Times* editorial indicates the iconic value that boosters strove to apply to the village:

Thirty six flags of thirty six peoples, created equal in opportunity, will float above the city of Los Angeles in the democratic free-for-all struggle...No makeshift camp of tents thrown hastily together are the training quarters provided for its 2000 athletic contestants by its sponsors of the Tenth Olympiad...Its temporary occupants are filled with amazement and delight and

are telling the world about the Los Angeles way of doing things.⁹²

The use of phrases like “democratic free-for-all” was a paean to the capitalist equation of free trade with free living, part of a larger sentence that implicated the concept of struggle as something more than merely athletic in nature. The Games, like the village, could be configured as a means of fostering good and virtuous citizens, only the early twentieth century version of this republican technology was influenced by commercial interests.⁹³

The local Organizing Committee at times seemed quite serious about maintaining the athletes’ privacy, but as might be expected, making the village a tourist attraction meant that privacy could not monopolize its priorities. The fence enclosing the village was not only transparent, it could be scaled without great difficulty and, so to discourage fans from climbing over and fetching autographs, a team of cowboys was hired to patrol the perimeter (see Figure 6). With their lariats in hand, their boots, their hats, and of course their horses, the security guards offered a “taste of the ‘old west’” and were themselves the focus of hundreds of camera lenses on both sides of the fence. Some of the athletes thought they were just for show. W.E. Bradfield, a columnist for the *Evening Herald and Express*, described the following village scene:

‘What do you do with that?’ he asked in English. ‘I whirl it and catch you’, the cowboy replied. ‘Impossible’, exclaimed the Italian. ‘All right, start out down the road’, the cowboy retorted. The Italian dashed away. The cowboy whirled his rope and, catching the Italian by the foot, sent him rolling. The Italian arose and stared in dumbfounded amazement and walked away shaking his head.⁹⁴

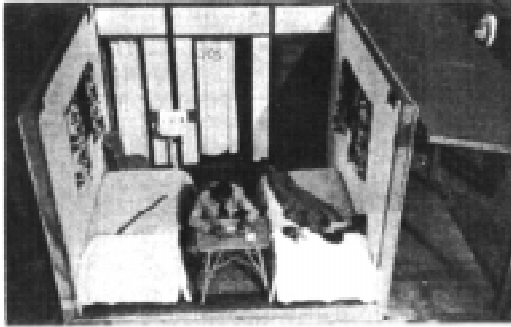
The rodeo men were something to watch, a necessary feature of a tourist attraction that was designed to lure the public and yet keep it at arm’s length.



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H.O. Davis also built two cottages *outside* the Administration Building. Visitors were thus allowed to see the kind of appointments and living atmosphere the athletes of the world enjoyed. They even asked a pair of American athletes to live in one of

the rooms part-time, just to make the model huts more of an attraction, and to help prospective post-Olympic buyers to visualize their inhabitation.⁹⁵



At the Lid Was Lifted From One of the Athletes' Cottages

Although much was made of the ban on public access to the village itself, the Committee found it useful to allow celebrities and the press to enter at will. The Chamber of Commerce's board of directors were invited for a tour, and Will Rogers ambled about with other journalists looking for material for his syndicated newspaper column.⁹⁶ Douglas Fairbanks, Jr. visited and caused quite a stir, and even the fanatic bar of "femininity" was lifted when women athletes were bussed in from their hotel in the Wilshire District for a visit.⁹⁷ Others got in too, like Harry Joannes of the Ben Hur Tea company. In what has to be considered the most blatant violation of Brundage's so called 'code', the tea manufacturer managed to snatch a photograph with members of the Indian field hockey team holding up tea-bags and smiling. He even got them to wear their turbans. The athletes' huts decorated the backdrop, and the caption read, "congratulating (Joannes) on the quality of the tea served at Olympic Village."⁹⁸

The admittance of the press has to be considered crucial, for it allowed the public to catch first-hand glimpses of this "miracle village." According to Davis, though, the place was designed in such a way "that visitors may see almost as much from vantage points outside the gates as if they were allowed to roam at will about the village." So much for privacy. Besides the two model huts out in front, an ad-hoc restaurant made the trip to Olympic Village all the more worthwhile.⁹⁹ Indeed, Organizers arranged for a temporary bus line to operate between the Coliseum and the new settlement from 7 a.m. to 11 p.m., running every fifteen minutes.¹⁰⁰ American journalists labeled the Finns poor sports because they requested added security measures. Many local athletes preferred staying at home and only visited the village for social reasons. The American exodus was so great, in fact, that one of the team's coaches publicly begged them to stay.¹⁰¹

The intention to create a source of attention seems clear, but the success of this strategy is much harder to determine. Columnist Terell Delapp claimed the village received 600,000 visitors for the month that it was in operation.¹⁰² Considering the fact that tourists never purchased tickets to get inside - except for the lounge, nobody supposedly got through the gates - how did Delapp arrive at his number? Other

reporters estimated that between 500 and 1,000 people a day lingered outside the fence and the Administration Building, hoping for an autograph or a chance to talk to an athlete.¹⁰³ One reporter even claimed a mob of 10,000 a day!¹⁰⁴ Although exact numbers cannot be secured, there is ample anecdotal evidence to suggest visitors indeed had an impact. Here's another of Bradfield's blurbs about the village:

The attache was annoyed (sic). 'Really', he said. 'I can understand that people are curious, but all day they stop and peer in at us. One would think we are monkeys. I'm afraid they will start throwing peanuts to us.'¹⁰⁵

Stories about interlopers and "gate crashers," particularly women, sneaking past the guards or climbing over the fence, occasionally appeared in the newspapers and are corroborated by at least one oral history.¹⁰⁶ The reporters themselves were boosters, and shared an interest in making the village an attraction, so their anecdotes alone can not suffice for evidence. Photographs show street hawkers in Native American costume selling souvenirs in the crowds outside the Administration Building. It was the kind of costume that might amuse visitors interested in the west as the wild-west, complimenting the cowboys patrolling inside the fence.¹⁰⁷ Although photographs don't show huge crowds, they do however show the presence of vendors that *expected* or at least hoped for a crowd. In order to preclude interference with official buses carrying athletes, the Organizing Committee built a visitor's parking lot down the hill some 600 feet from the turn-around in front of the gate. This design decision indicates that organizers expected (or again, hoped) the public would drive out and peer through the fence in substantial numbers.¹⁰⁸

The salvage effort perhaps offers a better and more interesting measure of the camp's success. Making the village intriguing - making it an attraction - was a prerequisite to selling it off in pieces as post-Olympics salvage. After the Closing Ceremony the lounge was converted into a salesroom. Everything had a price-tag: the rugs, slip-covers, the chairs in the lounge, the cottages, the athletes' beds, the curtains, the silverware, the palm trees, even the lumber from buildings that could not be sold in one piece. Vandalism perpetrated by athletes, the writing and carving of names on cottage furniture, appreciated in value so much that the Organizing Committee decided to hold a souvenir auction. Athletes had made a game of painting names on the cottages, often poking fun at the monotonous sameness of the huts with labels like the "Next One" and the "Other One."¹⁰⁹ Hector Dyer, gold medalist in the 4x400 track and field relay, was hired as a salesman. He had been working throughout the games in that capacity, not only spending time in the model cottage in front of the Administration Building but, even before the village was occupied, he could be found in a cottage set up in the basement of the B.H. Dyas Sporting Goods Company downtown.¹¹⁰

The cottages were made out of 2 x 4 frames nailed to thin plywood-like panels called *insulite*, shipped from the lumber yard on palettes and bolted together on the site by a crew that assembled 40 houses a day. They could be hauled away intact, or in pieces, whichever suited the customer. They sold for \$140, or \$215 furnished, not including shipping. The Organizing Committee's advertising read: "Olympic Cottages, portable, suitable for beach, mountains, auto camps, approved for erection in Los Angeles."¹¹¹ Boosters may have asserted the sound construction properties of

these small buildings, but plenty of anecdotes tell a different story. By day, sunlight filtered through the gap between roof panels, and there were incidents of athletes kicking or otherwise damaging the walls. An Irish athlete casually punched a hole above his head so he could get fresh air while he snoozed. In another extreme case, an athlete tossed his chair in the air. It landed on another hut, its legs piercing through the *insulite* panel overhead.¹¹² Westbrook Pegler, always eager to poke fun at Los Angeles, wasn't shy about doubting the cottages' resale value:

The officials are trying to sell the little cardboard houses to the public for use as chicken coops or ranches or for private bath houses on the beaches of California...Sales are not very brisk, however, because after the paint wears off the cardboard houses are likely to return to pulp and a wad of pulp will not provide enough shelter to shield the modesty of a bathing girl. much less the domestic life of a barnyard fowl.¹¹³

Even if Pegler's arrows were fired true, the Organizing Committee figured it could cash-in on the village's souvenir value. After all, flags had been stolen from in front of both the Administration Building and the Coliseum. To keep out souvenir hunters, security remained in place even after the athletes abandoned the place.

Fred Leach, a Laguna Beach developer, bought approximately 200 cottages. He promised to sell them at cost, plus the price of the property, and create a "permanent Olympic Village" overlooking the Pacific Ocean. The following year he expanded his sales staff to accommodate a burgeoning business. But by 1937 the land was sold to an oil company. His head salesman went to jail a couple of years later for wrongdoing in another failed real estate venture.¹¹⁴ Other cottages were purchased by the German Olympic Organizing Committee, as well as by Japanese officials who were interested in studying them for their own Olympic Games envisioned for 1940. Film star Jean Hersholt bought a cottage and shipped it to Copenhagen for use as a permanent exhibit to finance future Danish teams.¹¹⁵ The bulk of the villages' silverware was purchased as a set by a local restaurant, bent on capitalizing upon Olympic memorabilia for commercial purposes.¹¹⁶ The fire house, the bath houses, the dining halls, and the partitions that separated one team's kitchen from the next, as well as the doctor's office, were dismantled and sold for scrap lumber. Even the woven wire fence around which the cowboys patrolled eventually found a buyer. By the end of September the entire village was gone.

Conclusion

There were efforts, however, to preserve the village. Hugh Thatcher, a member of the County Board of Supervisors, floated a proposal to turn the place into a permanent tourist exhibit. "There are many persons who come to Los Angeles for its climate, beauty and attractions," he reasoned, "Why not keep this village intact for their inspection and as another worthwhile sightseeing place in the city?" Meanwhile, an association of unemployed men demanded it be used to house the homeless. The Chamber of Commerce estimated 200,000 unemployed residents were present in Los Angeles by the end of June, The American Legion petitioned the governor of California to use the village for a similar purpose, to house their hard-luck members. There

was even an effort to slap the Organizing Committee with an injunction, barring it from demolishing the athletes' camp. But to no avail, the committee's bottom-line won out in the end.¹¹⁷

The village was built for a "purpose," to fund its own existence and accommodate its inmates. Its mission fulfilled, its creators adhered to their own script and tore it down. William May Garland insisted that the employment generated by its construction and maintenance alone justified the village.¹¹⁸ The Organizing Committee recouped its investment and announced a "surplus" which they intended to return to the public as a "dividend." They carefully avoided the word "profit," and Zack Farmer even lectured reporters who misused the term.¹¹⁹ The idea of a 'surplus' warrants scrutiny. Like the Organizing Committee, the CDA soon found itself in a quandary over the surplus garnered from leasing the Coliseum. In eight years of operation the non-profit CDA had managed to accumulate over \$300,000 in its coffers, and yet it solicited both the city and county governments for money to finance the remodeling that added 25,000 seats to the structure.¹²⁰ Ultimately the CDA lost control of the Coliseum for this bizarre practice - why insist upon government money when the CDA's own contract stipulated that surplus funds were to be used for the maintenance and remodeling of the stadium? Like the Organizing Committee, despite a non-profit civic status, the CDA based all meaning on the bottom line. The idea that the Organizing Committee - a group of capitalist boosters - would perform their not-for-profit duties in a voluntary and sincere manner seemed so far-fetched, the Committee itself instigated a court case just to provide a public record of propriety. It took three years and an I.R.S. investigation for the case to be resolved, but afterwards the money was disbursed to the State of California and the city and county of Los Angeles.¹²¹

As Barney has argued, the camp dubbed the Olympic Village managed to preserve the peace-fostering aspects of Olympism.¹²² But it is also important to remember that the Committee responsible for that camp had been assembled for the purpose of using the Games as an exhibition for Los Angeles, a faux world's fair. Organizers not only demonstrated a profound commitment to the practice of urban boosterism, and thus commercialism, they seemed either blind or callous to their own violations of the so called Olympic 'code,' let alone the manner in which they facilitated violations by others. It should not be difficult to understand how one ideological rhetoric (Olympism) could be bandied about by boosters who then operated under a different, masked, self-interest. After all, the village was billed as a race-blind settlement, a demonstration of the American principle of equal opportunity and fair play. Some even asserted that Los Angeles itself was a quintessential melting pot, despite the fact that non-whites suffered discrimination and segregation in both public and domestic space.¹²³ Los Angeles was, in fact, a severely segregated landscape.¹²⁴

Boosterism embodied local culture, even influencing the administrative practice of the Olympic Games. In making the Olympics a faux world's fair, the organizers used the attention to demonstrate local abilities, local efficiency, and most of all, local ideals about how the world should work. The construction and demolition of the village was an object lesson in capitalist problem solving. The CDA and the Chamber of Commerce were avid supporters of the massive and monumental Hoover Dam project then underway in the summer of 1932, a project named after "their man in the White House," the great engineer, president Herbert Hoover. The dam was a staggering project that guaranteed L.A.'s continued growth, and it too was an object-lesson.

For it celebrated, among other things, the Southern California booster's ability to visualize, politicize, and then transform the landscape for a commercialized purpose.¹²⁵ While both the dam and the Olympic Games were more than ten years in the making, the former was a tangible promise of the city's future, while the latter was a grand symbol of past and future success.

The Games' organizers were probably the first committee to recognize the Olympics as an ideological opportunity, certainly the first to create such a complete experience. In this regard they set a precedent for the notorious ideological spectacle of the Eleventh Olympiad in Berlin. For the executives of the Organizing Committee, however, men who profited by, and helped create and maintain, the Los Angeles landscape of discrimination, Olympism was obviously not the only ideology at work. Organizers took pains to explicate the democratic nature of the Games and especially the Olympic Village, and journalists did the same. And to some extent this rhetoric was borne out by facts on the ground. The village was indeed a strange mingling of aristocrat and laborer, Italian Fascist and Hungarian Jew. Like Garland and his support of the Helms' appropriation of the Olympic insignia, there is reason to believe these men were sincere about the rhetoric of egalitarianism.¹²⁶ Garland simply was incapable of making the Games out to be anything but a booster's production. And like the great salesman that he was - the "prince of realtors" -- he believed his own sales-pitch.¹²⁷ He was not alone; many understood this international sporting event in terms of boosterism. And he was persuasive, too. After the Games, Baillet-Latour admitted the importance of publicity and the press, of 'propaganda' as he termed it, even asking Garland if the surplus might go to funding a permanent campaign of publicity for the IOC and the "Olympic idea."¹²⁸ Thus, the Games of the Tenth Olympiad, and quite possibly the IOC itself, was truly marked by the Los Angeles way of doing things.

Endnotes

As Terry Eagleton noted, besides being a mode of production, capitalism is an ideology. A fundamental tenet of that ideology is the urge for growth, and Los Angeles boosters were vociferous agents for urban expansion. The capitalist ideology was also marked by its antithesis, socialism, and the conflict worked out daily between these two political/economic structures reveals how boosters took capitalism to be universal and natural, and thus, elusive to overt scrutiny. The Los Angeles Police Department, the same organization that supported the Games by offering its shooting range to the Organizing Committee for the Rifle and Pistol Shooting competitions, was also busy arresting picketing "reds." Their exploits were chronicled in the newspapers. See, for example, "Seven Hurt in Downtown Riot: Ten Leaders are Nabbed by Police as 'Reds,'" *Los Angeles Evening Herald and Express*, June 3, 1932. The aggressive campaign against individuals and organizations critical of the capitalist status quo reveals just how naturalized capitalist ideology was in Los Angeles at the time. As Eagleton has observed of capitalism in general: "If some feudalist ideologues denounced early capitalist enterprise, it was because they regarded it as unnatural - meaning, of course, untrue to feudal definitions of human nature. Later on, capitalism would return the compliment to socialism." Terry Eagleton, *Ideology: An introduction*

(London and New York: Verso, 1991), p. 59. More locally, historian Kevin Starr has chronicled Southern California's flirtations with anti-socialist fascism in the early 1930s. See, Kevin Starr, *Endangered Dreams: The Great Depression in California* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996). Analyzing the rhetorical production of booster-Los Angeles is not enough to adequately understand the ideological strategies in question, and this makes studying the village even more urgent. For as sociologist Henri Lefebvre has argued, "what we call ideology only achieves consistency by intervening in social space and in its production." Lefebvre articulated the idea that spatial practice is a process of appropriation, and as such, "each society offers up its own peculiar space, as it were, an 'object' for analysis and overall theoretical application. I say each society, but it would be more accurate to say each mode of production." Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997), p. 44, p. 31. Among other things, the Olympic Village was indeed an object of its time and place, an ideological representation. The local Organizing Committee certainly operated under a capitalist-boosterism worldview that on the surface of things would have seemed to contradict certain key aspects of Olympism (especially amateurism and selflessness), and yet they strove to accommodate Olympism. Although Coubertin eschewed the taint of ideology, as Douglas Brown has noted, he nonetheless produced (via voluminous writing) a set of ideas commonly referred to as Olympism, that cannot help but be understood as ideological in nature. (See, Douglas A. Brown, "Pierre de Coubertin's Olympic Exploration of Modernism, 1894-1914: Aesthetics, Ideology and Spectacle," *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport* 67, no.2 1996). The Olympic Village should be considered an important mediation between Coubertin's Olympism and an often contradictory local ideology.

2. Robert K. Barney, "Resistance, Persistence, Providence: The 1932 Los Angeles Olympic Games in Perspective," *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport*, 67, no. 2 (1996).
3. 'Enough is of course difficult to operationalize. Although the participation number of male athletes in 1932 (1,503) was less than that noted in 1928 and, despite the fact that the trajectory had been for steady increase in participation, the factors of geographic distance and economic depression would seem to have been overcome.
4. Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce Board of Directors, "Meeting Minutes: Olympic Games, July 14, 1932," in *Chamber of Commerce Papers*, Box 59, Western Regional History Center, Special Collections, University of Southern California.
5. *The Organizing Committee, Olympic Games: Official Pictorial Souvenir* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Organizing Committee, 1932), p. 3.
6. 'Distraction' is a psychoanalytic term, but I feel comfortable using it in this context due to the precedent set by media historian Norman Klein. He argued that the restless tearing down and re-building that has entirely reshaped vast sections of

Los Angeles near downtown has nurtured and even heightened what he calls the phantasmagorical myths operative in Los Angeles. The demolition of entire neighborhoods soon become forgotten, along with the memories of the residents. "The overall effect resembles what psychologists call 'distraction,' where one false memory allows another memory to be removed in plain view, without complaint - forgotten."

7. The Committee of the Games of the Xth Olympiad 1932 Ltd., *The Official Report of the Xth Olympiad, Los Angeles, 1932* (Los Angeles: Wolfer Printing co., 1933), p. 30.
8. Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce Board of Directors, "Meeting Minutes: Olympic Games, July 14, 1932," pp. 11-13.
9. Representatives of this Committee showed up in the Coliseum on August 14, and just before the start of the Closing Ceremony they leapt from the stands onto the track shouting the slogan "Free Mooney, Free Mooney." They were arrested and awarded the maximum sentence for disturbing the peace. Tom Mooney, an innocent man doing time in San Quentin, was this Committee's honorary chairman.
10. The phrase, "Los Angeles way of doing things" comes from an editorial, but was a sentiment much in evidence throughout that Olympic summer:
11. "Village to House Athletes Springing up for Olympics," *Los Angeles Times*, April 3, 1932. Terrel Delapp, "End of Olympic Village Near," *Los Angeles Times*, Aug. 14, 1932. "Olympic Village Joins Legion of Memories," *Los Angeles Times*, Aug. 25, 1932.
12. "'Lucky' Baldwin Kin to Sell out, Retire," *Hollywood Citizen News*, Aug. 5, 1932.
13. This simile can be found in *The Committee of the Games of the Xth Olympiad 1932 Ltd., Official Report*.
14. Klein, *The History of Forgetting*, p. 2.
15. The analogy was used to refer to the Games as a whole, but it was also applied to the athletes' village that summer. "A Real League of Nations!," *Los Angeles Times*, July 30, 1932.
16. Allison Danzig, "95,000 Attend Closing of the Olympics," *New York Times*, Aug. 15, 1932.
17. In terms of square footage the Olympic Village was easily the 'largest' project, although in terms of dollar cost it was modest by comparison to the Memorial Coliseum. It was modest even in comparison to the Swimming Stadium. See, "Los Angeles Olympic Swimming Stadium Meets International Requirements," *Southwest Builder and Contractor*, May 13, 1932. The Coliseum, however, was not built solely for the Olympic Games, unlike the village, for its financiers and

managers (the CDA) were motivated primarily by the stadium's potential lease value. See, "Contract: Agreement between the CDA, the City & County of L.A. & the Sixth District Agricultural Association, and the Xth Olympiade Committee of the Games of Los Angeles, U.S.A. 1932," in *John Anson Ford Collection*, Box 44, Huntington Library, San Marino (Dec. 23, 1929).

18. The spatial aspect of gender segregation deserves more scrutiny than can be accommodated in this paper. The relation between gender bias and the enactment of power in the Olympic movement, however, has already been the attention of study. See, Jennifer Hargreaves, *Sporting Females: Critical Issues in the History and Sociology of Women's Sports* (London: Routledge, 1994). The stark bifurcation between masculine and feminine space in the 1932 Games has not yet received the analysis it deserves, Nancy Pieroth's uncritical and under-theorized but otherwise excellent account of American athletes at the Chapman Park Hotel notwithstanding. See, Doris Hinson Pieroth, *Their Day in the Sun: Women of the 1932 Olympics* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1996).
19. *The Committee of the Games of the Xth Olympiad 1932 Ltd., Official Report*, 42.
20. Barney has noted how in 1928 the IOC briefly but officially considered shifting the site of the Games of the Tenth Olympiad back to Europe, prompting many Los Angeles organizers to abandon the project altogether.
21. Garlands explication of how he worked to secure for Los Angeles the Olympic Games briefly discusses the formation of the CDA. William May Garland, "Story of the Origin of the Xth Olympiad," in Letter to Blanche Garland in the Helm's Collection of the Amateur Athletic Foundation of Los Angeles (no date). The CDA stationery of Garlands early letters to Coubertin, as well as those of U.C.L.A. president Edward Dickson also give an indication of CDA membership. See, William May Garland and Pierre Coubertin, "Garland Letters, 1922-29," in *Amateur Athletic Foundation of Los Angeles*. and A.M. Chaffey, "Letter to E.A. Dickson, Jan. 23, 1929," in *Dickson Collection* (#663), Box 6, folder 1, U.C.L.A. Special Collections (Los Angeles). The scientist was Robert Millikan, a booster who used his frequent travels for the purpose of promoting Los Angeles as an Anglo-Saxon utopia. See, Mike Davis, "Sunshine and the Open Shop: Ford and Darwin in 1920s Los Angeles," in *Metropolis in the Making: Los Angeles in the 11920s*, ed., Tom Sitton and William Deverell (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).
22. The connection between the CDA and the Organizing Committee was so close that meetings of the former association were also occasions for taking care of business by Organizing Committee executives. Chaffey, "Letter to E.A. Dickson, Jan. 23, 1929."
23. William M. Henry, "Letter to Avery Brundage, December 10, 1933," in *Avery Brundage Collection*, box 234, Amateur Athletic Foundation (Los Angeles, CA.). The book in question was revised with each new Olympiad, well into the 1980s. William Mellors Henry and Patricia Henry Yeomans, *An Approved His-*

tory of the Olympic Games, 1984 ed., (Los Angeles, Calif.: Southern California Committee for the Olympic Games, 1984).

24. An excerpt from the Commission's brochure reads: "Nature's blessing of climate, bestowed upon California, has made of this state, through its children, one of the nearest approaches among modern nations to the glory that was ancient Athens' in creative art and the building of health and character." California Tenth Olympiad Association, "Olympic Games in California 1932, Proposition No. 2 State Election," in *Amateur Athletic Foundation of Los Angeles (1927)*.
25. "The Olympiad in Dollars." *Northeast Community Press*, July 22, 1932. The All-Year Club ultimately became notorious for issuing suspicious and imaginative numbers. The following excerpt from a Los Angeles County taxpayer illustrates this nicely: "What mysterious process of calculation does the 'All Year Club' utilize to fathom the amount of money the 'Club' alleges tourists spend here? Does the 'Club' inventory every tourist when he arrives and then search him again when he departs from our midst? And what if the tourist left with more money in his pocket than upon arrival?" E.J. Dickson, "Letter to John Anson Ford, July 9, 1934," in *John Anson Ford Collection*, Box 67, Huntington Library (San Marino). This sort of critique became more vocal as the Great Depression worsened and more and more locals came to think of boosting as a source for the city's problems - boosting, they claimed, brought in the destitute seeking opportunity and sunshine, who then lived off relief.
26. "Proposed Olympic Village," *Olympic: Official Publication of the Organizing Committee*, May, 1930.
27. French organizers had built a village of non-residential structures in 1924, but athletes stayed in quarters arranged elsewhere.
28. William May Garland and Zack Farmer, "Report of the Organizing Committee, April 10, 1930," in Historical Archives, Olympic Museum, Lausanne, Switzerland.
29. *The Organizing Committee, Olympic Games*.
30. Creakbaum's promotion of the brochure itself can be found in "Olympic Views in Souvenir," *Los Angeles Times*, April 13, 1932.
31. Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce Board of Directors, "*Meeting Minutes: Olympic Games*, July 14, 1932."
32. *Ibid.*
33. For an analysis of media production in newspapers, see David B. Welky, "Viking Girls, Mermaids, and Little Brown Men: U.S. Journalism and the 1932 Olympics," *Journal of Sport History* 24, no. Spring (1997).
34. "Games Letter Drive Set," *Los Angeles Times*, April 25, 1932.

35. "The Olympiad in Dollars."
36. "Games Aid-Plan Extended," *Los Angeles Times*, May 2, 1932.
37. Historian Robert Fogelson is an excellent secondary source for this sort of data, which he compiled primarily from the U.S. Census. Robert M. Fogelson, *The Fragmented Metropolis: Los Angeles, 1850-1930* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), pp. 78-9.
38. William May Garland, "Letter to Henri Baillet-Latour, May 6, 1927," in Historical Archives, Olympic Museum, Lausanne, Switzerland.
39. "Let's Blow Our Horn," *Los Angeles Times*, April 29, 1932.
40. Population figures were of interest to prospective industrialists looking for amenable labor demographics, as well as an ever-expanding consumer market and services. The switch in advertising strategy from tourism and homesteaders to industry was noted by Fogelson. Fogelson, *Fragmented Metropolis*.
42. Coubertin had decried playing for the press, and he even worried over spectator crowds of monumental size, insisting that only a select few on-lookers would actually be interested in sport, the rest might be titillated by more base interests. See, "L'utilisation pedagogique de l'activite sportive", *Le Sport Suisse*, Nov. 21, 1928, reprinted and translated in *Pierre Coubertin, Olympism: Selected Writings* (Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, 2000), 184. Latour took over in 1925, and was hesitant about appealing to the press. See, Henri Baillet-Latour, "Letter to Zack Farmer, Feb. 24, 1931," in Historical Archives, Olympic Museum, Lausanne, Switzerland. The Organizing Committee managed to attract over 600 representatives of the press, and constructed a separate section in the Coliseum stands to accommodate them and their vital publicity work. See, *The Committee of the Games of the Xth Olympiad 1932 Ltd., Official Report*.
42. The Memorial Coliseum, dubbed the Olympic Stadium that summer, was originally built to seat 75,000 spectators in 1923. It was renovated twice between 1929 and 1931, ultimately accommodating 105,000 spectators with a fixed seating scheme, or 125,000 spectators via festival seating. See, "Contract: Agreement between the CDA, the City & County of L.A. & the Sixth District Agricultural Association, and the Xth Olympiade Committee of the Games of Los Angeles, U.S.A. 1932." The stadium of the Amsterdam Games of 1928 seated 40,000, while the 1924 Paris stadium accommodated 60,000. See, Robert K. Barney, Stephen R. Wenn, and Scott G. Martyn, *Selling the Five Rings: The International Olympic Committee and the Rise of Olympic Commercialism* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2002), pp. 27-8.
43. The statement was originally published in "La valeur pedagogique du ceremonial olympique," in *Bulletin du Bureau International de Pedagogic Sportive*, No. 7, Lausanne (1931). It was quoted here from the translation in Coubertin, *Olympism: Selected Writings*, 599.

44. A variety of documents indicate the importance of flying and the beginnings of an air transportation industry in Southern California. See, for example, Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce Aviation Committee, "Master Plan of Airports in the County of Los Angeles," in *Chamber of Commerce Papers*, Western Regional History Center, Special Collections, University of Southern California (1940), and Dudley Steele, "Oral History Interview," in *Bowron Collection*, Huntington Library, San Marino, CA. (1965). William May Garland was a partner in the Western Air Transport company. See, "Western Air First Quarter Sets Record," *Los Angeles Examiner*, April 29, 1933, "Garland Backs Airport Bonds," *Los Angeles Examiner*, October 20, 1939.
45. "State Building Dedicated in Colorful Ceremony," *Los Angeles Times*, July 30, 1932.
46. "Olympic Air Trip Revised," *Los Angeles Times*, May 14, 1932, "Olympic Invitations for Canadian and Mexican Citizens to Be Delivered by Plane," *Los Angeles Times*, April 24, 1932, "Olympic Air Party Runs into Storm," *Los Angeles Times*, May 30, 1932, "Queries on Air Tour Increase," *Los Angeles Times*, May 1, 1932, "Games Letter Drive Set" and "Coffee to Aid Athletes," *Los Angeles Times*, May 30, 1932.
47. "Olympic Jaunt under Way," *Los Angeles Times*, May 14, 1932.
48. Fairbanks and Pickford had associated themselves with Olympic stars before 1922. See, Mark Dyreson, "Scripting the American Olympic Story-Telling Formula: The 1924 Paris Olympic Games and the American Media," *Olympika: The International Journal of Olympic Studies* V (1996) pp. 45-80.
49. "Film Stars Will Radio Bid to Olympics Today," *Los Angeles Times*, May 22, 1932; "Olympiad Bid Goes on Air," *Los Angeles Times*, May 23, 1932; Doug Douglas, "Olympic Features Lead in Radio," *Los Angeles Times*, July 7, 1932; and, George Garabedian, "Radio Broadcast: Xth Olympiad Los Angeles, 1932, Special Souvenir Edition," in *Amateur Athletic Foundation of Los Angeles* (1983).
50. He first attempted it in 1920 but was rejected. See William May Garland, "Story of the Origin of the Tenth Olympiad Held in Los Angeles," in *Amateur Athletic Foundation of Los Angeles* (no date).
51. Ibid.
52. John Scott, "Film Celebrities to Mix with Crowds at Games," *Los Angeles Times*, July 31, 1932.
53. "Thumbs Down on Stars' Personal Appearances," *Los Angeles Times*, May 22, 1932.
54. Heinz Reichmann, "German Boys Get a Welcome That Is a Welcome: Awed," *Chicago Tribune*, July 19, 1932.

55. See, Henri Baillet-Latour, Zack Farmer, and William May Garland, "Correspondence between the I.O.C. And the Tenth Olympiad Committee, 1927-1933," in Historical Archives, Olympic Museum, Lausanne, Switzerland.
56. A.B. Ruddock, "Letter to Harry M. Baine," in Box 39 of the *John Anson Ford Collection*, Huntington Library (May 26, 1932); "Pilgrimage Play Needs Emphasized," *Los Angeles Times*, May 22, 1932; "Olympic Pageant Prepared," *Los Angeles Times*, May 23, 1932; and, "Pageant to Be Feature of Concert," *Los Angeles Times*, May 29, 1932.
57. See, C.C. Hine, "Bargains That Lead to Beggary," *Southern California Business*, July 1932. The president of the Chamber of Commerce wrote an editorial asserting Los Angeles should learn the moral of "self control" from Olympic athletes, referring to the alarming price wars then raging in the area. See, K. Schleicher, "The President's Page," *Southern California Business*, August 1932.
58. Advertisement, "Helm's Olympic Bread," *Los Angeles Evening Herald and Express*, July 7, 1932.
59. Avery Brundage, "Letter to Wait C. Johnson, March 28, 1932," in Avery Brundage Collection, Box 234. "Public Warned About Olympic Games Fakers," *Los Angeles Examiner*, Oct. 14, 1931.
60. Barney, Wenn, and Martyn, *Selling the Five Rings*, p. 27.
61. William May Garland, "Letter to Avery Brundage," in *Avery Brundage Collection*, Box 225 (1938); Avery Brundage, "Letter to John J. Garland, Sept. 18, 1948," in *Avery Brundage Collection*, Box 225; and, Avery Brundage, "Letter to Robert Kiphuth, Sept. 4, 1949," in *Avery Brundage Collection*, Box 225.
62. Garland, "Letter to Avery Brundage." Brundage was already at odds with Garland, having fought over the "surplus" money from the 1932 Games. Brundage wanted the money rolled over into his organization's accounts for the purpose of funding future teams, while Garland and company saw the Games as first a Los Angeles endeavor, and second, a California endeavor, and thus, insisted the money belonged to the people of the state. Brundage lost. See, Avery Brundage, "Letter to William May Garland, Dec. 9, 1932," in *Brundage Collection*; Avery Brundage, "Letter to Zack Farmer, March 1, 1933," in *Brundage Collection*; and, Avery Brundage, "Letter to Lee Combs, Jan. 9th, 1933," in *Brundage Collection*.
63. Avery Brundage, "Letter to William May Garland, Oct. 19, 1938," in *Avery Brundage Collection*, Box 225.
64. Barney, Wenn, and Martyn, *Selling the Five Rings*, pp. 27-9.
65. The following quote from a manual for salesmen written for a Los Angeles company is an apt articulation of the booster's art: "Selling is the art or science of influencing another's mind to see and appreciate the merits of your proposition as you, yourself, see them. To do this, you must, of course, thoroughly understand

your own proposition and believe in its value.” The term ‘believe’ is key, for this separated boosters from mere salesmen. This passage was quoted from “The Cawston Manual of Instruction: A Guide to Agents,” in *Cawston Ostrich Farm Collection*, Box 1, Huntington Library (San Marino, CA.: 1915).

66. Carey McWilliams, *Southern California: An Island on the Land* (Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith Books, 1995). For a late twentieth century analysis, and appreciation, of the early twentieth century booster mentality, see Kevin Starr, *Material Dreams: Southern California through the 1920s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 90-119; and, Kevin Starr, *The Dream Endures: California Enters the 1940s* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 3-27.
67. “World-Famous Architectural Exhibit to Be Shown Here as Feature of Tenth Olympiad,” *Los Angeles Times*, May 1, 1932; “Famous Olympic Architectural Exhibition Opened,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 24, 1932; and, “Modern Architecture Show in City Stirs Big Interest,” *Hollywood Citizen News*, Aug. 13, 1932. At the same time Neutra was in the process of weaning a wealthy client from his partner and housemate, Rudolf Schindler. In fact, in the exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art that Neutra curated, Schindler’s name mysteriously disappeared from projects the two produced together. See, Harwell Hamilton Harris, Oral History Program, University of California, Los Angeles 1985. Also see Hines interpretation, in Thomas S. Hines, *Richard Neutra and the Search for Modern Architecture: A Biography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982).
68. See Brown, “Pierre De Coubertin’s Olympic Exploration of Modernism.”
69. “Olympiad Mecca of World Art,” *Los Angeles Times*, April 6, 1932; and, “Olympiad Announces Contests in Literature,” *Los Angeles Times*. April 10, 1932.
70. “Olympic Art Controversy Rages,” *Los Angeles Evening Herald and Express*, July 19, 1932. Il Duce published an essay in Italy’s newspapers during the first week of the Games, declaring that “Fascism does not believe in the possibility or utility of perpetual peace.” His Italian team in the village had been funded and dressed by the Italian government and dubbed “missionaries of fascism.” “Il Duce Sees Need of War as Incentive,” *Hollywood Citizen News*, Aug. 3, 1932.
71. “Olympic Tickets Ready,” *Los Angeles Times*, April 9, 1932. The women spoke French, Spanish. and English.
72. *The Organizing Committee, Olympic Games*, 60.
73. “Athlete Girls Doing Laundry,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 30, 1932, “Domicile of Girls Rated Unique Site,” *Los Angeles Examiner*, July 30, 1932.
74. “Caution Urged in Girls’ Sports,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 23, 1932; “‘Democracy’ in Athletics Is Woman Plea,” *Los Angeles Evening Herald and Express*,

July 22, 1932; "Fair Sex, All Right, but Hardly Weak!," *Hollywood Citizen News*, July 28, 1932; Dick Hyland, "Were the Greeks Right About 'the Gals'?", *Los Angeles Examiner*, July 30, 1932; and, "Women's Play Aims Cited," *Los Angeles Times*, July 30 1932.

75. Women athletes were over represented in print media. In my own four month frequency survey, approximately one out of every three photographs of Olympic athletes published in local newspapers depicted women. But only one out of ten athletes at the Games, however, were female. Of course, a larger percentage of women were photographed in poses or otherwise non-athletic situations, compared to their male counterparts, which supports sociologist Jennifer Hargreaves' contention that such representational strategies relegated women to a marginal role in the sports world, and had profound implications in the everyday world as well. See Hargreaves, *Sporting Females*.
76. See, Henri Baillet-Latour, "Letter to Harry A. Mackey, May 8, 1929," in Historical Archives, Olympic Museum, Lausanne, Switzerland; and, William May Garland, "Letter to Henry Baillet-Latour, July 9, 1929," in Historical Archives, Olympic Museum, Lausanne, Switzerland.
77. Meeting Minutes: Olympic Games.
78. "Village to House Athletes Springing up for Olympics."
79. He would return to San Diego to manage the 1935-6 World's Fair.
80. Westbrook Pegler, "Real Winners in Olympics? The Blondes!," *Chicago Tribune*, Aug. 14 1932; and, James S.W. Eve, "Australian Olympic Team Which Participated at the Games of the Xth Olympiad," (Australian Olympic Federation, 1932).
81. The Organizing Committee never used the term "hastily" of course, instead boasting that under Davis' supervision they managed to erect 40 a day. *The Committee of the Games of the Xth Olympiad 1932 Ltd., Official Report*.
82. Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, "Olympic Games of Los Angeles: July 30-Aug. 14 1932," in *Amateur Athletic Foundation of Los Angeles* (Los Angeles: c. 1930). "Proposed Olympic Village."
83. Much has been written about Anglo Saxon L.A.'s fascination with a constructed Spanish heritage. See Klein, *The History of Forgetting*, Douglas Monroy, *Rebirth: Mexican Los Angeles from the Great Migration to the Great Depression* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999). It was critiqued even by contemporaries. Carey McWilliams wrote "...then there is another class of citizenry, 'the old family legend.' Local poets dash off innumerable lyrics about the 'dons' of old California, the padre and the tinkling guitars, but some how the thing rings very empty these days, despite the efforts of the Chamber of Commerce to create a cultural tradition and sell it." Carey McWilliams, "Los Angeles.," *Over-*

land Monthly and Out West Magazine, May (1927).

84. "All Classes in Olympics," *Los Angeles Times*, April 24, 1932. Irving Eckhoff, "Laborers and Lords Collide," (1932 Olympic Games Scrapbook, Amateur Athletic Foundation of Los Angeles, 1932). This same rhetoric can be found in the two chapters on the village in the *Official Report*.
85. These golf courses appeared on the landscape like wildflowers in 1931, and enjoyed moderate financial success as fads often do, but the depression did them in. See, Charles H. Diggs, "Los Angeles County Regional Planning Commission, Seventh Annual Report, Zoning Section, 1932," (1933); and, Harry Carr, "The Lancer," *Los Angeles Times*, May 4, 1932.
86. Alice Laville, "Oo! La! La!; Si Und Ja; French Girl at Village," *Los Angeles Times*, July 14, 1932.
87. It is possible the Organizing Committee borrowed the analogy from journalists, for it appeared in the Official Report after the Closing Ceremony. See *The Committee of the Games of the Xth Olympiad 1932 Ltd., Official Report*.
88. *The Committee of the Games of the Xth Olympiad 1932 Ltd., Official Report*. Terrel Delapp, "The Olympic Torch: Touched Off Today," *Los Angeles Times*, July 26, 1932.
89. Eckhoff, "Laborers and Lords Collide;" and, "Going out the Same Way: Village Gate Crasher Gets Rough Deal," *Los Angeles Times*, July 30 1932.
90. Caroline Walker, "Good Bye -- City of Dreams," *Los Angeles Evening Herald and Express*.
91. Delapp, "End of Olympic Village Near."
92. "The Call of the Olympiad."
93. I am using Mark Dyreson's concept of sport as republican technology. I make no quarrel against his assertion that such an ideology expired after World War I, but it seems the idea still possessed rhetorical value as late as 1932. The Organizing Committee relied heavily on this older and nobler notion of sport's potential for promoting civic virtue. Mark Dyreson, *Making the American Team: Sport, Culture, and the Olympic Experience* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1998). See also, Mark Dyreson, "Marketing National Identity: The Olympic Games of 1932 and American Culture," *Olympika: The International Journal of Olympic Studies*, IV (1995) pp. 23-48.
94. W.E. Bradfield, "Inside the Olympic Village," *Los Angeles Evening Herald and Express*, July 25, 1932.
95. "New Zealand Olympic Team Arrives Today: Dyer Plays Host to Visitors at Village," *Los Angeles Times*, July 3, 1932.

96. Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, "Meeting Minutes: July 21, 1932," in *Chamber of Commerce Papers*, Western Regional History Center, Special Collections, University of Southern California, Box 59.
97. Ralph Huston, "Win or Lose, They're for Doug Fairbanks," *Los Angeles Times*, July 30, 1932.
98. "India's Athletes Like L.A. Tea," in unattributed newspaper article in "Olympic Games Scrapbook," Special Collections, Glendale Public Library (1932).
99. "Village to Be En Fete for Sunday," *Los Angeles Times*, July 17, 1932.
100. "Permit Asked for New Bus Line to Olympic Village," *Los Angeles Evening Herald and Express*, June 8, 1932.
101. Braven Dyer, "Extra Village Guards Demanded by Finland," *Los Angeles Times*, July 20, 1932. Hector Dyer, Oral History, Amateur Athletic Foundation of Los Angeles, Oct., 1987. "Order Yanks to Live at Village," *Los Angeles Evening Herald and Express*, July 23, 1932.
102. Delapp, "End of Olympic Village Near."
103. "Going out the Same Way: Village Gate Crasher Gets Rough Deal."
104. Delapp, "The Olympic Torch: Touched Off Today."
105. Bradfield, "Inside the Olympic Village."
106. See, for example, "Fair Damsel Crashes Village Gate," *Los Angeles Times*, July 29, 1932. See also, Dyer.
107. Bill Henry, "Olympic Games Scrapbook," in *Bill Henry Room*, Occidental Library (1932).
108. *The Committee of the Games of the Xth Olympiad 1932 Ltd., Official Report*.
109. "As Salvage Work Goes On," 1932 Olympic Games Scrapbook, Amateur Athletic Foundation of Los Angeles, unattributed newspaper article, 1932; and, Ellis H. Martin, "Japanese Bid Finns with Due Ceremony," *Los Angeles Evening Herald and Express*, July 22, 1932.
110. "Work Speeded as Games Near," *Los Angeles Times*, June 5, 1932; and, "New Zealand Olympic Team Arrives Today: Dyer Plays Host to Visitors at Village."
111. Advertisement, "Final Clearance: Olympic Village Furnishings," *Los Angeles Times*, September 12, 1932.
112. Eve, "Australian Olympic Team Which Participated at the Games of the Xth Olympiad" and Dyer.

113. Pegler, "Real Winners in Olympics? The Blondes!"
114. The salesman was convicted for misleading customers by assuring them the subdivision was within walking distance of the nearby army base. The base was nowhere near the subdivision. See, "Plan 'Olympic Village' at Laguna," *Los Angeles Times*, August 6, 1932; "Laguna to Get Olympic Homes," *Los Angeles Times*, August 7, 1932; "Olympic Village Adds to Staff," *Los Angeles Examiner*, July 29, 1933; and, "Oil Concern Buy's L.A. Couple's Land," *Los Angeles Examiner*, May 27, 1937.
115. "Olympic Village Joins Legion of Memories."
116. Arthur J. Daley, "Olympic Village a Deserted City," *New York Times*, Aug. 15, 1932.
117. "Suit Filed to Halt Olympic Hut Sale," *Los Angeles Examiner*, August 18, 1932; "Save Olympic Village, Thatcher Proposes," *Los Angeles Examiner*, August 11, 1932; Elmer S. Nelson, "Keep Village Open," *Los Angeles Times*, August 16, 1932; "Vets Ask for Use of Olympic Village," *Hollywood Citizen News*, August 13, 1932; and, Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, "Meeting Minutes, June 7, 1932." in *Chamber of Commerce Papers*, Western Regional History Center, Special Collections, University of Southern California.
118. "Garland Lauds Games Village," *Los Angeles Times*, July 31, 1932.
119. "Games Show Surplus, Final Check Today," *Los Angeles Examiner*, Aug. 16, 1932; and, "Games Profits Save Taxpayers \$1,000,000," *Los Angeles Examiner*, August 17, 1932.
120. "Contract: Agreement between the CDA, the City & County of L.A. & the Sixth District Agricultural Association, and the Xth Olympiade Committee of the Games of Los Angeles, U.S.A. 1932." For criticism of the CDA and its handling of the Coliseum funds, see "Petition to the Mayor and City Council of Los Angeles," in *John Anson Ford Collection*, Box 44, Huntington Library, San Marino (Dec. 29, 1929). The CDA ultimately paid for the 1931 remodel after County Supervisor Mahaffey alerted the Board of Supervisors to the contract clause that stipulated renovation/additions should be funded by the CDA itself. See, J. Don Mahaffey, "Letter to the Board of Supervisors, Los Angeles County, March 27, 1931," in *John Anson Ford Collection*, Box 44, Huntington Library, San Marino. The Dept. of Playground and Recreation proposal to take over the administration and maintenance of the Coliseum contains the assertion that the CDA had been more concerned with creating a surplus than accommodating the community. See, Chas. S. Lamb. "Letter to the Los Angeles City Council, Dec. 27, 1932," in *John Anson Ford Collection*, Box 44, Huntington Library, San Marino.
121. Ray L. Chesebro, "Report #3: In the Matter of the Funds Realized from the Olympic Games Held in California in 1932," (Los Angeles: City Attorney, 1935).

122. Barney, "Resistance, Persistence, Providence," p. 157.
123. The melting pot rhetoric can be found most clearly in, Paul Zimmerman, "Simple Life Found in Olympic Village," *Los Angeles Evening Herald and Express*, July 15, 1932. Even while the Games were under way, African American men and women were prohibited from joining their white Angelenos in public parks and swimming pools. The president of the local Organizing Committee, William May Garland, had also been president of the Los Angeles Realty Board in 1913, at a time when restrictive covenants were beginning to lock non-whites and non-Christians out of choice neighborhoods. Even if L.A.'s sparse urban form precluded the development of dense slums like those in Eastern cities, segregation was still a powerful fact of life. Most African Americans had to look for non-white doctors and dentists, and a similar story could be narrated about Chinese immigrants, Japanese, and Filipinos. At the Pasadena meeting of the World Council of Youth, for example, a gathering that took place a week after the Closing Ceremony, several testimonials asserted the un-egalitarian character of the local landscape. According to one Japanese American, "I was born and educated in Los Angeles and feel like a real American, and yet, because of my race, I have been ejected from theaters and other public places." During the depression, the effects of the economy was especially difficult for the largest minority of all, the Mexican immigrant and Mexican American community. Some 35,000 people were sent packing to Mexico, many on specially scheduled trains, from Los Angeles county alone in the months leading up to the Olympic summer. This "repatriation" campaign was reinforced by Federal immigration agents. They requested police to "menace" places where Mexican Americans were known to congregate, and "scare" as many away as possible. Pasadena Historical Society, "Chronology, Notes, and Finding Aid," in *Black History Collection* (1985); William May Garland, "Letter to Edward L. Lewis," in Album 58 (233) *L.A. R.R. Collection*, Huntington Library (c. 1929); Fogelson, *Fragmented Metropolis*. "Japanese Cites Race Problems," *Los Angeles Times*, Aug. 23, 1932; and, "The Repatriados," *Los Angeles Times Sunday Magazine*, April 24, 1932. Also see, Eriko Yamamoto, "Cheers for Japanese Athletes: The 1932 Los Angeles Olympics and the Japanese American Community," *Pacific Historical Review*, 69, August (2000).
124. For understanding the pattern of segregation in Los Angeles, see: George J. Sanchez, *Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900-1945* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); and, Ricardo Romo, *East Los Angeles: History of a Barrio* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983).
125. Starr nicely contextualizes the Hoover Dam project with the larger boosterist/expansionist milieu in *Material Dreams*, while the best theoretical study of water and Southern California is the indispensable work of Donald Worster. See, Starr, *Material Dreams*; and, Donald Worster, *Rivers of Empire: Water, Aridity, and the Growth of the American West* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985).
126. 'Egalitarianism' was a relative concept. The Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce

was a vociferous proponent of the city's notorious 'open shop,' asserting that union busting was good for workers because it allowed them freedom to negotiate directly with their employers. This sentiment was articulated quite emphatically in a public hearing in defense of the Chamber's many boosting activities. See, Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors, Transcription of Hearing Relative to Proposed Contract with the Los Angeles County Chamber of Commerce, June 19, 1936.

127. The sobriquet is quoted in Starr, *Material Dreams*, 71.

128. Henri Baillet-Latour, "Letter to William May Garland, Feb. 26, 1933," in Historical Archives, Olympic Museum, Lausanne. Switzerland.

