



From 1919 to 1931, when the Great Depression caused it to close, Ravinia in Highland Park was considered by many to be the summer opera capital of America. This 1931 photo captures operagoers at the park's main gate. Photographer: Unknown. Source: Chicago Historical Society.

**PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION.** Leading bandleaders like Hans Balatka and Johnny Hand conducted “popular” works ranging from Verdi to Wagner to Sousa. Concerts included waltzes, quadrilles, and, later, ragtime arrangements, for spectators wishing to dance.

As Chicago urbanized, concert audiences diversified and groups sometimes sparred over appropriate behavior. Park commissioners expected middle-class respectability to prevail but did their best to accommodate differences of musical taste among patrons. In the 1900s and 1910s, municipal outdoor concerts expanded as part of an effort to reform recreation among the residents of Chicago's industrial neighborhoods.

WORLD WAR I inspired many ethnic groups to organize outdoor concert rallies in parks and at SOLDIER FIELD to express love of their homelands *and* their loyalty to the United States. In 1914 the Civic Music Association promoted “music for the people” in the form of outdoor classical concerts. The association also sponsored “AMERICANIZATION” public sings in parks and at NAVY PIER involving thousands of children and their parents. Commercial AMUSEMENT PARKS like White City and Sans Souci featured regular outdoor concerts too.

Despite the persistence of ethnic community concerts, concerts increasingly catered to the population of Chicago-at-large. In the late 1920s, the *Chicago Tribune* inaugurated a “CHICAGOLAND Music Festival” by invoking a public identification with its imagined community of readers. By the late 1940s, the festival attracted tens of thousands of spectators and radio listeners. To bolster civic morale and aid UNEMPLOYED musicians during the GREAT DEPRESSION, James C. Petrillo, President of the CHICAGO FEDERATION OF MUSICIANS, helped initiate outdoor concerts in GRANT PARK, including an annual symphonic series begun in 1935. The WPA Federal Music Project helped sustain outdoor concerts by the Illinois Symphony Orchestra and the

Chicago Women's Symphony Orchestra. The Grant Park Symphony and the Petrillo Bandshell were legacies of this public vision.

Racial segregation complicated the history of the outdoor concert as a democratic phenomenon. AFRICAN AMERICANS often avoided public concerts outside their own neighborhoods. But after the Depression, opportunities for blacks gradually increased. In the 1940s, the American Negro Music Festival annually brought classical and popular musical artists such as Roland Hayes, Louise Burge, Thomas A. Dorsey, and Dorothy Donegan to Soldier Field and COMISKEY PARK. By the 1970s and 1980s, popular tastes in commercial music helped sustain Chicagofest, which brought national pop, blues, and jazz performers to NAVY PIER. The Chicago Jazz, Blues, and GOSPEL Festivals followed, along with classical and popular concerts in Grant Park and other public city parks. At the opening of the twenty-first century, residents and visitors could enjoy a host of summertime concerts, featuring Celtic and Latin music, reggae, country, and OPERA.

*Derek Vaillant*

**See also:** Entertaining Chicagoans; Ethnic Music; Leisure; Places of Assembly

## P

**Pace.** Horsecar lines served individuals in satellite cities such as JOLIET as early as 1874. Over the years the suburban STREET RAILWAYS were consolidated into increasingly larger companies like West Towns Railway, National City Lines, and United Motor Coach, but they were not able to influence suburban development or compete with the automobile.

Pace includes various suburban BUS systems which were consolidated in 1983 as the result of a state-mandated bifurcation of the RTA's suburban operations into bus (Pace) and rail (METRA) service. In 1998, Pace operated 232 bus routes in 210 suburbs with a fleet of 638 vehicles. Ridership that year was 39 million.

*David M. Young*

**See also:** Commuting; Transportation

**Further reading:** Sieroslowski, Jennifer. “Suburban Transit History.” 1996. Pace files manuscript. • Young, David M. *Chicago Transit: An Illustrated History*. 1998.

**Pacific Garden Mission.** The oldest surviving and most visible Chicago RESCUE MISSION, the Pacific Garden Mission was founded in 1877 by George and Sarah Clarke in order to “keep crooked men straight.” Located in the

SOUTH LOOP in the middle of “Whiskey Row,” the mission took its name from a former tenant, the notorious Pacific Beer Garden.

The mission has always coupled a simple evangelical Christian message with social outreach to the downtrodden, leading some to dub it the “Hobo Church.” It has provided food, clothing, and the gospel to generations of Chicagoans. The famous “baseball evangelist,” Billy Sunday, was saved at the mission's doors.

A “harbor for wrecked and ruined lives” throughout the twentieth century, the mission added in 1950 a radio program, *Unshackled!* which reaches more than a thousand stations worldwide with sentimental stories of ruin and redemption. A bright neon cross proclaiming “Jesus Saves” still pierces the night sky, announcing the mission's continuing ministry to Chicago's poor.

*R. Jonathan Moore*

**See also:** Protestants; Religious Institutions; Salvation Army; Social Services; Vice Districts

**Further reading:** Clarke, Sarah D. *The Founding of Pacific Garden Mission: Over Thirty-Five Years Contributed to the Master's Service*. 1914.

**Pacific Islanders.** “Pacific Islanders” is a census category used to describe culturally and geographically diverse migrants from thousands of South Pacific islands. The largest groups of Pacific Islanders in Chicago are Hawaiians, Samoans, Guamanians, and Chamorro, although there have also been Tongans, Maori, Tahitians, Fijians, and others at various times. Accurate statistics are difficult because Hawaiians, Guamanians, and Samoans are not subject to immigration controls as U.S. citizens and U.S. nationals. The census has recently begun to count them separately, but categorization can be difficult because centuries of migration to the islands have given them a multiracial character and blurred categories. The 2000 census identified more than 4,000 people in Chicago claiming at least partial Pacific Islander background, but community estimates were generally much lower.

While a small number of Hawaiian musicians might have migrated to Chicago as early as the 1920s, Pacific Islander migration remained extremely limited until after WORLD WAR II, when many JAPANESE from the islands left internment camps and settled in the city. In the 1950s, small numbers of Hawaiians in the military, AIRLINE, and entertainment industries began to settle in Chicago and attract friends and family seeking economic and educational opportunities. Popular Polynesian-themed clubs and RESTAURANTS, including Club Waikiki, attracted Hawaiian musicians to the area and encouraged Pacific Islanders already here to learn music and DANCE. June Rold's Dance Studio in DES PLAINES began to offer hula classes and formed a traveling dance troupe

that would come to spawn a new generation of performers. In the 1960s and 1970s, Samoans and Tahitians began to migrate in larger numbers and found employment with many of the clubs and performance troupes. While Pacific Islanders have continued to migrate to Chicago and many have remained, a large number have also returned to the islands or migrated to the West Coast since the 1980s.

While many Pacific Islanders are not involved in the entertainment industry, music has been a primary way that the community has organized itself. Hula schools and entertainment troupes have proliferated in recent decades, and, although traditional music and dance have been shaped by Western audience expectations and commercial realities, they can be a form of cultural expression and source of community identity. Dance troupes perform at many public venues, including city parks and festivals. In addition, music has played a strong role in informal community gatherings. In the 1970s, Pacific Islanders created a ukulele club (revived in the late 1990s), a social club which met regularly for food and musical jam sessions. Music also figured prominently at annual summer Polynesian picnics in the 1980s.

A new movement to preserve authentic Hawaiian language and culture has sparked the

creation of organizations in Hawaii and the mainland. In Chicago, Kupa'a Pacific Island Resources began in 1995 as a nonprofit organization dedicated to preserving and promoting Pacific Island cultures through educational programs and community events. Forming partnerships with the OLD TOWN SCHOOL OF FOLK MUSIC, public schools, museums, and other public agencies, Kupa'a ("stand firm") offers both short educational demonstrations and longer classes. It sponsors annual cultural events and special concerts which draw large Pacific Islander audiences from around the Midwest.

*Tracy Steffes*

**See also:** Demography; Entertaining Chicagoans; Ethnic Music

**Further reading:** Fawcett, James T., and Benjamin V. Carino. *Pacific Bridges: The New Immigration from Asia and the Pacific Islands*. 1987. • Shore, Bradd. "Pacific Islanders." In *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, ed. Stephan Thernstrom, 1980.

**Packinghouse Unions.** Chicago's important MEATPACKING industry experienced three successive waves of UNIONIZATION. The first two mass organizing campaigns ended in failure. The third effort gained momentum in

1937 and assumed institutional form as the United Packinghouse Workers of America (UPWA) in 1943. This union succeeded in organizing most workers in the stockyards and packinghouses.

Formed at the turn of the century, the American Federation of Labor's Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America (AMC) was the first national organization dedicated to the unionization of the meat industry. Its founders realized that control of the nation's packinghouses, especially those in Chicago, was essential to success. Between 1900 and 1904, the AMC built a powerful organization in the Chicago plants, especially Armour and Swift. Its strongest base of support lay with the skilled "butcher aristocracy," largely comprising IRISH and GERMAN workers. In sharp contrast to most trade unions, the AMC extended its organization into the ranks of the unskilled Central and East European immigrants who made up the majority of the workforce. Able to stabilize employment conditions, raise wages, and retain a modicum of control for the skilled elite, the AMC proved enormously popular among packinghouse workers. But a 1904 STRIKE proved disastrous to the union. Relying upon African American and immigrant strikebreakers, the



Workers trimming meat, 1892. Photographer: Unknown. Source: Chicago Historical Society.