

Chapter 3

JANUARY 1, 1915

PANAMA-CALIFORNIA EXPOSITION

GETS UNDER WAY

I love you, California, you're the greatest state of all
I love you in the winter, summer, spring, and in the fall.
I love your fertile valleys; your dear mountains I adore,
I love your grand old ocean and I love her rugged shore.

After five years of unrelenting effort, San Diego celebrated the official opening of the Panama-California Exposition on January 1, 1915. At midnight, December 31, President Woodrow Wilson, in Washington, D.C., pressed a Western Union telegraph key. The signal turned on every light on the grounds and touched off a display of fireworks. The gates to the Exposition swung open. A crush of from 31,836 to 42,486 people on the grounds cheered, waved banners, threw confetti, sang "I Love You California," and snake-danced their way to the Isthmus or fun street.(1)

Among the guests who took part in the official but sparsely attended ceremonies, beginning at 11:30 the following morning, were Secretary of the Treasury William Gibbs McAdoo, Commander of the U.S. Pacific Fleet Rear Admiral T. B. Howard, Director General of the Pan-American Union John Barrett, and Spanish delegate Count del Valle de Salazar.(2)

In his speech to the guests, wearied from the festivities of the night before, G. Aubrey Davidson, president of the Panama-California Exposition Company, declared the Exposition's purpose was to build an empire extending from the back country of the Pacific slope to the west shores of the Missouri River (3)

At one point Davidson said:

Here is pictured in this happy combination of splendid temples, the story of the friars, the thrilling tale of the pioneers, the orderly conquest of commerce, coupled with the hopes of an El Dorado where life can expand in this fragrant land of opportunity. It is indeed a permanent city and every building fits into the picture.

Secretary McAdoo, President Wilson's personal representative and son-in-law, lauded the Exposition's emphasis on Latin America for helping to bring about "a closer union of all the nations and peoples of the Americas." (4)

A gigantic automobile parade along Broadway in the afternoon called attention to a Point Loma road race to be held January 9. Despite the competition offered by the parade, 15,120 people on the Exposition grounds had their first real chance to see what the Exposition was all about, (5)

Opening day visitors quickly rented all 200 of the small wicker motor chairs or "electricquettes" available from a stand on the Isthmus and used them for whirlwind tours of the grounds. The electricquettes carried two or three persons and traveled at a top speed of three and one-half miles per hour.(6)



Seven states had put up buildings for the San Diego Exposition: California, Utah, New Mexico, Nevada, Washington, Montana, and Kansas. Three of these states—Washington, Montana and Kansas—are not part of the Southwest, but Arizona, which is, declined to participate. The State of California did not put exhibits in its building. Instead, 28 out of a total of 58 California counties put exhibits in the Sacramento Valley Counties Building, the San Joaquin Valley Counties Building, the Kern and Tulare Counties Building, the Alameda and Santa Clara Counties Building, and the Southern California Counties Building, (7)

Considering that the California counties also exhibited at the 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco, as also did 28 states and territories of the United States and 22 foreign nations, the exhibit aspects of San Diego's Exposition were not sensational.(8)

The Exposition covered 640 acres surrounded by rose-trellised fences. Entrances were on the west across the Cabrillo Bridge, on the north at the back of the Isthmus, and on the east end of the main avenue, El Prado, for passengers of the San Diego Electric Railway. Guidebooks referred to the east as the south entrance. Automobile parking was available on payment of a fee at north and south entrances. The west entrance, leading across Cabrillo Bridge, was used by pedestrians, but automobiles driven by important people were allowed in.(9)

El Prado blended semitropical planting with Spanish, Moorish, Mexican, Italian and Persian architecture to create a vision seen before than time only in paintings of imaginary cities. Landscaping was more perfunctory around the state buildings on the south plateau, (10)



New Mexico Building

The New Mexico Building attracted attention because its plain, sturdy massing was unlike the heavily-textured buildings on El Prado.(11) This building was the second of three replicas of the Mission of San Estevan at

Acoma, the first being a warehouse at Morley, Colorado and the third being the Museum of Fine Arts in Santa Fe. The auditorium, or church-like portion of the New Mexico Building was intended to accommodate a series of paintings by Donald Beauregard illustrating the life of St. Francis of Assisi and the martyrdom of Franciscan priests in New Mexico. Beauregard's death rendered this project impossible. The murals were ultimately completed by Kenneth Chapman and Carlos Vierra and were hung in the auditorium of the Santa Fe Museum of Fine Arts, built to look like the New Mexico Building in Balboa Park. A New Mexico Mission series painted by Karl Fleischer, and paintings by Ernest Blumenschein, Victor Higgins, Bert Phillips, Joseph Sharp and Walter Ufer were used to replace the Beauregard panels in San Diego.(12)

The El Prado symphony of green vines and bright flowers climbing over soft white walls, of florid sculptured ornament around building openings, and of striped blue and orange draperies hanging from doors and windows delighted spectators. Red bougainvillea pranced along El Prado while purple bougainvillea danced in the Plaza de Panama. Clipped black acacias in front of buildings imposed order on the riotous blooms. Rose, clematis, jasmine and honeysuckle, growing inside the grass-covered patios of the Science and Education Building, entranced passers-by. Opposite, in a formal English garden, called unaccountably "Montezuma," red geraniums, white marguerites, and multicolored columbines heightened the visitor's pleasure.(13)

Working at night, head nurseryman Paul Thiene supervised the planting of plants, shrubs, trees and vines. He made sure that their colors were complementary and that their growth was uniform. In case some of the plants failed to bloom, Thiene kept about 10,000 geraniums ready for replacement in the nursery.(14)

Unlike buildings designed by Frank P. Allen, Jr., Bertram Goodhue kept his signature California Building and Fine Arts Building and the wings enclosing them bare of flowering plants. To Goodhue the shapes and volumes of buildings were more important than the plants that obscured them from view.(15)

The scale of the San Diego Exposition was small and its atmosphere friendly. Though it was likely first-day visitors were too preoccupied to

enjoy them, footpaths, shaded by acacia, pepper, and eucalyptus trees, wound behind buildings. Seats and ledges were within easy reach. Trees in Palm Canyon, near the west end of El Prado, grasses in Spanish Canyon, near the east end of El Prado, and flowers in formal and informal gardens, near the California, Fine Arts, Indian Arts, and Southern California Counties Buildings offered visitors contact with nature.(16)

A wildflower bed running northeast from the California Building sparkled with yellow mustard, baby blue eyes, white forget-me-nots, purple lupines, and wild Canterbury Bells.(17)

A Botanical Building, made of redwood lath and steel trusses painted to match the redwood, was dramatically recessed on the north side of El Prado. The vaulted main building was fronted by a white-stucco arcade with two Persian-style domes to mark entrances, and highlighted in Persian fashion by a reflecting lagoon. Bamboo, palm, aralia, and pitcher-shaped, insect-eating nepenthes grew inside the front, lath-enclosed structure and in the glass greenhouse in back.(18)

An ornate Japanese temple with an elaborate hip and gable roof, east of the Botanical Building, was used as a tea house. It was bordered by a flowing stream with large carp swimming in it, a half-moon bridge, a bronze crane and stone lanterns, emerging from a background of cedar and wisteria.(19)

At night the stunning daytime colors gave way to black and white chiaroscuro. Electric lights outlined the silhouette of the Spreckels Organ Pavilion. Along the main avenue, more than 1,000 lamps with pear-shaped globes on stately pillars, and bracket lamps and braziers in the arcades, gave the buildings a soft glow.(20) The haunting Churrigueresque relief of the Prado buildings was at its best at night under a full moon.

A 2,500 ft. pleasure street, called "the Isthmus," running from the formal gardens behind the Southern California Counties Building to the north gate, could have been called "The Cynosure," for it was the primary goal of opening-day visitors. Most of its attractions were ready. These included a China Town, with an underground opium den where effigies in wax showed the horrors of addiction; a replica of a Pala gem mine; a ride called "The Toadstool," consisting of a whirring disc on which few could keep their balance; another ride called "Climbing the Yelps," which

simulated a descent into an erupting volcano; a Ferris wheel; a roller coaster in Anfalulu Land, nearly 6,000 ft. in length and equipped with a sound apparatus that ground out "We Don't Know Where We're Going But We're On Our Way"; a historic display called "The Story of the Missions"; an ostrich farm in a building modeled after an Egyptian pyramid; a motion picture studio where films of scenes along the Isthmus were made daily; a Hawaiian Village with the entrance in the shape of a volcano like Kilauea; and an aquarium presided over by King Neptune, consisting of tanks of ocean-filled water in one of which a helmeted diver rescued a waxen damsel from a sunken stateroom.(21)

Concessions not ready on opening day, but ready by the end of the month, were a dance hall called "The Divided Dime," where a couple could dance for five cents; a 250-ft. long replica of the Panama Canal with ships moving up and down in the locks; and a "War of the Worlds" fantasy in which New York City in the year 2000 was destroyed by Asians and Africans who arrived in battleships and airplanes.(22)

About 300 Indians from Apache, Navajo, Supai, Tewa, and Tiwa tribes resided in replicas of tepees, mounds or pueblos, built by the Santa Fe Railway, near the north gate. The Indians wove rugs and blankets, shaped pottery, pounded silver and copper into jewelry and ornaments, performed ceremonial dances, and offered prayers to their gods from a sunken and ground-level kiva..(23) Ever on the alert, critic Geddes Smith noted the steamer trunks and kitchen clocks inside the Indians' primitive homes.(24)

Besides living demonstrations of Indians, the Exposition offered living demonstrations of 500 U.S. Marines in a tent city on the brow of a hill south of the state buildings on the lower plateau, and of four troops of the First Cavalry, U.S. Army, in a model camp on the west slope of Florida Canyon, outside Exposition grounds. Marines and cavalymen were getting settled on opening day and preparing themselves for the parades, drills and band concerts they would give throughout the year.(25)

Some first-day visitors must have left their electriquettes long enough to look at indoor exhibits. If they did, they were rewarded for the 50 cents (adult) and 25 cents (children) admission they paid to enter the Exposition. Displays inside the California Building, just beyond the West Gate, documented the culture of the Maya Indians. In the central auditorium, huge

palms provided a backdrop for reproductions of four stelae and two monoliths from Quirigua in Guatemala. Sculptured friezes by Jean Beman Smith and Sally James Farnham, and paintings of scenes from Maya life by Carlos Vierra, looked down from walls and balconies.(26)

The Fine Arts Building, on the south side of the Plaza de California, offered American paintings by William Glackens, Robert Henri, George Luks, Maurice Prendergast, Joseph Sharp and John Sloan, exponents in various ways of American Impressionism, the Ash Can School of American realism, and the scenery around Taos, New Mexico.(27) New York art critic Christian Brinton thought the paintings were inferior in design and feeling to the Indian pottery, rugs, baskets and utensils in the other buildings.(28) Unbeknown to Brinton, many of the artists incorporated Indian subjects in their paintings. Jean Stern, executive director of the Irvine Museum, California, has suggested that Robert Henri purposely chose the American artists for the inaugural exhibit because they reflected distinctly American influences and techniques in contrast to the European artists whose work was shown at the revolutionary Armory Show of 1913 in New York City.(29) As a reflection, perhaps of their rough realism, none of the paintings on exhibit were sold. In 1962, the San Diego Fine Arts Gallery in Balboa Park attempted to re-create the 1915 exhibit with minimal success as only 13 of the original 49 entries could be found.(30)

On the lower floor of the Fine Arts Building, the Pioneer Society of San Diego exhibited an Indian raft made of tule and balsa, a large photographic view of San Diego in 1869, court records dating from 1850, and portraits of men and women connected with the early history of San Diego.(31)

As one entered El Prado, the Science and Education Building on the north and the Indian Arts Building on the south, beyond the Montezuma Gardens, continued the anthropological themes introduced in the California Building. Dr. Edgar L. Hewett, of the Archaeological Institute of America, and Dr. Ales Hdrlicka, of the U.S. National Museum, selected exhibits in these buildings during trips they or scientists commissioned by them made to southeastern Europe, Siberia, Mongolia, the Philippines, Africa, Peru and Guatemala.(32)

Robert W. Rydell and Matthew F. Bokovoy have cast a jaundiced eye on the roles played by Drs. Hewett and Hrdlicka at the Panama-California Exposition, with Rydell coming down on Hrdlicka and Bokovoy on Hewett. Rydell quoted Hewett as saying at the Race Betterment Congress held at the Panama-Pacific Exposition in San Francisco in August 1915 that Mexicans “imperil in some measure the health of the human race in its onward march.” Bokovoy rephrased this fragmentary sentence to mean “immigration” imperiled “in some measure the health of the [white] race in its onward march,” a sentiment, if Rydell is to be believed that Hewett did not express.(33) Still it is possible that in 1915 Hewett had an antipathy to “mestizos” or lower-class Mexicans. However, since his main focus was archaeology, he did not repeat this statement publicly after 1915 nor is it recorded, that he addressed any more “Race Betterment” Congresses. The peculiar status of the Spanish-speaking people in New Mexico, who regarded themselves as the descendants of the original Spanish inhabitants may have been a factor in Hewett’s denigration of “mixed-bloods. Both Hewett and Hrdlicka illustrate how the concept of Social Darwinism, almost universally held by academics at the turn of the 20th century, impacted their thinking. As men evolved from lesser- species so societies evolved from a stage of hunting-gathering to the industrial civilization of today. Far from being impartial, most scientists in the 1900’s considered the latest stage of civilization to be the best. Much the same evaluative process took place in regards to ethnicity with White Anglo-Saxon Protestant racial types being considered superior to others.

As people who lived within the scientific ethos of their time, Hewett and Hrdlicka shared similar views, though, in Hewett’s case, he had moral, ethical and aesthetic misgivings. If Hewett sometimes thought WASPS were superior because they had more drive and ambition, such thoughts were balanced by his sympathetic identification with indigenous people. In Hrdlicka’s case, he was a physical anthropologist whose specialty was anthropometry. As such he tried to be objective. When he prepared the exhibits for the San Diego Exposition, the ideas for which he became recognized as a leader in physical anthropology were in a formative stage. He thought Homo Sapiens derived from Neanderthals, an idea that anthropologists generally discredit today, and that American Indians came across the Bering Strait after the last Ice Age, a migration that anthropologists generally regard today as occurring during the Ice Age. If one were to look hard enough he or she might find evidence of these ideas in the displays Hrdlicka set up in San Diego, though ordinary lookers-on did

not come away with these inferences. Whatever his sentiments were at the time, today Hrdlicka is vilified by many Native American tribes for digging up the graves of their ancestors. As for Hewett, to say he was an apologist for Imperialism or the exploitation of minorities overstates the case.(34)

Nevertheless, a caveat regarding Hrdlicka, is in order, as the more one reads, the more Rydell's broad claims make sense. Dr. Kate Spilde has shown how the U.S. Department of Justice hired Hrdlicka and Professor Albert Jenks of the University of Minnesota to determine how many Chippewa Indians at the White Earth Reservation in Minnesota could be classified as culturally-advanced "mixed-bloods" who could sell their allotments and rights to communal lands to non-Indian timber interests. By examining Chippewa's skin, hair, noses and feet, Spilde stated, the physical anthropologists "provided the government with the evidence they needed to justify the extraction of tribal resources by public and private outsiders." (35) Physical anthropologist Michael L. Blakey came to a similar conclusion when he wrote that after measuring the skulls of 76 African Americans at Howard University, Hrdlicka concluded that full-blooded Negroes "appeared to be of inferior mentality." (36) If this is not International Imperialism, i.e. the subordination of colonial people to the ends of their Masters, it sounds like National and Domestic Imperialism. By acting as a client for people with ulterior motives, Hrdlicka became vulnerable to the charge that the conclusions he reached were affected by obstinacy and self-interest.(37)

In opposition to the theories of Anglo-Saxon superiority espoused by eugenicists Charles Davenport and Madison Grant, Hrdlicka developed a variation of the "melting pot" theory in which he claimed that like old-comers to the United States—English, Irish and Scotch—new-comers—from Central and Southeastern Europe—"have been undergoing a gradual physical improvement, leading in stature and other respects in the direction of the type of Old Americans." In other words, descendants of all immigrants were approaching a distinct American identity or norm. Despite this difference with eugenicists, Hrdlicka became a member of the Eugenics Society in the 1920's and he sought the financial (but not editorial) help of Davenport and Grant in the publication of the *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, a journal that he founded in 1918. He hesitated to express his "egalitarian" thoughts in public and, in 1923, he declined an invitation to testify before a House Committee on Immigration Policies.

The following wonderful *corrido* quoted by Fray Angelico Chavez in *My Penitente Land* describes the universal inclination of people who are well-off to look down on those who are not and to disclaim any responsibility for their condition:

El que nace desgraciado
desde la cuna comienza
desde la cuna comienza
a vivir martirizado.

Anyone born disadvantaged
starts out from the cradle
starts out from the cradle
to be stepped on and unwanted.(38)

Ten painted plaster bust models of precursors of present-day man by Belgian sculptor Louis Mascré, in the Science and Education Building, illustrated "The Evolution of Man." These imaginative busts were replicas of colored originals, created between 1909 and 1914, under the direction of curator Aime Rutot, for the Royal Institute of Natural Sciences of Belgium in Brussels. The Museum of Aquitaine, in Bordeaux, France displays a third group. Frank Micka and Joseph Andrews made plaster sets of 45 male and 45 female busts, cast from living subjects, that portrayed man's development from birth to senescence in white, Indian and black races. Micka also made plaster busts of 75 native Americans from facial casts. These included Blackfoot, Sioux, Omaha, Apache and Osage. Some of the busts have been retained by the San Diego Museum of Man; others are kept in the National Museum of Natural History in Washington, DC, where descendants of the original subjects can see them and ask for copies. An exhibit of 60 skulls from Peru showed Pre-Columbian trephining. Addressing a contemporary Progressive issue, panels, donated by child welfare organizations, advocated the prevention of infant mortality and the abolition of child labor.(39,) The didactic nature of this display departed from the descriptive character of the Hewett/Hrdlicka exhibits.

The Indian Arts Building, as the name implied, concentrated on interpreting the life of American Indians. A series of diagrams depicted Indian symbolism; eleven large murals by Gerald Cassidy showed the habitations of Cliff Dwellers; (40) and photographs by Edward S. Curtis and

Roland W. Reed presented romanticized views of the Indians. Reed, whose photographs were influenced by Curtis's histrionic and perfectionist style, showed life-size photographs of Blackfoot Indians, which became so popular, he set up a studio in San Diego to sell copper-plate engraved copies.(41,) In presenting idealized versions of Native Americans as they supposedly lived in an Acadian Pre-Contact-with-Whites stage, neither Curtis nor Reed were true to the living conditions of contemporary Indians. They took pains to eliminate evidences of modernity, including the baggy trousers or calico dresses the Indians wore, instead of the costumes that they put on for ceremonial occasions or that were foisted on them by "image makers." Native Americans in the photographs were as much "poseurs" as the representatives of Southwest Indians tribes at the Indian Village/Painted Desert near the north gate.

The Plaza de Panama was the hub of the Panama-California Exposition. It extended south by means of an esplanade to the Plaza de los Estados, in front of the Organ Pavilion. On special occasions, such as the opening night ceremony, a sea of humanity filled the area. When it was not being used by dignitaries for speeches, by the armed services for drills, by acrobats and athletes for sports, by bands for concerts, by soldiers, sailors and civilians for dances, or by exhibitors for shows, the Plaza de Panama was filled with strolling musicians, guards dressed as Spanish grenadiers, ladies with bright parasols, children and adults feeding pigeons, and electriciennes going in all directions.(42)

The Sacramento Valley Building occupied the place of honor at the head of the Plaza de Panama. It was a long, symmetrical, Italian-Renaissance building with a deep alcove, set above rows of steps and festooned with gay rococo ornament. While other buildings around the Plaza differed in elevation and style from the Sacramento Building, they made good neighbors.(43)

By the time the visitor had reached the Plaza de Panama from the west, he had passed beyond the educational exhibits. The commercial, state and county exhibits that remained put their stress on practical matters.

Kyosan Kai Company of Japan placed rare collections of cloisonne, chinaware, cabinets, tapestries and screens in the Foreign and Domestic Arts Building on the southeast side of the Plaza de Panama. A gigantic case of

carved cherry with inlaid wood in the center, containing finely carved ivories, was valued at \$10,000. The same Company also operated a Chinese exhibit in the building, featuring bronzes, silks and paintings, (44) and the Tea Pavilion and "The Streets of Joy" concession on the Isthmus where patrons enjoyed the scenery of Old Japan, admired women dressed in kimonos, listened to musicians play the samisen, and played games of chance.(45)

Something was amiss in the exhibits in the Home Economy Building, across El Prado from the Foreign and Domestic Arts Building. Except for a mention in the Guidebook, the exhibits were not described in newspapers. In contrast to the "arts" in the Foreign and Domestic Arts Building, exhibits in the Home Economy Building featured the latest in sinks, stoves, vacuum cleaners and refrigerators. Curiously, in a building catering to women, one of the biggest exhibits was entitled "Cigars.(46)

The U.S. Navy, a major exhibitor in the Commerce and Industries Building, near the east end of El Prado, showed fieldpieces, Gatling guns, rifles, a collection of shells and machetes, diving suits, and models of the armored cruiser *San Diego* and the dreadnought *North Dakota*.(47) The U.S. Mint, in the same building, displayed a currency machine that turned out engraved Exposition emblems in silk, and a coin machine that turned out thousands of metal souvenir Exposition coins.(48)

Manufacturing companies put industrial exhibits in the Commerce and Industries Building and the Varied Industries and Food Products Building, on opposite sides of El Prado. Moreland Motor Truck Company in the Commerce and Industries Building showed how a new gasifier in its trucks could ignite a spray of distillate fuel and keep the engine going.(49) In the Varied Industries and Food Products Building, Pioneer Paper Company subjected roofing paper to intense heat to illustrate its lasting qualities, (50) Globe Mills Company baked bread, (51) Genesee Pure Food Company packed products with the aid of machinery, (52) and Towle Products Company made maple syrup and sugar inside a log cabin.(53) Free samples given away by exhibitors ensured large crowds in front of displays.

New Mexico offered lectures and movies in the auditorium of its building and displayed gold ore and large blocks of meerschaum in its mineral exhibit.(54) On the second floor, the newly established U.S.

Forestry Service showed what it was doing to conserve forests.(55) In the Utah Building, a bas-relief of the state weighing five tons and a depiction of an irrigation project fascinated visitors.(56) A miniature oil well in the Kern and Tulare Counties Building extracted oil from the earth.(57) Exhibits in other state and country buildings consisted of fruits and vegetables arranged in colorful piles and grain stored in glass-fronted bins or arched sheaves. The Southern California Counties exhibits were most like those of a country fair, with showcases of china painting, hemstitched aprons, an inlaid table made of 2,866 pieces of wood, cows made of creamery butter, and elephants made of English walnuts.(58)

The Southern California Counties Commission, consisting of representatives from Los Angeles, San Bernardino, San Diego, Imperial, Ventura, Orange and Riverside Counties, maintained a formal garden, citrus orchards containing about 700 orange, lemon and grapefruit trees, a five-acre Model Farm and bungalow, and a 3-acre demonstration field north of their main El Prado exhibit building and east of the Alameda. Nearby, Lipton Tea installed a plantation with workers from Ceylon, and International Harvester put up an exhibit building, planted a citrus orchard and demonstrated tractors, harvesters, stackers, manure spreaders, plows and water sprayers in the orchard or on a five-acre demonstration field, sown with cereals and grasses, whichever was appropriate.(59) The so-called “tractor field” at the northeast end of Alameda, adjacent to the Painted Desert, was used for cavalry drills, athletic events, military and civilian encampments, fireworks displays, and as an aviation field. Newspaper accounts do not indicate that it was used as “a tractor field.” A pump in the International Harvester orchard raised water so it could be used to irrigate citrus trees, one of the few instances of machine irrigation at the Exposition.



Model Farm and Exposition Buildings

Diverting water from the Colorado River made Isaiah's prophecy of fertility in a desert landscape possible.(60) In 1911 novelist Harold Bell Wright dramatized this diversion in *The Winning of Babara Worth*, in which he depicted the irrigation of Imperial Valley (Imperial County since 1907). Amazingly, San Diego County waited until 1947 before it connected to the Colorado River Aqueduct of the Metropolitan Water District of Southern California.(61) During the 1915-1916 San Diego Exposition, the City of San Diego Water Utilities Department used water from the City's and County's local watershed to irrigate the Model Farm's and International Harvester's orchards and demonstration fields.(62) The supply of water for the City and County may have been adequate then, but it became increasingly less reliable as the City's and County's population grew and periods of drought took their inevitable toll.

Displays of agricultural know-how at the San Diego Exposition attempted to win converts to the back-to-the-land movement.(63) Though the philosophy of the Little Landers of San Ysidro, as promulgated by William Ellsworth Smythe, was being promoted, Little Landers were not represented.(64) C. L. Wilson, who managed the Model Farm for the Southern California Counties Commission, held up the prospect of success with an important proviso: "After being in charge of the model farm at the Exposition for two years, I have no hesitancy in saying that from seven acres of good California land a profit of from \$2,000 to \$2,500 a year can be taken by a man who understands his business." (65)

Many Little Landers were novices at farming; others were too old to do the work necessary. A pumping system from the Tijuana River, financed by the Citizens Savings Bank of San Diego was inadequate and expensive. Farmers who got the best land were at odds with farmers in less desirable locations. Speculators had begun converting farm land into residential lots. Insurgency in Mexico scared away investors. A State Commission on Land Colonization and Rural Credits issued a report in 1917 criticizing the concepts and management of the enterprise. Many would-be farmers took outside jobs to supplement their income. Lacking the intensive farm skills of Japanese farmers, aspiring American middle-class tillers of the soil found one acre of land to be too small. Indeed, the uneven results of the Little Lander experiment and its collapse in 1918 provided evidence that contradicted Smythe's and Wilson's assertions that small subsistence farmers could become rich in an area where large agricultural land holdings were the rule rather than the exception.(66)

Skeptical of exaggerated booster claims, Mathew F. Bokovoy pointed out, "It was difficult . . . to discern whether the model farm was a progressive experiment intended to rationalize intensive farming, or if it was a developer-led scheme (suburbanization) to promote the small agricultural communities in San Diego and Imperial Counties." (67,) If not a scheme, certainly the result for the former agricultural communities of El Cajon, Chula Vista, Lemon Grove, and San Ysidro are now well-developed urban and suburban communities. (How the observation applies to Imperial County is, however, not as transparent, though, of course, the County has more communities in 2006 than it had in 1915)

Cafe Cristobal at the entrance to the Alameda and the Alhambra Cafeteria at the entrance to the Isthmus were the Exposition's main restaurants.(66) The Cristobal was the Exposition's social center where celebrities were feted and "society night" dances were held. Between courses patrons did the one-step and fox trot to the music of Professor E. C. Kammermeyer's 10-piece orchestra. Over 2,000 people tried to get reservations for the opening night New Year's Eve celebration. This created a problem as the cafe had seats for only 600.(68) Somehow the cafe managed to hold and serve 7 an early dinner for more than 1,000 beautifully gowned women, naval officers in full dress, and male guests in formal attire.(69) Most of the diners left the cafe to attend the organ dedication at

the Spreckels Organ Pavilion, beginning at 9:00 p.m., and the inaugural ceremonies in the Plaza de Panama, beginning at 11:00 p.m.

The official banquet at the Cristobal on the evening of January 1 was for males only. Attendance was down to about 500. Simultaneously with the men's banquet, about 350 women held their own meeting at the U.S. Grant Hotel in downtown San Diego. Here they entertained the wives of visiting celebrities after they had found out the Alhambra Cafeteria could not be adapted for such a function. Another 3,500 women, who were not invited, crowded the hotel lobby and the street outside. The men's dinner was replete with camaraderie, toasting, long speeches, and the singing of an unauthorized version of "Tipperary" which ended: "It's a long way to San Diego but we're all right there." (70) The women, led by Mrs. Earl A. Garrettson, substituted short introductions, the singing of sentimental lyrics by talented vocalists, and the dancing of five pretty girls dressed as wood nymphs.(71)

The Spanish-style Alhambra Cafeteria, designed by Max E. Parker, designer of many concession buildings, had a seating capacity of 1,200 and catered to those who wanted their meals quickly. Diners could view a rose-covered pergola and the citrus orchards on the west and the formal gardens of the Southern California Counties on the south.(72)

Exposition Directors were reluctant to allow women representation in the direction of the Exposition. This obstinacy led Miss Alice Klauber to form the San Diego County Women's Association and to notify the Board that if provision were not made for women during 1915, the Association would advertise the fact in every women's club in the United States.(73) Not surprisingly, the Board came around.(74)

San Diego women wanted to provide rest rooms and comfort facilities for women and children, to protect single women from the perils of the city, and to entertain Exposition visitors.(75) These concerns led to the development of several women-oriented rooms on the grounds. The Women's Christian Temperance Union maintained a room for women in the Science and Education Building; the Young Women's Christian Association a room in the Varied Industries Building; the Christian Science Church a room in the Commerce and Industries Building; and the Southern California Counties Committee a room in their building. Women frequently used rooms in the Model Bungalow for gatherings.

The two rooms at the Exposition that evoked the most comment were the rooms of the Daughters of the American Revolution—described in the *San Diego Union* as being in the upper balcony of the Arts and Crafts, or Indian Arts Building, (76) and in the *Los Angeles Times* as being in the Fine Arts Building (77) and the Official Women's Board Headquarters on the west side and upper balcony of the California Quadrangle. Being in a Spanish-Mission style building did not deter the DAR from converting their room into an American colonial sitting room. Under the supervision of Mrs. Horace B. Day, chapter members made seats, rugs, curtains, and rare antiques that looked as if they belonged in Williamsburg, Virginia. Members hoped their room would become the official reception room for visitors.(78)

The DAR was doomed to disappointment for the most striking interior in the Exposition was in the room occupied by the Women's Official Board, sequel to Alice Klauber's Association. The success of this room was due to Miss Klauber. Using the colors of an old Indian rug, she painted the walls in shades of gray and black and used a persimmon red dye on hangings and cushions. She employed real persimmons, ripe pumpkins and French marigolds as motifs. A rosewood piano case in the room that had been converted into a handsome desk inspired a reporter to write: "It is safe to say that by the time the Exposition is over, there won't be an old piano left in the west, they will all be writing desks."(79)

Under the direction of Mrs. George M. McKenzie, head of the social committee, two San Diego women acted as hostesses in the "Persimmon Room" every day of the year, including opening day when the Women's Official Board extended its hospitality to Mrs. William G. McAdoo, wife of the Secretary of the Treasury and daughter of President Wilson.(80)

The Women's Board also maintained a silence room on the lower level of their headquarters. Here a nurse in charge watched over women resting on cots.(81)

San Diego women did much to make the Exposition an endearing experience. Men made the buildings, but women decorated them. Alice Klauber oversaw art exhibits and lectures, and Gertrude Gilbert, head of the Amphion Music Club, arranged for the appearance of concert artists.(82)

One of the most distinctive features of an Exposition rich in distinctive features was the Organ Pavilion at the south end of the esplanade connecting to the Plaza de Panama. Like their father, Claus Spreckels, who in 1900 gave an outdoor Music Temple to Golden Gate Park in San Francisco, (83) John D. and Adolph B. Spreckels gave the Organ Pavilion in Balboa Park to "the people of San Diego."

John D. Spreckels also hired Dr. Humphrey J. Stewart, a distinguished organist and composer, to give daily concerts throughout 1915.(84) These concerts continued, at the expense of the Spreckels interests, until September 1, 1929.(85)

Speaking to a reporter as he listened to the opening strains of "Adeste Fideles" during a practice session before the official 7:00 p.m. Exposition

Opening, December 31, 1914, John D. Spreckels said his gift of the organ to San Diego was the finest achievement of his life.(86)

The people who entered the grounds on New Year's Eve, December 31, 1914, and opening day, January 1, 1915, had every reason to be proud. San Diego's Panama-California Exposition of 1915 was not the world's fair it had in 1909 set out to be; yet it had not become so diminished that its original idea was lost. The determined men and women who participated in the San Diego Exposition—the financiers who raised the money, the architects who designed and the workers who constructed the buildings, the gardeners who planted the grounds, the people from the counties, states and businesses who put up exhibits, the concessionaires on the Isthmus who provided fast-paced hilarity, and the people of San Diego and of the Southwest who attended the Exposition's daily events—transformed the Exposition from a regional and transitory Fair into an event that has outlived the memory of many larger and wealthier expositions, and that has left a lasting mark on the Southwest.(87)

NOTES

1. *San Diego Union*, January 1, 1915, 1.
2. *San Diego Union*, January 2, 1915, 1.
3. G. A. Davidson, "Official Opening Address," 11 p., San Diego Public Library, California Room,
4. *Los Angeles Times*, January 2, 1915, 1.
5. *San Diego Union*, January 2, 1915, 1.
6. "The Fair Ready at San Diego with Many Special Features," *Santa Fe Magazine*, V. 9, December 1914, 22.
7. *San Diego Union*, January 1, 1915, Exposition Section, 4.
8. Richard Pourade, *Gold in the Sun* (San Diego, 1965, 192-193.
9. *San Diego Union*, January 9, 1915; *Official Guidebook of the Panama-California Exposition, 1915* (San Diego, 1915), San Diego Public Library, California Room.
10. *Los Angeles Times*, February 14, 1915, VI-1.
11. *Los Angeles Times*, March 28, 1915, VI-1.
12. Michael Miller, "New Mexico's Role in the Panama-California Exposition of 1915," *El Palacio*, V. 91, No. 2, Fall 1985, 12-17; Carl Sheppard, *The Saint Francis Murals of Santa Fe* (Santa Fe, 1989).
13. Eugen Neuhaus, *San Diego Garden Fair* (San Francisco, 1916), 59-76.
14. *Los Angeles Times*, February 14, 1915, VI-1.

15. Mary Gilman Marston, *George White Marston, A Family Chronicle* (Ward Ritchie Press, 1956), V. 2, 335-339.
16. Frank P. Allen, Jr., "The Panama-California Exposition," *Pacific Coast Architect*, V. 9, June 1915, 218-237.
17. *San Diego Union*, March 5, 1915, 4; May 30, 1915, 4; *Los Angeles Times*, March 14, 1915, VI-1.
18. *San Diego Union*, February 28, 1915, 1, 4; "The Lath House," *California Garden*, V. 7, No. 1, July 1915, 6.
19. Carleton M. Winslow, *The Architecture and Gardens of the San Diego Exposition* (San Francisco, 1916), 152.
20. *San Diego Union*, January 1, 1915, 1, 8.
21. *San Diego Sun*, January 19, 1915, 2.
22. *Los Angeles Times*, April 11, 1915, VI-1; *San Diego Examiner*, January 29, 1915, Isthmus Section, 1-8.
23. *Los Angeles Times*, March 7, 1915, VI-1; *San Diego Sun*, January 18, 1915, 6.
24. Geddes Smith, "California's Country Fair," *Independent Magazine*, V. 83, July 26, 1915, 119-121.
25. *San Diego Union*, March 21, 1915, 1, 8; April 14, 1915, 1, 8; April 18, 1915, 1, 10; May 17, 1932, 1, 7.
26. Edgar L. Hewett, "Ancient America at the Panama-California Exposition," *Art and Archaeology*, V. 2, No. 3, November 1915, 65-102.
27. *Los Angeles Times*, January 31, 1915, III-15; *San Diego Union*, February 2, 1915, 1, 4; December 16, 1962, E
28. Christian Brinton, "The San Diego and San Francisco Expositions," *The International Studio*, V. 55, June 1915, 105-119.
29. Jean Stern, "Robert Henri and the 1915 San Diego Exposition," *Resource Library, an online publication of Traditional Fine Arts Organizations*.
30. *San Diego Union*, December 16, 1962, F-1.
31. *Los Angeles Times*, April 18, 1915, VI-1; *San Diego Sun*, January 22, 1915, 4.
32. *San Diego Sun*, January 20, 1915, 17; William Henry Holmes, "Ancient America at the Panama-California Exposition, San Diego," *Art and Archaeology* (Washington, 1915), V. 16, 30-31.
33. Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair* (University of Chicago Press, 1984), 224; Matthew F. Bokovoy, *The San Diego World's Fairs and Southwestern Memory, 1880-1940* (University of New Mexico Press, 2005). 100-101"
34. Ales Hrdlicka, "Some Recent Anthropological Explorations," Division of Physical Anthropology, U.S. National Museum, Washington, DC.; Robert Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at America's International Expositions, 1876-1916* (University of Chicago Press, 1984); Matthew F. Bokovoy, *The San Diego World's Fairs and Southwestern Memory, 1880-1940* (University of New Mexico Press, 2005) Also see Endnote 9: "First Americans Come to Balboa Park."
35. Kate Spilder, "Where Does Federal Indian Policy Really Come From?" (May. 2001), online paper published by the National Indian Gaming Association Resource Library;
36. Michael L. Blakey, "Ch. 2: History and Comparison of Bioarchaeological Studies in the African Diaspora," African Burial Ground Final Report.

37. Ales Hrdlicka, *Old Americans* (Williams and Wilkins, Baltimore, 1925) 408-412; Elazar Barkan, *The retreat of scientific racism* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), 97-100; Fray Angelico Chavez, *My Penitente Land: Reflections on Spanish New Mexico*. Santa Fe: NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1974.
38. *Los Angeles Times*, April 11, 1915, VI-1; May 30, 1915, VI-1; *San Diego Union*, April 25, 1915, 1, 4.
39. According to Rose Tyson, curator of physical anthropology at the San Diego Museum of Man (e-mail, June 28, 2006) the eleven large murals in the Indian Arts Building by Gerald Cassidy were moved to the second floor of the California Building, and then to the second floor, west hall, of the same building. They were removed from the west hall in 2001 and are now "in large protective rolls awaiting restoration." Because the walls to which the murals were attached contained lead paint, getting the lead paint off the back of the murals will be a challenge.
40. *San Diego Sun*, February 15, 1915, 2; *San Diego Union*, October 4, 1914, Exposition Section, 8; William Templeton Johnson, "The Panama-California Exposition and the Changing People of the Great Southwest," *Survey*, V. 34, July 3, 1915, 306-307.
41. *San Diego Sun*, June 3, 1915, 1, 2; *San Diego Union*, January 6, 1915, 1, 4.
42. Carleton Monroe Winslow, Jr., *The Architecture of the Panama-California Exposition, 1909-1915* (San Diego, 1976), thesis, University of San Diego, 58, 66.
43. *San Diego Union*, January 23, 1915, 1, 4.
44. "The Big Fair Ready at San Diego with Many Special Features," *Santa Fe Magazine*, V. 59, December 1914, 21-23. *Los Angeles Times*, May 23, 1915, VI-1.
45. *Official Guidebook*, 47.
46. *San Diego Union*, January 19, 1915, 1, 5.
47. *San Diego Union*, January 30, 1915, 1, 8; February 23, 1915, 1, 5.
48. *Los Angeles Times*, January 10, 1915, VII-5.
49. *San Diego Union*, December 2, 1914, II-9.
50. *Los Angeles Times*, January 24, 1915, VI-1.
51. *San Diego Union*, December 16, 1914, 1, 6.
52. *San Diego Union*, November 22, 1914, II-1,
53. *Los Angeles Times*, March 28, 1915, VI-1; *San Diego Union*, February 14, 1915, 1, 4.
54. *Official Guidebook*, 21.
55. *San Diego Union*, January 19, 1915, 1, 4.
56. *Los Angeles Times*, January 10, 1915, 1, 2; *San Diego Sun*, January 9, 1915, 1, 2; *San Diego Union*, March 7, 1915, 1, 8.
57. Emily Post, "By Motor to the Fair," *Colliers*, V. 54, September 18, 1915.
58. Mark S. Watson, "San Diego Panama-California Exposition," *Semi-Tropic California*, 2nd Edition (Los Angeles, 1915), 79-87, San Diego Public Library, California Room; *Official Guidebook*, 14-16..
59. Isaiah 35:1: "The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose." *Bible, New English Translation*, Biblical Studies Press, L.L. C., 1996.
60. Mike Sholders, "Water Supply Development in San Diego and a Review of Related Outstanding Projects," *Journal of San Diego History*, V. 45. No. 1, Winter 2002.
61. Sholders, "Water Supply Development in San Diego . . ."

62. Watson, *Semi-Tropic California* , , ,”
63. Lawrence D. Lee, “The Little Landers Colony of San Ysidro,” *Journal of San Diego History*, V. 21, Winter 1975, 26-51 Matthew F. Bokovoy, “Inventing Agriculture in Southern California,” *Journal of San Diego History*, V. 45, Spring 1999.
64. *San Diego Union*, January 1, 1917, Special Section, 1, 2.
65. David Lavender, *California Land of New Beginnings* (New York, 1972), 14. . 66. Matthew F. Bokovoy, “Inventing Agriculture in Southern California,” *Journal of San Diego History*, V. 45, Spring 1999.
67. *San Diego Sun*, January 20, 1915, 1, 7,
68. *San Diego Union*, December 28, 1914, 1, 2.
69. *Los Angeles Times*, January 1, 1915, 1, 2.
70. *Los Angeles Times*, January 2, 1915, 1, 2’ *San Diego Union*, January 2, 1915, 1, 2.
71. *San Diego Union*, December 13, 1914, 1, 8; *San Diego Sun*, February 3, 1915, 1, 12.
72. *San Diego Union*, June 19, 1914, 1-16.
73. *San Diego Union*, June 20, 1914, 1-3,.
74. *San Diego Union*, September 23, 1914, 1, 3; January 6, 1915, 1: Florence Christman, *The Romance of Balboa Park* (San Diego, 1985), 50.
75. *San Diego Union*, December 20, 1914, 1, 10.
76. *Los Angeles Times*, January 1, 1915, I-1.
77. *San Diego Union*, December 20, 1914, 1, 10.
78. *Los Angeles Times*, January 31, 1915, VI-1; Neuhaus, 43-44.
79. *Los Angeles Times*, January 2, 1915, I-1; January 31, 1915, VI-1.
80. *Los Angeles Times*, January 31, 1915, VI-1.
81. *San Diego Union*, January 1, 1916, Exposition Section, 2; January 1, 1917, Social Section, 1.
82. Raymond H. Clary, *The Making of Golden Gate Park* (San Francisco, 1980), 141-142.
83. *San Diego Union*, December 9, 1914, II-9.
84. *San Diego Union*, August 13, 1929, 1. 6.
85. *Los Angeles Times*, January 1, 1915, 1, 4.
86. Kevin Starr, *Americans and the California Dream, 1850-1915* (Santa Barbara, 1981), 402-413; Birrton Benedict, *The Anthropology of World’s Fairs, San Francisco’s Panama-Pacific Exposition 1915* (Berkeley, 1983).