Architecture of the San Francisco Bay Area: The Influence of the 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition

Orion Weinstein
Dominican University of California

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Architecture of the San Francisco Bay Area:

The Influence of the 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition

By Orion Weinstein-Atman

A culminating senior thesis submitted to the faculty of Dominican University of California in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Bachelor of Arts in History and Bachelor of Arts in Art History

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Abstract

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Just hours after the 1906 Earthquake, Jack London arrived in San Francisco and wrote an article for Collier's Magazine, “The Story of an Eyewitness.” He famously reported, “San Francisco is gone...Nothing remains of it but memories.” The earthquake and subsequent fire left most of San Francisco in ruins; commercial buildings, humble residences and grand estates destroyed. The City was a blank slate and in the process of rebuilding, there was the opportunity to utilize new architectural styles as well as create new architecture; significantly, the Panama-Pacific International Exposition of 1915 (PPIE) provided the impetus as well as the art, color, and design for the rebuilding of the City. Exposition architecture, such as the Palace of Fine Arts by Bernard Maybeck, inspired new architecture for the San Francisco Bay Area and built upon the new architectural movements which had started prior to the calamity. This paper uses primary source documents, including the Golden Gate National Recreation Area Park Archives and Presidio Records, and the architectural records of the San Francisco Planning Department to document historical architecture prior to the 1906 earthquake. In addition, this paper will reference the Exposition’s chief architect, George W. Kelham, and other key architects and designers involved in the planning and design of the PPIE, to document the architectural legacy of Exposition, and to look at the resulting design and growth in international architecture after 1915. This paper discusses how the 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition influenced the artwork and architectural landscape of the San Francisco Bay Area. Furthermore, this paper serves as an architectural history tribute to the Bay Area, the artists and architects, and city workers, who helped rebuild San Francisco after the 1906 earthquake.
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INTRODUCTION

When one visits San Francisco, it is common to see tourists visiting the city's significant 20th century architectural structures such as the San Francisco Art Institute, the California Palace of the Legion of Honor, the Palace of Fine Arts and the Golden Gate Bridge. When viewing these varied buildings and structures, it becomes evident that there is a unique beauty in the architecture that was born and popularized in the past century. To learn more about the creation of these grand civic buildings, which range in appearance from Classical Roman Greco/Roman to Neoclassical European, requires a greater understanding of politics and comprehensive research to discover their origins, blueprints, and the architects’ intentions. It also raises the questions of when did San Francisco become a metropolis, what were the first large civic buildings, and who designed and built them? These questions can in part be answered by the cataclysm of the 1906 earthquake and subsequent fire.

Before the 1890s, San Francisco was quickly becoming the largest commercial, naval, and financial center on the West Coast. After the mid-19th century, gold and silver prospectors and wealthy investors settled in the Bay Area to acquire more resources, land, and status. The population of the city grew from 1,000 in 1848 to 25,000 in 1849.¹ Many of these first settlers orchestrated the initial construction of buildings and monuments around San Francisco. The architecture had some diversity with the wealthy settlers creating huge and extremely ornamental Victorian Estates. The Victorian period was 1860-1900 with many upper class homes being built in the Victorian styles of “classicism and ornamentation.”² Some of the more elaborate style homes during the Victorian period were referred to as “Queen Anne Style.”(See figure 1). These buildings were flamboyant, with Gothic/Renaissance inspired decoration such as turrets, steeples, round gables, and classical columns. The Victorian style homes built from 1848 to 1906 were constructed primarily of wood and brick. Much of the other residential
homes were simple wood framed shacks of one or two stories, not ascribed to true architectural style. Commercial buildings were usually two-story brick buildings with some decorative details and timber-framed interiors. The architecture that stood out from the rest of the city was the Presidio and Mission, Spanish-California era buildings built prior to the Gold Rush.

On the eve of the 20th century, Victorian architecture had taken center stage in developed Western countries such as France, Italy, Britain, the United States; with characteristics of 18th century-19th century Enlightenment thinkers creating Gothic elements that copied Venetian and Byzantine techniques. Many of the world’s most visited medieval and classical structures, cathedrals and buildings were remodeled by architects in their "vision" of how these structures would have looked originally. An example was the adding of a giant spire and gargoyles to Notre Dame in France (Eugene Viollet-le-Duc late 1800s). Internationally, it was not unusual in the late 1800s to see a blend of architectural styles as a result of colonialism and migration. During this same era, San Francisco had emerged from a predominantly rural, Spanish military center and
evolved into a growing economic nucleus after the discovery of gold, followed by the exponential arrival of eager, opportunistic entrepreneurs. The wide variety of nationalities and cultures gave the city a unique composition. This obviously affected the civic buildings provided for citizens. By the beginning of the 20th century, Victorian style buildings were still in use, but new elements had been incorporated into the composition of San Francisco’s architecture. An example of this is the 1898 San Francisco Ferry Building designed in the Neo-classical “Beaux-Arts” style. (See figure 2.)

A cosmopolitan blend of modern ideas and classic architecture came together during the planning and organizing of the 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition (PPIE). The team of designers and architects, with input from city leaders, embraced the "intellectual" of Western Civilization and included parts of Burnham's “City Beautiful” concepts. In addition, the architectural scheme for the PPIE focused on the combination of art and nature as one of their primary design goals. The intellectual, eclectic, artistic and architectural blend of modern and classicism, mixed with “City Beautiful” and the inclusion of nature, set up the PPIE to be a
model city, of only eleven months, with many of the design concepts carried on into the future of San Francisco's civic architecture.

BEFORE THE EARTHQUAKE

San Francisco and the Bay Area was a growing metropolis at the turn of the 20th century. The City was an emerging architectural center and was beginning to be called the “Paris of the West.” Architectural styles were in a rapid state of development with Queen Anne style, Beaux-Art style, Victorian and simple shingle structures appearing throughout much of the city. City leaders became interested in the “City Beautiful Movement” which started in 1893 at the Chicago World's (Columbian) Fair. The city was poised and ready to grow into an international metropolis full of intellectual and eclectic thought, creative architecture and international art.

On the West Coast, thousands of miles from the traditional American centers of culture, San Francisco saw the emergence of an original artistic, literary, and intellectual society. From the 1870s until 1906, the men known as the “robber barons” of San Francisco, Collis P. Huntington, Leland Stanford, Mark Hopkins, and Charles Crocker; owned or held the dominant art and architecture in Bay Area. With their riches Stanford founded a university; Crocker, who held the controlling shares of Wells Fargo, left behind millions and an art museum in Sacramento; Mark Hopkins also left behind riches that would eventually be turned into the Mark Hopkins Institute of Art (San Francisco Art Institute), and Huntington's wealth created a massive Huntington Library in Southern California. Between 1870 and 1880, these four men built palaces reflecting their wealth and status sitting 500 feet above most of the city allowing them to very literally look down upon the other citizens.
San Francisco’s intellectual society supported creativity and the arts, as well as free expression. The art collections in San Francisco grew with the influx of artists coming during and after the Gold Rush. Historical art collections began shortly thereafter by groups including
the Society of California Pioneers, the Bohemian Club, the San Francisco Art Association, and the Mark Hopkins Institute of Art. The first major art exhibition in California was held in 1857 at the First Annual Industrial Exhibition of San Francisco’s Mechanics’ Institute. The Bohemian Club which began in 1872 became a center for the growth of art and culture. Founding members were artists such as Thomas Hill (1829-1908) and William Keith (1838-1911). The art exhibited in homes, the Bohemian Club, museum/San Francisco Art Institute, was mostly landscape, dramatic Hudson School type works.

*M.H. de Young*

Another significant figure in the history of San Francisco architecture before and after the PPIE was the key facilitator of the 1894 Midwinter Fair. The planning for the San Francisco event began in Chicago with Michael Henry (M.H.) de Young (1849-1925). Inspired by the success of the 1893 World’s Colombian Exposition, de Young saw the potential of an exposition to improve the weakening economy of San Francisco. He thought it was just what was needed to bring San Francisco international recognition. With no federal, city, or state funds available, he personally gifted $5000 to the project. Meeting with other Californians in Chicago, de Young was able to raise another $40,000 before finally getting the $300,000 needed to create the event. On August 24, 1893, in San Francisco, a parade was held and a city holiday was declared to celebrate the success of the chosen site.\(^5\) The idea was originally to hold a local fair with crafts and products that were shipped by rail from the Chicago Fair. In addition, de Young had planned for the event to be on January 1st to show the mildness of California winters but snow in the Sierra's caused a delay by about one month. At the Midwinter Fair there were numerous exhibition buildings but the most striking object was a tower in the middle of the concourse with a beacon of light so bright it was said to be seen 8 miles away.\(^6\)

After closing, the concourse and Midwinter Fair exhibitions were nearly all destroyed.
The organizers had promised to return Golden Gate Park to its previous, natural condition. No one followed through on the promise. John McLaren (1846-1943) had little help from organizers in preserving the conditions of Golden Gate Park and with mounting frustration and growing impatience, McLaren began to use dynamite to demolish structures and exhibitions in the concourse. Remaining objects were sold to aid a park improvement fund. Of the Midwinter Fair, only four items remain today; the Japanese Tea Garden, the statue of a “grape pressing” man at the northeast corner, a man with sword, which was dedicated at the groundbreaking of the Fair, and Monarch the grizzly bear, who is stuffed and in the California Hall at the Academy of Sciences. In the not too distant future, this same site played an important but brief role in the planning of the PPIE.

Figure 5 – San Francisco Circa 1904

San Francisco “City Beautiful”

Some of the free expression of the San Francisco citizenry mentioned previously included the Barbary Coast red-light district, infamous for lawlessness, gambling, dance halls, saloons, bars, and brothels. City leaders, interested in putting an end to some of San Francisco's uncivilized reputation, sought help in making the city more in the image of the great European
cities such as Paris. In 1904, they brought in Daniel Burnham (1846-1912), who was a famous architect and director of Chicago's 1893 World Exposition, to design a "City Beautiful" urban plan for San Francisco "worthy of an ocean as big as the Pacific." The city leaders hoped the new planned city would control the social environment as well as achieve national recognition for San Francisco. The “City Beautiful” movement was about reforming the landscape and look of a city, and then, in theory, other reforms would spring forth and inspire its inhabitants to moral and civic virtue. Burnham believed that American cities could be similar to the classic European centers of culture through the use of the Beaux-Arts style. His plan for San Francisco envisioned monumental buildings of stone to replace many of the wooden shacks built along the existing city grid. Burnham and his firm also proposed that the city use one-third of its area for parks and gardens to serve an estimated population of over two million. The historical precedents for this idea came from Europe where city centers contained fountains, gardens and architecture, which was a way to beautify increasingly industrialized towns. Using parks and nature as a solution to overcrowded tenements and as a place for the social classes to mix was part of what was called the “parks movement” of the late 1800s. San Francisco’s Golden Gate Park was founded on those principles.

Also in 1904, department store owner Ruben Books Hale and a group of prominent citizens, including the robber barons, began stirring interest in San Francisco as host to a World’s Fair. The group proposed that an International Exposition be held in San Francisco to historically celebrate the opening of the Panama Canal. They asked Congress for $5 million dollars in seed money to create an exposition; however, the Panama Canal was far from completed at the time and Congress delayed making a decision. In a sudden moment, on April 18, 1906, the ground beneath San Francisco shook as the great earthquake struck, and subsequent fires raged through the city. Jack London wrote in Collier's Magazine, “San Francisco is
AFTER THE EARTHQUAKE

San Francisco was in ruins with gaping holes in neighborhoods throughout the city. Where commercial buildings, simple cabins, Victorian cottages, and the elaborate robber baron estates once stood was suddenly just charred rubble. Due to the economic necessity of the city's merchants, residents and shop owners quickly decided to rebuild on old property lines rather than do a complete redesign, and therefore, Burnham’s nascent “City Beautiful” plan went up in smoke. The only place elements of the discarded Burnham plan would be preserved in San Francisco was at the PPIE. Though in shambles, San Francisco had been prominent enough prior to the disaster to be recognized as a globalized international city and for this reason investors, philanthropists and others came up with a concoction of new eclectic ideas for the reconstruction of San Francisco. Even though many of the merchants who were involved with
the idea of a World's Fair lost their businesses, they did not give up on the belief that San Francisco was a great city and deserved to have a world's fair. Furthermore, with the soon to be completed Panama Canal, San Francisco's location on the West Coast made it a strong candidate to become an international center of trade as the gateway to the East.

In December of 1906, merchants and city leaders created the Panama Pacific Exposition Company to make the dream of the world's fair a reality. Their architectural concepts discussed at that time were basically Neo-Classical, directly drawing from the best of antiquity, Greco/Roman architecture. However, their ideas and preparations were put on hold for several years as the residential neighborhoods grew and the people who had fled the great cataclysm returned. Before the start of the First World War, San Francisco was already in an evolutionary state of transformation from a large city to an internationally recognized place of modern eclectic thought and power. The new modern thoughts influenced science, natural studies, technology, economics and most importantly to this discussion, architecture.

THE PPIE

The PPIE reflected the impermanence of San Francisco, which had grown rapidly in the preceding five decades, only to be destroyed by the 1906 earthquake and fire. In 1911, by resolution of President Taft, San Francisco became the host the 1915 PPIE and the ground-breaking ceremony was held at Golden Gate Park. Organizers had originally considered using Golden Gate Park for the PPIE but due to poor treatment of the area at the Midwinter Fair, the organizers chose a largely undeveloped area called Harbor View (now the Marina) because it had spectacular views of San Francisco Bay as well as being relatively close to many neighborhoods of the city.\footnote{14}

\textit{Figure 7- This photo, taken in February 1914, shows the fair's landscape a year before Opening Day. The white lines indicate the shape, mass and scale of future Exposition buildings. Courtesy NPS Archives.}
To create, and then recreate a history, the organizers chose historic architectural styles rather than the modernist movements popular in many European cities. Much of the city’s architecture at the time was Queen Anne style or Gothic Revival, while its newly built City Hall was Neo-Classical in design. By using an eclectic type of historical familiarity, the PPIE’s organizers were able to create a temporary city that felt rooted in history. In addition to the use of “aged” historical buildings, the extensive use of landscaping at the PPIE added to the impression...
that the fair was a permanent city. This was one of the features that distinguished it from its European and American predecessors. Designed by McLaren as part of the overall planning, the landscaping was conceived to work in harmony with the buildings, “to treat gardening as an adjunct of the architecture…and to make it support and accentuate the beauty of the buildings.”

Chief Architect of the Exposition, George Kelham (1871-1936), wrote in a 1914 issue of *Pacific Coast Architect*:

If we have succeeded in combining art and nature so that each seems a part of the other, in bringing the wonderful Bay of San Francisco into our picture, in making our great group of buildings nestle into their surroundings both in form and color, then the real meaning of what we have tried for is made clear.

Kelham was originally from Massachusetts and Harvard educated. He graduated from the famous architecture academy the Paris L’Ecole des Beaux-Arts, as did several of the other architects of the PPIE. As an employee of New York architects Trowbridge & Livingston, he was sent to San Francisco to work on the Palace Hotel in 1906 and ended up making the city his home. Kelham was responsible for the master plan of the PPIE and he enlisted architect Edward Bennett to help create a design for the Exposition. Bennett began his architectural study in San Francisco and had worked with Burnham as well as some of the Exposition’s other architects on the “City Beautiful” plan. Kelham would later go on to design over a dozen iconic San Francisco Bay Area historic landmarks after the 1915 Exposition. In an article for the San Francisco Examiner, Kelham outlined his views on the future of architecture, writing that:

The influence of the Exposition’s architecture is going to be felt on the Pacific Coast. Hereafter the clients who contemplate erecting buildings both of a public and private character will bring their architects, sculptors and decorators together as a board and leave them free to evolve by their united efforts thoroughly harmonious plans.

Other key architects involved in the master planning and building design included Bernard Maybeck, Louis Christian Mullgardt (who designed the Court of the Ages at the Expo), and George Applegarth and H. Guillaume, who designed the French Pavilion at the Exposition. John
McLaren, the designer of the Golden Gate Park, was the master landscape designer.

The fair’s architectural theme was an eclectic mix of Roman, Greek, Mediterranean and Middle Eastern styles and motifs. Combining historical references in an “eclectic, cosmopolitan” manner that evoked a collective memory, the Exposition’s designers created a vague, imaginary “past.” They consciously “aged” elements of the fair to evoke a feeling of historicism and permanence, inventing faux-travertine plaster which gave the buildings the appearance of the marble used in Roman art and allowed color to be applied to building surfaces. Despite the eclecticism of styles, “the manner in which these forms are carried over from one palace to another, and the almost constant recurrence of some of them…blends them without jar or break.” By using classical architectural styles and historical motifs, the architecture and designs could be understood by visitors from different classes and countries. A shared historical understanding meant that for the architects and visitors alike, Greek columns symbolized democracy, Roman triumphal arches showed power, and Renaissance courtyard designs with fountains and sculpture, demonstrated harmony and balance. The strong focus on classical designs demonstrated that San Francisco was embracing a Western Civilization heritage rather than its indigenous, Spanish-California or Mexican heritage. The PPIE’s “Orientalist” domes and exotic designs showed San Francisco’s connection with Asia and the anticipation of the city becoming an international trade center with the opening of the Panama Canal.

Kelham and his architectural team laid out a classic, symmetrical design of eight large exhibition palaces clustered around decorative courts and avenues. The PPIE was surrounded by a wall designed to reflect the classical eras and unify the fairgrounds. Inside the exposition, the PPIE had two distinct parts. The western zone was designed to be centered around culture and the exhibit halls built by the participating countries and states; the eastern zone was a 65 acre amusement park. Altogether, the PPIE spanned 635 acres, approximately 76 city blocks. The Palace of Machinery on the east side and the Palace of Fine Arts on the west side held other
palaces in between with the centerpiece being the Tower of Jewels, the decorative Italianate tower covered in multicolored cut glass. The international and national pavilions, as well as the race track, were located on the Presidio and the Amusement “Joy” Zone was located on Fort Mason property.

The secretary to PPIE President, Charles C. Moore, Emma Nelson Baker, captured the rebirth of the World’s Fair ideas as they grew and formulated into reality. Baker’s photographic archive documents the beginnings and organization of the PPIE. The photographic albums show the planning and building of the PPIE from the Exhibition’s earliest stages. She captured key meetings with directors, officials, staff, and ceremonies; as surveying, construction, landscaping and grounds work began. The archives include artwork, sculpture, and architectural exhibits showing the architectural intent of the designers related to the PPIE.21

The creation of the PPIE required the construction of a grand and elegant city that was only to last eleven months. Almost all of the fair buildings were constructed in wood frame and covered in a material composed of gypsum (plaster of Paris) and hemp, designed to look like Italian marble. As the Chief of Color, Jules Guerin designed a palette of soft and harmonious paint colors that would enhance the imitation travertine. As Kelham intended, the colors used in the Exposition reflected the landscape of San Francisco. Guerin focused on the harmony of color between the grounds and the buildings of the PPIE. He looked to Ancient Roman architecture
and the travertine marble that composed many of their buildings and columns. The choice of colors to decorate the fair was in the theme of an Oriental walled city and the natural Mediterranean setting. Guerin wrote:

I saw the vibrant tints of the native wild flowers, the soft brown of the surrounding hills, the gold of the orangeries, the blue of the sea; and I determined that, just as a musician builds his symphony around a motif or chord, so must I strike a chord of color and build my symphony on this.  

In studios, commissioned artists and workers constructed over 1,500 individual sculptures with wood, wire and the faux marble material. One of the sculptors was Italian-American.
sculptor Leo Lentelli and although he only lived San Francisco from 1914 to 1918, he was an active participant in the artistic renewal taking place in the City at that time. The architects designed and created structures that romanticized international styles with a primary focus on Medieval Europe and Neo-classical Greece and Rome. One of the most significant structures at the exposition was the Palace of Machinery. The palace was styled after the Roman baths of Caracalla. The building was 136 feet tall, 367 feet wide, and roughly 1000 feet in length. At the time, it was the largest wood and steel building in the world. ²⁴
A structure for the PPIE which represented the success of the Panama Canal was the Column of Progress, a replica or tribute to Trajan’s column in Rome, which was built in 113 CE to commemorate the emperor and the power of the capital of Rome. The Column of Progress represented what was happening in the western hemisphere in 1915. At the top was a bowman, next to the bowman was a woman ready to put a wreath of victory upon him after shooting at his target. Underneath the bowman, supporting its weight were burden bearers. Below the burden bearers were processions of men and women climbing upwards. Below the people was a base portraying human spirituality or progress. Everything in the Column had symbolic meaning. The bowman represented the completion of the Panama Canal and the burden bearers below him represented all the laborers responsible for building the canal. The procession of people represented faith and climbing up towards to hope of victory.
The talented team of architects and designers for the Exposition created a temporary wonderland of technology, commerce, culture, and architecture; a new “globally” styled walled city. The architecture of the Exposition ranged from Japanese pagodas to grand halls of Norsemen. Despite all of the other types of architecture and designs featured, embracing the “intellectual” of the developed Western world, architects educated in eclectic thought preferred to demonstrate their enlightenment by copying the ideals of Neo-classical Greco/Roman designs, Medieval French, Italian and Venetian/Byzantine structures.

LEGACY OF THE PPIE

In San Francisco “Early Twentieth Century Revival” architecture began around 1900 and grew dramatically after 1915. These residential and commercial buildings were influenced by foreign and exotic designs; such as the designs presented by the Exposition. Several of the key architects for the PPIE contributed their skills and designs to create memorable buildings and structures after the fair ended. The following is a discussion of these significant designs, and key characters, the Spreckels and de Young families, involved in making these architectural masterpieces permanent fixtures in San Francisco.

The Spreckels Family

Alma de Bretteville Spreckels, a prominent San Francisco socialite and philanthropist, had traveled to Europe and Paris where she was introduced to the artists flourishing there at the beginning of the 20th century, and in particular the sculptor Auguste Rodin. Spreckels became one of his important patrons and began to develop one of America’s most influential art collections. She arranged for Rodin’s work to be featured in the Palace of Fine Arts at the PPIE. Alma Spreckels became enamored with the Panama-Pacific Exposition’s French Pavilion, a replica of the Palais de la Légion d’Honneur in Paris and decided to recreate the Palais in San Francisco, funded by her wealthy husband, Adolph Spreckels.

Adolph was son of one of the wealthiest men on the West Coast, Claus Spreckels the
“Sugar King.” In addition to being heir to the sugar fortune, Adolph eventually became a steamship company owner and railway owner. He was also one of the city leaders in favor of the City Beautiful plan of 1904 and funded several civic projects in Golden Gate Park and San Francisco. However, the story of the Spreckels’ contributions to the architecture of San Francisco begins with Adolph's father, Claus Spreckels.

The elder Spreckels, who originally immigrated from Germany, had made his way across America as a manifest destiny settler. After moving to the West Coast, he opened a brewery and invested in sugar plantations. At one point Spreckels had a favorable relationship with the Hawaiian King Kalakaua and bought land and water rights from the Hawaiian royals before falling out of their favor. He then had the largest sugar plantations in Hawaii and California. After acquiring a plethora of earth’s resources and building sugar refineries, Spreckels, decided to give something back to the city that had offered him a clean slate to work from. Spreckels, a conservative German man with a strong sense of nationalism and an advocate for sovereign rule wanted to improve the aesthetic of San Francisco and educate the public on the workmanship of Classical art. In 1899, Claus Spreckels, gave Golden Gate Park a neoclassical building called the Temple of Music, also known as “The Band Shell.” The Band Shell was designed as an outdoor concert hall and was erected in 1900 at the location of the music concourse of the 1894 California Midwinter's Fair in Golden Gate Park. The Band Shell, which amazingly survived the 1906 earthquake, features the best characteristics of classical architecture; with highly decorative friezes, massive tympanums and columns, architraves and small processions of stairs, the structure looks very similar to the Parthenon of Rome.
Following in her father-in-law’s footsteps, Alma Spreckels planned to bring more classical architecture to San Francisco with a replica of the *Palais de la Légion d’Honneur*. This endeavor was mostly funded by her husband; for the installation, the designer of the San Francisco Legion of Honor placed the breathtaking structure above Land’s End where the Bay estuary flows into the Pacific Ocean. Of the three other copies of the *Palais de la Légion d’Honneur*, the California Palace of the Legion of Honor has been arguably considered the most stunning replica of this famous building due to its prime setting and dramatic French Enlightenment Neoclassical features.  

In Paris, one of the more popular tourist traveled areas is the Seine River. Along the banks of the Seine river lies the Hotel de Salm home to the *Palais de la Légion d’Honneur*. The Hotel de Salm, as it was first called, was designed by Pierre Rousseau (1751-1810) for German Prince Frederick III, Prince of Salm-Kyrburg, as a place of leisure. Rousseau was an interesting artist and as seen by his various designs, he obviously was knowledgeable and inspired by a
Despite his large portfolio, Rousseau is mostly known for the Hotel de Salm architectural project.

variety of cultures. He constructed Chinoiserie pavilions, apartment buildings and markets.

Figure 14 (top) - Hotel Salm, Paris Palais. Courtesy Hotel Salm.
Figure 15- Overview of California Palace of the Legion of Honor. Courtesy Pacific Novelty Company, San Francisco.
because of its iconic arches, large dome, and remarkable views. The entry court for Rousseau’s Palace has been copied all over the world. Rousseau designed the structure in 1782 and it was completed 6 years later in 1788.\textsuperscript{30} After years of work, with the upheaval of the French Revolution, the German prince was driven from his position of power and he only lived in the “hotel” for about one year. In 1794 the prince was executed by guillotine, which led to the Palace falling into various possessions to attempt to maintain financial stability of the structure. Madame de Staël became the brief owner before Napoleon Bonaparte created his Empire in 1804. As it was never intended for permanent habitation, Napoleon saw its potential to be a center for celebration. To congratulate his followers, he gave them a setting that depicted their civil and military honors. In May 1804, it was renamed the \textit{Palais de la Légion d'Honneur}, and became the home of the newly created \textit{Légion d'Honneur}, the highest order of chivalry of France. It houses the \textit{Musée national de la Légion d'Honneur et des Ordres de Chevalerie} ("National Museum of the Legion of Honour and its Orders of Knighthood"). Similar to the calamity of the 1906 earthquake, the Paris Palace of the Legion of Honor suffered a massive fire in 1871. For thirty years the palace remained empty and uninhabited. After the fire, all recipients of the legion of honor and military medals launched a campaign to fund and with public support to rebuild and renovate the palace. Between 1871 and 1878 Anastase Mortier worked on reconstructing the building. Jean Guillaume Moitte and Philippe-Laurent Roland had the responsibility of adding new sculptures to the outside of the palace. Jean-Paul Laurens and Théodore Maillot providing interior decoration.\textsuperscript{31} The exterior facades had survived the fires but the interior decoration was completely redone.

Americans were in support of Alma de Bretteville Spreckels’ decision to bring \textit{the Palais de la Légion d’Honneur} to San Francisco as a permanent monument because it was beautiful, it symbolized new innovations in the 20\textsuperscript{th} century, and it represented rebirth of a culture, of ideas,
of ancient cultures and their idealistic existence. It further represented growth in design standards and an ability to rise from the ashes of destruction/tyranny towards liberation and stability. Both the PPIE version of the Palace and the original Palais de la Légion d’Honneur were destroyed but by similar circumstances, philanthropists, entrepreneurs and groups of scholarly individuals came together with their funds to improve the quality of them. Not only were they rebuilt but they were perfected. Had it not been for destruction, we would have never improved these buildings. The San Francisco copy tried to incorporate the most advanced ideas at the time for the construction of the museum. The designers fulfilled a need to improve aesthetics and comfort by eliminating the use of large visually unappealing radiators and creating more efficient hollow tiles to regulate interior temperatures.

The California Palace of the Legion of Honor was planned to be a three quarter replica of the original in Paris. Although, if you compare an aerial perspective of the two building they seem almost identical. The floorplan of the Palais de la Légion d’Honneur in Paris is featured in the book *The Architecture of the French Enlightenment* by Allan Braham. The main façade of the original is viewed as the front and faces the Seine River in France. In California, visitors see the ionic colonnade as the front and instead never see the façade of the building because it is in the rear. This replica was to be a fine arts museum, basically Alma Spreckel's museum to house her art collection. Construction was finished in 1924, and the doors were opened to the public on Armistice Day, November 11, 1924. In 1925, the Paris *Palais* was converted into a museum. The new remodeled entry of the Paris building is Beaux-Arts style.

On another note, prior to public use both the copy and the original palace had tumultuous origins. In France the original palace fell through many hands before being taken by the revolution, eventually being burnt and needing to be rebuilt. In 1915 the French government granted San Francisco permission to construct a permanent model of their palace at Land's End. The project would be put on hold by the first World War before being resumed in 1921.
George Kelham

After the PPIE ended, George Kelham became one of the city's leading commercial architects and used artificial travertine extensively for interior finish, notably in the San Francisco Public Library of 1917. The influential designs of the PPIE and further collaborative process of the architectural team of the PPIE, is dramatized at the Old San Francisco Reserve Bank and the Library. Kelham worked closely with the PPIE’s colorist, Guerin, who had designed the murals for the Lincoln Memorial. Kelham chose Guerin to paint the richly colored mural “Traders of the Adriatic” featured prominently in the entrance to the main lobby of the bank. It pays homage to the world of banking depicting Venetian shipping merchants accepting receipts for goods on deposit. The Old Federal Reserve Bank, has the look of an archaeological dig, as if two buildings from different eras had been unearthed. The lower building with its Ionic

Figure 16 - The Old Federal Reserve Bank. Courtesy of NoeHill.com
The colonnade is Beaux-Arts (as was much of the 1915 Exposition) while the upper building is in the new Moderne fashion of 1924.

In 1906, there were plans for a new Civic Center for San Francisco, including a new library building. These plans were put on hold after the 1906 San Francisco earthquake, which destroyed about 140,000 books, nearly 80% of its collection. The library moved to temporary quarters while a new building was designed and built. In 1917, the new main library building opened in the Civic Center and featured sculptures by Leo Lentini, who designed many of the sculptures at the PPIE.

Other examples of Kelham’s architectural designs include the Mt. Davidson Cross which was inaugurated by President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1934. In 1997, the citizens of San Francisco voted to approve the sale of the monument to the Council of Armenian-American Organizations of Northern California, to preserve it as a historic landmark. This site is cared for...
in memory of the 1,500,000 victims of the Armenian Genocide perpetrated by the Turkish killed, and no Armenian community remained in historical western Armenia Between 1915 to 1916 over half of the Armenian population on its ancient homeland was killed.32

The Hills Brother’s coffee factory, located on the Embarcadero, is Romanesque Revival plant was designed by Kelham. The building sports patterned brickwork, arched doorways and windows, bronze grillwork doors, and a large tower which was both decorative and functional. Gravity aided the blending of beans stored in the tower.

![Figure 18 - Hills Brothers Coffee Factory. Courtesy NoeHill.com](image)

Furthermore, Kelham designed the Neo Gothic Russ Building, standing 32 floors, the tallest building in San Francisco until 1964; as well as the Sharon Building is a Chicago style commercial building once filled with the offices of architects. Part of the frontage on New Montgomery serves a facade for a parking garage. The ground floor is occupied by the House of Shields, an old bar and restaurant which contains an ornate bar built for the Palace Hotel but later moved across the street.
Louis Christian Mullgardt

Some would argue that the PPIE did not necessarily create a new era in architecture in San Francisco. While the San Francisco Exposition did influence city planning, some of its unique features like the courts, bright color schedule, indirect lighting, aged-appearance and other concepts seemed only to be possible while the fair was created. It did, however, impact and influence individual architects to a greater or lesser degree.

Figure 19 - Court of the Ages. Source Golden Gate NRA, Park Archives, PPIE 1915.
The phenomenal success of the Court of the Ages designed by Louis Christian Mullgardt, gained him significant patrons and projects. He had previously designed small but beautiful bungalows in the East Bay hills inspired, to some degree, by Tibetan lamaseries. The PPIE allowed Mullgardt to design on a monumental scale and to use his extraordinary talent for ornamentation.

After the Exposition, Mullgardt received large and more impressive commissions. M. H. de Young commissioned Mullgardt to use some of the designs in the Court of the Ages for a new de Young Museum in Golden Gate Park.

In 1914, Mullgardt created an early slab skyscraper on Otis Street and used a buff stucco facing textured to resemble the travertine of the PPIE. His last building, the 1928 “Infant Shelter Building” at 1201 Ortega Street in the Sunset District, shows his highly idiosyncratic use of ornament and eclecticism, while the color is a legacy of the Exposition. 33
**Bernard Maybeck**

No one was as influenced by PPIE like Bernard Maybeck. Similar to Mullgardt, Maybeck had been mostly involved with residential designs for which he has become so famous. He was fifty when chosen to design the Palace of Fine Arts, and the international attention that building received marked the beginning of a second career. Maybeck urged visitors to “analyze the Fine Arts Palace and the lake, not from the physical, but…from a psychological point of view with reference to the effect of architectural forms on the mind and feelings.” Unlike the orderly urban plan of the rest of the Exposition, this area had boating available in the lagoon and less structured Romantic landscaping. It acted as a park within the fairgrounds, which was another innovative element of the Exposition’s design.

*Figure 21- Palace of Fine Arts. Source Golden Gate NRA, Park Archives, PPIE 1915*
After the PPIE, Maybeck preferred to work in pastel stucco and often developed his designs in pastel chalks on huge sheets of brown craft paper. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, he worked on a scheme for the rebuilding of San Francisco as a memorial plan for the people who died in World War I. His concept included parks, boulevards and palatial emporiums "so that when a stranger visits the Bay Cities he will have the sense of being in a perpetual world's fair of form, color, and lights."\(^35\) Maybeck's plans for a wartime workers' town near the Carquinez Straits became known as "the Rainbow City" for the generous use of color demanded by Maybeck. The houses, he wrote, were to look like California wildflowers against the golden hillside.

Maybeck’s best demonstrated the lasting legacy of the PPIE on his own career in what were the San Francisco and Oakland Packard showrooms for Earle C. Anthony. Both were visible reminders of the Exposition and were seen by Maybeck as a response to the beauty of the landscape and the cosmopolitanism of the Bay Area. In an article at the time, the San Francisco Examiner reported that Maybeck had "blended the finest features of Spanish, Roman, Gothic, Corinthian, and Byzantine architecture."\(^36\) Its original color scheme has since been painted a boring beige hue, the Byzantine chandeliers were replaced with modern crystal, and the indirect lights which took it through the phases of the day from dawn to moonlight at twenty-minute intervals have been removed by the present owners.\(^37\)

The Oakland Packard showroom was where Maybeck used his historically-inspired scene creation skills to their utmost. With Lake Merritt as reflecting lagoon, he concocted a fantasy inspired, he said, by a palace at Isfahan in Persia. Its stucco walls with their deeply recessed arches were spatter-painted to suggest that they had been weathered and sun-beaten for centuries, while colored, indirect lights suffused the structure at night. Architect Irving Morrow noted, at the building’s completion, that:
'In 1915 it was fondly predicted that the Exposition would mark the beginning of a new era in the architecture of San Francisco. For the failure of this hope I can attempt no explanation here. Suffice it to say that Mr. Maybeck seems to be one of the few living persons to recall the lessons of that far-off event.\(^{38}\)

Morrow was chosen as Consulting Architect for the Golden Gate Bridge, and he partly justified his choice of the controversial "international orange" paint by citing the precedent of the fair; the local landscape, he noted, "would imply a free use of color in general in San Francisco architecture; but except for the Panama Pacific International Exposition of almost a quarter of a century ago, architects have continually evaded this obligation."\(^{39}\)

Maybeck worked with Julia Morgan on plans for a Phoebe Apperson Hearst Memorial on the Berkeley campus that would have been a small-scale re-creation, in permanent materials, of the Panama Pacific International Exposition, with polychrome classical buildings and detached architectural groupings resembling ruins enclosing a series of sheltered courts. While only the Hearst Gymnasium was built, and never colored as Maybeck intended, its planters almost exactly copy those at the Palace of Fine Arts and its miniature court scheme is reminiscent of the fair's walled city.

**WHAT REMAINS**

Once the fair ended, the entire site needed to be cleaned up. The Exposition Company sold all the buildings off to the highest bidder. San Mateo County purchased the Ohio Building; Mabry MacMahon of Marin County purchased the Wisconsin and Virginia Buildings, which were placed in Santa Venetia; the army used the Oregon Building for a clubhouse at the Presidio. However since the fair buildings were only constructed of wood, chicken wire and faux travertine made of plaster, they did not last as long as permanent buildings and almost all were
demolished in the years to come. The exceptions were the Japanese building, which is now part of a restaurant in Belmont, the Japanese Pagoda in Golden Gate Park, and remnants of exhibits such as two full-size elephant statues that were part of the base of the Court of the Ages which are now part of a park in Sausalito.  

The City of San Francisco still benefits today from some construction and infrastructure improvements associated with the Panama-Pacific International Exposition. The Exposition Company paid for the construction of the San Francisco Civic Auditorium (now the Bill Graham Civic Auditorium). In 1913, the city built the Stockton Street tunnel, the Van Ness Avenue median and developed the San Francisco MUNI System to improve transit access from the downtown area to the fair’s waterfront.
The Exhibition celebrated the opening of the Panama Canal and the rebirth of San Francisco after the 1906 earthquake, as well as world culture and technology. According to William Lipsky, “The fair contributed enduring benefits to the social and cultural richness of San Francisco with a civic auditorium, artwork, recreation facilities, and a permanent landmark, the Palace of Fine arts…” The Expo transformed the San Francisco waterfront into fairgrounds for sculptures, playgrounds, fountains, and architecturally spectacular national pavilions. After the fair ended, construction workers re-graded most of the site along the waterfront for subdivisions and redevelopment. By the 1920s, the Marina District was built. Today the Marina Green remains a lasting part of the Exposition garden element and the existing Yacht Harbor was originally the fair's passenger docks.
Figure 24 - Marina Green and Yacht Harbor (Public Domain).

Figure 25 - The PPIE was often referred to as a city within a city as demonstrated here in this overlay. The PPIE map (black) has been placed over a map of what is now the Marina. Courtesy NPS.
Figure 26 - The PPIE South Gardens would become the Marina Green. The Tower of Jewels is on the right. Source NPS Archives, PPIE 1915.
End Notes

1. Bay Area Census -- Historical Data, www.bayareacensus.ca.gov

2. The San Francisco City Planning Department, Architectural Bulletin No. 509


6. Ibid., 184.


10. Note: the words “Fair” and “Exposition” are used interchangeably.


16. Pacific Coast Architect. 1914


20. Ibid., 27.


24. Ibid.

25. Ibid.

26. Brechin, Imperial San Francisco, 188.


29. Ibid., 286.


31. Ibid., 229-230


36. Undated newspaper clipping in Documents Collection, College of Environmental Design, University of California, Berkeley


38. Ibid. 38.

39. Ibid. 39.

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“Bay Area Census.” Historical Population Data, [www.bayareacensus.ca.gov](http://www.bayareacensus.ca.gov)


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