

Designing a Unified City: The 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition and Its Aesthetic Ideals

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At the conclusion of the 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco, William Randolph Hearst complimented its president by remarking that “no other exposition here or abroad has ever displayed so much artistic and architectural loveliness.”¹ Hearst envisioned the legacy to American city planning, stating:

[T]he principles and policies which created the Exposition in all its practicability and artistic beauty will be applied in public buildings in all parts of our country. Civic centers will be built which will perform all their useful functions and be made at the same time objects of beauty, which will not only educate our own citizens at home, but attract visitors from afar.²



1915 Official Guide to the Exposition.

The Panama-Pacific International Exposition (PPIE) of 1915 was an experimental city built to create a new identity for San Francisco. Like previous expositions, it

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Editors note: San Diego and San Francisco, along with New Orleans, competed for the distinction of having a “World’s Fair” to commemorate the completion of the Panama Canal in 1914. San Francisco, as the article notes, won out over San Diego’s 1915 fair in receiving federal funding. San Diego still has several of its 1915 buildings to provide the basis for the 2015 Centennial.

was ostensibly organized to celebrate a historic event, the opening of the Panama Canal.³ In actuality, besides their commercial motivations, the fair's organizers hoped the PPIE would help heal a fractured city and rid San Francisco of its reputation as an uncouth frontier town. Amid the aftermath of the city's 1906 earthquake and fire—and coping with labor unrest, political scandals, and anti-immigration sentiment—the business community representatives behind the Exposition sought to exhibit the city as a cosmopolitan and commercially viable national entity.⁴ With an eventual nineteen million visitors to the fair, in a city with a population of less than half a million, the PPIE held the potential to reform the image of San Francisco, both locally and nationally.

Encompassing 635-acres and extending 75 blocks from the Presidio to Van Ness Boulevard, the PPIE was referred to as “The City of Domes.” The mere size of the fair alone would have earned it the title of “city,” but it was the PPIE's unified architectural program that made it appear as its own civic entity. Designed by using Beaux-Arts street plans—incorporating “civic centers” and defining “suburban” areas—it achieved one of the most “aesthetically resolved American exhibitions” through the organizer's careful program of integrated landscape, color, architecture, and historic iconography.⁵ The Courts of the PPIE, as well as the Horticultural Palace, Festival Hall, and Palace of Fine Arts formed the “civic center” of the fair, housing the educational, artistic, social, agricultural, and technological exhibits beneath Byzantine domes. To the east and west were “suburbs” containing foreign and state pavilions, livestock exhibits, a race track,

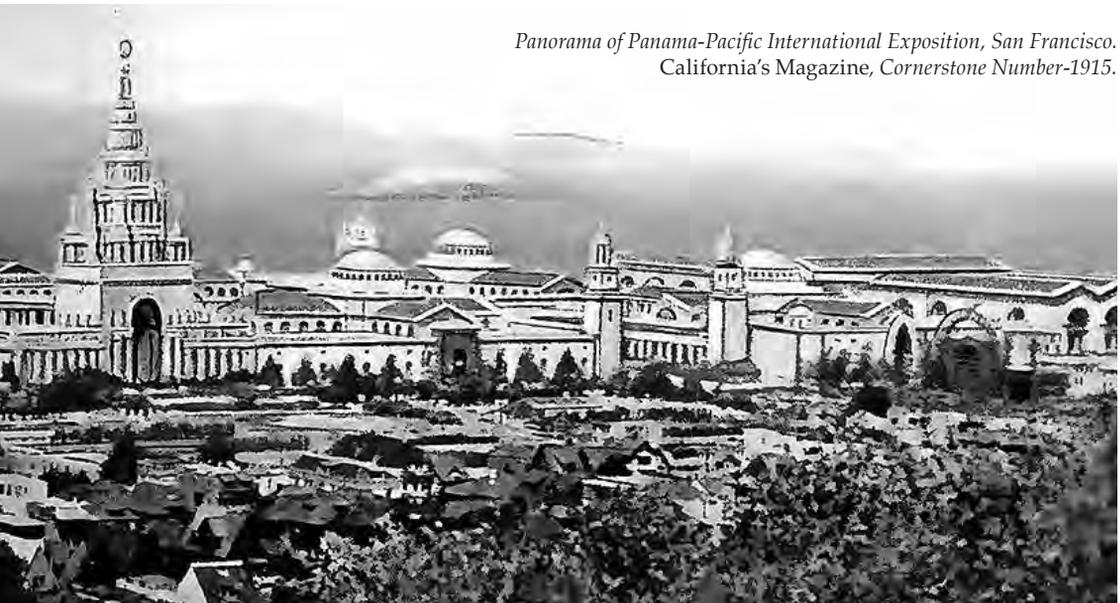


and the “Joy Zone.” As with previous fairs, it contained an iconic building: the Tower of Jewels, a 432-foot tall tower hung with faceted, colored glass that reflected the sunlight during the day and the spotlights turned on it at night.

By the time of the PPIE, the physical appearance of expositions was the most important factor in attracting visitors, as exemplified by the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago.⁶ Chicago’s “White City” used French Beaux Arts architecture and planning to give birth to the City Beautiful movement—a new urban model for ordering civic space.⁷ Incorporating broad boulevards with monumental scale and neoclassical design, Chicago presented the first utopian exposition environment. It was criticized, however, for lack of stylistic originality, with its imitation of European architecture rather than the creation of an American style.

What made the San Francisco Exposition different was its departure from existing architectural models and its incorporation of the newest urban planning theories. It based its architectural design on the principles of the Aesthetic Movement, and created an environment that integrated architecture, color, urban planning, and landscape. In doing so, the PPIE addressed the organizers’ commercial and civic agendas, devising a cohesive design aesthetic that provided a unique case study in city planning.

Looking back at the PPIE, it is apparent that the overriding aesthetic principle of the Exposition was *gesamtkunstwerk*, a totally unified piece of art.⁸ The integration of architecture, murals, and sculpture, along with their relationship in shaping the visitor’s experience, place the PPIE alongside the European Art Nouveau



*Panorama of Panama-Pacific International Exposition, San Francisco.
California’s Magazine, Cornerstone Number-1915.*



The South Gardens, John McLaren, Landscape Engineer. Frank Morton Todd, Story of the Exposition. Photo: Cardinell-Vincent Co. Courtesy of the San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library.

expositions that also self-consciously incorporated this idea associated with architect and urban planner Otto Wagner.⁹ Drawing on the ideology of the Aesthetic Movement and principles of the City Beautiful movement, the material design of the Exposition sought to achieve social and moral improvement through beauty and unity. The fair's historian, Frank Todd, wrote, "The Exposition's building plans rested upon a new and great principle...of architectural harmony...All chance of discord had been eliminated, and a harmony created that had never been seen on any such scale...its courts invited assemblage, its palaces were palaces of the public."¹⁰ By means of a deliberately planned environment, in which the Exposition arose as a walled city permeated with historic iconography, the fair's organizers sought to remove visitors from the reality of urban life and surround them with formally ordered civic spaces. The principles of design were carried into the fair's commercial zone as well, with restrictions on the architecture to regulate the notoriously "chaotic" Midway. Careful, aesthetic design and planning produced an ideal city—and an exotic, unified and cosmopolitan fantasy—that existed for nine months.

The Aesthetic Movement is often equated with decorative art and interior

design, rather than city building. A response to rapid urbanization in Great Britain and the United States, it was an important influence on new urban planning movements that sought to establish social order through beauty and organization of material space, such as the City Beautiful movement. Harmony and unity of design were the overlying principles of aestheticism, and the use of color, orientalist motifs, and nature were prominent design strategies utilized in interior decoration. American architecture of the Aesthetic Movement is usually studied by isolating styles that emerged from its influence—such as Queen Anne or Shingle style houses—by function, or by geographic region. The significance of the PPIE lay in its broader incorporation of the Aesthetic Movement’s interior, decorative, and urban planning precedents to create a city that would be an ideally ordered space, achieving “the moral and intellectual improvement of the whole social order.”¹¹

In the United States, peace, progress, education and trade were the public themes of Exposition organizers, but Robert Rydell shows in his analysis of American World’s Fairs that they were also a means to achieve long-range gain for their regional, national, and international economic interests.¹² San Francisco’s desire to host the fair reflected its political agenda: a quest to achieve civic unity as well as “a melding of private and governmental activities in the promotion of development.”¹³ The first decade of the century had seen political strife and repeated strikes by labor. Trials exposing graft and back room deals, along with the murder of one of the prosecutors, had given San Francisco a “Wild West” image. The infamous “Barbary Coast” and large districts of the city containing immigrants added to the city’s reputation as uncivilized. A successful exposition would promote the civic unity that businessmen sought, while focusing positive international attention on San Francisco.

In 1904, department store owner Ruben Books Hale began rallying



Publicity Poster for the Panama-Pacific International Exposition. Photo courtesy of the Library of Congress.

interest in San Francisco as host to a World's Fair under the auspices of celebrating the completion of the Panama Canal.¹⁴ The idea was put aside temporarily as the city rebuilt after the 1906 earthquake and fire but, beginning again in 1909, a contingent of businessmen revived the plans. A protracted battle took place against New Orleans and San Diego to obtain Congressional approval for the fair. San Francisco's promise to privately fund the fair, along with a massive publicity campaign, achieved victory over the other cities. At the same time that Hale was dreaming of the PPIE, businessmen formed the Association for Improvement and Adornment of San Francisco, led by James D. Phelan.

Aware of urban planning innovations in East Coast cities such as Washington D.C., Phelan asked Daniel Burnham to create an urban plan for the city.¹⁵ The result was a design for a new San Francisco, based in the City Beautiful movement Burnham had introduced at the 1893 Chicago World's Fair. Wide boulevards radiated from civic plazas, and historic architecture demonstrated social order and democracy. Phelan hoped the new city plan would simultaneously control the environment, lessen the tensions between the city's residents, and achieve national recognition for San Francisco. Burnham's plan was destroyed in the 1906 fire and the desire of businessmen to rapidly rebuild, rather than implement the expensive and somewhat impractical city design, led to the use of the pre-earthquake urban footprint. Many of the city's leaders were disappointed; they felt that the discarded design would have guaranteed "the city's relation to the country and its civic character to the citizens."¹⁶ The only place elements of the discarded Burnham plan would be seen in San Francisco was at the PPIE.¹⁷

At the end of the nineteenth century, American city planning, "transformed itself into a movement of benevolence to elevate, through natural and beautiful surroundings, the whole urban population, a movement that would minister 'to the elemental needs of man as well as uplift intelligence and taste.'"¹⁸ Daniel Burnham's City Beautiful movement and its underlying order acted to incorporate these ideals.¹⁹ With the expansion of cities, the need to order their



James D. Phelan. Photo courtesy of the Library of Congress.

functions arose, and the “grouping of public buildings” developed as a means to order their functions, create civic areas and “arouse civic pride and patriotism.”²⁰

Historical precedents came from Europe where city centers contained fountains, gardens and architecture, which became the ideal for beautifying increasingly industrialized towns. The introduction of parks and nature as a hygienic solution to overcrowded tenements and as a place for the social classes to mix emerged with the parks movement of the late 1800s. San Francisco’s Golden Gate Park was founded on those principles.²¹ The influence of the Aesthetic Movement brought a call for beauty as an element of urban planning with city planners arguing, “Sentiment is gathering to the form of an edict that the offensive shall not be forced upon the multitude, and that when the chief expenditure is of brains, and not money, they shall no longer be denied the right to live among beautiful things.”²² With only a new, partial civic center to stand in for Burnham’s Beaux Arts plan of San Francisco, Kevin Starr argues that the PPIE became a “symbolic substitute” and was a “serious effort in city planning.”²³

The fair’s architectural theme has been difficult for scholars to categorize as the buildings were an eclectic mix of Roman, Greek, Mediterranean and Middle Eastern styles and motifs. However, if one places this architecture within the context of the Aesthetic movement, the combination of elements echoes the revival of classicism, polychromy, and fascination with Orientalist themes that influenced interior design as well as domestic structures of the period.

Combining historical references in an “eclectic, cosmopolitan” manner that evoked a collective memory, the Exposition’s designers created a vague, imaginary “past.”²⁴ 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.”²⁵

By using familiar motifs rather than the avant-garde style of Art Nouveau, which was popular at European expositions, the architectural message 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 recalled power, and the Renaissance courtyard design—with fountains and sculpture—evoked harmony and balance. Orientalist domes and exotic motifs responded to a romantic fascination with the East as “other,” as well as reiterating San Francisco’s connection with Asia, and its anticipation of emerging as an international trade center with the opening of the Panama Canal.



Court of the Universe. California's Magazine, Cornerstone Number-1915.

The PPIE reflected the impermanence of San Francisco, which had grown up rapidly in the preceding five decades, only to be destroyed by the 1906 earthquake and fire. 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 domestic architecture was Queen Anne style or Gothic Revival, while its newly built City Hall was Neo-Classical in design. By using the Aesthetic Movement's principles of harmony and unity, along with

its relationship to eclectic historicism, the PPIE's organizers were able to achieve an experimental city that, for nine months at least, felt rooted in history.

In addition to the use of purposefully 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 John 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."²⁶ The seventy-four acres of plantings included lawns, courts, flowerbeds, the lagoon at the Palace of Fine Arts, and the tree-lined avenues of the Exposition. The Avenue of the Palms was "bordered on each side for half a mile with a double row of California fan palms and Canary date palms...festooned higher than a man's head with ivy and blooming nasturtium," and the wall surrounding the fair utilized an innovative method of vine covering, giving it a sense of age.²⁷

Landscaping as a dominant element of the fair also embodied the Aesthetic Movement's belief that nature should be an integral part of design. Two major motifs of the Aesthetic Movement were the peacock and the sunflower, often utilized in interior design along with William Morris's floral and vegetative wallpaper designs. The Exposition's landscaping also reflected the idea that parks could provide antidotes to unhealthy factories and tenements and serve as democratic spaces for the mixing of social classes. The abundance and size of the plantings implied permanence and the creation of a park-like setting



San Francisco earthquake aftermath. Photo courtesy of the Library of Congress.



Horticultural Gardens. Frank Morton Todd, Story of the Exposition. Courtesy of the San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library. Autochrome by Charles J. Belden.

for the Exposition lessened the class distinctions between visitors.

Color was another innovation. While domestic structures gradually incorporated tints, public buildings were predominately white and gray. However, the fair's organizers did not seek to reproduce the "White City" of the Chicago fair; they wanted to create architecture that was harmonious with nature.²⁸ They also wanted to complement the historicism of the architecture. With the invention of imitation travertine, the buildings took on a creamy warm color and the impression of age.



Jules Guérin. Facebook.com, photo.

Jules Guérin, an American artist who trained at the French Academy, was chosen as the Fair's Chief of Color based on his international reputation as a colorist in a variety of mediums, ranging from theatre to large scale murals. The use of color as an external ordering device was in its infancy, but it was one proposed by many urban theorists as a means for civic beautification. Attention to color in interior design was a hallmark of the



Court of Abundance by night. Frank Morton Todd, Story of the Exposition. Courtesy of the San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library and General Electric.

Aesthetic Movement, but Guérin turned the domestic interior inside-out with his application of color at the PPIE. Every element of the fair had an assigned color, including architecture, landscaping, sculpture, flag poles, gravel, benches, janitor's uniforms, the Joy Zone, and even the garbage cans.²⁹ For the first time at a fair, the color could be seen at night, due to the innovation of concealed indirect and spot lighting for the PPIE.³⁰ Combined with the frequent fog rolling in from San Francisco Bay, the effect was dream-like, further removing the visitor from the reality outside the walls.

Guérin’s psychological reasons for particular color choices within the Exposition are ignored by historians of the PPIE. He based his selection on his analysis of people’s psychological response to color, as much as for their visual impact, saying “quite unconsciously, colors affect the spirits.”³¹ He believed some colors promoted commerce, while others acted in a soothing nature.³² It is not known whether or not Guérin’s motivation for color choices was discussed among the Exposition’s organizers, but since he did reveal it in a published interview prior to the opening of the fair, it is likely they were aware of it. More often cited is Guérin’s choice of muted colors as a reflection of the Mediterranean “origins” of the fair’s architecture—certainly a more palatable explanation for the fair’s potential visitors.

As with a permanent city, the plan of the PPIE needed to provide solutions for logistical problems within its unified scheme. The fair organizers wanted to lessen the space between exhibition halls and to provide shelter from the winds off San Francisco Bay.³³ Additionally, they wanted the plan to incorporate the outlying areas containing state and foreign buildings, livestock exhibits, and the midway within the overall design. By surrounding the entire fair with a 20-foot-high wall—ingeniously designed through plantings to resemble a hedge—both unity and practicality were combined.

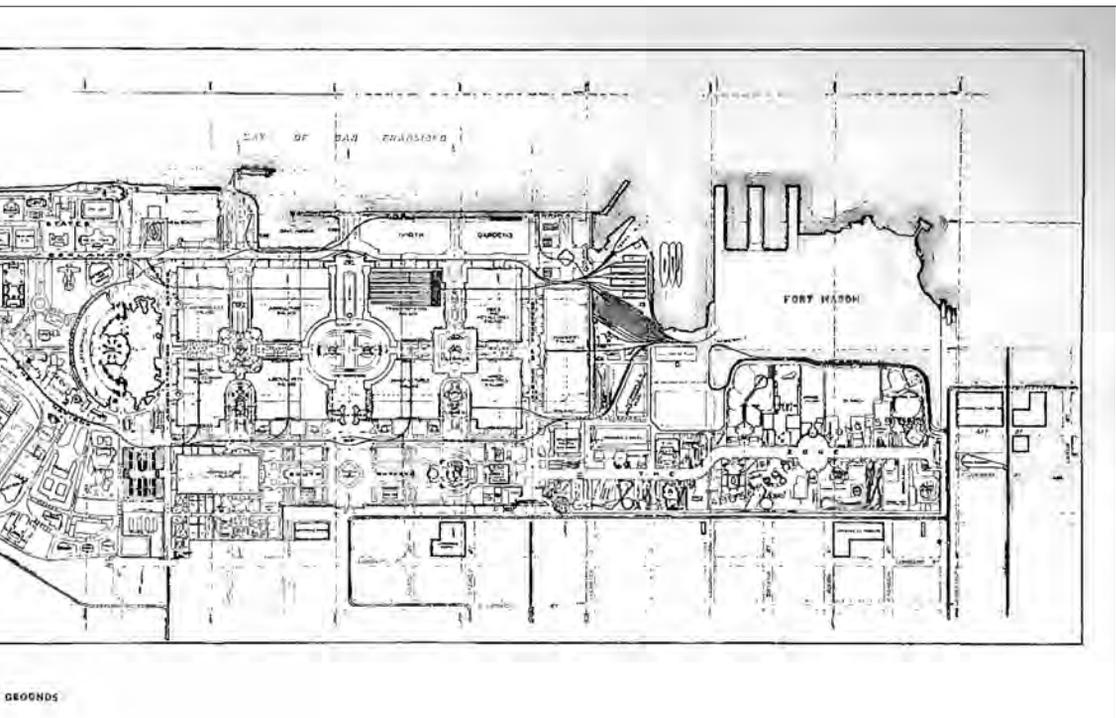


Map of the grounds. Frank Morton Todd, *Story of the Exposition*. Courtesy of the San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library.

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The Court design of the PPIE was an innovative approach to exposition architecture. Traditionally, exhibition halls were placed along long avenues, with little unity of design between the individual buildings. Grouping structures as a conceptual whole reflected the growing interest of urban planners of the time. One wrote, “the creation of civic centers arouses civic pride and patriotism... which expresses power, greatness and ideality.”³⁴ Three central courtyards were formed by eight pavilions which housed the main exhibits of the fair, ranging from transportation to education. Building facades faced inward on the courtyard, with exterior walls giving the effect of an unbroken architectural mass 70-feet tall.

The creation of a walled city within the fairgrounds reflected the historic precedents of Moorish and southern European cities. It allowed courtyards to act as interior, rather than exterior, spaces.³⁵ All of the ornamentation faced the courtyard while the interiors of the buildings were un-designed, the result being shed-like barns for the exhibitors’ displays. Each courtyard’s buildings and facades were designed by one individual architect or firm, in coordination with those creating the sculpture, friezes, fountains, and landscaping. Historically, these courts echoed the idea of Mediterranean patios. Artistically, they reflected the unity that was a prominent feature in the Aesthetic movement’s design of interiors. Programmatically, they helped reinforce the individual themes of the courtyards.





Court of the Universe. Frank Morton Todd, Story of the Exposition. Photo: Cardinell-Vincent Co. Courtesy of the San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library.

Within the courtyards, programmatic ideology could be disseminated through design. For example, themes of Aryan superiority permeated the fair, with eugenics conferences and exhibits promoting themes of Social Darwinism.³⁶ The largest space, the Court of the Universe, depicted the “Spirit of Enterprise which has led the Aryan race to conquer the West.” The architecture firm of McKim, Mead & White reinforced this idea through their use of Roman triumphal arches, 200-feet tall, and a curved colonnade reminiscent of St. Peter’s in Rome.³⁷ Perched atop the facing arches were two massive sculptural groupings carrying out the theme, as well as enormous mural paintings and smaller sculptures throughout the court.

Interior ornament lavished on exteriors made it appear that the Exposition was, ““turned inside out,”” according to the fair’s historian.³⁸ This blending of interior and exterior design was consistent with architecture of the American Aesthetic Movement and offered a new solution for programmatic civic center design. The Exposition’s supervising architect George Kelham said, “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.”³⁹

Ironically, the most celebrated Palace of the PPIE was Bernard Maybeck's Palace of Fine Arts, a design based on the Romantic Movement rather than the Aesthetic Movement. The Palace, located on the western terminus of the courtyard block, contained a domed pergola bordered by a lagoon and flanked by a semi-circle of crumbling Roman ruins. 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."⁴⁰ Unlike the ordered 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, another innovative element of the Exposition's design. However, by placing it on the axis of the other courts and using domed architecture and color consistent with the rest of the fair, the Palace of Fine Arts fit into the overall unified scheme of the fair.

Seven months before the fair was to open, World War I began, raising uncertainty as to which foreign nations would attend, or if the Exposition should continue. Due to heavy publicity prior to its opening, the PPIE had become an international event. After much speculation the Exposition's president made the decision to continue, saying the fair would:

...help keep the torch of civilization burning and the feeling of international amity alive, and... that might conceivably become an



Palace of Fine Arts. Louis J. Stellmann, That Was a Dream Worth Building. Courtesy of the San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library.



Palace of Fine Arts. California's Magazine, Cornerstone Number-1915.

instrumentality in the restoration of peace. The world needed the Exposition more than ever; there was more need than ever that it keep its engagement to the world.⁴¹

A triangular area to the west of the Courts housed the U.S. state and international buildings. As each state or nation erected a building of its own

design, the resulting architectural mixture was eclectic.⁴² Oregon's pavilion was a model of the Parthenon with the columns constructed from barked Douglas fir while Japan's building was a traditional, though monumental, pagoda. As recognizable reproductions of vernacular architectural edifices, a general historicism made the structures appear familiar, and thus part of an ordered historicism. The organization of these buildings differentiated the PPIE from previous fairs. By using an axial street plan with broad expanses of continuous lawns and landscape, the eclectic buildings appeared unified. This area of the fair resembled a "suburb" where the architecture differed from the "civic center." By using a City Beautiful plan, similar to the rest of the fair, the PPIE was able to create a city model that expressed a totality of design.

A purely commercial venture, the PPIE's midway, the Joy Zone, was not excluded from the overall design of the fair. The midway first appeared as an amusement venue outside the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exposition, which resulted in visitors leaving the grounds to partake in games and rides. Chicago's 1893 Exposition included the *plaisance*, an educational and commercial venture that featured anthropological exhibits. The introduction of the giant Ferris wheel and "low entertainment" such as belly dancers, however, insured that midways would be known primarily for their amusements, profitability, and popularity. The inclusion of a midway amid the overall aesthetic program of the Exposition created difficulties:



California State Building, T.H.F. Burditt, Architect. Frank Morton Todd, Story of the Exposition. Photo: Cardinell-Vincent Co.



The Joy Zone. Louis Christian Mullgardt, The Architecture and Landscape Gardening of the Exposition. Photo: Cardinell-Vincent Co.

A properly composed amusement district is a main attraction of an exposition, and has a most healthful effect on gate receipts. To that extent, plus the bonuses, rentals, and percentages that may be collected on the business, it is a principal source of exposition revenue, and one of the important supports of the other activities. Nevertheless, it is not quite in keeping with the exposition ideal, and may have a hard time conforming to it.⁴³

Inclusion of the Joy Zone in an idealized city forced Exposition planners to confront issues that earlier City Beautiful planners had ignored in their designs. Prior to the PPIE, residential and commercial portions of the city were excluded, as with the Burnham plan of San Francisco. The focus was always on civic centers, with no solutions for commercial realities of urban life.⁴⁴ The PPIE's inclusion of the commercial area of the fair in its overall design was revolutionary in both exposition and city planning, and served to continue the fair's goals of unity and harmony throughout the grounds.

The Joy Zone covered about sixty-five acres, extending for almost a mile, or seven city blocks. All the concessions were on a wide paved boulevard, facing each other. The Exposition Committee issued leases to individual concessionaires but, unlike previous fairs, retained aesthetic approval on the design of the structures. Plans and specifications had to conform to the Exposition's ideas of suitable form and

color. Another requirement of the fair was that the fronts of the buildings should be “fantastic,” expressing their concession without signage, if possible. As many concessionaires either did not have or could not employ an architect, the Division of Works of the Exposition designed seventy of the Joy Zone structures and Jules Guérin dictated the painting of all of the exhibits.⁴⁵

The result was a vernacular kitsch that ranged from somewhat accurate models of the Grand Canyon, Yellowstone Park, and the Panama Canal, to Irish castles and a Gold Rush town, complete with dancing girls and taverns. The Zone’s lack of a uniform architectural style and overt commercialism were the antithesis of the fair’s aesthetic unity. Façade architecture, where oversized three-dimensional figures acted in place of signs, emerged. Instead of Orientalist palaces, 90-foot tin soldiers, a 120-foot gilded Buddha, and enormous plaster ostriches became the visual aesthetic. The fair’s regulations also required that unoccupied booths be covered by the adjacent façade, since there was a fear that empty spaces would make the Zone appear unsuccessful.

Ironically, the precedents set in fair midways in general, and the PPIE specifically, ended up being far more influential in future urban planning than the fair proper. The Exposition’s control of design elements and the innovation of adding color to the architectural facades of the PPIE gave rise to “programmatic architecture.”⁴⁶ Not “concealing the real purpose for which the article has been made,” the architecture of the Joy Zone was closer ideologically to the foundations of the Arts and Crafts movement than any other part of the fair.⁴⁷ While not architecturally cohesive with the main part of the Exposition, the close attention paid to the planning of the commercial zone exhibited the organizer’s quest for a *gesamtkunstwerk*.



Palace of Education. California’s Magazine, Cornerstone Number-1915.



Palace of Fine Arts, December 2004. Photo by Didier.

The midway's popularity was its democracy—anyone could go on an amusement ride or take an educational tour through Yellowstone Park, complete with working geysers. Less bourgeois than the Palaces, which housed “improvement” or progress exhibits, the fanciful atmosphere produced by the “chaotic” architecture provided a place for educated and uneducated alike. With educational exhibits housed in the form of rides and “vulgar” exhibits, it required no aspiration to higher social order. In the 1960s, Disneyland would figure out how to combine consumerism and concessions with an idealized historic landscape to recreate the midway.⁴⁸ Uniquely American, the Joy Zone had packaged exoticism and foreignness as a commodity.

The Palace of Fine Arts still stands in San Francisco's Marina District, but as an isolated artifact from the vanished “City of Domes.” It is no longer part of the ideal city created by the PPIE, one that was exotic, unified, and cosmopolitan. The importance of the PPIE was its existence as *gesamtkunstwerk*, a total aesthetic and symbolic environment built for the social and moral improvement of its visitors. Using the Aesthetic Movement to inform its design, the Exposition turned interior design inside-out to create a new programmatic civic architecture, it expanded the City Beautiful program to include the commercial zone, and it incorporated historicism to evoke a collective memory of the past. By unifying color, landscape, architecture and planning, the PPIE created a case study for urban planning.

The PPIE was the first time the principles of the Aesthetic Movement were used to create an entire city. By using color, nature, and exotic motifs, the fair appropriated elements from interior design, decorative art, and painting for use in the exterior environment. The Exposition influenced future civic center design and commercial architecture, introduced color as an architectural element, and gave birth to programmatic kitsch. It achieved the civic unity sought by the organizers, with government and private enterprise working together towards a unified goal. It was one of the few World's Fairs to be commercially successful.

Post-World War I expositions and World's Fairs, including the 1935 California Pacific International Exhibition in San Diego, would continue to reflect optimism about the future and nostalgia for the past.

NOTES

1. Panama-Pacific International Exposition, *The Legacy of the Exposition: Interpretation of the Intellectual and Moral Heritage Left to Mankind by the World Celebration at San Francisco in 1915* (San Francisco: Panama-Pacific International Exposition, 1916), 76.
2. Ibid.
3. The words "exposition" and "fair" are used interchangeably throughout the article.
4. William Issel and Robert W. Cherny, *San Francisco, 1865-1932: Politics, Power, and Urban Development* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1987), 168.
5. Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851-1939* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1988), 46.
6. Ibid.
7. Beaux Arts architecture is formal, symmetrical, monumental and uniform, with ornamentation generally derived from Rococo and Renaissance motifs. Beaux Arts plans contain wide boulevards, axial plans that are symmetric, and uniformly placed architecture. The City Beautiful movement derived from the belief that the built environment could affect social order. Using European models of design and social ideology based in the Aesthetic movement, it advocated classical architecture, Beaux Arts planning, connections with natural elements such as parks, and strict ordering of the architectural elements.
8. The principle of design meaning "a total work of art," where a unified aesthetic and symbolic content would surround and affect the viewer.
9. Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, 161. Otto Wagner was an important member of the Vienna Secession formed in 1897 by a group of Austrian artists who had opposed the prevailing conservatism of the Vienna Künstlerhaus with its traditional orientation toward historicism.
10. Frank Morton Todd, *The Story of the Exposition; Being the Official History of the International Celebration Held at San Francisco in 1915 to Commemorate the Discovery of the Pacific Ocean and the Construction of the Panama Canal* (New York, London: G.P. Putnam's sons, 1921), 287-88.
11. M. Christine Boyer, *Dreaming the Rational City: The Myth of American City Planning* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1983), 45.
12. Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 235.
13. Issel and Cherny, *San Francisco, 1865-1932*, 167.
14. Todd, *The Story of the Exposition*, 35.
15. Robert W. Cherny, "City Commercial, City Beautiful, City Practical: The San Francisco Visions of William C. Ralston, James D. Phelan, and Michael M. O'Shaughnessy," *California History* 73, no. 4 (December 1994), 95.
16. Daniel H. Burnham, "White City and Capital City," *Century Magazine* 63 (February 1902), 620.
17. Kevin Starr, *Americans and the California Dream, 1850-1915* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 296.
18. Boyer, *Dreaming the Rational City*, 3.

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19. Burnham, "White City and Capital City," 619–620.
20. M.R. Maltbie, "The Grouping of Public Buildings," *The Outlook* 78, no. 1 (September 3, 1904), 37.
21. Frederic C. Howe, "The Garden Cities of England." *Scribner's Magazine* 52, no. 1 (July 1912): 1-19.
22. Burnham, "White City and Capital City," 620.
23. Starr, *Americans and the California Dream*, 296.
24. Ben Macomber, *The Jewel City: Its Planning and Achievement; Its Architecture, Sculpture, Symbolism, and Music; Its Gardens, Palaces, and Exhibits* (San Francisco: J. H. Williams, 1915), 21.
25. *Ibid.*, 27.
26. Todd, *The Story of the Exposition*, 307.
27. Macomber, *The Jewel City*, 19.
28. Todd, *The Story of the Exposition*, 288.
29. *Ibid.*, 349.
30. Macomber, *The Jewel City*, 140.
31. Jesse Lynch Williams, "The Color Scheme at the Panama-Pacific Exposition: A New Departure," *Scribner's Magazine* 56, no. 3 (September 1914), 289.
32. *Ibid.*
33. John D. Barry, *The City of Domes; a Walk with an Architect About the Courts and Palaces of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, with a Discussion of Its Architecture, Its Sculpture, Its Mural Decorations, Its Coloring and Its Lighting* (1915; Whitefish, MT: Kessinger Publishing, 2005), 7.
34. Maltbie, "The Grouping of Public Buildings," 37.
35. Todd, *The Story of the Exposition*, 303–04.
36. Robert Rydell, among others, has written extensively on the programmatic aspects of the PPIE.
37. Sheldon Cheney, *An Art-Lover's Guide to the Exposition; Explanations of the Architecture, Sculpture and Mural Paintings, with a Guide for Study in the Art Gallery* (Berkeley, CA: At the Sign of the Berkeley Oak, 1915), 29.
38. Todd, *The Story of the Exposition*, 283.
39. William E. Schirmer, "Architect's Chief Hopes for Future," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 10, 1915.
40. Bernard R. Maybeck, *Palace of Fine Arts and Lagoon: Panama-Pacific International Exposition, 1915* (San Francisco: Paul Elder & Co., 1915), 6.
41. The Exposition's president, Charles Moore, quoted in Todd, *The Story of the Exposition*, 9.
42. Germany and Britain did not participate in the PPIE; they were the only countries absent due to the war.
43. Todd, *The Story of the Exposition*, 170.
44. Barbara Rubin, "Aesthetic Ideology and Urban Design," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 69, no. 3 (1979), 345.
45. Todd, *The Story of the Exposition*, 156.
46. Rubin, "Aesthetic Ideology and Urban Design," 350.
47. Todd, *The Story of the Exposition*, 156.
48. Timothy J. Gilfoyle, "White Cities, Linguistic Turns, and Disneyland: The New Paradigms of Urban History," *Reviews in American History* 26, no. 1 (March 1, 1998): 175–204.