

A Room of Their Own: The Contribution of Women to the Panama-California Exposition, 1915

By Molly McClain

Among the more popular architectural features in Balboa Park are the statues, or caryatids, of bare-breasted women who strain to hold up the eaves of the Casa de Balboa, the reconstructed version of the Commerce and Industries Building that was built for San Diego's first world fair, the Panama-California Exposition (1915).¹ With their pendulous breasts and sagging bellies, the statues provide an eye-catching example of the kind of Spanish Baroque embellishments that were much admired at the time. Perhaps less often noticed were the sharp elbows on these modern caryatids; elbows would be needed if representation of women at the Exposition was to be more than symbolic. In 1914, a San Diego Union journalist described them as "heroic nudes" who typified "the woman of toil, a patient, powerful mother of men, a hewer of wood and a drawer of water."²

San Diego women knew all about work, patience, and toil, having expended numerous hours on volunteer projects throughout the city.



Roof Figure, c. 1915. Original caryatid replicated for display on today's Casa de Balboa. ©SDHC #20945.

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It came as something of a shock, then, that the directors of the Panama-California Exposition Company failed to acknowledge women's potential for service, much less allocate them physical space in the buildings under construction in the park. In 1914, after what the local newspaper described as an "Exposition Teapot Tempest," women secured the right both to representation and a local headquarters, though not their own Woman's Building.³ Over the course of the next two years, county women volunteered to greet visitors, run tea rooms, and provide safe spaces for women traveling alone. The Official Woman's Board, meanwhile, made a special effort to showcase San Diego's progressive values and appreciation for modern art, literature, and music. Determined to help the city overcome the negative publicity created by the Free Speech Fight of 1912-13, they emphasized their openness to new and visionary ideas.⁴

By the early twentieth century, women across the United States had gained freedoms that their grandmothers could not have imagined. In many Western states, including California (1911), they had won the right to vote. The goal of many women, particularly those who joined labor unions and women's clubs, was to make themselves visible and active players in the debates going on around them. Issues of particular concern included immigration, child labor, urban poverty, pure food, the minimum wage, crowded penitentiaries and hospitals, and prostitution. They also took every opportunity possible to celebrate women's role in history, their labors in the creative and industrial arts, and their potential for transforming the way the nation envisioned social and political change.⁵

To that end, women played important roles at the great world fairs that flourished in the United States between 1876 and 1915. Every American fair had a woman's building or space set aside for female exhibitors. The first Women's Pavilion was built at Philadelphia (1876) to host exhibitions of women's art, work, and industry. Chicago's 1893 Columbian Exposition had a Board of Lady Managers, created by an act of Congress, whose activities were funded by the federal government and the exposition board. An appropriation of \$200,000 was made for a women's building, designed by MIT graduate Sophia Hayden, one of the few female architects in nineteenth-century America. Subsequent fairs in Atlanta (1895), Buffalo (1901), and St. Louis (1904) also allotted space to women's exhibits and activities.⁶ In St. Louis, women "for the first time stood with equality," serving on the juries of awards and acting as concessionaires and contractors.⁷

Seattle women, meanwhile, rallied to establish a Woman's Building at the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition in 1909. The building included reception spaces, displays, rest rooms with couches, and a large nursery. It also hosted meetings of the Washington State Federation of Women's Clubs and the National Council of Women. The National American Woman Suffrage Association held its 41st



The Woman's Building at the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition, 1909, now Cunningham Hall at the University of Washington, Seattle. Courtesy of the University of Washington, Seattle.

Annual Convention at the Seattle exposition, attracting a “who’s who” of American feminists.⁸ Dr. Charlotte Baker, a well-known San Diego doctor, was one of nearly 2,000 women who attended the convention and participated in the “Women’s Suffrage Day” at the Seattle exposition. She heard a speech by the organization’s president, the Reverend Anna Howard Shaw, and made arrangements for social reformer Florence Kelley to come to San Diego later that year.⁹

Women had almost no hand in planning San Francisco’s Panama-Pacific International Exposition (1915) because the event had forfeited Congressional funding in return for the title “International.” The act of Congress that designated Chicago as the site of the 1893 World’s Fair, approved April 25, 1890, had included the provision that a Board of Lady Managers be appointed by a National Board of Women Commissioners, two from each state and territory.¹⁰ Bertha H. Palmer summed up the importance of federal recognition, “Even more important than the discovery of Columbus, which we are gathered together to celebrate, is the fact that the General Government has just discovered women.”¹¹ The San Francisco exposition was financed chiefly by the State of California, bond issues, and stock sales to residents still recovering from the 1906 earthquake and fire.¹² Frank Morton Todd, the official historian of the fair, explained, “The boards of lady managers of other expositions have been appointed from every part of the *Union* because the expositions have received the financial aid of the whole country. There was no obligation on the part of this Exposition to make or accept such appointments.”¹³

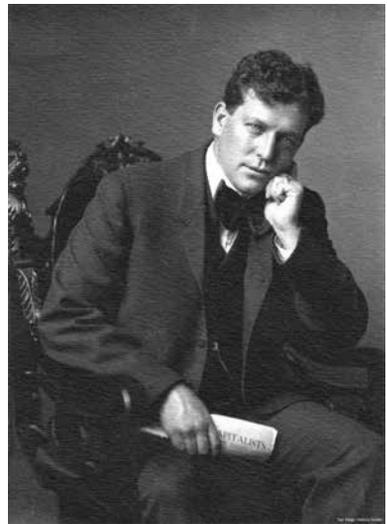
Lady Managers. They saw the fair as a commercial venture and wanted to permit the sale of alcohol without opposition from the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU).¹⁷ They also wanted to avoid unnecessary conflict. As one female participant later joked, the men imagined a women's board as "a polite synonym for a Squabble Court, where the poor dears would meet, discuss, weep, even fight with umbrellas for weapons, and then proceed to sulks and hysterics."¹⁸

San Diego's exposition was built quickly, with limited funds and considerable doubts about its success. The directors of the Panama-California Exposition Company, founded in September 1909, scrambled to keep up with San Francisco boosters who were well on their way towards hosting a competing world's fair. E.W. Scripps, who attended the first meeting, warned that "the job was too big a one for San Diego." He told the company's vice-presidents that he only knew one man who could "carry through the bluff, if it could be carried through at all," and that was David "Charlie" Collier.¹⁹ Even with Collier on board, the directors faced the lack of Congressional support and no guarantee that government-sponsored museums such as the Post Office or the U.S. Mint would be able to send exhibits to San Diego.

Part of the problem was the negative publicity garnered by San Diego during the Free Speech fight of 1912-13. City officials, fearful that revolutionary activity would make its way over the border from Mexico, had passed an ordinance suspending public speaking in the city center, known as "Soapbox Row." In response, the International Workers of the World (IWW) sent hundreds of protesters. Some were beaten by policemen and thrown in jail; others were tortured by "vigilantes" and driven out of town. The situation attracted national headlines and badly damaged the city's reputation.²⁰

Appalled by the events of 1912-13, many San Diego women decided to take steps towards influencing public policy. In a speech before the La Jolla Woman's Club, Ellen Browning Scripps told clubwomen "I think women would have managed the Industrial Workers of the World better, and less to the discredit of the city." She continued, "The time may not have come yet when we can work effectively in public policies; but it will surely come, and we ought to be ready."²¹

One place to start was the upcoming



Col. David Charles Collier, first President of the Panama-California Exposition Company, c. 1909. ©SDHC #81:10843.

Panama-California Exposition. In 1913, a group of progressive San Diego women reminded the board that women should be involved in the preparations. They proceeded at first with politeness and deference. Julia Riall, a member of the Wednesday Club, asked her husband to write to the directors on behalf of the group. A San Diego attorney, Ernest Riall, penned a letter recommending that some "distinctive task or work" ought to be assigned to the women of California, and he suggested that an organization be formed for that purpose.²²

The directors, however, did not want women's participation at this stage in the planning process, largely because they had not yet dealt with the question of alcohol consumption at the fair. According to the minutes of the Executive Committee, members discussed Riall's advice "very freely" before tabling it until the subsequent meeting. The next time they met, Collier introduced the subject of alcohol. He said that the exposition was getting inquiries as to whether or not alcohol would be permitted on the grounds. The group decided that it would be allowed in restaurants but they did not sanction saloons. In addition, they granted manufacturers of liquors the right to distribute samples, free of charge.²³

The sale of alcohol was a significant issue in San Diego. Having won the right to vote, many local women's organizations, including the WCTU, campaigned vigorously for prohibition. They believed that alcohol consumption, particularly among the working classes, caused serious social problems such as crime, poverty, and prostitution. One contemporary spoke of "the enervating, the dehumanizing, the corrupting influences of alcohol" and argued that the community had the moral duty to "save the victim of intemperance from the wreckage of himself."²⁴ In La Jolla, for example, the Woman's Club protested the movement to allow local cafes to sell beer and wine with meals. The election of 1913 was known as the "liquor election" which would decide whether the village went "wet" or "dry."²⁵

In August 1913, Dr. Charlotte Baker, a member of the WCTU, wrote the exposition board asking that "no concessions should be granted for the sale of alcoholics [sic] in any form on Exposition grounds." Having attended the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition, she knew that prohibition could be successful. In response, the executive board agreed to limit the sales of distilled spirits to "two high class restaurants" while the other establishments could sell beer and wine with meals.²⁶ The debate over the exposition's alcohol policy continued through 1913 and 1914 as prominent citizens like George W. Marston, religious and fraternal organizations, and the Anti-Saloon League pressed for "A Dry Exposition."²⁷

At a 1913 meeting of the San Diego County Federation of Women's Clubs, members discussed the potential for rapid urban growth after the opening of the Panama Canal. European immigrants continued to stream into East Coast cities

and overwhelm existing social services. Eva Bird Bosworth read a paper, "How Shall San Diego Meet the Immigration Problem," and suggested that it would only be through the "cumulative work of all interested organizations on the broad basis of service to man, that the problem can be solved."²⁸ Her words echoed the sentiments of San Francisco women who justified their participation in the 1915 exposition by citing the need to deal with an influx of immigrants into the city.

At the same time, a nation-wide cooperative Travelers Aid Society was forming for the purpose of aiding tourists, particularly women and girls, travelling to the California expositions. Grace Hoadley Dodge, founder of the Travelers Aid Society of New York and a leading member of the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), thought that these two organizations could cooperate with religious groups, charities, and local chambers of commerce to help travelers at railway stations and docks. Their goal was to prevent human trafficking, among other crimes. According to an article in *The San Diego Union*, the opening of the Panama Canal and the expositions in San Diego and San Francisco represented a "crisis point" that required national coordination.²⁹ In the fall of 1913, Orin Baker, General Secretary of the Travelers Aid Society of New York, was invited to California to help organize a state chapter with branches in San Francisco, San Diego, and Los Angeles.³⁰

In October 1913, the San Diego County Federation of Women's Clubs sent a resolution to the directors of the exposition, asking to be recognized and given a chance to cooperate. Henry J. Penfold, secretary of the Panama-California



The WCTU Headquarters, Balboa Park, 1915, provided a tea room on the balcony of the Commerce and Industries building. ©SDHC #93:19100.



In 1913, members of the Chula Vista Woman's Club toured Balboa Park during the construction of the Panama-California Exposition. Courtesy of the Chula Vista Woman's Club and Dr. Steven Schoenherr.

Exposition, was told by the board to respond that “their organization would be given due consideration when the time came to take up the women’s department; also that he ask them to make suggestions along the lines in which they wished to cooperate.”³¹

Personally, Penfold thought that women should be involved. A successful druggist, he had participated in the Nebraska State Fair in 1895 and knew how valuable female volunteers could be. His wife Ella, a leading member of the Omaha Young Women’s Christian Association (YWCA), now served as the president of the Chula Vista Woman’s Club.³² He told the club of the plans for the exposition and then invited members to view the buildings under construction.³³

In April 1914, the San Diego County Federation of Women’s Clubs reviewed a letter from Penfold, “asking that the Federation appoint a committee to work for the erection of a Woman’s Club building at the Exposition.” The exposition board had named Rosa Davidson, the wife of the exposition’s president, as “director of social activities” but gave her no defined role.³⁴ In the meantime, the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) and the YWCA had been allocated space on the balconies of various buildings.³⁵ The San Diego exposition board had no plans to fund women’s organizations, expecting them to raise money themselves as San Francisco women had done.

Forty-seven-year-old Evelyn Lawson, newly elected president of the Wednesday Club, organized the first meeting of San Diego women to discuss their role at the exposition. A woman with keen literary interests, she was married to the Yale University-educated brother of Victor Fremont Lawson, owner and publisher of the *Chicago Daily News* and president of the Associated Press. She was described

as “a woman of extraordinary tact” and, presumably, political skills.³⁶ On May 27, 1914, representatives of local women’s clubs met at the Wednesday Club House “to discuss what part, if any, the women would take at the fair.”³⁷ They included Carrie Gertrude Gilbert, president of the Amphion Club; Alice Klauber and Evelyn Lawson of the Wednesday Club; Ella Allen; Angeline E. Frost, president of the San Diego Woman’s Club; Gertrude Longenecker, educator; and Anna Owen, president of the County Federation of Women’s Clubs. A few days later, they met with the San Diego County Board of Supervisors to discuss the creation of a headquarters for women at the exposition.³⁸

Two weeks after the meeting with the board of supervisors, leading clubwomen met at the U.S. Grant Hotel and organized the San Diego Woman’s Association, under the leadership of Lawson and fellow Wednesday Club member Alice Klauber. Their objective was to secure \$75,000 that remained in the hands of the board of supervisors. The women wanted it to build a headquarters at the fair; exposition officials had been promised that money for advertising. “The women of San Diego city and county,” said Klauber, “feel they should be represented at the Exposition. There has been no provision made for rest rooms or comfort facilities for women and children at the Exposition grounds. San Diego women believe this should be done, and a determined campaign toward this end will be carried on until the Exposition officials do something definite for us.”³⁹

Klauber promised that women would fight for their right to be represented at the exposition. She said, “[I]f proper provision is not made for women during 1915, we will advertise the fact in every woman’s club in the United States.”⁴⁰ A well-known

artist and clubwoman, Klauber had both the charisma and the connections to make good on her threat. Her brother-in-law Julius Wangenheim, a prominent banker, had served as chairman of the civic improvement committee of the Chamber of Commerce and chairman of the park board. He was now on the Panama-California Exposition board.⁴¹

The exposition directors were well aware of women’s capacity for political action. In 1911, California women had won the vote after a hard-fought campaign led by the California Equal Suffrage Association, the Political Equality League, and the Votes for



Inspired by the exposition’s modern art exhibit, Evelyn Lawson, daughter of Harriet Evelyn Lawson, went on to study at the Chicago Art Institute and the Academy of Fine Arts of Chicago. She exhibited with Maurice Braun, A.R. Valentien, Alice Klauber, and other members of the San Diego Art Guild in 1920. Photo c. 1916. ©SDHC UT #17911-1.

Women Club, among other organizations.⁴² British women, meanwhile, were still fighting for their rights. In June 1914, San Diego's newspapers covered the civil-disobedience campaign waged by suffragists in England. Emmeline Pankhurst, founder of the Women's Social and Political Union, an all-women suffrage organization, was pictured in the *San Diego Sun* above the caption, "Mrs. Pankhurst, Arrested at Palace Gate, Screams Message to the King." The conservative *San Diego Union*, meanwhile, reported "Militants Defy Law; Britons Bordering on Panic."⁴³



Artist and club woman Alice Klauber chaired the Art Committee of the Woman's Board. A friend and former student of Robert Henri, she helped to organize the modern art exhibit at the exposition. She also decorated the Woman's Headquarters in the California Building, nd. ©SDHC #85:15336.

In the end, the Exposition Board relented and agreed to provide space and official representation to San Diego women. At a June 9, 1914, meeting, the executive committee voted to appoint members of a Woman's Board and provide them with quarters at the fair to be used "for entertainment purposes only." At this late date, a separate Woman's Building was deemed both impractical and expensive, so they set aside rooms on the second floor of the California Building and in the basement of the Ethnology Building and granted them \$5,000 for furnishings.⁴⁴ Later, they gave space to female exhibitors in the Southern California Counties Building.

Advertising managers, meanwhile, reached out to women's organizations across the country. In Chicago, Clifford A. Williams invited representatives of the General Federation of Women's Clubs to visit San Diego. He turned a reception room at the Congress Hotel into "a veritable orange grove" filled with orange trees, heavily laden with fruit, and "a bevy of beautifully gowned daughters of California."⁴⁵

San Diego newspapers enjoyed the drama. The *Union* heralded, "Exposition Teapot Tempest Subsides After Explanation" and "Exposition Officials Surrender to Fair Sex." Frank J. Belcher, Jr., stated defensively, "It has been our intention for a long time...to appoint a board of women to work out the details of the women's representation at the Fair...Everything will be done at the Fair Grounds for the pleasure and comfort of women. It has only been a question of time."⁴⁶ *The Sun*, meanwhile, paraphrased remarks for their article, "Expo Heads and Women Make Up:"

“We’re strong for the women who have banded together for the entertainment and welfare of their sisters at the expo,” said the directors today.

“And these directors are really mighty nice men after you get acquainted with them.”

“Everything will be done on the fair grounds for the comfort and pleasure of the women,” said Director Belcher today. “We want to work with the San Diego women along this line.”

“All right,” said the women, “we’ll give you plenty of opportunity to make good.”⁴⁷

Not everyone was satisfied with woman’s role as hostess, however. Florence Collins Porter, an editor at the *Los Angeles Herald*, regretted “that but little of any active constructive work has been given into the charge of the women of the State. Their duties and privileges seem to be curtailed to those pertaining to social entertainment.”⁴⁸ Her article, published in July 1914, must have been viewed as a challenge to the women of San Francisco and San Diego because both groups quickly took steps to prove that they were doing more than entertaining the wives of distinguished guests. Sanborn, president of the Woman’s Board of the Panama-Pacific Exposition, said that their most important endeavor was the protection of women and girls at the exposition, whether visitors or employees, and cited their cooperation with the Travelers Aid Society of New York.⁴⁹ In San Diego, the Woman’s Board developed progressive programs and exhibits for the benefit of residents and visitors alike.



Directors of the Panama-California Exposition Company stand on the steps of the California Building with the men responsible for the design and construction of the fair, c. 1915. Left to right: architect Carleton M. Winslow, David C. Collier, unknown, and G. Aubrey Davidson. The other figures include R.C. Allen; G.W. Johnson; Fred H. Wurster; Clarence A. Hinkle; and H.L. Mebius, c. 1915. © UT25410.1.

The Woman's Board

The first official meeting of Woman's Board of the Panama-California Exposition was held in early December 1914 at the Grant Hotel. Evelyn Lawson served as the president of the board. Officers included pillars of society like Anne Sebree, wife of Rear Admiral Uriel Sebree, USN (Ret.), former commander-in-chief of the Pacific Fleet, and working women like Daisy Barteau, a linotype operator and member of the Typographical Union.⁵⁰ Klauber, chair of the Art Committee, had been chosen to serve as the head of the furnishing committee and tasked with decorating the Headquarters for Women and Hostess Gallery.⁵¹ With the opening of the exposition a month away, they focused their attention on four key goals: setting up a headquarters and a space to welcome guests to the exposition; creating nursing facilities, a rest room, and a crèche for babies; hosting a modern art exhibition and musical events; and developing special programs for organized labor and other groups.

The Woman's Board included some of the most progressive, intelligent, and artistic women in San Diego. The majority belonged to the Wednesday Club, a group of women who believed that aesthetic enterprises, in particular the study of art and literature, could transform both the individual and society.⁵² Their Arts & Crafts philosophy harmonized with their clubhouse, designed by architect Hazel W. Waterman and located only a short distance from Balboa Park.⁵³ History has left us only fragments of information about these women. Ella Foote wrote poetry and experimented with a variety of art forms. Her daughter described her as a "remarkable woman" with an "immense intellectual curiosity." She was "restless and seeking—she wanted to try everything in the way of an art, and experience everything she couldn't know directly, through reading."⁵⁴ Klauber was one of the "moderns" who promoted avant-garde art from an early date. She lived in the "rhythm of the artistic...Her sensitivity to the beautifully artistic was quite exceptional."⁵⁵ Topics discussed at weekly meetings included Post-Impressionism, modern drama, new music, and twentieth-century poetry.⁵⁶

The headquarters of the Woman's Board were located on the second floor of the California Building, a highly ornate Spanish Colonial style structure that



Anne Sebree and her son, John B. Sebree, c. 1910. Sebree, Children's Committee chair, organized a day nursery, or crèche, for infants and a playground for young children on the grounds of the exposition. ©SDHC #82:13210.

welcomed visitors to the fair. Below, in the west wing, were the offices of G. Aubrey Davidson, president and official host of the exposition. Opposite the California Building, on the south side of the Quadrangle, stood the Fine Arts Building where the Woman's Board was given permission to host a modern art exhibit.⁵⁷

In addition to offices, the California Building contained exhibits focused on the pre-Columbian native populations of the Americas. Archaeologist Dr. Edgar L. Hewitt of



The interior of the California Building, 1923, shows many of the pre-Columbian native artifacts displayed at the time of the exposition. ©SDHC #2435-4.



The Woman's Headquarters in the California Building was known as the "Persimmon Room" due to its daring color scheme, 1915. ©SDHC #OP 614.

the School of American Archaeology in Santa Fe, New Mexico, brought together objects and works of art that celebrated the ancient Maya, Inca, and Aztec civilizations. These included bas-relief sculptures from Mexico and Guatemala; ancient pottery excavated at Chiriquí, Panama; architectural models of temples and pyramids; and mural paintings of Mayan cities by artist Carlos Vierra.⁵⁸ A visitor from New England described it as "a remarkable record and exhibit of available records, relics and data of the early peoples of the So[uth] West..." He continued, "The

early Spanish explorers carried back glowing accounts of the peoples whom they met or whose civilizations they saw. Never in any other exposition has such care been expended in gathering useful information and data as here. Even the most casual inspection indicated what a high type of civilization existed once here in America.⁵⁹ The second floor, meanwhile, contained copperplate reproductions of photographs by ethnologist and photographer Edward S. Curtis for his series, *The North American Indian*.⁶⁰

The Woman's Board chose to complement these exhibits with a decorative scheme that reflected the cultures of the Pacific Rim.



The headquarters contained a curtain from a Chinese theater in Canton. Many of Donald Beaugard's paintings were displayed in this room. ©SDHC #90:18259-1.



Visitors noted the “resourcefulness and ingenuity” of Alice Klauber and her committee who converted a square piano into a writing desk. ©SDHC #OP 1731.

Klauber and her committee transformed a long, bare room and gallery into an artistic space filled with Navajo rugs, black lacquered wicker furniture, and a curtain taken from a Chinese theater in Canton, or Guangzhou. The color scheme, regarded as “daring,” consisted of persimmon red and black with an undercurrent of soft brown.⁶¹ On the walls hung paintings by Donald Beauregard, a modernist artist whose works were filled with vigorous brushwork and brilliant color. Klauber

defended these works from critics of the “new art” by equating their freedom and innovation with her Arts & Crafts decorative scheme. She later wrote, “What the pictures did for that room cannot be exaggerated. For two years they sang across the spaces of a rather cold interior and made it vibrate with clear, fine tones. Persons who arrived at the doorway...to see this colorful interior drew audible breaths of relief.”⁶²

The Woman’s Board also provided a well-furnished rest room in the basement of the Fine Arts building. It contained couches, easy chairs, cots, two hospital beds, and first aid equipment monitored by a professional nurse.⁶³ In May 1915, an average 1,300 women per week visited the Hostess Gallery, located upstairs, and made use of the rest room.⁶⁴

Volunteers from women’s clubs and organizations throughout San Diego County staffed the Hostess Gallery, served tea, sold postcards, and maintained a peaceful atmosphere. County librarian Jennie Herrmann volunteered a book case and one hundred volumes while Marion Robinson offered back issues of *California Garden*. Mrs. Morgan, meanwhile, sold copies of Spanish and Mexican songs, postcards, and over 700 copies of *Art & Archaeology* containing an article by Edgar Hewett. Tea was served in persimmon-colored cups and saucers, edged in black, with the monogram WB for Woman’s Board.⁶⁵

The Hostess Gallery provided a space where women could sit, rest, and enjoy a little solitude before diving back into the hurly burly life of the fair. They stood in marked contrast to other areas, most notably the “Isthmus” or amusement zone, where women’s activities were often commodified and sexualized. The Isthmus contained educational exhibits such as the Painted Desert, a display of Indian life of the Southwest where men and women wove rungs and shaped pottery.⁶⁶ But it also included a model Chinatown with an underground opium den and



The Woman's Headquarters, among other spaces at the fair, provided some respite from the commodification of women's activities on the Isthmus. In this photo, two native women play musical instruments in the Hawaiian Village as part of an effort to promote tourism. ©SDHC #3176-3.

“slave” girls; a Hawaiian Village with hula dancers; and ‘49ers mining camp that recreated the lawless atmosphere of the Gold Rush. There, patrons could get “something a little stronger than water” and flirt with “ladies.”⁶⁷

Rest rooms were also offered by other women’s organizations. The YWCA had a headquarters, “a large homey room,” and a café in the Varied Industries building. It also secured space in the Science and Education building where women employed on the grounds could enjoy some leisure time.⁶⁸ The Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) had a tea room and rest room in the Arts and Crafts building, along with a display

of objects from eighteenth-century England and America.⁶⁹ The San Diego Women’s Press Club maintained a library in the southeast corner of the California Quadrangle. The WCTU, meanwhile, provided tea and a seating area on the balcony of the Commerce and Industries building. Here, walls were covered with newspaper clippings, posters, and flyers providing information about the temperance movement, including “comparative statistics concerning prohibition and non-prohibition territory, effects of alcohol on the human system, figures as to the work of the organization, etc.”⁷⁰

A novel feature of the Exposition was a day nursery, or crèche, organized by the Woman’s Board. At the time, there were few care facilities for young children as the Kindergarten Movement was still in its infancy. Anne Sebree, head of the Children’s Committee, arranged for a portable house to be placed at the back of the California Building. For a modest fee, women could leave their children for a half-day or whole day while they toured the grounds. A nurse took charge of the babies while a trained kindergarten teacher looked after older children on an adjacent playground. The local newspaper crowed that even San Francisco could not compete with the largest “baby checking establishment” on the Pacific Coast.⁷¹

The Fine Arts Committee, meanwhile, established a modern art exhibit in the Fine Arts Building. Alice Klauber, the chair of the committee, worked with artist Robert Henri and Edgar Hewitt (Director of Exhibits) to develop the show.⁷² A painter herself, she had studied with Henri in Spain. In 1914, she



Robert Henri, a mentor of Alice Klauber, helped to organize the modern art exhibit at the exposition. Internet photo.

welcomed him to San Diego where he spent the summer painting portraits of ethnic minorities in the region, including some of the key exhibitors in the Painted Desert section. Convinced that San Diego welcomed new ideas, he invited his East Coast friends—many of them realist artists of the ‘so-called’ Ashcan School—to join him in establishing a cutting-edge exhibit. They included John Sloane, George Bellows, Ernest Lawson, George Luks, Maurice B. Prendergast, and William Glackens.⁷³ Ella Foote, a frequent contributor to the “Art and Artists” column of *The San Diego Union*, praised the avant-garde nature of the show. “You can imagine Mr. Henri as wishing the public would

understand,” she wrote, “but you’d know that Mr. Luks would suppose that of course it wouldn’t.” She added, “These men have seen a new light. . . . Nearly every picture seems to be painted, not to sell but as a great experiment.”⁷⁴ Patrons may not have purchased the paintings but they did walk away with copies of the exhibition catalog published under the direction of the Woman’s Board.⁷⁵

The art committee also organized a series of modern art exhibits in the Little Gallery in the Fine Arts Building that included modernist pastels by Ruth Townsend, portraits of children by Kathleen Houlahan, and landscapes by Alice Anderson.⁷⁶ Meta and Herbert (Bert) Cressey showed pieces painted in Madrid and Paris.⁷⁷ In June, the committee hung a collection of paintings by post-Impressionist Jerome Blum: “The work of this Chicago man is very modern and the committee felt his work would be welcomed with much interest.”⁷⁸ Subsequent exhibitors included Santa Fe artist Orrin Sheldon Parsons and Oliver Newberry Chaffee, whose Fauvist landscapes had appeared in the Armory Show of 1913 in New York.⁷⁹ In September, Robert Lee Eskridge displayed watercolors and etchings of ghetto life in Chicago as well as beach scenes set in Coronado and La Jolla. Charles A. Fries, who also exhibited at the Southern California Counties Building, displayed pastels and western landscapes.⁸⁰ In November, Klauber hung some of her own oil paintings, including *California Tower* (1915).⁸¹

Klauber became a minor public celebrity at the time of the exposition. She offered teachers the opportunity to “go to school” at the Exposition, lectured at a summer extension course, and gave a series of talks to the Wednesday Club, among other organizations, on “The Art of the Two Exhibitions,” in San Diego and San Francisco.⁸² Her continuing promotion of San Diego art led to the establishment of the San Diego Art Guild in order to promote and sell the work of local painters

and sculptors.⁸³ Along with Julius Wangenheim, she also played an important role in the establishment of a permanent home for art—the Fine Arts Gallery of San Diego (1925).

The Woman's Board was also responsible for bringing internationally recognized performing artists to the Exposition. Gertrude Gilbert, chair of the Music Committee, drew on the resources of the Amphion Club, a woman's organization that became a powerful force in the development of the San Diego music scene. A talented pianist, Gilbert "had an exceptional mind—very fast thinking and farseeing," according to one contemporary, "—and people would listen to her and get things done."⁸⁴ She was able to promise financial support and an appreciative audience for musical stars such as Madame Ernestine Schumann-Heink, the celebrated operatic contralto, and Madame Ellen Beach Yaw, the coloratura soprano known as "Lark Ellen" or "The California Nightingale" because of her ability to produce exceptionally high notes. Recording artists for the Victor Talking Machine Company, the two women had become international celebrities.⁸⁵ The Spreckels Organ Pavilion was chosen as a venue for many such performances. Sarama Rainoldi, an opera singer who performed there in April 1915, was pleasantly surprised by the experience: "I anticipated that it would be very difficult to sing with the organ in the open air, but I found that the organ acted as a sounding board and I had no trouble whatever in placing my tones just as I wished."⁸⁶ Other singers were John MacCormack, the Irish tenor



View of the modern art exhibit organized by Robert Henri, Edgar Hewitt, and Alice Klauber in the Fine Arts Building in the California Quadrangle, 1915. ©SDHC #2551-2.

known for his rendition of the bestselling ballad, "I Hear You Calling Me," and Florencio Constantino, Spanish grand opera tenor who recorded "La Paloma" for Columbia Records. Two of the world's greatest violinists, Fritz Kreisler and Efram Zimbalist, Sr., appeared at the Exposition, along with popular composers Carrie Jacobs Bond who had sold one million copies of the parlor song, "I Love You Truly"; Amy Beach; and Charles Wakefield Cadman, author of "From the Land of the Sky-Blue Water."⁸⁷

Given San Diego's newly acquired reputation as a city hostile to organized labor—or at least the IWW—the Woman's Board made a special effort to reach out to unions.⁸⁸ Daisy Barteau, a Socialist who supported temperance, equal suffrage, and universal peace, was named as head of the Union Labor Committee and tasked with creating events.⁸⁹ She invited representatives of San Diego's many labor unions to receptions at the Woman's Headquarters and organized a Valentine's Day dance on the Plaza de Panama.⁹⁰ The committee also held a Universal Peace Day not long after the sinking of the British passenger liner *Lusitania* by German U-Boat torpedoes and the first aerial bombing of London.⁹¹ In August, Barteau encouraged a visit by 500 members of the International Typographical Union who had been



Ernestine Schumann-Heink, the celebrated operatic contralto, 1918. ©SDHC #84:15263-201.



Gertrude Gilbert, President of the Amphion Club and chair of the Music Committee (left), brought many celebrities to the exposition, including Carrie Jacobs Bond (center), the most successful female composer of her day. ©SDHC #OP 14002-10.

attending a national convention in Los Angeles.⁹² She also succeeded in drawing Samuel Gompers from the American Federation of Labor convention in San Francisco. He appeared at the exposition along with John Hays from the typographical union; Anne Fitzgerald, President of the Women's Union Labor League; and British trade union leader Ernest Bevin, among others. Barteau also wrote several feature articles on the exposition for labor papers in Los Angeles.⁹³

Like their counterpart in San Francisco, the Woman's Board entertained visiting dignitaries, most notably former President Theodore "T.R." Roosevelt who attended a reception at the Woman's Headquarters shortly after his arrival.⁹⁴ They hosted a banquet in honor of Eleanor McAdoo, the daughter of President Woodrow Wilson, who represented her father for the exposition opening.⁹⁵ Rebecca MacKenzie, chair of the Social Committee, having done "some tall thinking" about possible guests, invited Bertha Palmer who had headed the Chicago women's board and "won undying fame and unstinted praise for the masterly and lavish manner in which she entertained the celebrities who visited the Chicago exposition."⁹⁶ Other famous guests included Russian ballerina Anna Pavlova who performed at Spreckels Theater; José Guadalupe Estudillo, surviving founder of Balboa Park and descendent of one of San Diego's oldest families; and Mount Holyoke President Mary E. Woolley, "the youngest college president of the oldest women's college."⁹⁷

The Woman's Board continued their work through 1916 after the exposition was extended for a second year. Visitors continued to praise the Hostess Gallery and ask about how they could acquire Arts & Crafts furnishings. Evelyn Lawson noted, "The inference appeared to be that to many classes of visitors, San Diego was furnishing fresh and vivid ideas, as well as picturesque memories."⁹⁸ A new show opened in the Fine Arts Building, while the modernist exhibit organized by Klauber and Henri went on a tour of the western states organized by Maxwell Galleries of Los Angeles.⁹⁹ Gilbert and the music committee, meanwhile, "inveigled the greatest musical talent in the world into giving its services free or at a minimum cost."¹⁰⁰

When the exposition finally closed, the Woman's Board congratulated themselves on having performed heroic service for the city of San Diego. Sebree praised "the businesslike way in which the women went to work," their skill at organizing committees, and their frugality when, in the minds of most men, all women were "spenders." In the Fine Arts Building, they introduced "the Twentieth century point of view" espoused by avant-garde artists, while in the California Building they presented opportunities for women to explore and share progressive ideas about child welfare, labor relations, and the domestic arts.¹⁰¹



Gertrude Gilbert, left, and her sister Bess, c. 1919. The Gilberts hosted many famous musicians and composers in their Bankers Hill home, now the Sherman-Gilbert House. Gertrude chaired the Music Committee of the Woman's Board. ©SDHC #82:12978.



G. Aubrey Davidson, President of the Panama-California Exposition Company, with a group of women in "electricquettes," or motorized wicker cars, c. 1915-16. ©SDHC #83:14746-3.

Twenty years later, at the end of close of the 1935 California Pacific International Exposition, Evelyn Lawson organized a reunion for members of the 1915-16 Woman's Board.¹⁰² Then in their sixties and seventies, the women recalled with pride their contribution to their community. They had paved the way for a younger generation of women to take leadership roles in civic affairs, and encouraged visitors to appreciate San Diego's forward-thinking attitudes towards modern life at the turn of the twentieth century.

NOTES

1. A caryatid (from the Greek: *Καρυάτις*, plural: *Καρυάτιδες*) is a sculpted female figure serving as an architectural support taking the place of a column or a pillar supporting an entablature on her head. The best-known and most-copied examples are those of the six figures of the Caryatid Porch of the Erechtheion on the Acropolis at Athens.
2. The caryatids, among other plaster decorative features, were produced by a team of sculptors working under the direction of H.R. Schmohl who was described by one reporter as "a veteran of practically all the big expositions in the country." "Dream City Assuming Reality at Exposition Grounds," *The San Diego Union*, May 31, 1914, II:2.
3. "Exposition Teapot Tempest Subsides After Explanation," *The San Diego Union*, June 20, 1914, 3.
4. Phoebe Kropp Young puzzled about the seeming absence of women among the organizers of the Panama-California Exposition. Although they started later than their counterparts in San Francisco, they were heavily involved in San Diego exposition activities from 1914 onward. Phoebe S. Kropp, *California Vieja: Culture and Memory in a Modern American Place* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 107-08.
5. Christine Bolt, *The Women's Movements in the United States and Britain from the 1790s to the 1920s* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1993), chap. 5; Karen J. Blair, *The Clubwoman as Feminist: True Womanhood Redefined, 1868-1914* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1980); Ann Firor Scott,

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- Natural Allies: Women's Associations in American History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993).
6. For further information on women's participation in world's fairs, see T.J. Boisseau and Abigail M. Markwyn, eds., *Gendering the Fair: Histories of Women and Gender at World's Fairs* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010); Wanda M. Corn, *Women Building History: Public Art at the 1893 Columbian Exposition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011); Mary Frances Cordato, "Representing the Expansion of Woman's Sphere: Women's Work and Culture at the World's Fairs of 1876, 1893, and 1904," PhD dissertation, New York University, 1989; Jeanne Weimann, *The Fair Women* (Chicago: Academy Chicago, 1981); and Susan Wels, "Spheres of Influence: The Role of Women at the Chicago World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 and the San Francisco Panama Pacific International Exposition of 1915," *Ex Post Facto: Journal of the History Students at San Francisco State University* 8 (1999): 26-36. For a discussion of women's buildings at international expositions, see Paul Greenhalgh, *Fair World: A History of World's Fairs and Expositions, from London to Shanghai, 1851-2010* (London and Winterbourne, UK: Papadakis Publisher, 2011), 84-89.
 7. Mrs. Gaillard Stoney, "How the Woman's Board of the Exposition Differs Organically from Similar Auxiliaries," *California's Magazine* 1, no. 1 (July 1915), 379. For an important book on the St. Louis Exposition, and on the history and historiography of World's Fairs in general, see James Gilbert, *Whose Fair? Experience, Memory, and the History of The Great St. Louis Exposition* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2009).
 8. Karen J. Blair, "The Limits of Sisterhood: The Woman's Building in Seattle, 1908-1921," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 8, no. 1 (1984): 45-52.
 9. Charlotte Baker, Diary, July 1, 7, 1909, San Diego History Center (hereafter SDHC) MS 173, Box 5, Folder 3; "To Show Evils of Child Labor," *The San Diego Union*, August 20, 1909, 6. See also, Alma Kathryn Robens, "Charlotte Baker: First Woman Physician and Community Leader in Turn of Nineteenth-Century San Diego," master's thesis, San Diego State University, 1992.
 10. Weimann, *The Fair Women*, 33; Wels, "Spheres of Influence," 1-2; L. Augustus Chetlain, *Recollections of Seventy Years* (Galena: The Gazette Publishing Co., 1899), 247.
 11. Bertha Honoré Palmer, "Address Delivered at the Dedicatory Ceremonies of the World's Columbian Exposition, In Manufacturers Building, October 21, 1892," in *Addresses and Reports of Mrs. Potter Palmer, Chicago, World's Columbian Exposition, 1893* (Chicago: Rand, McNally, 1894), 119.
 12. James N. Gillett, "What California Offers," *Sunset Magazine* 25, no. 6 (December 1910), 621.
 13. Frank Morton Todd, *The Story of the Exposition*, vol. 2 (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1921), 326.
 14. Anna Pratt Simpson, *Problems Women Solved: Being the Story of the Woman's Board of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition* (San Francisco: The Woman's Board, 1915), 13.
 15. Simpson, *Problems Women Solved*, 33, 175, 178-79. See also, Abigail M. Markwyn, "Encountering 'Woman' on the Fairgrounds of the 1915 Panama-Pacific Exposition," in *Gendering the Fair*, 169-186.
 16. Simpson, *Problems Women Solved*, 27, 48, 56, 257; "Club Notes," *The San Diego Union*, June 14, 1914, Women's Section, 1. Eliza B. Stewart McKee was the sister of Robert Wright Stewart, general attorney for the Standard Oil Company, Chicago. Clarence Alan McGrew, *City of San Diego and San Diego County* Vol. 1 (Chicago and New York: The American Historical Society, 1922), 352.
 17. Robert Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1984), 217.
 18. [Anne] Mrs. Uriel Sebree, "Faithful Efforts and Skill of Women Members Important Aid to Directors of Great Exposition," *The San Diego Union*, January 1, 1917, Special Section, 4.
 19. E.W. Scripps to C.A. McGrew, Miramar, March 13, 1914, Ohio University, E.W. Scripps Collection, MS 117, Series 1.2, Box 20, Folder 1. Scripps considered Collier to be bright and ambitious, "the most perfect type of genius booster."
 20. Jim Miller, "Just another Day in Paradise?" in Mike Davis, Kelly Mayhew, and Jim Miller, *Under the Perfect Sun: The San Diego Tourists Never See* (New York: The New Press, 2005): 180-197. See

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- also Carey McWilliams, *Southern California Country: An Island on the Land* (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1946), 287-89; Rosalie Shanks, "The I.W.W. Free Speech Movement: San Diego, 1912," *JSDH* 19, no 1 (Winter 1973): 25-33.
21. Ellen Browning Scripps, untitled speech [May 15, 1912], SC 22/36.
 22. J.C. Bates, ed., *History of the Bench and Bar of California* (San Francisco: Bench and Bar Publishing Co., 1912), 477; Minute Book of the Executive Committee of the Board of Directors of the Panama California Exposition, 1913-14, SDHC MS 263 3/1 (hereafter Minute Book, 1913-14), 250.
 23. Minute Book, 1913-14, 255. The Woman's Board in San Francisco agreed not to block the sales of alcohol at the Panama-International Exposition. In March 1913, they petitioned the California State Legislature "not to pass or give approval to any measure the effect of which will be to prohibit the sale of liquors" within the exposition. The Kehoe Bill sought to prohibit alcohol in any form. They explained that they had been assured by the directors of the fair that no liquor would be sold to minors, no saloons would be maintained within the site, and that concessionaires be allowed to serve only malted liquors and wines, not distilled alcohol. *Journal of the Assembly during the Fortieth Session of the Legislature of the State of California, 1913* (Sacramento: State of California, 1913), 916-17. Abigail Markwyn was mistaken when she wrote that no evidence exists to support the claim that the Woman's Board had adopted this resolution. See Markwyn, *Empress San Francisco: The Pacific Rim, the Great West, and California at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2014), 185-86.
 24. Ellen Browning Scripps, speech [1916], Ellen Browning Scripps Collection, Scripps College, Drawer 22, Folder 36.
 25. "Shall La Jolla Be Wet or Dry?" *The San Diego Union*, February 6, 1913, 6. See also, Ruth Bordin, *Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-1900* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981); Catherine Gilbert Murdock, *Domesticating Drink: Women, Men, and Alcohol in America, 1870-1940* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998).
 26. Minute Book, 1913-14, 309, 316.
 27. "Pastors United Against Granting Liquor Licenses on Exposition Grounds," *The San Diego Union*, December 9, 1913, 5; "Demand Made for Dry Exposition," *The San Diego Union*, December 15, 1913, 15; "Added Objections to Liquor for Exposition," *The San Diego Union*, December 18, 1913, 5.
 28. "Club Notes," *The San Diego Union*, October 16, 1913, 5-6.
 29. "Protestants, Catholics and Jews To Combine to Guard Girls," *The San Diego Union*, September 15, 2013, 15.
 30. Simpson, *Problems Women Solved*, 74-75. See also, Eric Carmin Cimino, "On the 'Border Line of Tragedy': White Slavery, Moral Protection, and the Travelers' Aid Society of New York, 1885-1917," PhD dissertation, Stony Brook University, 2012.
 31. Minute Book, 1913-14, 322.
 32. "Business Men's Association Will Provide Festivities During State Fair Week," *Omaha World Herald*, September 5, 1895, 13; William Ellsworth Smythe, *San Diego and Imperial Counties, California* (Chicago: The S.J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1913), 2:63; *San Diego City and County Directory, 1915*, 1269; "A Word With Women," *Omaha World Herald*, October 28, 1895, 8; Steven Schoenherr, "Notes on the History of the Chula Vista Woman's Club," May 10, 2012, <http://sunnycv.com/steve/local/docs/doc524.pdf> (accessed September 13, 2014).
 33. Laura D. Crockett, "The Chula Vista Woman's Club: A Brief History," unpublished MSS 93-841, Chula Vista Library, 1961; Steven Schoenherr, *Chula Vista: A Century of People and Progress, 1911-2011* (Chula Vista: The City of Chula Vista, 2011), 7.
 34. "Club Notes," *The San Diego Union*, April 12, 1914, Women's Section, 1.
 35. Minute Book, 1913-14, 322, 341.

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36. "Mrs. I.N. Lawson Expires in East; Daughter at Side," *The San Diego Union*, January 1, 1936, 2:1; "Last Session of Woman's Board," *The San Diego Union*, December 29, 1915, 9.
37. Wednesday Club, Club Minutes, 1910-1915, 142. Born Harriett Evelyn Nichols, she went by her second name, Evelyn, after her marriage to Iver Norman Lawson.
38. "Women's Headquarters at Exposition Urged," *The San Diego Sun*, June 2, 1914, 6.
39. "Club Notes," *The San Diego Union*, June 14, 1914, Women's Section, 1; "Women Seek Representation at Exposition, Promising Big Fight if Denied Recognition," *The San Diego Union*, June 19, 1914, 16.
40. "Women Seek Representation at Exposition, Promising Big Fight if Denied Recognition," 16.
41. Klauber would become the driving force behind the development of an arts community in San Diego. At the time, she was entertaining New York artist Robert Henri and his wife on their first visit to California. Robert Henri to Alice Klauber, June 16, 23, 1914, San Diego Museum of Art, The Alice Klauber Papers, Martin Peterson Collection of Klauber Materials, Series 6.
42. Marilyn Kneeland, "The Modern Boston Tea Party: The San Diego Suffrage Campaign of 1911," *JSDH* 34, no. 4 (Fall 1977): 35-42. See also, Robert W. Cherny, Mary Ann Irwin and Ann Marie Wilson, eds., *California Women and Politics: From the Gold Rush to the Great Depression* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2011).
43. "Mrs. Pankhurst, Arrested at Palace Gate, Screams Message to the King," *The San Diego Sun*, June 6, 1914, 1; "Militants Defy Law; Britons Bordering On Panic," *The San Diego Union*, June 4, 1914, 1.
44. "Women's Plans for Exposition," *The San Diego Sun*, June 4, 1914, 2:10; Minute Book, 1913-14, 391, 402, 420. The San Diego County Women's Association wrote a letter to G. Aubrey Davidson requesting these particular spaces.
45. "Club Women of Nation are Invited to 1915 Fair," *The San Diego Sun*, July 4, 1914, 2:1.
46. "Exposition Teapot Tempest Subsides After Explanation," *The San Diego Union*, June 20, 1914, 3; "Exposition Officials Surrender to Fair Sex," *The San Diego Union*, July 17, 1914, 2:1.
47. "Expo Heads and Women Make Up," *The San Diego Sun*, June 20, 2.
48. Florence Collins Porter, "Woman's Work for the Two Expositions," *California Outlook* 17, no. 4 (July 25, 1914), 8. See also, Melanie Gustafson, "Florence Collins Porter and the Concept of the Principled Partisan Woman," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 18, no. 1 (1997): 62-79.
49. "System to Guard Girls at Fairs Described," *The San Diego Union*, December 17, 1914, 3.
50. Minutes of the Woman's Board of the Exposition, December 4, 1914, SDHC MS 263 7/1. Other officers were Angeline Frost; Marion (Mrs. Earl) Garretson; Mrs. Thomas B. Wright, president of the San Diego Women's Press Club; Alice Halliday; Rebecca (Mrs. George) MacKenzie; Alice Klauber; Gertrude Gilbert; Rebecca (Mrs. Jarvis L.) Doyle; Gertrude Longenecker, and Emily (Mrs. B.G.) Saville.
51. For more information on Klauber's place in early San Diego arts and letters, see Martin E. Petersen, *Alice Ellen Klauber* (2007), <http://www.aliceklauber.museumartistsfoundation.org> (accessed September 1, 2014). Other members of the committee included Rebecca MacKenzie, Laura (Mrs. Julius Wangenheim), Ileen (Mrs. Ernest E.) White, Miss Alice Halliday, and Evelyn Lawson. Minutes of the Woman's Board of the Exposition, December 4, 1914.
52. Wednesday Club members also involved in the exposition included Ella Foote, Evelyn Lawson, Lydia Horton, Gertude Gilbert, Carrie G. Frost, Ileen White, Rebecca MacKenzie, Laura Wangenheim, Alice Klauber, and Alice Halliday. For more information on women's arts associations, see Karen J. Blair, *The Torchbearers: Women and their Amateur Arts Associations in America, 1890-1930* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994).
53. For information on architect Hazel Waterman, see Sally Bullard Thornton, *Daring to Dream: The Life of Hazel Wood Waterman* (San Diego, CA: San Diego Historical Society, 1987); Catherine W. Zipf, *Professional Pursuits: Women and the American Arts and Crafts Movement* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2007), chap. 1.

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54. Foote was also connected to the arts community through her friendship with art critic and engraver Frederic C. Torrey. Doris Foote Merriam, "As I See Myself When Very Young," Ella Woodward Foote Collection, Montana Historical Society, SC1739. The Wednesday Club holds copies of two lectures read to the club: "Henrik Ibsen" (1909) and "The Philosophy of Marcus Aurelius" (1911).
55. "Alice Klauber's Friends Recall Her Contributions," *The San Diego Union*, July 8, 1951, 18.
56. Club Minutes, 1910-15, The Wednesday Club.
57. The Woman's Headquarters consisted of several spaces: the Hostess' Gallery, the Bridge, the Corridor, the Blue Tea Room, and the Roof Balcony. They were at the top of the stairway in the southwest corner balcony. The Fine Arts Building, now known as Evernham Hall, is used by the San Diego Museum of Man as a temporary display space. Construction of the permanent Fine Arts Gallery was completed in 1925, opened in 1926, and is now The San Diego Museum of Art.
58. Panama-California Exposition Commission, *The Official Guide Book of the Panama California Exposition, San Diego, 1915* (San Diego, CA: National Views Company, 1915), 22-23. For more information on the Panama-California Exposition, see Richard Amero, *Balboa Park and the 1915 Exposition* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2013); "Richard Amero Balboa Park Collections," San Diego History Center, http://www.sandiegohistory.org/online_resources/archives.html (accessed September 1, 2014); and the Balboa Park Alliance, "Panama-California Exposition Digital Archive," <http://pancalarchive.org> (accessed September 1, 2014). For further information about the anthropological and archaeological features, see Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, chap. 8, and Matthew F. Bokovoy, *The San Diego World's Fairs and Southwestern Memory, 1880-1940* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2005).
59. Edwin Noah Hardy, Diary, 1915, 182-83, Winterthur Library, Joseph Downs Collection of MSS and Printed Ephemera, Edwin Noah Hardy Papers, Document 619.
60. Edward S. Curtis, *The North American Indian*, 20 vols. ([Cambridge, MA: The University Press], 1907-30).
61. "Woman's Artistic Touch Lends Fair Great Warmth and Beauty," *The San Diego Union*, January 7, 1915, 10; Amero, *Balboa Park and the 1915 Exposition*, 78. So striking were the colors that the space became known as the "Persimmon Room." For more information on the social meaning of Arts & Crafts design, see Eileen Boris, *Art and Labor: Ruskin, Morris, and the Craftsman Ideal in America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), chap. 4.
62. Alice Klauber, "The Paintings of Donald Bearegard," *Art and Archaeology* 7, nos. 1-2 (January-February 1918), 83. Six of Bearegard's paintings hung in the Hostess Gallery: Utah Landscape, Old Peasant Woman, Peasant Market Scene, Trees on a Hillside, The Artist's Studio, and Breton Landscape. Loaned by Frank Springer, they entered the collection of the New Mexico Museum of Art in 1918.
63. "Woman's Artistic Touch Lends Fair Great Warmth of Beauty."
64. Minutes of the Woman's Board of the Exposition, January 26, February 16, May 26, 1915.
65. Minutes of the Woman's Board of the Exposition, January 26, February 16, December 28, 1915; Edgar L. Hewett, "Ancient America at the Panama-California Exposition," *Art and Archaeology* 2, no. 3 (November 1915): 65-102. Alice Klauber designed the tea service. The last remaining pieces belonged to Evelyn Lawson and Laura Wangenheim. "Expo Chitter Chatter," *The San Diego Union*, April 28, 1935, 54.
66. Watson, "The Panama-California Exposition," 352.
67. Amero, *Balboa Park and the 1915 Exposition*, 85; *The San Diego Sun*, April 3, 1915, 3:4.
68. "Y.W.C.A. Arranges Plans to Care for Visitors," *The San Diego Union*, December 31, 1914, 3; "Friendly Hand of Y.W.C.A. in Every Branch of Girls' Lives," *The San Diego Union*, January 1, 1915, 3.
69. "Relics of Ye Olden Time Exhibited; D.A.R. Tearoom at Fair Allures; Heirlooms Express

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- Revolutionary Spirit; Colonial Furniture, China Loaned by Many Members," *The San Diego Union*, January 25, 1915, 7.
70. "W.C.T.U. Notes," *The San Diego Union*, May 23, 1915, 6.
 71. Minutes of the Woman's Board of the Exposition, January 19, March 30, 1915; "Fair Opens Day Nursery, First Tot Listed," *San Diego Union*, April 21, 1915, 3; "Club Notes," *The San Diego Union*, March 7, 1915, 33.
 72. Grace Gould Klauber recalled, "As to details Alice Klauber was very active with the 1915 Exposition. She helped organize the art display and had a great deal to do with the building that was supposed to be the women's reception hall. ... At the time of the 1915 Exposition there were many paintings here that had been sent by men like George Bellows and Robert Henri and many prominent artists of that day. At that time they were only asking \$350.00, \$450.00, \$500.00—as I remember, certainly none over that—for their paintings. The reason that I remember that is because Alice Klauber gave me a bunch of correspondence that she had with a number of these artists. They offered these paintings at those prices." Grace Gould Klauber, interviewed by Philip Klauber, February 5 and 26, 1978, 29-30, OH Klauber, Grace Gould, SDHC.
 73. Derrick R. Cartwright, "Robert Henri's San Diego," in Amy Galpin, ed., *Behold America! [exhibition catalog]* (San Diego: The San Diego Museum of Art, 2012): 224-43; Petersen, Alice Ellen Klauber, chap. 5. Other exhibitors were Guy Pène du Bois, Childe Hassam, Joseph Henry Sharp, and Carl Sprinchorn. A list of the paintings can be found in *The Official Guide Book of the Panama California Exposition*, San Diego, 1915, 25. In 1962, the Fine Arts Gallery (now the San Diego Museum of Art) recreated the 1915 art display, bringing together 13 of the 49 canvases. Armin Kietzmann, "1915 Show Researched Turned Up Wrong Adjectives," *The San Diego Union*, December 16, 1962, E7; Martin E. Petersen, *Modern American Painting, 1915* (San Diego: Fine Arts Gallery of San Diego, 1962); Jean Stern, "Robert Henri and the 1915 San Diego Exposition," *American Art Review* 2 (September-October 1975): 108-17. For more on Henri's patronage of female artists, see Marian Wardle, ed., *American Women Modernists: The Legacy of Robert Henri, 1910-1945* [exhibition catalog] (New Brunswick, NJ: Brigham Young University Museum of Art with Rutgers University Press, 2005).
 74. E[lla] W. F[oote], "Art and Artists," *The San Diego Union*, February, 2, March 8, 1915.
 75. The Art Committee had previously provided a typescript copy. Minutes of the Woman's Board, January 12, 1915 and May 26, 1915.
 76. Ruth Townsend [Whitaker] shared a studio with Alice Klauber and Alice Mary Clark on the Exposition grounds in 1915-16. She and several other modern painters organized an informal group called San Diego Moderns, which started exhibiting in the early 1930s. Petersen, *Alice Ellen Klauber*, Appendix B; Bruce Kamerling, "Painting Ladies: Some Early San Diego Women Artists," *JSDH* 32, no. 3 (Summer 1986).
 77. "Art and Artists," *The San Diego Union*, March 8, 1915, 4.
 78. Minutes of the Woman's Board of the Exposition, August 3, June 21, 1915.
 79. *Ibid.*, September 28, 1915.
 80. "In Society," *The San Diego Union*, October 21, 1915, 5. Eskridge's parents lived in Coronado.
 81. "Chicago Artist's Work to be Shown at Fair," *The San Diego Union*, September 16, 1915, 14; "Art Works to be Shown at San Diego Exposition," *The San Diego Union*, November 5, 1915, 3. Southern California artists like William Wendt and Maurice Braun displayed their work in an exhibit organized by the California Art Club of Los Angeles. It was held in the Southern California Counties Building.
 82. "Tutors to Study Exhibits at Fair," *The San Diego Union*, January 29, 1915, 6; "Summer School Will Open At Exposition," *The San Diego Union*, July 5, 1915, 3; "In Society," *The San Diego Union*, April 7, 1915, 8; "Club Notes," *The San Diego Union*, January 10, 1916, 6.
 83. "Club Notes," *The San Diego Union*, September 12, 1915, 29.

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84. Jesse T. Buker, interviewed by Pearl Steffken, March 14, 1963, OH Buker, Jesse T, SDHC. Reflecting on the musical performances of the 1915 and 1916 expositions, one journalist wrote, "It is not too much to say that Miss Gilbert's efforts in behalf of San Diego are responsible for the greater portion of the music it has enjoyed during the last two years." W.W.B. Seymour, "Love of Music is Characteristic of San Diego People," *The San Diego Union*, January 1, 1917, 2. See also the records of the Amphion Club, MS 134, SDHC.
85. Richard W. Amero, "Madame Schumann-Heink: A Legend in Her Time," <http://www.balboaparkhistory.net/glimpses/scheink.htm> (accessed September 5, 2014).
86. "Soprano Charms Hearers at Fair," *The San Diego Union*, April 7, 1915, 8.
87. "Year's Music Sets New Standards: Organ Charms Many Thousands," *The San Diego Union*, January 1, 1916, 2.
88. Exposition officials had agreed to keep the peace with local unions by hiring as many union workers as non-union workers. Minute Book of the Executive Committee of the Board of Directors, 290-98.
89. The daughter of Rev. Sidney H. Barteau of the Congregational Church, she and her mother moved to San Diego in 1903. George Wharton James, ed., *Exposition Memories: Panama-California Exposition, San Diego, 1916* (Pasadena, CA: The Radiant Life Press, 1917), 86.
90. "Club Notes," *The San Diego Union*, January 31, 1915; "Gleaned on Prado and Isthmus," *The San Diego Union*, February 17, 2015, 4.
91. "Three Lively Days to Mark July 4 Celebration," *The San Diego Union*, June 20, 1915, 12.
92. "Typographers Observe Exposition Day," *The San Diego Weekly Union*, August 19, 1915, 6; Minutes of the Woman's Board of the Exposition, July 30, August 17, 1915.
93. Minutes of the Woman's Board of the Exposition, April 13, November 22, December 7, 1915; "Gompers Party Due at Fair this Week," *The San Diego Union*, November 21, 1915, 5; "Labor Party Idea Scorned by Gompers; Work to Put Unionists on Ticket, Plea," *The San Diego Union*, November 30, 1915, 1.
94. "Roosevelt Speech at Fair Set for Tuesday Night," *The San Diego Union*, July 24, 1915, 4.
95. Elizabeth S. Robinson, "Southland Women Welcome Distinguished Guests to Land of Sunshine and Achievement," *The San Diego Weekly Union*, January 7, 1915, 6.
96. "Famous Social Leader Coming to Fair," *The San Diego Tribune*, August 24, 1915, 6; "In Society," *The San Diego Union*, September 2, 1915, 7.
97. "Russian Dancer Entertained at Fair," *The San Diego Union*, May 10, 1915, 2; "San Diego Welcomes Park Founder," *The San Diego Union*, May 27, 1915, 1-2; "In Society," *The San Diego Union*, August 19, 1915, 8; "Club Notes," *The San Diego Union*, August 15, 1914, 29.
98. Minutes of the Woman's Board of the Exposition, November 22, 1915.
99. *Ibid.*, August 17, 1915; Petersen, *Alice Ellen Klauber*, 18.
100. Sebree, "Faithful Efforts and Skill of Women Members Important Aid to Directors of Great Exposition."
101. *Ibid.*
102. "First Expo Board Members Invited to Casa Luncheon," *The San Diego Union*, October 6, 1935, 37; "Mrs. I.N. Lawson Expires in East; Daughter at Side," *The San Diego Union*, January 1, 1936, Sec. 2, 1.