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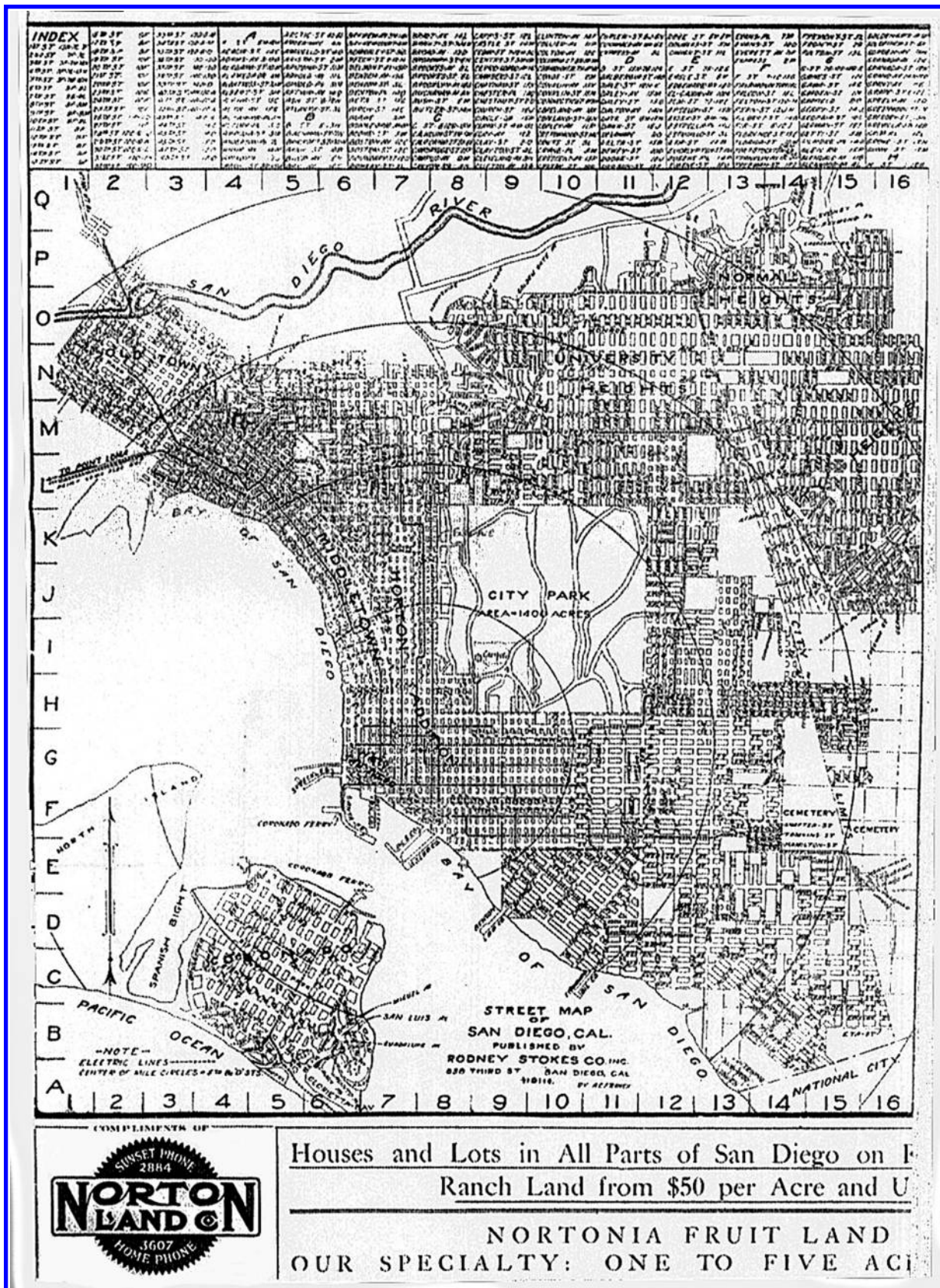
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The Panama-California Exposition, San Diego, 1915

The Olmsted Brothers' Ecological Park Typology

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The Olmsted Brothers' unbuilt proposal for the 1915 Panama-California Exposition was a model of "appropriateness" in California landscape design. Built in City Park, now known as Balboa Park (Figure 1), the design was centrally located in San Diego. The firm's primary design objective was to respond to the ecology of Southern California, respecting the natural landscape, while seeking to define a distinctive park typology for the region. The project also embodied a romantic approach to Spanish city planning and articulated an imagined ideal Hispanic identity for regional architecture, site design, and material and plants selection. The Olmsted Brothers firm presciently conceived their landscape plans in direct response to the site, client, and social context of the period. The proposal provided an outlet for showcasing their philosophy of grounding design in regional aesthetics and ecological function.¹

Olmsted Brothers on the West Coast

Frederick Law Olmsted, Sr. retired in 1896, and his legacy of genius loci, respecting the spirit of the place, continued through the designs of his stepson John Charles Olmsted

(1852–1920) and son Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. (1870–1957), now working as the Olmsted Brothers.² By 1911 the firm divided projects regionally, with Frederick Jr. and Percival Gallagher overseeing work on the East Coast; John and James Frederick "Fred" Dawson primarily worked on the Pacific coast, in the South, and in the Midwest.³ Although the usual practice was for one brother to act as principal on a project, the brothers often collaborated.⁴ The design for the Panama-California Exposition was a partnership between John, Frederick Jr., and Fred Dawson, each bringing unique skills to the project.

John Olmsted had worked closely with his stepfather amassing experience in design as well as planning. His colleagues and apprentices praised his ability to solve complex design issues with "artistry and practicality" while protecting the natural features of the site. Like his stepfather, he was committed to educating communities and clients about the long-term benefits of careful, comprehensive planning.⁵ John worked collaboratively with architects, urging them to accommodate the building to its site.

Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. followed his father's design aesthetics and philosophy, with a deep concern for land conservation, never resolving design problems solely from a map. Rather, he visited the landscape, studying its context, existing plants, soil, and geologic foundations. His love and respect for nature were not only for its sensual effects, but as a planner, he understood the long-term effects of landscape management.

A lifelong member since 1905 and associate partner with the Olmsted Brothers, the design influence of Fred Dawson (1874–1941) has attracted little scholarship. He was principally responsible for the firm’s West Coast designs, often focusing on the horticultural elements. His work included private gardens, public parks and park systems in Portland, Seattle, and Spokane, as well as colleges and state capitols.⁶ He closely collaborated with John on both the Seattle (1909) and San Diego expositions (1911), establishing the Olmsted Brothers’ West Coast office in Redondo Beach in 1920.

The Olmsted firm’s interest in California brought with it interesting design challenges, an opportunity to enact progressive planning ideas, as well as underscored each principals’ approach to landscape architecture. Designing for the Panama-California Exposition, the Olmsted Brothers could also reverse the trend of recent fairs’ international style by embracing regional identity.

Establishing Regional Identity

California regionalism—the beginning of identification with the region—began in earnest in the late 1880s as a continuation of the East Coast revival through influential books such as Helen Hunt Jackson’s *Ramona* (1884). In traveling west, Jackson visited Rancho los Camulos near Piru, California, which to an East Coast resident exemplified Old California design. Jackson, historian May Brawley Hill stated, “helped to create a mythical California [that was] appropriated by incoming American residents as a way of establishing a regional identity and collective history where roots were shallow.”

By 1890 Mission Revival had become the quasi-official style of California, found in train stations, college campuses, and homes. While this type of architecture responded to its locale, with shaded arcades and interior courts, it also provided romantic identity. In 1897 Eliza Otis, wife of *Los Angeles Times* owner Harrison Gray Otis, wrote about Mission Revival: “Among these first class residences an old-new type is rapidly growing in favor. It is the modernized adobe, of the old Spanish style of architecture, with the beautiful patio, or court in the center.” These romanticized design associations with old Spain conveniently provided the invented identity sought by new residents.

In *The Simple Home* (1904), influential writer Charles Keeler promoted relating architectural and material design to the landscape and, in particular, to California’s favorable weather for outdoor living space. He advocated natural style, local materials, native plantings, and creativity in sitting amid the beauty of the surrounding land. Because of the benign climate, a vast range of plants, from native to alpine

to exotic tropical, could be used in gardens. Horticulturalist Kate Sessions, one of the state’s first environmentalists and conservationists, believed that plants should differentiate Southern California from even the rest of the state; her San Diego nursery offered an inspiring mix of native and adapted plantings along with microclimate information to ensure their success.

As with architecture, California’s Mediterranean climate would suggest similar landscape typologies from Mediterranean regions like southern Spain. However, East Coast and Midwestern immigrants to California continued to struggle with landscape design. California historian Kevin Starr has explained that its Mediterranean landscape and climate supported the vision of California as a regional civilization. This rich aesthetic potential extended to California’s cities and parks, which could be re-interpreted with innovative planning, architecture, technology, and design for the automobile.

Panama-California Exposition, 1910–11

On 9 July 1909, G. Aubrey Davidson, president of San Diego’s Chamber of Commerce, announced that since the Panama Canal would be completed in 1915 and San Diego was its nearest American port, the city should host an exposition to celebrate the event. San Diego offered a beautiful bay and much parkland, and the exposition would provide buildings for the city park while boosting the local economy. With a population of 40,000 in 1910, San Diego would be the smallest city in history to host a world’s fair. To distinguish itself from San Francisco’s Panama-Pacific Exposition that year, San Diego’s fair would have a regional focus, highlighted by its architecture, landscape architecture, and planning. The groundbreaking occurred on 19 July 1911, symbolically reenacting the founding of the city in July 1769 by Franciscan monk Father Junipero Serra, who had established the first Spanish mission in California.

Fourteen hundred acres had been purchased and preserved by early San Diego land speculator Alonzo Horton in the late 1870s for what was called City Park; the exposition was sited at the southwest corner. In 1910, as part of a general bestowal of Hispanic names on familiar places, it was named Balboa Park, after Vasco Núñez de Balboa, the first European to see the Pacific Ocean from a hill in Panama. D. C. Collier, director general of the exposition, suggested its architectural style and theme, “the progress of the human race.” Mission City was its original title; its exhibits would showcase the Southwest and Latin America. In 1911 Colonel Collier presented the plan before the National Committee on Industrial Arts and Expositions in Washington, D.C.:

In its architecture, our exposition is to be different from any other ever held; it will be unique. It is to be of the old mission or Spanish colonial style, such as is to be found in the great cathedrals of the City of Mexico and the old missions of California . . . We have decided to make this exposition different in character from any other. In fact, from its earliest conception . . . it would be an exposition which would work out the problems and demonstrate the resources, possibilities, and future of the great Southwest and of Latin America . . . the chief attraction would be the reclamation, irrigation and forestation of arid lands.⁷

The design rejected the model of Chicago's 1893 Columbian World Exposition, but was inspired by Spanish urban design: "In carrying out the general idea of the exposition, we have not only adopted old mission architecture, but every gate has a Spanish name, as has every lake and garden and road and bridge, and all buildings will be connected by mission arches."⁸ An opening on New Year's Eve 1914 was selected so "people [could] come from the snows and blizzards of the North and sleep in absolute comfort in the winter."⁹

Serving on San Diego's Panama-California Exposition board was George Marston, whose tireless influence of the city's aesthetic and economic improvement tapped its Spanish and Mexican history. He envisioned a large Spanish plaza as the heart of downtown, with a formal landscape of fountains and statuary. The area from the bay to the park, extending twelve blocks between Date and Elm Streets and from Fifth to the waterfront, would improve downtown, with businesses and parks for the community.¹⁰

Prominent San Diego architect Irving Gill (1870–1936), who had designed board member George Marston's home in 1904–5, was selected for his expertise in modern Mission architecture; he would offer a radical departure from neoclassical style of previous world's fair architecture. Kate Sessions had already begun extensive research on drought-tolerant plants to showcase regional horticultural design.

The Olmsted Brothers' firm was chosen because of their successes with the 1906 Lewis and Clark Exposition in Portland and the 1909 Alaska-Yukon Exposition in Seattle. Moreover, the firm—and family name—had a national reputation and its projects maintained their value after completion. Twice before the firm had been considered for major civic improvements in San Diego: the 1905 design for City Park and the 1907 comprehensive city plan. Working in San Diego would allow the firm to continue its exploration of new design approaches in the arid West. Frederick Law Olmsted, Sr. argued that Southern California gardens and landscapes usually imitated East Coast and northwestern

European designs, with only small concessions for its subtropical climate; instead he advocated for an entirely new approach to the region based on the ecological specifics of the site. In June 1907, Olmsted Brothers principal Percival Gallagher characterized the firm's approach for San Diego's City Plan to George Marston: "Frederick Law Olmsted always felt that there were great and most interesting opportunities to be made in the landscape problems . . . of southern California . . . where irrigation plays a large factor." He continued that an East Coast approach was "unlikely to lead to the kind of beauty most fitting and interesting to the local conditions."¹¹ Ultimately, the Olmsted firm was not chosen for either project; John Nolen was hired for the city plan, while the respected New York landscape architect Samuel Parsons designed City Park.¹²

Parsons had served as superintendent of planting for Central Park in 1892, New York superintendent of parks from 1894 until 1897, and landscape architect for Greater New York in 1901–11.¹³ Like the senior Olmsted, for whom Parsons worked at Central Park, he was determined not to repeat a formulaic approach, but to adapt park design to the arid climate. For San Diego's City Park, he drew ideas from Prince Hermann von Pückler-Muskau's work at Muskau Park in Prussia (1815) by incorporating outside views into the park setting.¹⁴ Rejecting Frederick Law Olmsted's philosophy of screening the city to create an interior focused, naturalistic design, Parsons' park design would use the views of mesas, ocean, and mountains to bring the borrowed views into the setting.¹⁵

Parsons prepared two formal plans for all 1400 acres of San Diego's City Park, in 1905 and 1910 (Figure 2); the later version was amended to reflect John Nolen's 1908 city plan. In them he insisted that landscape architects should design to respect the contours of the topography rather than regrade the land. He also discouraged creating streams where there was no natural flow of water, and making lakes by filling natural valleys and canyons. His plans showed peripheral roads with trees defining the borders; palms and other drought-tolerant trees were arranged in harmonious groupings by foliage and color scheme.¹⁶ His paths and roads within the park followed the natural contours, edging canyons and opening in surprising views. Grass lawns were limited to small plots at the park entrances, and he preserved much of the native landscape. Based upon the recommendations of Sessions, where groundcover was needed, Parsons specified native grasses, vines, and ice plant. Parsons agreed philosophically with Olmsted Sr. regarding the incompatibility of flowerbeds and buildings in a picturesque city park and limited new buildings to the southern portion, adjacent to downtown.

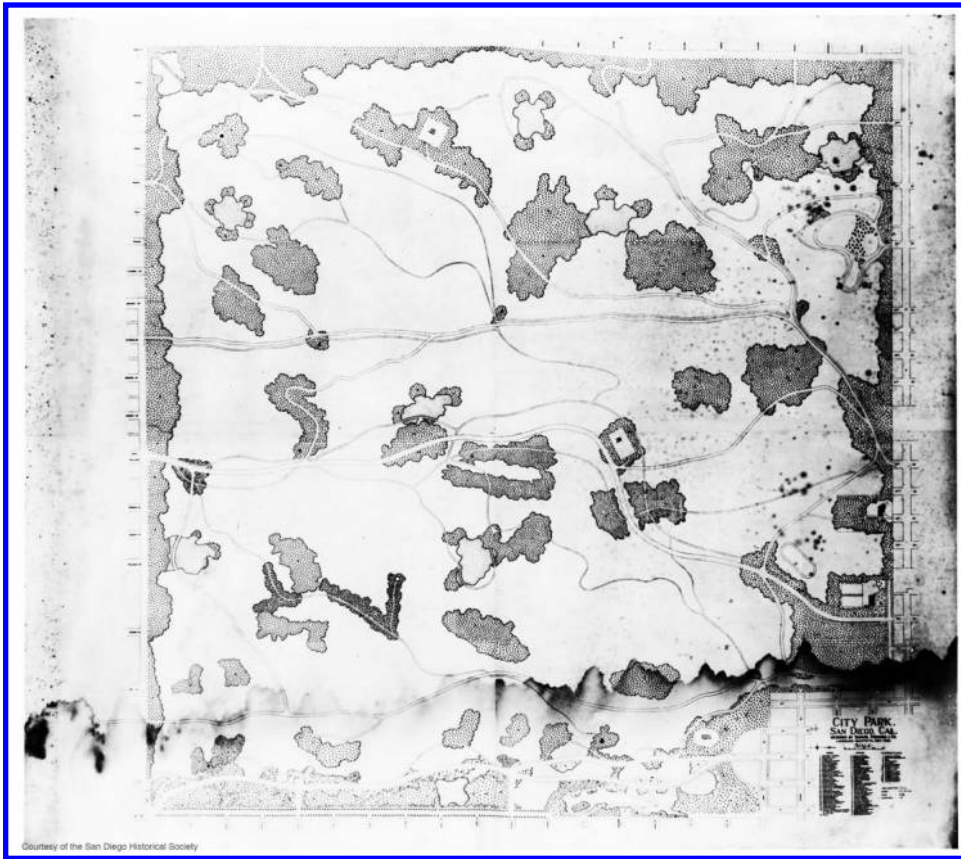


Figure 2 Samuel Parsons, City Park plan, San Diego, 1905 (San Diego History Center)

The Olmsted Brothers' Design for the Panama-California Exposition

When the Olmsted Brothers were hired for the Panama-California Exposition in October 1910, they encountered an American city seeking to develop a regionalist Hispanic expression, a desire for planning comparable to that of a great European city, and a site that had just been planned and built as a park. In April 1911 *California Garden* magazine reported that John Olmsted had said that in San Diego “he had found a combination of climate, water, soil and beautiful contour, which presents to him the best opportunity of his career.” The importance of this project to the firm was signaled by his long residency at the U.S. Grant Hotel in San Diego, including six weeks between 19 November 1910 and 4 January 1911, at a time when he was a principal of one of the busiest and largest firms in the world.

After he had only been on the job one month, John was interviewed by the *San Diego Union* regarding his design intentions. He had a remarkably comprehensive proposal, probably a result of his father’s prior work in California and frequent visits to the area.¹⁷ For the exposition design, his primary focus was on the landscape; buildings would be adapted to the site. The Olmsted Brothers respected Parsons’s desire

to preserve the park on the mesa and its existing road and path plan, and they also followed his recommendations for siting buildings in the south section of the park. All plans would focus on maintaining the large central mesa as a park after the exposition concluded. John knew that his design would influence visitors’ thinking: “Tourists and visitors to this city, during the next five years, would take the word away with them from San Diego to their homes in all portions of the country.”¹⁸ He reflected: “Personally, I have advised against the destruction of the present canyons that intersect Balboa Park, believing that the retention of these depressions will prove far more picturesque and permit of far greater nature effects, peculiar to your semi-tropical conditions, than if any wide-sweeping change were made.”¹⁹

The topography of the exposition site was rough, dotted with canyons, with a large, flat mesa to the north (Figure 3). The soil was heavy clay, requiring that holes be dynamited rather than dug in order to plant trees. Vegetation was a dense, monochromatic chaparral, showing color in late spring. It was a landscape shaped by dry conditions and the presence of salt spray, daily breezes, and summertime fog.²⁰ By 1910 a variety of past park improvements were placed on the 1400 acres, including Parsons’s road layout and plantings



Figure 3 Cabrillo Canyon, San Diego, ca. 1903 (San Diego History Center)

on the west side, groves of eucalyptus trees in the southwest corner, and plantings at two points west of Cabrillo Canyon. Kate Sessions's nursery was located in the northwest corner.²¹ John wanted to maintain the park's character, including the plantings by Parsons, pledging to protect "the existing wild shrubbery in the canyons as far as possible and adding more small flowering bushes and flowering plants in the plaza, courtyards, and other places which will come close under the eyes of visitors."²² In addition, he recommended formal gardens in "the style of gardening to be of the severest Italian or Spanish style, and not of the English style." Grass lawns, which were common elsewhere in the United States, would be severely restricted:

The English go entirely too much to lawns, and I believe that in this country you are merely trying to make water run up hill when you insist too much on lawns. The old Italian and Spanish gardens devoted their efforts more to walls and terraces, to flora, of all kinds indigenous to their climate, with walks and steps and bridges, and the effect, as a permanent feature of Balboa Park, will be far more pleasing, I believe, than if you sought the lawn effect.²³

Frederick, who remained in the Brookline office while John and Dawson worked on the West Coast, confirmed these ideas:

It seems to me that we ought to get up something very strikingly different for San Diego from all the other Expositions, based on the conditions of warm, dry climate and irrigation, cutting out lawns entirely (but using turf perhaps in decorative panels as a precious thing?) Using shallow still basins or water with aquatic plants, and perhaps with dark or colored bottoms showing through the water, Persian fashion; lots of color and foliage and flower effects in connection with simple architectural effects and lots of pools and channels of still, reflecting water surfaces with small tinkling (?) [*sic*] overflows. I mean this kind of thing in contradistinction to the effort to use water with a big

volume of flow from fountains, cascades, etc. as at most previous Expositions.²⁴

This would become the new model for landscape design in the region.

Their roads were also unlike those at their other exposition designs, for which John had laid out boulevards that extended beyond the site. In San Diego the roads that led into the center of the site would be left unpaved and drives and walks would be located "along the crests of the hills, where the landscape effect would not be injured." He planned to exclude automobiles from the natural area as much as possible in order to enhance the sense of seclusion and to redress what he saw as a social imbalance, for he feared they would be "utilized by a more favored class" and not by the general population. To serve the masses, the exposition would be connected to existing streetcar routes.²⁵

The Olmsted firm was not to be responsible for the architecture of the buildings, but they were to recommend style, general character, size, and siting. From their prior experience with exposition design, they were acutely aware of the influence of architectural character and were initially sympathetic to Mission style. John stated: "I have assured [the exposition board] that the general mission style shall be adhered to, and I have assured them that in this they have my entire sympathy. Indeed, it would hardly seem possible to adopt any other style in this portion of the country, where Spanish traditions and the early-day influences of the Franciscans have left so deep an imprint on your whole life and customs."²⁶ The envisioned architectural design would include arcades like those of the missions, "connecting building with building by one of these picturesque walls and creating the mission court effect." John defined Spanish Mission style as "very simple in outline . . . smooth plastered walls, with little or no decoration, leaving, however, opportunity for some decorative features on the gables and towers and tops of the walls."²⁷ His brother agreed that the simplicity of mission design would benefit from enriching detail, and

he suggested adding some of the churrigueresque architectural detail of the Spanish colonial:

I think it would be a good thing if you could get [Bertram] Goodhue in as architect. He is very well up on Persian and on Spanish and Mexican architecture and gardens and is very clever. Either Persian or Mexican-Spanish would work in with my notion about the garden-effects, and of course there would be a distinct appropriateness in the Mexican-Spanish stuff for San Diego, and for an exposition. The latter is because it consists of blank walls of plaster plus concentrated enrichments of applied ornament, which makes the cheapest sort of work for exposition buildings, provided only enrichment is concentrated at the right spots and is rich enough.²⁸

Bertram Goodhue (1869–1924), a partner in Cram, Goodhue and Ferguson, had published *Spanish Colonial Architecture in Mexico* in 1902, with his firm's 1905 design of Holy Trinity Church in Havana, Cuba, establishing their credentials in the churrigueresque style. Frederick was a close friend of Goodhue, and the two met in New York in December 1910 to discuss enriching the austere mission architecture that been proposed for the fair with Goodhue's Spanish colonial. Urging the award of the directing architect position to Goodhue, Frederick wrote John: "[Goodhue] is doing a Cathedral at Los Angeles and if he were called in at the San Diego Exposition he would open a California office . . . I think there is very little doubt that he is the best man for Mexican-Spanish Architecture in the country."²⁹

The Exposition Board, however, preferred Irving Gill, and they had initially considered a design competition to select the directing architect. A compromise was reached in which Gill and Goodhue would share responsibilities for the architectural design. Goodhue would make preliminary sketches for the whole group of buildings and complete drawings for one permanent building, either the art museum or auditorium; Gill was to supervise the preparation of drawings in the Director of Works office on the grounds, all the drawings for the other buildings, and especially the permanent building not chosen by Goodhue. With this change in architects, there was a change in architectural style as well, with the Olmsted Brothers firm playing a significant role in the exposition's Spanish colonial architecture by bringing in Goodhue.³⁰

The Olmsteds' vision for the Panama-California Exposition was an eclectic Spanish design. In this, it echoed the popular literature of the time, in which the missions were regularly associated with a conflation of Romanesque, Spanish, Moorish, and Islamic styles. As early as 1893 a San Francisco *Call* reporter wrote that "Mission and Moorish" were "commonly included in the term 'Spanish.'"³¹ The interpretation

of Spanish design by the firm was a similar mix of these architectural types, blending Persian and Mexican-Spanish forms without concern for their cultural differences.³²

None of the Olmsted staff had traveled to Spain, and their understanding of Spanish architecture and city planning—and of California missions outside of San Diego—derived from current periodicals and the picture postcards of the San Fernando and San Juan Capistrano Missions that Dawson had collected.³³ His travels as an apprentice with the firm had focused on Italy and France, and when they began the design he lamented that he could not go abroad to "freshen up with details of things that might add charm and interest."³⁴ Frederick's design recommendations were drawn from photographs of Spain that he had seen.³⁵ While California had a rich visual culture by 1870, the Olmsted firm library did not contain much information on California architecture, and the landscape architectural references included only publications on the flora of the state.³⁶ With this limited knowledge of Southern California, the Olmsted Brothers cobbled together their perceptions of these Spanish typologies. For example, when John wanted to completely cover the white, austere mission buildings in vines, Frederick reposted that "completely embowered and buried in luxuriant foliage of creepers appears to me less interesting and appropriate to the circumstances and kind of architecture than the other, more suitable to rustic or Gothic work than to the Spanish."³⁷ In the same letter he asked his brother why he wanted to include a Greek theater: "Why not Spanish too in detail and treatment i.e.—a Spanish adaptation of the general plan of a Greek Theater, such as were built in Spain in Greco-Roman days?"³⁸ The correspondence suggests that Frederick though not on site during the design process, was the partner who focused his brother on Spanish design when John's creative process took him off course.

An anonymous drawing from December 1910 reveals the initial ideas for the exposition layout and its architecture (Figure 4). By January 1911 the first complete schematic plan was revealed by the Olmsted Brothers (Figure 5). Roads followed the topography, and a bridge stretched across a ravine to the exposition entrance.³⁹ The Alhambra, whose interior courtyards were lushly planted with trees for shade and wind protection, and its Generalife gardens, built on a hill with formally planted terraces, seem to have been referenced in the January design. Also like the Alhambra, to minimize runoff, John designed the trees to follow the contours of the canyon and the outer landscape was left as native vegetation and not irrigated.

One can see the influence of the Alhambra and Generalife's strong axial design. Three large plazas are organized along one axis—the Plaza Externa, Plaza Larga (the largest



Figure 4 Panama-California Exposition proposal, San Diego, 1910, before Olmsted Brothers' involvement (Olmsted Associates Reels, Library of Congress)

plaza), and Plaza de Musica, which was arranged around a central fountain, and where exposition buildings flank this long spine. However, the grand Jardin Espanol is not part of this central design. Detached from the central axis, to reach it one must cross Alameda Road, turn northwest, and descend into a valley of terraced gardens. Another large garden, Jardin del Terrado, runs perpendicular to the Plaza axis and is aligned with the entry to the Agriculture and Horticulture building, wrapping around this building in response to the contours of the site. Two bridges, the Puente Espanol and Puente de Suspension, stretch across canyons to link to downtown San Diego. As in the Alameda de la Alhambra in Spain, the San Diego bridges meet in a radial focal point called El Zocalo (the gathering place). Although this layout may seem incongruous in plan, the January proposal carefully responded to the topography of the exposition site, dramatizing its peaks and valleys. Like a Mediterranean hill town, it followed the topography and was integrated into the landscape, which controlled the design.

Because of his major role of laying out the buildings, Bertram Goodhue had become the lead architect for the exposition by March 1911, and his strong influence over the

design was reflected in subsequent planning. He wrote to John: “therefore look leniently, I trust, on the liberties I have taken with certain portions of your arrangement. As a matter of fact, I think I have come at something even better now.”⁴⁰ His March drawing realigned the exposition site along three axes, with the major axis on the central plaza and a monumental memorial of Balboa as the end point (Figure 6). He also established greater formality in the Foreign Government Plaza at the east side of the exposition, with a large exhibition hall anchoring one end and a balanced, complementary smaller building at the other. Goodhue focused his landscape effects in the small terraced gardens north of the Horticulture Building, aligning them with the west axis and recommending the reduction or abandonment of the elaborate Spanish Garden. He wrote to John:

I am a little afraid to speak of the water garden part of the scheme for you will be able justly to throw in my teeth the quotation about the cobbler sticking to his last. I can't help feeling, however, that the whole cañada is too irregular to permit of its being formalized without the expenditure of a [sic] awful lot of money and for myself would prefer to see the formalization kept

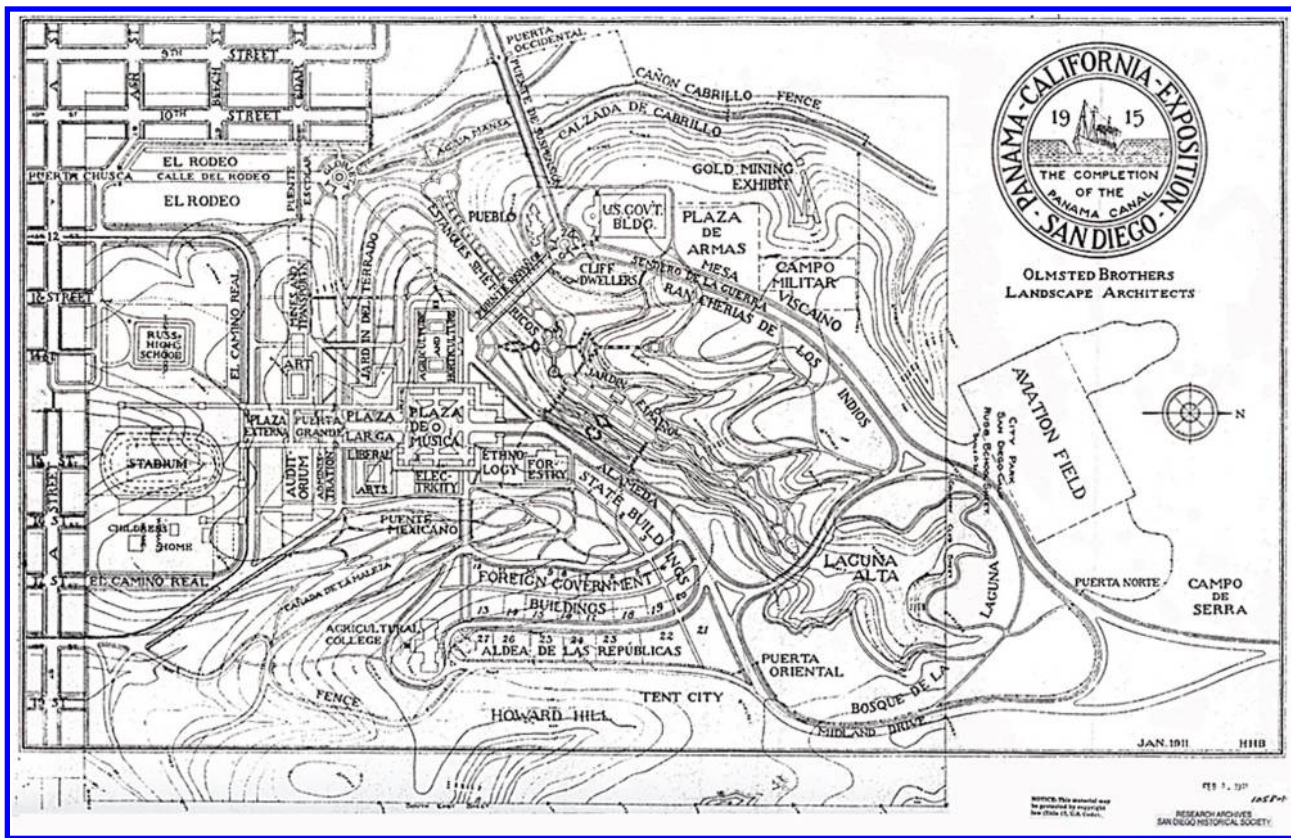


Figure 5 Olmsted Brothers, Panama-California Exposition, January 1911 (courtesy of the National Park Service, Frederick Law Olmsted National Historic Site)

on the axis I have shown, making what is so treated, however (or perhaps) more elaborate than you at first projected.⁴¹

The Olmsted Brothers' April and May plans followed Goodhue in eliminating the Spanish Garden and realigning buildings, although they were not located exactly as Goodhue recommended. The Olmsted Brothers' revised design stayed firm in maintaining the original landscape as much as possible (Figure 7). John was willing to be a cooperative team player, as he wrote Goodhue: "I have reduced on this preliminary plan . . . the square inside the arcades . . . both for economy of grading, paving, etc. and because you criticized the first plan as being unduly large for good architectural grouping."⁴² Additional buildings and structures appeared in the May plan, and regrading was minimized. A major bridge was added from Date Street, which John believed would "serve as a more dignified and more convenient approach from the district west of the park" (Figure 8).⁴³ John described his vision as an "idealized small Mexican town, consisting of a broad street leading gently up to a town plaza upon which would face the State building and a block of buildings."⁴⁴ He designed gardens that would overshadow the architecture of the plaza, explaining:

I have left one long place free of buildings on the west side of the west arcade as an outlook upon the terrace gardens which I conceive of as covered with great masses of flowers with little or no turf and not much if any elaborate garden architecture or sculpture which would seem to me somewhat out of place . . . this opening to the terrace garden is desirable I think as connecting in an obvious 'landscape' way the concession district, the Date St. entrance, the canyon and the Jardin del Terrado with Plaza Larga.⁴⁵

In July 1911 a revised plan clearly articulated a vision for the west terrace gardens: three large tiers with formal rectangular gardens centered on an elliptical central plaza. The entrance road crossed the garden, providing a horticultural-based entry as the visitor's initial impression of the exposition.

In specifying plant materials, the Olmsted firm relied on Kate Sessions's research, the guidance of John McLaren from Golden Gate Park, and native plant specialist Theodore Payne. In addition, they asked local residents to contribute their cuttings of rose trees, vines, fronds, ferns, and other plants as stock for planting the grounds.⁴⁶ With this help, Olmsted associates Dawson and Harold Blossom developed a model nursery on site of the fair, which provided plants appropriate to the region.⁴⁷ By focusing on

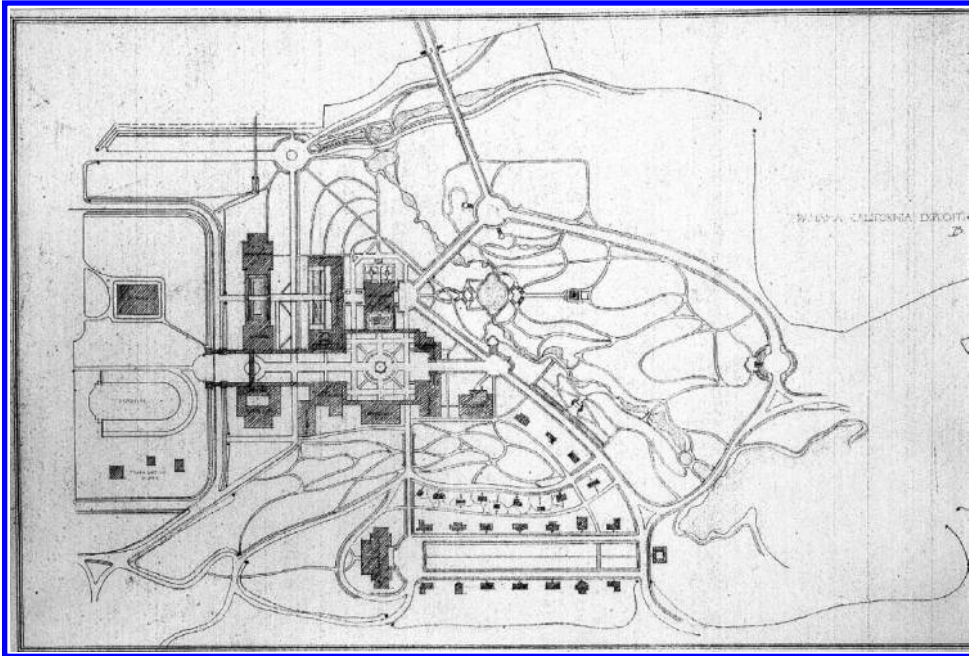


Figure 6 Bertram Goodhue, Panama-California Exposition, March 1911, modifying the Olmsted Brothers' January 1911 plan (courtesy of the National Park Service, Frederick Law Olmsted National Historic Site)

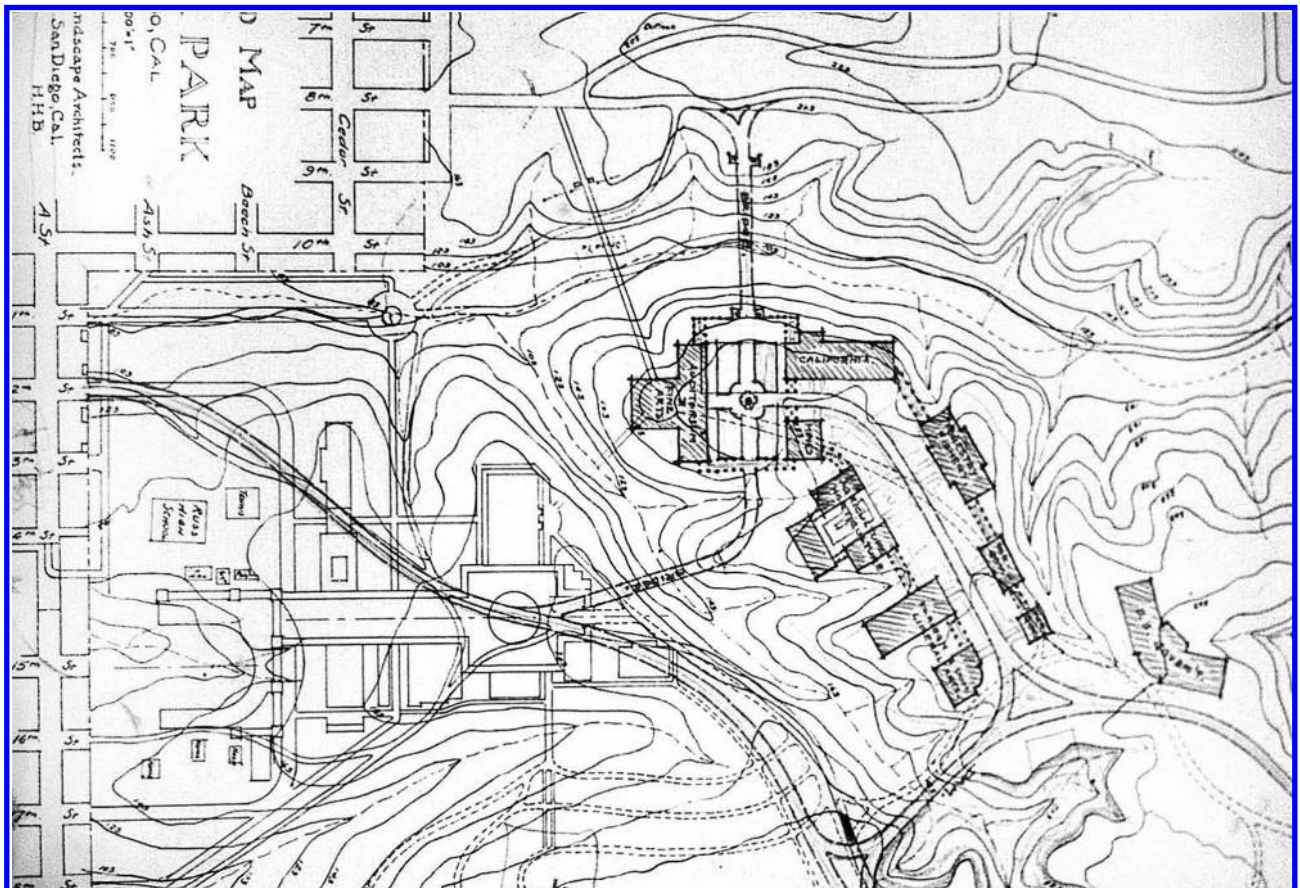


Figure 7 Olmsted Brothers, Panama-California Exposition, April 1911 (courtesy of San Diego Public Library, Special Collections)

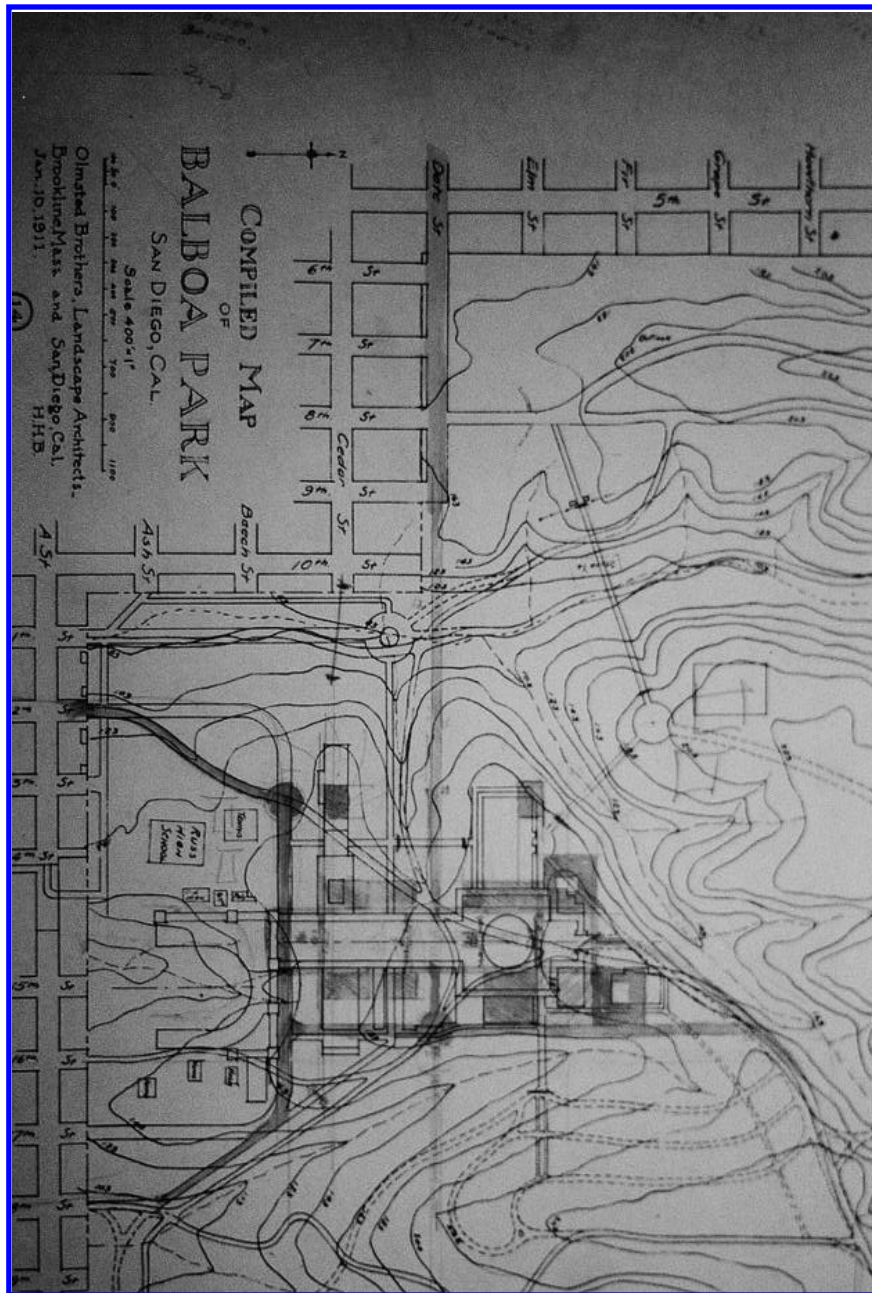


Figure 8 Olmsted Brothers, Panama-California Exposition, May 1911, adding Date Street bridge (courtesy of San Diego Public Library, Special Collections)

adapted, ecologically compatible and native plants, the constructed landscape would merge with the natural landscape. *The San Diego Evening Tribune* reported that the firm’s approach called for clearing undergrowth and sparing young oaks, hardwood bushes, and native flowering plants. Once cleared, the whole tract was to be dry-farmed, deriving moisture only from fog and other natural sources.⁴⁸ Aggressively pursuing adapted plants, they would show new Californians a novel, regional approach to landscape architecture.

The Olmsted Brothers’ romantic view of Spanish city planning can be seen in the Mediterranean principles of the streets and plazas. John proposed a 90-foot approach road with a 40-foot carriageway through the middle of the main plaza; the outer plaza was to serve as a turnaround for cars. The introduction of cars to what in Spain would be a pedestrian-only plaza, reflected how the Olmsted firm adapted Spanish forms to American practicality.⁴⁹ As Goodhue told John, “After all, you are dealing, not with an American town in its essence, but with what is endeavoring to be a Spanish one.”⁵⁰

Through the summer the architect and landscape architects worked on separate plans, and their paths soon diverged. Goodhue argued to the exposition board that the fair should be moved to a large, flat site with sufficient room for his design. His drawings were a political argument during summer 1911, astutely presented in architectural graphics. The elder Olmsted recognized what was being done and wrote Goodhue, seemingly without rancor:

You must realize that I would not write you this long letter except from a friendly interest in you and your work and it seems to me you ought to reciprocate by making your plan for the adopted site just so complete in all details such as patios, towers, domes, terraces and so on as the other site. The difference in the two drawings was so marked that both [Frank] Allen and Gill laughed and intimated that you were resolved to show the Committee that the adopted site was a small impossible scheme to “work up” architecturally. You could certainly treat the adopted site more fairly by adding a sketch elevation or two.⁵¹

Less amicably, John wrote George Marston the next day: “I do wish you could devise some way of making Allen and Goodhue ‘shut up.’”⁵² The Olmsteds had reason to believe that they would be supported by director of works Frank Allen, who had been brought to San Diego on their recommendation because of his successful installation of the Alaska-Yukon Exposition in Seattle. For political reasons, he should have supported them, and John continued in his letter to Marston:

I also suggest . . . you write to Mr. B. G. Goodhue, 170 Fifth Ave. requesting him “not to elaborate nor even present any sketch plan

already prepared, to the Committee or to the Director of Works [Frank Allen] or to any one else for the exposition on the mesa east of Laurel Street and north of the proposed emergency reservoir or for any other site other than that near the High School until requested to do so by vote of the Committee on Buildings and Grounds,” nor to argue for any other site meanwhile.⁵³

This campaign apparently failed and by late summer 1911, the Olmsted Brothers’ fight for the prominent role of gardens and landscape preservation had faltered and their intention that buildings should be secondary to the landscape had been subverted. John had had high aspirations for the Spanish Garden in 1910, writing to his brother, “There will be walks and stairs, terraces, balustrades, fountains, arbors, pergolas, summer houses, grottos, etc. until the money gives out!”⁵⁴ However, by August 1911, the Spanish Garden was eliminated, ostensibly due to costs, and John was left to design the canyon to be “very attractive and interesting as a garden . . . for ordinary walks and for planting” (Figure 9). Goodhue’s ideas wholly changed the landscape design to be sympathetic to his buildings. He neither celebrated the site’s topography nor designed a landscape suitable to the climate. He arrogantly wrote John: “Formality is the note of all Spanish garden architecture and I can’t conceive, indeed, I may as well quite frankly say, I don’t know in any American public park, of any effect that could compete with the bridge, the permanent buildings and the mall terminated by the Statue of Balboa.”⁵⁵ Goodhue’s design removed all the terrace gardens, lining the plaza with trees and creating planted courtyards, whose remains are seen today. His idea for the Spanish Garden design was a large, formal design in the manner of Vaux-le-Vicomte (Figure 10).

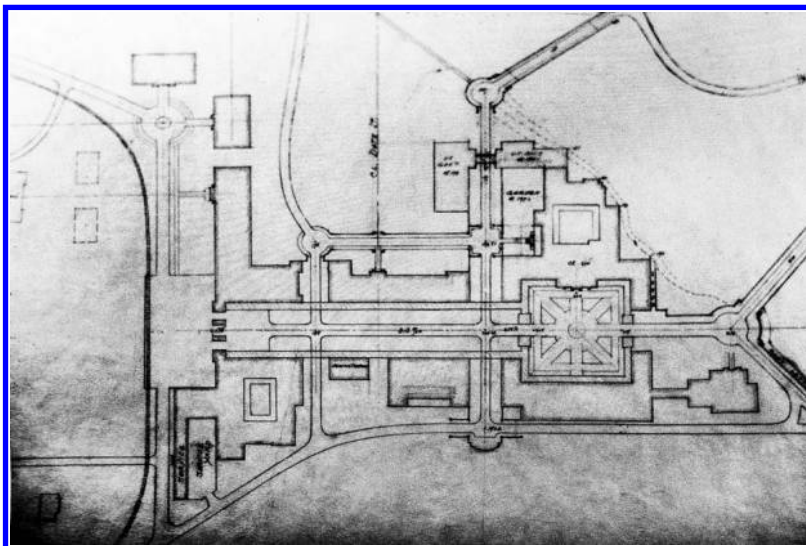


Figure 9 Olmsted Brothers, Panama-California Exposition, August 1911, showing removal of the Spanish Gardens in northeast corner (courtesy of the National Park Service, Frederick Law Olmsted National Historic Site)

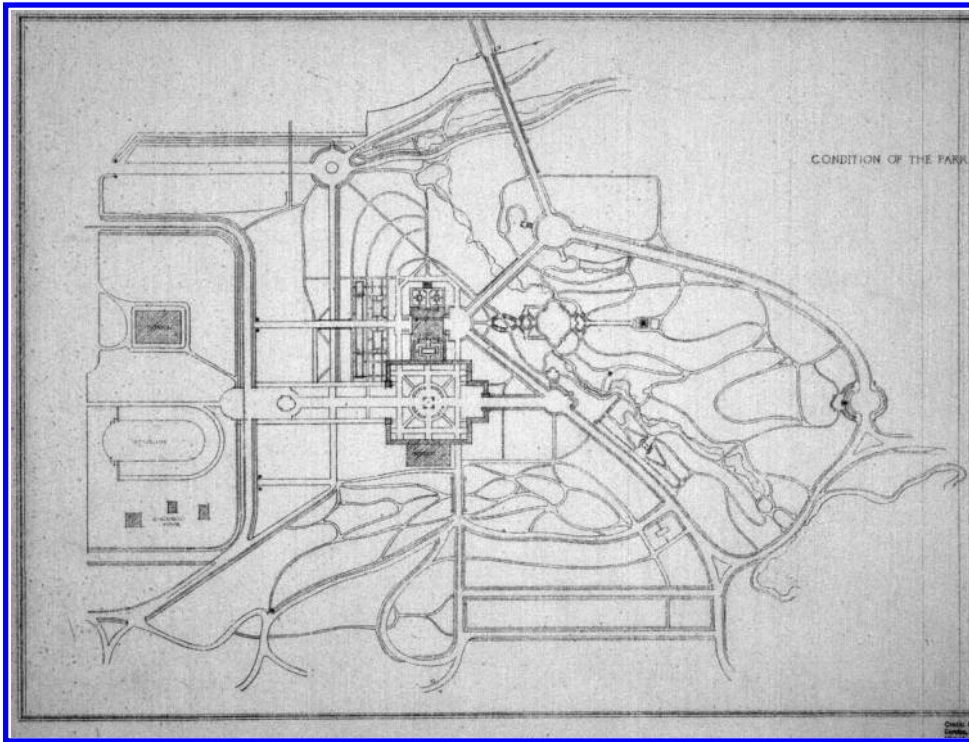


Figure 10 Goodhue, Panama-California Exposition, March 1911, with temporary buildings removed (courtesy of the National Park Service, Frederick Law Olmsted National Historic Site)

The Olmsted Brothers' effort to adapt Mediterranean design to the arid Southern California landscape had been in vain.

The Site Moves; Olmsted Brothers Resign

Goodhue continued to disagree with the Olmsted Brothers about the design, and the architect wrote to Frank Allen that “friction developed very shortly after your and my arrival in San Diego.⁵⁶ Meanwhile, others were working behind the scenes to change the site. Colonel Collier had recruited more Latin American countries to attend, which would

require additional buildings and possibly a larger piece of land. Allen also was secretly manipulating the design. He told Goodhue that the site should be changed because the adjacent high school and nearby houses were ugly. The correspondence reveals that Allen also wanted to design more of the project himself.⁵⁷ Moving the site would completely overturn the Olmsted firm's general schema and might require his design help. In this, he was supported by Goodhue, who proposed moving the entrance from Date Street north to Laurel Street, where the buildings could be laid out on an elongated piece of level ground, free of topographical restrictions (Figure 11).



Figure 11 Goodhue, Panama-California Exposition, June 1911, Plan G, showing the Exposition moved to the top of the mesa (courtesy of the National Park Service, Frederick Law Olmsted National Historic Site)

Civic leader John Spreckles had also been working against the Olmsted design. The most wealthy and influential citizen of San Diego, Spreckles had invested in much of the town's infrastructure, including transportation. When the local cable car company went out of business in 1892, he bought it and converted to electric trolleys. He built the city dam and purchased both newspapers, thus holding a real monopoly. He had also been speculating on real estate north of the park. Foreseeing that a cable car line into the middle of the park for fair visitors could help to extend trolley service into the area north of the exposition, he withheld important financing until the fair site location was moved further north in the park.⁵⁸

John resisted moving the exposition to the mesa, pressing diligently through the summer of 1911 to find a way to keep it at the original site at the south end of Balboa Park, adjacent to the commercial district, and thus ensure that the park would be maintained after the world's fair. Commenting on Spreckles's proposals, he told Goodhue: "The idea of ruining the best part of a beautiful park by running a railway through it is simply horribly bad art, and not necessary now, nor for many years." Fearful of the site change, Fred Dawson wrote to his colleague in the Olmsted office, Harold Blossom: "If we lose out on this site proposition, I am going to urge the Olmsted's [*sic*] to pull out of the entire matter as I fear that their reputation would be injured for preparing plans providing for public buildings in a park."⁵⁹

Moving public buildings onto the mesa in the center of the park demoted the natural landscape to mere scenery and demoted the role of landscape architecture as well. Dawson sensed that Blossom was wavering in his support for the firms' position:

It sounds as if you had accepted all the pleas and arguments of Allen and various other people who have no regard for park design . . . You must realize, and, of course, Goodhue and Allen do not realize, that a park is not created to be a frame for a lot of public buildings, no matter how beautiful they might be. It is created for the purpose of giving recreation and pleasure and peace to the public who, in order to get their rest and happiness, must find a place which is quiet and peaceful and as far from the thoughts of such features of civilization as possible.⁶⁰

The Board of Commissioners was convinced to vote unanimously to move the site northward into the park, and when their president, Julius Wangenheim, telegraphed the decision to the Olmsted Brothers, they responded with their resignation on 2 September 1911. The firm wrote to Wangenheim:

We have received a telegram from our representative Mr. Blossom and from Mr. Marston, Chairman of the Buildings and Grounds Committee, stating that your Board has unanimously consented to the Exposition being located in the central part of Balboa Park. This is contrary to our advice and will interfere with various other portions of the design proposed for Balboa Park by us. We regret that our professional responsibility as park designers will not permit us to assist in ruining Balboa Park. We tender herewith, therefore, our resignation.⁶¹

The design proposed by the Olmsted Brothers had reflected their professional values as well as their personal convictions. The original site supported their ideas about city planning and connected the site to San Diego's existing infrastructure, including its transportation systems. It was closer to the business district, and its high elevation provided spectacular views of the city and harbor. The irregular topography made their picturesque design more interesting and inspired a dramatic placement of buildings. Most importantly, it maintained the open space and natural beauty of the interior of the park and supported the firm's long-term plan for a city park system. After resigning, the Olmsted Brothers firm took a week to pack and returned to Brookline, Massachusetts.

The New Site

Clarence Stein wrote an essay in 1916 that compared the San Diego world's fair, as constructed without the participation of the Olmsteds, with expositions of the past. Chicago, St. Louis, and Buffalo were glorifications of monumental city planning. San Diego, on the other hand, was the "apotheosis of all those elements of charm and variety that we associate with the cities of Italy and Spain. It has the varied symmetry and underlying order of the Latin cities without the squalor of the crowded quarters; it is the glorification of the romantic in city planning as the Gothic Cathedral was in building."⁶²

Stein recognized the wisdom of moving the exposition from its original site to the top of the mesa because the "finally adopted site was not only far ampler and far better adapted to the purpose for which it was to be used, but it permitted the entrance group with its approach over the bridge a very much more effective and architecturally important group than would ever have been possible on the original site."⁶³ From a planning perspective, Stein believed that the later site offered better opportunities for the dramatic placement of architecture and efficient function. With its focus on local architecture and history, even without the participation of Olmsted Brothers, the Panama-California Exposition was still the most regionally focused world's fair.



Figure 12 Botanical Building landscape, 1915 (San Diego History Center)

Irving Gill, originally the chief architect, resigned soon after the Olmsted Brothers.⁶⁴ Although his excuse for resigning was the acceptance of sub-par construction materials, the real reason for leaving must have been his humiliating demotion to a supervisory role, as well as the exposition's shift to Spanish colonial from his modern Mission style. Gill's sole contribution can be seen in the entrance bridge: an austere white modern structure that is differentiated from the other architecture of the fair.⁶⁵ The Spanish colonial vocabulary utilized by Goodhue provided many opportunities for sculptural ornamentation, representing California's colonial conquerors, important clergy, and civic leaders. The East Gateway offered an especially potent concentration of didactic symbolism: Junipero Serra's arrival in San Diego was represented by the coat of arms and motto of Spain, dated 1769, and the meeting of the state constitutional convention at Monterey was symbolized by the seal of the United States, dated 1846.

Few people involved in the design of the Panama-California Exposition understood the importance of how the Olmsted Brothers' proposal maintained the 1400 acres as open parkland for future generations of San Diego residents. When the architecture was changed to Spanish colonial, the

exposition's slogan was changed from the Magic Mission City to the Garden City. Paul Thieme, originally an assistant at the Olmsted Brothers firm, remained to help Frank Allen with the landscape design, and an experienced British garden designer, John Morley, was also brought to the project. Together they created a different kind of landscape than the one proposed by the Olmsted Brothers, and that was insensitive to the fact that San Diego receives only 10 to 11 inches of rain per year. Typical of their work was the landscape around the Botanical Building, a water-intensive design of large lawns and small bedding areas (Figure 12).

Ironically, both landscape design teams had envisioned a Garden City, but one was influenced by work in Michigan, Seattle, and Britain, where humidity and rain could keep grass green, and the other designed a Garden City appropriate for Southern California. The executed design proved that one could grow almost anything in California—so long as there was plenty of water. However, the appropriateness of this vision of the arid West continued to be questioned. English author A. T. Johnson noted the great disparity between which plants could grow in California (exotics) and those that should be grown (drought tolerant):

Look beyond the confines of these cities into the valleys and plains of California and you will find that they are for three seasons of the year sunburned deserts. But they respond spontaneously to the application of water. It is the liberal use of the hose pipe and the garden sprinkler which are turned on with such lavish generosity in the gardens and parks that has been the main factor in making the wilderness blossom as the rose. Indeed, the quantity of water which is used upon the ornamental gardens, not to mention the streets of Pasadena, would appear to be more than that consumed for all other purposes.⁶⁶

Throughout their engagement with the project, the Olmsted Brothers maintained that their vision of a new park typology for Southern California, which accepted the yellow native landscape as an appropriate model, would be beautiful, functional, peaceful, and ecological. After resigning in September 1911, John wrote to San Diego exposition board president Julius Wangenheim regarding what the firm had completed for the park to date. This included a general plan for a system of drives; grading plans for the northeast section of the park, the west drive, and southern site of the exposition; planting plans for various other portions of the park; and the establishment of a park nursery. Frank Allen replied to Dawson in October: “The Park Board has agreed to complete the planting of the East border in accordance with your plans, and also to do part of the planting of Palm Canyon. We have set out over three thousand palms in the Canyon and are now at work on the East Border.”⁶⁷ These planted borders—including the garden called Palm Canyon—show how the Olmsted design would have showcased adapted species of palms to complement the ecology and topography of the valley.

The Olmsted Brothers firm had seen San Diego’s Panama-California project as an opportunity to challenge park design and invent a new native park typology for the American West. However, they were never able to persuade the local community of the desirability of a plan that was free of East Coast and Midwestern perceptions of landscape design. The popular enthusiasm for a traditional English and eastern design was characterized by a writer for the *San Diego Union*, who described Frank Allen’s design in November 1914:

What 48 months ago was a barren waste, hills of brown adobe, fields of wasted weeds, canyons of rugged ugliness, is today a veritable fairyland of blooming flowers, healthy shrubs, hospitable trees with friendly shade, great expanses of velvet lawns, in the midst of which stands a Dream City of Old Spain where, after January 1, countless thousands will roam, breathing deep

the romantic atmosphere of a long past time, created, moulded, built by a young man who has yet to greet his 38th birthday.⁶⁸

The gardens designed by Goodhue, Allen, and Morley compromised the original design intent, showing exposition visitors a simulacrum of Spanish planning conflated with the English picturesque. Southern California landscape design might have evolved differently if the San Diego Panama-California Exposition had been built on the Olmsted model.

Notes

1. John Olmsted, Panama-California Exposition, *Description of Preliminary Plan*, 26 Nov. 1910, Job #4051, Records of the Olmsted Associates, Manuscript Room, Library of Congress (hereafter O. A. Papers).
2. When John died in 1920, Frederick Jr. maintained the Olmsted Brothers’ name “both for sentimental and business reasons, believing that the many changes in the name of the Olmsted office in the past were rather unfortunate” in preserving the firm’s historical identity (Frederick Olmsted to Arthur C. Comey, 24 March 1920, Job #20-(3), O. A. Papers).
3. John Olmsted to F. H. Buhl, 30 Aug. 1911, Job #5386, O. A. Papers.
4. Letters between Frederick Olmsted, Jr. on the East Coast and John Olmsted on the West Coast show a clear collaboration in their designs. See one of many examples through the letters of 14 Nov. 1910 and 1 Dec. 1910 between the two brothers for the Panama-California Exposition #4051, O. A. Papers.
5. Ibid.
6. According to Dawson’s obituary in *Landscape Architecture* 32, no. 1 (Oct. 1941) 1–2, the only area at the firm on which he had the least impact was in long-range municipal and regional planning.
7. D. C. Collier, *Panama-California Exposition before the Committee on Industrial Arts and Expositions* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1911), 6.
8. Arleyn Levee, “John Charles Olmsted,” in *Pioneers of American Landscape Design*, ed. Charles Birnbaum and Robin Karson (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2000), 273–76.
9. D. C. Collier, *Panama-California Exposition before the Committee on Industrial Arts and Expositions* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1911), 7. Panama-California Exposition Board Members may have decided on a mid-winter opening date copying San Francisco’s California Mid-Winter Fair, 1894 which also celebrated California winter weather.
10. In his *San Diego: A Comprehensive Plan for its Improvement* (Boston: George H. Ellis, 1908) John Nolen furthered Marston’s ideas of a Mediterranean identity for the city. In the master plan he compared the current plaza at Fourth and D Streets with the Plaza in Madrid, Spain for future design, adding the plaza, City Hall, the Court House, and Federal Building should be arranged in “Spanish fashion” (24). The photographs used throughout Nolen’s book reference Spain, Rio de Janeiro, the Paseo in Kansas City, Missouri, Buenos Aires, and São Paulo with features in Hispanic design that could provide models for San Diego.
11. Percival Gallagher to George Marston, 4 June 1907, Reel #193, Job #3370, O. A. Papers.
12. John Nolen understood the importance of maintaining 1400 acres for a large park for San Diego in his improvement plan: “The people of San

Diego would do well if they recognize today the two great central recreation features of the city . . . are the City Park of 1400 acres and the bay front, and that the value of both will be increased many fold if a suitable connecting link, parkway or boulevard, can be developed, bringing them into direct and pleasant relation. Here, on the hillside, at comparatively small expense, can be developed what I have called, after the custom in Spanish and Spanish-American cities, 'The Paseo,' a pleasant promenade, an airing place, a formal and dignified design." Showley, *Balboa Park*, 27. Additionally, the City Park plan came about through Kate Sessions's 1902 request for landscape architect recommendations. John McLaren, Superintendent of Golden Gate Park, suggested the Olmsted Brothers, Warren H. Manning, or Samuel Parsons, Jr. According to Richard Amero, "Samuel Parsons Finds Xanadu in San Diego," *Journal of San Diego History* 44, no. 1 (Winter 1998), 2, McLaren drew a plan for curvilinear roads on the west side of the park to start the project. See also Florence Christman, *The Romance of Balboa Park*, 26.

13. Showing the interrelationships within American landscape architecture at the turn of the century, Amero argues that while Parsons idolized Olmsted Sr. he was less charitable toward Frederick Jr., who had received considerable praise for his contribution to the 1901 McMillan Commission Plan in Washington, D.C. for which the U.S. Senate had initially chosen Parsons.

14. Though a design disciple of Olmsted Sr., Parsons's incorporation of outside views for a city park setting was a reversal of Olmsted Sr.'s attempts to enclose Central Park from the city with trees that would naturalistically shield the surrounding brownstones from views from within the park.

15. Richard Amero, "Samuel Parsons Finds Xanadu in San Diego," *Journal of San Diego History* 44, no. 1 (Winter 1998), 5.

16. Christman, *The Romance of Balboa Park*, 29.

17. The Olmsted Brothers' first design for Southern California was at the invitation of the Banning Brothers of the Santa Catalina Island Company, who were establishing a resort at the city of Avalon on Santa Catalina Island, west of Long Beach. In 1903 that firm solicited Frederick Law Olmsted, Sr. for a plan for the complete improvement of the landscape and roads. In April John, working on projects in the Northwest, made a three-day inspection of the topography, flora and fauna, width and grade of roads, and valley and coastline views. John's forty-page proposal revealed a detailed recollection of views and siting, existing conditions, and city planning. While it used water-conserving natural vegetation and used saltwater for pools, toilets and fountains (recalling previous solutions in Jamaica), it was more a reworking of the firm's past successes than truly responsive to the region and the architecture itself. John Olmsted to Messrs. Banning Co., 1 June 1903, Reel #91, Job #2394, O. A. Papers.

18. "Olmsted Outlines Plan for Park Improvement," *The San Diego Union*, 11 Nov. 1910, sect. 2, p. 16.

19. Ibid.

20. Gregory E. Montes, "San Diego's City Park, 1868–1902: An Early Debate on Environment and Profit," *The Journal of San Diego History* 23, no. 2 (Spring 1977), 5. Montes cites George W. Marston, "History of San Diego City Parks" (San Diego: privately printed, 1936), 5. The Marston pamphlet text is contained in Carl: Heilbron, ed., *History of San Diego County* (San Diego: The San Diego Press Club, 1936), 153–64. Much of the Marston parks pamphlets are condensed in: H. K. Raymenton, "California Athens" (San Diego undated typescript; n.d.), in "San Diego's Parks" Folder, G. W. Marston Collection, SDHS. Horn, Part 1, 10.

21. Christman, *The Romance of Balboa Park*, 29–30.

22. John Olmsted, "Panama-California Exposition Description of Preliminary Plan," 16 Nov. 1910, Reel #239, Job #4051, O. A. Papers.

23. "Olmsted Outlines Plan for Park Improvement," *San Diego Union*, 11 Nov. 1910, sect. 2, p. 16.

24. Frederick Olmsted Jr. to John Olmsted, 14 Nov. 1910, Job #4051, O. A. Papers.

25. See John Olmsted's interview in *San Diego Union*, 11 Nov. 1910.

26. Ibid.

27. John Olmsted, "Panama-California Exposition Description of Preliminary Plan," 26 Nov. 1910, Job #4051, O. A. Papers.

28. Frederick Olmsted Jr. to John Olmsted, 14 Nov. 2010, Job #4051, O. A. Papers.

29. Ibid.

30. See John Olmsted to Boston architect Howard Walker, 2 Feb. 1911, Job #4051, O. A. Papers.

31. Karen Weitze, *California's Mission Revival* (Los Angeles: Hennessey & Ingalls, 1984), 52.

32. See Frederick Olmsted, Jr., to John Olmsted, 14 Nov. 1910, Job #4051, O. A. Papers.

33. According to the Olmsted firm records from their Brookline library, they subscribed to *The Architectural Record* beginning in 1907, although earlier issues could have been available to them. Before 1911 there were several articles on Spanish architecture with graphic examples that would have served as models for the Panama-California Exposition: see Charles A. Rich, "Architecture in Spain," *Architectural Record* 4 (1894), 14–35 for the photo and materials of a Spanish bridge; Charles A. Rich, "Architecture in Spain," 5 (1895), 48–64 for gardens and site plans of Spanish cathedrals; Charles A. Rich, "Architecture in Spain," 5 (1896), 227–43 for gardens, site plans, and architectural style; Olaf Z. Cervin, "The Spanish-Mexican Missions of the United States," 14 (1903), 181–204 for drawings and photographs of missions from California, Texas, Mexico and Spain; architectural details; and adjacent landscaping; Katherine C. Budd, "Sargossa," 19, no. 5 (1906), 327–43 for description of materials and detailed architectural drawings; and Arthur G. Byne, "Andalusian Gardens," 29, no. 5 (1911), 370–77 for gardens, walls, and vistas. Also available were articles from other periodicals including: Clinton G. Harris, "The Gardens of Aranjuez" *House and Garden* 2 (1902), 519–1; Georges Riat, "Jardins d'Espagne," *Art et decoration* 16 (1904), 95–100; K. L. Bates, "Gardens of the Alcazar at Seville," *House and Garden* 6 (1904), 1–11; and Calvin Kiessling, "Glimpses of Spanish Gardens," *Architectural Review* 14 (1907), 185–89. One also cannot underestimate the romantic descriptions and sketches of Spain by Washington Irving from his journals in 1828. His notes on Moorish legend and history would have been readily available, and clearly describe topography, vegetation, building siting, and Spanish culture.

34. James Frederick Dawson to John Olmsted, 19 Nov. 1910, Job #4051, O. A. Papers.

35. Frederick Olmsted Jr. to John Olmsted, 1 Dec. 1910, Job #4051, O. A. Papers. Frederick wrote his brother, "If the ravine is narrow enough to permit a Spanish bridge like some of those exceedingly interesting and characteristic old viaducts and bridges in Spain of which I have seen photographs it would be great."

36. According to Anthony Reed, archivist at the Frederick Law Olmsted National Historic Site, a review of the Olmsted library included only the following books and references before the firm's resignation in 1911. The Planting Department kept a set of brochure/pamphlet index cards (to the same collection) with cards for "California—Flora," "California Trees," "California" (*Home & Garden* 10, no. 4 [1906]), and "California, Native Shrubs." This list is exclusive of the periodicals received by the firm (see note 33). In the historic library germane specifically to Spanish/Mexican architecture, but purchased after 1911: Mildred Stapley Byne and Arthur Byne, *Spanish Gardens and Patios* (Philadelphia, London: Lippincott, 1924); Kurt Hiel-scher, *Picturesque Spain Architecture, Landscape, Life of the People* (New York: Brentano, 1922); *The Minor Ecclesiastical, Domestic, and Garden*

- Architecture of Southern Spain, photographs and drawings by Austin Whiteley, preface Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue (New York: Architectural Book Publishing Co., 1917); Louis La Beume and William Booth Papin, *The Picturesque Architecture of Mexico* (New York: Architectural Book Publishing Co., 1915); Mildred Stapley Byne and Arthur Byne, *Spanish Ironwork* (New York: Hispanic Society of America, 1915). There is nothing on the native or vernacular California architecture or landscape.
37. Frederick Olmsted Jr. to John Olmsted, 1 Dec. 1910, Job #4051, O. A. Papers.
 38. Ibid.
 39. C. M. Villiers-Stuart in *Spanish Gardens: Their History, Types and Features* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1929), 26, described how the former approach to the Generalife was from below, where a bridge spanned a ravine dividing it from the citadel. It was replaced by an avenue of cypresses that lead out to the road higher up the valley, but following the customary Moorish plan, the actual garden was still entered through the main building.
 40. Bertram Goodhue to John Olmsted, 20 March 1911, Job #4051, O. A. Papers.
 41. Ibid.
 42. John Olmsted to Bertram Goodhue, 17 May 1911, Job #4051, O. A. Papers.
 43. Ibid. The bridge was ultimately built at Laurel Street.
 44. Ibid.
 45. Ibid.
 46. San Diego Floral Association, *The California Garden* 2, no. 10 (April 1911), 11.
 47. Blossom went on to design the planting plan for Riverside, California's Fairmount Park while working for the Olmsted firm in August 1911, as a possible preliminary design for Balboa Park.
 48. "Model Nursery is Thriving in Park," *San Diego Evening Tribune*, 23 Feb. 1911, 3.
 49. Dora Crouch with Daniel J. Garr and Axel I. Mundigo, *Spanish City Planning in North America* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1982), 172.
 50. Bertram Goodhue to John Olmsted, 26 May 1911, Job #4051, O. A. Papers.
 51. John Olmsted to Bertram Goodhue, 2 June 1911, Job #4051, O. A. Papers.
 52. John Olmsted to George Marston, 3 June 1911, Job #4051, O. A. Papers.
 53. Ibid.
 54. John Olmsted to Frederick Olmsted Jr., 24 Nov. 1910, Job #4051, O. A. Papers.
 55. Bertram Goodhue to John Olmsted, 26 May 1911, Job #4051, O. A. Papers.
 56. Bertram Goodhue to Frank Allen, 14 April 1915, Job #4051, O. A. Papers.
 57. See Harold Blossom's letters to John Olmsted, 29 Aug. 1911, 6 Sept. 1911, 8 Sept. 1911, Job #4051, O. A. Papers, supporting the argument that Allen wanted to design the project himself, hoping to hire Blossom and Dawson from the Olmsted Brothers to help him.
 58. See also Gregory Montes, "Balboa Park, 1909–1911: The Rise and Fall of the Olmsted Plan" *Journal of San Diego History* 28, no. 1 (Winter 1982): 46–67 for Spreckles's manipulation of the Panama–California Exposition site.
 59. James Frederick Dawson to Harold Blossom, 23 June 1911, Job #4051, O. A. Papers.
 60. James Frederick Dawson to Harold Blossom, 14 June 1911, Job #4051, O. A. Papers.
 61. Western Union Telegram, Olmsted Brothers to Julius Wangenheim, 2 Sept. 1911, Job #4051, O. A. Papers.
 62. Clarence Stein, "A Triumph of the Spanish Colonial Style," in *The Architecture and the Gardens of the San Diego Exposition*, ed. Carleton Monroe Winslow (San Francisco: Paul Elder and Company, 1916), 11.
 63. Ibid., 16.
 64. Gill was associated again with the Olmsted Brothers in 1911 for the design and construction of Torrance, California, an ideal industrial town that allowed Gill not only to use his modern architecture but test his ideas for innovative workers' housing.
 65. Tom Hines in *Irving Gill and the Architecture of Reform: A Study in Modernist Architectural Culture* (New York: Monacelli Press, 2002) argued that the bridge for the Panama–California Exposition so closely resembles the bridge Gill designed for Torrance in 1913, that it must be Gill's design. However, in a letter from Goodhue to Frank Allen, Goodhue argued over the credit for the bridge's design: "The fact that in the article your name appears as designer of the bridge is not because it is notoriously not my work; but because two designs had been prepared for it, one by me in the natural course of my duties and assisted by Mr. Meuser, the engineer of the Galveston Sow-wall [sic] and the other by you or by Mr. Hunter under your direction." 14 April. 1915, Job #4051, O. A. Papers.
 66. A. T. Johnson, *California: An Englishman's Impression of the Golden State* (London: Stanley Paul and Co., 1913), 26–27, cited in David Streatfield, *California Gardens: Creating a New Eden* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1994), 63.
 67. Frank Allen to James Frederick Dawson, 16 Oct. 1911, Job #4051, O. A. Papers.
 68. W. C. Getty, "Exposition Tribute to Master Builder," *San Diego Union*, 29 Nov. 1914, sect. 1, p. 8.