THESIS

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THE OUTDOOR SCULPTURE OF THE PANAMA-PACIFIC INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION: A STUDY IN ICONOGRAPHY

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THE OUTDOOR SCULPTURE OF THE PANAMA-PACIFIC INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION: A STUDY IN ICONOGRAPHY

By

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ABSTRACT

THE OUTDOOR SCULPTURE OF THE PANAMA-PACIFIC INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION: A STUDY IN ICONOGRAPHY

By

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Was the outdoor sculpture of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, San Francisco, 1915, appropriate in relation to the purpose of the celebration, i.e., the completion of the Panama Canal? This study answers the question mainly through description and iconographic analysis of the two most representative works: The Fountain of Energy by A. Stirling Calder and The Column of Progress by Hermon A. MacNeil and Isidore Konti. Contemporary literature is relied upon heavily for commentary. The initial chapter sketches the history of the Exposition and includes general information on the architecture, color scheme, materials, outdoor murals, landscape gardening, illumination, and outdoor sculpture. This study shows the major works were iconographically based on human values and presented in a direct, moralistic way. These values in 1915 were inherently connected with the idea of progress. The Exposition celebrated the latest, great achievement of man, progress, the Panama Canal.

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INTRODUCTION

The outdoor sculpture of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition held in San Francisco in 1915 revealed much about America and Americans during the early decades of the Twentieth Century. The Exposition was more than the celebration of an engineering feat which required such great skill as did the construction of the Panama Canal; the Exposition celebrated the values of the country that was capable of such an enterprise. American values in 1915 embraced the idea of progress reflected in the outdoor sculpture of the Exposition. When we consider the manifestations of these values in the form of the outdoor sculpture and its relation to the purpose of the event, we are not asking, Was the sculpture appropriate. We are asking, To what degree was it appropriate; what values were embodied in the works in plaster, bronze, and marble.

Progress certainly meant something different then from what it means today. In 1915 progress meant a better way of life, comfort, safety, and economic security. It was the measure of a society's well-being. No thought was given to unrestrained progress and the eventual consequences -- the depletion of natural resources, the production of nuclear threat, and the fouling of the environment.

Progress was then indeed a cause for celebration.[1]

It is necessary to limit a discussion of the sculpture of the Exposition because not to do so would remove the emphasis for which this study was undertaken. Accordingly, the indoor and outdoor sculpture exhibited at the state pavilions, the foreign pavilions, and the sculpture exhibited in the Palace of Fine Arts has been excluded. This study includes only the outdoor, free-standing sculpture, often architecturally dependent (such as sculpture on top of columns and arches and in semidome niches), centered about the main axes of the Exposition -- the exhibition buildings and the peripheral gardens. A classification system based on iconography is provided so that each pience of sculpture can be analyzed as to type.[2]

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[1]Frank Morton Todd, the official biographer of the Exposition, wrote in reference to the technological wonders displayed in the Palace of Liberal Arts that they reflected "the ingenuity of man in getting his own way despite the limitations of nature." The Story of the Exposition, 5 vols. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1921), 4:72.

Ironically, the theme of the International Exposition to be held in 1982 in Knoxville, Tennessee, will be the efficient use of the world's natural resources.

[2]The sculpture, consisting of over seventy-eight items resulting in about 820 figures, can be iconographically categorized into four divisions: American genre, historical figures, mythological subjects, and personifications. What was being sought was sculpture that revealed through its subject matter the greatest insight into the relationship between it and the purpose of the Exposition. Although a work could be assigned to more than one category, it was assigned to only the one category where its symbolism would best suit the ends of this study.

In the category of American genre such works as the equestrian statues of The Pioneer by Solon Borglum and The End of the Trail by James Earl Fraser can only be interpreted iconographically to represent the values of tradition -- in these cases a reverence for the pioneer spirit and a nostalgia for the "noble savage."

Likewise, in the category of historical figures an absence of profundity is noted. We could expect to find in an exposition dedicated to the opening-up of the Pacific Ocean and the East to Western trade by way of the Panama Canal such figures as equestrian statues of Cortez, here by Charles Nichaus, and Pizarro, here by Charles Cary Rumsey.

The iconography found in the category of mythological subjects proved to be of the least interest. An analysis of such works as Arthur Putnam's Mermaid fountains or Sherry E. Fry's The Muse and Pan would not contribute to the theme of this study.

In the process of assigning the individual sculpture to categories it was noted that works assigned to the category of personifications yielded the richest iconography in terms of the deepest values of American life and thought. The major works of this category were assigned to the most prominent locations on the Exposition grounds and these were the works referred to most often in the literature of the period. With two exceptions, the major works that can be classified as personifications were located on a north-south axis beginning at the main entrance in the South Gardens. The two most revealing works in this category were The Fountain of Energy and The Column of Progress.

An interesting aspect of researching such a topic as the sculptors and sculpture of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition is that

we do not encounter artists and works that are generally known. Why this should be so is found in the nature of the study of the history of art. In retrospect we can say that of the forty-five artists represented by the sculpture none are considered modernists of the period although, it seems certain, they thought of themselves as modern. A. Stirling Calder, the Acting Chief of Sculpture, perhaps reacting to the influence of European modernism which was in opposition to the mainstream of American sculpture, said of the Exposition sculptor in 1915, "Be kind to him all ye who contemplate, and remember how much easier it is to criticize than to be intelligently sympathetic. It is all for you. Take what you like and leave the rest without pollution. It may serve to comfort and to joy thy fellow-man."[3]

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[3]Stella G. S. Perry, The Sculpture and Mural Decorations of the Exposition, with an Introduction by A. Stirling Calder (San Francisco: Paul Elder and Company, 1915), p. 12.

CHAPTER I

THE EXPOSITION[1]

The story of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition began in 1904 when a civic-minded businessman of San Francisco, R. B. Hale, suggested to his fellow members of the Merchants' Association that in 1915 their city ought to be the site of the celebration honoring the completion of the Panama Canal -- the Panama Canal was to be officially opened New Year's Day, 1915. Once the idea was accepted it was decided that the date should be switched from 1915 to 1913 to coincide with the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of the Pacific Ocean by Balboa. When, later, the date was changed back again to 1915 and the explicit purpose was declared, the opening of the Canal, the discovery of the Pacific Ocean remained linked with the Exposition, hence, the title "Panama-Pacific."

In 1906 the city of San Francisco experienced a devastating earthquake and fire. Because of the tremendous rebuilding process that the city would require, there was the possibility that the Exposition plans would have to be abandoned, but plans continued and the Pacific

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[1]A lengthy and detailed account of the organization and growth of the Exposition can be found in Todd, The Story of the Exposition, vols. 1-3 passim. However, Todd does not concern himself to a substantial degree with the arts of the Exposition. For a concise version of the history of the Exposition the reader is directed to John D. Barry, The City of Domes (San Francisco: John J. Newbegin, 1915), pp. 1-34.

Ocean Exposition Company was formed in late 1906. Subsequently, in 1910 it was firmly decided that an exposition could be held in 1915 to celebrate the opening of the Panama Canal. A new corporation was formed -- the Panama-Pacific International Exposition with Charles C. Moore as President.

The financing of the Exposition became one of the Company's first concerns. The needed funds were raised for a projected budget of approximately fifteen million dollars. About one-third came from private and commercial subscriptions, another third was provided by the State of California which raised its share through a tax levy, and the final approximate third was the result of the issuance of city bonds.

With the finances assured, the directorate of the Exposition Company sought official recognition from the Congress of the United States. The citizens of New Orleans also wanted to hold the celebration in their city but because of San Francisco's firm financial base and because the city would not request federal funds, San Francisco was granted the official recognition that it sought.

The next important matter the Exposition Company faced was selecting a site. After many alternatives were considered the final decision was reached in 1911. The Marina and Presidio area of the city would be the best location -- an area of 635 acres located on the Bay, directly inside the Golden Gate.[2] Before the construction began in

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[2]Today, the former Exposition grounds are located immediately east of the convergence of the Golden Gate Bridge and San Francisco. The Golden Gate Bridge was not built until 1937. The San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge was built in 1936. All that remains is a copy of

1913, about 150 buildings had to be razed and a good part of the land that was under water had to be filled in.

The Panama-Pacific International Exposition occurred during an important period in American and world history. The United States' participation in the First World War had an effect on the Exposition even though the United States did not officially enter the war until 1917 -- the Exposition closed on December 4, 1915. The War was to greatly effect the participation of foreign exhibitors, but had very little influence on the quality of the major exhibition area since it was the result of purely American resources. The larger question that the Exposition Company faced in 1914 when war was declared in Europe, was whether or not the Exposition should then be held at all. But the war had been seen as an advantage; it would keep Americans at home who usually visited Europe, and it was expected that they would then be drawn to the Exposition. The Exposition would be an inducement for European travelers who would be eager to escape from the immediacy of war; and it would attract South Americans who usually visited Europe, but because of the War, would seek other destinations. Furthermore, the Exposition was essentially dedicated to the arts of peace. It

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Bernard Maybeck's Palace of Fine Arts. Since 1915 the Palace and its Rotunda had been generally left to decay. Because of the temporary nature of its construction materials, it would have been necessary for the Palace to be leveled if the citizens of San Francisco had not decided that this famous Exposition landmark should be saved. By 1967 the original Palace and Rotunda were replaced by a replica. Steel and concrete were used instead of a wood frame and imitation travertine surface. An account of the saving of the Palace, along with some photographs of the Exposition that have not been generally published before, can be seen in Ruth Newhall, San Francisco's Enchanted Palace (Berkeley: Howell-North Books, 1967).

would show what the world could do when men and nations cooperated.[3] At the dedication of the Exposition the Vice President of the United States, Thomas R. Marshall, representing President Woodrow Wilson, in his address commented: "While half the world is in a rage indescribable and unutterable, seeking to build monuments out of clay kneaded in a brother's blood, sad-eyed and somber the Goddess of our institutions seeks to hold out to a waiting world the olive branch of peace."[4] When the Exposition opened on February 20, 1915, thirty-one foreign countries were represented; twenty-five participated officially and six, unofficially.

The geographic position, the climatic conditions of San Francisco, and a concern for the comfort of the expected 18,000,000 visitors were major factors in the architectural plan that resulted (Figure 1). The site of previous expositions, for example the 1893 Columbian Exposition, had been on relatively flat ground. At San Francisco the site that was selected near the shore of the harbor was surrounded by hills that formed a natural amphitheater. Therefore, since it would be seen from above, it was deemed necessary that the Exposition should appear "well-defined with broad simple lines having well-defined axes ... its various buildings when looked down on were to be seen each to constitute a part of one homogeneous plan scheme."[5] The climate of San Francisco, although usually dry, was, at times, influenced by direct sea winds which produced unfavorable weather. As a result a plan developed to

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[3]Barry, The City of Domes, p. 21.

[4]Quoted in Todd, The Story of the Exposition, 3:35.

[5]Elmer Grey, "The Panama-Pacific International Exposition of 1915," Scribner's Magazine, July 1913, p. 46.

create courts and buildings as such that "... it was possible to complete the entire circuit of the eight main exhibition palaces without once stepping from under cover."[6] President Moore of the Exposition stated that at previous expositions according to wide expressed opinions, the buildings had been too far apart. He favored maximum of space with minimum of distance.[7] As a result of these factors a plan developed which was called the "block plan;" the main buildings arranged in four blocks, of two buildings each, joined by covered corridors and surrounded by a wall with three central courts and two half-courts in the south wall.

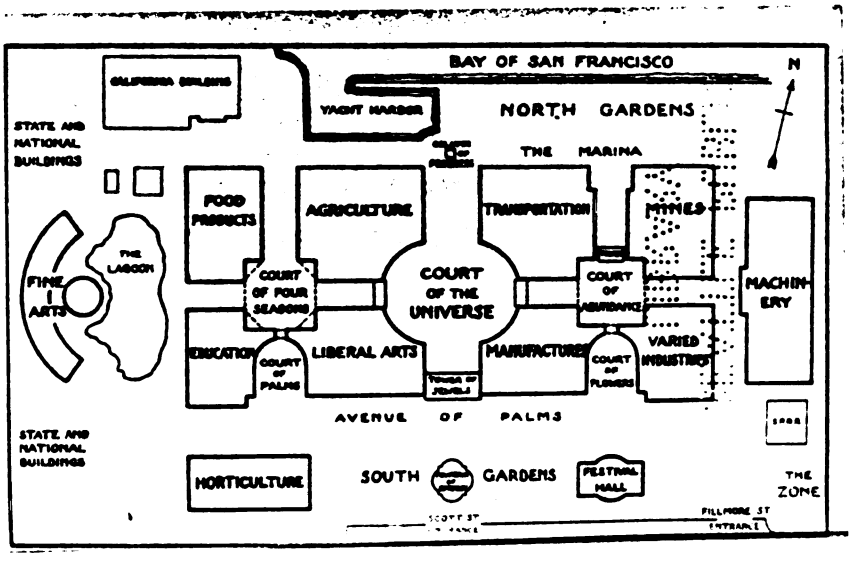

Figure 1. Plan, Panama-Pacific International Exposition (from Cheney, Art Lovers' Guide to the Exposition).

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[6] Ibid., p. 45.

[7] Barry, The City of Domes, p. 6. "At other expositions in recent

George Kelham of San Francisco, Chief of Architecture, and a group of notable fellow architects designed the courts and palaces of the Exposition. Among the architects were McKim, Mead, and White, Court of the Universe; Louis Christian Mullgardt, Court of Abundance; Henry Bacon, Court of the Four Seasons; W. B. Faville, eight central Palaces; and Bernard Maybeck, Palace of Fine Arts. Each building represented a different style of architecture. Since the Exposition was held in the Southwest it was appropriate that the Spanish Baroque style be well represented -- a result of the architectural style of the Spanish colonial settlements. The most dominant feature was an abundance of classical forms. The extensive use of colonnades provided a unifying thread. But, when seen from above or from ground level, the overall impression of the Exposition was one of the Byzantine style, the result of the characteristic extensive use of domes and the close proximity of the buildings. A color scheme devised by Jules Guerin encompassed all the architecture and the entire Exposition as a whole. In this way the disharmony that would have been evident from the use of different architectural styles was alleviated. For visitors concerned with only seeing the main buildings or wishing not to be distracted from the major exhibitions, auxiliary buildings were not allowed to infringe on the central area. An amusement area known as "The Zone" was located west of the central buildings. East of the Palace of Fine Arts were situated the forty-nine foreign and state pavilions,

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years the buildings have been three or four hundred feet apart and people wore themselves out traveling between them. At San Francisco no interval between the eight palaces of the central group was greater than 150 feet." From Todd, The Story of the Exposition, 1:288.

the aviation field, athletic field, race track, and livestock exhibit.

One of the most innovative aspects of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition was the use of color. White was entirely eliminated. The Chief of Color and Decoration, Jules Guerin, selected five colors which were used in varying shades. No strident colors or harsh contrasts were to be evident. All hues were of a subdued key. The 1893 Columbian Exposition was referred to as the "White City." The 1915 San Francisco Exposition was a "Pastel City." "No 'White City' would have been tolerable in the ardent California sun."[8]

Most of the outdoor free-standing and architecturally related sculpture, such as friezes, were a yellow-ivory tone. A few works of sculpture were a copper-green color in imitation of bronze. All the walls, including the walls of the niches, were either a pastel pink or a sunset shade. All the ceilings, with a few exceptions, and the niche semi-domes were ultramarine blue. Some of the domes of the exhibition Palaces were burnt orange while others were copper-green. The capitals, when colored, were burnt orange. Colonnettes and some decorative bands were turquoise-green. All the remaining architecture was yellow-ivory, the same color as the majority of the sculpture.

In the literature of the period much was written enthusiastically about this color scheme. The man most responsible for the innovation,

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[8]Todd, The Story of the Exposition, 1:288.

Jules Guerin,[9] echoed its universal acceptance:[10]

> Color! That is the major quality our public buildings have missed so long. For color, like music, is the language of emotion. Without it our walls are dumb and unresponsive, our columns cold, our statues lifeless. With it, we may bring to the inanimate surface the joy of warmth and sunlight and vibration, and borrowing inspiration from the painter's palette, help our architecture to find its soul.... What a welcome contrast to the white and garish buildings one usually finds in exposition grounds.[11]

Every aspect of the appearance of the Exposition came under the influence of the Chief of Color and Decoration. "It was the first time ..., in the history of the world, that an artist had been given the opportunity to prescribe and control the color scheme of an entire city at once ...."[12]

It was impracticable, because of the temporary nature of the Exposition, that the architecture and sculpture be made of permanent materials. For past expositions a staff material consisting of a straw and plaster mixture had been found suitable. For the Panama-Pacific International Exposition a new material was developed in imitation of travertine. Genuine travertine, quarried in Italy, is a

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[9]Jules Guerin, born 1866, St. Louis, Missouri. Painter and illustrator. Studied in Paris. Received honorable mention at Paris Exposition, 1900; honorable mention at Pan-American Exposition, Buffalo, 1901; and silver medal at St. Louis Exposition, 1904. Murals in Lincoln Memorial, Washington, D.C. Died 1946.

[10]One of the more comprehensive and laudatory references to the color scheme can be read in Jesse Lynch Williams, "The Color Scheme at the Panama-Pacific Exposition," Scribner's Magazine, September 1914, pp. 277-289.

[11]Jules Guerin, "The Magic City of the Pacific," The Craftsman 26 (August 1914): 471-472.

[12]Todd, The Story of the Exposition, 1:347.

light-colored limestone and is the building material of such structures as the Colosseum and St. Peter's in Rome. It is characterized by cavities and fissures which contribute to a certain antique surface appearance -- ideally suited for temporary architecture and sculpture that is intended to appear permanent and old. The imitation travertine developed was composed of gypsum from Nevada combined with hemp fiber. And, so that the problem of maintaining surface color be avoided, the desired coloring pigment was also included in the mixture.

The Chief of Color and Decoration also had the responsibility for the outdoor mural paintings; the entire Exposition was to present a harmonized color appearance. The mural decorations, done on canvas, took on an added importance since, at San Francisco, it was the first time in modern architecture that outdoor mural decorations were employed on so large a scale.[13] Guerin selected the mural painters. He also stipulated the colors that they were to paint in to insure that color unity was achieved between the murals and their immediate surroundings. Guerin said, "The mural decorations were treated as incidental spots of color, of no more importance than a flat wall panel, as far as the general result was concerned."[14] There were thirty-five mural paintings by nine artists in the cloisters, arches, and portals of the Exposition. Among the mural painters were Frank

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[13]Stella G. S. Perry, The Sculpture and Murals of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition: The Official Handbook (San Francisco: Wahlgreen Company, 1915), p. 81.

[14]Quoted in Todd, The Story of the Exposition, 1:348.

Brangwyn, William de Leftwich Dodge, Childe Hassam, and Robert Reid.[15]

Part of the superb effort that went into creating a harmonious appearance was dedicated to landscape gardening. As was the case with the mural decorations, the Landscaping Department with John MacLaren as Chief was controlled by the Chief of Color and Decoration. The plants and flowers used, in order to create a continual succession of color, depended on continual bloom. So that this continual succession of color could be achieved, the necessary plants were replaced every two weeks. For plant replacement many large greenhouses were constructed which housed the plants and flowers that had to be in different stages of growth. When a particular plant or flower substitution was needed it was available.

Another entirely new feature of this Exposition was its lighting scheme. The Chief of the Department of Illumination, Walter D'Arcy Ryan, produced lighting effects which "... illuminated the Exposition by night with practically the same intensity and evenness of distribution as by day."[16] To achieve illumination of this quality 823 small and large arc searchlights and 250 incandescent projectors were used. This amount of night illumination -- unique in itself -- had another feature, for the first time at an exposition all the lighting was

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[15]The outdoor murals, sculpture, and architecture of the Exposition were not included among the works to be judged by a jury as part of the awards program, only works exhibited in the Palace of Fine Arts were. The "Grand Prix" went to Frederick C. Frieseke for his painting of a recumbent nude entitled Sleep. Medals of Honor for sculpture went to Herbert Adams, Karl Bitter, and D. C. French.

[16]Grey, "The Panama-Pacific International Exposition of 1915," p. 49.

indirect. All the lights were hidden behind colonnades, above cornices, or concealed on roofs. Especially effective was the projection of light on the Tower of Jewels in the South Gardens with its 102,000 small pieces of cut glass, some colored and some white, suspended from the cornices of its different levels.

The overall responsibility for the outdoor sculpture of the Exposition was entrusted to Karl Bitter, of New York, who was appointed Chief of Sculpture. Bitter had also been Chief of Sculpture at the St. Louis Exposition of 1904. Even though he did not contribute any outdoor sculpture of his own, his ideas formed the basis of the sculptural program. The appointment of Acting Chief of Sculpture went to A. Stirling Calder. When Bitter died under tragic circumstances a few weeks after the opening of the Exposition, from having been struck by an automobile in front of the Metropolitan Opera House in New York City, Calder was appointed Chief of Sculpture. Calder had been represented at earlier expositions, but it was through the St. Louis Exposition, for which he served on the advisory committee and won a silver medal for sculpture that he achieved national recognition.[17] Calder at San Francisco had the responsibility of supervising the implementation of the sculptural designs, besides the actual production of the works. Bitter, Calder, and the Architectural Committee designed the entire sculptural sequence and then selected the sculptors. The designs were modeled on a small-scale

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[17]Wayne Craven, Sculpture in America (New York: Crowell Company, 1968), p. 571.

and then reproduced to the final large-scale forms by workmen using the pointing machine.[18]

In the early decades of the Twentieth Century American art, as it had been in the past, was still largely influenced by Europe. The vast majority of American sculpture at this time was based on the academic style of France, Beaux-Arts Classicism, a style characterized by strong Baroque qualities, naturalism supplanted by idealism, and a preponderance of personification and allegory.[19] American sculpture had yet to be, in the main, influenced by European avant-garde sculpture and, as a result, the outdoor sculpture of the Exposition continued the tradition of earlier expositions. The 1913 Armory

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[18]An amusing anecdote concerns the workmen who not wanting to do a bum job" filled in the "flaws" of the naturally porous imitation travertine. Related in Williams, "The Color Scheme at the Panama-Pacific Exposition," p. 280.

[19]The Beaux-Arts style relied, of course, on the traditional vehicles of personification and allegory -- the male and female nude. At the Exposition some saw nudity in public sculpture with far greater concern than we may think: "The unsophisticated judgment free from Continental bias, might have objected to the almost gratuitious use of nudity. For a popular exhibition, even the widely-traveled and broad-minded art lover might have been persuaded that a concession to prejudice could have been made without any great damage to art." From Barry, The City of Domes, p. 16.

Not all the critics of the Exposition wrote favorably about the outdoor sculpture. One critic wrote, "The sculpture at San Francisco, while suffering from the usual congenital defects, is, however, more closely allied to the architectural ensemble than has frequently been the case.... As for the generality of the work in this particular medium it scarcely, save in a few instances, transcends mediocrity.... Thus far we have assuredly failed to produce a mightly emotionalist in marble, such as Rodin...." Quoted from Christian Brinton, "The San Diego and San Francisco Expositions," The International Studio, July 1915, pp. 4-6. See also Idem, "Sculpture at the Panama-Pacific Exposition," The International Studio, November 1915.

Show had come and gone and had hardly caused a change in American sculptural taste.[20]

Since the iconography of the outdoor sculpture is this study's major consideration, it is important that we understand the official position of its undertaking. Herewith is an excerpt from the official handbook of the sculpture and murals:

> Symbolism of the Sculpture as a Whole
>
> The Panama-Pacific International Exposition is the first World's Exposition in which all the sculpture has been planned around a central idea. As the Exposition celebrates the opening of the Panama Canal, the latest great work of man, it is fitting that the Spirit and Romance of Man's Development, Energy, Adventure, Aspirations and Achievements should be signified in the design. And as the Canal will unite the nations of the world in closer fellowship and understanding, the ideal of Universal Brotherhood, the oneness of all the world, is deeply impressed upon the Exposition sculpture. These two conceptions are merged and held together by a still loftier idea: Man's Place in the Universe, in his relation to the Cosmos, to Nature and to the Divine.
>
> So we may say that the Exposition statuary represents Man's Environment, Man's Achievements and Man's Dreams.[21]

In the following chapters examples of sculpture will be described and analyzed and related to the idea that the outdoor sculpture of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition represents "Man's Environment, Man's Achievements, and Man's Dreams."

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[20]An exception to an imitation of the Beaux-Arts style can be seen in the sculpture of Ralph Stackpole, especially his figures which decorated the Palace of Varied Industries. The figures he created relied on a surface texture which indicated the nature of the materials, and by including a higher degree of abstraction than was usual, Stackpole approached the contemporary modern tendencies. For a complete list of the sculptors represented by the outdoor sculpture see Appendix.

[21]Perry, The Official Handbook, p. 1.

CHAPTER II

THE FOUNTAIN OF ENERGY

If a single work were selected as the most representative outdoor sculpture at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, it would have to be A. Stirling Calder's Fountain of Energy (Figure 2).[1] The Fountain, directly opposite the main entrance in the center of the South Gardens, was situated in the most conspicuous location on the Exposition grounds -- "the place of honor." The Fountain of Energy greeted the Exposition visitor, yet presented somewhat of an enigmatic introduction to the outdoor sculpture. Two distinct, traditional forms of outdoor monuments were combined in a new way. The sculpture in the basin of the pool and that of the sphere in the center were rich in aquatic motifs arranged symmetrically in a pyramidal composition. At the top of the sphere was an equestrian monument. Incompatible as they may have seemed at first glance they were linked

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[1]Alexander Stirling Calder (1870-1945). Born Philadelphia. Son of sculptor Alexander Milne Calder and father of Alexander Calder. Studied Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. 1890 went to Paris. Studied with Chapu at Académic Julian and with Falguière at Ecole des Beaux-Arts. Returned to United States in 1892. Other sculpture at Exposition include: finial Jeweled Star female figure, reproduced ninety times, balustrade of colonnade which surrounded Court of the Universe; collaboration on Nations of the East and Nations of the West, figural compositions atop arches, Court of the Universe.

through the iconography of the Fountain as a whole. Such a juxtaposition must have invited closer inspection. The thoughtful visitor after leaving The Fountain of Energy was alerted to expect more of the outdoor sculpture.

Figure 2. South Gardens, Fountain of Energy and Tower of Jewels. Column of Progress as seen through the arch of the Tower (from Todd, The Story of the Exposition).

The South Gardens with an area of about 500 feet by 1,300 feet was bounded by the Palace of Horticulture on the east and Festival Hall on the west. To the north of the Fountain were the Avenue of Palms and the Tower of Jewels, the tallest structure at the Exposition, 435 feet. Between the sixty-five foot high Fountain and the Palace of Horticulture on its one side and Festival Hall on its other side were two large oblong pools, 300 feet in length by eight-five feet in width. "Mermaid" fountains were at the distant ends of these pools. At the opening of the Exposition 5,000 daffodils and over 200,000 yellow pansies were blooming in the South Gardens. An abundance of shrubbery completed the formal French garden plan. The modified quatrefoil-shaped pool of The Fountain of Energy was located in the center of this area. But, more than its location, its different levels of meaning directly related this Fountain above all other sculpture at the Exposition to the purpose of the celebration.

The aquatic theme of the Fountain began with the sculpture in the basin of the pool. An iconography that relied on marine life, although obvious in the case of a fountain, had in regard to this Exposition another message. The Panama Canal united the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. It was not surprising, therefore, that this and other sculpture at the Exposition had marine life as integral parts of their compositions. The four great oceans of the world were personified in the pool at the cardinal points of the compass (Figure 3). Either a male or female nude, shown riding upon a sea creature, symbolized each ocean. The types of human figure and sea animals sculpted correlated with the "spirit" of the oceans they represented. A female figure with coral locks, clinging with one

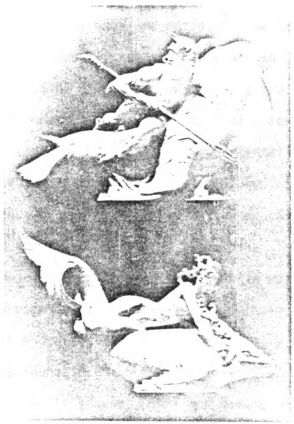

Figure 3. Fountain of Energy (detail). North Atlantic and Atlantic Oceans (from Perry, The Sculpture and Mural Decorations of the Exposition).

hand to the helmeted fish she rode, while her other hand held sea-horses represented the Atlantic Ocean -- "the Atlantic, fine and bright,"[2] "a classic figure,"[3] "who rides in wild abandon."[4] An

[2]Perry, The Sculpture and Mural Decorations of the Exposition, p. 18.

[3]Idem, The Official Handbook, p. 3.

[4]Rose V. S. Berry, The Dream City (San Francisco: Walter N.

"Esquimaux"[5] with trident in hand, riding upon the back of a rearing walrus represented the North Atlantic Ocean, "brisk and powerful,"[6] "finned and glistening, strange and eerie."[7] The South Atlantic and Pacific Oceans were sculpted as a Black and an Oriental, respectively. The Black, like "the South Sea, savage and tempestuous,"[8] played with an octopus and rode on the back of a sea-elephant; while "the Pacific, a beautiful happily brooding Oriental"[9] was a female figure who mounted on the back of a sea creature. Sea nymphs rode on dolphins in four groups of three on the outer circle of the basin. They represented the lesser waters of the earth. The mouths of these dolphins emitted jets of water when the Fountain was turned on.

The sculpture in the basin, besides symbolizing the waters of the world, was intended to support iconographically the major theme and figure of the Fountain: the personification of human energy which sat atop the earth sphere. "All the oceans of the world take part in the carnival of his glory.... Lesser waters join in the revels."[10]

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[5]Esquimaux: A member of a race inhabiting Greenland, the Arctic and Hudson Bay Coasts of North America, the Labrador coast, Alaska, and the northeastern tip of Asia.

[6]Perry, The Official Handbook, p. 3.

[7]Idem, The Sculpture and Mural Decorations of the Exposition, p. 18.

[8]Ibid.

[9]Perry, The Official Handbook, p. 3.

[10]Ibid.

In the center of the basin stood a large globe representing the earth (Figure 4). The base of the sphere was supported on the backs of writhing mermen and mermaids. One author went so far as to say that these figures represented "glorified workmen -- the human bulworks of the canal."[11] The globe was divided into four vertical zones. The two opposite, larger zones were further divided by vertical bands which appeared to encircle the entire sphere. These longitudinal lines represented "the sun's path, north and south"[12] or as was less likely "the seaway now completed around the globe."[13] In the upper quadrant of these zones and extending out from the surface were symbolic figures of the Eastern and Western hemispheres. The Eastern hemisphere was presented as a reclining female figure with the head of a lion -- "a cat-woman represented the civilization of the Eastern hemisphere,"[14] "the quiet East by a cat-human."[15] On the opposite side of the globe in the same area the Western hemisphere was presented as a reclining male with the head of a bull -- "the strenuous Western hemisphere is connoted by a bull-man,"[16] who

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[11]Anna L. Booth, "Sculpture at the Panama-Pacific Exposition," Fine Arts Journal 29 (August 1913): 489.

[12]Perry, The Official Handbook, p. 3.

[13]Ben Macomber, The Jewel City (San Francisco: John H. Williams, 1915), p. 83.

[14]Ibid.

[15]Perry, The Sculpture and Mural Decorations of the Exposition, p. 14.

[16]Ibid.

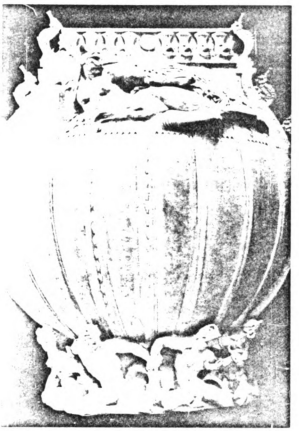

Figure 4. Fountain of Energy (detail). Eastern Hemisphere (from Todd, The Story of the Exposition).

"stands for the strength of Western Civilization."[17] The two narrower zones, located on the north and south sides of the globe, were delineated by a motif of seahorses. Within these areas, beginning at the bottom and ascending to the top, was a minor motive intended

[17]Macomber, The Jewel City, p. 83.

to symbolize the evolution of mankind from lower to higher forms. The top of the earth sphere was truncated by a pedestal which was encircled by a frieze of gargoyle-like fish. When the Fountain was in play it was from the mouths of these fish that the most dramatic water effect issued.

To this point of the description and analysis of The Fountain of Energy the sculptural elements have presented no problems of interpretation. Simple, traditional symbols were used. Two levels of iconography have been discerned: (1) personifications of an aquatic nature and (2) a direct relationship between these personifications and the theme of the Exposition. The iconography becomes more complex with the thirty-foot-high equestrian monument, "Energy, the Lord of the Isthmian Way," that surmounted the earth sphere (Figure 5). In the equestrian monument of Energy the symbolism that honored the opening of the Panama Canal and the representation of positive human values, real or perceived,[18] were inseparable: The dominant figure of the youth on horseback typified "... the qualities of force and dominance that had ripped a way across the Continental divide for the commerce of the world."[19]

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[18]The acquisition by the United States in 1903 of the strip of land in Panama from the Columbian government for the intended canal was not completely honorable. Unable to negotiate terms that he approved of from Colombia, President Theodore Roosevelt supported an insurrection in Panama; the insurrecting faction was more agreeable to his terms. When the revolutionists prevailed, Colombia lost possession of Panama and the Republic of Panama was established. The new republic immediately accepted Roosevelt's terms.

[19]Todd, The Story of the Exposition, 2:310.

Figure 5. Fountain of Energy (detail). Energy (from Perry, The Sculpture and Mural Decoration of the Exposition).

...He is easily recognized as the symbol of the energy called forth by this great work and never a doubt but that his strength and hope would have endured and overcome all that has been mastered by the indomitable will of these men who have been for years putting forth Herculean efforts upon the Canal.[20]

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[20]Berry, The Dream City, p. 23.

It is significant that Energy was represented in an equestrian form.[21] The equestrian monument had entered the body of world art as a symbol of power and greatness long before. Here it was employed as it had always been, the fundamental conveyance of the elevated status of the rider. In this respect Energy continued in the tradition of the Roman equestrian monument of Marcus Aurelius and Verracchio's Colleoni. Like the Colleoni Energy stood in the stirrups. This indicated the decisiveness and control that Energy had of his actions.[22] The gait of the horse was faithful to tradition but the head was raised unlike the Colleoni and most other equestrian monuments. This difference suggests that a lowered horse's head makes the horse subservient to the rider, while a raised horse's head, along with a similarity of emotion expressed by rider and horse, as was seen here indicates equality and contributes to a mythological effect. Pegasus could well have been an ancestor of Energy's mount.

Energy stood with arms outstretched, arms which "have severed the lands and let the waters pass"[23] through the Canal. To carry

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[21]The only adverse criticism of The Fountain of Energy was of this central figure. A typical criticism was that although it was a beautiful design it was "...not well adapted to reproduction on so large a scale.... It is a pity that a thing so charming as a model should not have worked out well in heroic proportions." From Macomber, The Jewel City, p. 84.

[22]"It is interesting to note the steadiness of the central figure, the sense of firmness, security, in spite of the feeling of motion in the whole. This is largely due to the hold of the feet upon the stirrups and the weight of the body in the saddle." Perry, The Sculpture and Mural Decorations of the Exposition, p. 16.

[23]Ibid.

this idea further when the fountain was in play jets of water arched near the outstretched arms. "His outstretched palms are held points upward to contact with the divine."[24] This was an apt interpretation since it had long been considered that great feats of human achievement, especially ones of engineering, had a divine connection which blessed the undertaking. Energy separating the isthmus of Panama also had an obvious biblical parallel in Moses and the Exodus from Egypt and the parting of the Red Sea.

Upon the shoulders of Energy stood the two seven-foot figures symbolic of Fame and Valor.[25] Fame and Valor trumpeted the advance of Energy and held the wreath of victory above his head. They were of "two sexes to indicate the dual nature of man."[26] The most common philosophy of dualism in Western thought is that of good and evil. But, it is more likely the dual nature of man referred to here was that of the body and spirit. The building of the Canal was represented by the body, a physical achievement. The forces behind its construction were equated with the spirit, human values.

What The Fountain of Energy represented was the personification of the activity of labor that was required for the construction of

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[24]Idem, The Official Handbook, p. 4.

[25]These figures were variously referred to as Fame and Valor, Fame and Glory, and Fame and Victory.

Daniel Robbins footnoted in the Whitney Catalog, 200 Years of American Sculpture, that Margaret Calder Hayes (daughter of A. Stirling Calder) "pointed out that 'Fame and Glory springing from each shoulder,' were 'reputed to have been Sandy and me!'" See Tom Armstrong et al., 200 Years of American Sculpture (New York: David R. Godine, 1976), p. 158.

[26]Perry, The Official Handbook, p. 3.

the Panama Canal. At the same time the virtue of human energy was allegorically called to mind.[27] Calder not only symbolized but also moralized the theme of the Exposition. An art historian of the period, Eugen Neuhaus of the University of California, wrote, "The Fountain of Energy is a symbol of the vigor and daring of our mighty nation, which carried to a successful ending a gigantic task abandoned by another great republic [France]."[28] "The whole effect is joyous, superbly prophetic and confident of a glorious future."[29]

The Fountain of Energy clearly represented "Man's Environment, Man's Achievements and Man's Dreams." The main theme of the Fountain was a celebration of human values that could control the environment. The Panama Canal united the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Man had manipulated the environment for his own purpose. The minor aquatic motives plainly related to his environment. The theme of the Exposition was one of achievement through progress and the construction of the Panama Canal was the latest great achievement of Man. It had long been a dream of man to link more directly the East and West. The Panama Canal fulfilled one of "Man's Dreams."

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[27]The importance of its representation was alluded to in the following quote: The Fountain of Energy represented "the God of Energy whom the Americans in their secret hearts seem to worship with a sacrificial frenzy...." From Todd, The Story of the Exposition, 2:310.

[28]The Art of the Exposition (San Francisco: Paul Elder and Company, 1915), p. 29.

[29]Perry, The Official Handbook, p. 4.

CHAPTER III

THE COLUMN OF PROGRESS

The second most important work of outdoor sculpture at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition was The Column of Progress (Figure 6). It and The Fountain of Energy were considered the major artistic achievements of the Exposition. The idea for the Column was conceived by A. Stirling Calder and the Column itself was designed by the architect William Symmes Richardson of the firm of McKim, Mead, and White. Hermon A. MacNeil sculpted the crowning figure, the Adventurous Bowman, its supporting frieze, the Burden Bearers or the Toilers, and the incised relief on the shaft.[1] Isidore Konti executed four deep relief panels for the pedestal.[2] The Column, sometimes referred

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[1]Hermon Atkins MacNeil (1866-1947). Born Chelsea, Massachusetts. Studied in Paris with Chapu at Académie Julian and with Falguière at Ecole des Beaux-Arts. Returned to United States in 1891. Sculptural decorations for Columbian Exposition, 1893, Buffalo Exposition, 1901, and St. Louis Exposition, 1904. Turned to sculpture best known for of American Indian about 1894. Most famous work Sun Vow, 1898. By 1910 American Indian theme ended, portraiture and monument decoration rest of career. Designed U.S. quarter-dollar, Standing Liberty, 1916. Other sculpture at Exposition: Signs of the Zodiac, frieze corner pavilions, Court of the Universe.

[2]Isidore Konti (1862-1938). Born Vienna. Studied in Vienna and Rome. Came to United States in 1891. Architectural decorations for Columbian Exposition, 1893. Assistant to Karl Bitter in New York City. Sculptural decorations at Buffalo Exposition, 1901, The Despotic Age, and St. Louis Exposition, 1904. Figures for Dewey Arch, 1889. Subject mostly ideal figures or personifications. No other sculpture at Exposition.

Figure 6. Esplanade, The Column of Progress. Tower of Jewels in background (from Todd, The Story of the Exposition).

to as The Column of Human Achievement, complemented Calder's Fountain of Energy. The Fountain of Energy commemorated a specific event and equated that accomplishment with the virtue of human energy. The Column of Progress glorified timeless progress and achievement -- although during the course of the Exposition tablets affixed to the base dedicated the Column to the achievement of man - flight. Together these two works, one with a specific reference and one without, put

forth the lesson of the Exposition: the greatest achievements of man and the progress of society depended on adherence to moral truths. One critic of the period wrote, "Its significance completes the symbolism of the Exposition sculpture and architecture, as the joyous Fountain of Energy at the other end of the north-and-south axis begins it.... Both in its position and in its sculpture the column signifies that, this celebration over, human endeavor stands ready to go on to still vaster enterprises on behalf of mankind."[3]

The Column stood 185 feet but since it rested on a broad and curving terrace, it seemed much higher.[4] It was built of imitation travertine around a steel frame. The base was thirty feet high and thirty-two feet square and the shaft of the Column was fifteen-and-one-half feet in diameter.[5] The Fountain of Energy occupied the most noticeable position on the southern side of the Exposition. The Column of Progress occupied the most conspicuous location on the northern end. Located in the center of the avenue known as the Esplanade, the Column was situated on a direct axis with The Fountain of Energy. This axis began at the Fountain and continued through the Tower of Jewels and the Court of the Universe. The North Gardens, the Marina, and the Bay of San Francisco bounded the Esplanade on the north. Clusters of cedars, spruces, eucalyptus, and low-growing shrubs grew against the walk of the Palaces which faced the Esplanade on its south side.

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[3]Macomber, The Jewel City, p. 56.

[4]Todd, The Story of the Exposition, 2:296.

[5]Since the Exposition Company owned the land under the Column, it was left standing when other structures at the Exposition were

The idea of using an independent column as a monument had a long history. In the West the Greeks were the first. In the East in India the Buddhist columns of Emperor Ashoka are noteworthy. These Buddhist columns were actually more akin to The Column of Progress than its western prototypes. Although they too were commemorative, they depended on a higher degree of symbolism and more abstract themes than those in the West. The idea was more important than a direct representation of it. The Column of Progress, like the Roman Column of Trajan and Column of Marcus Aurelius, had the same structural elements: a columnar shaft with an ascending spiral in relief; a large base; a platform on top of the column from which rose a transitional drum; and an apex figure. But The Column of Progress was unique in two respects: it was the first sculptured column at any exposition, and it was the first sculptured column designed without reference to an historical event.[6]

The iconography of the individual panels on the pedestal by Isidore Konti have been variously interpreted, but all the interpretations resulted in the same conclusion: the panels symbolically depicted the efforts of mankind in a quest for achievement or progress.

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demolished. It soon began to shed its shell, and it, too, was taken down.

[6]Neuhaus, The Art of the Exposition, p. 39. "The Column illustrates a new use for an ancient motif. A type of monument which while distinctly architectural in mass has been humanized by the use of sculpture embodying a modern poetic idea ... as a type of sculptural column it is new and fills architectural and aesthetic requirements, so that other columns of the same or kindred types will be designed." Stated by A. Stirling Calder in Perry, The Sculpture and Mural Decorations of the Exposition, p. 8.

The Official Handbook of the Exposition stated that "the pedestal frieze presents the aspirations, inspirations and labors of humankind pressing onward through the ages to many goals of endeavor."[7] Another writer described the panels as "representing human life in its progressive stages, showing men and women in attitudes of hope and despair, of strength and weakness, in the never ending task of trying to realize human destiny."[8]

Beginning with the north panel which faced the Bay, we see a central, atlas-like figure rolling a large disc (Figure 7). To the left and right of the center were groups of gesticulating figures. Stella G. S. Perry stated that the kneeling male and standing female figures to the left represented the motives of "love and pain;" the central figure represented the "power of labor;" the figure to the right, one male with arms raised, the other back bent, designated "prayer."[9] The sum of this explanation would be that achievement was the result of joy and suffering; effort and inspiration.

A much less succinct synopsis was also offered:

> The central motive in this panel is a huge figure in the act of loosing a whole sphere or universe of power upon humanity. Once freed from his controlling grasp the effort to control it again must come from all succeeding generations. The actions begin with the figures on either side the great master of power and progress. The old man on the right, knowing that his years are numbered, his life of toil almost ended, looks up and throws up his hands in impotence. He can do nothing. To him it is an overwhelming impossiblity, and he

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[7] Idem, The Official Handbook, p. 28.

[8] Neuhaus, The Art of the Exposition, p. 39.

[9] The Sculpture and Mural Decorations of the Exposition, p. 66.

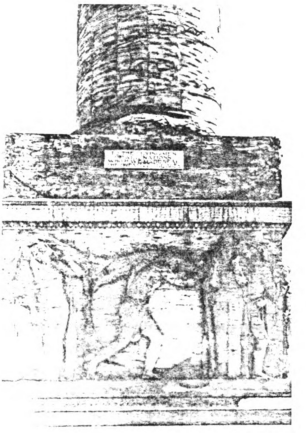

Figure 7. Column of Progress (detail). Pedestal, north panel (from Todd, The Story of the Exposition).

passes it on to those who come after him and those generations understanding, bow the head, bend the backs and undertake the struggle. On the other side of the central figure a young woman is so awed with apprehension that she turns aside utterly unable to contemplate in its magnitude this tremendous task put upon mankind. Though physically gifted she is not of the mind to bring herself the necessary courage to begin the effort and she passes it on to the young man kneeling near her, who with the hope and power of youth assumes the task.[10]

[10]Berry, The Dream City, pp. 38-40.

With the western panel the procession of figures continued (Figure 8). Once again the composition was very much open to personal interpretation. The progress of the figures on this panel was interrupted by a single, central, male figure in either a contemplative or outcast attitude. This panel "expresses the humbler toils of mankind; even

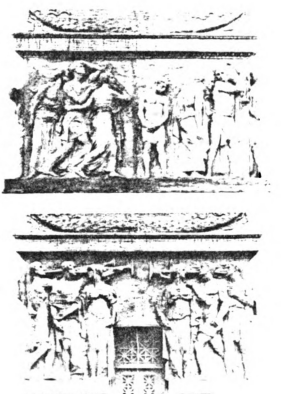

Figure 8. Column of Progress (detail). Pedestal, west and south panels (from Perry, The Sculpture and Mural Decorations of the Exposition).

they," it says, "progress upward through the thinker who pauses in their midst to dream."[11]

A more imaginative interpretation follows:

> ...a group of three, an old man, with high cheek bones, weary and hopeless to exhaustion; just before him another discouraged man, but both being led and persuaded by a glorious woman who has not lost will to do, faith or courage. She leads them on to the goal of success, but her efforts are retarded by that splendidly self-satisfied, dreaming boy who stands there unable to take anything in beyond his own love of day dreams which require inactivity to enjoy. With everything in his power lying unheeded he misses his calling, fails in his service to humanity and all those following pay for his indifference. He is such a splendid being that we cannot chide, we scarcely blame him, it only makes one inordinately sorry that with such fine qualifications one should have failed to enter the race. Those coming after pay the price. They bend lower under the toil, and the heavy burden of added severity rests upon their shoulders.[12]

The panel on the east side also was composed of a procession of figures broken by a single, central figure (Figure 9). It stood for "... the higher toils of the mind as in the arts and statesmanship. In the center of this stands the inventor or leader of thought with the eagle of inspiration above him."[13]

In contrast to this analysis, a more thorough one was presented by Rose V. S. Berry:

> The first figure on the east side did by physical effort all he could. The second has reached out and by the power of his might and sword he has striven to master the task in another way. Then comes one whom by the

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[11]Perry, The Sculpture and Mural Decorations of the Exposition, p. 66.

[12]Berry, The Dream City, pp. 40-42.

[13]Perry, The Sculpture and Mural Decorations of the Exposition, p. 66.

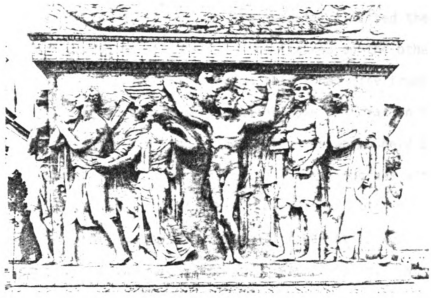

Figure 9. Column of Progress (detail). Pedestal, east panel (from Todd, The Story of the Exposition).

> presence of the eagle we know to have been inspired with splendid things of the spirit. With uplifted hands and face it is evident that his efforts have been with higher ideals and his work a telling one. Then comes those who in groups succeed ....[14]

The meaning of the eagle referred to in the preceding quotes was a concrete example of the subjective nature of the interpretation of these panels. The eagle could symbolize justice, courage, faith, contemplation, inspiration, power, victory, and many Christian references. To say that it was the "eagle of inspiration" was to limit the effect of the symbol. The author of the second quote in this

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[14] The Dream City, p. 42.

case made the right comment: "presence of the eagle ... splendid things of the spirit."

The panel on the south side of the pedestal elicited the most objective interpretation (Figure 8). The figures on the other three panels formed a procession which led to this side. The trumpeting figures here indicated achievement, having come this far in the name of progress. With the two inner, female figures which held palm leaves, the symbol of victory, this panel showed progress achieved. It was now time to ascend the column in pursuit of still loftier ideas. Not everyone had made it thus far, fewer still would reach the pinnacle. "These bugling victors ... with ringing, clarion notes almost audible apparently lead into the entrance of the column, and certainly, by suggestion induce the eye to begin the ascent of the spirally decorated shaft."[15]

What the preceding interpretations have revealed is the generalizing nature of these panels and indeed, the entire Column. All analyses point to the same idea, that it is virtuous to strive, to achieve, and to progress.

One of the more noteworthy features of the Exposition was the recognition it gave to man-flight. It was in December of 1903 that the Wright brothers had achieved the first powered, sustained, and controlled airplane flights in history. The science of aviation had progressed rapidly since then. Exhibitions of flying were held at the Exposition throughout the Exposition period -- it was the

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[15] Ibid.

first international exposition to accord recognition to man-flight.[16]

On July 13, 1915, about halfway through the Exposition, the importance of the development of aviation was honored. Tablets were mounted above the frieze of the Column:

On the north side, to commemorate Achievement:

'TO THE FLYING MEN OF ALL NATIONS WHO HAVE MADE REAL THE DREAM OF THE AGES.'

On the south side, for History:

'TO THE PANAMA-PACIFIC INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION, THE FIRST IN HISTORY TO RECORD MAN'S FLIGHT.'

On the east side, for Organization:

'TO THE AERO CLUB OF AMERICA, AND OTHER BODIES IN THE FÉDÉRATION AÉRONAUTIC INTERNATIONALE, THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL BOARD OF CONTROL.'

On the west side, for Science:

'TO COMMEMORATE SCIENCE'S GIFT OF AVIATION TO THE WORLD THROUGH SAMUEL PIERPONT LANGLEY, AN AMERICAN.'[17]

The shaft of The Column of Progress was sculpted of bas-relief, parallel bands which spiraled upward (Figure 7). Between the bands were intaglio-relief, conventionalized representations of sea waves, and intermittently spaced ships. By means of these simple devices the theme of the pedestal was continued: progress now reached the level of highest aspiration in the form of the Adventurous Bowman

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[16]"People from parts of the country where flying had not yet been shown had a right to expect demonstrations of it among the wonders of the Exposition and among the advantages of visiting it." From Todd, The Story of the Exposition, 3:84.

[17]Ibid., p. 85.

at the apex. Such an interpretation is consistent with the literature of the period. Elmer Grey stated, "A frieze winding from its base to its top will suggest the world's continuous march toward a higher and a still higher goal,"[18] and Stella G. S. Perry said, "The shaft itself ... upon which a repeated vessel, the Ship of Life, sails upward, indicating the slow upward rise of our life."[19]

The three-figure group known as the Adventurous Bowman crowned The Column of Progress. A cylindrical frieze called the Burden Bearers supported the group (Figure 10).[20] The Burden Bearers continued the theme of the pedestal and shaft sculpture, the rising progress of mankind through collective effort. Symbolically and in actual fact, the crouching Burden Bearers supported the Adventurous Bowman. The message was clear: many must bear the burden so that one may achieve for the sake of all mankind.

The Adventurous Bowman group represented man's highest achievement and highest aspiration:

> ... the Adventurous Bowman -- the leader, the achiever, the man who dreams and dares -- shoots his arrow into the sun. He is a splendidly commanding figure full of fire and feeling, and the sun into which he shoots is the Sun of Truth. The woman kneeling beside him offers

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[18]"The Panama-Pacific International Exposition of 1915," p. 50.

[19]The Sculpture and Mural Decorations of the Exposition, p. 64.

[20]An aside about the Adventurous Bowman was the following: "The question has often been asked, why there is no string to the archer's bow. The sculptor properly omitted it, for, at the moment the arrow leaves the bow, the cord is vibrating far too strongly to be visible." From Macomber, The Jewel City, p. 56.

Figure 10. Column of Progress (detail). Apex group, the Adventurous Bowman and the Burden Bearers (from Todd, The Story of the Exposition).

> the reward of his glory, and the encouragement of her hope. Behind his flowing mantle, the next man waits, shielded by him, supporting him, ready to take up his work when he leaves it.[21]

A less poetic interpretation also has been offered by Eugen Neuhaus:

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[21]Perry, The Official Handbook, pp. 28-29.

> ... the Bowman, represents man's supreme effort in life. He is supported on the left by his fellow-man, adding strength and steadiness to his aim, while on the right the crouching figure of a woman watches anxiously the sureness of his aim. She holds ready in her hand the laurel wreath which she confidently feels will be his just reward.[22]

MacNeil must have been quite fond of the symbol of an arrow being shot in the air. In his most famous sculpture, The Sun Vow of 1898, an old Indian is seated on a rock, watching the flight of an arrow that had just been released from the bow of a young boy. "This ceremony was in use among the Sioux for testing the prowess of their young men. If the youth, aiming directly at the sun, shot straight and far enough so that his arrow was lost from sight, he qualified as a warrior."[23] If the Adventurous Bowman "shot straight and far enough so that his arrow was lost from sight" mankind would succeed.

Did The Column of Progress represent "Man's Environment, Man's Achievements and Man's Dreams?" If we accept the definition of progress as "the increasing control of the environment by life"[24] then the Column did represent "Man's Environment." With The Fountain of Energy "Man's Environment" was illustrated and then controlled through an imagery related to a specific achievement. The Column of Progress, aside from its belated dedication to aviation, was concerned with the intellectual and emotional control of "Man's

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[22]The Art of the Exposition, pp. 38-39.

[23]This bit of Indian lore is given in the description of a copy of The Sun Vow that is at Brookgreen Gardens. Beatrice Gilman Proske, Brookgreen Gardens Sculpture (Brookgreen, SC: Brookgreen Gardens, 1943, p. 73.

[24]Will and Ariel Durant, The Lessons of History (New York: Simon and Shuster, 1968), p. 98.

Environment." The Column of Progress was a tangible statement that man's undertakings first needed moral truth.

In the context of the Exposition the Column symbolized "Man's Achievements." Reminders were everywhere, in the exhibition buildings, in the outdoor sculpture and most of all in the reason for the Exposition. Juliet James wrote, "'all must toil to win' and some must bend their backs that others may rise. Has it not been so at the Panama Canal?"[25] The Column of Progress did not have to be dedicated to a specific event for it to have been seen as representing "Man's Achievements." The entire Panama-Pacific International Exposition was a monument to progress.

The construction of the Panama Canal and man-flight were surely fulfillments of "Man's Dreams." The Column of Progress embodied the values of all the past, present, and future dreams of man.

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[25] Palaces and Courts of the Exposition (San Francisco: California Book Company, 1915), p. 85.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

Other sculpture could have been selected for description and analysis. Yet none other than the pairing of The Fountain of Energy and The Column of Progress was so encompassing and so representative of the outdoor sculpture and the ideas it represented. Notable among the works excluded was The Fountain of Earth, also called The Fountain of Life, by Robert I. Aitken. This Fountain, located in the central pool of the Court of Abundance told the story of the evolution of life through its varying stages, physical and intellectual. Personifications of Destiny controlled each phase of evolution. Another telling outdoor sculpture at the Exposition was Daniel Chester French's Genius of Creation. This work, situated directly in front of the main entrance to the Palace of Machinery on the Avenue of Progress, personified creation in the act of "blessing mankind." Although these two works certainly contributed a great deal more than others to the spirit of the Exposition, they introduced minor themes which only reinforced the higher ideas and ideals of The Fountain of Energy and The Column of Progress. So it was with much of the other outdoor sculpture.

The iconography of The Fountain of Energy and The Column of Progress was elaborately interpreted many times. But yet, there was over-interpretation. To be sure, the sculptors had specific

themes in mind. The sculptors often represented their themes by mixing conventional symbols. These traditional symbols were then wrongly applied to specific references. Another reason why so much of the sculpture was over-interpreted was that it was merely decorative. Because of its architectural dependence much of it was primarily intended to be decorative. We could even say that much of it was executed out of horror vacui. A good example of over-interpretation was the interpretation given by Anna L. Booth to the mermen and mermaids that supported the earth-sphere of Calder's Fountain of Energy. Considering the style of sculpture and the period, transitional elements were needed between the basin of the pool and the sphere. The sculptor chose a "natural" solution. No great, profound significance was intended. Another example of over-interpretation was the pedestal panels by Isidore Konti on The Column of Progress. By the time of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, Konti, who had also executed sculpture for all the earlier, important American expositions, must have developed a repertoire of symbols and ideas from which he drew. To interpret many aspects of his panels as had been done with such specificity was to interpret more than the sculptor intended. The sculptor provided the idea, the symbol within the context of a theme. It was the option of each visitor to the Exposition to supply a specific, personal interpretation. These sculptors in this way were not unlike the unknown craftsmen who decorated the many cathedrals built during the Middle Ages.

Was the completion of the Panama Canal a pretext for holding this international exposition? From our vantage point in history

we might tend to think so after studying the outdoor sculpture and surveying the Exposition as a whole. But most of the outdoor sculpture did not directly refer to the Panama Canal; the exhibition Palaces and the events held throughout the Exposition were concerned with much, much more than the engineering of the Canal. The official biographer of the Exposition wrote that, "... it was an ambition of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition management to produce in San Francisco a microcosm so nearly complete that if all the world were destroyed except the 635 acres of land within the Exposition gates the material basis of the life of today could have been reproduced from the exemplifications of the arts, inventions and industries there exhibited."[1] The building of the Panama Canal was clearly not the only pretext for the celebration. It was seen as the latest, great achievement of man. It counted as a symbol of all the other features of the Exposition. In the name of celebrating the completion of the Panama Canal, the development of automobile assembling plant operation, the invention of the wireless telegraph, and of man's conquest of the air were also being celebrated.

Was the outdoor sculpture appropriate in relation to the purpose of the event? The evidence (iconography) of the outdoor sculpture indicated a unified theme. Most of the sculpture had as its subject, whether implicit as the The Fountain of Energy or explicit as The Column of Progress, the glorification of positive, human values. These values were always related to the beneficience of progress. In the outdoor sculpture of the Exposition materialism, commercialism,

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[1]Todd, The Story of the Exposition, 1:xv-xvi.

and technological achievements could not have been divorced from the forces thought to have produced them. The outdoor sculpture asserted the moral superiority of America and Americans. It proclaimed, "These are our values; now look around you and see what we have done!"

Central to this relationship was the view of the doctrine of Manifest Destiny. Beginning with a belief in the superiority of American political institutions, Manifest Destiny found its theoretical support in association with human values. The outdoor sculpture of the Exposition spoke of these values. It has not been recorded nor was it likely that anyone at the time questioned the appropriateness of the subjects of the outdoor sculpture. The converse was true. The outdoor sculpture was unanimously praised for its choice of subjects: "a fine ideal ... wonderfully expressed."[2]

Art historians say that art reflects the culture that produced it. While the study of art history is not the study of cultural history in its broadest sense, the art of any given period is a document of that era and does reflect a societal impetus. The Zeitgeist of 1915 was embodied in the outdoor sculpture of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, "... did it not unfold to man the noble sentiment and spiritual meaning it contains .... The outer appearance should be but a manifestation of the spirit within."[3]

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[2]Perry, The Official Handbook, p. 29.

[3]Jiro Harada, "The Panama-Pacific International Exposition and its Meaning," The International Studio, September 1915, p. 186.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

Sculptors of the outdoor sculpture of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition. The numbers indicate the other works by the same sculptors seen in the Palace of Fine Arts (from James, Palaces and Courts of the Exposition).

Adams, Herbert (3)
Aitken, Robert (9)
Bateman, John
Beach, Chester (1)
Borglum, Solon H. (1)
Boutier, E. L.
Bufano, B.
Burroughs, Edith Woodman (4)
Calder, A. Stirling (5)
Cummings, Earle
Ellerhusen, Ulric H. (2)
Elwell, Frank Edwin
Flanagan, John (3)
Fraser, James Earle (7)
French, Daniel Chester (4)
Fry, Sherry (2)
Gerlach, Gustave
Gruppe, Carl
Harley, C. R.
Humphries, C. H. (1)
Jaegers, Albert (1)
Jaegers, August
Konti, Isidore (6)
Laessle, Abert (21)
Lentelli, Leo
Longman, Evelyn Beatrice (1)
MacNeil, Hermon A. (2)
Manship, Paul (10)
Newman, Allen
Nichaus, Charles
Patigian, Haig (7)
Peters, C.
Piccirilli, Furio (2)
Putnam, Arthur

Roth, Frederick G. R. (12)

Rumsey, Charles Corey (8)

Stackpole, Ralph W. (4)

Stea, Cesare

Tonetti, F. M. L.

Walters, Edgar (1)

Weinert, Albert

Weinmann, Adolph A. (9)

Whitney, Gertrude Vanderbilt (1)

Young, Mahonri (9)

Zimm, Bruno L.

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