

THE CALIFORNIA BUILDING, A CASE OF THE MISUNDERSTOOD BAROQUE

by

Richard W. Amero



(California Building . . . From Winslow, *Architecture and Gardens*.)

Very few people appear to have looked at the south facade of the California Building in San Diego's Balboa Park. H. K. Raymenton described it as Plateresque in style.^[1] Trent Sanford thought it better than anything in Mexico or Spain.^[2] William Templeton Johnson called it the finest Spanish-Renaissance facade in existence,^[3] and Thomas E. Tallmadge hailed it as the best example of Churrigueresque architecture in the world.^[4]

An article in the *San Diego Union*, January 1, 1915, asserted the California Building was "copied in many essential details from the magnificent cathedral at Oaxaca, Mexico."^[5] Christian Brinton repeated this suggestion in June of the same year.^[6] After checking with Bertram Goodhue, who designed the California Building, C. Matlack Price referred to the comparison as "palpably absurd."^[7] The Late-Renaissance Cathedral of Oaxaca, rebuilt in the early eighteenth century, has a compartmentalized facade with three horizontal tiers and five vertical bays which hold one principal and two lateral doorways, and is flanked by two squat, single-stage towers.^[8] None of its details resemble those on the California Building.

Carol Mendel declared the California Building facade was taken from the seventeenth to nineteenth-century late-Renaissance, Baroque, Neo-Classical facade of the Cathedral of Mexico in Mexico City.^[9] If she had selected the mid-eighteenth century Sagrario Metropolitano, which adjoins the cathedral, she would have been closer to the truth, for this building's facade is an outstanding example of Mexican Ultra-Baroque, or, as it is generally known, Churrigueresque.^[10] To George H. Edgell, the California Building recalled the late eighteenth-century Churrigueresque-Rococo Balvanera Chapel of San Francisco in Mexico City;^[11] however John Burchard and Albert Bush-Brown described the California Building's entrance and tower as "torrid," and claimed inaccurately that the Commerce and Industries Building (today the Casa de Balboa) was more closely related to the exuberant exterior of the Balvanera Chapel.^[12] The two authors were undoubtedly thinking of the florid exterior of the Varied Industries and Food Products Building (today the Casa del Prado), but had the names mixed up.



(Balvanera Chapel of San Francisco . . .From Baxter, Vol. 2, Plate 12.)

Samuel Wood Hamill considered the west facade of the former Jesuit Church of San Francisco Javier in Tepetzotlan, Mexico, to be "the great, and many times great-grandfather of the California Building."^[13] This claim ran counter to Marcus Whiffen's description of the California Building as "an ecclesiastical-looking edifice whose facades and tower offer connoisseurs a test of their dexterity in disentangling Churrigueresque motifs from Morelia, Mexico City, Tepetzotlan, and San Luis Potosi."^[14]

The Church of San Francisco Javier and the California Building share the same scheme of a three-level gabled frontispiece with accompanying side tower; however, no one detail on the Tepetzotlan facade is duplicated on Bertram Goodhue's Balboa Park building. What one finds on Goodhue's facade are details like those on the facades of many Mexican and Spanish churches and palaces.

Seen from a distance, in full sunlight, the white limestone facade of San Francisco Javier sparkles and shimmers like a finely faceted jewel. In San Diego, high confining walls restrict the observer to close-up views, depriving him of the sense of discovery that comes from approaching over a long forecourt or atrium.^[15] Long dark shadows on projecting surfaces dramatize and enrich the design, but individual details do not shimmer.

The area abutting the protruding San Diego portal is plain; whereas in Tepetzotlan, adjoining wall surfaces are rusticated and further highlighted by embossing around windows at the base of the tower. The broad, deep-cut surfaces, deliberate symmetry, and bland portraiture on the Balboa Park building differ from the fine textures, ascending movement, and dynamic statues on the Tepetzotlan facade.

Many of the California Building's details arose from Goodhue's firsthand study of Spanish-Colonial architecture during his travels in Mexico with Sylvester Baxter in 1899.^[16] Columns on the first level resemble columns encased by vertical straps of carving on the facade of the Church of El Carmen at San Luis Potosi.^[17] Vines and birds on jambs parallel those on the portal of the Chapel of the Virgin in San Luis Potosi.^[18] An arch above the door recalls multi-scalloped arches above the door of the Church of San Diego in Guanajuato.^[19] Volutes suggest the curves and counter-curves of the Church of San Cayetano de la Valenciana in Guanajuato.^[20] A large rectangular window looks like windows on secular buildings, such as the house of the archbishop at San Luis Potosi^[21] or the entrance to the archbishop's palace in Seville, Spain.^[22] A curved wrought-iron balcony mirrors balconies on civic buildings, such as the Casa del Alfenique in Puebla^[23] or the State Palace in Guadalajara.^[24]

Goodhue's design amounts to a twentieth-century recapitulation of Plateresque, Baroque, Churrigueresque, and Rococo details. It is impure historically and odd in its imposition of a secular window and balustrade on an ecclesiastical frontispiece. Unusual features are, on the first level, cast-concrete faces, bird heads, sprays and shells covering jambs, columns with spiral incisions and ribbon garniture, beatific statues of monks between the columns, marine-like foliage above the door, and elaborate aprons or lambrequins at the base of columns and statues; on the second level, tapered *estipite* pilasters divided into elaborately carved segments with elegantly-dressed knights between, and floral garlands hanging next to the splayed reveal; and, on the third, shaped-gable level, candelabra-like pilasters.



(From Neuhaus, San Diego Garden Fair.)

Much of the finely delineated ornament, such as masks, cupids, candelabra, garlands, and fruits, derives from Spanish Plateresque motifs. Symmetrically disposed baroque twisted columns, broken and curved moldings, pushed-up cornices, and silhouetted urns, focus attention on points of interest and provide contrasts of light and shadow. Finally, sprightly Rococo scrolls, sprays and drapes soften the heavy Baroque and Churrigueresque rhythms and textures.

In 1916, Eugen Neuhaus and William Templeton Johnson selected the Philippine mahogany doors for special mention.^[25] These have a radial pattern at top and geometric Spanish-Moorish paneling below. They contain carvings of foliation, rosettes, cherub heads, and shields. Over the doors, two cast-concrete cherubs, rising from a bed of seaweed, hold the Arms of the State of California. The lively cherubs suggest a Rococo source, though the seaweed resembles Goodhue's youthful title-cover and page designs.^[26]

Because the large blank window diffuses rather than concentrates incident, the facade lacks a dynamic center. Access to the outdoor balcony is from a stairway concealed in a wall; however, the entrance is too far above the floor to be of practical use.

Modified Corinthian columns on the facade's first level are engaged; fractured *estipites* on the second level are free standing. Ornament saturates the columns, *estipites*, pilasters, pediments, arches, cornices, frames and wall surfaces while broken or curved moldings keep them apart. Being vertical in form, columns, *estipites*, and pilasters, dominate horizontal architraves, friezes and cornices. Recessed spaces between first-level

columns and second-level *estipites* are bridged by pediments separating second and third-levels. A display of curves on the pediments complement those on the reveal atop the center window. In Mexico, *estipite* capitals usually accentuate the line of a broken cornice and are un-bridged, as on the Church of San Francisco Javier in Tepetzotlan,^[27] or they may be connected by a horizontal entablature, as on the Church of San Diego in Guanajuato.^[28]

Statues of Father Luis Jayme, Franciscan missionary killed by Indians in 1774, and Father Antonio de la Ascencion, Carmelite historian who accompanied Sebastian Viscaïno's expedition in 1602, occupy niches between columns on east and west sides of the first level. Busts of Gaspar de Portola, first Spanish governor of California, and George Vancouver, first English navigator to visit San Diego, perch above the statues. Statues of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, who discovered San Miguel Harbor in 1542, and Sebastian Viscaïno, who rediscovered the harbor and renamed it San Diego in 1602, intervene between *estipites* on east and west sides of the second level. Coats of arms of Mexico and Spain take the place of busts above the second-level statues.

Rising above zigzagging side pediments, busts of Charles V and Philip III of Spain close the upward lateral thrust. (Charles V was king of Spain in the time of Cabrillo and Philip III in the time of Viscaïno.) This shifting of emphasis provides focus for the statue of Junipero Serra, Father-President of the California missions, in the top central niche. Presented with face turned sideways and one leg forward, a youthful Father Serra appears in stride, which fits in with his mythic image as an energetic walker. In fact, Father Serra was fifty-six years old when he entered Alta California, was disabled by a chronic leg infection, and rode from place to place on mule back.

Above Serra, a shield of the United States brings the historical and geographical themes to a conclusion. The small shield is kept subdued to avoid interfering with the Serra statue. Freestanding urns, grouped in a pyramidal arrangement above the crest, echo the triangular relationship between busts and statues below. The upward movement is enhanced, in a manner similar to that in the Sagrario Metropolitano, by volutes and curves that lead to a climatic finial.

There is a subsidiary Gothic influence on the California Building facade, which is not surprising as Bertram Goodhue was one of this country's foremost designers of Gothic churches.^[29] The attenuated line of the facade, the efforts to avoid compartmentalization the placement and pose of figures, the ample window space, and the triangular silhouette on the crest recall Gothic features.

Detaila on columns, *estipites*, and flat spaces are chunky and globular. There is little here of the wealth of invention, subtle rhythms and crisp carving on the facades of the Church of San Francisco Javier in Tepetzotlan^[30] and the Church of La Cata in Guanajuato.^[31] Sun-reflecting plain walls and sun-absorbing sculptured portal contrast with one another. Lights and shadows change within the multi-planed ornamental field. But the detail does not display the diversity, energy and impish humor on Mexican Vice-Regal church facades.

Artisans employed by the Tracy Brick and Art Stone Company of Chula Vista made the detail by setting concrete in molds prepared from plaster models executed by the Piccirilli brothers (Attilio, Furio, Thomas and Horatio) of New York City. After they removed the sections from the molds, the Chula Vista workers smoothed the surfaces. Goodhue designed the decorative frame, but gave the Piccirillis a free hand in creating the figure sculpture. Elegant and epicene, statues and busts look like handsome dolls rather than like people with strong emotions and convictions.

Except for the green woodwork of the frames, the deeper green of the ironwork, the bright brown of the door, and the colored tiles on domes and tower, color was used sparingly on the California Building. Its gray surface differs from the varied colored surfaces of churches made from red volcanic stone in Mexico.

Exposure to elements over the years caused bonding and dowels, holding facade to wall, to loosen and concrete to crack. Soot and acids from the air and salts in the original sands, pervaded the cast-concrete surface, blanching and speckling the design. In 1964, the Art A. Gussa Construction Company of El Cajon replaced the plaster base of the tower with gunite concrete and braced the upper stages in an \$80,000 project.^[32] In 1975, general contractors Claude F. Williams, Incorporated of Torrance, with Lew Anderson as project superintendent, undertook another tower, facade and west entrance archway renovation for \$550,000.^[33] When built in 1913-14, the California Building cost the State of California \$250,000.

An epoxy-resin impregnation process, patented by Universal Restorations, Incorporated, of Washington, D.C., used in the 1975 renovation was supposed to make the facade sculpture stronger than when originally built.^[34] Technicians from Universal Restorations dried the concrete with steam, bringing out the salts. Then they sprayed or painted layers of a combustible epoxy-resin mixture on the surface. Mike Casey of Universal Restorations replaced damaged or missing lanterns, moldings, noses, ears, and other protuberances with plastic or fiberglass replicas, weighing about 25 percent less than the originals.^[35] To avoid too sharp a contrast between old and new parts, Casey added coloring agents and sand from Sweetwater Canyon to the final epoxy-resin coating. Sand from Sweetwater Canyon had been used in the original figures.

Since Goodhue used cast concrete as a substitute for stone and the Piccirilli brothers used clay modeling and plaster casts instead of direct carving, the use of plastic, epoxy-resin, and fiberglass is in keeping with past practice. As a hallmark of baroque art is the use of one medium or material to simulate another, the substitutions do not contradict baroque techniques. Also, because columns and *estipites* have no support functions, but are decorative veneer only, there is logic in reducing their weight as much as possible.

Purists will find these material changes difficult to accept. Visually, the fiberglass replacements are obvious. A fiberglass surface is too smooth and the lines drawn on it too exact to look like the granular and blurred surfaces of concrete or the more durable and varied surfaces of stone. Still Goodhue's facade is not in the same class with the west

front of Chartres, or the southeast front of the Parthenon. Techniques that would not be permissible there are allowable in San Diego.

In 1997, some twenty years after they had been reinforced, the statues began to show ravages caused by climatic and chemical changes. Holes on the concrete surfaces look as though woodpeckers or insects have been at work.

It is the three-stage tower of the California Building, rather than the facade, that has endeared itself to San Diegans. Less square and massive than the cathedral towers of Morelia^[36] and Cuernavaca^[37] or the church towers of Santa Prisca at Taxco^[38] and San Francisco Javier at Tepotzotlan^[39] in Mexico, the California Tower has the decreasing stages, changing volumes, open spaces, and color of such church towers as the Torre del Reloj at Compostela,^[40] the tower of Santo Domingo de la Calzada near Logrono,^[41] and the towers of Ecija^[42] in Spain. While the outline is Spanish, details and color are Mexican. Double *estipites* at the corners of the first stage follow the example of La Santisima in Mexico City.^[43] Octagonal second and third stages resemble those on the tower of La Encarnacion in Mexico City.^[44] Transitions from quadrangle to octagon to circle correspond to changes in the three-stage tower of the Cathedral of Morelia.^[45]

The sparkling tiles, glistening glass beads, and graceful proportions of the California Tower act as a coda for the tiled central dome and minor domes at the back of the building, hidden today by an annex of the Old Globe Theater.



(California Building from Northeast . . . From Winslow, Architecture and Gardens.)

In his comments on the architecture of the 1915 Exposition, Carleton Winslow, Senior, assistant to Bertram Goodhue, stated the arrangement of the tower within an angle formed by the south and west transepts recalled "somewhat" that of the church at Montepulciano in Italy.^[46] Winslow referred to Antonio da San Gallo the Elder's sixteenth-century Madonna di San Biagio; however, in this latter case, the towering mass of the church dwarfs its single bell tower.^[47]

Goodhue may have evolved his Greek-cross plan from Madonna di San Biagio; even so, Greek-cross plans were not commonly used in Spanish and Mexican churches. (The Sagrario Metropolitano in Mexico City is an exception.)

The starburst tile design on the California Building's center dome copies the design on the dome of Santa Prisca in Taxco.^[48] An inscription at the base of the dome of Santa Prisca reads, "GLORIA A DIOS EN LAS ALTURAS" ("Glory to God in the Heights"),^[49] whereas the inscription on the base of the California Building's dome reads, "TERRA FRUMENTI HORDEI, AC VINARUM IN QUA FICUS ET MALOGRANATA ET OLIVETA NASCUNTUR, TERRAM OLEI AC MELLIS." Goodhue took this last quotation from the Latin Vulgate Bible of St. Jerome. It means: "A land of wheat and barley, and vines, and fig-trees, and pomegranates; a land of olive oil and honey," a motto in keeping with the agricultural aspirations of the Panama-California Exposition.^[50]

Unlike Santa Prisca, but like many Mexican examples, such as the domes of the Royal Chapel in Cholula^[51] or the dome of Santa Catarina in Mexico City,^[52] the California Building's dome rises from the roof without intervening drum and is pierced on four sides by windows.

Inside, pendentives adapt the dome to the rotunda or, more accurately, octagon. Four arches spring from flat pilasters set at right angles from one another, that are separated by a canted middle section. A plain entablature and jutting cornice extend around the walls.

The domes, pendentives and arches derive from Hagia Sophia in Istanbul^[53] by way of Italian Renaissance churches. Unlike Hagia Sophia's low circular dome, the California Building's high dome is octagonal in form. Transverse barrel vaults open additional spaces and help counteract the dome's thrust. A low-recessed niche, topped by a half-dome in the middle of the north apse, echoes the curve of the north arch, the only open arch in the rotunda, and dramatizes the building's north-south axis. Three minor corner domes, hidden between the transepts, have greater impact on the outside than on the inside of the building.

The roofline of the transepts follows the curve of the barrel vaults. Except for the main entrance, decorative gables (*espadanas*) do not hide transepts. To achieve this functional effect, Goodhue took advantage of a technique for reinforcing concrete with a light--layered, laminated tile core developed by Rafael Guastavino.^[54]

Seen from the north, the corner domes, half domes, barrel vaults, major dome and lantern of the California Building supply a pleasing configuration, further enlivened by colored tile inlays in geometric patterns. The rhythmic sequence of domes goes back to the mosques of Istanbul,^[55] while the tile takes its inspiration from the houses and churches of Puebla, Mexico^[56] and the mosques of Isfahan, Persia.^[57]

The California Building has probably been mentioned more often than any other building in San Diego in studies of American architecture.^[58] The building is included in the National Register of Historic Places, as part of the California Quadrangle. In addition, the California Building tower is recorded in the Historic Buildings Survey in the Library of Congress.^[59]

In 1915, Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue almost single-handedly introduced the Spanish-Revival style into the United States. Ironically, the buildings that Goodhue later designed in this style were simpler than those in Balboa Park and contained fewer borrowings. The mining town of Tyrone, New Mexico,^[60] the Henry Dater House in Montecito,^[61] and the United States Marine Corps Base in San Diego^[62] have an authority and impressiveness that does not depend on historical associations. David Gebhard thought the plain and structurally honest buildings Goodhue designed after 1915 reflected the influence of Irving Gill,^[63] whom Goodhue superseded as consulting architect of the Panama-California Exposition.^[64]

Today, after almost one-hundred years of experimentation with Spanish-Renaissance and Baroque scrolls, grills, columns, *estipites*, cornices, gables, moldings, niches, shields, saints, shells, cupids, garlands and fruits, the facade of the California Building still surprises. It may be academic and constrained, compared to its predecessors in Mexico and Spain, but it is better than anything ever attempted since in the "decorative toothpaste"^[65] or Churrigueresque version of the Spanish-Revival style in Florida, Texas, Arizona, and California,^[66] including at least two attempts at direct imitation (St. Vincent's Church, Los Angeles, 1923, Albert C. Martin, architect, and the District Health Center and Field House, Garfield Park, Chicago, 1928, Machaelsen and Rognstad, architects).^[67]

Though built for the State of California as its contribution to the 1915 Panama-California Exposition in San Diego, the California Building did not house state exhibits. Twenty-eight counties of California exhibited in buildings about the Exposition grounds but the Departments of the State of California confined their exhibits to the Panama-Pacific International Exposition of 1915 in San Francisco.

Acting on a suggestion from Colonel "Charlie" Collier, Director-General of the Panama-California Exposition, archaeologist Dr. Edgar L. Hewett, of the School of American Archaeology in Santa Fe, New Mexico, and anthropologist Dr. Ales Hrdlicka, of the U.S. National Museum, chose exhibits to illustrate "The Story of Man through the Ages," with emphasis on the Indian populations of North and South America.^[68] Hrdlicka persuaded the National Museum in Washington, D.C., an adjunct of the Smithsonian Institution, to send exhibits for the Science and Education Building.^[69] He also helped to

procure skeletal remains of early man in Europe and Siberia, photographs and casts of materials from museums in Europe, busts of native peoples in Siberia, Mongolia, Africa, the Philippines, and other places, and ten near life-size busts executed by the Belgian sculptor Louis. Mascré representing early man for exhibits in the Science and Education Building.^[70] Though they conformed to ideas about primitive man held by scientists at the time, the busts, which are still in existence, are now regarded as overly romanticized depictions that were made with artistic license. They included a representation of the notorious Piltdown Man, supposedly a primitive human who lived in England that has proven to be a hoax.^[71] Hewett obtained exhibits of Indian life in the Southwest from the School of American Archaeology for the Indian Arts Buildings.^[72]

Hrdlicka arranged the busts of ancient and living people and a collection of skulls in the Science and Education Building to prove that the white race was superior in physiology and intelligence to other peoples.^[73] In an equally self-congratulatory manner, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company showed how its sponsorship of playgrounds, improved sanitary conditions, and visiting nurses could prolong the lives of policy holders.^[74]

Hewett did not reshape the interior spaces of the California Building to accommodate exhibits. However, he appointed Jean Beman Smith to make bas-reliefs portraying scenes from Maya life,^[75] Sally James Farnham to make copies of a historical frieze she had done for the Pan-American Union Building in Washington, D.C. showing incidents in the Spanish conquest of Mexico and Peru,^[76] and Carlos Vierra to produce murals showing the ruins of Copan, Uxmal, Quirigua, Palenque, Chichen Itza, and Tikal.^[77] These he added to the vestibule and rotunda to complement Maya displays from Yucatan, Chiapas and Guatemala, including eight replicas of monoliths from Quirigua that had been excavated in 1910 -1911 by the School of American Archaeology.^[78] Ironically, the replicas in the California Building have retained details that are now obscured by weathering on the originals.^[79]

Alice Klauber, a San Diego artist, helped to secure paintings by eleven American artists representing the Ash Can and Impressionist schools for mounting in the Fine Arts Building, on the opposite side of the quadrangle from the California Building.^[80]

Grant Wallace estimated the costs of the collections in the California, Fine Arts, Science of Man and Indian Arts Buildings at \$103,421.54^[81]

In 1916, Exposition officials added French tapestries, carpets, perfumes, fashion designs and art to the upper levels of the California Building and to the Fine Arts Building. The French government sent these exhibits to San Diego from San Francisco's Panama-Pacific International Exposition as it was impractical to return them to France because of the war in Europe. Despite their nonconformity with Maya exhibits in the rotunda, officials placed them in the California Building because space was available.^[82]/P>

Dr. Hewett continued as Director of the San Diego Museum after the close of the Panama-California Exposition in 1916. He was at the same time Director of the Museum of New Mexico,^[83] president of the School of American Research, a teacher at San Diego State College and at institutions in Santa Fe,^[84] and an archaeologist in charge of excavations at Quirigua in Guatemala and in Chaco Canyon, New Mexico.^[85] In 1929 Hewett resigned as Director of the San Diego Museum. His successor was Lyman Bryson.^[86]

Directors of the San Diego Museum/Museum of Man from its inception are as follows:^[87]

| | |
|---|----------------------------|
| Dr. Edgar L. Hewett | November 1915 - April 1929 |
| Wesley Bradfield, Associate Director | ? |
| Dr. Lyman Bryson, Associate Director | May 1, 1928 - April 1929 |
| Dr. Clinton Abbott | 1929 |
| Malcolm J. Rogers, Acting Director | 1933-1935 |
| Malcolm J. Rogers | 1935-1936 |
| Dr. Edward L. Hardy | 1936-1942? |
| Malcolm Farmer | 1945-1950 |
| Dr. Spencer L. Rogers | 1950 |
| Clark Evernham | 1951-1971 |
| With Dr. Rogers as Scientific Director Dr. Spencer L. Rogers | 1971-1972 |
| General Lowell English | 1972-1981 |
| With Dr. Rogers as Scientific Director & Barton Wright as Scientific Director | 1978-1982 |
| Dr. Douglas Sharon | 1981-2004 |
| Lyn Salvador | 2004- |

Trustees designated the California Building the San Diego Museum on January 11, 1916, the date they officially established the museum.

Hewett added partitions to the California Building to organize exhibits, but he did not change interior spaces.^[88] In 1917, he relocated exhibits in the Exposition's Science and Education Building to the 1915 Indian Arts Building (1916 Russia and Brazil Building) and shifted Indian exhibits to the Science and Education Building. He changed the names of the buildings to reflect changes in exhibits.^[89]

After he had rearranged former Exposition exhibits, Hewett placed the newly-donated Joseph Jessop archery collection of primitive weapons in the 1916 U.S.

Government Building at the north end of the Plaza de Panama and rented studio spaces in the same building to artists.^[90]

The San Diego Museum was not affected by the occupation of Balboa Park by the U.S. Navy and U.S. Army during World War I.^[91]

Illustrating the tendency of government commissions to stay in existence after they had accomplished their mission, the State of California gave the California Building Commission “illegal appropriations” to maintain the California Building for thirteen years after the Exposition.^[92] Other museum expenses were paid from returns accruing to the State of California from the holding of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition (amount unknown, if any),^[93] from \$6,500 given to the Museum by Exposition stockholders who relinquished their claims in 1917,^[94] and by membership and admission fees.^[95]

Following the relocation of exhibits from adjacent buildings to the fireproof California Building, the San Diego Museum reopened on February 19, 1921.^[96] Since then, the California Building has been the headquarters of the San Diego Museum.

At the request of the Park Commission, trustees vacated the Science of Man (1915 Indian Arts Building and 1916 Russia and Brazil Building) on March 1, 1922, releasing the buildings for other uses.^[97]

In July 1923, Hewett added W.W. Whitney’s gift of a scientific reference library, to the Museum.^[98] The building of a new art gallery in Balboa Park in 1925, on the site of the 1916 U.S. Government Building, opened up space in the old Fine Arts Building for Science of Man collections that had been ejected from the Science of Man Building.^[99]

The State of California cut off funds for the San Diego Museum in February 1929, whereupon the San Diego City Council appropriated \$2,100 to pay the salaries of a curator, custodian and janitor for the Museum.^[100] In recognition of City support, Museum authorities allowed people to see exhibits free.^[101]

Fine Arts Gallery construction in 1925 made the removal of the Joseph Jessop archery collection from the U.S. Government Building imperative. Space was found in the east wing of the second floor of the California Building. An Egyptian collection from excavations at Tell-El-Amarna, donated by Ellen Browning Scripps, was placed on a balcony on the east side of the rotunda in the same building.^[102]

In November 1931, the San Diego Museum relinquished the Indian Arts Building (the 1915 Science and Education Building) as the Museum could not afford the expense of repairing the decaying building.^[103] Placing their interests ahead of the San Diego Museum, in May 1932, representatives from the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars asked the City Council to turn the California Building over to them as “the structure was not being used to capacity or in a manner commensurate with its cost.”^[104] Supposedly these conditions would not exist under veteran tenancy.

Experiencing a shortage of funds due to a reduced valuation of taxable city property by the county, the City Council temporarily withdrew its support of institutions in Balboa Park in August 1932.^[105]

The Museum continued to function as a museum during the 1935-1936 California-Pacific International Exposition, though its title was changed to Palace of Science to correspond with changes in titles of exhibit buildings along El Prado and in the Palisades.

Special exhibits, some on a loan from the 1933-1934 Century of Progress Exposition in Chicago,^[106] required the removal of the W. W. Whitney scientific reference library to the San Diego Natural History Museum.^[107]

The government of Mexico sent crystal cups, gold objects, and jewelry discovered by Alfonso Caso in Grave 7 at Monte Alban in 1932. Though ignored by the newspapers, the exhibit was the most aesthetically intriguing of all the exhibits at the Exposition.^[108] The Monte Alban exhibit and Alpha the Robot were placed in the Science Hall (west wing of the 1915 Science and Education Building).^[109] In 1936, Mexico replaced the Monte Alban treasures with facsimiles of idols, masks and symbolic figures from the National Museum of Mexico.^[110] After the Exposition, these became the property of the Museum.^[111] Officials moved Alpha the Robot to the Fun Zone in 1936 where it more appropriately belonged.^[112]

Recognizing that the departure of Fine Arts and Pioneer Society collections had narrowed the museum's scope, trustees of the San Diego Museum changed its name to the Museum of Man in 1942.^[113] Holding out the possibility that at some future time the trustees would control other museum enterprises, they continued to call their organization the San Diego Museum Association.^[114] When, in 1979 the trustees notified the State of California of a change in the bylaws of the Museum, they dispensed with the San Diego Museum Association title and changed the name of the Museum of Man to San Diego Museum of Man.^[115] Whatever the goals of the trustees may be in the future, the Museum is now legally the San Diego Museum of Man despite protests of feminists who have requested that the name be changed to the "Museum of Men and Women" or to the "Museum of Humanity."^[116]

Following the United States' entry into World War II, Museum directors halted a five-year plan of modernization and, in March 1943, they vacated the facility. The U.S. Navy added a second floor to the rotunda and put hospital beds for servicemen in the building^[117] and tents for staff in the Plaza de California outside.^[118] Casts of Maya stelae, which were too big to move, were sealed within a wall.^[119] The task of moving casts from Quirigua called "The Turtle" and "The Dragon" was too much for the Navy. To the consternation of Museum staff, sailors sawed each of the monoliths into three pieces.^[120]

To undo U.S. Navy alterations and damages, staff renovated the museum building after the war^[121] Repair costs were paid from whatever the City could obtain from the sale of 35 temporary structures and from \$790,000 that the Navy gave the City to restore

buildings it had occupied in Balboa Park.^[122] Staff returning from military duty added boomerangs from Australia and models of canoes from Samoa to the museum's collection.^[123]

Museum activities were relatively quiet between 1946 and 1965. Dr. Frank Lowe paid for the installation on Christmas Day, December 25, 1946,^[124] of a 30-chime carillon in the California Tower in honor of his mother, Ona May Lowe, for the carillon's reconditioning in 1949,^[125] and for its replacement, on April 6, 1967, with a 100-chime carillon.^[126]

An exhibit asserting that the Soviet Union had wiped out race prejudice lasted approximately a week in July 1950, at which anti-communists forced its removal.^[127]

As City funds were needed to repair and improve San Diego's infrastructure that had been neglected during the war there was little money left to restore Balboa Park buildings. To solve its financial problems, to carry on research projects, to deter vandalism and burglary, and to pay guards the Museum began charging a 50-cent adult admission fee in July 1965.^[128]

After the architecturally non-conforming Timken Gallery and the west wing of the Fine Arts Gallery were built in 1965 and 1966, it became evident that the Spanish-Colonial Revival Style buildings in Balboa Park were nearing the end of their lifetimes and would soon be destroyed.

Because of the zeal of Bea Evenson, the Committee of 100's founder and president, and of Samuel Wood Hamill, the Committee's architectural consultant, the deterioration or demise of surviving Exposition buildings, including the California Building (built in 1915 as a permanent structure) was not allowed to happen.^[129]

Museum directors had reservations about the adequacy of the California Building to house exhibits, some of which were originally housed in five separate buildings. Complaints and suggestions went back to 1925.^[130] In 1960 the Harland Bartholomew planners recommended that the Museum relocate to the Federal Building. The California Building would then become "the nucleus of a theater arts center."^[131] Inertia or indifference defeated this plan. In May 1966, architect Hamill showed the Park and Recreation Board drawings of additions to the Museum of Man in an area south of the former Fine Arts Building and the Alcazar Garden.^[132] The Board referred the plan to a committee where it was buried. Voters turned down an attempt in 1972 to place the Museum in a refurbished Electric Building.^[133]

Beginning in 1976 technicians undertook major renovations to the Museum of Man. They took down a false 15-foot wall hiding the Quirigua stelae at the north end of the rotunda, opening up the exhibit area.^[134] The Museum began changing its exhibits more frequently. As a result, the Museum's standing and popularity increased, and, in March 1973, the American Association of Museums formally accredited the San Diego Museum of Man.^[135]

John Alessio and his family in 1966 gave to the City quartz-iodine lamps of 48,000,000 candlepower to turn the California Tower into a nighttime landmark.^[136] After the rusting of light fixtures in 1980 plunged the Tower into darkness, the San Diego Park and Recreation Department voted to spend \$6,500 a year to keep the Tower shining.^[137]

In 1990, the Museum of Man moved into the former Administration Building at the west entrance to the California Quadrangle.^[138] Douglas Sharon, Museum director, attributed the Administration Building's design to nationally-acclaimed San Diego architect Irving Gill though no empirical evidence existed to substantiate the claim.^[139] Using public and private funds, the building has been restored on the outside to its 1915 appearance (minus the Churrigueresque ornamentation) and readapted in the inside to accommodate offices and an auditorium. Aside from the additional space gained by the acquisition of the Administration Building, the Museum has no additional plans for expansion. Whether or not the Museum can solve its lack of space by the revamping of present facilities remains to be seen.

In the year 2015 the California Building will observe its 100th anniversary. Baring changes, the San Diego Museum of Man will continue to occupy the ecclesiastical-looking main building, the 1915 Fine Arts Building (now called the Clark Evernham Hall), the east and west wings that attach to the Fine Arts Building, and the St. Francis Chapel. The Fine Arts Building, refurbished at a cost of \$44,000 in 1984 to reflect its original appearance, is currently used for exhibits and for Christmas-on-the Prado festivities.^[140] The St. Francis Chapel, also restored in 1984 at a cost of \$48,000, is available for weddings, but is not open to the public.^[141] Other improvements include the addition of steel framing and shelving to basements, doubling storage capacity for more than 55,000 artifacts, or about 89 percent of the Museum's collection, the remodeling of the lobby and first floor, the installation of an elevator on the west side of the lobby, and the paving of the Plaza de California with red bricks.^[142]

The Museum of Man is not the great museum of anthropology designed "to collect and preserve the material culture, language, folklore and physical remains of the aboriginal Western American peoples" that Dr. Hewett hoped it would be.^[143] Other Native American museums, such as the Southwest Museum in Los Angeles, the Los Angeles County Natural History Museum, the Charles W. Bower Museum in Santa Ana, the Amerind Foundation near Willcox, Arizona, the Indian Pueblo Cultural Center in Albuquerque, New Mexico, and the University of Pennsylvania Museum in Philadelphia, rival it in importance. Nevertheless, despite its cramped appearance, scattered exhibits, and poor security arrangements,^[144] the Museum is an asset other cities would like to have.

Since 1916 the scholastic emphasis, research projects, and field trips of the Museum have focused on the culture of the aboriginal peoples of Southern California, of the American Southwest, and of Mesoamerica. Other exhibits acquired over the years --- the Egyptian, Archery and Breath of Life exhibits --- do not comply with the aboriginal theme. Traveling exhibits, such as exhibits of saddles, bridles, wagons, carriages and

horse-drawn farm implements,^[145] of culinary delights from around the world,^[146] and of contemporary Native American art call attention to diverse interests. Art exhibits show unwittingly how native artists have been affected by cosmopolitan trends.^[147] The far-reaching nature of the exhibits is not necessarily bad for some of them at least allow professionals and laymen to see how aboriginal peoples, wherever they may be, manifest similar preoccupations . . . thus microcosm blends into macrocosm.^[148]

The 1992-1994 Biennial Report of the Museum of Man stated the Museum exists “to disseminate knowledge and understanding of human biology, ecology and cultural development.” This elastic definition allows room for just about anything directors and staff may choose to exhibit.

Since Director Douglas Sharon was aware that the San Diego Museum of Man occupied a historic and architecturally significant building, he took steps to safeguard the integrity of the building while placing exhibits so that they were not obtrusive nor incongruously related. Egyptian and Peruvian mummies on the second-floor of a west wing devoted to visiting art exhibits contradict the principle of congruent harmony. Movable walls in the rotunda create a labyrinth of confusing paths.

Partitions shorten the interior of the 1915 Fine Arts Building, hiding a bronze fountain on the east wall. On the west side, closets jut into the gallery. Overhead beams for electric spotlights obscure the quadripartite vaulting and block views of the gallery from east and west balconies. As many of the artifacts that architect Bertram Goodhue gave to the St. Francis Chapel have disappeared, its appearance in 1997 is leaner and less reverential than in 1915.

Situated in a Spanish-Colonial Revival church with sculptures of explorers and pioneers on the facade of its principal building the Museum of Man provides San Diegans with a place where they can see how they relate to ALL the peoples of the world . . . past, present and to come.

GLOSSARY

Estipite is a Spanish word derived from the Latin *stipes*, *stipitis*, meaning a log, stock, or trunk of a tree. The Williams Spanish and English Dictionary defines *estipite* as "a pedestal in the form of an inverted, truncated, rectangular pyramid."

Michelangelo was the first to use the *estipite* pilaster, wider at the top than the base on the walls of the vestibule to the Laurentian Library in Florence in 1526. In Spain, *estipites* were used by Jeronimo Balbas, Francisco Hurtado Izquierdo, Pedro Duque Cornejo, Pedro de Ribera, and others, principally on wooden retablos, but sometimes on stone facades, in place of columns and pilasters. The *estipites* were broken into several sections which were smothered with ornament. Jeronimo Balbas introduced *estipites* into Mexico when he used them on the Altar of the Kings for the Cathedral of Mexico (1718-1737). Afterwards, Lorenzo Rodriguez transferred the interior *estipite* to the limestone facade of the Sagrario Metropolitano (1750-1760). The new mode, in an increasingly complicated

form, was used on facades and retablos throughout Mexico. By 1780, the estipite fashion had run its course and was replaced by the rock and shell forms of international rococo.

Lambrequin is derived from the French lamper, meaning a kind of crepe veil, and the Middle English -kin, Middle Dutch -kijn, and German -chen, meaning little. In Gothic sculpture a lambrequin was a row of scalloped or cutout cloth ornaments used in strip form under a canopy or baldachin. In Mexico, lambrequins., also known as pinjantes, faldoncitos and guanteletes, are single or overlapping aprons or flaps on wood and stone pedestals.

THE PICCIRILLI BROTHERS

In his biography Attilio Piccirilli, *Life of an American Sculptor* (New York, 1944, 291), Josef Vincent Lombardo identified Masaniello (Thomas) and Orazio (Horatio) as the two brothers who "designed all the sculptured work . . . for the San Diego Tower in California." Carleton M. Winslow, Sr., credited the modeling of the ornament on the California Building to Thomas and Horatio Piccirilli and the sculptured work on the frontispiece to Attilio and Furio Piccirilli (*The Architecture and Gardens of the San Diego Exposition* (San Francisco, 1916), 32, 43, 40). Of the two authorities, Winslow was closest to the scene. Copies of original drawings, in the possession of the City of San Diego, show Goodhue to be the designer of ornamental details. The figure sculpture is thinly-drawn which indicates Goodhue wanted the Piccirillis to flesh out his skimpy ideas.

Attilio, the most famous of the brothers, may have helped in the design, though he was busy at the time on the Firemen's Memorial Monument on Riverside Drive and the pediments of the Frick Reference Library in New York City. The figures have a family likeness to statues of Velazquez, Murillo and Zurburan on the facade of the San Diego Museum of Art. Lombardo states Furio was commissioned by the New Art Gallery in San Diego to design the statue of Murillo in 1925; therefore, it seems reasonable to assume he designed the other statues as well.

[1] H. K. Raymenton, "Forty-Seven Years, A History of the San Diego Museum Association," paper prepared for the San Diego Museum of Man, undated.

[2] Trent Sanford, *The Architecture of the Southwest* (New York, 1950), 248.

[3] William Templeton Johnson, "The Panama-California Exposition and the Changing Peoples of the Great Southwest," *Survey*, July 3, 1915, 306.

[4] Thomas E. Tallmadge, *The Story of Architecture in America* (New York, 1927), 281.

[5] "Architecture Gems of Old Spain Revived," *San Diego Union*, January 1, 1915, 4.

[6] Christian Brinton, "The San Diego and San Francisco Expositions," *International Studio*, June 1915, supplement, 108.

[7] C. Matlack Price, "The Panama-California Exposition," *Architectural Record*, March 1915, 242.

[8] Francisco de la Maza and others, *Cuarenta siglos de plastica mexicana --- arte colonial* (Mexico, 1970), plates 112, 113.

- [9] Carol Mendel, *San Diego on Foot* (San Diego, C. E. Mendel, 1973), 12.
- [10] Joseph Armstrong Baird, Jr., *The Churches of Mexico* (Berkeley, University of California, 1962), plate 95.
- [11] George H. Edgell, *The American Architecture of Today* (New York, 1928), 64.
- [12] John Ely Burchard and Albert Bush-Brown, *The Architecture of America: A Social and Cultural History* (Boston: Little Brown, 1966), 296.
- [13] Samuel Wood Hamill, "The California Building, Tracing the Lineage of an Architectural Monument," paper prepared for the National Register of Historic Places Inventory Nomination Form," City of San Diego.
- [14] Marcus Whiffen, *American Architecture Since 1780, A Guide to the Styles*, (Cambridge: MIT, 1969), 225.
- [15] For a discussion of the relation between size of plazas and height of buildings see Camillo Sitte, *City Planning According to Artistic Principles* (New York, 1965), 44.
- [16] Sylvester Baxter, *Spanish-Colonial Architecture in Mexico* (Boston, 1902).
- [17] Baird, plate 136.
- [18] Pedro Rojas, *The Art and Architecture of Mexico* (Middlesex, 1968), plates 85, 86.
- [19] Rojas, *Historia General*, plate 102.
- [20] Manuel Toussaint, *Colonial Art in Mexico*, translated by Elizabeth Wilder Weissman (Austin, 1967), plate 260.
- [21] Rojas, *Historia General*, plate 174.
- [22] Sacheverell Sitwell, *Southern Baroque Revisited* (London, 1967), 159.
- [23] Rojas, *Historia General*, plate XXX.
- [24] Rojas, *Historia General*, plate 175.
- [25] Eugen Neuhaus, *The San Diego Garden Fair* (San Francisco, 1916), 32; Edgar L. Hewett and William Templeton Johnson, "Architecture of the Exposition, 1916," *Paper of the School of American Archaeology*, No. 32, 37-38.
- [26] Bertram Goodhue, *A Book of Architectural and Decorative Drawings* (New York, 1914), 100-136.
- [27] Rojas, *Historia General*, plate XIII. [28] Rojas, *Historia General*, plate 102. [29] Charles Harris Whitaker, Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue, *Architect and Master of Many Arts* (New York, 1925). [30] "Tepotzotlan," *Artes de Mexico*, No. 62/63, 80-91.
- [31] Rojas, *The Art and Architecture of Mexico*, 91-92,
- [32] David Farmer, "Balboa Tower Gets A Face Lifting," *San Diego Union*, May 5, 1964, 15.
- [33] Craig MacDonald, "Artists Restoring Museum Facade to Original Beauty," *San Diego Union*, June 22, 1975, F-1; Robin Maydeck, "Space age discoveries renew park buildings," *San Diego Evening Tribune*, August 8, 1975, C-1; Barbara Guis, "San Diego Museum Gets \$550,000 Facelifting," *Los Angeles Times*, August 17, 1971, VII, 1.
- [34] Maydeck.
- [35] Maydeck.
- [36] Baird, plates 122, 124.
- [37] Baird, plates 18, 22.
- [38] *Cuarenta siglos*, plate 220.
- [39] Rojas, *Historia General*, plate XIII.
- [40] J. de Contreras, *Marques de Lozoya, Santiago de Compostela, La Catedral* (Numancia 75, Barcelona), 26.

- [41] John Harvey, *The Cathedrals of Spain* (New York, 1957), plate 34.
- [42] Sitwell, between 138-139.
- [43] Rojas, *Historia General*, plate 85.
- [44] *Cuarenta siglos*, plate 139.
- [45] Rojas, *Historia General*, plate 83.
- [46] Carleton M. Winslow, *The Architecture and Gardens of the San Diego Exposition* (San Francisco, 1916), 30.
- [47] Pierre du Colombier, *Sienna and Siennese Art*, translated by Mary Fitton (London, 1957), 123.
- [48] *Cuarenta siglos*, plate 220.
- [49] Baxter. V.9, plate 123.
- [50] Winslow, 36.
- [51] *Cuarenta siglos*, plate 127.
- [52] "The Plazas of Mexico City," *Artes de Mexico*, 1968, No. 110, 83.
- [53] Lord Kinross, *Hagia Sophia* (New York, 1972), 11.
- [54] "Rafeal Guastavino," *The Brickbuilder*, V. 17, 1908, 40-41.
- [55] Kinross, 164-167.
- [56] Justino Fernandez, *Mexican Art* (Middlesex, 1965), 15.
- [57] Ernest Kuhnel, *Islamic Art and Architecture* (Cornell University Press, 1966), 148.
- [58] John Ely Burchard and Albert Bush-Brown, *The Architecture of America, A Social and Cultural History* (Boston, 1966), 296-297; James Marston Fitch, *American Architecture: The Historical Forces That Shaped It* (New York, 1966), 235; David Gebhard and Harriette Von Breton, *Architecture in California, 1868-1968* (Santa Barbara, 1968), plate 73; Frederick Gutheim, *One Hundred Years of Architecture in America* (New York, 1957), 51; Walter Kidney, *The Architecture of Choice, Eclecticism in America, 1880-1930* (New York, 1974), plate 100; William Pierson, Jr. and Martha Davidson, *Arts of the United States: A Pictorial Survey* (New York), 174.
- [59] Robert Giebner, "Historic American Buildings Survey, San Diego, 1971," *Journal of San Diego History* (Fall 1971), 44.
- [60] Whitaker, plates 170-171.
- [61] Whitaker, plates 198-205.
- [62] Whitaker, plate 190-191.
- [63] "Goodhue, Bertram G. (1869-1924)," article by David Gebhard in *The Britannica Encyclopedia of American Art* (Milan, Italy), 241.
- [64] Esther McCoy, *Five California Architects* (New York, 1975), 89.
- [65] David Gebhard and Harriette Von Breton, 19.
- [66] Edgell, 64, 103, 106, 108, 238; David Gebhard, *George Washington Smith, 1876-1930: The Spanish-Colonial Revival in America* (Santa Barbara, 1964), 12-17; Rexford Newcomb, *Spanish-Colonial Architecture in the United States* (New York, 1957), 38-39; Sanford, 249-251; Tallmadge, 269-270.
- [67] Reyner Banham, *Los Angeles, The Architecture of Four Ecologies* (New York, 1971), 30; Alice Sinkevitch, ed., *AIA Guide to Chicago* (New York, 1993), 296.
- [68] Raymenton, "Forty-Seven Years, A History of the San Diego Museum Association," undated.
- [69] *San Diego Sun*, January 20, 1915, 7; *San Diego Union*, April 25, 1915, 5.
- [70] Raymenton, "Forty-Seven Years, A History of the San Diego Museum Association,"

undated.

[71] La Fee, Scott. "The way we thought we were," San Diego Union, May 31, 2004, F-1.

[72] San Diego Union, October 4, 1914, 8.

[73] Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1984, 220-223. [74] San Diego Union, January 6, 1915, 7.

[75] Edgar L. Hewett, "Ancient America at the Panama-California Exposition," *Art and Archaeology*, Vol. 2, No. 3, November 1915, 95-96.

[76] *Evening Tribune* (San Diego), July 12, 1914, 4.

[77] Hewett, "Ancient America at the Panama-California Exposition," 87.

[78] Hewett, "Ancient America at the Panama-California Exposition," 65-104; W. H. Holmes, "Masterpieces of Aboriginal American Art, V: "The Great Dragons of Quirigua," *Art and Archaeology*, December 1916, 269-278.

[79] Raymenton, "Forty-Seven Years: A History of the San Diego Museum Association," undated; Evenham, "Popular Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology, San Diego's Museum of Man, *The Museologist*, No. 87, June 1963, 15. [80] *Los Angeles Times*, February 28, 1915, VI, 1.

[81] Grant Wallace, "The Museum as a Clearing House of Culture and Recreation," *El Museo*, Vol. 1, No. 1, April 1, 1919, 10.

[82] *San Diego Union*, March 12, 1916, 12; March 15, 1916, 5.

[83] Hewett, "The School of American Archaeology," *Art and Archaeology*, Vol. 4, December 1916, 317-329.

[84] *San Diego Union*, January 2, 1947, A-6.

[85] Hewett, "The Excavation of Chetro Kettle, Chaco Canyon, 1932-33," *Art and Archaeology*, Vol. 35, No. 2, March-April 1934, 51-58.

[86] Hardy, "History of the San Diego Museum," *History of San Diego County*, ed. Carl H. Heilbron, San Diego Press Club, 1936, 229-231.

[87] List of directors supplied by the Museum of Man.

[88] Letter, Edgar L. Hewett to California State Commission, undated, George W. Marston Papers, Collection 219, Box 2, File 32, San Diego Historical Society Research Library.

[89] *San Diego Sun*, May 23, 1917, 4.

[90] *San Diego Union*, January 11, 1920, Classified, 4.

[91] *Los Angeles Times*, July 1, 1917, III, 23.

[92] Mary Gilman Marston, George White Marston, *A Family Chronicle*, Ward Ritchie Press, 1956, Vol. 2, 98.

[93] Mary Gilman Marston, Vol. 2, Appendix E, 336.

[94] *San Diego Sun*, October 13, 1917, 17.

[95] *San Diego Union*, February 3, 1917, Classified, 1.

[96] Hardy, "History of San Diego Museum," *History of San Diego County*, ed. Heilbron, San Diego Press Club: 1936. 230.

[97] Letter, T. N. Faulconer, Executive Secretary of the Park Commission to Duncan McKinnon, president of the San Diego Museum, date ?, in Amero Collection, San Diego Historical Society Research Library.

[98] *San Diego Union*, July 12, 1923, 5.

[99] *San Diego Union*, July 12, 1925, 8.

[100] *San Diego Union*, February 12, 1929, 6.

- [101] San Diego Union, June 12, 1925, 8.
- [102] San Diego Union, June 12, 1925, 8.
- [103] Minutes of the Board of Park Commissioners, November 19, 1931. [104] San Diego Union, May 12, 1932, 5.
- [105] San Diego Union, August 17, 1932, 1, 2.
- [106] San Diego Union, October 5, 1934, 1
- [107] San Diego Union, April 19, 1936, 6. [108] Descriptive Guidebook of the California-Pacific International Exposition in San Diego, California, 1935, 11.
- [109] San Diego Union, May 26, 1935, 7.
- [110] San Diego Sun, February 29, 1936, Exposition Edition, no page numbers.
- [111] San Diego Sun, December 27, 1936, B-8.
- [112] Official Guide, Souvenir Program, California-Pacific International Exposition - San Diego, 1936, 14.
- [113] San Diego Union, February 28, 1943, C-3.
- [114] San Diego Union, June 25, 1950, A-20.
- [115] San Diego Union, April 30, 1991, D-1.
- [116] San Diego Union, April 30, 1991, D-1.
- [117] San Diego Union, April 11, 1943, C-3; September 2, 1945, B-1.
- [118] Barton Wright, "San Diego Museum of Man," American Indian Magazine, 1980, Vol. 5, No. 4, 48-53.
- [119] San Diego Union, April 11, 1943, C-3.
- [120] San Diego Union, March 11, 1951, B-1.
- [121] San Diego Union, January 18, 1947, B-1.
- [122] San Diego Union, February 18, 1947, A-1.
- [123] San Diego Union, March 21, 1948, B-1.
- [124] San Diego Union, December 26, 1946, 1.
- [125] San Diego Union, July 22, 1949, B-1.
- [126] San Diego Union, April 6, 1967, A-15.
- [127] San Diego Union, July 14, 1950, A-15.
- [128] San Diego Union, June 10, 1965, 29
- [129] San Diego Union, September 26, 1977, B-1.
- [130] San Diego Union, April 24, 1925, 9.
- [131] Harland Bartholomew and Associates, Master Plan for Balboa Park, May 17, 1960, 50.
- [132] Minutes of the Park and Recreation Board, May 11, 1966.
- [133] San Diego Union, November 9, 1972, 7.
- [134] San Diego Union, February 26, 1976, E-1. [135] San Diego Union, March 2, 1973, 3.
- [136] San Diego Union, July 10, 1966, A-17.
- [137] Evening Tribune (San Diego), May 18, 1984, B-3.
- [138] San Diego Union, February 4, 1990, F-3.
- [139] Richard W. Amero, "Okay Come Clean, Who Did It?," manuscript in San Diego Historical Society Research Library, December 20, 1990.
- [140] Los Angeles Times, March 15, 1984, V, 1, 7.
- [141] San Diego Union, June 24, 1984, F-1.
- [142] Los Angeles Times, March 15, 1984, V, 1, 7; San Diego Union, April 1, 1984, F-

16.

[143] Hewett, "Ancient America at the Panama-California Exposition:" San Diego Union, February 4, 1979, F-1.

[144] San Diego Union, December 31, 1978, F-1; February 4, 1979, F-1.

[145] Evening Tribune (San Diego), November 17, 1970, A-2.

[146] The Independent (San Diego), March 19, 1970, A-6.

[147] Museum of Man's Home Page,

<http://www.globalinfo.com/noncomm/man/MAN.HTM>

[148] San Diego Union, April 1, 1993, Art Review by Robert L. Pincus.

For more articles by Richard Amero see: www.sandiegohistory.org/balboapk.htm

Homepage www.balboaparkhistory.net