

**ECOLOGY IN PRINT:  
PUBLISHING *PICTURESQUE CALIFORNIA*,  
1887-1976**

by

Katie Lynn Bonanno

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the University of Delaware in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in American Material Culture

Spring 2016

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In his 1911 book, *My First Summer in the Sierra*, John Muir mused, “When we try to pick out anything by itself, we find it hitched to everything else in the Universe.” I have discovered that this is as true for the process of thinking, researching, and writing a thesis as it is for the natural world. As I have worked to show how *Picturesque California* is, to use Muir’s words, hitched to everything else in the Universe, I have found myself similarly connected, and I am enormously grateful for these connections with scholars, colleagues, and friends.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES .....	vii
ABSTRACT .....	xii
Chapter	
1 INTRODUCTION: ECOLOGICAL IMPRINTS.....	1
2 “WHAT A BRIGHT, APPRECIATIVE TRAVELER WOULD LIKE TO SEE & HEAR” IN THE 1880s and 1890s .....	12
Picturesque Aesthetic and Victorian Taste.....	13
A Publishing Network .....	20
Reception and Impact .....	35
What Followed .....	47
3 “AS FRESH AND AS CAPABLE OF EXCITING WONDER” IN THE 1970s.....	52
Publishing and Popular Ecology .....	53
<i>Notes on my Journeying in California’s Northern Mountains</i> .....	57
<i>West of the Rocky Mountains</i> .....	69
Reprints in Conversation .....	80
4 CONCLUSION: BOOKS, HERITAGE, AND ENVIRONMENTALISM .....	82
FIGURES .....	87
REFERENCES .....	123
Appendix	
IMAGE PERMISSIONS .....	133

## LIST OF FIGURES

- Figure 1 First serial installment of *Picturesque California*, issued by the J. Dewing Company in fall 1887. Courtesy, The Winterthur Library: The John and Carolyn Grossman Collection..... 87
- Figure 2 Volume I of the Winterthur Library’s copy of *Picturesque California*. Courtesy, The Winterthur Library: Printed Book and Periodical Collection. .... 88
- Figure 3 Author’s copy of Lewis Osborne’s *Notes on my Journeying in California’s Northern Mountains*. Photograph by Jim Schneck. .... 89
- Figure 4 Author’s copy of the Running Press’ *West of the Rocky Mountains*. Photograph by Jim Schneck. Courtesy, Buz Teacher..... 90
- Figure 5 Detail of front endpaper in Winterthur Library’s Volume I of *Picturesque California*, showing gilt-stamped leather and use of synthetic gold foil on the endpaper. Acid from the leather has interacted with the synthetic gold, revealing its base metal identity, in green. Courtesy, The Winterthur Library: Printed Book and Periodical Collection. .... 91
- Figure 6 The first plate that appears in *Picturesque California*, Thomas Moran’s etching, *The Half-Dome – View from Moran Point*. Courtesy, The Winterthur Library: Printed Book and Periodical Collection. .... 92
- Figure 7 Photogravure of W.C. Fidler’s *On the Big Bend (Mount Shasta)*. Courtesy, The Winterthur Library: Printed Book and Periodical Collection. .... 93
- Figure 8 Page 209 from Muir’s own copy of *Picturesque California*, showing his extensive annotations. John Muir Papers, Holt-Atherton Special Collections, University of the Pacific Library. © 1984 Muir-Hanna Trust..... 94

Figure 9	Reverse of first serial installment of <i>Picturesque California</i> , including the publication's prospectus. Courtesy, The Winterthur Library: The John and Carolyn Grossman Collection. ....	95
Figure 10	Photogravure of Thomas Hill's <i>Castle Rocks</i> . Courtesy, The Winterthur Library: Printed Book and Periodical Collection.....	96
Figure 11	Page 150 from <i>Picturesque California</i> , exhibiting layered illustration techniques including wood engraving. Courtesy, The Winterthur Library: Printed Book and Periodical Collection. ....	97
Figure 12	Page 147 from <i>Picturesque California</i> , with a relief halftone at the center of the page. Courtesy, The Winterthur Library: Printed Book and Periodical Collection. ....	98
Figure 13	Page 151 from <i>Picturesque California</i> , with a relief halftone printed in sepia-tone at the center of the page. Courtesy, The Winterthur Library: Printed Book and Periodical Collection. ....	99
Figure 14	Julian Rix's etching, <i>Trinity Peaks</i> . Courtesy, The Winterthur Library: Printed Book and Periodical Collection. ....	100
Figure 15	James Fagan's etching, <i>Head Waters of the Sacramento</i> , from a Thomas Hill painting. Courtesy, The Winterthur Library: Printed Book and Periodical Collection.....	101
Figure 16	Example pages from the J. Dewing Company's canvassing book for <i>Picturesque California</i> . Photograph by author. Courtesy, California Historical Society. ....	102
Figure 17	Copy of <i>Picturesque California</i> (Volume I) in the collection of the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley. This subscriber bound the volumes in the most popular standard binding available from the J. Dewing Company. Photograph by the author. Courtesy, Bancroft Library.....	103
Figure 18	Copy of <i>Picturesque California</i> presented to the University of California, Berkeley's Bancroft Library by Professor W.T. Wenzell (1829-1914), a pioneering pharmacist who bound his copies of the book for utility, as three volumes of text and two volumes of plates. Volume II of his text volumes is pictured here. Photographs by the author. Courtesy, Bancroft Library. ....	104

Figure 19	A copy of <i>Picturesque California</i> in the collection of the University of California, Berkeley’s Bancroft Library, bound simply with a sprinkled textblock. The book retains its binder’s sticker, of J. Bradford in Norwich, Connecticut. Photograph by the author. Courtesy, Bancroft Library.....	105
Figure 20	Volume II of <i>Picturesque California</i> ’s Imperial Proof Edition. The J. Dewing Company issued 100 copies of this edition in sets of ten volumes. Each volume was a satin portfolio (twenty-four inches) with artist-proof prints on satin and Japan vellum. Photograph by the author. Courtesy, California Historical Society. ....	106
Figure 21	Volume IX of <i>Picturesque California</i> ’s India Proof Edition. At nineteen inches, the India Proof Edition included plates and some in-text prints on India paper. Photograph by the author. Courtesy, Rosenstock Collection, Autry Library, Autry Museum; 90.253.241.1.	107
Figure 22	Volume I of <i>Picturesque California</i> ’s Edition de Luxe. The J. Dewing Company printed 750 copies of this edition, at twenty inches with plates on fine, wove paper, possibly China paper. Photograph by the author. Courtesy of the National Park Service, John Muir National Historic Site, William and Maymie Kimes Collection, <i>Picturesque California</i> (1888).....	108
Figure 23	Page 169 from <i>Picturesque California</i> , likely the page to which B.H. Royce referred in his letter to Muir, “When suddenly some men on snowshoes come crashing down through the middle of the page!” Courtesy, The Winterthur Library: Printed Book and Periodical Collection. ....	109
Figure 24	Plate photoetching of A.J. Keller’s drawing <i>Tourists Among the Passes – Mt. Lyell Glacier in the Distance</i> . Courtesy, The Winterthur Library: Printed Book and Periodical Collection. ....	110
Figure 25	Photogravure of A. Hencke’s painting, <i>Logging in the Redwood Forest</i> , after a sketch by George Spiel. Courtesy, The Winterthur Library: Printed Book and Periodical Collection. ....	111
Figure 26	The <i>San Francisco Call</i> ’s announcement of its republication of <i>Picturesque California</i> in December 1893. Courtesy, California Digital Newspaper Collection, Center for Bibliographic Studies and Research, University of California, Riverside, < <a href="http://cdnc.ucr.edu">http://cdnc.ucr.edu</a> >..	112

Figure 27	Page 17 from Lewis Osborne’s <i>Notes on my Journeying in California’s Northern Mountains</i> , showing Osborne’s layout aesthetic. Photograph by the author.....	113
Figure 28	Announcement for the Moxon Chappel’s November 1957 meeting, printed by Lewis Osborne in Palo Alto. Photograph by the author. MSS 516, J. Ben Lieberman Papers, Special Collections, University of Delaware Library, Newark, Delaware.....	114
Figure 29	Christmas card printed by Lewis Osborne in the 1950s or 1960s. Photograph by the author. MSS 516, J. Ben Lieberman Papers, Special Collections, University of Delaware Library, Newark, Delaware.....	115
Figure 30	Minutes of the Moxon Chappel’s October 1965 meeting, printed by one of Osborne’s Moxon Chappel companions, Black Mack the Handpress. Photograph by the author. MSS 516, J. Ben Lieberman Papers, Special Collections, University of Delaware Library, Newark, Delaware.....	116
Figure 31	Ephemera printed by Osborne’s Moxon Chappel companions, the Pfuster & Tinker Press. Photograph by the author. MSS 516, J. Ben Lieberman Papers, Special Collections, University of Delaware Library, Newark, Delaware.....	117
Figure 32	Announcement for a 1963 Moxon Chappel meeting, printed by Lewis Osborne. Photograph by the author. MSS 516, J. Ben Lieberman Papers, Special Collections, University of Delaware Library, Newark, Delaware.....	118
Figure 33	Reverse of Osborne’s prospectus for <i>Notes on my Journeying in California’s Northern Mountains</i> . Photograph by the author. Courtesy of the National Park Service, John Muir National Historic Site, William and Maymie Kimes Collection, <i>Notes on my Journeying in California’s Northern Mountains</i> (1974).....	119
Figure 34	Reverse of <i>West of the Rocky Mountains</i> . Photograph by Jim Schneck. Courtesy, Buz Teacher.....	120
Figure 35	Running Press advertisement (ca. 1972). Photograph by the author. Courtesy, Running Press Collection, Kislak Center for Special Collections, Rare Books and Manuscripts, University of Pennsylvania Libraries.....	121

Figure 36 “Spring Books from the Running Press” pamphlet (1978). Photograph by the author. Courtesy, Running Press Collection, Kislak Center for Special Collections, Rare Books and Manuscripts, University of Pennsylvania Libraries. .... 122

## ABSTRACT

Weaving American environmental history with the history of the book, this thesis considers the publishing trajectory of one text, *Picturesque California*, to speak more broadly to connections between material agency, ecological thinking, and the business of making books from the late nineteenth century to the later twentieth. Edited by John Muir and published serially from 1887 to 1891, *Picturesque California* took readers on a visual and literary journey through the American West. Readers also embarked on a material journey through the book, engaging with clay-coated paper, synthetic gold foil, and new printing processes. While *Picturesque California* presented its readers with idealized representations of wilderness, an ecocritical interpretation suggests that these were overwhelmed by the book's materials and distribution networks, products of industrialization and resource exploitation.

In 1974 and 1976 respectively, Ashland, Oregon's Lewis Osborne and Philadelphia's Running Press reprinted the book. Osborne reprinted *Picturesque California* as an art book for the collectors' market, while the Running Press reprinted it as an inexpensive paperback, much like the press' how-to books marketed to ecologically-minded Americans. Although the two reprints contained the same content, their contrasts in material and marketing suggest their makers' different interpretations of *Picturesque California*'s nineteenth-century environmental writings and landscape illustrations. Both, however, point to the potential for scholarly and public audiences alike to engage with American environmental heritage to better understand the relationship between humans and the world in which we live.

## Chapter 1

### INTRODUCTION: ECOLOGICAL IMPRINTS

In late October 1874, Scottish-American naturalist John Muir set out to climb Mount Shasta, the mythologized 14,180-foot volcano in Siskiyou County, California. Of his journey's beginning, Muir recalled:

When I said that I was simply taking a walk, and that icy Shasta was my mark, I was invariably admonished that I had come on a dangerous quest. The time was far too late, the snow was too loose and deep to climb, and I would be lost in drifts and slides. When I hinted that new snow was beautiful and storms not so bad as they were called, my advisers shook their heads...Nevertheless, before noon of the second of November, I was in the frosty azure of the utmost summit.<sup>1</sup>

Muir's retelling of his Mount Shasta climb is peppered with exhilarating drama: warnings from local residents, snowstorms that leave him "frozen, blistered, famished, benumbed..." and a rescue mission, capped by "one of the most beautiful and sublime scenes I [Muir] ever enjoyed."<sup>2</sup>

Muir authored and published this account almost immediately after his descent, and repeatedly. The article appeared in six issues of the San Francisco *Daily Evening Bulletin* in December 1874, in *Harper's Weekly* in September 1877, and, most significantly for this thesis, in the monumental illustrated publication *Picturesque*

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<sup>1</sup> John Muir, "Mount Shasta," in *Picturesque California and the Region West of the Rocky Mountains, from Alaska to Mexico*, ed. John Muir (San Francisco and New York: J. Dewing Company, c1887), 156.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 156-167.

*California and the Region West of the Rocky Mountains, from Alaska to Mexico*  
(Figures 1, 2).<sup>3</sup>

Published by San Francisco's J. Dewing Company and issued to subscribers in thirty serial installments – each sixteen pages with four plate-prints – from 1887 to 1891, *Picturesque California* endeavored to “make the best possible representation of the Marvelous Scenery and Sublime Natural Wonders of this unique region.”<sup>4</sup> The serial publication culminated in what historian Sue Rainey termed “the most comprehensive visual coverage of the Far West yet available:” thirty-two descriptive articles – including Muir's on Mount Shasta – that spanned nearly 500 pages, visually populated with about 600 in-text illustrations and 120 plate-prints, mostly photogravures.<sup>5</sup>

Exactly a century following Muir's eventful climb, readers again journeyed to Mount Shasta's slopes when Muir's article was reprinted twice: first, in 1974, as a petite art book by Lewis Osborne, *Notes on my Journeying in California's Northern Mountains* (Figure 3), and second, in 1976, as part of a larger reprint of *Picturesque California's* second edition by the Running Press, *West of the Rocky Mountains*

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<sup>3</sup> William F. Kimes and Maymie B. Kimes, *John Muir: A Reading Bibliography* (Palo Alto, California: William P. Wreden, 1977), 13, 14, 26-27, 63; Muir, “Mount Shasta,” 145-174.

<sup>4</sup> Prospectus for *Picturesque California*, Grossman 54-A-2-5, John & Carolyn Grossman Collection, Winterthur Library.

<sup>5</sup> Sue Rainey, “*Picturesque California: How Westerners Portrayed the West in the Age of John Muir*,” *Common-Place* 7(3): n.p., accessed March 24, 2016, <http://www.common-place-archives.org/vol-07/no-03/rainey/>; John Muir, ed., *Picturesque California and the Region West of the Rocky Mountains, from Alaska to Mexico* (San Francisco and New York: J. Dewing Company, c1887).

(Figure 4). This thesis dissects this publishing sequence – *Picturesque California* in 1887, *Notes on my Journeying in California's Northern Mountains* in 1974, and *West of the Rocky Mountains* in 1976 – as a case study to illustrate the development of and entanglement between the craft and business of bookmaking and American ecological thinking, or more broadly, between material culture and environment.

These books share content, – the words and illustrations for Muir's article on Mount Shasta – but the context for and materiality of these three books differ markedly. In 1887, when *Picturesque California* took form, railroad networks had bridged the country and were expanding rapidly, cities were ballooning, consumer goods were multiplying, and the value of wilderness preservation was being debated on a national stage, epitomized in the later battle over California's Hetch Hetchy Valley.<sup>6</sup> In response to a water crisis in San Francisco, politicians and writers, including John Muir, wrestled with the question of whether to flood the valley as a water source for the city, or to leave Hetch Hetchy intact and untouched, posing a more fundamental question: should wilderness be put to use to meet human needs, or should it be preserved for its own sake?<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Thomas J. Schlereth, *Victorian America: Transformations in Everyday Life, 1876-1915* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1991), xii-xvi; Carl F. Kaestle and Janice A. Radway, "A Framework for the History of Publishing and Reading in the United States, 1880-1940," in *A History of the Book in America: Volume 4: Print in Motion: The Expansion of Publishing and Reading in the United States, 1880-1940*, eds. Carl F. Kaestle and Janice A. Radway (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 9-10.

<sup>7</sup> Roderick Frazier Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014), 161-181. In the early to mid-nineteenth century, Romantics like Henry David Thoreau and Thomas Cole challenged pioneers' understanding of wilderness as land to be feared, tamed, and conquered by instead ascribing appreciation, beauty, and pride to wild country. By the later nineteenth

By the 1970s, when *Notes on my Journeying in California's Northern Mountains* and *West of the Rocky Mountains* were issued, automobiles and highway networks had taken precedence over the railroads, city populations morphed as suburbia sprawled, the world of consumer products had embraced plastics and disposability, and growing awareness of ecology – the science of the interconnectedness of all living things – helped to catalyze a more cohesive environmental movement. While Americans increasingly sought wilderness experiences and continued to advocate for the preservation of wild places and animals, the proliferation of organizations committed to the health of their backyard environments – from Stamp Out Smog in Los Angeles to Mother's Air Watch in Texarkana, Arkansas – illustrates that ecological health had become a primary point of advocacy for Americans in the 1970s.<sup>8</sup>

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century, wilderness areas like Yellowstone and the Adirondacks were preserved not for their value as wilderness, but in order to prevent private development and exploitation in these areas. In the 1890s, contemporary to the publication of *Picturesque California*, a national debate – largely through articles published in magazines – over wilderness ensued. Conservationists who had become concerned about the exhaustion of forests by over-logging found themselves split into two camps: conservation, with its emphasis on wise use and management of natural resources, and preservation, with its rejection of utility in favor of wilderness' spiritual and aesthetic value. These conflicting ideologies were tested in the conflict over California's Hetch Hetchy Valley. See also Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 64-140; Steinberg, *Down to Earth*, 136-154; Gifford Pinchot, *The Fight for Conservation* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1910), which synthesized Pinchot's magazine articles on conservation policy from *The World's Work*, *The Outlook*, and *American Industries*; and Kimes and Kimes, *John Muir: A Reading Bibliography*, 69-90, which outlined all of Muir's articles advocating for preservation in the late 1880s and 1890s, in periodicals including *The Century Magazine*, *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, *Harper's Weekly*, and *The Atlantic Monthly*.

<sup>8</sup> Ted Steinberg, *Down to Earth: Nature's Role in American History*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 203-256; Nash, *Wilderness and the*

While *Picturesque California's* nineteenth-century subscribers experienced a United States decidedly different from that of mid-1970s consumers, readers and publishers in both periods valued the books' materiality. A reviewer for the *San Francisco Chronicle* wrote of the initial publication in February 1888: "As a specimen of book-making, 'Picturesque California' will take rank with the best work that has ever come from an American press. The text is printed on heavy Holland paper, made expressly for this work..."<sup>9</sup> By 1974, "heavy Holland paper" was no longer in vogue; Lewis Osborne noted in his prospectus for *Notes on my Journeying in California's Northern Mountains* that the book was instead printed "in two colors on Curtis laid-finish paper, using traditional Caslon types..."<sup>10</sup> And with similar attention to materiality in 1976, Stuart "Buz" Teacher of the Running Press deliberately fashioned *West of the Rocky Mountains* as an oversized paperback with cover artwork designed to evoke that of a record album.<sup>11</sup>

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*American Mind*, 316-317; Adam Rome, *The Genius of Earth Day: How a 1970 Teach-In Unexpectedly Made the First Green Generation* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2013), 9; Donald Worster, *Nature's Economy: A History of Ecological Ideas* (New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 339-348.

<sup>9</sup> "LITERATURE: A New and Sumptuous Art Work 'Picturesque California,'" *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 19, 1888, 7. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: San Francisco Chronicle (572037214).

<sup>10</sup> Prospectus for *Notes on my Journeying in California's Northern Mountains*, William and Maymie Kimes Collection, John Muir National Historic Site, Martinez, CA.

<sup>11</sup> Stuart Teacher in discussion with author, February 23, 2016; Stuart Teacher, "How to Produce Trade Paperbacks," Running Press records, University of Pennsylvania: Kislak Center for Special Collections, Rare Books and Manuscripts.

This thesis' consideration of the context, content, and materiality of these three books – three installments in *Picturesque California*'s publishing history – is framed by ecocriticism, a theoretical perspective that adds to contemporary currents in the history of the book and introduces the central questions of this case study. Historians of the book have increasingly considered the authors and publishers who create, fabricate, and distribute books alongside the varied consumers who read, respond, and use books for their own unique purposes. As articulated by historians Carl F. Kaestle and Janice A. Radway:

Whether as writers, editors, publishers, printers, designers, wholesalers, advertisers, literary agents, or readers, millions of Americans used print culture for their own purposes. They used print to make a living, to gather information, to indulge in pleasure, to develop a certain understanding of their identity and a capacity for voice in the public arena, and to constitute specific communities – in short, to get things done.<sup>12</sup>

Book historians' emphasis on this relationship between people and print mirrors environmental historians' concern for the relationship between people and place, as noted by historian Thomas G. Andrews in his article, "Toward an Environmental

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<sup>12</sup> Kaestle and Radway, "A Framework," 18. Additional recent scholarship, like Sandro Jung and Stephen Colclough, "Introduction," *The Yearbook of English Studies* 45(2015): 1-11, echoes Kaestle and Radway's concern for the relationship between print and a diverse array of actors, and other scholarship further challenges traditional notions of readership through case studies. On readership and books' materiality, see Slavomir Koziol, "'Those Clunky Things You Have to Carry Around': Textual Materiality in Vernor Vinge's *Rainbows End*," *Science Fiction Studies* 42(3): 458-482; Stephen Colclough, "Pocket Books and Portable Writing: The Pocket Memorandum Book in Eighteenth-Century England and Wales," *The Yearbook of English Studies* 45(2015): 159-177; and John N. King, ed., *Tudor Books and Readers: Materiality and the Construction of Meaning* (New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

History of the Book.” Andrews wrote that “historians of the book and environmental historians [have]...expressed a shared concern for the relationships connecting seemingly disparate people and places, ecosystems and discourses into print cultures and industrial economies.”<sup>13</sup> Ecocriticism provides a framework through which these histories can be linked and through which *Picturesque California*’s publishing history can be fruitfully unpacked.<sup>14</sup>

Art historian Alan C. Braddock proposed ecocriticism to the field of art history as an approach that builds on constructionist analyses of artworks to explore “the ways in which human creativity...unfolds within a specific environment or set of environments, whether urban, rural, or suburban.”<sup>15</sup> By Braddock’s definition,

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<sup>13</sup> Thomas G. Andrews, “Toward an Environmental History of the Book: The Nature of Hubert Howe Bancroft’s *Works*,” *Southern California Quarterly* 93(1): 34. In this article, Andrews unpacked Hubert Howe Bancroft’s thirty-nine-volume *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft* through the lens of environmental history, identifying the pattern of natural resource extraction that enabled the production of the book. In the context of above-mentioned scholarship on books’ materiality and readership, Andrews provides an alternate model for studying the material form of a book.

<sup>14</sup> Scholarship in publishing history tends to focus on the cultural meanings and reverberations of texts over time, with little agency attributed to the changing material form of these texts. For example, see Julian Parks Boyd and Gerard W. Gawalt, eds., *The Declaration of Independence: The Evolution of the Text* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1999); Claire Parfait, *The Publishing History of Uncle Tom’s Cabin, 1852-2002* (Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2013); and Melissa J. Homestead, “Novelist Catharine Sedgwick Negotiates British Copyright, 1822-57,” *The Yearbook of English Studies* 45(2015): 196-215. In contrast, Sally Dugan, *Baroness Orczy’s The Scarlet Pimpernel: A Publishing History* (Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2012) includes a discussion of the material forms of *The Scarlet Pimpernel* in the context of marketing the book to varied consumers.

<sup>15</sup> Alan C. Braddock, “Ecocritical Art History,” *American Art* 23(2): 26.

ecocriticism adds to a study of what an artwork represents – as gleaned from constructionism – by asking questions about the environments in which the artwork was created and received and by attributing agency to those environments. How do these environments impact material culture’s form and meaning?

Braddock’s definition is complemented and strengthened by the theoretical perspectives of art historians Timothy Morton and James Nisbet. In his book *The Ecological Thought*, Timothy Morton argued that all material culture “hardwires the environment into its *form* [*sic*],” such that a poem both implies an ecology – as it is printed on paper made from trees and read within a physical environment – and performs an ecology – such that reading a poem aloud will affect one’s perception of the environment around her.<sup>16</sup> In a similar vein, Nisbet, in his book entitled *Ecologies, Environments, and Energy Systems in Art of the 1960s and 1970s*, purported that all artworks are ecological objects and “should be understood as a material distillation of their own conditions of ecology, be these conditions environmental or theoretical.”<sup>17</sup>

An ecocritical reading of an object, then, is grounded in material agency, considering both the physical and ideological environments in which objects are created and received as well as the materials with which objects are made. These implicit material considerations add to, challenge, and enrich one’s understanding of what, in this case, the text explicitly states or an illustration explicitly depicts. In this

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<sup>16</sup> Timothy Morton, *The Ecological Thought* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2012), 11.

<sup>17</sup> James Nisbet, *Ecologies, Environments, and Energy Systems in the Art of the 1960s and 1970s* (Cambridge and London: The MIT Press, 2014), 3.

way, ecocriticism's focus on material agency moves scholarship away from anthropocentrism to explore material culture's role in our broader, shared ecology, connecting the history of objects – in this study, books – to environmental history. Morton provides a useful summary: “Ecology permeates all forms... We will soon be accustomed to wondering what any text [or object] says about the environment even if no animals or trees or mountains appear in it.”<sup>18</sup>

Of course, *Picturesque California*'s pages teem with the animals, trees, and mountains of the American West. In fact, these plentiful and finely wrought illustrations have driven the little existing scholarship on the book, primarily Sue Rainey's article, “*Picturesque California: How Westerners Portrayed the West in the Age of John Muir*,” and Erika Esau's chapter, “1888: Australia, California and the Picturesque industry,” in her book, *Images of the Pacific Rim: Australia and California, 1850-1935*. Rainey focused her discussion on the book's graphics and argued that the book had a dual primary theme: spectacular western wilderness could exist harmoniously with aggressive urban, railroad, and agricultural development.<sup>19</sup> Esau also focused on *Picturesque California*'s graphics, comparing the book to its contemporary, *The Picturesque atlas of Australia*, through lenses of the picturesque aesthetic and regional pride.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Morton, *The Ecological Thought*, 11.

<sup>19</sup> Rainey, “*Picturesque California*.”

<sup>20</sup> Erika Esau, *Images of the Pacific Rim: Australia and California, 1850-1935* (Seattle: University of Washington Press for Power Publications, 2011), 106-153.

This thesis builds on Rainey's and Esau's discussions of the book's iconography by ecocritically considering *Picturesque California* as a material manifestation of its physical and ideological environments and by bringing *Picturesque California*'s 1970s reprints into conversation with the initial publication, establishing a lineage of material objects and their ecologies of thought.<sup>21</sup> Ecocriticism thus provides the platform for the central questions of this thesis. How was *Picturesque California* curated, fabricated, distributed, and received from 1887 to 1976? What ideas about nature did *Picturesque California* construct literarily, aesthetically, materially, and culturally over time? What was – and is – its cultural work as an ecological, material object – an ecological imprint – produced and reproduced within a specific set of physical and ideological environments?<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Although prominent nineteenth-century artists including Mary Nimmo Moran, Thomas Moran, Thomas Hill, William Keith, and Frederic Remington provided illustrations for *Picturesque California*, the book's iconography is not the focus of this thesis. There is an extensive and lively historiography around late nineteenth-century visual culture and the American West; see William H. Truettner, ed., *The West as America: Reinterpreting Images of the Frontier, 1820-1920* (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press for the National Museum of American Art, 1991); Floramae McCarron-Cates, "The Best Possible View: Pictorial Representation in the American West," in *Frederic Church, Winslow Homer, and Thomas Moran: Tourism and the American Landscape*, eds. Barbara Bloemink, et al (New York and Boston: Bulfinch Press for Cooper-Hewitt, National Design Museum, Smithsonian Institution, 2006); William H. Goetzmann and William N. Goetzmann, *The West of the Imagination*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009).

<sup>22</sup> These questions also speak to my initial interest in the book and the impetus for this thesis. Searching for John Muir texts in the Winterthur Library collection in February 2015, I discovered serial installments as well as a complete two-volume copy of *Picturesque California*. Struck by the book's extensive illustrations and its connection to John Muir, I wanted to learn more about the compilation of this enormous publication but found little existing scholarship. As an ambitious effort to comprehensively represent the American West in the late nineteenth century, featuring prominent writers and artists, *Picturesque California* engaged American imaginations

Answering these questions provides a window onto the development of and connections between publishing and ecological thinking from 1887 to 1976. As material manifestations of their physical and ideological environments, *Picturesque California*, *Notes on my Journeying in California's Northern Mountains*, and *West of the Rocky Mountains* together highlight shifts in thinking about and interacting with the natural world. Through changes in materiality and ties to John Muir, this publishing history illustrates the transformation of ecological thinking from wilderness preservation to ecological advocacy and the cultural behaviors both modes of thinking evoked.<sup>23</sup> Ultimately, by weaving together *Picturesque California's* publishing history with material and environmental histories through ecocriticism, this thesis speaks to the relevance and value of continued engagement with our environmental heritage, those artifacts like these three books which add to, challenge, and enrich our understanding of how humans have identified a place in our shared ecology over time.

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in the 1890s and 1970s – and it continues to engage imaginations today as part of the Winterthur Library collection. This thesis seeks to fill a gap in the scholarship by telling *Picturesque California's* story, which speaks compellingly to the role material culture can play in the environmental movement.

<sup>23</sup> This thesis challenges Muir biographers' stance that *Picturesque California* was insignificant to his writing career and preservation advocacy. By considering *Picturesque California's* publishing history, particularly its reverberation in the early twentieth century and its revival in the 1970s, this thesis argues that the book speaks to Muir's ideological legacy. For Muir's biographers' interpretations of *Picturesque California*, see Donald Worster, *A Passion for Nature: The Life of John Muir* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 309-310; Michael P. Cohen, *The Pathless Way: John Muir and American Wilderness* (Madison and London: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1984), 236-273; Linnie Marsh Wolfe, *Son of the Wilderness: The Life of John Muir*, 1945 (Reprint, Madison and London: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2003), 237.

## Chapter 2

### “WHAT A BRIGHT, APPRECIATIVE TRAVELER WOULD LIKE TO SEE & HEAR” IN THE 1880s and 1890s

The Winterthur Library houses an ornate, two-volume copy of *Picturesque California and the Region West of the Rocky Mountains, from Alaska to Mexico* (Figure 2). In the late nineteenth century, a bookbinder assembled the subscriber’s thirty serial installments into two volumes and bound them in tooled, brown goat-leather with gilt-stamped decoration. Although the leather would have been supple and flexible for the book’s nineteenth-century owner, the covers are now red-rotting, practically exhaling leather flakes and powder. Deterioration along the books’ spines reveals false bands, an aesthetic decision made by the unknown owner of this book.<sup>24</sup> Opening the front cover of the first volume, the book shimmers: the leather wrapped around the boards was gilt-stamped, the endpapers were intricately patterned with synthetic gold foil, and the entire textblock was gilt-edged (Figure 5). Before the reader engages the illustrated text, the book tells a story about the business of bookmaking in the late nineteenth century.

The experience of interacting with *Picturesque California* in the twenty-first century leads the reader from the endpapers to the letterpress title page, faced by a

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<sup>24</sup> False bands refer to the raised strips of leather or board on a book’s spine that do not represent the book’s actual sewn binding supports. See Jane Greenfield, *ABC of Bookbinding* (New Castle and New York: Oak Knoll Press and the Lyons Press, 1998), 25.

delicate Thomas Moran etching (Figure 6), and then through nearly 500 pages of writing and artwork representing the cultural and natural landscapes of the nineteenth-century American West.<sup>25</sup> The reader engages in a literary and visual journey, traveling through writing by authors including Joaquin Miller, Ernest Ingersoll, and Kate Field and illustrations by artists including William Keith, Thomas Hill, and Frederic Remington. This journey leads the reader from the Yosemite Valley to Alaska to Colorado to San Francisco, an experience mediated by the book's context, content, and material.

The experience of the book today mirrors that of the book's nineteenth-century owner. In the 1890s, the agent reading, viewing, poring over, skimming through, or otherwise using this book for their own purposes would have done so in conversation with Victorian taste and the picturesque aesthetic, a publishing network that stretched from Mount Shasta to San Francisco to New York City, and ecological thinking that debated the respective merits of wilderness and civilization. Charting *Picturesque California's* creation, distribution, and reception reveals that the book – in content and material – reflected and, to some extent, shaped contemporary thought and interaction with the environment in the late nineteenth century.

### **Picturesque Aesthetic and Victorian Taste**

As a book with over 700 illustrations, – in-text and plates – *Picturesque California* took form in a United States increasingly populated by pictures: all-

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<sup>25</sup> My use of the term “reader” seeks to acknowledge recent scholarship that accounts for the reader's agency in interacting with books. Individuals read books, but they also view illustrations, perform an identity, search for information, and skim quickly through long texts, among numerous other personal and collective uses. See note 12.

pervasive chromolithographs, new short moving pictures, photographs, and illustrations in an expanded print culture of magazines, newspapers, and books marketed to an increasingly literate and educated public.<sup>26</sup> But *Picturesque California*'s title would have immediately clued nineteenth-century Americans into the aesthetic that would characterize the book's hundreds of visual representations of the American West, carving its niche from the expansive and diverse visual culture of the late nineteenth century. *Picturesque California*'s plate-photogravure of William C. Fitler's drawing, *On the Big Bend (Mount Shasta)* (Figure 7), for instance, typifies the picturesque aesthetic: roughness, as in the rocky crags on which two onlookers stand on the proper left side of the print; variety, as in the positions of trees – tilted, uprooted, and standing firm – on the image's proper right; and asymmetry, seen in the print's heavy rock formation on the proper left and increasingly barren landscape on the proper right.<sup>27</sup>

The popularization of these aesthetic features was certainly not new in *Picturesque California*, nor to late nineteenth-century Americans at large. *Picturesque California*'s readers could, in fact, trace the roots of the book's aesthetic conventions to England in the late eighteenth century. Introduced and popularized by William Gilpin in his *An Essay upon Prints*, the picturesque was theorized as an

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<sup>26</sup> Neil Harris, "Pictorial Perils: The Rise of American Illustration" in *The American Illustrated Book in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Gerald W.R. Ward (Winterthur, Delaware: Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1987), 17; Kaestle and Radway, "A Framework," 12-13.

<sup>27</sup> Carrie Tirado Bramen, *The Uses of Variety: Modern Americanism and the Quest for National Distinctiveness* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2000), 164-165.

aesthetic category between the sublime and the beautiful, “expressive of that peculiar kind of beauty, which is agreeable in a picture.”<sup>28</sup> Picturesque landscapes were neither classically beautiful nor awesomely sublime; rather, the picturesque aesthetic favored varieties of forms and textures, framed with balance thought to make the image pleasing instead of shocking.<sup>29</sup>

In the early nineteenth century, notions of the picturesque were adopted as ideals for architecture as well as standards for tourism. The popular idea of “touring in search of the picturesque” – literally traveling to find scenery that looked like pictures, or could be framed as such with the use of a handheld convex mirror called a Claude Glass – spurred a litany of English publications illustrated with engravings of picturesque scenery, precursors to the prolific wood engravings, halftones, and photogravures that fill the pages of *Picturesque California*.<sup>30</sup> The underlying

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<sup>28</sup> William Gilpin, *An Essay upon Prints: Containing Remarks Upon the Principles of Picturesque Beauty*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London: Printed by G. Scott for J. Robson, 1768), x; Sue Rainey, *Creating Picturesque America: Monument to the Natural and Cultural Landscape* (Nashville and London: Vanderbilt University Press, 1994), 26-28. See Uvedale Price, *An Essay on the Picturesque: As Compared with the Sublime and the Beautiful* (London: Printed for J. Robson, 1794) and Richard Payne Knight, *The Landscape: A Didactic Poem* (London: Printed by W. Bulmer and Co., 1794) for contemporary debate on the meaning of “picturesque.”

<sup>29</sup> Bramen, *The Uses of Variety*, 164; Rainey, *Creating Picturesque America*, 29.

<sup>30</sup> Rainey, *Creating Picturesque America*, 26-28; Malcolm Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque: Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760-1800* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1989), 67-68. Examples of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century illustrated accounts of picturesque tours include William Gilpin, *Observations on Several Parts of the Counties of Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex* (London: Printed for T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1809); Thomas Allason, *Picturesque Views of the Antiquities of Pola, in Istria* (London: J. Murray, 1819); and William Bernard Cooke, *Pompeii, Illustrated with Picturesque Views* (London: Published by W.B. Cooke, 1827).

assumption for these illustrated publications was that touring the countryside to view picturesque landscapes was an admirable and meaningful pursuit. In England, these tours bolstered nationalism in their preference for English landscapes, and the tours and books alike made landscape appreciation accessible to those without land on which to create a garden.<sup>31</sup>

As books depicting picturesque views of Europe crossed the Atlantic Ocean, picturesque touring grew in popularity among American audiences, particularly by the mid-nineteenth century with the publication of new American-focused, on-the-ground guides and view-books.<sup>32</sup> When New York's D. Appleton and Company published *Picturesque America; or, The Land We Live In* in forty-eight serial installments between 1872 and 1874, the Victorian taste for the picturesque had primed the book for wild success. *The Sioux City Daily Journal* of Sioux City, Iowa offered an illustrative review on April 16, 1873:

We had a call yesterday from H. Franklin, Esq., who is in the city for the purpose of taking orders for D. Appleton & Co.'s new and grand work, entitled "Picturesque America; or, the land we live in."...The numbers before us are simply superb, and it would be hard to say too

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<sup>31</sup> Rainey, *Creating Picturesque America*, 26-28. Picturesque tours were not universally celebrated; see William Combe, *The Tour of Doctor Syntax in Search of the Picturesque* (London: Ackermann and Co., 1838), which satirized William Gilpin's search for the picturesque.

<sup>32</sup> Rainey, *Creating Picturesque America*, 30-31. Examples of American-focused guidebooks and illustrated view-books include Nicholson B. Devereux, ill., *The Picturesque Pocket Companion, and Visitor's Guide, through Mount Auburn* (Boston: Otis, Broaders & Co., 1839); Orville Luther Holley, *The Picturesque Tourist: Being a Guide through the Northern and Eastern States and Canada* (New York: J. Disturnell, 1844), Nathaniel Parker Willis, *Trenton Falls: Picturesque and Descriptive* (New York: George P. Putnam, 1851); and *The Home Book of the Picturesque, or, American Scenery, Art, and Literature* (New York: G.P. Putnam, 1852).

much in praise of the general excellence of the publication...The work will portray the great mountain ranges, the picturesque lakes, the beautiful valleys, the grand primitive forests, the cascades, the magnificent rivers, the towns and cities, in brief, all the noticeable aspects of our land, from Canada to the Gulf, from the Atlantic to the Pacific...<sup>33</sup>

While perhaps more an advertisement than a review, *The Sioux City Daily Journal* conveys a sense of the book's immense popularity among American consumers by the mid-1870s. *Picturesque America's* success stemmed from the emergent culture of increased reading, book-owning, and picturing, as well as efforts to define a national identity in the wake of the Civil War.<sup>34</sup> For these reasons, historian Sue Rainey explained, "In the mid-1870s, it was the book of choice for display on the parlor table in many thousands of American homes from New York to San Francisco."<sup>35</sup>

But perhaps *Picturesque America's* success is best understood through its connection to *Picturesque California* and the flurry of picturesque-branded literature that proliferated after 1875: *Picturesque Europe, A Century After: Picturesque Glimpses of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania, Picturesque Rhode Island, The*

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<sup>33</sup> "Picturesque America," *The Sioux City Daily Journal*, April 16, 1873, 4. NewsBank/Readex: America's Historical Newspapers (11ACD461E437AAE0).

<sup>34</sup> Carl F. Kaestle and Janice A. Radway, "Prologue," in *A History of the Book in America: Volume 4: Print in Motion: The Expansion of Publishing and Reading in the United States, 1880-1940*, eds. Carl F. Kaestle and Janice A. Radway (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 2-3; Schlereth, *Victorian America*, xvi; Linda M. Kruger, "Home Libraries: Special Spaces, Reading Places," in *American Home Life, 1880-1930: A Social History of Spaces and Services*, eds. Jessica H. Foy and Thomas J. Schlereth (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1992), 96-101; Eleanor Jones Harvey, *The Civil War and American Art* (Washington, D.C. and New Haven: Smithsonian American Art Museum in association with Yale University Press, 2012), 60-62, 175, 225-241.

<sup>35</sup> Rainey, *Creating Picturesque America*, xiii.

*Picturesque World, Picturesque California, Picturesque New England, Picturesque Detroit and Environs, and Picturesque Hawaii, among others.*<sup>36</sup>

Thus *Picturesque California* took form in an ideological environment engaged with the picturesque aesthetic as well as with visual culture and book ownership more broadly. But *Picturesque California*'s focus on the American West speaks to another set of tastes and ideologies prevalent in the late nineteenth century: fascination with western mythology and pride in technological, industrial, and material advancement.<sup>37</sup> The transcontinental railroad, completed in 1869, and other later rail-lines, like the Atchison, Topeka, & Santa Fe, brought increasing numbers of settlers and tourists west, particularly to California. As the railroad networks expanded, so did the distribution of publications promoting tourism and settlement in the West, many of them published, promoted, or funded by the railroad companies.<sup>38</sup> Charles Nordhoff's

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<sup>36</sup> Rainey, *Creating Picturesque America*, 280-282; Bayard Taylor, ed., *Picturesque Europe* (New York: D. Appleton, 1875-1879); Earl Shinn, *A Century After: Picturesque Glimpses of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: Allen, Lane & Scott and J. W. Lauderbach, 1875); Wilfred Harold Munro, *Picturesque Rhode Island* (Providence: J.A. & R.A. Reid, 1881); Leo de Colange, *The Picturesque World or, Scenes in Many Lands* (Boston: Estes & Lauriat, 1882); Muir, *Picturesque California*; Boston and Maine Railroad, *Picturesque New England* (Boston: The Railroad, c1890); Charles F. Warner, ed., *Picturesque Detroit and Environs* (Northampton, Massachusetts: Picturesque Publishing Company, 1893); John Leavitt Stevens, *Picturesque Hawaii* (Philadelphia: Hubbard Publishing Co. & World Bible House, c1894). Notably, while these books shared an adherence to the picturesque aesthetic, the aesthetic did not denote a standard form for the book. Some, like *Picturesque California*, were designed as lavish art books, much like *Picturesque America*, while others, like *Picturesque New England*, were designed as tourist souvenirs.

<sup>37</sup> Esau, *Images of the Pacific Rim*, 113.

<sup>38</sup> D.W. Meinig, *The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History: Volume 3: Transcontinental America, 1850-1915* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), 177-178; Esau, *Images of the Pacific Rim*, 109;

*California, For Health, Pleasure, and Residence*, published by the Harper Brothers in 1872, circulated widely and was especially popular.<sup>39</sup> In his guide, Nordhoff detailed the best ways to travel, the must-see places, and other information he thought relevant to tourists and settlers alike, glorifying the Central Pacific Railroad throughout.<sup>40</sup>

At the time of *Picturesque California*'s publication in the late 1880s, most Americans would have been more familiar with the West's grand tourist attractions – like those Nordhoff described – than with a sense of daily life in the region. While monumental oil paintings, panoramas, stereographs, photographs, chromolithographs, and wood-engraved magazine illustrations of places like the Yosemite Valley, Yellowstone National Park, and the Grand Canyon – as well as mythologized novels about the western frontier – proliferated after the Civil War, there was not yet a visual vehicle to provide a sweeping depiction of the American West by way of the most advanced technological achievement.<sup>41</sup> James Dewing identified this gap in the market for visual culture, and in collaboration with John Muir, Francis Walbridge, and numerous others, created an extensive publishing network to fill it, speaking to contemporary tastes, geography, and ideologies and culminating in *Picturesque California and the Region West of the Rocky Mountains, from Alaska to Mexico*.

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Kevin Starr, *Americans and the California Dream, 1850-1915* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), 175.

<sup>39</sup> Philip J. Gruen, *Manifest Destinations: Cities and Tourists in the Nineteenth-Century American West* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014), 43.

<sup>40</sup> Charles Nordhoff, *California, For Health, Pleasure, and Residence: A Book for Travellers [sic] and Settlers* (New York: Harper, c1872).

<sup>41</sup> Esau, *Images of the Pacific Rim*, 113; Rainey, “*Picturesque California*.”

## A Publishing Network

On February 18, 1888, John Muir wrote to his friend, James Davie Butler, Professor of Latin and Greek at the University of Wisconsin, “I am busy now with ‘Picturesque California’ – something like Picturesque America. You will soon see it...”<sup>42</sup> In letters to friends and colleagues in the late 1880s, Muir frequently mentioned his work on *Picturesque California* and explained the project by way of comparison to *Picturesque America*. Muir’s analogy suggests that Victorian engagement with the picturesque, increased readership and book ownership, and efforts to root national identity in American nature after the Civil War – which had combined to create enormous success for *Picturesque America* – were also motivators and reference points for Muir’s curation of *Picturesque California*.

But the impetus for and director of the book project was publisher James Dewing, president of the J. Dewing Company. Born in Tolland, Connecticut in 1846, Dewing served in the 18<sup>th</sup> Connecticut Volunteer Infantry and moved to San Francisco after the Civil War, around 1868, to join his brother Francis Dewing, who had relocated to California in 1859 and settled in San Francisco around 1860.<sup>43</sup> Francis

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<sup>42</sup> John Muir to James Davie Butler, February 18, 1888, Box 2, Folder 3, James Davie Butler Papers, Wisconsin Historical Society, accessed March 31, 2016, John Muir Letters, Holt-Atherton Special Collections Digital Collections, University of the Pacific, <http://digitalcollections.pacific.edu/cdm/ref/collection/muirletters/id/11684>.

<sup>43</sup> 1850 United States Census, Tolland, Tolland County, Connecticut, digital image s.v. “Dewing,” Ancestry.com; 1860 United States Census, Windham, Canterbury County, Connecticut, digital image s.v. “James Dewing,” Ancestry.com; Benjamin Franklin Dewing, *Descendants of Andrew Dewing of Dedham, Mass* (Boston: Privately Printed, 1904), 117-119; Handwritten memorial address for James Dewing by John H. Roberts, February 23, 1902, James Dewing Papers, Davidson Library Special Research Collections, University of California, Santa Barbara.

started a business in subscription literature, F. Dewing & Co., and took part in San Francisco's mid-nineteenth-century publishing boom.<sup>44</sup> In the early 1870s, James worked as a partner in his brother's successful subscription-book agency.<sup>45</sup>

American publishers, notably Philadelphia's Mathew Carey (1760-1839), had long employed the subscription model: agents would canvass, or travel door-to-door, in a community, showing residents a sample book with a selection of pages from the title to be printed and collecting orders for the publication. These orders allowed the subscription publisher to build credit to fund the printing of the book. Once printed, the publishing company's agents would deliver the book in serial installments to subscribers, collecting payments to send back to the publisher. For this reason, books sold by subscription were not typically sold in bookshops, the number of which had expanded with the increased interest in reading and book ownership in the late nineteenth century. These subscription book firms, like the F. Dewing & Co., operated differently from the trade publishers and bookshops in that the publishers' agents – for better or for worse, depending on the skill of the agent – could reach rural and urban consumers who would not visit bookshops, whether by choice or by lack of accessibility.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Dewing, *Descendants of Andrew Dewing*, 117; John Tebbel, *A History of Book Publishing in the United States: Volume II: The Expansion of an Industry, 1865-1919* (New York and London: R.R. Bowker, 1979), 468-469.

<sup>45</sup> Dewing, *Descendants of Andrew Dewing*, 118-119. In the 1870s, the F. Dewing & Co. issued subscription books including James D. McCabe's *Great Fortunes, and How They Were Made* (1872), James T. Hodge's *First Century of National Existence: The United States* (1875), Lloyd V. Teller's *The Diseases of Live Stock and their Most Efficient Remedies* (1879).

<sup>46</sup> Michael Winship, "The Rise of a National Book Trade System in the United States," in *A History of the Book in America: Volume 4: Print in Motion: The*

In 1881, the F. Dewing & Co. became the J. Dewing Company when Francis retired and sold his interest to James; Francis Dewing died while traveling in Venice, Italy in 1882.<sup>47</sup> As president of the J. Dewing Company, James Dewing operated a business with several arms: publishing, bookselling, school furnishing, and piano manufacturing.<sup>48</sup> His younger brother, Madison S. Dewing, became a partner in 1884, and in 1887, they incorporated the business with \$250,000 in capital, likely investments for the publication of *Picturesque California*, which art historian Erika Esau referred to as the company's "crowning achievement."<sup>49</sup>

This "crowning achievement" took form through Dewing's connection to John Muir. The J. Dewing Company selected Muir as editor of *Picturesque California*, and he accepted the role likely at the urging of his wife, Louie Strentzel Muir.<sup>50</sup> Born in

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*Expansion of Publishing and Reading in the United States, 1880-1940*, eds. Carl F. Kaestle and Janice A. Radway (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 64-65; "Damn Those Book Canvassers," Zinman Collection of Canvassing Books, Kislak Center for Special Collections, Rare Books and Manuscripts, University of Pennsylvania, accessed March 31, 2016, <http://www.library.upenn.edu/exhibits/rbm/agents/case11.html>.

<sup>47</sup> Dewing, *Descendants of Andrew Dewing*, 118-119.

<sup>48</sup> An article entitled "The J. Dewing Company: A Glimpse at a Large and Artistic Business" appeared in the *San Francisco Chronicle* on December 6, 1889, during *Picturesque California*'s serialization. Crediting the success of *Picturesque California*, the article noted the company's addition of a "special artroom" in their establishment in San Francisco's Flood Building, "where some of the recent pictures of such artists as Hill, Keith, Robinson, Narjot, Streight, Strauss, Yelland, Brookes, Joullin, Inchbold, Fisher and others may be seen on exhibition."

<sup>49</sup> Rainey, "Picturesque California;" Dewing, *Descendants of Andrew Dewing*, 117-119; Esau, *Images of the Pacific Rim*, 128.

<sup>50</sup> Worster, *A Passion for Nature*, 309; Bonnie Johanna Gisel, ed., *Kindred and Related Spirits: The Letters of John Muir and Jeanne C. Carr* (Salt Lake City, Utah:

Dunbar, Scotland in 1838, John Muir immigrated to Wisconsin with his family in 1849, seeking religious freedom and farmland. John and Louie married in 1880. Between his arrival in Wisconsin and his marriage, Muir accumulated a varied and notable biography. He studied briefly at the University of Wisconsin; studied botany independently and worked in a rake- and broom-handle factory in Canada during the Civil War; worked in a carriage-manufacturing company, Osgood & Smith, in Indianapolis after the war, where he was temporarily blinded; walked one-thousand miles from Kentucky to Florida; and sailed to San Francisco. From the Bay Area, Muir traveled frequently to the Yosemite Valley and the Sierra Nevada, worked as a sawyer and shepherd, and published his first articles on nature in the *New York Daily Tribune*, *The Overland Monthly*, and *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*.<sup>51</sup>

After John and Louie's marriage in 1880, Muir worked on the Strentzel fruit ranch in Martinez, California, and in 1882, he took over as manager of the farm from his father-in-law. Between 1882 and 1887, the farm demanded the bulk of Muir's time and energy; he climbed few mountains and wrote relatively little. So when he received the offer from the J. Dewing Company in spring 1887, Louie likely persuaded him to accept.<sup>52</sup> A July 1888 letter from Louie to John speaks to Louie's

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The University of Utah Press, 2001), 275; Cohen, *The Pathless Way*, 247; Esau, *Images of the Pacific Rim*, 129; Terry Gifford, ed., *John Muir: His Life and Letters and Other Writings* (London and Seattle: Mountaineers, 1996), 289; Wolfe, *Son of the Wilderness*, 237.

<sup>51</sup> Worster, *A Passion for Nature*, 13-245; Gisel, ed., *Kindred and Related Spirits*, 365-368; Kimes and Kimes, *John Muir: A Reading Bibliography*, 1-38.

<sup>52</sup> Wolfe, *Son of the Wilderness*, 237; Gisel, ed., *Kindred and Related Spirits*, 365-368; Worster, *A Passion for Nature*, 305-309.

support for his writing: “A ranch that needs and takes the sacrifice of a noble life ought to be flung away beyond all reach and power for harm...The Alaska book and the Yosemite book, dear John, must be written, and you need to be your own self, well and strong, to make them worthy of you.”<sup>53</sup>

Muir agreed to be the editor of *Picturesque California* in spring 1887, and by June, the writing and editing process for the book was in full swing. In fact, when Muir wrote home to Louie in June 1887, having traveled to San Francisco to write for *Picturesque California* in solitude, he did so on Dewing Company letterhead and requested that Louie send a box of cherries from their Martinez fruit ranch to James Dewing in San Francisco.<sup>54</sup> As editor, Muir solicited and curated the text and images for the publication, beginning with his own writings. Ultimately, he authored seven of *Picturesque California*'s thirty-two articles: “Peaks and Glaciers of the High Sierra,” “The Passes of the High Sierra,” “The Yosemite Valley,” “Mount Shasta,” “Alaska,” “Washington and Puget Sound,” and “The Basin of the Columbia River.” Muir synthesized all but his articles on the Pacific Northwest from newspaper and magazine articles he had published previously.<sup>55</sup> His descriptions of the Pacific Northwest – “Washington and Puget Sound” and “The Basin of the Columbia River” – were the

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<sup>53</sup> Gifford, ed., *John Muir: His Life and Letters and Other Writings*, 289. Louie's references to “the Alaska book” and “the Yosemite book” are presumably to Muir's articles on Alaska and Yosemite for *Picturesque California*. He would have been editing these for publication at the time of Louie's letter in July 1888.

<sup>54</sup> John Muir to Louie Strentzel Muir, June 8, 1887, John Muir Letters, Holt-Atherton Special Collections Digital Collections, University of the Pacific, <http://digitalcollections.pacific.edu/cdm/ref/collection/muirletters/id/12147>.

<sup>55</sup> Muir, ed., *Picturesque California*, vii; Kimes and Kimes, *John Muir: A Reading Bibliography*, 63; Worster, *A Passion for Nature*, 309.

products of a months-long camping trip Muir took with friend and painter William Keith in the summer of 1888, an excursion that brought them from California's Mount Shasta to Washington's Mount Rainier.<sup>56</sup>

Muir's articles on the Sierra Nevada, illustrated with artwork by William Keith, Julian Rix, and George Spiel, to name a few, were the first to appear in *Picturesque California*, issued in the first three numbers of the new serial publication. On October 22, 1887, as book agents delivered these to subscribers throughout the United States, Muir wrote to his dear friend and mentor, Jeanne C. Carr, requesting that she write an article on Southern California for the publication and providing insight on Muir's curation of the rest of the book:

I told Mr. Dewing that I thought you could write Southern California better than anybody else that I knew... Little has been written as yet. I have finished some four numbers now mostly in print with fine illustrations by the best artists Hill, Keith, Moran, Rix etc. on the passes forests Yosemite etc. Have to write Alaska, Sierra Lakes, Shasta, San Rafael Redwoods etc. (& run the ranch) & edit the whole compound business.

Picturesque American [*sic*] is about the style & kind of stuff required. Nothing that savors in the least of advertising booming etc can be allowed... What a bright appreciative traveler would like to see & hear is what is wanted as near as I can make out.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> John Muir to Louie Strentzel Muir, July 23, 1888, John Muir Letters, Holt-Atherton Special Collections Digital Collections, University of the Pacific, <http://digitalcollections.pacific.edu/cdm/ref/collection/muirletters/id/10879>; Worster, *A Passion for Nature*, 309.

<sup>57</sup> John Muir to Jeanne C. Carr, October 22, 1887, John Muir Letters, Holt-Atherton Special Collections Digital Collections, University of the Pacific, <http://digitalcollections.pacific.edu/cdm/ref/collection/muirletters/id/10685>. Published in Gisel, ed., *Kindred and Related Spirits*, 297-298.

Muir's letter speaks broadly to the process of publishing books by subscription and more specifically to the nature of his compiling writing and artwork for *Picturesque California*. First, Muir solicited writing from Carr while the publication was being printed and issued to subscribers. Because the book was published by subscription, the J. Dewing Company was able to issue articles and artworks as they were made ready by the writers, artists, and editor, unlike the publication of a trade book sold in a bookshop. Second, Muir and Dewing struggled with their vision for *Picturesque California*. Even as editor, Muir evidently did not have the firmest grasp on what content Dewing desired for the publication.

A series of later letters, sent as Carr was writing the article on Southern California Muir requested for the book, further illustrates the uncertainty of vision for the publication, as well as the relationship between Muir and Dewing in creating *Picturesque California*. On January 12, 1888, Muir wrote to Carr:

I can appreciate your difficulty in getting under way with that article - - so many diverse winds of doctrine...Just pitch in and paint your pictures - - whatever you see that interests you...Just pitch in and finish in whatever way now seems best in the light you have, remembering always that it is Picturesque California you are sketching and not philosophy of oranges and town lots south of the new Mason and Dixon Line. Look at the landscapes as the sun looks at them.<sup>58</sup>

On January 30, 1888, Muir wrote again in reference to Carr's newly-complete manuscript:

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<sup>58</sup> John Muir to Jeanne C. Carr, January 12, 1888, John Muir Letters, Holt-Atherton Special Collections Digital Collections, University of the Pacific, <http://digitalcollections.pacific.edu/cdm/ref/collection/muirletters/id/12581>. Published in Gisel, ed., *Kindred and Related Spirits*, 299.

The MS is so mixed & disjointed that I cannot in some places find out where or in what direction you are driving...the Co. have or will indicate definitely what to omit & what to include & the relative important [*sic*] of the sections etc etc...In talking over the country yesterday with Messrs Dewing & Oge it seemed best that you should not attempt to cover so much territory with so thin a layer of words...<sup>59</sup>

Muir's and Carr's friendship may have shaded their interaction as editor and writer, but their correspondence nonetheless points to the process by which *Picturesque California* was curated: Muir solicited writing and artwork, shared manuscripts with the J. Dewing Company, – its president, James Dewing; vice president, Madison Dewing; and secretary and treasurer, William L. Oge – and acted as a liaison between the contributors and publisher until the manuscript was deemed suitable for publication.

Of course, this process did not proceed flawlessly. A letter from Madison Dewing to Muir in September 1887 elucidates the disorganized nature of the publication's curation:

We want more sketches right away for Passes - , send two or three times as many as are needed and what are not used can be returned... We want to get this out immediately...

Please write again that little description of yourself – the other has been mislaid.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> John Muir to Jeanne C. Carr, January 30, 1888, Huntington Library, San Marino, CA, John Muir Letters, Holt-Atherton Special Collections Digital Collections, University of the Pacific, <http://digitalcollections.pacific.edu/cdm/ref/collection/muirletters/id/12128>. Published in Gisel, ed., *Kindred and Related Spirits*, 299-300.

<sup>60</sup> Madison Dewing to John Muir, September 3, 1887, John Muir Letters, Holt-Atherton Special Collections Digital Collections, University of the Pacific, <http://digitalcollections.pacific.edu/cdm/ref/collection/muirletters/id/10929>.

Although Muir solicited the writings and illustrations for the publication, his selections were subject to the approval and organization – or lack thereof – of the J. Dewing Company.

The disorganized nature of the publication process, however, clarifies *Picturesque California*'s rambling final form. When publication ceased in 1891, the material Muir had assembled culminated in thirty serial installments containing thirty-two descriptive articles, extensively illustrated. Because the J. Dewing Company issued the articles and artwork as they were collected, the content followed no discernable geographic pattern. Chronologically, the serial installments hopped from, for instance, articles “The Heart of Southern California” to “Mount Shasta” to “Southernmost California” to “Alaska.”<sup>61</sup> Unlike western travel narratives funded or promoted by the railroads, like Nordhoff's *California, For Health, Pleasure, and Residence*, which unfolded as linearly as the railroad itself, *Picturesque California* was not a useful travel narrative. Instead, the J. Dewing Company created *Picturesque California* as a view-book, an artistic window to the West whose curation hinged on the ideology of the picturesque aesthetic, the business of subscription publishing, and the travels of artists and writers through western wilderness and cities alike.

The book's fabrication was rooted in related physical and ideological environments. After funneling material to the J. Dewing Company, Muir was distanced and disconnected from the design, production, and printing of the book. As noted by literary scholar Terry Gifford, Muir's copious penciled corrections in his own copies of *Picturesque California* suggest that he was ultimately dissatisfied with the

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<sup>61</sup> Muir, ed., *Picturesque California*, vii.

book's lack of unity and readability (Figure 8).<sup>62</sup> Muir's unhappiness with the book's material form stemmed from the J. Dewing Company's contract for the presswork for *Picturesque California* to New York City's Walbridge & Co.<sup>63</sup> The J. Dewing Company's contracting the book's printing to an outside firm is consistent with broader trends in the publishing industry at this time, but the company's contract to a firm in New York is especially notable. In doing so, art historian Erika Esau pointed out that the J. Dewing Company "wanted to stress that the book was more than just cheaply produced tourist promotion, and that, by virtue of its being printed in New York, it would exemplify the highest standards of art printing."<sup>64</sup>

The J. Dewing Company's contract to Walbridge & Co. speaks to an ideology of publishing art books like *Picturesque California* in the late nineteenth century, with this western publishing company seeking validation in the East by employing an eastern printer, but the contract also points to the logistics and business of publishing such books. Namely, *Picturesque California* was printed in New York because the J. Dewing Company intended to sell most copies of the book to easterners. A February 1888 review of *Picturesque California* in the *San Francisco Chronicle* confirms this marketing intention:

To give the Eastern people, who have recently shown so great a desire for information about the Pacific coast, an adequate idea of California scenery and life, has been the aim of the publishers of "Picturesque

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<sup>62</sup> Gifford, *John Muir: His Life and Letters and Other Writings*, 515.

<sup>63</sup> Supreme Court, Second Department, *Appeal Book* (New York: The Evening Post Job Printing House, 1893), 2-3, James Dewing Papers, Davidson Library Special Research Collections, University of California, Santa Barbara.

<sup>64</sup> Esau, *Images of the Pacific Rim*, 128.

California,” and the way they have carried out this idea is worthy of the highest praise...A work so comprehensive as this will give to Eastern readers for the first time a satisfactory idea of the wonderful grandeur, beauty and variety of California scenery.<sup>65</sup>

Led by Francis E. Walbridge, Walbridge & Co. printed 5,000 copies of *Picturesque California* for its initial distribution to subscribers, eastern and western alike.<sup>66</sup> In 1891, Walbridge & Co. sued the J. Dewing Company for its failure to uphold the terms of the contract for printing the book. Importantly, in the court proceedings, Francis Walbridge explained the process for printing *Picturesque California*, stating that “we [Walbridge & Co.] printed the first edition from the plates, then another party printed another edition from these same plates, and we printed the initial edition and made the overlays; that was finished, I think, about June, 1891.”<sup>67</sup>

Little is known about Walbridge & Co., but Walbridge’s remarks, close examination of *Picturesque California*, and contemporary trends in printing and publishing together suggest the technical and material processes by which *Picturesque*

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<sup>65</sup> “LITERATURE: A New and Sumptuous Art Work ‘Picturesque California,’” *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 19, 1888, 7. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: San Francisco Chronicle (572037214).

<sup>66</sup> Supreme Court, Second Department, *Appeal Book* (New York: The Evening Post Job Printing House, 1893), 2-3, James Dewing Papers, Davidson Library Special Research Collections, University of California, Santa Barbara.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 19-20. Contemporary to the serial publication, the J. Dewing Company published special fine editions of *Picturesque California* – the Imperial Japan Edition, India Proof Edition, Edition de Luxe, and Connoisseur Edition (Figures 20-22). Walbridge’s statement that “another party printed another edition from these same plates” suggests that Walbridge & Co. did not print these special editions. The special editions were likely printed elsewhere in New York, though documentation is not extant.

*California* took form. As the J. Dewing Company's prospectus (Figure 9) for the book declared:

By means of a *new process* [*sic*] of photo-gravure – one of the greatest achievements that modern genius has brought to the aid of Art – the painter's work is reproduced as a mirror, conveying in each instance the very soul of his conception, and losing nothing of his individuality, force, character or style... The paper is exquisitely fine, coated and enameled, and of a quality that will take the most artistic impressions...<sup>68</sup>

The prospectus' emphasis on the novelty and fineness of photogravure printing as well as its description of the paper on which the book would be printed speaks to the J. Dewing Company's aforementioned aim to print *Picturesque California* by the most artistic and technologically advanced method yet available. The materials and technologies involved in this process point, in turn, to the physical and ideological environments in which *Picturesque California* materialized.

First, the book exhibits a varied array of printing technologies, from newer methods of photogravure and relief halftone to older processes like wood engraving and etching.<sup>69</sup> This jumble of printing technologies is attributable to the J. Dewing

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<sup>68</sup> Prospectus for *Picturesque California*, Grossman 54-A-2-5, John & Carolyn Grossman Collection, Winterthur Library.

<sup>69</sup> Prior to the nineteenth century, printers created images by two basic methods: relief and intaglio printing. As articulated by prints historian Bamber Gascoigne, "The ink can be carried on raised parts of the printing surface (relief), in lowered grooves (intaglio), or on the surface itself (planographic or surface)." There was, of course, great variation in the specific processes within the categories of relief and intaglio at work at the turn of the nineteenth century. For instance, wood engravings – woodblocks that have been carved so that the image is on the raised surface – are relief prints, and etchings – copper plates that are etched in acid baths so that the image is the recessed surface – are intaglio prints. The nineteenth century witnessed an explosion in printing techniques, including planographic or surface prints and process prints like photogravure, relief halftone, and other photomechanical processes,

Company's disorganization in collecting and issuing *Picturesque California's* writings and artworks. The haphazard nature of this process stretched the book's serialization timeline from October 1887 to July 1891, a four-year period of printing transition. The late 1880s and early 1890s witnessed a moment of popularity for photogravures, the transition from wood engraving to halftone for printing illustrations, interest in printed color images, and an etching revival.<sup>70</sup>

The book's chapter on Mount Shasta, for example, displays the use of these varied printing methods. Included in *Picturesque California* as a plate between pages 152 and 153, Thomas Hill's *Castle Rocks (Shasta)* (Figure 10) is a photogravure, a photomechanical printing process in which an intaglio printing plate is etched from a photographic negative.<sup>71</sup> The chapter also includes instances of both wood engravings (Figure 11) and relief halftones (Figure 12), several of which have been printed

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which involve photography to create printing plates. See Bamber Gascoigne, *How to Identify Prints* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1986).

<sup>70</sup> Esau, *Images of the Pacific Rim*, 131-134. See Estelle Jussim, *Visual Communication and the Graphic Arts: Photographic Technologies in the Nineteenth Century* (New York and London: R.R. Bowker Company, 1974), 285. Jussim characterized *Picturesque California* as a "menagerie of the media." See also Rainey, "Picturesque California." Rainey argued that *Picturesque California* could only have been printed the way it was at the time that it was, "when etching was the new artistic craze; when printing of photogravures was a new (and short-lived) technology; when wood engraving was being gradually replaced by photoengraving; and when, although the allure of color was strong, the technology of four-color printing had yet to be worked out."

<sup>71</sup> Lois Olcott Price, "The Development of Photomechanical Book Illustration," in *The American Illustrated Book in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Gerald W.R. Ward (Winterthur, Delaware: Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1987), 239-240.

entirely in color (Figure 13).<sup>72</sup> The majority of the seven plate-prints included in the article are photogravures, though the collection includes two etchings, Julian Rix's *Trinity Peaks* (Figure 14) and James Fagan's etching of Thomas Hill's *Head Waters of the Sacramento* (Figure 15), speaking to the heightened popular interest in American etching at this time.<sup>73</sup> The array of technologies seen in this one chapter are reflective of the diversity of printing methods used in all of *Picturesque California* as well as in other contemporary, heavily-illustrated publications, like *Harper's Weekly*.<sup>74</sup>

Because Walbridge & Co. and Harper & Brothers printed similarly illustrated texts in the late nineteenth century, the comparison suggests how Walbridge & Co. likely employed these shared printing technologies to fabricate *Picturesque California*. The machinery and processes used by Harper & Brothers in their New York manufactory in the 1880s were documented in an article, "A Visitors' Guide to Harper & Brothers' Establishment," published in their detailed 1880 catalogue, *Harper & Brothers' Descriptive List of their Publications, with Trade-List Prices*. Taking readers on a tour of their extensive printing operation, the Harper Brothers

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<sup>72</sup> Relief halftones, a photomechanical process, are created when a photographic transparency is taken of the image to be reproduced, and then a screen is placed between the photographic transparency and a light-sensitized printing plate. The image is transferred to the plate in a gradation of the screen's tiny dots, and the plate is then etched to create an intaglio plate. See Gascoigne, *How to Identify Prints*, 74a-c.

<sup>73</sup> Clifford S. Ackley, "Sylvester Rosa Koehler and the American Etching Revival," in *Art & Commerce: American Prints of the Nineteenth Century* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press for the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1978), 145.

<sup>74</sup> Jussim, *Visual Communication and the Graphic Arts*, 285-288.

included a stop on the second floor of their seven-floor establishment, where twenty-six Adams Power Presses were used for printing books.<sup>75</sup>

Although Walbridge & Co. was certainly not working at the scale of the Harper Brothers, they likely also employed an Adams Power Press, the most popular press for book-printing at the time, as well as similar techniques in typesetting and electrotyping to fabricate *Picturesque California*.<sup>76</sup> In the 1891 court proceedings, Walbridge's reference to printing "the first edition from the plates" suggests that *Picturesque California*'s movable type and illustrations were set and then electrotyped to create the printing plates, which were sent, as Walbridge explained, to another printer for creating *Picturesque California*'s special editions. Electrotyping was a chemical process introduced in 1839 that used electrolysis to create copper copies of relief blocks, intaglio plates, and set-up type.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Harper & Brother' *Descriptive List of their Publications, with Trade-List Prices* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1880), viii-x; "Harper's Engravings," Central Pacific Railroad Photographic History Museum, accessed March 31, 2016, [http://cpr.org/Museum/Engravings/Harpers\\_Engravings.html](http://cpr.org/Museum/Engravings/Harpers_Engravings.html).

<sup>76</sup> James Moran, *Printing Presses: History and Development from the Fifteenth Century to Modern Times* (London: Faber and Faber, 1973), 112-115. Isaac and Seth Adams introduced the Adams Power Press in 1830, and it was greatly popular through the nineteenth century for printing books. The Adams Power Press is a "bed and platen" press, a steam-power-driven press with a "stationary platen and a bed which moved up and down to press the forme against it." The plates to which Walbridge referred in court would have been stationary, and the bed would have raised the page to the printing plate to make the imprint.

<sup>77</sup> Supreme Court, Second Department, *Appeal Book* (New York: The Evening Post Job Printing House, 1893), 19-20, James Dewing Papers, Davidson Library Special Research Collections, University of California, Santa Barbara; Gascoigne, *How to Identify Prints*, 72.

*Picturesque California*'s creation – its curation and fabrication – was entangled in the physical and ideological environments of late-nineteenth-century America. Underlined by Americans' idealization of the West as a place for both wilderness and continued urban, industrial, and agricultural development, the book was curated from the experiences of writers and artists traveling by train, carriage, and foot through western wildernesses and cities alike, and it materialized from new and expanded industrial technologies: photogravures, halftones, electrotypes, and mechanized printing presses.

### **Reception and Impact**

Operating within this system of ideology, western travels, and modern technology, Walbridge & Co.'s presswork culminated in the thirty serial installments that ultimately comprised *Picturesque California*, with its thirty-two descriptive articles and nearly 700 illustrations. As further detailed in the "Conditions of Publication" statement in the book's prospectus (Figure 9): "Each part will contain four or more full page plates and sixteen pages of illustrated text – many of the plates and illustrations being printed in appropriate tints. To be published in thirty parts, 12 x 16 inches in size, at one dollar per part, payable on delivery."<sup>78</sup> The prospectus speaks to the publisher's concerns with the artful and advanced printing technology detailed above as well as introduces the means by which the serials were issued and received.

Each number was issued in a blue-gray pictorial paper wrapper with a glue binding (Figure 1) and delivered to subscribers throughout the United States by book

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<sup>78</sup> Prospectus for *Picturesque California*, Grossman 54-A-2-5, John & Carolyn Grossman Collection, Winterthur Library.

agents employed by the J. Dewing Company.<sup>79</sup> Even before the book was physically fabricated and ready for distribution, the J. Dewing Company had employed book agents throughout the United States to solicit subscribers for the initial serial, placing “Agents Wanted” advertisements in newspapers in San Francisco and elsewhere, carrying on the American tradition of canvassing and subscription literature (Figure 16).<sup>80</sup>

At one dollar per serial installment, the book was purchased by upper-middle class Americans, namely westerners who took pride in the picturesque scenery of their home region and armchair travelers around the country – and perhaps abroad – who were fascinated by western landscapes and peoples. Tellingly, an October 1891 advertisement in the *Los Angeles Herald* urged Angelenos: “Picturesque California, that most elaborate, entertaining and instructive souvenir of the Pacific slope, should be in every Californian’s home, and is also a very appropriate gift to send to friends in the east and in Europe.”<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> Additionally, as was common for lavishly illustrated books in the late nineteenth century, the J. Dewing Company sold *Picturesque California* in a variety of special formats at the same time as the initial serial: Imperial Japan Edition, India Proof Edition, Edition de Luxe, and Connoisseur Edition (Figures 20-22). A review in the December 1888 *Overland Monthly* describes the “gray cloth book-covers, tied with ribbon” and interior pages “slightly bound together in a cover of heavy pebbled paper,” an accurate description of the India Proof Edition (Figure 21).

<sup>80</sup> For more on this tradition, see “‘Agents Wanted:’ Subscription Publishing in America,” an online exhibition of the Zinman Collection of Canvassing Books, Kislak Center for Special Collections, Rare Books and Manuscripts, University of Pennsylvania, accessed March 31, 2016, <http://www.library.upenn.edu/exhibits/rbm/agents/index.html>.

<sup>81</sup> *Los Angeles Herald*, Los Angeles, CA, October 25, 1891, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84025968/1891-10-25/ed-1/seq-8/>.

But subscription to *Picturesque California* was not widely affordable. One reviewer lamented in *The Progressive Farmer* of Winston, North Carolina: “It is a rare and costly publication; so costly indeed that I cannot afford to have a copy at hand so as to give the page. One thousand dollars, I believe, is the price of this book; but you can find it at the libraries if you care to verify further. It is called ‘Picturesque California.’”<sup>82</sup> Indeed, public library catalogs in places as varied as Waltham, Massachusetts; Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania; Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Butte, Montana; Detroit, Michigan; Providence, Rhode Island; and Stockton, California confirm that those who could not subscribe to *Picturesque California* would have been able to read and view the book in their public libraries, institutions that themselves grew in the late nineteenth century in correlation with higher literacy rates and increased reading habits and interests.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> *The Progressive Farmer*, Winston, North Carolina, February 5, 1889, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn92073049/1889-02-05/ed-1/seq-5/>. The reviewer’s reference to a \$1,000 copy of the book is likely to the J. Dewing Company’s most lavish edition, the Imperial Japan Edition, an elephant folio.

<sup>83</sup> Kaestle and Radway, “Prologue,” 2-3; Schlereth, *Victorian America*, xvi; Kruger, “Home Libraries,” 96-101; *Inaugural Address of Hon. Arthur Lyman, Mayor of the City of Waltham, January 6, 1896 with the Annual Reports Of the Several Departments for the Financial Year of 1895* (Waltham, Massachusetts: Press of E.L. Barry, 1896), 251; *Class Catalogue and Author Index of the Osterhout Free Library* (Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania: Press of R. Baur & Son, 1895), 232; *Quarterly Index of Additions to the Milwaukee Public Library, Volume 3, 1890-1891* (Milwaukee: Board of Trustees, 1892), xiv; John F. Davies, ed., *Catalogue of Books in the Butte Free Public Library of Butte, Montana* (Butte: T.E. Butler, 1894), 179; *Bulletin No. 2, of Books Added to the Public Library of Detroit, Mich. in 1890* (Detroit: O.S. Gulley, 1891), 33; *Monthly Bulletin of the Providence Public Library* (Providence, Rhode Island: Snow & Farnham for the Providence Public Library, 1895), ix; *Finding List of the Books Contained in the Hazelton and Stockton Free Public Libraries* (Stockton, California: The Daily Independent Print, 1898), 294.

At the conclusion of the book's serial distribution in July 1891, subscribers had plentiful material choices. The J. Dewing Company offered several standard bindings for consumers to compile their serials into two neat volumes, but extant copies of the book demonstrate that consumers worked with local bookbinders to select bindings and endpapers and to treat the textblock to suit their personal tastes and needs (Figures 17-19). This opportunity for subscribers to exercise their material agency also provided entrepreneurial fodder for bookbinders. In July 1891, E.W. Bruening in Sacramento advertised in *The Record-Union*, "SAVE 40 PER CENT. (Agent's commission) and have your "Picturesque California" bound at E.W. Bruening's Bookbindery."<sup>84</sup> In whatever form it ultimately took, *Picturesque California* then joined the performative material culture of the Victorian parlor. Favored prints from the series may have been hung on the wall, and the bound volume may have been displayed on the central parlor table or on a bookshelf.<sup>85</sup> *Picturesque California* was so considered a fitting addition to the Victorian parlor that it was listed alongside "elegant furniture" including "One Costly Parlor Set, 7 pieces," a "Cherry Center Table," and "One Fine Music Box, 12 tones" in an advertisement for an estate auction in San Francisco in January 1891.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> *The Record-Union*, Sacramento, California, July 31, 1891, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82015104/1891-07-31/ed-1/seq-3/>.

<sup>85</sup> Katherine C. Grier, *Culture & Comfort: Parlor Making and Middle-Class Identity, 1850-1930* (Rochester, New York: The Strong Museum, 1998), vii, 2, 91, 98.

<sup>86</sup> "Auction Sales," *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 15, 1891, 9. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: San Francisco Chronicle (572279058).

But what did subscribers think of their copies of the book during its four-year distribution? Though often more promotional than honestly critical, newspaper and magazine reviews provide a glimpse into *Picturesque California*'s reception by readers. Importantly, these reviews have the same dual focus as the publisher: the book's content and materiality. For instance, a reviewer for the *Overland Monthly* wrote in the December 1888 issue, "It is an undertaking on a truly magnificent scale, appearing in successive sections, of which the first is now issued; edited and in part written by John Muir...containing over six hundred etchings, wood engravings, photogravures, etc. all by artists of standing and even eminence; printed in large folio size, on extra-heavy cream finished paper, in large, clear text."<sup>87</sup> With similar praise in January 1890, a reviewer for the *San Francisco Bulletin* offered, "The country west of the Rocky Mountains has never before been described on such ample pages, with such fullness of picturesque detail and with such a wealth of graphic art."<sup>88</sup>

Other reviews were less glowing but further speak to the importance of the material form of *Picturesque California* to readers' experiences. In a rare account documenting a reader's response to this – or any – book, an unknown gentleman from Chicago, B.H. Royce, wrote to John Muir about *Picturesque California* in July 1889, specifically in reference to Muir's article, "Mount Shasta." Royce lamented that his visions of wilderness – "wonderful glaciers," "eternal snows," and "fantastic cloud

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<sup>87</sup> "Picturesque California," *Overland Monthly*, December 1888 (Volume 12, Issue 72), 659. Making of America Journal Archives, University of Michigan (<http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/moajrnl/ahj1472.2-12.072/681>).

<sup>88</sup> "Picturesque California," *San Francisco Bulletin*, January 4, 1890, 1. NewsBank/Readex: America's Historical Newspapers (1175FA0677E99940).

weather that lovingly enfold a mountain crest” – and his “tense enjoyment” of the wild were destroyed when “some men on snowshoes come crashing down through the middle of the page!” (Figure 23).<sup>89</sup> Royce even offered suggestions to Muir as to how the parts of the publication yet to be issued could be improved:

Will you permit me as one of the legion of delighted readers of Picturesque California, to suggest an improvement as to the placing of vignettes and cuts. Up in a corner, down at the bottom, over one side, or entirely across the middle of the page; so the text is not torn, is what I would suggest...

Mountain peaks, mule deer, sage hens, burros and mountaineer, burst through the text very much as a circus girl jumps through a paper hoop. The girl looks pretty and triumphant; the hoop is ruined until covered again! Hoping that the spell your magic pen will in future weave around your readers will not be rudely broken by the printer or artist’s whims.<sup>90</sup>

Royce’s dissatisfied account speaks directly to a reader’s interaction with *Picturesque California*, feedback that is rarely recorded in documents, but his experience also points to the book’s connection to ecological thought. While reading, Royce mapped contemporary wilderness thinking onto the book, using the book – and primarily the text – as a sublime portal to western wilderness from his Chicago residence.<sup>91</sup> And he

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<sup>89</sup> B.H. Royce to John Muir, July 13, 1889, John Muir Letters, Holt-Atherton Special Collections Digital Collections, University of the Pacific, <http://digitalcollections.pacific.edu/cdm/ref/collection/muirletters/id/13233>.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid.

<sup>91</sup> Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 143. By the 1890s, with the perceived “end of the frontier,” Americans increasingly living in cities began to “approach wilderness with the viewpoint of the vacationer rather than the conqueror.” In fact, by the early twentieth century, publications like Robert A. Woods’ *The City Wilderness* (1898) on Boston slums and Upton Sinclair’s *The Jungle* (1906) on Royce’s own Chicago suggest that Americans saw cities as wildernesses, to which wild nature was now considered an antidote.

so valued this out-of-body experience with the wilds of Mount Shasta – a testament to the change in American attitudes towards wilderness, now cherished instead of loathed – that he wrote to Muir in complaint when the experience was marred for him by illustrations.

Royce’s documented interaction with and reaction to his copy of *Picturesque California* also suggests two larger cultural-ecological reverberations of the book’s distribution and reception, namely Muir’s further elevation onto a national stage questioning and formulating policies related to the conservation of natural resources, particularly in the West, and the perpetuation of a tension between wilderness and civilization.

For Muir, the project was significant. Literary scholar Terry Gifford argued that Muir agreed to edit *Picturesque California* because he believed that encouraging an appreciation of picturesque landscapes could prompt the book’s readers to take action to protect these places.<sup>92</sup> Indeed, many of Muir’s descriptive writings in *Picturesque California* conclude with a preservation imperative. For instance, Muir ended his article, “Mount Shasta,” with the following call to action:

The Shasta region is still a fresh unspoiled wilderness, accessible and available for travelers of every kind and degree. Would it not then be a fine thing to set it apart like the Yellowstone and Yosemite as a National Park for the welfare and benefit of all mankind, preserving its fountains and forests and all its glad life in primeval beauty? Very little of the region can ever be more valuable for any other use – certainly not for gold nor for grain. No private right of interest need suffer, and thousands yet unborn would come from far and near and bless the country for its wise and benevolent forethought.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> Gifford, ed., *John Muir: His Life and Letters and Other Writings*, 515-516.

<sup>93</sup> Muir, “Mount Shasta,” 174.

And it was in the midst of writing and editing for *Picturesque California* that Muir reconnected with Robert Underwood Johnson, associate editor of *The Century Magazine*, who encouraged Muir to translate the criticism he expressed in *Picturesque California* into advocacy journalism.<sup>94</sup> In June 1889, Johnson wrote to Muir, “Mr. Oge was somewhat alarmed for fear that we were going to switch you off the straight and narrow gauge road to Picturesque California. I reassured him and said we only could get a single paper out of you - - - on the Yosemite and on different lines from that already written.”<sup>95</sup>

Muir published his most influential activism in *The Century Magazine* – and other periodicals – in the 1890s and early 1900s, like two articles on the Yosemite Valley that Johnson commissioned to stimulate public awareness of and enthusiasm for Yosemite National Park.<sup>96</sup> Importantly, readers of Muir’s political essays on wilderness maintained some interest in *Picturesque California* into the early twentieth century. Reader Juliette Owens wrote to Muir on February 18, 1905, “as a patron of the Audubon Society of Missouri.” She requested that Muir write a preservation pamphlet “in behalf of feathers as you have of leaves,” and concluded her letter by writing that she and her mother “always read with such eagerness any literature that

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<sup>94</sup> Worster, *A Passion for Nature*, 310-311.

<sup>95</sup> Robert Underwood Johnson to John Muir, June 27, 1889, John Muir Letters, Holt-Atherton Special Collections Digital Collections, University of the Pacific, <http://digitalcollections.pacific.edu/cdm/ref/collection/muirletters/id/13582>.

<sup>96</sup> Kimes and Kimes, *John Muir: A Reading Bibliography*, 73.

bears your name and I have sent to Boston for your Picturesque California for my mother's delectation."<sup>97</sup>

In both articles and books, the broader notion of the picturesque aesthetic continued to impact Muir's writing and experiences in nature. Like a picturesque tourist in his 1894 book, *The Mountains of California*, Muir wrote, "Pursuing my lonely way down the valley, I turned again and again to gaze on the glorious picture, throwing up my arms to inclose [*sic*] it as in a frame."<sup>98</sup> As the second half of this thesis will illustrate, *Picturesque California* reverberated beyond the first decade of the twentieth century into the 1970s and early 2000s. Continued engagement with Muir's writing and memory – through and beyond *Picturesque California* – has informed the way Americans have and continue to interact with the natural world, as individuals exploring and advocating for places like Yosemite and as governments establishing natural resource policy.

As an ecological imprint, the book speaks beyond Muir's career and legacy to shine light on patterns of late nineteenth-century ecological thinking, with significance to the interaction between humans and the nonhuman world. While previous scholarship has emphasized the book's iconographic construction of harmony between wilderness preservation and resource exploitation, ecocriticism encourages further

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<sup>97</sup> Juliette A. Owen to John Muir, February 18, 1905, John Muir Letters, Holt-Atherton Special Collections Digital Collections, University of the Pacific, <http://digitalcollections.pacific.edu/cdm/ref/collection/muirletters/id/3563>.

<sup>98</sup> John Muir, *The Mountains of California* (New York: The Century Co., 1894), 50. See Finis Dunaway, *Natural Visions: The Power of Images in American Environmental Reform* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 6 for an alternate interpretation of Muir's excerpt, in relation to the sublime and photographer Herbert Gleason.

consideration of the book's material form.<sup>99</sup> As seen above, publisher, editor, and consumers alike were as concerned with and aware of the book's materiality – the paper, inks, design, and form – as they were with the book's content – its picturesque landscapes, regional glorification, and idealized coexistence of wilderness and civilization.

The late nineteenth-century ideological environment in which this fictional coexistence took form in *Picturesque California* was similarly split into two predominant patterns of ecological thinking: John Muir's preservation mentality – that Nature has inherent spiritual significance and should remain untouched by humans – and the conservation ethic championed by Gifford Pinchot – who advocated for the scientific management of natural resources for the use and benefit of humankind.

In the 1890s, Muir's and Pinchot's writings about nature and natural resources reflected their ideological differences. Muir's "Features of the Proposed Yosemite National Park," published in *The Century Magazine* in 1890, – one of the two aforementioned articles on Yosemite commissioned by Robert Underwood Johnson – included the pointed sentiment, "Unless reserved or protected the whole region will soon or late [*sic*] be devastated by lumbermen and sheepmen, and so of course be made unfit for use as a pleasure ground...when the region shall be stripped of its forests the ruin will be complete."<sup>100</sup> While Muir valued the untouched forests of Yosemite as "a pleasure ground," Pinchot, who was then working as a consulting

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<sup>99</sup> See notes 19 and 20 on previous scholarship on *Picturesque California*, and notes 15-17 on ecocriticism.

<sup>100</sup> John Muir, "Features of the Proposed Yosemite National Park," *The Century Magazine* 40(5): 667.

forester to George W. Vanderbilt at the Biltmore Estate, expressed an alternate view. In his 1893 publication, *Biltmore Forest: An Account of Its Treatment, and the Results of the First Year's Work*, Pinchot explained his primary aim in managing the forest at Biltmore: "The first is profitable production, which will give the forest direct utility. If this were absent, the existence of the forest would be justified only as it lends beauty and interest to the estate."<sup>101</sup> Pinchot's conservation ethic valued lumber yield and profit over the aesthetic about which Muir effused. The federal government ultimately adopted Pinchot's conservation ethic for the management of the American West – and nation – when Pinchot became the first Chief of the Forest Service in 1905.<sup>102</sup>

But, as environmental historian Ted Steinberg points out, the gradual development of conservation policy was not just "a battle of *ideas* about nature;"

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<sup>101</sup> Gifford Pinchot, *Biltmore Forest: An Account of Its Treatment, and the Results of the First Year's Work* (Chicago: R.R. Donnelly & Sons Company, 1893), 45.

<sup>102</sup> Steinberg, *Down to Earth*, 136-139; Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 161-181. In the second half of the twentieth century and beyond, historians have challenged Frederick Jackson Turner's 1893 address, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," which argued that the existence of the western frontier drove American development, and have increasingly written about the American West through more nuanced lenses, including those of natural resource management and wilderness. Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth*, 1950 (Reprint, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970) and Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1987) were landmark interventions that reframed western history around themes of land, mythology, and conquest. More recent scholarship, like Donald Worster, *An Unsettled Country: Changing Landscapes of the American West* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994) and Michael L. Johnson, *Hunger for the Wild: America's Obsession with the Untamed West* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2007) continue to reframe western history through notions of mythology and ideology intrinsically rooted in land and natural resources.

conservation policies physically impacted ecosystems.<sup>103</sup> In the name of “conserving nature” in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the federal government established national parks to promote tourist interests and national forests to promote logging, a tangle of physical and ideological actions that are mirrored in the exchange between *Picturesque California*’s content and materiality. Like the national parks, the book’s picturesque aesthetic – and representations of wealthy, white tourists comfortably traveling in the West (Figure 24) – framed western wilderness in a way that was perceived as safe and pleasing in the context of jarring, late-nineteenth-century modernity.<sup>104</sup> Even Muir’s preservation writing, like his call to protect Mount Shasta, anthropocentrically emphasized wilderness’ accessibility to humans.

And like the national forests, which enabled exploitive, industrial logging, the book celebrates industry, through both its content (Figure 25) – illustrations and writings in tension with its wilderness representations – and form, materialized by novel, industrial-chemical printing processes that were praised by contemporaries. Materially, *Picturesque California* embodies a landscape of large-scale, industrial printing, teeming with loud machinery, smelling of hot ink and oil, and tapping into chemistries of electrotyping and photomechanical reproduction. In its lavish final form, *Picturesque California* was marketed to would-be picturesque tourists and

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<sup>103</sup> Steinberg, *Down to Earth*, 139. Importantly, as Steinberg notes, these ecosystems included Native Americans and poor whites, who depended on national parkland and national forest territories for food and whose livelihoods were diminished and dismissed by the enactment of conservation policy at the federal level.

<sup>104</sup> Bramen, *The Uses of Variety*, 156.

distributed via railroad networks, another hallmark of the modern, industrialized United States.

Thus, while *Picturesque California* included romantic descriptions and depictions of wilderness, the book was, cumulatively, a collection of texts, images, and materials that echoed the pattern of resource extraction and exploitation promoted by federal conservation policy. The book's materials and its picturesque depictions of elite tourists and industrial operations were in tension with – and arguably overwhelmed – its idealized wilderness representations. From its creation to its reception, *Picturesque California* ultimately points to a conversation between late-nineteenth-century physical and ideological environments, – that of western wilderness “preserved” for human uses – reflecting and shaping contemporary engagement with nature.<sup>105</sup>

### What Followed

In June 1891, one month before the serial publication of *Picturesque California* concluded, San Francisco's *The Morning Call* reported, “Dewing Embarrassed. The Publishers Trying to Compromise with their Creditors... The publication of ‘Picturesque California,’ upon which \$150,000 has been spent, is given as the reason for the company's embarrassment.”<sup>106</sup> Sure enough, in July 1891,

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<sup>105</sup> *Picturesque California*'s reflection of anthropocentric federal conservation policy situates the book within the historiography of western resource management. See Limerick, *Legacy of Conquest*, 293-321 and Johnson, *Hunger for the Wild*, 214-224.

<sup>106</sup> *The Morning Call*, San Francisco, California, June 19, 1891, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn94052989/1891-06-19/ed-1/seq-2/>.

publishing trade publications including *The American Stationer*, *The American Bookseller*, and *The Publishers Weekly* reported the failure of the J. Dewing Company. A reporter for *The American Bookseller* wrote, “The Dewing Company attributes its embarrassments to the publication of *Picturesque California*, on which they have expended during the last three years \$150,000; but is probable that its piano and school furniture enterprises and especially its ‘jewelry on instalment’ [*sic*] business, are more to blame than its book trade.”<sup>107</sup> Local newspapers outside of the publishing trade also publicized the J. Dewing Company’s failure. The *Pittsburgh Dispatch*, for example, included in June 1891: “The San Francisco subscription book house of J. T. Ewing & Co. [*sic*] has failed. ‘Picturesque California’ was the rock on which the firm went to pieces.”<sup>108</sup> *Picturesque California* was pegged by publishers and reporters alike for the company’s bankruptcy.

The J. Dewing Company’s financial troubles were again highlighted in the public sphere when James Dewing gave an interview to the *San Francisco Chronicle* for the paper’s January 1893 article, “WHAT PEOPLE READ, The Sale of Books on This Coast.” Dewing noted the decreased interest in subscription books, explaining, “Once the books were very profitable, but everything seems to turn round once in ten

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<sup>107</sup> American Book Trade Association, *The American Bookseller*, Volume 30 (New York: American News Company, 1891), 9.

<sup>108</sup> *Pittsburg Dispatch*, Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, June 19, 1891, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84024546/1891-06-19/ed-1/seq-8/>.

years, and now there is very little demand for them...I would say that we have made the most money out of 'Picturesque California,' edited by John Muir."<sup>109</sup>

The J. Dewing Company's failure, relative success of *Picturesque California*, decreased consumer enthusiasm for subscription books, and increased magazine circulation and readership combined to bring about the publication of *Picturesque California*'s second edition by the San Francisco Call Company. With much illustrated fanfare (Figure 26), *The Morning Call* announced the republication of *Picturesque California* on December 24, 1893. The announcement included an image of the December 1893 letter from James Dewing to the San Francisco Call Company that transferred the rights to *Picturesque California* to the Call: "After considering the inducements which you offer us we have finally decided to supply you 'Picturesque California' for distribution to your subscribers."<sup>110</sup> Available for purchase by mail or in person at the Call's numerous offices throughout California, the advertisements declared, "One Coupon + One Dime = One Part of 'Picturesque California.'"<sup>111</sup>

The Call's 1894 reprinting of *Picturesque California* – at ten cents per serial, printed bi-weekly, like a magazine, in comparison to the first edition's one dollar per serial, printed sporadically – made the book accessible to a wider market and

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<sup>109</sup> "WHAT PEOPLE READ, The Sale of Books on This Coast," *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 26, 1893, 3. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: San Francisco Chronicle (575646583).

<sup>110</sup> *The Morning Call*, San Francisco, California, December 24, 1893, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn94052989/1893-12-24/ed-1/seq-17/>.

<sup>111</sup> *The Morning Call*, San Francisco, California, December 24, 1893, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn94052989/1893-12-24/ed-1/seq-16/>.

expanded the publication's reach. The Call was able to offer the book at a more democratic price through material changes made to the book. Recasting it as the "California Series," culminating in *Picturesque California and the Pacific Slope*, the Call cut the book's articles on Alaska, Utah, Arizona, New Mexico, Montana, Yellowstone, and Colorado; eliminated plate-prints by compressing the images into the text; and printed the bulk of the images as relief halftones rather than as photogravures, engravings, and etchings.<sup>112</sup> Increasing the book's distribution through material changes, the Call stretched *Picturesque California's* perpetuation of anthropocentric ecological thinking farther than the J. Dewing Company's initial publication could.

*Picturesque California's* reach as an ideologically-charged object was further expanded in 1895, when the Call sold the textblock to George Barrie, a Philadelphia publisher who recast the 1894 text as *The Scenic Regions of America*. Distributing the book in the same magazine-styled way that the Call pursued, Barrie published the book as the "American Scenery Series" and reintroduced plate-prints to the text. Importantly, the plates Barrie added to the textblock were images of eastern landmarks, including scenes from St. Augustine, Florida; New London, Connecticut; the Chesapeake Bay; and the New Jersey shoreline.<sup>113</sup> Barrie presumably sought greater appeal by eastern audiences, and in expanding the scope of the book – in

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<sup>112</sup> John Muir, ed., *Picturesque California and the Pacific Slope* (San Francisco: J. Dewing Company and San Francisco Call Company, 1894).

<sup>113</sup> John Muir, ed., *The Scenic Regions of American Illustrated* (Philadelphia: George Barrie, 1895).

content and material – Barrie expanded *Picturesque California*'s ecological thought pattern to speak for both coasts.

Connected to a series of specific physical and ideological environments in its content and materials in the late nineteenth century, *Picturesque California* perpetuated an extractive, exploitative pattern of ecological thinking, tempered with the notion of preserving wilderness – grand places like Yosemite, Yellowstone, and Mount Shasta, away and “out there” – for the benefit of humankind. This centering of human uses of the environment, or anthropocentrism, clung to the American psyche through the first half of the twentieth century, and arguably beyond.<sup>114</sup> In the 1970s, as some Americans were challenging anthropocentrism through new forms of ecological advocacy, *Picturesque California* would be recast yet again.

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<sup>114</sup> Steinberg, *Down to Earth*, 173-300. This third part of Steinberg's book, “Consuming Nature,” suggests the cultural attitudes – some with their roots in federal policies of the nineteenth century – that have fueled continued environmental problems in the United States.

### Chapter 3

#### “AS FRESH AND AS CAPABLE OF EXCITING WONDER” IN THE 1970s

Published in numerous forms by the J. Dewing Company, San Francisco Call Company, and Philadelphia’s George Barrie between 1887 and 1895, *Picturesque California* was a visual, literary, and material portal to the American West in the late nineteenth century. Shaping perceptions of the West and its natural resources, its texts and images placed the book within the national debate around federal conservation policy. Ultimately, the materialization and distribution of the book hinged on industries – particularly railroads, urban development, and new printing and bookmaking technologies – that existed in tension with the idea of preservation presented by some of the book’s writings and illustrations. In this way, *Picturesque California*’s initial publication points to a dialogue between content, materiality, and ecological thinking: the book took form within a specific physical and ideological environments and, in turn, its distribution and reception shaped those environments.

But this dialogue surrounding *Picturesque California* extended beyond the late nineteenth century into the later twentieth century, when it was reprinted by two different bookmakers, Lewis Osborne of Ashland, Oregon and the Running Press of Philadelphia. Mapping the creation, distribution, and reception of these two reprints reveals how Lewis Osborne and the Running Press each endeavored to make American environmental heritage relevant to the market for print culture in the 1970s, shaded by new forms of ecological thought and environmentalism. Namely, in these reprints, the coupling of *Picturesque California*’s nineteenth-century content with

new, twentieth-century materials, distribution networks, and modes of ecological thinking suggests history's role in the exchange between the books' content, materials, and ecological ideologies, speaking more broadly to the significance of history and heritage to the contemporary environmental movement.

### **Publishing and Popular Ecology**

Lewis Osborne's and the Running Press' reprints were designed, printed, marketed, and sold in a material world that had changed markedly, though unsurprisingly, since book agents distributed the first serial installments of *Picturesque California* to subscribers in 1887, particularly in regard to Americans' relationship to the land. The four national Earth Days that had taken place by 1974, when the first of the two reprints, Lewis Osborne's *Notes on my Journeying in California's Northern Mountains*, was published, signify Americans' changed thinking about the environment and point to a coalesced environmental movement with significance to the world of publishing and bookmaking.

The first Earth Day took place on April 22, 1970 in the form of over 12,000 environmental teach-ins and demonstrations across the country, spurring environmental laws, grassroots activism, and changes in education and publishing.<sup>115</sup> Prior to Earth Day 1970, those who identified as environmentalists took action through organizations dedicated to the nineteenth-century ideal of wilderness preservation, like the Sierra Club; groups focused on wildlife conservation, like World Wildlife Fund; or single-issue organizations, like New York's Citizens for Clean Air. Popularized by Earth Day, ecology – the science of the interconnected relationships of all living

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<sup>115</sup> Rome, *The Genius of Earth Day*, 209-258.

things – had become a popular mode for thinking about and advocating for the environment through the 1960s and 1970s, no longer limited to scientific purview.<sup>116</sup>

In the same way that nineteenth-century valuing of American wilderness drove the publication of view-books like *Picturesque America*, *Picturesque California*, and other profusely illustrated books, ecological awareness popularized by Earth Day spurred the publication of “eco-books” – “eco-publishing” – through the 1970s.<sup>117</sup> By 1971, Ballantine, a leading eco-publisher, had printed and distributed over two million copies of Paul Ehrlich’s *The Population Bomb* and nearly two million copies of Garrett De Bell’s *The Environmental Handbook*, which had been prepared specifically, as its cover proclaimed, for the “First National Environmental Teach-In,” Earth Day 1970. Similar to the publication of books like *Picturesque California* in the nineteenth century, the eco-publishing boom in the wake of Earth Day occurred at the intersection of books’ materiality and American ecological ideas. Through the 1960s, major paperback publishers like Ballantine traded their industry position as reprinters for a role as fast producers of nonfiction in response to current issues and ideas, encouraged by the speed at which paperbacks could be printed.<sup>118</sup>

At the same time that new ideas about ecology and environmental stewardship were popularized by Earth Day and promoted through paperback books, Americans also took interest in their environmental heritage, including nineteenth-century ideas

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<sup>116</sup> Ibid., 9-10; Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 182-199; Worster, *Nature’s Economy*, 339-348.

<sup>117</sup> Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 71-75; Rome, *The Genius of Earth Day*, 209.

<sup>118</sup> Rome, *The Genius of Earth Day*, 240-241.

and writers, wilderness and John Muir. Just as books played a critical role in the spread of ecological awareness, books – and other material culture – celebrated and grappled with American environmental heritage in the 1960s and ‘70s.

For instance, the Sierra Club’s Exhibit Format series of books – large, coffee-table books featuring photographs of wilderness by contemporary artists like Ansel Adams and Eliot Porter with writing by authors like Henry David Thoreau and John Muir – gave urban and suburban Americans a visual threshold to wilderness, much like *Picturesque California* did in the nineteenth century. As historian Finis Dunaway noted, the books were promoted by the Sierra Club as a means by which Americans could participate in the preservation and protection of wilderness; advertisements read, “*To own this book, to know it, to display it, to give it – this in itself is conservation.*”<sup>119</sup>

In addition to the Sierra Club’s publication of coffee-table books in the tradition of *Picturesque California* and other illustrated scenery albums, enthusiasm for American environmental heritage was apparent in popular interest in John Muir. Material manifestations of this interest included proliferate Muir biographies for adult and juvenile audiences alike; the designation of John Muir National Historic Site in 1964; the naming of public parks – like John Muir Memorial Park in Marquette

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<sup>119</sup> Dunaway, *Natural Visions*, 147. See “William E. Colby Memorial Library Reading Lists: Sierra Club Exhibit Format Series,” Sierra Club, accessed April 6, 2016, [http://vault.sierraclub.org/library/lists/lists\\_exhibit.asp](http://vault.sierraclub.org/library/lists/lists_exhibit.asp) for a list of the twenty titles published in the Exhibit Format series between 1960 and 1968. See also Rome, *The Genius of Earth Day*, 242. Rome notes that Ballantine’s significant eco-publishing activity grew out of Ian Ballantine’s partnership with Sierra Club Director, David Brower, to publish mass-market editions of the Exhibit Format series, beginning in 1967.

County, Wisconsin in 1972 – and hospitals – like John Muir Medical Center in Walnut Creek, California in 1965; collectible “Muiriana” from postage stamps to build-it-yourself models of Muir’s home in Martinez, California; and articles in magazine publications ranging from *Motorland* to *Let’s Live*.<sup>120</sup> Reprints of Muir’s writings in the ‘60s and ‘70s, meticulously documented by Muir’s bibliographers, William and Maymie Kimes, included both inexpensive paperbacks – consistent with the tradition of paperback publishers as reprinters – and fine printing.<sup>121</sup>

Among these books were the two *Picturesque California* reprints at the core of this chapter: Lewis Osborne’s 1974 *Notes on my Journeying in California’s Northern Mountains* (Figure 3), a petite art book, and the Running Press’ 1976 *West of the Rocky Mountains* (Figure 4), a large-format paperback. Interpreted as ecological imprints, these books took form in the specific environments described above, a material world engaged with ecology, environmental heritage, and mass-market and

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<sup>120</sup> Hildegard Hoyt Swift, *From the Eagle’s Wing: A Biography of John Muir* (New York: Morrow, 1962); James I. Clark, *John Muir, Wanderer* (Madison, Wisconsin: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1957); John Stewart, *Winds in the Woods: The Story of John Muir* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1975); Glen Dines, *John Muir* (New York: Putnam, 1974); Margaret Goff Clark and Louis F. Cary, *John Muir, Friend of Nature* (Champaign, Illinois: Garrard Publishing Co., 1974); Shirley Sargent, *John Muir in Yosemite* (Yosemite, California: Flying Spur Press, 1971); “John Muir National Historic Site,” National Parks Conservation Association, accessed March 13, 2016, <https://www.npca.org/parks/john-muir-national-historic-site>; “Muir Park (No. 96),” Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources, accessed March 13, 2016, <http://dnr.wi.gov/topic/Lands/naturalareas/index.asp?SNA=96>; “History of John Muir Medical Center, Walnut Creek,” John Muir Health, accessed March 13, 2016, <https://www.johnmuirhealth.com/about-john-muir-health/history.html>; William and Maymie Kimes Collection, John Muir National Historic Site, Martinez, California.

<sup>121</sup> Kimes and Kimes, *John Muir: A Reading Bibliography*, 160-172.

fine-art publishing. Tied to this context, the following discussion of *Picturesque California*'s twentieth-century publishing history charts the reprints' creation, distribution, and reception and then places the two books in conversation – in content and material – to further explore the entanglement of material culture and environment.

### ***Notes on my Journeying in California's Northern Mountains***

Lewis Osborne's *Notes on my Journeying in California's Northern Mountains* (Figure 3) is a petite, slender book, seven inches wide by ten-and-a-half inches tall. Bound in coarse, green, plain-weave buckram, the book's front cover bears a decorative stamp in blue ink, the form of a bird perched on a branch.<sup>122</sup> Opening the book, the front endpapers are solid blue, textured paper, and leafing ahead, Osborne hand-numbered each of the 700 copies. The text paper is thick, laid paper with texture and "Utopia" watermarks, printed with nearly two-inch margins throughout (Figure 27).<sup>123</sup>

Following the title and copyright pages, the text begins with a five-page introduction by attorney Lawrence W. Jordan, Jr., identified as a local resident of California's so-called northern mountains. He discussed Mount Shasta's physical and mystical qualities, highlighting the "best known of Shasta's mythical creatures in residence," St. Germain and the Lemurians.<sup>124</sup> Jordan concluded his introduction by

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<sup>122</sup> Buckram is a stiff, sturdy textile used in bookbinding, typically made of cotton but sometimes of linen. See Greenfield, *ABC of Bookbinding*, 13.

<sup>123</sup> John Muir, *Notes on my Journeying in California's Northern Mountains* (Ashland, Oregon: Lewis Osborne, 1974).

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, 10-11.

giving the reader a brief overview of Muir's numerous experiences on Mount Shasta. Muir's account of the first of these experiences, his dramatic summit in November 1874, formed his *Picturesque California* article and was reprinted in Osborne's book. Jordan's final introductory words described *Picturesque California* as an illustrated monthly magazine, suggesting that Osborne drew this reprint from the San Francisco Call Company's magazine-styled reprint of *Picturesque California* from 1894.<sup>125</sup>

On page seventeen, Muir's article, "Mount Shasta," begins. The text is identical to the account of Muir's climb included in *Picturesque California* almost a century earlier, but the reader's experience with the text is much-changed. *Notes on my Journeying in California's Northern Mountains* is smaller than the twelve-by-sixteen original format of *Picturesque California*, and Osborne redesigned the textblock's layout. B.H. Royce, the nineteenth-century critic of *Picturesque California*'s abundant illustrations, would have been pleased that just thirteen of the forty-three images that had originally peppered the text were retained, all placed squarely above or below the text on the page, improving readability (Figure 27). Osborne's paratext sits at the conclusion of Muir's article: two pages of notes explaining Muir's terminology and references to little-known place-names; a page crediting Jordan for providing the illustrations from his copies of *Picturesque California*, likely by photography; and a detailed colophon.<sup>126</sup> Nearing the back

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<sup>125</sup> Ibid., 13-14.

<sup>126</sup> Gérard Genette and Marie Maclean, "Introduction to the Paratext," *New Literary History* 22(2): 261-272. Genette theorized that a book's paratext – the text that exists outside of the author's writing, including but not limited to the author's name, a preface, illustrations, and notes – play a significant role in the interpretation of literature but are understudied, arguing that "the paratext is for us the means by which

cover, the back endpapers are “an interesting old map” of Mount Shasta, as Osborne described it in his prospectus for the book, borrowed from an unknown source.<sup>127</sup>

Osborne’s curation of this content and his creation of *Notes on my Journeying in California’s Northern Mountains* stemmed not from his interest in wilderness or John Muir, but from his passion for fine printing and his desire to fill a niche in the collectors’ market for Western Americana.<sup>128</sup> Born in 1918 in Waterloo, New York, Lewis Osborne served as a pilot in World War II and graduated from Stanford University with a degree in English literature in 1950.<sup>129</sup> He then worked briefly for the California State Automobile Association, editing the organization’s monthly magazine, *Motorland*. In 1952, he began working for Lane Publishing Company of Menlo Park, California, serving as the production manager for Lane’s book division

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a text makes a book of itself and proposes itself as such to its readers, and more generally to the public.”

<sup>127</sup> Prospectus for *Notes on my Journeying in California’s Northern Mountains*, William and Maymie Kimes Collection, John Muir National Historic Site, Martinez, CA.

<sup>128</sup> Harold Otness (retired Southern Oregon University librarian) in discussion with the author, February 2016. Harold Otness met Lewis Osborne through the Roxburghe Club in the 1950s, and the two were close friends who shared a passion for print. Otness wrote two books - privately printed and in limited distribution – on Osborne after Osborne’s death in 1978. See Harold Otness, *Lewis Osborne, Book Artist, 1918-1978: A Bibliography of His Books* (Ashland, Oregon: Southern Oregon State College Library, 1979) and Harold Otness, *Lewis Osborne in Oregon* (Portland, Oregon: The Twombly Press, 1990).

<sup>129</sup> Annotated manuscript for *Lewis Osborne, Book Artist, 1918-1978* by Harold Otness, MSS 516, J. Ben Lieberman Papers, Special Collections, University of Delaware Library, Newark, Delaware; “Provisional List of ’50 Candidates for June Graduation Announced,” *The Stanford Daily*, May 1, 1950, 4. The Stanford Daily Online Archive.

and developing expertise in layout, design, and the technical production of books.<sup>130</sup> By 1953, the company had sold nearly two million books, publishing about twenty new titles annually. Most of the Lane books were inexpensive, spiral-bound how-to, lifestyle, and travel books, like *The Victory Garden* and *Sunset Barbecue Book*.<sup>131</sup>

While working at Lane, Osborne's personal interest in bookmaking grew. His friendships with hobby printers he met through the Roxburghe Club of San Francisco, Book Club of California, and Moxon Chappel, a printers' club in the vicinity of Stanford, further fueled his interest in establishing a private press of his own. He acquired a proof press for his home in Palo Alto, and in the late 1950s, Osborne learned to print by compiling and printing the minutes for the Moxon Chappel, many with tongue-in-cheek humor. Through the early 1960s, Osborne printed menus,

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<sup>130</sup> Harold Otness in discussion with the author, February 2016; Annotated manuscript for *Lewis Osborne, Book Artist, 1918-1978* by Harold Otness, MSS 516, J. Ben Lieberman Papers, Special Collections, University of Delaware Library, Newark, Delaware; John Tebbel, *A History of Book Publishing in the United States, Volume IV: The Great Change, 1940-1980* (New York and London: R. R. Bowker Company, 1981), 297-298. Under the leadership of Laurence William Lane in the 1930s, the Lane Publishing Company transformed *Sunset* from its 1898 origin as a western magazine to attract eastern tourists to its current function as a western lifestyle magazine marketed to Americans living in the West. Lane added a small book division to the company in the 1940s and quickly expanded it.

<sup>131</sup> Annotated manuscript for *Lewis Osborne, Book Artist, 1918-1978* by Harold Otness, MSS 516, J. Ben Lieberman Papers, Special Collections, University of Delaware Library, Newark, Delaware; Harold Otness, email message to author, February 10, 2016; Harold Otness in discussion with the author, February 2016; Tebbel, *A History of Book Publishing in the United States, Volume IV: The Great Change*, 297-298.

Christmas cards, tickets, announcements, and other non-commercial graphic arts for the Moxon Chappel (Figures 28-32).<sup>132</sup>

Osborne continued to print ephemera as he started to print books, and he left Lane in 1966 so that he could devote more time to his own book projects, including John Muir reprints.<sup>133</sup> Profiled in the *San Francisco Examiner* on March 23, 1969, reporter Ruth Teiser colorfully detailed Osborne’s interest and transition to independent book publishing:

Nearly 20 years ago Lewis Osborne, a World War II veteran from the East completing his education at Stanford, found himself browsing in the library stacks. Somehow he strayed from the books on English literature, his major, to the Western history shelves. And there, rooting out the eye-witness accounts, he discovered gold in the Mother Lode with the ‘forty-niners, the perils of the Rockies with the mountain men, the pleasures of the Sierra with John Muir.<sup>134</sup>

Osborne would ultimately publish fifty-four books, of which six were reprints of Muir’s writings. He published just one Muir reprint while in Palo Alto, *Two Essays on the Mountains & Meadows of the Sierra Nevada*, which included two of Muir’s

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<sup>132</sup> Harold Otness, email message to author, February 10, 2016; Harold Otness in discussion with the author, February 2016; Annotated manuscript for *Lewis Osborne, Book Artist, 1918-1978* by Harold Otness, MSS 516, J. Ben Lieberman Papers, Special Collections, University of Delaware Library, Newark, Delaware. Otness notes on page 12 of his manuscript that in 1965, Osborne printed an announcement for a Roxburghe Club lecture by David Brower (Director of the Sierra Club and leader of the Exhibit Format series discussed above) called “An Inquiry into the Influence of Fine Printing Upon Our Environment,” further – if tangentially – speaking to the connection between print culture and ecological thinking.

<sup>133</sup> Ruth Teiser, “Osborne’s Classics and Western History,” *San Francisco Examiner*, March 23, 1969, 42. NewsBank: San Francisco Chronicle Current and Historical.

<sup>134</sup> Ruth Teiser, “Gold Was In The Library,” *San Francisco Examiner*, March 23, 1969, 41. NewsBank: San Francisco Chronicle Current and Historical.

essays first published in *Scribner's Monthly*.<sup>135</sup> The *San Francisco Examiner* advertised the book in April 1969, connecting the publication to contemporary enthusiasm for John Muir: “The famed naturalist recovers for us the Sierra of simpler times, almost 90 years ago, in ‘The Glacier Meadows of the Sierra’ and ‘In the Heart of the California Alps,’ which make up this volume.”<sup>136</sup> The advertisement speaks to physical changes to the Yosemite Valley environment – “the Sierra of simpler times” – by the late 1960s, while situating Osborne’s private printing within a larger Bay Area book culture. The advertisement ran alongside book reviews, coupons from local bookshops, and a list of “Bay Area Best Sellers” in fiction and nonfiction.<sup>137</sup>

In 1970, Osborne moved with his family to Ashland, Oregon and left his press – an antique 8x12 Chandler & Price letterpress – behind. In Ashland, Osborne purchased a motorized Kelly B press and wrote about it in a note to a friend in April 1973:

I did the first printing with the Kelly two weeks ago – nothing much, but it was of course a real joy to use the press, and it went beautifully...But (alas, temporarily) when I was using it to pull some little proofs a week ago I forgot to remove some furniture from the bed and sure-enough, it gave a great crash and broke the bar that holds the carriage rollers in place.<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>135</sup> Kimes and Kimes, *John Muir: A Reading Bibliography*, 33, 39, 166.

<sup>136</sup> “YOSEMITE VALLEY,” *San Francisco Examiner*, April 27, 1969, 43. NewsBank: San Francisco Chronicle Current and Historical.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>138</sup> Annotated manuscript for *Lewis Osborne, Book Artist, 1918-1978* by Harold Otness, MSS 516, J. Ben Lieberman Papers, Special Collections, University of Delaware Library, Newark, Delaware.

As librarian and friend Harold Otness recounted, Osborne found his Kelly B press frustrating to operate, so Osborne forged a partnership with a local printer, Inland Press, to continue producing his own books.<sup>139</sup> The Inland Press, which typically printed commercially, received specific, meticulous instruction from Osborne, who sought presswork in the style of the San Francisco fine printing movement: wide margins; heavy black ink; traditional, clean type; and textured paper and bookcloth. This printing movement extended from the genesis of San Francisco fine printing in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with prominent printers like Edward Bosqui, Charles A. Murdock, and Edwin and Robert Grabhorn, through the mid-twentieth century with passionate hobby printers like Osborne and his Moxon Chappel companions, especially J. Ben and Elizabeth Lieberman.<sup>140</sup>

Fine printing in San Francisco in the mid-twentieth century, of course, fits into a larger landscape of small presses and fine editions through the twentieth century. Material shortages wrought by World War II diminished the presence of private presses nationally, but through the 1960s and 1970s, museums and libraries began exhibiting and lecturing with greater frequency on the art and history of books,

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<sup>139</sup> Ibid.; Harold Otness in discussion with the author, February 2016. Today, the Inland Press is known as the Independent Printing Company.

<sup>140</sup> Harold Otness in discussion with the author, February 2016; James David Hart, *Fine Printing: The San Francisco Tradition* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1985), 8-25; Ruth Teiser, "Osborne's Classics and Western History," *San Francisco Examiner*, March 23, 1969, 42. NewsBank: San Francisco Chronicle Current and Historical. This tradition of San Francisco fine printing continues today through the Grabhorn Institute, a non-profit organization whose mission is, in part, "to preserve and perpetuate the use of the last complete working typefoundry and letterpress workshop in the United States." See "Mission & Goals," The Grabhorn Institute, accessed April 20, 2016, <http://www.arionpress.com/grabhorn.htm>.

sparkling renewed interest in traditional printing. Auction houses and book clubs, like those named above in San Francisco, increased in activity and assigned greater value to collectibles.<sup>141</sup>

At the same time, a population of younger men and women – many of whom were working, like Osborne, with emerging technologies in large-scale publishing houses – was reacting to the mass-production of books and taking up traditional printing craft. J. Ben Lieberman’s 1963 *Printing as a Hobby*, a do-it-yourself manual to introduce readers to the craft, points to this renewed interest in traditional, fine printing. On the book’s back cover, Lieberman proclaimed:

Mention printing to the average person and he thinks of the huge presses that turn out the daily newspapers and the highly skilled typesetters who work for commercial printers. Dig a bit further and he may know of the artists who, since Ben Franklin’s day, have been maintaining small private presses in their homes... Today’s beginners can start with a printing kit (including a press) that costs as little as \$10. This opens the field wide, to practically every craft-minded person, especially to youngsters, with or without facilities in a school’s print shop.<sup>142</sup>

For Osborne, this culture of craft and fine printing allowed him to move from hobby printing to book production as his livelihood in the 1970s, focusing on Western Americana. As he explained to a book reviewer for *This World* in 1966, “My idea is to meet the public’s appetite for original eye-witness accounts of important, colorful

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<sup>141</sup> Tebbel, *A History of Book Publishing in the United States: Volume IV: The Great Change, 1940-1980*, 413.

<sup>142</sup> J. Ben Lieberman, *Printing as a Hobby*, 1963 (Reprint, New York: Sterling Publishing Co., 1966).

events in early Western history.”<sup>143</sup> Accordingly, Osborne printed books like Martha Hill Gillette’s *Overland to Oregon in the Indian Wars of 1853*, George Douglas Brewerton’s *In the Buffalo Country*, William H. Rideing’s *The Overland Express*, and five additional Muir books, including *Notes on My Journeying in California’s Northern Mountains* in 1974. Osborne issued a prospectus for the book, a single sheet of laid paper folded in half, with his title page for the work printed on the front, pages 42 and 43 inside, and his description of the book on the reverse (Figure 33). In this description, Osborne explained the “new” book’s content and materiality, framing the following analysis of this book in the history of *Picturesque California*:

This book is being printed in two colors on Curtis laid-finish paper, using traditional Caslon types. Its 80 pages size 7” x 10½” will be hand-bound in full natural green buckram, gold-stamped and hand-numbered.

The edition, limited to seven hundred copies, will be ready for distribution in November, the centennial month of Muir’s first visit to California’s northern mountains. The price is \$15.<sup>144</sup>

Drawing from Osborne’s background; prospectus, endnotes, and colophon for *Notes on my Journeying in California’s Northern Mountains*; and close examination of the book itself, one can piece together a biography for this book, from Osborne’s design to its fabrication and distribution, with connections to contemporary ecological thinking.

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<sup>143</sup> Annotated manuscript for *Lewis Osborne, Book Artist, 1918-1978* by Harold Otness, MSS 516, J. Ben Lieberman Papers, Special Collections, University of Delaware Library, Newark, Delaware.

<sup>144</sup> Prospectus for *Notes on my Journeying in California’s Northern Mountains*, William and Maymie Kimes Collection, John Muir National Historic Site, Martinez, CA.

First, Osborne's design for the book was typical of fine printers working in the San Francisco vicinity, with its nearly two-inch margins, tactile and dimensional letterpress, simple type, and textured buckram binding and laid paper. Osborne's design for *Notes on my Journeying in California's Northern Mountains* took material form through an extensive network of makers, much like *Picturesque California* was fabricated and distributed through an intricate system that stretched coast to coast. Osborne designed his own types for the title page, except for the Tudor type used for printing the word "Journeying," which was from the Mackenzie & Harris foundry in San Francisco.<sup>145</sup> The bulk of the text was printed in Caslon type by Mackenzie & Harris. Osborne purchased the paper for the text – Curtis Utopian Text – from the Curtis Paper Company in Newark, Delaware, and worked with Ashland's Inland Press to print the textblock.<sup>146</sup> Osborne then sent the text to the Filmer Brother's Bindery in San Francisco, where nearly all of Osborne's books were finished and where this book was bound and stamped in green buckram from Columbia Mills in Syracuse, New York.

Osborne published 700 copies of *Notes on my Journeying in California's Northern Mountains* and distributed them by subscription, through mail, and to book collectors.<sup>147</sup> The book was listed in the California Historical Society's winter 1974

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<sup>145</sup> Harold Otness in discussion with the author, February 2016; "History of M & H Type," Arion Press, accessed April 6, 2016, <http://www.arionpress.com/mandh/history.htm>.

<sup>146</sup> Curtis Paper Company brochure for Curtis Utopian Text, Special Collections, University of Delaware Library, Newark, Delaware.

<sup>147</sup> Harold Otness in discussion with the author, February 2016.

*California Historical Quarterly*, in reference librarian Jay Williar’s “California Check List,” the goal of which was to publicize imprints that would not be well-advertised elsewhere.<sup>148</sup> It was purchased by collectors like William and Maymie Kimes, Muir’s bibliographers who assembled an extensive collection of Muiriana in their lifetimes, further speaking to the role of heightened interest in American environmental heritage in the book’s creation, distribution, and reception. In fact, *Notes on my Journeying in California’s Northern Mountains* achieved sufficient success in its first printing that in 1975 Osborne printed a photographically-reduced, paperback edition for the Siskiyou County Historical Society to stock in their gift shop – for \$2.50 – in the late 1970s.<sup>149</sup>

As an ecological imprint, *Notes on my Journeying in California’s Northern Mountains*, particularly in its materials and market, suggests one manner in which later twentieth-century Americans were grappling with the country’s nineteenth-century environmental heritage. The book’s materials – from its buckram binding to its laid paper – point to Osborne’s intention for the book as an art object, a book intended for collectors.<sup>150</sup> As a collectible, *Notes on my Journeying in California’s*

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<sup>148</sup> Jay Williar, “California Check List,” *California Historical Quarterly* 53(4): 399.

<sup>149</sup> Harold Otness in discussion with the author, February 2016; Kimes and Kimes, *John Muir: A Reading Bibliography*, 171. To the author’s knowledge, the book is no longer sold at the Siskiyou County Historical Society.

<sup>150</sup> Osborne’s use of laid paper is especially notable. To mass-market, nineteenth-century consumers of *Picturesque California*, laid paper would likely have appeared antiquated, or more aligned with contemporary Arts and Crafts Movement printing, which was designed for a different market and ideology. Osborne’s use of laid paper allied *Notes on my Journeying in California’s Northern Mountains* with the Arts and Crafts Movement, further anchoring it in rejection of industry and mass-production in favor of handcraft.

*Northern Mountains* presented *Picturesque California*'s idealized wilderness depictions as artifacts of the century prior. Osborne's book implicitly acknowledges both the datedness and intrigue of Muir's writing on Mount Shasta and its accompanying illustrations.<sup>151</sup>

However, books are utilitarian as well as ideological, and *Notes on my Journeying in California's Northern Mountains*' content in conversation with its materials suggests that while Osborne's intention for the publication may have been its artistry and collectability, the book was tactilely engaging and easy to read. Its textured materials are inviting, and its size is ideal to hold in hand for reading. The design of the pages was clean, an aesthetic desired by Osborne, but because of this, they are also navigable by readers in a way that *Picturesque California* was not. In addition to the book's readability, Osborne's paratext – his addition of an introduction, endnotes, and pages crediting the illustrations and materials – further apply a twentieth-lens to the old text and images. Osborne's interpretation of *Picturesque California* through his creation and distribution of *Notes on my Journeying in California's Northern Mountains* makes palpable one mode of 1970s engagement with American environmental heritage.

This form of engagement is accessible today, as copies of *Notes on my Journeying in California's Northern Mountains* remain available to collectors through

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<sup>151</sup> *Notes on my Journeying in California's Northern Mountains*' collectability situates it within a historiography and theorization. Histories and theories on the human impulse to collect and the meaning of collectability suggest that collecting hinges on classifying objects, evaluating objects' assigned value, and performing an identity through objects. See Paula Rubel and Abraham Rosman, "The Collecting Passion in America," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 126(2001): 313-330.

booksellers like Abe Books – as is the case for the Running Press’ 1976 *West of the Rocky Mountains*. However, the creation, distribution, and reception of *West of the Rocky Mountains* speak to an alternate form of interaction with *Picturesque California*’s nineteenth-century texts and images, a different way that material culture and environment were interconnected in the 1970s.

### ***West of the Rocky Mountains***

The Running Press’ *West of the Rocky Mountains*’ (Figure 4) size, weight, and volume lend a reader a vastly different experience than Osborne’s *Notes on my Journeying in California’s Northern Mountains*. At ten inches wide by thirteen inches tall, the book is a large-format paperback with a dynamic cover. “WEST OF THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS” appears at the top, and the cover’s central portrait of Muir breaks its frame and overlaps the text. Signed by artist Charles Santore, the portrait of Muir was rendered to mimic etching and watercolor, set into a rocky landscape constructed to evoke wood engraving, a nod to *Picturesque California*’s proliferate wood engravings. Where Muir’s beard would naturally fall, the Running Press overlaid, in large, colorful text, “EDITED BY / JOHN MUIR.” The overall effect echoes that of a Led Zeppelin album cover, in stark contrast to both *Picturesque California* and *Notes on my Journeying in California’s Northern Mountains*.<sup>152</sup>

The book’s back cover is also visually full: on a peach background, the layout juxtaposes two photographs of Muir – one in Yosemite Valley, the other at the base of an enormous redwood with President Theodore Roosevelt and a party of hikers – and

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<sup>152</sup> Stuart “Buz” Teacher in discussion with the author, February 2016; John Muir, ed., *West of the Rocky Mountains* (Philadelphia: Running Press, 1976).

a brief Muir biography, situating the reprint in the visual, literary, and cultural legacy of John Muir (Figure 34). The Running Press also printed the price of the book – \$8.95, about half the cost of Osborne’s reprint – on its back cover.<sup>153</sup>

There are no endpapers in paperbacks, so the reader opens directly onto the book’s title page, with the copyright page printed on its reverse. The next page is the first of the book’s reprinted pages, a copy of “Contents” from the 1894 text block. A new foreword for the book, written by the Running Press’ Richard E. Nicholls, is printed on its reverse. Then, immediately facing the foreword, the 1894 textblock begins, reprinted exactly as it was issued in the late nineteenth century. While the text and illustrations are the same in 2016, 1976, and 1894, the Running Press’ creation and distribution of the book, and consumers’ related experiences with it, differ from those of the San Francisco Call Company and its subscribers in the late nineteenth century, pointing to differing relationships between materials and ideologies in these books.<sup>154</sup>

Lawrence and Stuart “Buz” Teacher, brothers from Philadelphia, were the founders of the Running Press and the curators for *West of the Rocky Mountains*. During college at American University, the Teacher brothers worked in their parents’ bookstore in Washington, D.C., an experience that taught them about bookselling and reader preferences. Lawrence operated a bookstore of his own in Philadelphia in the 1960s, while Buz was working on a Ph.D. in criminology and criminal law at the University of Pennsylvania. In 1972, in his apartment above Lawrence’s bookstore at

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<sup>153</sup> Muir, *West of the Rocky Mountains*.

<sup>154</sup> Muir, *West of the Rocky Mountains*; Muir, *Picturesque California and the Pacific Slope*.

38 South Nineteenth Street in Philadelphia, Buz produced what would be the Running Press' first books – *The Complete Encyclopedia of Needlework* and *Leather Tooling: A Guide for Learners* – as a hobby, similar to Lewis Osborne's early hobby printing. These first titles' connections to traditional craft also echo the reaction against mass-production and industry that fueled the revival of small presses and fine printing in the '60s and '70s.

As Buz expressed in a conversation with the author, he liked the people who worked in the publishing industry and found creating material objects more satisfying than academia. So in 1972, Buz and Lawrence co-founded the Running Press with \$3,000 in capital, a beginning in great contrast to the J. Dewing Company's incorporation in 1887 with \$250,000.<sup>155</sup> An advertisement that year declared, "Running Press is off and running," and provided a description that would set the tone for the books the Running Press would publish through the 1970s (Figure 35):

Running Press, a gathering of young people, produced these titles, our first offerings in a line of involvement books. We tap America's greatest pastime. Leisure. Craft books, earth books, things to do with your hands, your feet, your mind, and your body books. We are mountain climbers, handweavers, leather smiths, country dwellers, city people, and businessmen. Our formula is simple: We make books that people buy. Look for us and we'll be there.<sup>156</sup>

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<sup>155</sup> "Lawrence Teacher, 72, Philadelphia publisher and talented artist," Philly.com, accessed April 7, 2016, [http://articles.philly.com/2014-03-28/news/48634200\\_1\\_robert-downey-jr-painting-rittenhouse-square](http://articles.philly.com/2014-03-28/news/48634200_1_robert-downey-jr-painting-rittenhouse-square); Buz Teacher in discussion with the author, February 2016.

<sup>156</sup> Running Press advertisement (1972), Running Press records, Kislak Center for Special Collections, Rare Books and Manuscripts, University of Pennsylvania.

Because the Running Press did not have the capital to print original books in the early '70s, they instead reprinted books that were out of copyright and that the Teacher brothers thought were significant and could be reasonably priced for the mass market, consistent with the role of early paperback publishers as reprinters.<sup>157</sup> By 1976, this remained their business model and provided the company framework for reprinting *Picturesque California* as *West of the Rocky Mountains*.

Though Buz Teacher does not recall where he first experienced *Picturesque California*, he was nonetheless drawn to the book's "novel appearance," with its interplay of text and image. This design quality, which had so annoyed nineteenth-century readers like critic B.H. Royce, was now seen as novel and appealing. Buz simply liked the book, and he thought that it might sell well in the West especially. But in reprinting *Picturesque California* as *West of the Rocky Mountains*, Buz melded his intrigue in the book's fundamentally nineteenth-century content with his admiration for contemporary countercultural innovation, Stewart Brand and his *Whole Earth Catalog*.<sup>158</sup>

Stewart Brand launched *Whole Earth Catalog*, a countercultural magazine, in 1968, under the slogan, "Access to Tools." Each issue of the periodical covered topics including systems, shelter, craft, and community, offering short essays on these topics but mostly product reviews. Espousing an ethic of self-sufficiency, do-it-yourself, and sustainable technological fixes to environmental problems, the *Whole Earth Catalog*

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<sup>157</sup> Buz Teacher in discussion with the author, February 2016; Rome, *The Genius of Earth Day*, 240-241.

<sup>158</sup> Buz Teacher in discussion with the author, February 2016.

influentially packaged ecologically-minded consumerism.<sup>159</sup> As Stewart Brand reflected in the 1986 *Essential Whole Earth Catalog*:

The *Whole Earth Catalog* got started in a plane over Nebraska in March 1968... The L.L. Bean Catalog of outdoor stuff came to mind, and I pondered upon Mr. Bean's service to humanity over the years. So many of the problems I could identify came down to a matter of access: Where to buy a windmill. Where to get good information on beekeeping. Where to lay hands on a computer.<sup>160</sup>

Selling millions of copies, the *Whole Earth Catalog* won a National Book Award in 1972.<sup>161</sup>

Inspired by the *Whole Earth Catalog*, in both its commercial success and its innovation, the Running Press published several practical books on alternative energy and lifestyles in the early-mid 1970s, like *Energy Book #1 and 2* and *The Dome Builder's Handbook*.<sup>162</sup> Although these Running Press books were reprints, they were styled in the same applied, how-to manner of both the *Whole Earth Catalog* and other popular eco-publications – like *The Environmental Handbook* – after Earth Day 1970.<sup>163</sup>

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<sup>159</sup> Andrew G. Kirk, *Counterculture Green: The Whole Earth Catalog and American Environmentalism* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2007), 1-3; “Whole Earth Catalog,” Whole Earth Catalog, accessed April 7, 2016, <http://www.wholeearth.com/history-whole-earth-catalog.php>.

<sup>160</sup> J. Baldwin, ed., *The Essential Whole Earth Catalog* (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1986), 402.

<sup>161</sup> Kirk, *Counterculture Green*, 1-3.

<sup>162</sup> “Spring books from the Running Press” pamphlet (1978), Running Press records, Kislak Center for Special Collections, Rare Books and Manuscripts, University of Pennsylvania; Buz Teacher in discussion with the author, February 2016.

<sup>163</sup> Rome, *The Genius of Earth Day*, 240-241.

Ultimately, Buz Teacher thought the *Whole Earth Catalog* successfully tapped into young Americans' consumerism through its reviews and discussions of books and other goods that involved learning about and exploring the world, and he thought *West of the Rocky Mountains* could fit into that category. Importantly, it was not just the content of the *Whole Earth Catalog* that was an inspiration to the Running Press, but also its materiality, particularly its size.<sup>164</sup> *West of the Rocky Mountains* – at ten inches by thirteen inches – roughly shares the dimensions of the *Whole Earth Catalog*, eleven inches by fourteen-and-a-quarter inches. In a speech entitled “How to Produce Trade Paperbacks” given at the Association of American Publishers' Trade Paperback Publishing Conference in March 1978, Buz remarked, “True innovation in book production comes along once in a great while, as evidenced by the 11 x 14¼ inch *Whole Earth Catalog*. This is an example of real innovation in trim size that proved worthwhile and meaningful because it proved that booksellers were happy to stock a book that wouldn't fit on the shelf and was hard to handle, as long as it sold.”<sup>165</sup>

The Running Press' curation of *West of the Rocky Mountains* invoked other decisions in terms of content and materiality, particularly its paratext – the cover art and new introduction. The Running Press commissioned the cover art from Philadelphia children's book illustrator, Charles Santore, who represented Muir's face emerging from a “wood-engraved” background, speaking to the book's lineage and history in its new 1970s context. In his “How to Produce Trade Paperbacks” speech,

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<sup>164</sup> Buz Teacher in discussion with the author, February 2016.

<sup>165</sup> Manuscript for “How to Produce Trade Paperbacks” speech, Running Press records, Kislak Center for Special Collections, Rare Books and Manuscripts, University of Pennsylvania.

Buz explained that the design of book covers is analogous to that of album covers, an aesthetic decision that is arguably evident here.<sup>166</sup> Richard E. Nicholls, the author and editor of several Running Press titles on plants and hydroponics, wrote the introduction to *West of the Rocky Mountains*, celebrating both Muir's preservation legacy and *Picturesque California's* alleged impact as "undoubtedly the most spectacular example of how Muir put his credo into action." *Picturesque California*, Nicholls declared, "remains largely as fresh and as capable of exciting wonder as it did eighty-seven years ago. It offers us a chance to recapture, fleetingly, the wild beauty that was once America."<sup>167</sup>

To fabricate the book, the Running Press sent a copy of the 1894 edition of *Picturesque California* to its printer, Port City Press in Baltimore, for detailed photography. The photographs were used to create off-set printing plates. The Port City Press supplied about a dozen choices in paper for the book, from which the Running Press selected one, on which the book was printed in one color, black in this case, via off-set lithography, a process that allows for the rapid reproduction of print media using a system of rollers.<sup>168</sup>

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<sup>166</sup> Ibid.

<sup>167</sup> Richard E. Nicholls, "John Muir" in *West of the Rocky Mountains*, ed. John Muir (Philadelphia: Running Press, 1976), n.p.; Buz Teacher in discussion with the author, February 2016.

<sup>168</sup> Buz Teacher in discussion with the author, February 2016; "Offset Lithography," Graphics Atlas, accessed April 7, 2016, [http://www.graphicsatlas.org/identification/?process\\_id=46](http://www.graphicsatlas.org/identification/?process_id=46). As detailed by the Graphics Atlas, offset lithography is a planographic, photomechanical process in which a photograph is taken of the image to be reproduced, the photograph is transferred to a printing plate, the inked plate is wrapped around the plate cylinder, the plate cylinder is inked and then transfers the ink to a rubber blanket cylinder, and the

Most of the copies of *West of the Rocky Mountains* were fabricated as paperbacks with a glue binding, though 200 or 300 copies of the book were published in library bindings, which would better ensure the book's durability in library collections. As Buz explained, this process is simple: beginning with the printed paperback book, the front and back covers are sliced off the book, the text block is glued into a vinyl-like binding, and the covers are pasted on the front and back of this binding.<sup>169</sup>

*West of the Rocky Mountains* was advertised in Running Press catalogs (Figure 36) as well as in publications like *Backpacker Magazine*. Included in the magazine's 1977 Christmas Gift Collection spread, *Backpacker* wrote:

It's a collection of 26 essays – six of them by Muir – in a giant 10" x 13" format, with 508 pages. The essays by Muir, J.R. Litch, Charles Howard Shinn and others are steeped in the flavor of 19<sup>th</sup>-century California: its awesome wilderness, its early cities. The old line drawings and woodcuts alone are worth the price of the book. A great gift book for Californians and California-lovers.<sup>170</sup>

*Backpacker*'s advertisement vibrantly captures 1970s enthusiasm for American environmental heritage, emphasizing Muir's connection to the publication as well as "the flavor of 19<sup>th</sup>-century California" and the "old line drawings and woodcuts." Reviews, like one published in the *Village Voice* and excerpted in the Running Press' spring books pamphlet in 1978, echo enthusiasm for the book through the lens of

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inked blanket cylinder makes the imprint. This process greatly shaped the printing and publishing industry through the twentieth century with its ability to produce high-volume, high-quality prints with great efficiency.

<sup>169</sup> Buz Teacher in discussion with the author, February 2016.

<sup>170</sup> "1977 Christmas Gift Collection," *Backpacker* 5(5): 11.

celebratory public memory of John Muir: “An enormous, diverting 1888 anthology of writings about the West, edited by the pioneering conservationist and founder of the Sierra Club, John Muir.”<sup>171</sup>

For the sale and distribution of *West of the Rocky Mountains*, the Running Press’ sales and marketing team was remarkably similar to the J. Dewing Company’s nineteenth-century network of book agents. In the mid-1970s, the Running Press employed about thirty salespeople, who worked around the United States. The sales team traveled to bookstores, typically to larger accounts like B.B. Dalton and Walden Books, to make sales of Running Press publications, including *West of the Rocky Mountains*.<sup>172</sup>

This sales strategy meant that *West of the Rocky Mountains* would have been stocked at these larger, nationwide bookstores, but consumers would have also been able to purchase the book through mail-order to magazines like *Backpacker* and through smaller, independent bookstores and other retailers. As Buz explained, smaller bookstores – like Labyrinth Books in Princeton, New Jersey – might contact the Running Press about stocking their books.<sup>173</sup> These requests from other distributors were not limited to bookstores: Liberty Organization of Montrose,

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<sup>171</sup> “Spring books from the Running Press” pamphlet (1978), Running Press records, Kislak Center for Special Collections, Rare Books and Manuscripts, University of Pennsylvania; Buz Teacher in discussion with the author, February 2016.

<sup>172</sup> Buz Teacher in conversation with the author, February 2016.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid.

California, a sporting goods wholesaler, wrote to the Running Press in May 1976 for permission to distribute *West of the Rocky Mountains*.<sup>174</sup>

This was the only request for an outside distributor to sell *West of the Rocky Mountains*, pointing to the book's lackluster success in terms of sales and reception. This lack of commercial success is also evident in Running Press catalogs in the 1970s and 1980s: *West of the Rocky Mountains* ceased being listed in the company's biannual catalogs in the early 1980s, while more successful publications – like the popular countercultural manual, *The Dome Builder's Handbook* – continued to be listed and sold through the early 1990s.<sup>175</sup> Buz Teacher explained that *West of the Rocky Mountains* was not a commercial success, scoring it “four out of ten,” but that it was important for the company to print the book at the time that it did, as an earlier imprint in the company's fledgling years.<sup>176</sup>

As an ecological imprint, though, the Running Press' *West of the Rocky Mountains* was, in its materiality, analogous to the press' popular how-to manuals and activity books, many of which were tied to current trends in alternative energies and self-sufficient lifestyles. True to their announcement that the “Running Press is off and running,” namely that the company printed “involvement books,” books to engage with your hands and mind, *West of the Rocky Mountains* was designed for tactile

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<sup>174</sup> Frank Petran on behalf of Liberty Organization to the Running Press, May 3, 1976, Running Press records, Kislak Center for Special Collections, Rare Books and Manuscripts, University of Pennsylvania.

<sup>175</sup> Running Press catalogs (1978-2000), Running Press records, Kislak Center for Special Collections, Rare Books and Manuscripts, University of Pennsylvania.

<sup>176</sup> Buz Teacher in discussion with the author, February 2016.

interaction. But the book retained *Picturesque California*'s exact 1894 content, its texts and images representing both resource exploitation and grand wilderness. With the addition of Richard E. Nicholls' celebratory introduction and Charles Santore's highly stylized cover illustration, the Running Press recast the nineteenth-century view-book as a form of John Muir memorabilia or Muiriana, encouraging readers to physically engage with the book and its nineteenth-century content, framed by John Muir's preservation achievements.

Through *West of the Rocky Mountains*, the Running Press provided a platform for readers to connect Muir's legacy of preservation with *Picturesque California*, even as the initial publication's preservation messages were overwhelmed – in content and material – by an anthropocentric pattern of ecological thought. But through its size, modeled after the *Whole Earth Catalog*; its cover artwork that linked nineteenth-century wood engraving to twentieth-century graphic and record album design; its introduction that tied John Muir to contemporary environmentalism; and its format that evoked popular how-to manuals on sustainable living, *West of the Rocky Mountains* was also steeped in contemporary thinking about ecology and publishing. The book embodied a disconnect between historic and contemporary ecological thought, which may explain *West of the Rocky Mountains*' less-than-positive reception, but this disconnect highlights the Running Press' grappling with American environmental heritage in light of new concerns about ecology and contrasts the cultural meanings of *West of the Rocky Mountains* and *Notes on my Journeying in California's Northern Mountains*.

## Reprints in Conversation

In their reprints, Lewis Osborne and the Running Press were both engaged with the memory of John Muir, deeply involved with the business and craft of printing, and responding to contemporary ecological thinking. The dissimilarity of their reprints – their different interpretations of *Picturesque California* in content and form – ultimately reflects their contrasting modes of engagement with environmental heritage and identity. Lewis Osborne’s reprint was an art object that transformed the initial publication’s picturesque aesthetic into one suited for the later twentieth century. Adding explanatory lenses through the introduction and endnotes, redesigning the layout in the style of the San Francisco fine printing movement, and employing tactile materials, Osborne transformed the book’s readability and enabled collectors to engage with the book’s nineteenth-century content. In all, Osborne recast Muir’s article on his ascent of Mount Shasta from *Picturesque California* as an artful but tangible object through which consumers – collectors, readers, Muir scholars, et cetera – could productively engage with American environmental heritage.

In contrast, the Running Press’ reprint was a mass-produced object that did not transform the picturesque content of the 1894 publication. Through its size, cover artwork, format, and introduction, *West of the Rocky Mountains* created dissonance between *Picturesque California*’s nineteenth-century representations of nature and the new ecological thought patterns and material culture of the 1970s. While this dissonance points to the book’s lack of commercial success, it more importantly illustrates how the Running Press wrestled with American environmental heritage, even though consumers were not necessarily equipped to do the same through the book.

Although their different material treatments of *Picturesque California's* nineteenth-century content led to consumers' differing engagement with that content, Lewis Osborne and the Running Press both suggest that American environmental heritage was relevant in the context of the growing environmental movement in the 1970s, fueled by ecological understanding. This speaks more broadly, I argue, to the role that environmental history and artifacts of past ecological thinking – like *Picturesque California*, *Notes on my Journeying in California's Northern Mountains*, and *West of the Rocky Mountains* – can play in shaping contemporary understanding of ecology and the relationship between humans and the world around us.

## Chapter 4

### CONCLUSION: BOOKS, HERITAGE, AND ENVIRONMENTALISM

Activist-scholar Bill McKibben penned the introduction to his anthology, *American Earth: Environmental Writing Since Thoreau*, while camped high in the Sierra Nevada, as if channeling John Muir. In this introduction, McKibben argued that the environmental movement has been propelled by writing. The entries he curated for the anthology helped to achieve significant political victories for the protection of the natural world, like John Muir and George Perkins Marsh on the creation of national parks and Rachel Carson on the restriction of use of industrial pesticides like DDT.<sup>177</sup>

While books like Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* and David Brower's Sierra Club Exhibit Format series had great political impact, *Picturesque California*, *Notes on my Journeying California's Northern Mountains*, and *West of the Rocky Mountains* did not. But as an ambitious effort to comprehensively represent the American West in the late nineteenth century, reissued in the later twentieth century, *Picturesque California* was and is part of a dialogue around natural resource management, ecological thinking, and environmentalism.

Linking American environmental history with the history of the book, this thesis has considered the publishing history of one text, *Picturesque California*, to

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<sup>177</sup> Bill McKibben, "Introduction" in *American Earth: Environmental Writing Since Thoreau*, Bill McKibben ed. (New York: Library of America, 2008), xxi-xxv.

shine light on the complex dialogue between books and ecological thinking from the late nineteenth century to the later twentieth. First published by the J. Dewing Company in serial installments between 1887 and 1891, *Picturesque California* presented its subscribers with a literary and visual window onto the American West, with nearly 500 pages of descriptive text and 700 illustrations. Engaging with *Picturesque California*'s content, though, was mediated by experiences with materials including clay-coated paper, synthetic gold foil, and new print forms including photogravure and relief halftone. Ultimately, *Picturesque California*'s idealized coexistence of wilderness preservation with resource exploitation in its texts and images was in tension with – and arguably overwhelmed by – the book's materials and distribution networks, which were products themselves of industrialization and exploitive resource extraction.

In 1974 and 1976 respectively, Lewis Osborne and the Running Press reprinted *Picturesque California*, from opposite coasts and opposite ends of the publishing industry. On one hand, Osborne was an integral member of San Francisco's fine printing movement and reprinted *Picturesque California* as an art book for the collectors' market; *Notes on my Journeying in California's Northern Mountains* reflected Osborne's artistic practice. The Running Press, on the other hand, reprinted *Picturesque California* as an inexpensive paperback, much like its *Dome Builder's Handbook* and *Energy Book #1 and 2*, marketed particularly to Americans concerned with ecology.

Although the two reprints contained the same content, though Osborne's was just one article from the larger text, their larger contrasts in material and marketing suggest their different approaches to *Picturesque California*'s nineteenth-century

environmental writings and landscape illustrations. By the mid-1970s when these books were published, Americans had developed a heightened awareness of ecology, a development in thinking about the nonhuman world in significant contrast to *Picturesque California*'s polarized depiction of wilderness versus civilization. Osborne and the Running Press, in their respective reprints, suggest different ways that Americans interpreted with their environmental history in the 1970s: Osborne gave readers an idea of *Picturesque California* as a collectible, artistic artifact, while the Running Press presented readers with a recast view-book, a form of Muiriana. Both reprints point to the potential for both scholarly and public audiences to productively engage with history – and the material culture of that history – to better understand environmental problems.

In 2008, Thomas Moran's *The Half-Dome – View from Moran Point* – the first plate in *Picturesque California* – was exhibited as part of an exhibition at the Loyola University Museum of Art, *Manifest Destiny/Manifest Responsibility*, drawn from the collection of the Terra Foundation for American Art. The exhibition included American landscape art from the eighteenth through twentieth centuries, charting stylistic development as it connected to the development of environmental awareness, “a gradual though still incomplete shift from an anthropocentric view of the earth to a biocentric one that recognizes all organisms, including humans, as parts of a single natural system or community,” as curator Peter John Brownlee put it.<sup>178</sup> Through these artworks, – these material manifestations of American environmental heritage –

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<sup>178</sup> Peter John Brownlee, *Manifest Destiny/Manifest Responsibility: Environmentalism and the Art of the American Landscape* (Chicago: Terra Foundation for American Art & Loyola University Museum of Art, 2008), 23.

the exhibition pushed visitors to challenge manifest destiny and, in turn, to consider manifest responsibility for our current global environmental crisis, climate change.<sup>179</sup>

Numerous exhibitions since *Manifest Destiny/Manifest Responsibility* have utilized the interpretation of environmental heritage to prompt viewers to engage with and challenge their understanding of the relationship between the human and nonhuman worlds: *Organic: Photographs of the Natural World* at the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts in Richmond, Virginia; *A Passion for Nature* at Maymont Mansion in Richmond; *Gardens & Groves: George Washington's Landscape at Mount Vernon* at Mount Vernon; *Nature and the American Vision: The Hudson River School* at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art; and *The Poetry of Nature: A Golden Age of American Landscape Painting* at the Brandywine River Museum of Art in Chadds Ford, Pennsylvania are all exhibitions – big and small, at major institutions and small ones – from just the last two years that seek to link nature and culture.

We continue to look to the material record to better understand human imaginings and actions towards the natural world, and to do so is fruitful. In spring of 2018, the Princeton University Art Museum will open a landmark exhibition, *Nature's Nation: American Art and Environment*, which will specifically apply an ecocritical framework to American art, posing the question: how have American artists been influenced by the environment, and in turn, how have artists shaped perception of the

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<sup>179</sup> Ibid., 33.

environment? In addition to interpreting American environmental heritage, the exhibition will also display its own environmental impact.<sup>180</sup>

This thesis, in charting an ecocritical interpretation of *Picturesque California* and its reprints, is part of this broader cultural conversation about understanding the human role in a shared ecology. Like curators of the above-named exhibitions, Lewis Osborne and the Running Press interpreted American environmental heritage – *Picturesque California* and the ecological thinking to which it was linked – and created products – in this case, books – through which a broader public can rethink, assess, and engage with that heritage. Today, a simple search for “John Muir” on the website Etsy, the popular online marketplace for handcrafted goods, yields a wide array of material culture – books, prints, home décor, jewelry, journals, and clothing – that speaks to the range of contemporary responses to American environmental heritage – many, notably, in print. Muir’s nineteenth-century writings continue to inspire and to draw linkages between ecology and print, environment and material culture.

As we march forward in grappling with environmental problems – particularly, climate change – may the work of Lewis Osborne, the Running Press, and scores of contemporary curators and craftspeople serve as reminders of the value in the continued interpretation of environmental heritage, a way to more completely understand the relationship between humans and the world in which we live.

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<sup>180</sup> “In the Classroom: Picturing Ecology,” Princeton University Art Museum, accessed March 25, 2016, <http://artmuseum.princeton.edu/story/classroom-picturing-ecology>.

FIGURES

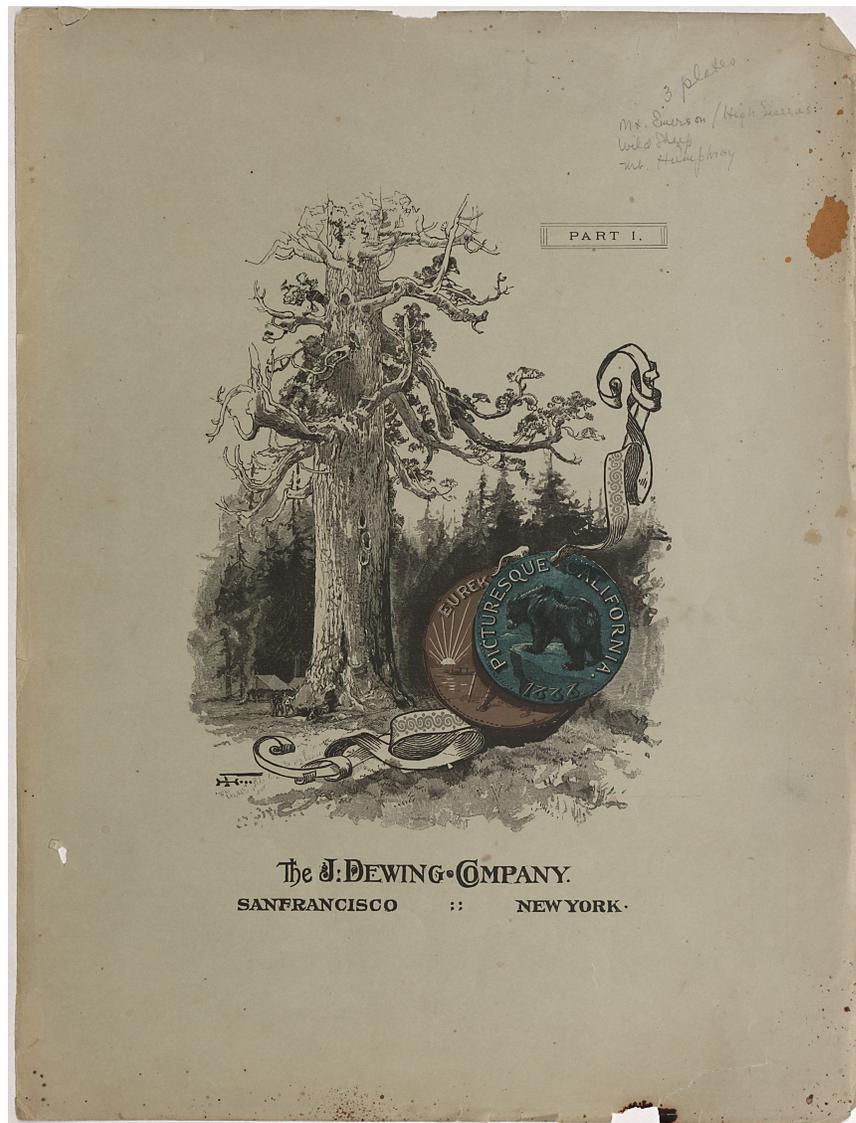


Figure 1 First serial installment of *Picturesque California*, issued by the J. Dewing Company in fall 1887. Courtesy, The Winterthur Library: The John and Carolyn Grossman Collection.

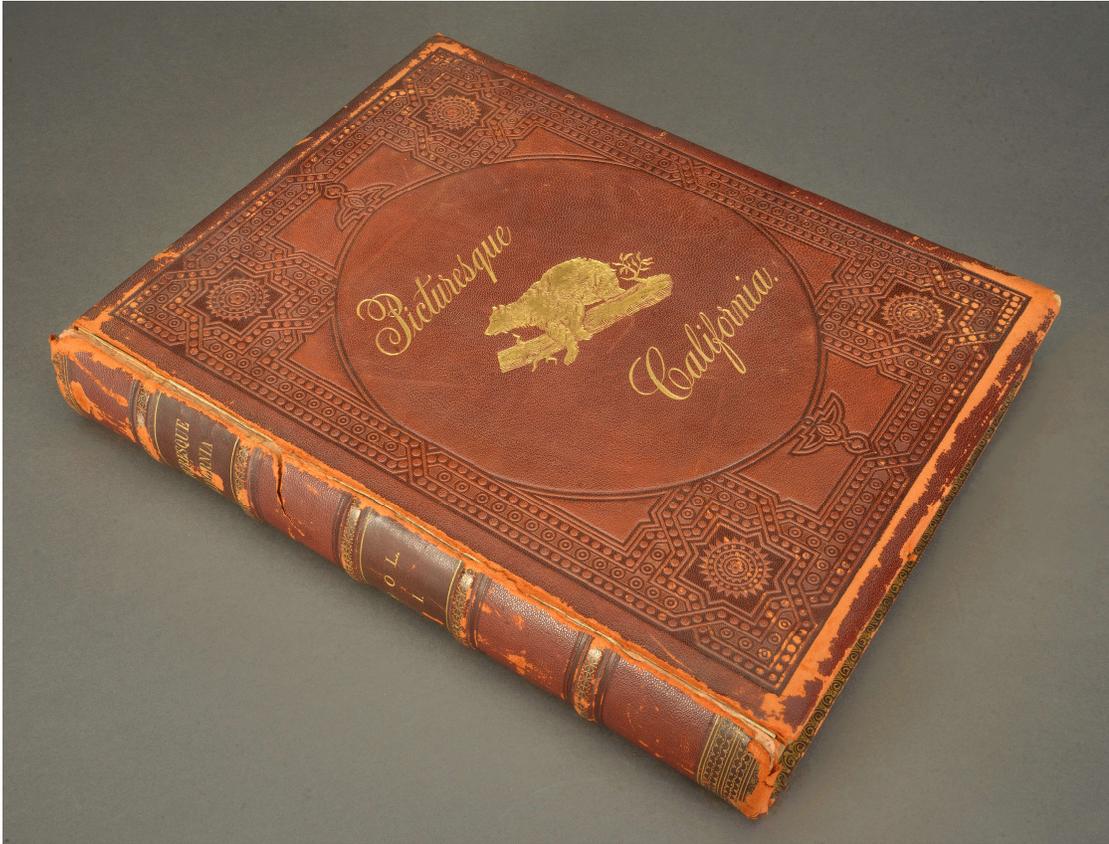


Figure 2 Volume I of the Winterthur Library's copy of *Picturesque California*.  
Courtesy, The Winterthur Library: Printed Book and Periodical  
Collection.



Figure 3 Author's copy of Lewis Osborne's *Notes on my Journeying in California's Northern Mountains*. Photograph by Jim Schneck.

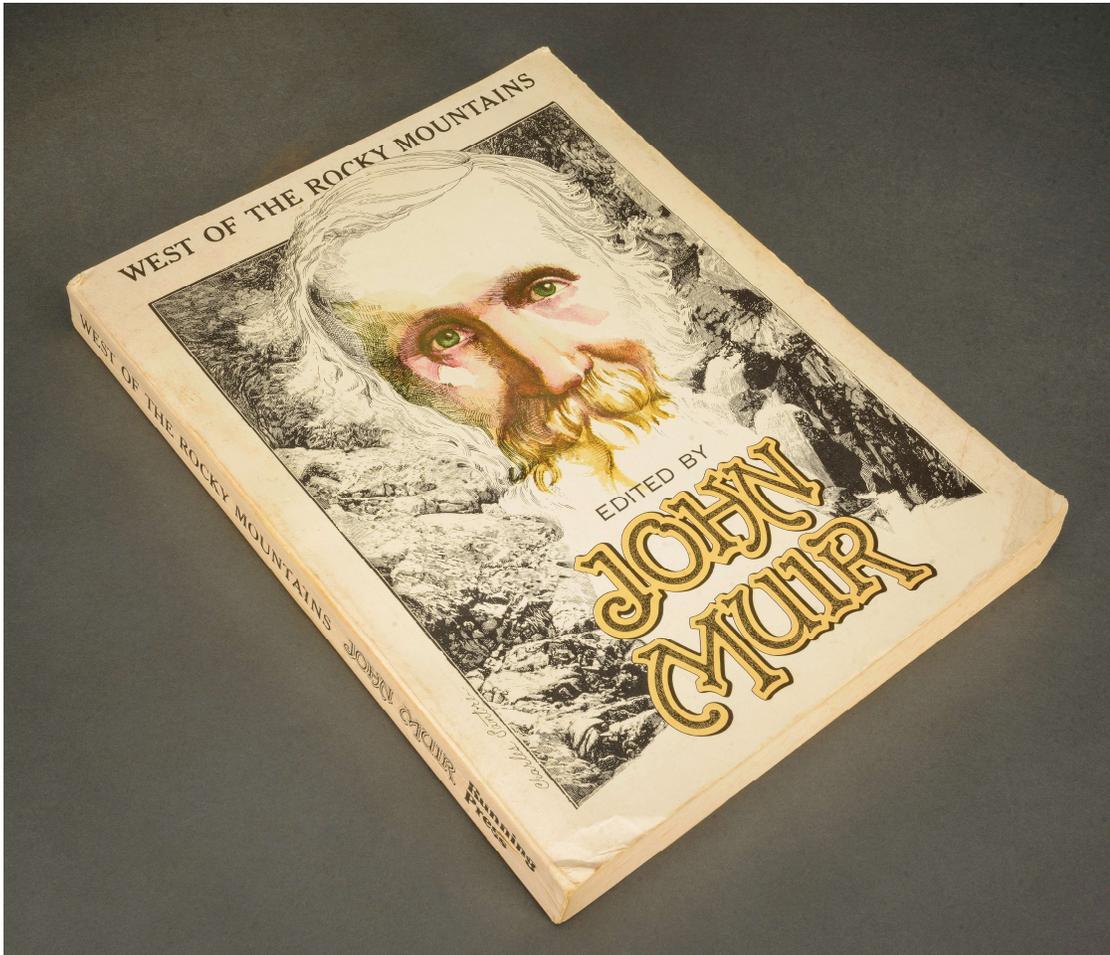


Figure 4 Author's copy of the Running Press' *West of the Rocky Mountains*. Photograph by Jim Schneck. Courtesy, Buz Teacher.

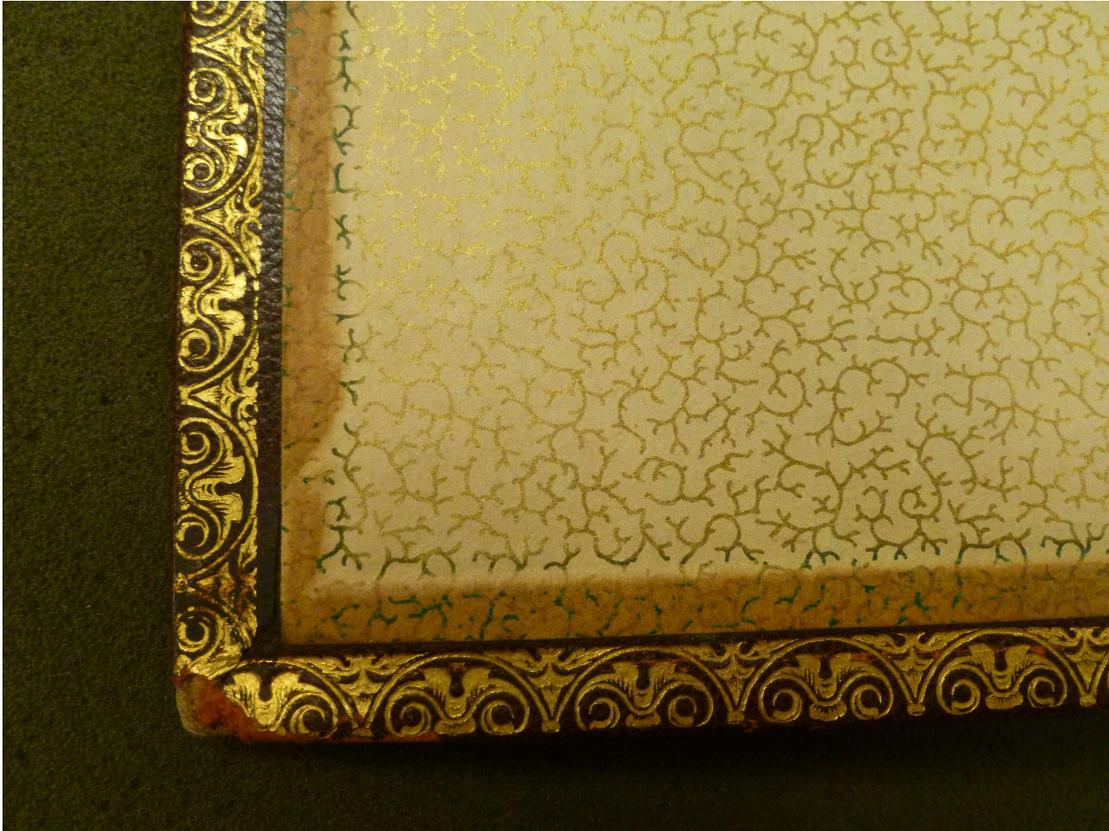


Figure 5 Detail of front endpaper in Winterthur Library's Volume I of *Picturesque California*, showing gilt-stamped leather and use of synthetic gold foil on the endpaper. Acid from the leather has interacted with the synthetic gold, revealing its base metal identity, in green. Courtesy, The Winterthur Library: Printed Book and Periodical Collection.



Figure 6 The first plate that appears in *Picturesque California*, Thomas Moran's etching, *The Half-Dome – View from Moran Point*. Courtesy, The Winterthur Library: Printed Book and Periodical Collection.



Figure 7 Photogravure of W.C. Fidler's *On the Big Bend (Mount Shasta)*.  
Courtesy, The Winterthur Library: Printed Book and Periodical  
Collection.

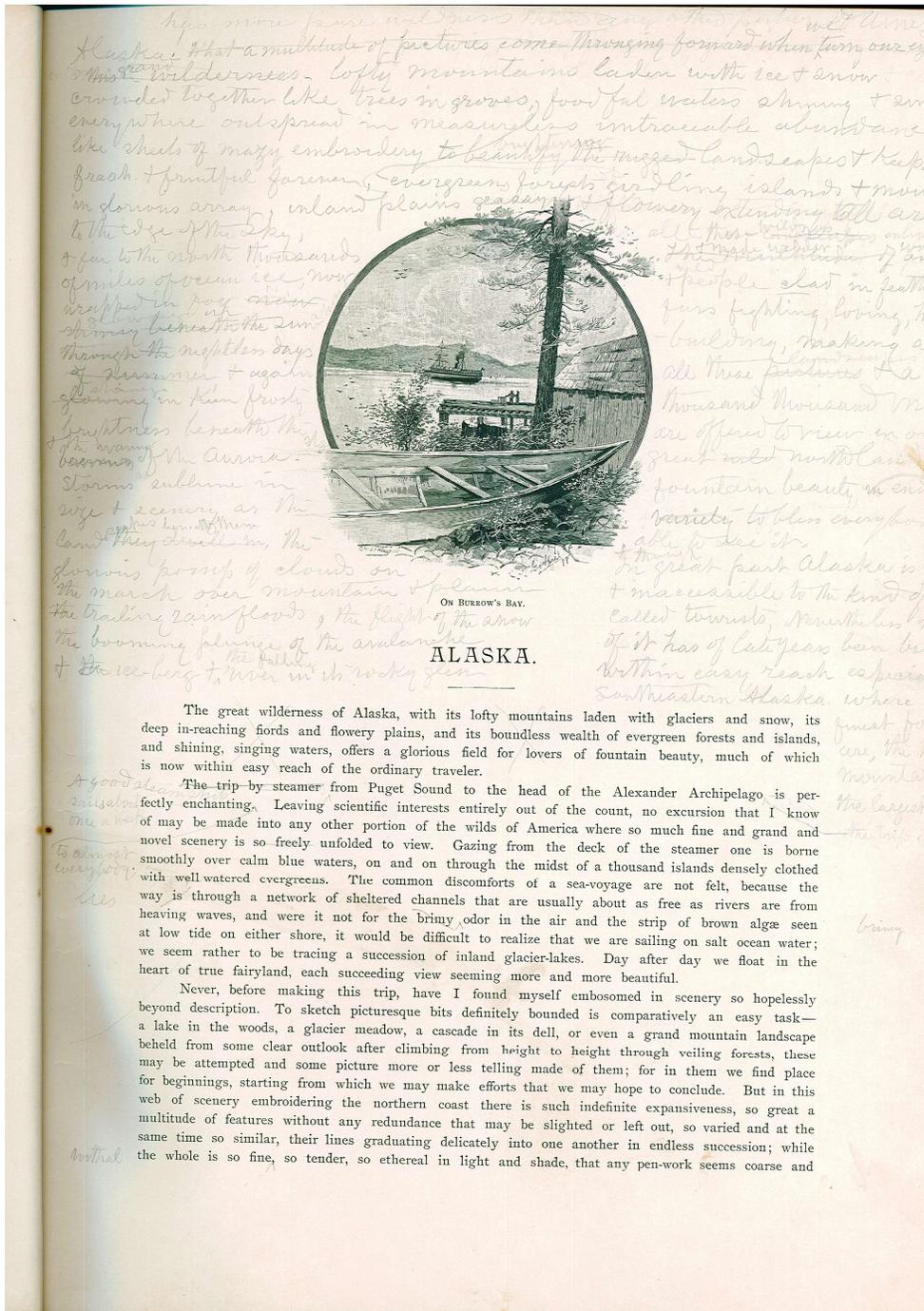


Figure 8 Page 209 from Muir's own copy of *Picturesque California*, showing his extensive annotations. John Muir Papers, Holt-Atherton Special Collections, University of the Pacific Library. © 1984 Muir-Hanna Trust.

# PICTURESQUE CALIFORNIA,

—AND THE—

REGION WEST OF THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS, FROM ALASKA TO MEXICO.

*THE mission of this work is to make the best possible representation of the Marvelous Scenery and Sublime Natural Wonders of this unique region; portraying by the aid of the artist's genius and the author's facile pen, its Lofty Mountains and Charming Valleys; its Placid Lakes and Thundering Cataracts; its Giant Trees and Brilliant Natural Flora; its World-renowned YOSEMITE; its Mammoth Glaciers of Alaska, compared with which even those of Switzerland would appear insignificant; its stupendous feats of Railroad Engineering, scaling dizzy heights and rounding the brink of yawning Precipices; its Wild Hunting and Fishing Scenes; its famous Mines and grotesque Mining Camps; its wonderful Geysers and Hot Springs; its Petrified Forests and Grottoed Caverns; its unrivaled Health and Pleasure Resorts; its vast Stock and Grain Ranches, measured by leagues rather than by acres; its beautiful Orange Groves, Olive Orchards and Raisin Vineyards; its landscape Gardens with boundless wealth of flowers; showing also representative cities, towns and villas, public buildings and parks, sumptuous residences and sunny homes, picturesque islands, shores, bays, cliffs, etc.—in brief, the most artistic Selection that the Pacific Coast affords.*

JOHN MUIR, Editor.  
ASSISTED BY ABLE WRITERS.

THE J. DEWING Co., Publishers,  
SAN FRANCISCO AND NEW YORK.

The announcement of a Standard Publication of this character, unfolding for the first time scenery of such unparalleled beauty, so picturesquely described, and so profusely illustrated by the leading Artists of America, requires no elaborate introduction. To Americans generally, who are naturally critical of the way in which any part of the great commonwealth shall be placed before the world, the importance of this work will commend itself without argument.

The text is furnished by ablest descriptive writers, each thoroughly familiar with the subject assigned him.

The superb Etchings, Photo-Etchings, Photo-Gravures, and Text Illustrations that will adorn this work, are now being prepared at an enormous expense from original drawings and paintings by the foremost Artists and Painters of America, among whom may be named the following well-known gentlemen:

BECKER, CARL J.	FAGAN, JAMES	GOATER, WALTER A.	KELLER, A. J.	RIX, JULIAN
CARY, WILLIAM M.	FARNY, H. F.	GRAHAM, CHARLES	MEEKER, E. J.	ROBINSON, C. D.
CHASE, W. M.	FENN, HARRY	HAMILTON, HAMILTON	MORAN, THOMAS	SHIRLAW, WALTER
COXE, REGINALD CLEVELAND	FERRIS, STEPHEN J.	HILL, THOMAS	MORAN, M. NIMMO	SNYDER, W. P.
COZZENS, FRED. S.	FERRIS, GEROME	HILFELD, HENRY	PLATT, GEORGE W.	SPIEL, GEORGE
DARLEY, F. O. C.	GIBSON, W. HAMILTON	JOSEPH, L. A.	PERARD, VICTOR S.	STERNER, ALBERT E.
DURKIN, JOHN	GIFFORD, R. SWAIN	KEITH, W.	REMINGTON, FREDK.	WAUGH, F. J.

AND MANY OTHERS.

**"Land of the wild Sierras; Land of the deep Yosemite; Land of the great Sequoias, whose mammoth Forests point their giant fingers through the dome of Heaven, the time has come thy mystic beauties to unfold."**

Wonderland, with all its regions of fancy, could not reveal marvels of beauty more supremely grand than are found in this most favored Country.

The work is indeed unique, whether in the magnificent field that it covers, or in the masterly way in which both writers and artists have grasped their subject. The literary portion treats in detail of the several characteristics of each section of interest throughout the Coast, producing with startling vividness the most charming pictures, teeming with life and animation, and unsurpassed both in descriptive force and truthfulness to nature.

The editor-in-chief, Mr. John Muir, so well known for the force and fidelity of his pen in descriptive writing, has spent his life in communion with Nature, living for many years in the passes of our mountains, absorbed in profound study of his wild surroundings, animate and inanimate. There is not a section of the high Sierras,—in many places a *terra incognita*, impenetrable even to the hardy mountaineer,—that he has not braved, that does not form a portion of his very being, and of which he cannot speak as part and parcel of himself.

The work is profusely embellished by studies from nature, carrying out the writer's idea, and illustrating special subjects of the painter's own selection; whilst the list of Artists engaged comprises the most notable of the day, chiefly American. By means of a *new process* of photo-gravure—one of the greatest achievements that modern genius has brought to the aid of Art—the painter's work is reproduced as in a mirror, conveying in each instance the very soul of his conception, and losing nothing of his individuality, force, character or style.

Etchings, executed by the leading Etchers of the period, also form an important feature. Wood-cuts of the highest order are profusely scattered throughout the text, as also other illustrations produced by the most recent and artistic methods.

The paper is exquisitely fine, coated and enameled, and of a quality that will take the most artistic impressions.

#### CONDITIONS OF PUBLICATION:

The entire work will contain over six hundred art illustrations, including one hundred and twenty or more full page Photo-Gravures, Etchings and Photo-Etchings. Each part will contain four or more full page plates and sixteen pages of illustrated text—many of the plates and illustrations being printed in appropriate tints. To be published in thirty parts, 12x16 inches in size, at one dollar per part, payable on delivery. The parts are bound in handsome illuminated covers, and it is the intention of the publishers to issue them monthly, or as much more rapidly as the work can be prepared.

No subscriber's name received for less than the entire work.

COPYRIGHT, 1887, BY THE J. DEWING COMPANY.—ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

Figure 9 Reverse of first serial installment of *Picturesque California*, including the publication's prospectus. Courtesy, The Winterthur Library: The John and Carolyn Grossman Collection.



Figure 10 Photogravure of Thomas Hill's *Castle Rocks*. Courtesy, The Winterthur Library: Printed Book and Periodical Collection.

base of the mountain, while innumerable smaller birds enliven and sweeten every thicket and grove.

There are at least five classes of human inhabitants about the Shasta region:—the Indians, now scattered, few in numbers and miserably demoralized, though still offering some rare specimens of savage manhood; miners and prospectors, found of the mountain, since the region about its base raisers, mostly on the open plains to the north-east-lakes; hunters and trappers, where the woods and in Shasta valley on the north side of the mountain, all the best production of farm and garden growing and ripening there at the foot of the great white cone, which seems at times during changing storms ready to fall upon them—the most sublime farm scenery imaginable.

The Indians of the McCloud River that have come under my observation differ considerably in habits and features from the Diggers and other tribes of the foothills and plains, and also from the Pah Utes and Modocs. They live chiefly on salmon. They seem to be closely related to the Thlinkits of Alaska, Washington, and Oregon, and may readily have found their way here by passing from stream to stream in which salmon abounds. They have much better features than the Indians of the plains, and are rather wide awake, speculative and ambitious in their way, and garrulous, like the natives of the northern coast. Before the Modoc war they lived in dread of the Modocs, a tribe living about the Klamath lake and the Lava Beds who were in the habit of crossing the low Sierra divide past the base of Shasta on free-booting excursions, stealing wives, fish and weapons from the Pitts and McClouds. Mothers would hush their children by telling them that the Modocs would catch them. During my stay at the Government fish-hatching station on the McCloud I was accompanied in my walks along the river-bank by a McCloud boy about ten years of age, a bright, inquisitive fellow, who gave me the Indian names of the birds and plants that we met. The water-ouzel he knew well and seemed to like the sweet singer, which he called "Sussinny." He showed me how strips of the stems of the beautiful maidenhair fern were used to adorn baskets with handsome brown bands, and pointed out several plants good to eat, particularly the large saxifrage growing abundantly along the river margin. Once I rushed suddenly upon him



CASTLE LAKE.

Figure 11 Page 150 from *Picturesque California*, exhibiting layered illustration techniques including wood engraving. Courtesy, The Winterthur Library: Printed Book and Periodical Collection.

of quiescence intervened between many distinct eruptions, during which the cooling lavas ceased to flow, and took their places as permanent additions to the bulk of the growing mountain. Thus with alternate haste and deliberation eruption succeeded eruption, until Mount Shasta surpassed even its present sublime height.

Then followed a strange contrast. The glacial winter came on. The sky that so often had been darkened with storms of cinders and ashes and lighted by the glare of volcanic fires, was filled with crystal snow-flowers which, loading the cooling mountain, gave birth to glaciers that uniting edge to edge at length formed one grand conical glacier—a down-crawling mantle of ice upon a fountain of smouldering fire, crushing and grinding its brown, flinty lavas, and thus degrading and remodeling the entire mountain from summit to base. How much denudation and degradation has been effected we have no means of determining, the porous, crumbling rocks being



SUMMIT OF MT. SHASTA, AND THE GLACIER.

ill-adapted for the reception and preservation of glacial inscriptions. The summit is now a mass of ruins, and all the finer striations have been effaced from the flanks by post-glacial weathering, while the irregularity of its lavas as regards susceptibility to erosion, and the disturbance caused by inter and post-glacial eruptions, have obscured or obliterated those heavier characters of the glacial record found so clearly inscribed upon the granite pages of the high Sierra between latitude  $36^{\circ} 30'$  and  $39^{\circ}$ . This much however is plain, that the summit of the mountain was considerably lowered, and the sides were deeply grooved and fluted while it was a centre of dispersal for the glaciers of the circumjacent region. And when at length the glacial period began to draw near its close the ice-mantle was gradually melted off around the base of the mountain, and in receding and breaking up into its present fragmentary condition the irregular heaps and rings of moraine matter were stored upon its flanks on which the forests are growing. The glacial erosion of most of the Shasta lavas gives rise to detritus composed of rough sub-angular boulders of moderate size and porous gravel and sand, which yields freely to the transporting power of running water. Several centuries ago immense quantities of this lighter material were washed down from the higher slopes by a flood

Figure 12 Page 147 from *Picturesque California*, with a relief halftone at the center of the page. Courtesy, The Winterthur Library: Printed Book and Periodical Collection.

to see if he would be frightened; but he unflinchingly held his ground, struck a grand heroic attitude, and shouted, "Me no 'fraid; me Modoc!"

Mount Shasta, so far as I have seen, has never been the home of Indians, not even their hunting ground to any great extent, above the lower slopes of the base. They are said to be afraid of fire-mountains and geyser-basins as being the dwelling places of dangerously powerful and unmanageable gods. However, it is food, and their relations to other tribes that mainly control the movements of Indians; and here their food was mostly on the lower slopes, with nothing except the wild sheep to tempt them higher. Even these were brought within reach without excessive climbing during the storms of winter. On the north side of Shasta, near Sheep Rock, there is a long cavern sloping to the northward nearly a mile in length, thirty or forty feet wide and fifty feet or more



CASTLE LAKE.

in height, regular in form and direction like a railroad tunnel, and probably formed by the flowing away of a current of lava after the hardening of the surface. At the mouth of this cave where the light and shelter is good I found many of the heads and horns of the wild sheep, and the remains of camp-fires, no doubt those of Indian hunters who in stormy weather had camped there and feasted after the fatigues of the chase. A wild picture that must have formed on a dark night—the glow of the fire, the circle of crouching savages around it seen through the smoke, the dead game, and the weird darkness and half-darkness of the walls of the cavern, a picture of cave-dwellers at home in the stone age. Interest in hunting is almost universal, so deeply is it rooted as an inherited instinct ever ready to rise and make itself known. Fine scenery may not stir a fibre of mind or body, but how quick and how true is the excitement of the pursuit of game! Then up flames the slumbering volcano of ancient wildness, all that has been done by church and school through centuries of cultivation is for the moment destroyed, and the decent gentleman or devout saint becomes a howling, blood-thirsty, demented savage. It is not long since we all were cave-men and followed game for food as truly as wildcat or wolf, and the long repression of

Figure 13 Page 151 from *Picturesque California*, with a relief halftone printed in sepia-tone at the center of the page. Courtesy, The Winterthur Library: Printed Book and Periodical Collection.



Figure 14 Julian Rix's etching, *Trinity Peaks*. Courtesy, The Winterthur Library: Printed Book and Periodical Collection.

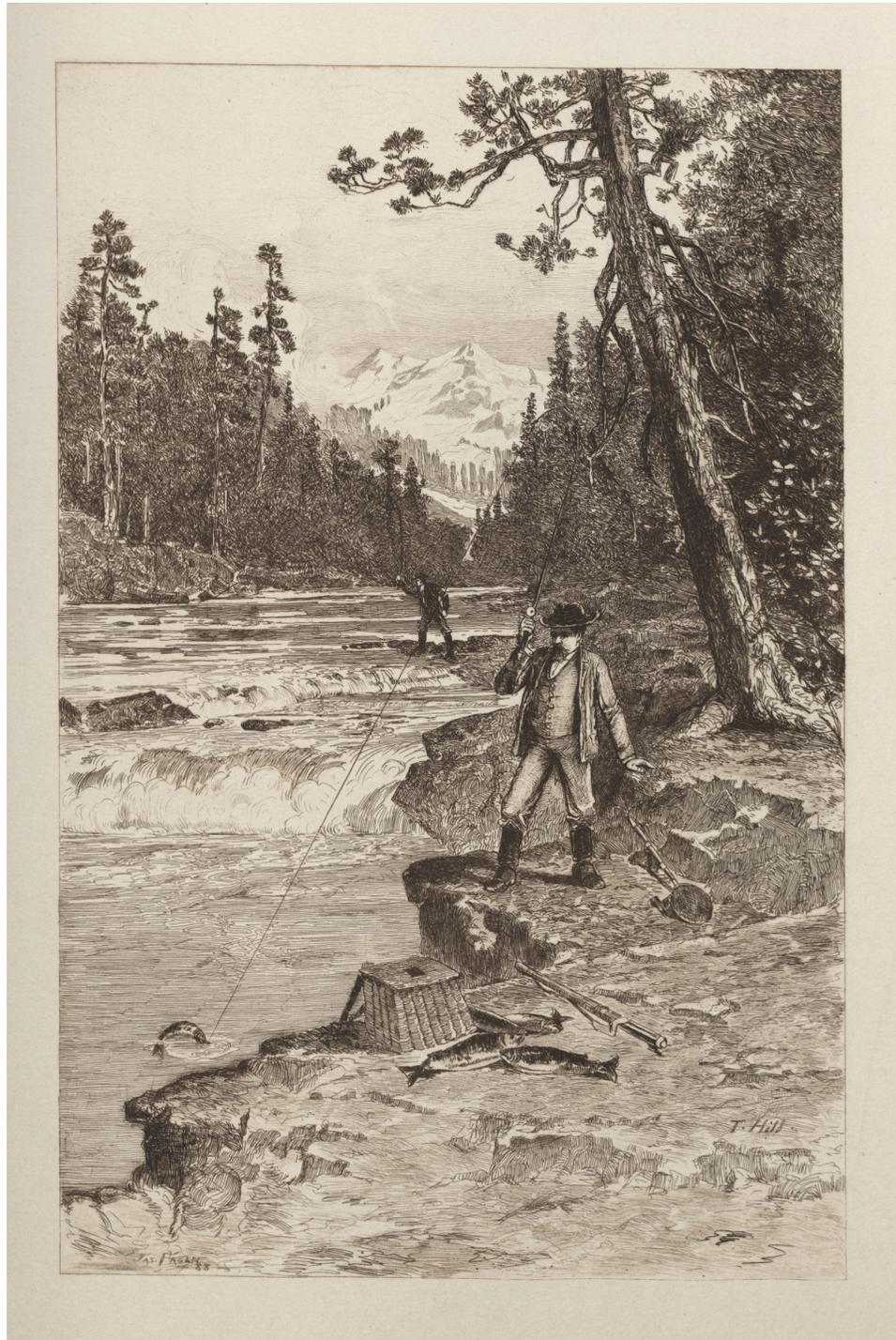


Figure 15 James Fagan's etching, *Head Waters of the Sacramento*, from a Thomas Hill painting. Courtesy, The Winterthur Library: Printed Book and Periodical Collection.

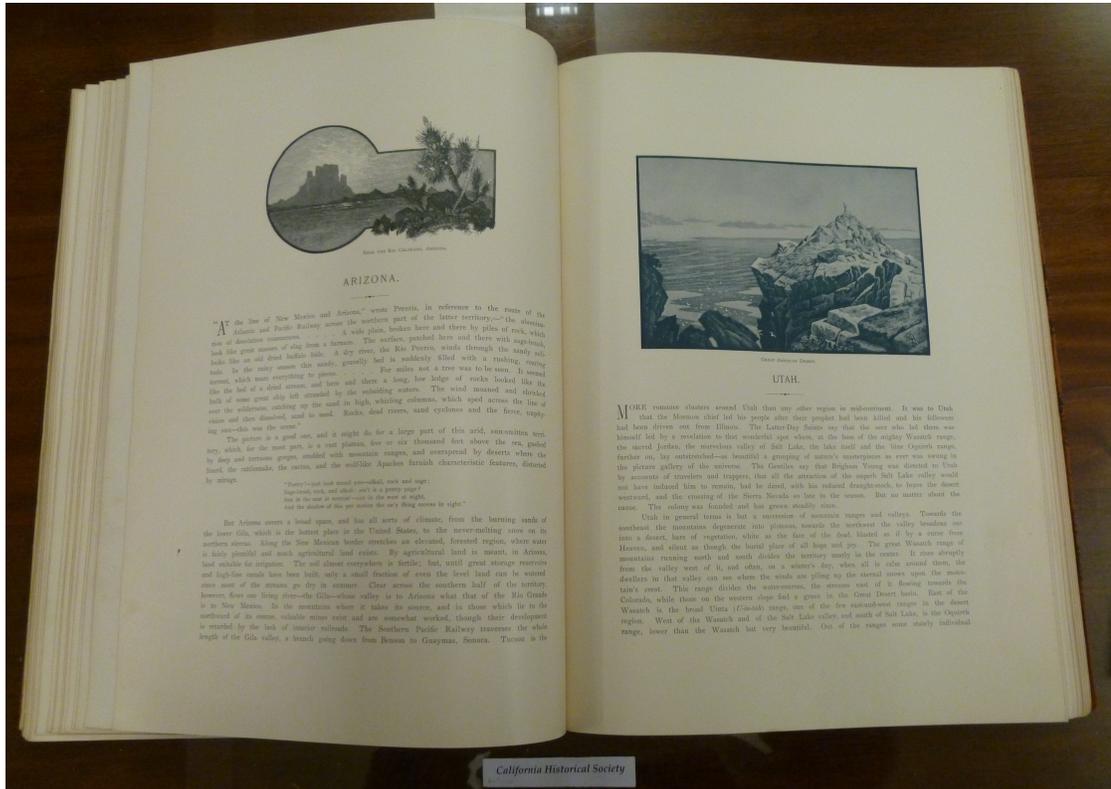


Figure 16 Example pages from the J. Dewing Company's canvassing book for *Picturesque California*. Photograph by author. Courtesy, California Historical Society.

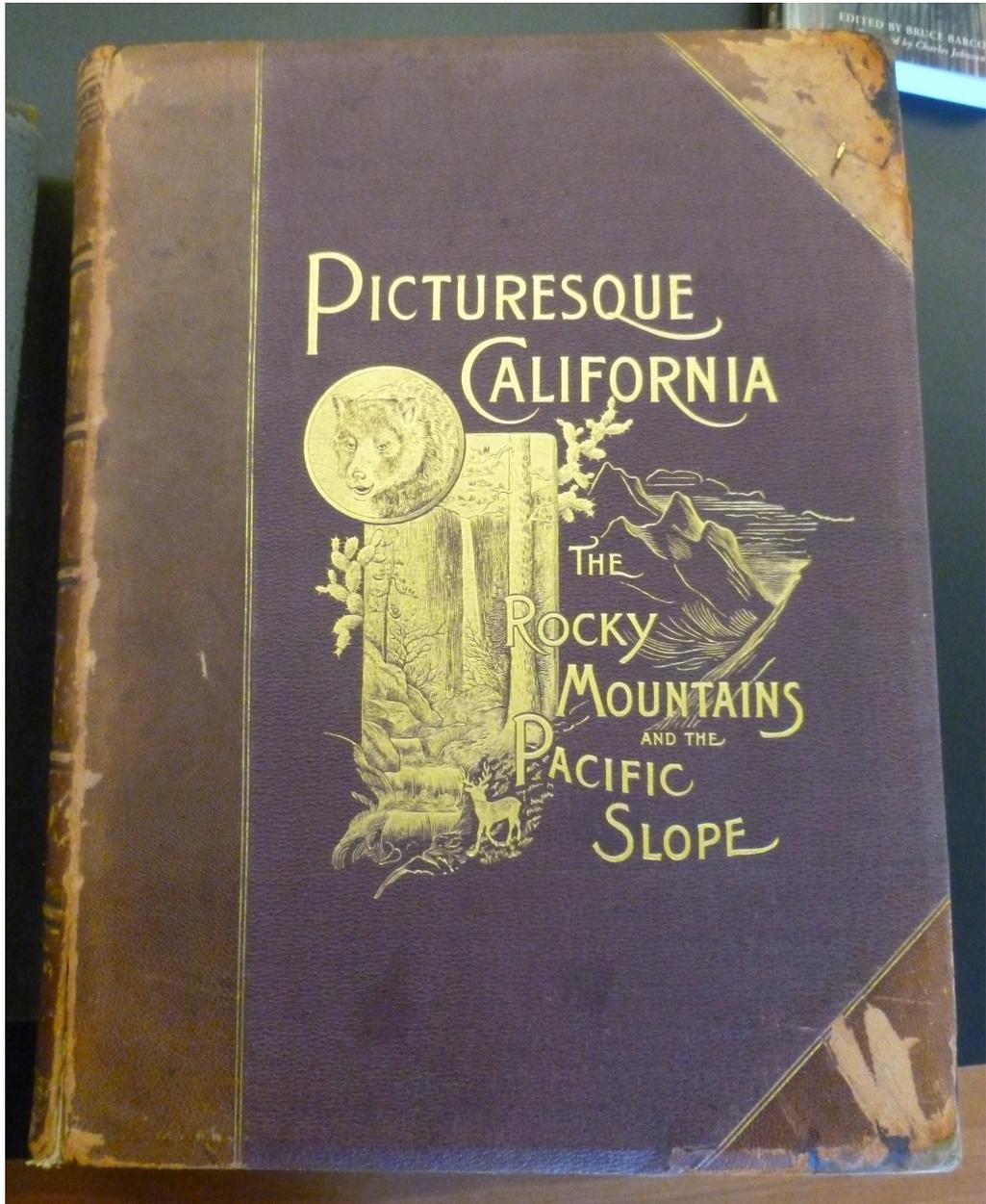


Figure 17 Copy of *Picturesque California* (Volume I) in the collection of the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley. This subscriber bound the volumes in the most popular standard binding available from the J. Dewing Company. Photograph by the author. Courtesy, Bancroft Library.

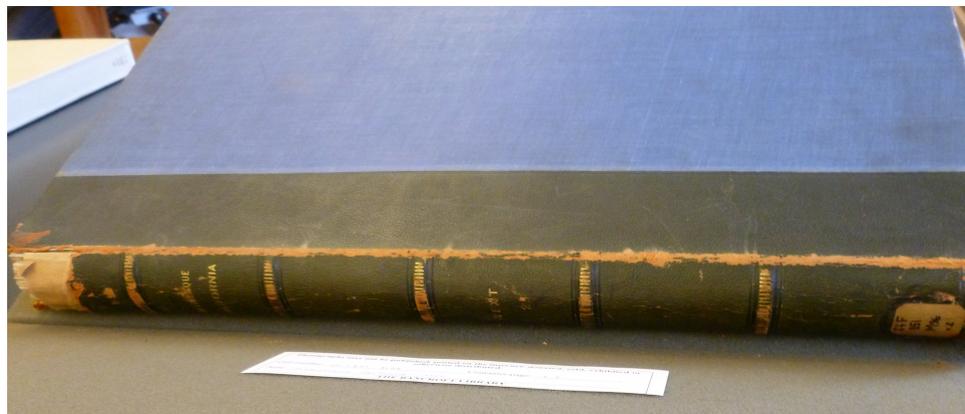
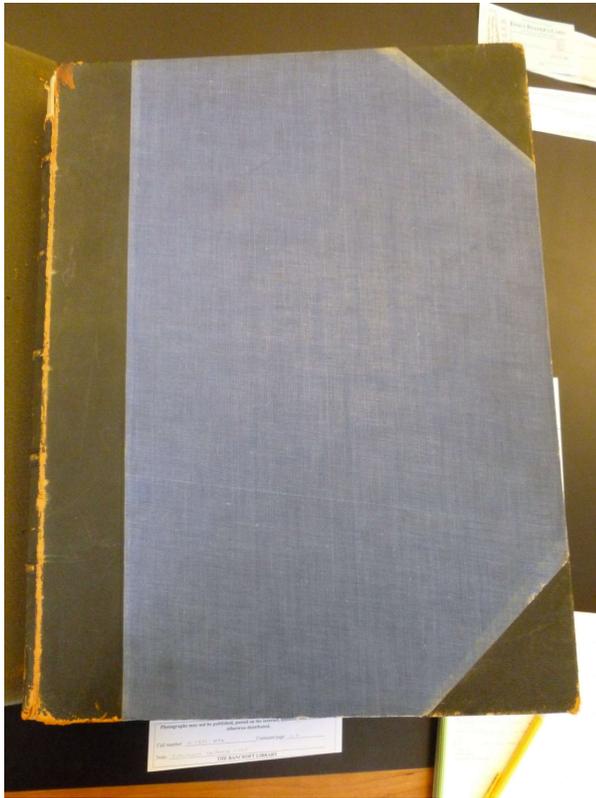


Figure 18 Copy of *Picturesque California* presented to the University of California, Berkeley's Bancroft Library by Professor W.T. Wenzell (1829-1914), a pioneering pharmacist who bound his copies of the book for utility, as three volumes of text and two volumes of plates. Volume II of his text volumes is pictured here. Photographs by the author. Courtesy, Bancroft Library.

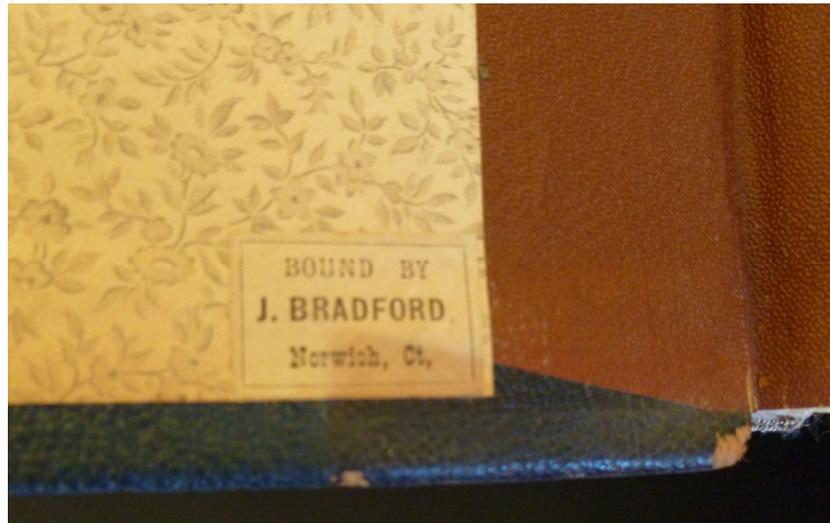
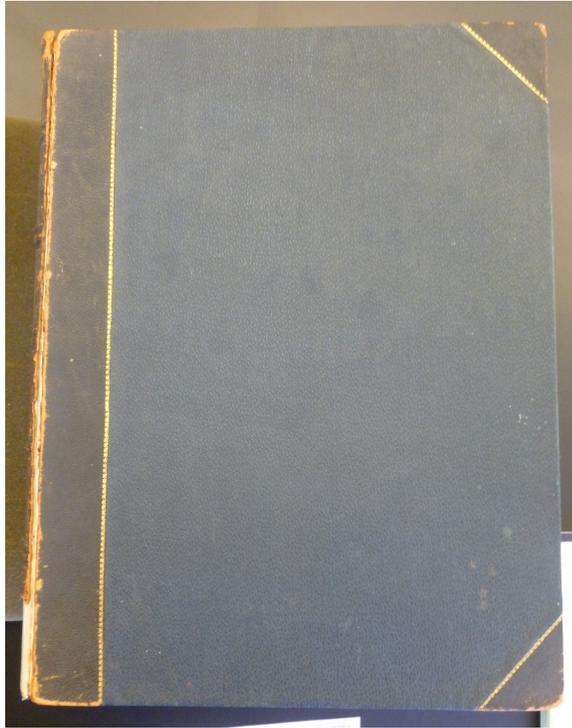


Figure 19 A copy of *Picturesque California* in the collection of the University of California, Berkeley's Bancroft Library, bound simply with a sprinkled textblock. The book retains its binder's sticker, of J. Bradford in Norwich, Connecticut. Photograph by the author. Courtesy, Bancroft Library.



Figure 20 Volume II of *Picturesque California's* Imperial Proof Edition. The J. Dewing Company issued 100 copies of this edition in sets of ten volumes. Each volume was a satin portfolio (twenty-four inches) with artist-proof prints on satin and Japan vellum. Photograph by the author. Courtesy, California Historical Society.

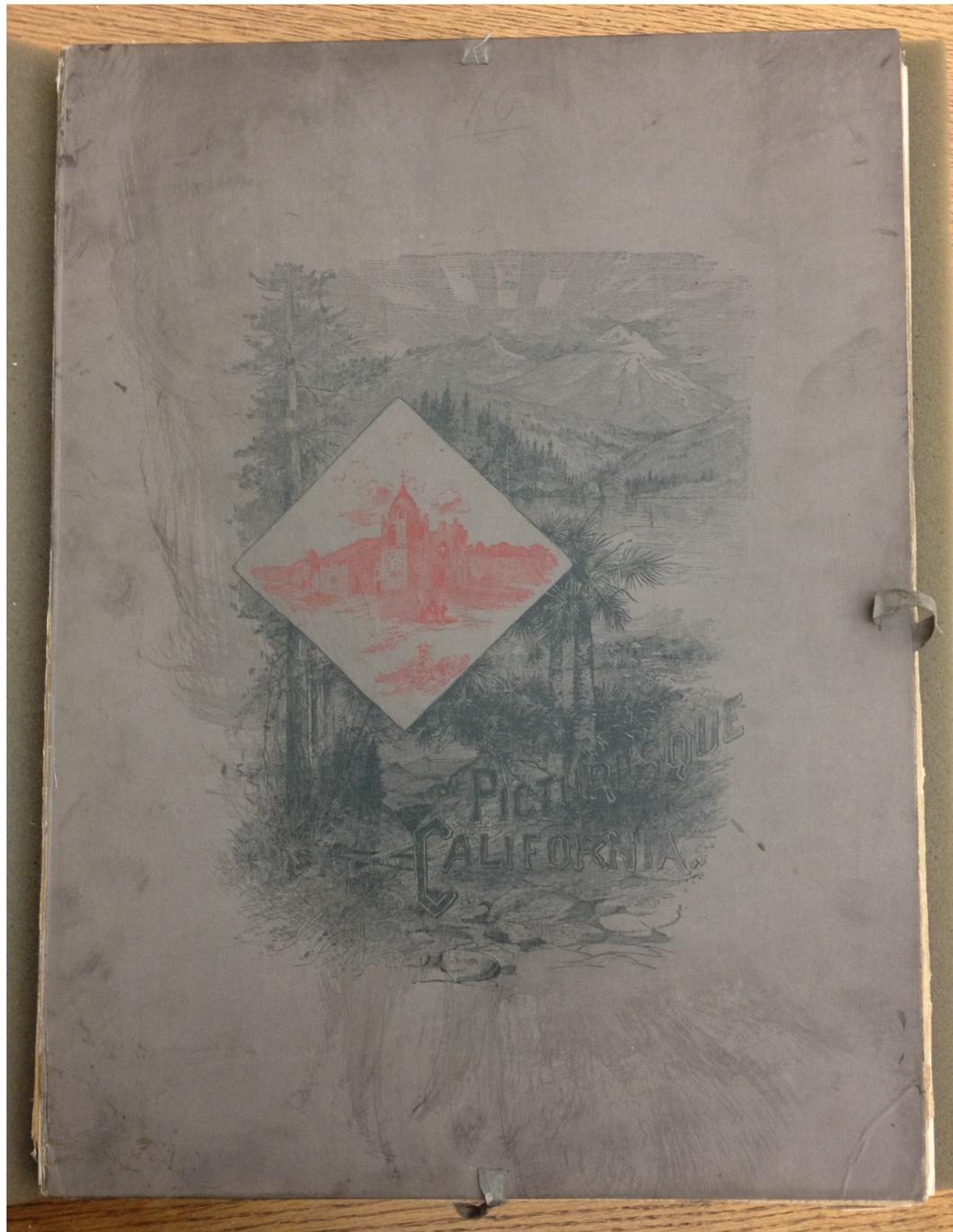


Figure 21 Volume IX of *Picturesque California's* India Proof Edition. At nineteen inches, the India Proof Edition included plates and some in-text prints on India paper. Photograph by the author. Courtesy, Rosenstock Collection, Autry Library, Autry Museum; 90.253.241.1.

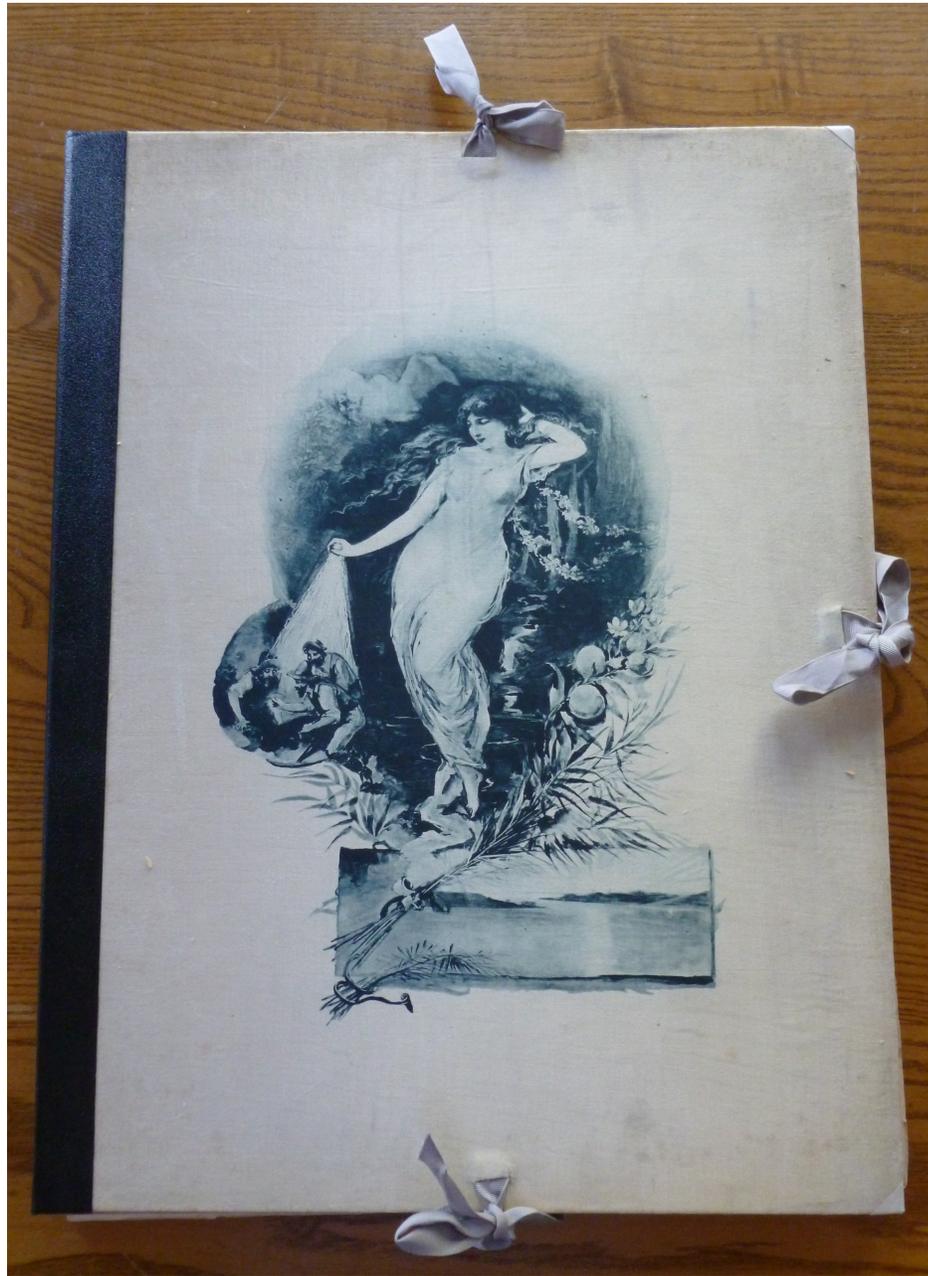
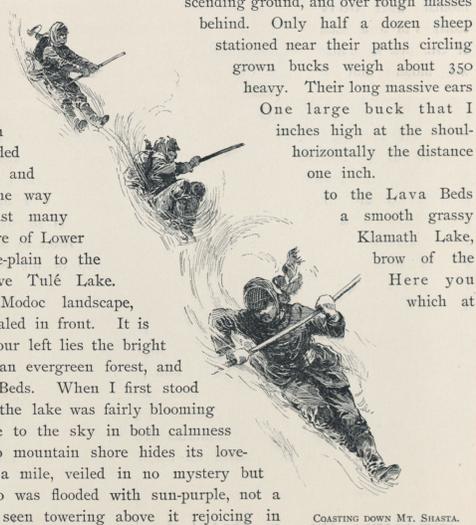


Figure 22 Volume I of *Picturesque California's* Edition de Luxe. The J. Dewing Company printed 750 copies of this edition, at twenty inches with plates on fine, wove paper, possibly China paper. Photograph by the author. Courtesy of the National Park Service, John Muir National Historic Site, William and Maymie Kimes Collection, *Picturesque California* (1888).

here and there a green meadow and a stream. This is a famous game region, and you will be likely to meet small bands of antelope, mule-deer and wild sheep. Mount Bremer is the most noted stronghold of the sheep in the whole Shasta region. Large flocks dwell here from year to year, winter and summer, descending occasionally into the adjacent sage-plains and lava beds to feed, but ever ready to take refuge in the jagged crags of their mountain at every alarm. While traveling with a company of hunters I saw about fifty in one flock. The Van Bremer Brothers, after whom the mountain is named, told me that they once climbed the mountain with their rifles and hounds on a grand hunt; but, after keeping up the pursuit for a week, their boots and clothing gave way, and the hounds were lamed and worn out without having run down a single sheep, notwithstanding they ran night and day. On smooth spots, level or ascending, the hounds gained on the sheep, but on descending ground, and over rough masses of angular rocks they fell hopelessly behind. Only half a dozen sheep were shot as they passed the hunters round the rugged summit. The full-pounds. The mule-deer are nearly as heavy. Their long massive ears give them a very striking appearance. One large buck that I measured stood three feet and seven inches high at the shoulder, and when the ears were extended horizontally the distance across from tip to tip was two feet and one inch.

From the Van Bremer ranch the way leads down the Bremer Meadows past many a smooth grassy knoll and jutting cliff, along the shore of Lower Klamath Lake, and thence across a few miles of sage-plain to the wall-like bluff of lava 450 feet above Tulé Lake. Here you are looking southeastward and the Modoc landscape, once takes possession of you, lies revealed in front. It is composed of three principal parts; on your left lies the bright expanse of Tulé Lake; on your right an evergreen forest, and between the two are the black Lava Beds. When I first stood there, one bright day before sundown, the lake was fairly blooming in purple light, and was so responsive to the sky in both calmness and color it seemed itself a sky. No mountain shore hides its loveliness. It lies wide open for many a mile, veiled in no mystery but the mystery of light. The forest also was flooded with sun-purple, not a spire moving, and Mount Shasta was seen towering above it rejoicing in the ineffable beauty of the alpenglow. But neither the glorified woods on the one hand nor the lake on the other could at first hold the eye. That dark mysterious lava plain between them compelled attention. Here you trace yawning fissures, there clusters of sombre pits; now you mark where the lava is bent and corrugated in swelling ridges and domes, again where it breaks into a rough mass of loose blocks. Tufts of grass grow far apart here and there and small bushes of hardy sage, but they have a singed appearance and can do little to hide the blackness. Deserts are charming to those who know how to see them—all kinds of bogs, barrens, and heathy moors; but the Modoc Lava Beds have for me an uncanny look. As I gazed the purple deepened over all the landscape. Then fell the gloaming, making every thing still more forbidding and mysterious. Then, darkness like death.

Next morning the crisp, sunshiny air made even the Modoc landscape less hopeless, and we ventured down the bluff to the edge of the Lava Beds. Just at the foot of the bluff we came to a square enclosed by a stone wall. This is a graveyard where lie buried thirty soldiers, most of whom met their fate out in the Lava Beds, as we learn by the boards marking the graves—a gloomy place to die in, and deadly looking even without Modocs. The poor fellows that lie here deserve far more pity than they have ever received. Picking our way over the strange ridges and hollows of the beds we soon came to a circular flat about twenty yards in diameter, on the shore of the lake, where the comparative smoothness of the lava and a



COASTING DOWN MT. SHASTA.

Figure 23 Page 169 from *Picturesque California*, likely the page to which B.H. Royce referred in his letter to Muir, “When suddenly some men on snowshoes come crashing down through the middle of the page!” Courtesy, The Winterthur Library: Printed Book and Periodical Collection.



Figure 24 Plate photoetching of A.J. Keller's drawing *Tourists Among the Passes – Mt. Lyell Glacier in the Distance*. Courtesy, The Winterthur Library: Printed Book and Periodical Collection.

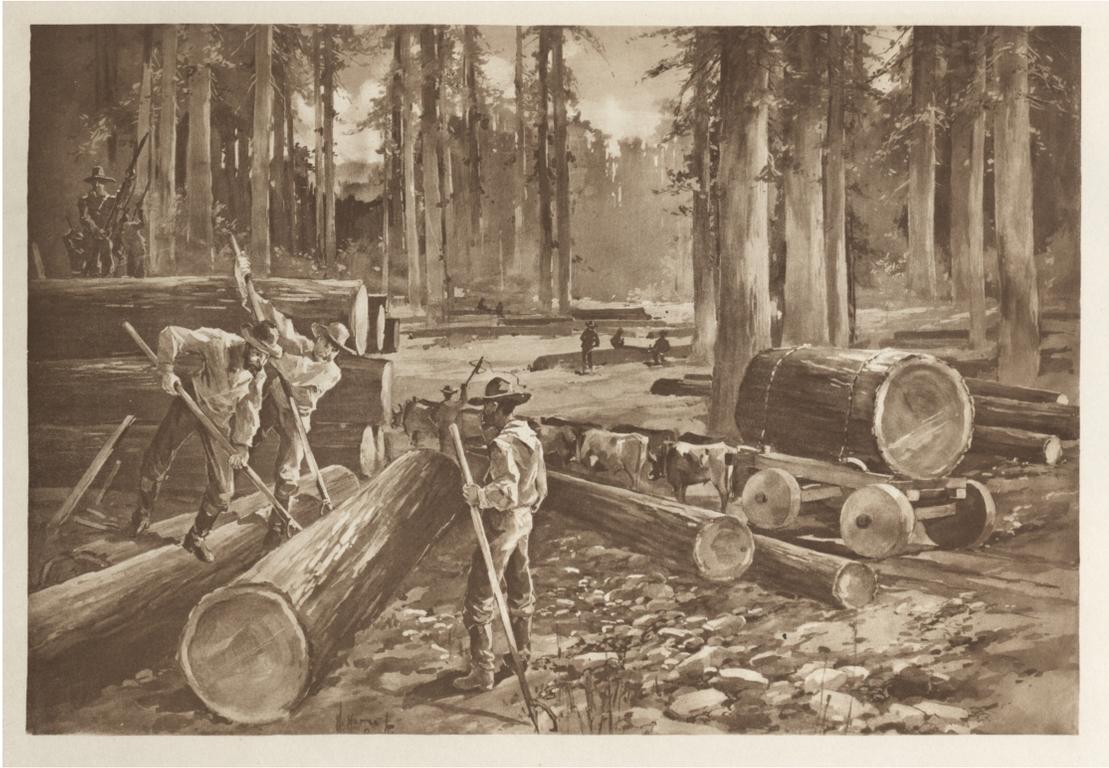


Figure 25 Photogravure of A. Hencke's painting, *Logging in the Redwood Forest*, after a sketch by George Spiel. Courtesy, The Winterthur Library: Printed Book and Periodical Collection.

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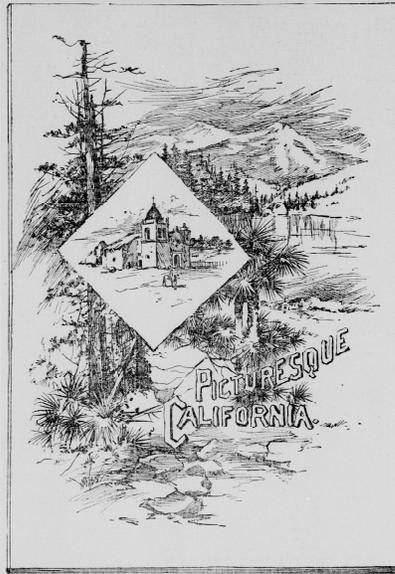
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*Wm. Carey Jones*

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The superb illustrations have been prepared at an enormous expense from original drawings and paintings by the foremost artists of America, among whom may be named the following of national reputation:

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"Land of the wild sierras; Land of the deep Yosemite; Land of the great Sequoias, whose mammoth forests point their giant fingers through the dome of heaven, the time has come thy mystic, beauties to unfold."

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Figure 26 The San Francisco Call's announcement of its republication of Picturesque California in December 1893. Courtesy, California Digital Newspaper Collection, Center for Bibliographic Studies and Research, University of California, Riverside, <http://cdnc.ucr.edu>.



A VIEW OF MOUNT SHASTA FROM THE SETTLEMENT AT EDGEWOOD.

MOUNT SHASTA RISES in solitary grandeur from the edge of a comparatively low and lightly sculptured lava plain near the northern extremity of the Sierra, and maintains a far more impressive and commanding individuality than any other mountain with the limits of California. Go where you may, within a radius of from fifty to a hundred miles or more, there stands before you the colossal cone of Shasta, clad in ice and snow, the one grand, unmistakable landmark—the pole-star of the landscape. Far to the southward Mount Whitney lifts its granite summit four or five hundred feet higher than Shasta, but it is nearly snowless during the late summer, and is so feebly individualized that the traveler may search for it in vain among the many rival peaks crowded along the axis of the range to north

[17]

Figure 27 Page 17 from Lewis Osborne's *Notes on my Journeying in California's Northern Mountains*, showing Osborne's layout aesthetic. Photograph by the author.

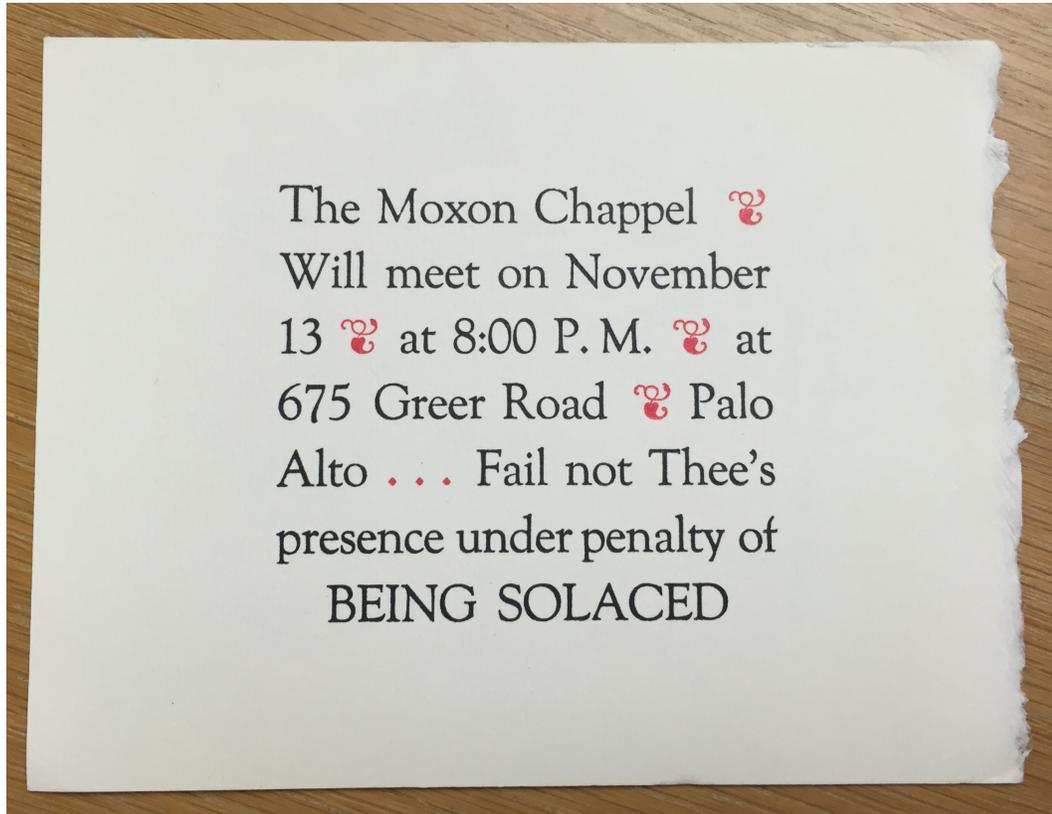


Figure 28    Announcement for the Moxon Chappel's November 1957 meeting, printed by Lewis Osborne in Palo Alto. Photograph by the author. MSS 516, J. Ben Lieberman Papers, Special Collections, University of Delaware Library, Newark, Delaware.

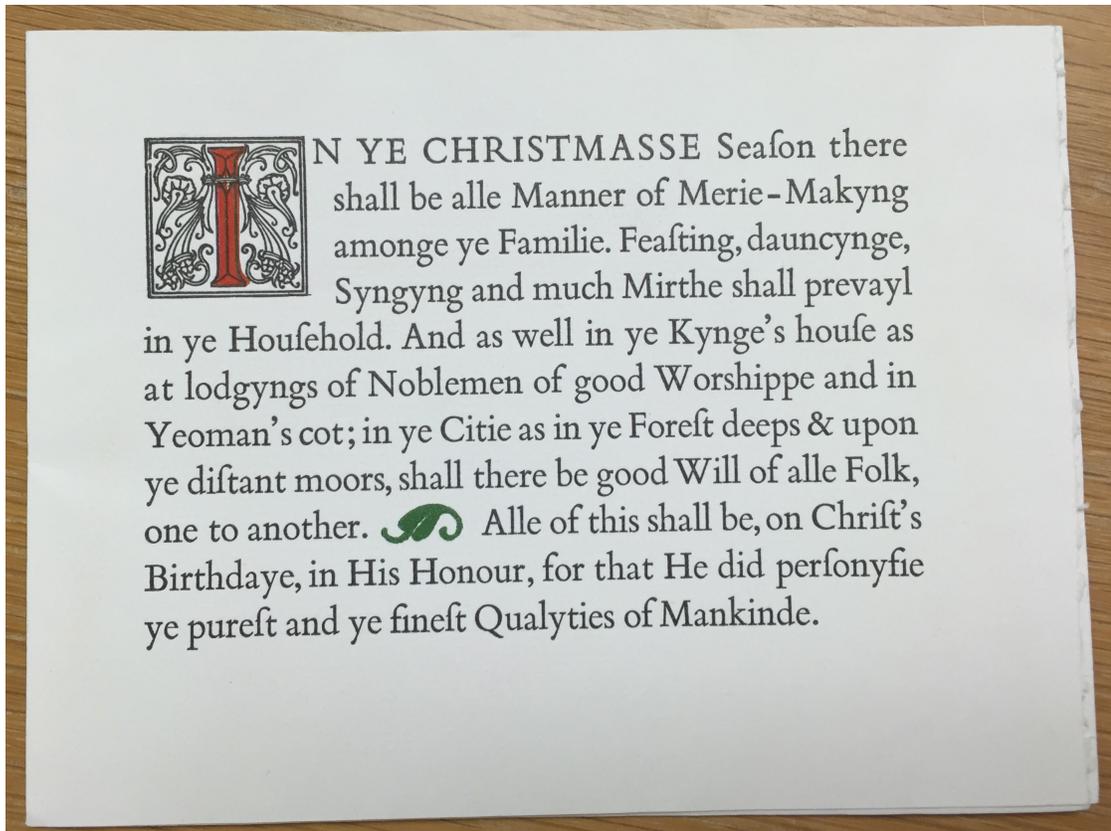


Figure 29 Christmas card printed by Lewis Osborne in the 1950s or 1960s. Photograph by the author. MSS 516, J. Ben Lieberman Papers, Special Collections, University of Delaware Library, Newark, Delaware.

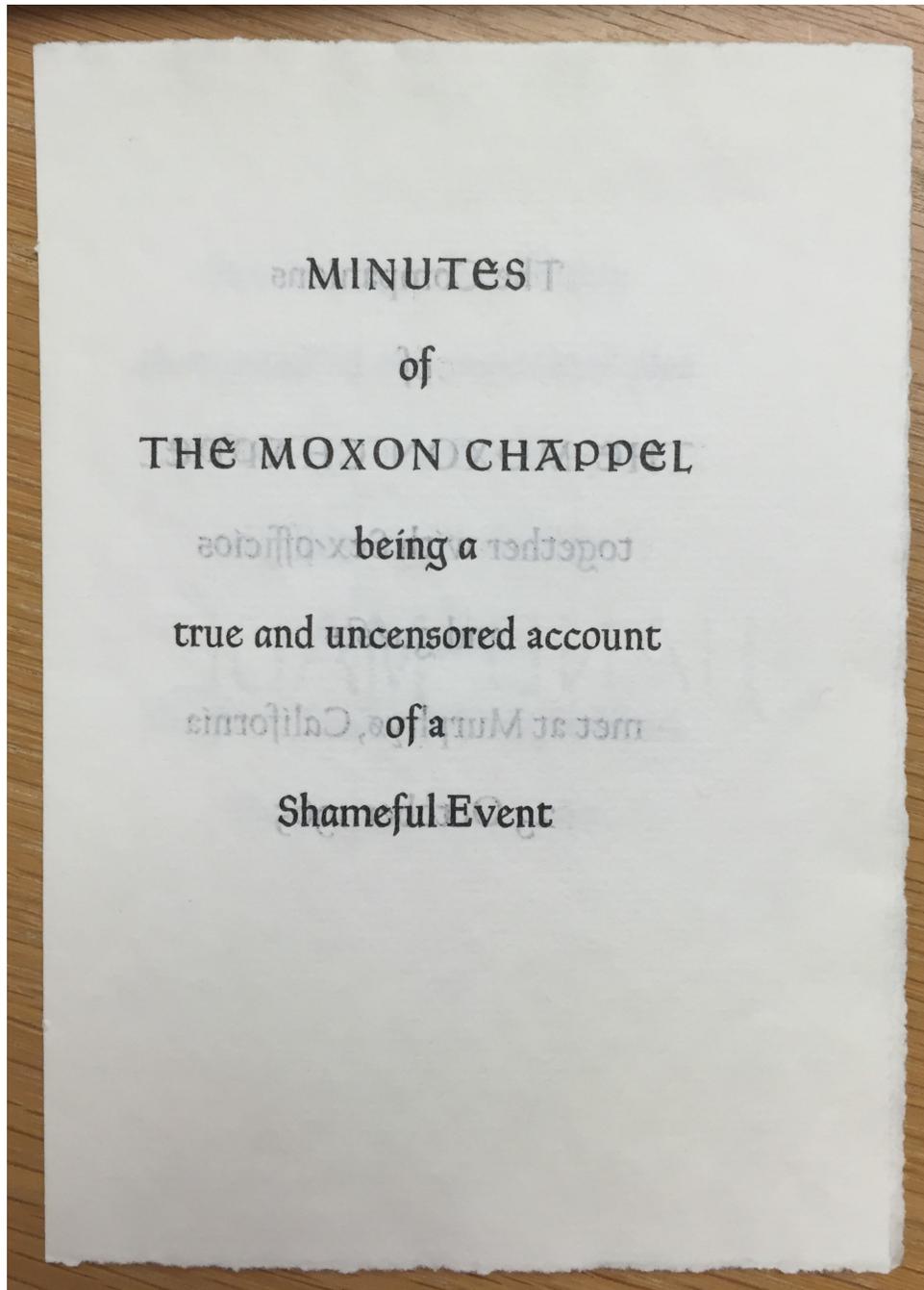


Figure 30 Minutes of the Moxon Chappel's October 1965 meeting, printed by one of Osborne's Moxon Chappel companions, Black Mack the Handpress. Photograph by the author. MSS 516, J. Ben Lieberman Papers, Special Collections, University of Delaware Library, Newark, Delaware.

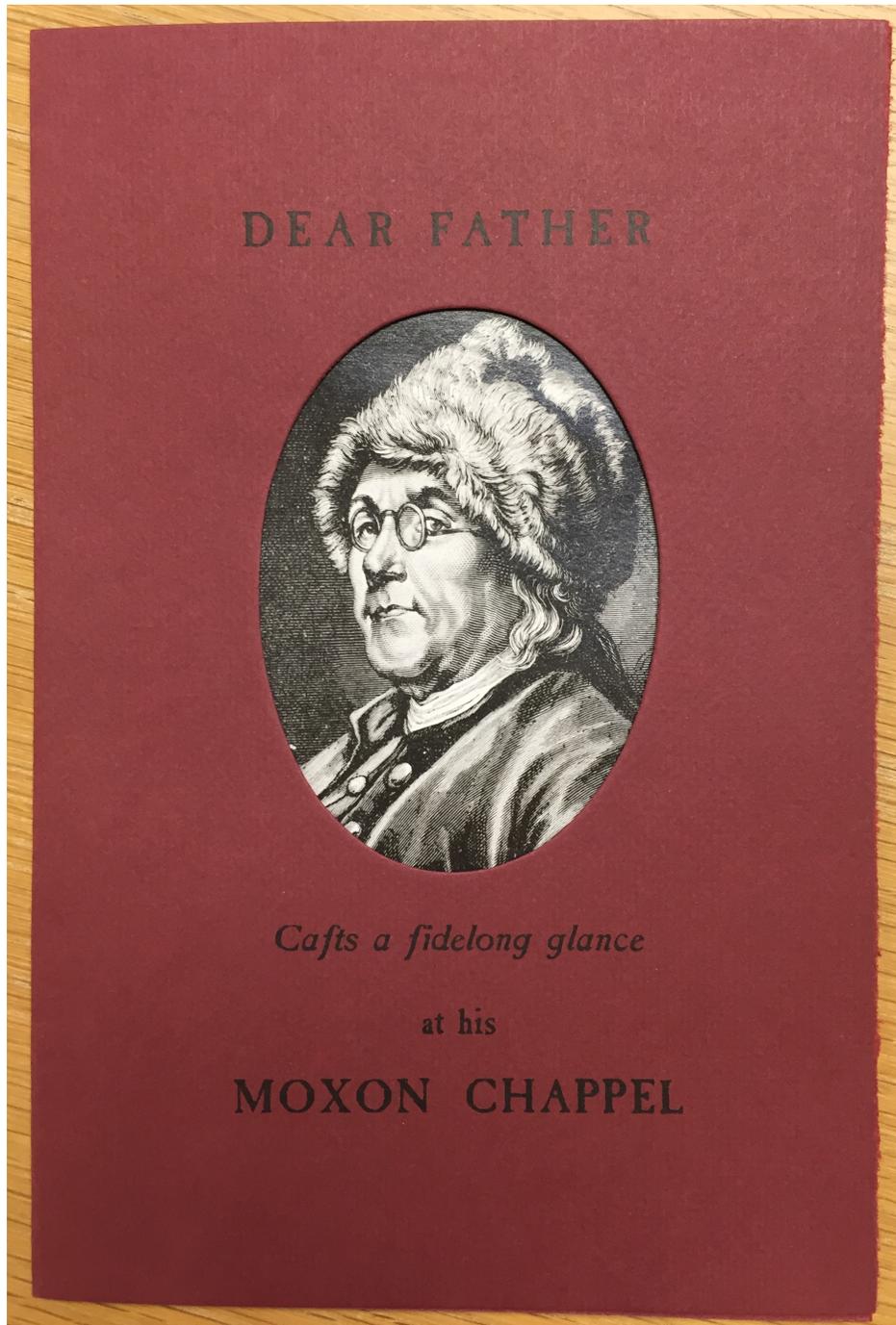


Figure 31 Ephemera printed by Osborne's Moxon Chappel companions, the Pfuster & Tinker Press. Photograph by the author. MSS 516, J. Ben Lieberman Papers, Special Collections, University of Delaware Library, Newark, Delaware.



Figure 32 Announcement for a 1963 Moxon Chappel meeting, printed by Lewis Osborne. Photograph by the author. MSS 516, J. Ben Lieberman Papers, Special Collections, University of Delaware Library, Newark, Delaware.

ABOUT THIS BOOK



IN A CRISP OCTOBER DAY IN 1874, John Muir met travelers along the Old Oregon Stage Road who warned him of dangers on sunny-sloped, snow-capped Mount Shasta. But from the valley, the mountain lured him "with its wealth of woods and waters and fountain snow, rejoicing in the bright sky."

In this new book are Muir's account of that journey and the climb, and a second perilous ascent in the following April when the famed naturalist and a companion very nearly lost their lives in a sudden storm. The narrative also contains Muir's observations during visits made on foot to a number of other localities in the Siskiyou-Trinity country of a hundred years ago. The historic little inn, "Sisson's Tavern" in Strawberry Valley, was headquarters for his ramblings.

The author's ever-sparkling text is illustrated with thirteen drawings by his contemporaries, Thomas Hill and Victor Perard, and we have added an interesting old map.

Lawrence W. Jordan, Jr., of the Beau Pré property in that region, has contributed an informative Introduction which includes a discussion of the Lemurians, a fabled race said to dwell within Mount Shasta.

This book is being printed in two colors on Curtis laid-finish paper, using traditional Caslon types. Its 80 pages size 7" x 10½" will be hand-bound in full natural green buckram, gold-stamped and hand-numbered.

The edition, limited to seven hundred copies, will be ready for distribution in November, the centennial month of Muir's first visit to California's northern mountains. The price is \$15.

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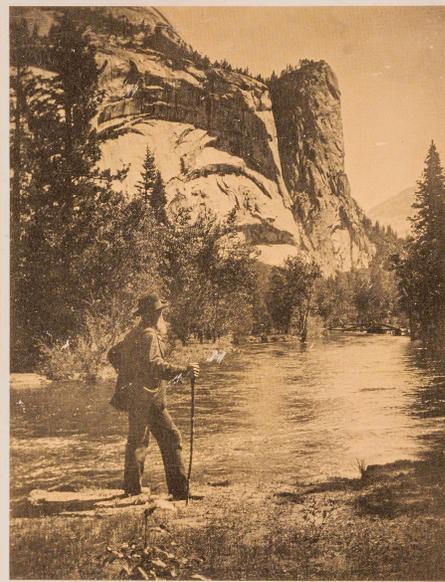
Post Office Box 647, Ashland, Oregon

Figure 33 Reverse of Osborne's prospectus for *Notes on my Journeying in California's Northern Mountains*. Photograph by the author. Courtesy of the National Park Service, John Muir National Historic Site, William and Maymie Kimes Collection, *Notes on my Journeying in California's Northern Mountains* (1974).

\$8.95

# JOHN MUIR

John Muir, born April, 1838 died Christmas Eve, 1914. He was founder of the Sierra Club. "I care to live only to entice people to look at nature. Climb the mountains and get their good tidings, nature's peace will flow into you as the sunshine into the trees. The winds will blow their freshness into you, and the storms their energy, while cares will drop off you as autumn leaves."



*John Muir with President Theodore Roosevelt, center.*

Figure 34 Reverse of *West of the Rocky Mountains*. Photograph by Jim Schneck. Courtesy, Buz Teacher.

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Figure 35 Running Press advertisement (ca. 1972). Photograph by the author. Courtesy, Running Press Collection, Kislak Center for Special Collections, Rare Books and Manuscripts, University of Pennsylvania Libraries.



Figure 36 “Spring Books from the Running Press” pamphlet (1978). Photograph by the author. Courtesy, Running Press Collection, Kislak Center for Special Collections, Rare Books and Manuscripts, University of Pennsylvania Libraries.

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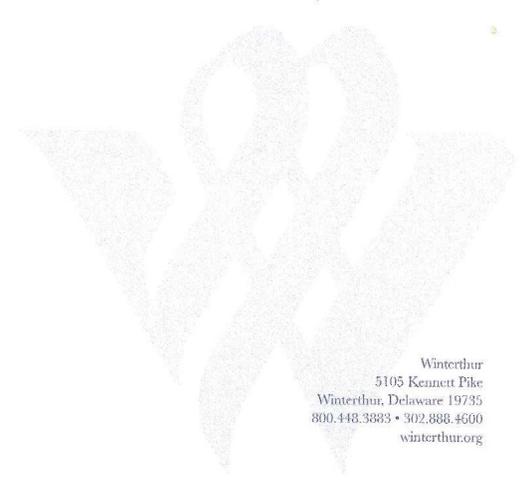
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3 messages

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To: Buz Teacher <buz@buzteacher.com>

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Thank you again for speaking with me about the Running Press last month. I very much appreciate your help!

Best wishes,  
Katie

--

Katie Bonanno  
Lois F. McNeil Fellow  
Winterthur Program in American Material Culture  
University of Delaware '16  
[kbonanno@udel.edu](mailto:kbonanno@udel.edu)



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**Buz Teacher** <buz@buzteacher.com>  
To: Katie Bonanno <kbonanno@udel.edu>

Tue, Mar 22, 2016 at 4:03 PM

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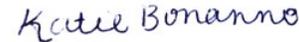
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- User understands that the use of the image[s] or film[s] does not surrender the NPS's right to use or grant others permission to use the images[s] or film[s].
- User agrees to prepay all fees. All fees are for cost-recovery for staff time spent to research, scan, and otherwise prepare images, quotes, or film from the museum collection. The fee is not conditional upon use; all fees must be paid regardless of whether or not the image, quotes, or film are used in the final product.

For the Requesting Organization	For the National Park Service
<u>University of Delaware</u> Organization	<u>John Muir National Historic Site</u> NPS Unit
<u>Katie Bonanno</u> Name of Requesting Individual	<u>Isabel Ziegler</u> Name of Responsible Official
 Signature	<u>/s/Isabel Ziegler/s/</u> Signature
<u>March 24, 2016</u> Date	<u>March 21, 2016</u> Date
<b>Contact Information:</b>	<b>Contact Information:</b>
c/o Winterthur Museum 5105 Kennett Pike Wilmington, DE 19735	440 Civic Center Plaza Suite 300, National Park Service Richmond, CA 94530
Phone: (908) 295-6483	Phone: (510) 232-5050 x6642
Email: kbonanno@udel.edu	Email: Isabel_Ziegler@nps.gov

---

**Katie Bonanno** <kbonanno@udel.edu>  
To: "Ziegler, Isabel" <isabel\_ziegler@nps.gov>

Thu, Mar 24, 2016 at 12:23 PM

Hi Isabel,

Thanks for your help! I've filled out the form you sent and have attached it here. As you noted, I am working on obtaining copyright permissions for the use of the images.

I'm sorry to have neglected to send all of my requests at once, but if it isn't too much trouble, may I request permissions for 4 additional images? I've attached them here for your reference - volume 1 of *Picturesque California's* Edition De Luxe, the title page from *The Scenic Regions of America* (1895, published by George Barrie), and the front and back of the paper wrapper for *Picturesque California's* reprint as the "California Series" in 1894 (this one is the second number in that series).

Again, I'm sorry for the inconvenience, but thanks so much for your assistance.

Best,  
Katie  
[Quoted text hidden]

**Ziegler, Isabel** <isabel\_ziegler@nps.gov>  
To: Katie Bonanno <kbonanno@udel.edu>

Tue, Mar 29, 2016 at 4:34 PM

Hi Katie,

Yes, that is fine. Be sure to use the same caption line:

*Courtesy of the National Park Service, John Muir National Historic Site, William and Maymie Kimes Collection, (title and date of the publication)*

Isabel

Isabel Jenkins Ziegler  
Supervisory Museum Curator  
Eugene O'Neill NHS  
John Muir NHS  
Port Chicago Naval Magazine NM  
Rosie the Riveter/WWII Home Front NHP  
ph: (510) 232-1544 x6642  
fax: (510) 232-5504



Katie Bonanno <kbonanno@udel.edu>

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## Image permissions for master's thesis

3 messages

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**Katie Bonanno** <kbonanno@udel.edu>  
To: dmcknigh@pobox.upenn.edu

Tue, Mar 22, 2016 at 3:33 PM

Dear Mr. McKnight,

Greetings! My name is Katie Bonanno, and I am a master's student in the Winterthur Program in American Material Culture at the University of Delaware. I am writing to find out if I may include an image I took while visiting the Kislak Center this February as an illustration in my master's thesis. My thesis will not be published commercially.

The image is attached here, and it comes from Box 15 in the Running Press Collection (Ms. Coll. 727). It is a detail from the Running Press' spring 1978 pamphlet of books for sale.

Please let me know if I can provide any additional information.

Thank you for your help!

Best wishes,  
Katie

--

Katie Bonanno  
Lois F. McNeil Fellow  
Winterthur Program in American Material Culture  
University of Delaware '16  
[kbonanno@udel.edu](mailto:kbonanno@udel.edu)



IMG\_5122.JPG  
2676K

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**McKnight, David** <dmcknigh@pobox.upenn.edu>  
To: Katie Bonanno <kbonanno@udel.edu>

Wed, Mar 23, 2016 at 9:16 AM

Dear Katie:

Thanks for your email. You have my permission to use the image in your MA theses.

Can you please cite as: Running Press Collection, Kislak Center for Special Collections,  
Rare Books and Manuscripts, University of Pennsylvania Libraries.

I spoke with Running Press co-founder Buz Teacher last week and he was thrilled that  
you are using the RP archive.

Good luck,

David McKnight



Application and Contract for Reproduction Permission

Applicant: Katie Bonanno
Address: Lois F. McNeil Fellow
Winterthur Museum & University of Delaware
5105 Kennett Pike
Wilmington, DE 19735
T: 908.295.6483
E: kbonanno@udel.edu
Order Number: 2016-48
Request Date: 2016-03-24
License Type: Non-Profit

The above person or organization applies for permission to reproduce the image(s) of the below described work:

90.253.241.1 portfolio / Picturesque California: And the region west of the Rocky Mountains, from Alaska to Mexico, 1888

For inclusion in the below described medium:

Type: Student dissertation; Color Image -- Entitled "Ecology in Print: Publishing Picturesque California, 1887-1976" by Kate Bonanno. UMI Dissertation Publishing. May 2016

I (We), Katie Bonanno understand and agree to the covenants set forth in points 1 through 11 on the reverse of this form. I (We) acknowledge that the Autry National Center has made no representation or warranty to me (us) with respect to any use that may be made of said image(s), or that they have any proprietary interest therein; and in consideration of the delivery of said image(s) to me. I (We) agree to indemnify the Autry National Center against all actions, causes of action, costs, expenses, damages, claims, and demands whatsoever which may arise by any reason of any use I (we) make, or permit others to make, of said image(s).

Katie Bonanno 3/29/16
Requestor's signature Date
Paula [Signature] - 4.7.16
The Autry Museum Staff Date

Autry Museum of the American West
Griffith Park 4700 Western Heritage Way • Los Angeles, CA 90027-1462 • 323.667.2000 • 323.660.5721 fax • TheAutry.org
Mt. Washington Campus 234 Museum Drive • Los Angeles, CA 90065-5030 • 323.221.2164 • 323.224.8223 fax • TheAutry.org



**CREDIT(S)**

Rosenstock Collection, Autry Library, Autry Museum, Los Angeles; 90.253.241.1

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**\*\*\* Mail \*\*\***

Copy of any published work containing reproductions  
of the **AUTRY LIBRARY** to my attention.

**Mail to:**

Autry Museum  
4700 Western Heritage Way  
Los Angeles, CA 90027

Attn: Marilyn Van Winkle  
Rights and Reproductions Coordinator

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7. One copy of any publication using images provided by the Autry National Center must be furnished free of charge to the Autry National Center's Institute for the Study of the American West.
8. The user must return transparencies and digital media within 180 days after their shipment from the Autry. In the event of loss, damage, or failure to return color transparencies to the Museum on time, the user agrees to pay the full replacement cost, as listed in the attached Photographic Price Schedule, in addition to other charges hereinafter set forth.
9. For digital use, the resolution should be no higher than 80 dpi.
10. Use fees are waived for students using images in term papers, thesis, and dissertations or for any other purposes directly related to their studies.
11. The user agrees to pay the Museum upon acceptance of this contract and prior to delivery of the reproductions, all expenses as defined in the Photographic Price Schedule. A service charge for staff time for research, documentation and location is included. Charges for this agreement are:



Katie Bonanno <kbonanno@udel.edu>

---

**[Special Collections] Image permissions for UD master's thesis**

2 messages

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AskSpec <AskSpec@udel.libanswers.com>  
To: Katie Bonanno <kbonanno@udel.edu>  
Cc: csmalljr@udel.edu

Fri, Apr 8, 2016 at 5:54 PM

--# Type your reply above this line #--

---

**Curtis Small**

Apr 08 2016, 05:54pm via System

Dear Katie,

The University of Delaware Library authorizes the reproduction of images from the J. Ben Lieberman papers. We merely request a copy of your work upon publication to add to our collection.

All permissions to publish are contingent on permission from the copyright holder. You would need to contact the copyright holder(s) to request permission to publish the images. Since the Ben Lieberman papers contain materials from many different sources, you would have to try to get in touch with the individual creator of whatever item you are looking to publish.

If you have questions about a particular item, let me know and I will try to help. (I suggest sending a shot of the item or items you have questions about)

Once you have decided to publish an item, please follow this example for your citations:

Manuscripts:

MSS Number, Collection Title, Special Collections, University of Delaware Library, Newark, Delaware.

For example:

MSS 163, Paul Bowles papers, Special Collections, University of Delaware Library, Newark, Delaware.

Let me know if you have questions.

Best,

Curtis Small  
Assistant Librarian  
Coordinator, Public Services  
University of Delaware Library Special Collections  
Newark, DE 19717  
phone: 302-831-6518

---

**Original Question**

Apr 06, 2016 via Widget

Image permissions for UD master's thesis

Greetings! My name is Katie Bonanno, and I am a UD master's student in the Winterthur Program in American Material Culture. I am writing to inquire about permissions for including images from the J. Ben Lieberman Papers at Special Collections as illustrations in my master's thesis. I filled out the appropriate paperwork and took the images when visiting Special Collections a few weeks ago. I would like to include five images of ephemera from the papers' Box 12, F17 and F18 - Moxon Chappel members' prints.

My thesis will not be commercially published. Please let me know if I can provide any additional information, and thanks very much for your help with this!

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Thank you for using AskSpec!

This email is sent from Ask the Library in relationship to ticket id #942000.



Katie Bonanno <kbonanno@udel.edu>

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## Thesis update

2 messages

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**Katie Bonanno** <kbonanno@udel.edu>  
To: Loretta Otness <OTNESSH@mind.net>

Tue, Mar 22, 2016 at 3:59 PM

Dear Harold,

I hope that you had a great trip and that all is well! In a really wonderful turn of events, the University of Delaware's Special Collections houses J. Ben Lieberman's papers. When I visited the collection, I discovered a manuscript for your *Lewis Osborne, Book Artist* that you sent to Mr. Lieberman in 1980. I was fortunately able to make a copy and now have access to your excellent manuscript. I was also able to take a look at many different examples of Moxon Chappel printed ephemera, which was great fun.

I am also writing because I am interested in including a few images of Lewis Osborne's *Notes on my Journeying in California's Northern Mountains* as illustrations in my master's thesis, and I wanted to find out if you knew who currently holds the copyright for Osborne's works. Although I will not be publishing my thesis commercially, I would like to obtain the necessary permissions for these images.

Thanks again for all of your help with my project! I very much appreciate it!

Best wishes,  
Katie

--

Katie Bonanno  
Lois F. McNeil Fellow  
Winterthur Program in American Material Culture  
University of Delaware '16  
[kbonanno@udel.edu](mailto:kbonanno@udel.edu)

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**Harold Otness** <otnessh@mind.net>  
To: Katie Bonanno <kbonanno@udel.edu>

Fri, Mar 25, 2016 at 12:04 PM

Katie

Copyright is complicated, and confusing. If you are thinking about the illustrations, Lew took them from various old publications. I doubt he requested permissions, and I wouldn't think you need to either. As far as I know, only the introduction might cause concern, but as long as you cite your source, and are not entering the marketplace, I can't see any problems.

Harold

Sent from my iPad  
[Quoted text hidden]



Katie Bonanno <kbonanno@udel.edu>

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## Lewis Osborne Collection Copyright

4 messages

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**lib spec** <libspec@sou.edu>

Wed, Mar 23, 2016 at 12:27 PM

To: kbonanno@udel.edu

Hello Ms. Bonanno,

Your book on *Picturesque California* sounds interesting. I was unaware that Mr. Osborne included part of this publication in his reprint.

Southern Oregon University does have a collection of Lewis Osborne's works and papers. However, we do not hold the copyright for the materials. I believe the Osborne family may hold the copyright. I will make a few inquiries and see if I can locate the current copyright holder and their contact information.

Thank you,

Becca Evans

**Becca Evans**  
Hannon Library Special Collections/University Archives  
Southern Oregon University | 1250 Siskiyou Blvd | Ashland OR 97520  
541-552-6841  
[evansr@sou.edu](mailto:evansr@sou.edu)



---

**Katie Bonanno** <kbonanno@udel.edu>

Tue, Apr 12, 2016 at 3:50 PM

To: lib spec <libspec@sou.edu>, [evansr@sou.edu](mailto:evansr@sou.edu)

Dear Ms. Evans,

Thank you for looking into the copyright information on Lewis Osborne's materials for me - I appreciate it very much! I wanted to check in and find out if you were able to locate contact information for the current copyright holder?

Thanks again for your help!

Best wishes,

Katie

[Quoted text hidden]

-

Katie Bonanno  
Lois F. McNeil Fellow  
Winterthur Program in American Material Culture  
University of Delaware '16  
[kbonanno@udel.edu](mailto:kbonanno@udel.edu)

---

**Becca Evans** <[evansr@sou.edu](mailto:evansr@sou.edu)>

Tue, Apr 12, 2016 at 4:04 PM

To: Katie Bonanno <kbonanno@udel.edu>

Ms. Bonanno,

Unfortunately I have not been able to find anyone with further information about the copyright holder. I wish I could have been of more help.

Sincerely,

Becca

**Becca Evans**  
Hannon Library Acquisitions & Special Collections Curator  
Southern Oregon University | 1250 Siskiyou Blvd | Ashland OR 97520  
541-552-6841  
[evansr@sou.edu](mailto:evansr@sou.edu)





Katie Bonanno <kbonanno@udel.edu>

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### Image permissions for master's thesis

4 messages

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**Katie Bonanno** <kbonanno@udel.edu>  
To: phanff@library.berkeley.edu

Wed, Mar 23, 2016 at 12:12 PM

Dear Mr. Hanff,

Greetings! My name is Katie Bonanno, and I am a master's student at the University of Delaware in the Winterthur Program in American Material Culture. I am completing my master's thesis on the publishing history of a book entitled *Picturesque California* and visited the Bancroft Library this August to study the numerous copies in the library's collection.

I am writing to inquire about image permissions for my thesis, which will not be published commercially. Since I am studying the history of the book and its bindings, I'd like to find out if I may include the attached images I took of the books as illustrations in my master's thesis. The images are labeled with their respective call numbers.

Please let me know if I can provide any additional information.

Thank you for your help!

Best wishes,  
Katie

—  
Katie Bonanno  
Lois F. McNeil Fellow  
Winterthur Program in American Material Culture  
University of Delaware '16  
kbonanno@udel.edu

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#### 5 attachments



ff F851.M96 (2).JPG  
990K



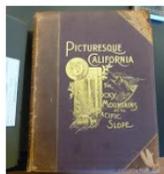
ff F851.M96.JPG  
611K



xf F851.M96 1888c (2).JPG  
551K



xf F851.M96 1888c.JPG  
164K



xf F851.M96 1888d.JPG  
181K

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**Katie Bonanno** <kbonanno@udel.edu>  
To: "Peter E. HANFF" <phanff@library.berkeley.edu>

Tue, Apr 12, 2016 at 4:41 PM

Dear Mr. Hanff,

Good afternoon! I wanted to write and confirm that you had received my image request. I realize that I may have neglected to send all of the necessary information as stipulated by the Rights and Permissions page on the library's website - my apologies! I've attached the permissions form to this email, and as my project is an unpublished master's thesis, I don't think that a payment is required. Please let me know if I can send along any other information, and thanks very much for your help!

Best wishes,  
Katie  
[Quoted text hidden]

---

 **Bonanno\_permission agreement.pdf**  
852K

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**Peter E. HANFF** <phanff@berkeley.edu>  
To: Katie Bonanno <kbonanno@udel.edu>

Tue, Apr 12, 2016 at 4:54 PM

Dear Ms. Bonanno,

If the images you captured on your visit to The Bancroft Library (and included in your message of March 23) will reproduce adequately for the purposes of your thesis, then please feel free to use them without further formalities from us.

If, however, you need higher resolution images, then fees will be involved and you'll want to complete and return not only an order form but also a completed permission form.

Best wishes with your thesis.

Peter

[Quoted text hidden]

---

**Image permissions for master's thesis**

3 messages

---

**Katie Bonanno** <kbonanno@udel.edu>  
To: Reference <reference@calhist.org>

Wed, Mar 23, 2016 at 12:38 PM

Good morning!

My name is Katie Bonanno, and I am a master's student at the University of Delaware in the Winterthur Program in American Material Culture. I visited the library at California Historical Society this summer and viewed numerous copies of *Picturesque California*, a monumental illustrated publication that is the subject of my master's thesis.

I am writing because I'd like to inquire about image permissions for my thesis. If possible, I would like to include two images I took at California Historical this summer as illustrations in my master's thesis, attached here. The first is volume 2 of *Picturesque California's* Imperial Japan edition and the second is from the publication's canvassing book. My thesis will not be published commercially.

Please let me know if I can provide any additional information. Many thanks for your help with this!

Best wishes,  
Katie

--  
Katie Bonanno  
Lois F. McNeil Fellow  
Winterthur Program in American Material Culture  
University of Delaware '16  
[kbonanno@udel.edu](mailto:kbonanno@udel.edu)

---

**2 attachments**



**Canvassing book.JPG**  
2339K



**Imperial Japan Edition, v.2.JPG**  
1777K

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**Reference** <reference@calhist.org>  
To: Katie Bonanno <kbonanno@udel.edu>

Wed, Mar 23, 2016 at 5:56 PM

Dear Katie,

Thank you very much for checking with us. You are more than welcome to use the research images you took for your thesis. We do ask that you credit us where applicable:

*Title, Volume*, courtesy, California Historical Society

All best,

Reference Staff

North Baker Research Library  
**California Historical Society**  
678 Mission Street, San Francisco, CA 94105  
415.357.1848 x220  
[www.californiahistoricalsociety.org/](http://www.californiahistoricalsociety.org/)



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#### Background

The California Digital Newspaper Collection contains over 600,000 pages of significant historical California newspapers published from 1846-1922, including the first California newspaper, the Californian, and the first daily California newspaper, the Daily Alta California. It also contains issues of several current California newspapers that are part of a project to preserve and provide access to contemporary papers.

A calendar showing available issues can be found by selecting the Search Newspapers button on the left and then selecting Titles from the menu bar.

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Please email comments or questions to [cdnc@cbsr.ucr.edu](mailto:cdnc@cbsr.ucr.edu).

California Digital Newspaper Collection, [http://cdnc.ucr.edu/site/about\\_us.html](http://cdnc.ucr.edu/site/about_us.html).