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The John Muir Center

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Focusing on Photography: An Analysis of John Muir’s Photography Collection

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The John Muir Papers at the Holt-Atherton Special Collections at the University of the Pacific includes a large photograph collection that reveals patterns in Muir’s interests. While photographs of geography, trees, and botanical images dominate the collection, images of native peoples and wildlife were constantly interwoven. In the course of his lifetime, Muir built a collection to over three thousand images obtained from several noted photographers.

In a collection as large as Muir’s, there are many differing photographic processes and trends including tintypes, cabinet cards, stereographs, and glass plate prints. Tintypes or ferrotypes, printed on a sheet of thin black iron that could be tinted or colored, were a very inexpensive and a less fragile way for people to send portraits of themselves to others.

Many of the portraiture photographs in the Muir Papers are cabinet cards, which was in common use during his adult life. Cabinet cards consist of images printed then mounted on card stock and were nearly four times the size of standard photographs on card stock.

Going for sittings at the photographer’s studio was very popular at the time and numerous friends and family would send portraits and request photographs of Muir.

Stereographs or stereo cards, popular from approximately 1849 to 1925 were “both educational and entertaining.”1 Stereo cards were comprised of two almost identical images placed side by side on a piece of card stock creating a three-dimensional image when set in a stereo viewer or stereoscope.

Finally, the wet-plate or glass-plate photographic process was developed to help make large, highly detailed prints. The wet-plate process enabled photographers of the West to take their cameras out on location to conduct photographic surveys of the landscape. To accommodate the vast landscapes, many of the photographers would use large cameras that held glass-plate negatives up to 20” x 24”. This process was revolutionary in the history of photography, because of its enlargement capabilities while also maintaining the sharpness of the images.

Although the collection is made up of roughly 3,200 images from numerous photographers, evidence supports that John Muir was not a contributor to his own collection. In a letter written to C. H. Merriam in 1901, Muir writes, “I never took a
The 59th California History Institute was held this past March at University of the Pacific. This year’s theme was “Women as History-Makers in California.” The event was planned and co-organized by Edith Sparks (Senior Associate Dean of the College), Jennifer Helgren, Assistant Professor of History, Corrie Martin, Director of the Women’s Resource Center, and W. Swagerty, Director of the John Muir Center. On Friday, March 23, twenty students and faculty motored to Sacramento to tour the California Museum. Exhibits on “California’s Remarkable Women,” “Women and the Vote,” and permanent exhibits including California’s Hall of Fame provided individual biographical introductions to around 120 women in the state’s history. A moment at the “Constitutional Wall” also reminded us of the importance of California’s beginnings and its continued promise to native born and immigrants alike.

Historians, students, environmental activists, and community organizations came together in Grace Covell Hall on Saturday, March 24, to hear presentations. Edie Sparks and co-author Jessica Weiss of California State, East Bay, opened the symposium with “Placing Women in California History,” emphasizing how women have remained in the background in most texts on the state’s history, despite their achievements as shapers of social, economic, political and legal themes unique to California. Alice Van Ommeren, a local Stockton historian, provided case studies of leaders among women during Stockton’s “Golden Age,” 1890-1940. Her case studies ranged from Lottie Gunsky, a career teacher (1853-1922), to Lilla Miller Lomax (1859-1941), Stockton’s first female medical doctor, to Laura DeForce Gordon (1838-1907), suffragette and attorney who was the first woman in the U.S. to own a newspaper, to Edna Gleason (1914-1961), the first woman to serve on the Stockton City Council and President of the California Pharmaceutical Association.

Dawn Bohulano Mabalon of San Francisco State University connected her own family’s history with Stockton’s large Filipino community, noting that within the city, “Little Manila” once housed the largest community of Filipinos outside of Manila itself.

After an Asian theme luncheon, Professor Emerita of American Studies, Judy Yung (U.C. Santa Cruz) provided the keynote on the theme of Chinese women in the state’s history giving examples from the era of the Gold Rush to the twentieth century of Chinese women who broke the stereotype of those who came to “Gold Mountain.” These include Au Toy, one of San Francisco’s most successful business women who owned houses of prostitution and gambling, Ana May Wong, the most famous Chinese-American actress in the state’s history; Jay Snow Wong, the celebrated Bay-area ceramist; March Fong Eu, first Asian-American Secretary of State; and Betty Suan Chen, who received the Presidential Citizen Medal in 2010 for her social work among the homeless.

Student papers by Pacific’s own Christiana Oatman and Devon Clayton focused on women and campus life and organizations. Clayton traced the history of women’s literary societies going back to the San Jose campus (1871-1924) and connected these with modern sororities on the Stockton campus. Michelle Khoury from Santa Clara University informed all of the struggle of Native American women after the Gold Rush as they faced discrimination, stereotyping, and graphic ridicule for traditional lifestyles and attempts to survive in the hostile environment of Anglo-California.

“Women and Environmental Justice” was the theme of the final panel, which included an overview by Professor Nancy C. Unger of Santa Clara University on women as “Nature’s Housekeepers,” and case studies by Tracy Perkins, U.C. Santa Cruz and Teresa DeAnda, Director of the Committee for Well Being of Earlmart on citizen action in policy and pesticide reform (respectively).

Jennifer Helgren closed the symposium with remarks on “what we have learned,” tying the exhibits in Sacramento at the California Museum with the papers and presentations given on campus.
Years ago as a history graduate student at Northern Arizona University in Flagstaff, I worked closely with the geography and geology departments. One of the geology grad students was involved with a project to rephotograph the Grand Canyon 100 years after Robert Brewster Stanton had surveyed and photographed a possible route for a railroad along the banks of the Colorado River in 1890 (Grand Canyon, A Century of Change: Rephotography of the 1889-1890 Stanton Expedition by Robert H. Webb 1996). The notes and markers that Stanton left made it possible to set up cameras in 1990 for precise rephotography. The grad student had told me that in one case they found Stanton’s footprints encased in petrified mud and knew exactly where he stood when he made the photo!

This “sense of place” in history has been captivating to me ever since. In 2010, I traveled to Alaska for the first time, and I wanted to find John Muir’s “footprints.” Muir’s trips focused on Southeast Alaska, and I was going mostly into the interior. Fortunately, Muir and I did cross paths – albeit 111 years apart – in Prince William Sound and Cook Inlet. Muir was with the Harriman expedition in 1899, and I was on the Wurtz-Cosper trip of 2010. Dan Cosper’s father was stationed at Whittier in the 1950s, and there are many glacier cruises that embark from there. I gathered information on the cruise routes and compared them to Muir’s drawings and journals and notebooks. I harvested scans of the journals from the John Muir Papers website (go.pacific.edu/specialcollections), transcribed the text I could read, printed them out, and stuck them in Ziploc bags. Our initial trip to the Port Wells glaciers was to include a half-dozen more glaciers on the College Fjord, but our mighty boat the Klondike Express broke down, leaving us narrating stories and songs of that fateful cruise. The next day brought clearer skies and another glacier cruise to complete the mission.

I could never triangulate most of the drawings as precisely as I was hoping, but the following were the best “rephotography” and they helped me to see Alaska as Muir saw it.

Muir’s notes indicate that he had drawn this “opp[site] Homer P.O. [Post Office]”. The Post Office had moved many times, and the local museum could not clarify its location in 1899. I went to an overlook behind town and snapped this photo from the about the same angle, but not the same aspect.

(continued on page 8)
(continued from page 1)

single photograph in my life.”

Photographers such as, Carleton Watkins, George Fiske, Edward Curtis, Theodore Lukens, and C. H. Merriam stand out within the collection because of their thorough survey of western landscapes or their contribution to conserving or restoring them.

Carleton Watkins is known as one of the great photographers of the West. In the summer of 1861, Watkins took his “mammoth plate camera” (18” x 22” glass plate negatives) to Yosemite to create highly detailed images of the Valley. According to the Getty Museum, he created a comprehensive photographic survey, which “partly contributed to Abraham Lincoln’s signing of the 1864 bill that declared the valley inviolable, thus paving the way for the National Park system.” Watkins’ stereo cards of southern California landscapes depict agricultural practices are also commonly found in the John Muir Papers.

George Fiske took “A Glimpse of El Capitan” in the summer and winter of 1880. His photographs of the Yosemite are very comprehensive and document the valley well.

The extent of Muir and Watkins relationship is relatively indefinable, but in a letter from William Keith to Muir in 1909, Keith tells of Watkins’ son selling photographs from his father’s collection because Watkins was approaching blindness and financial hardship had left the family in need. Keith suggests, “I gave him $50.00 and I think you ought to do something.”

George Fiske is prominent in John Muir’s photo collection too, and was a principal photographer of the Yosemite Valley. He began in San Francisco and soon was working with Watkins and Eadweard Muybridge in Yosemite. In 1879 Fiske moved to the Yosemite Valley and was the first full-time resident photographer. Fiske was able to photograph the valley during every season. Muir responded to a threat to Fiske’s residency in the valley in 1905, “I don’t believe there is the slightest danger of your being turned out of Yosemite Valley. If only one photographer should be left in the Valley, I think every right-minded person in the country would agree that you were that one.”

The self-taught photographer Theodore Lukens used photography for his extensive research of trees. As a member of the Sierra Club, he was
a friend of John Muir’s and an active conservationist and forester. In a letter written to John Muir from Lukens in 1897 about a stand of especially large oak trees near Santa Barbara, he states, “Don’t you think I had better go up and measure the trees accurately, photograph them, and collect acorns and sprays of the foliage to send to you and Mr. Sargent.”

Muir and Theodore Lukens corresponded about what was probably this large oak that Lukens found near Santa Barbara. The photograph was taken by Lukens and probably sent to Muir along with some acorns and branches. (118-940 John Muir Papers Holt-Atherton Special Collections ©1984 Muir Hanna Trust)

C. Hart Merriam must have taken this photograph of a porcupine in Tuolumne Meadows in 1901 strictly for documentation as it is not aesthetically pleasing. (45-2559 John Muir Papers Holt-Atherton Special Collections ©1984 Muir Hanna Trust)

As the appointed photographer of the 1899 Harriman Expedition, Edward Curtis expansively documented the trip to Alaska. While on the expedition, Curtis began to gain an interest in the native peoples of the region and devoted the rest of his career to studying and documenting Native American tribes.

C. Hart Merriam, another amateur photographer, focused on zoology, ornithology, and later ethnography. Muir wrote letters to Merriam requesting photographs of varying subject matter for his books, “Can you let me have a few telling photos of Sierra birds and beasts? bears, squirrels, chipmunks, neotoma, quail, grouse, woodpeckers etc. etc. etc. for illustrations?” Merriam’s lack of skill is evident throughout. His portrait of a porcupine is not compositionally balanced and shows someone’s boots and legs in the upper left corner. Bronzing, usually due to poor quality paper and improper developing method, can be found among Merriam’s images.

Edward Curtis captured this image of Inuit children in Alaska on the Harriman Expedition of 1899. (9-426 John Muir Papers Holt-Atherton Special Collections ©1984 Muir Hanna Trust)

Looking through the John Muir Papers photography collection, one will observe many patterns. Landscapes, trees, animals, glaciers, botanical images, and family are among the frequent subjects that emerge in the collection, while less common subjects such as native peoples, land exploitation, and farming practices intermittently appear.

Although Muir’s photographic collection included images from all over the world, California and Alaska are the dominant subjects in the collection. The images of California including Kings Canyon, Sequoia, and Pasadena, make up almost half of the entire collection.
As a naturalist, geologist, botanist, and writer, Muir used photography to examine all living things at the locations he visited. A surprising amount of images of native peoples, their dwellings, and hieroglyphics from places like Yosemite, Alaska, Arizona, Utah, Africa, South East Asia, and Japan also surface in the collection. As may be expected, roughly 575 images, the vast majority of California views, are of Yosemite’s vistas, trees, waterfalls, and more.

As a naturalist, geologist, botanist, and writer, Muir used photography to examine all living things at the locations he visited. He sent himself photographic postcards with flowers, landscapes, and native peoples to add to his collection. Muir also received photographs from his friends — especially images of trees. Many people sent him specimens and photographs of trees to identify or learn about new species. Lukens again sent Muir a letter in 1897, “On my way home I met Mr. C. Knapp..., and he has promised to send me [a] branch and photo of an oak tree at his place 32 feet in cir. And he thinks it is the largest in this country.” He went on to note, “I will go up and photo it and get branches and acorns and send you some photos.”

In another letter Muir expressed his gratitude for a photograph of a sugar pine sent by George King. Muir was very interested in the pine and wanted to know more about it. “Where did you find that magnificent sugar pine? The finest specimen I have ever seen in a photograph. How tall is it, and how large in diameter 4 feet from the ground?”

In addition to using photography for research, Muir used photographs in his conservation efforts. The collection consists of many photographs of logging, mining, railroads, and Hetch Hetchy. Muir expresses his joy of receiving some photographs from King again, “I have received with many thanks your magnificent Hetch Hetchy photographs, a very telling lot.” He went on to express, “We are having a hard fight for Hetch Hetchy but think we will win. Help all you can.”

Despite John Muir’s focus on nature, he collected nearly 800 images of his family and friends throughout his life. During the 19th and 20th centuries photography became a popular device for sharing one’s life. Nicole Hudgins claims that, “the photo album of the 1890’s was a sort of Victorian Facebook, in the sense that dozens or even hundreds of portraits were preserved, displayed, and circulated among social and family networks.” In Muir’s correspondence it was not uncommon that a
portrait was either mailed to or from him.

Although known for being alone in nature, many photographs reveal his good disposition and love of people. In one of the most touching of images of the collection, one can see the joy and love that Muir feels when surrounded by his grandchildren. A large number of images that are included in the Muir Papers illustrate the importance of people in his life.

After analyzing the entire photography collection of John Muir, it seems that he used photographs for many diverse purposes. It is obvious that he used these images for research and to get a well-rounded understanding of the areas in which he was interested. He also utilized the photographs to provide evidence to support his conservationist efforts, and he included images in association with his writing to provide readers with a view into his experiences. The collection also shows that he acquired photographs from numerous people including some of the most famous photographers of the West.

In a letter to C. H. Merriam in December of 1900 Muir almost sums up his thoughts of photography in general when he says, “Many thanks for the two fine lots of photographs. How well most of them have come out. The trees especially. They will be very useful to me besides bringing forward our fine trip last summer.”

**ENDNOTES**

1. Ron and Maureen Willis, “Photography as a Tool in Genealogy.” Retyped by Ted Swift (Mountain View, CA).
Surprise Glacier was an easy one to spot with its distinctive medial moraine. Our tourist boat did not get as close in as Muir, so I was unable to get the exact angle or aspect. The drawings do not capture the detail that a photograph can, but the “Catarack Glacier” on the left seems to have receded quite a bit. This was on the Harriman Fjord of Port Wells of Prince William Sound.

Cascade Glacier was one the steepest we saw on our cruise. We did not get close enough to see it quite like Muir on the Harriman expedition in 1899. On many occasions, Muir had the opportunity to get off the boat and hike around. Barry Glacier is on the right.

The focus of this drawing and photograph is actually a tributary of the Serpentine Glacier. The Serpentine Glacier itself is the debris-covered glacier that we can only see entering the Fjord in the foreground from the right. It appears that the tributary has receded quite a bit.

All drawing pages are from June-July 1899, Harriman Expedition to Alaska, Part II, Reel 29 Journal 3, John Muir Papers, Holt-Atherton Special Collections, University of the Pacific Library. © 1984 Muir-Hanna Trust.
Occasionally a book alters our general understanding of an individual and that person’s place in history. This study is one of those, shedding new light on James Mason Hutchings (1820-1902). Born in Towcester, Northamptonshire, England, Hutchings grew up in the geographic center of England, the sixth child of William, a carpenter, and Barbara, a paper lace maker. Lured to America by George Catlin’s touring exhibit of American Indian portraits, Hutchings immigrated to California in 1848 and located himself in Placerville during the height of the Gold Rush. In 1855, after seven years of part-time mining, part-time real estate speculation, and occasional newspaper editing, Hutchings visited Yosemite, a tipping point in his life. Seeing opportunity in promoting California, Hutchings moved to the valley, established himself as an entrepreneur in Yosemite, providing services for tourists and building a hotel, sawmill, and other facilities, some of the earliest infrastructure within the future national park. From 1855 to his death in 1902, Hutchings’ life and the Anglo expropriation and promotion of Yosemite were inextricably linked.

This is the second recent biography of Hutchings, and goes well beyond Dennis Kruska’s James Mason Hutchings of Yo Semite: A Biography and Bibliography (San Francisco: Book Club of California, 2009), which emphasizes his contributions in print, notably letter sheets, almanacs, and Hutchings’ California Magazine (1856-1861). Through careful and thorough research, Huntley introduces a man we have not known, a misunderstood businessman, husband, father, and patron of the arts and sciences, who has received mixed treatment by previous scholars more interested in the history of the park itself or in others who are associated with Yosemite’s evolution, notably John Muir. Most see Hutchings as self-serving if not greedy, especially in light of his legal battles in the 1870s to retain lands preempted decades earlier and expanded into a small commercial empire. Muir’s employer from November, 1869 to July, 1871, Hutchings is usually introduced in that context, and as husband to Elvira Sproat-Hutchings, who may have more than friendied Muir, contributing to her leaving the valley in 1875 and divorce from her husband in 1880, who had already remarried the previous year.

Huntley uncovers in Hutchings a parallel spirit to Muir due to their shared interest in the scenery and wonders of California and especially Yosemite. She argues that Hutchings should be appreciated independent of the iconic Muir. Hutchings pioneered many conventions with use of lithography, photography and innovations in tourism that established “Yosemite-as-Eden” (p. 5), well before Muir’s arrival in 1868, putting to practice Frederick Law Olmsted’s theory of the redemptive potential of landscape in post-Gold Rush, post-Civil War America. She uses William Cronon’s framework in his “The Trouble with Wilderness” to question justification for exclusion of human permanence and private holdings within public parklands. To Hutchings (and his biographer), sublimity and commercialism were not foes; rather they partnered to promote the birth and growth of what became the National Park System. The irony to Huntley is that on most issues, Hutchings was on the same page with Muir and other Progressive-era conservationists, but because of his persistence in retaining private holdings (for which he was handsomely paid by the government after losing in court in 1873), he is remembered for that act rather than his innovations and promotion of what became “America’s best idea.”

“Stubborn, irascible, but inventive and ever-adaptable” (p. 142), Hutchings married four times and always managed to land on his feet, owning a California native plant seed business in San Francisco after leaving Yosemite in 1875. He returned to live in the valley in 1880 as “Guardian,” managing the state’s Yosemite Grant’s for four years, advocating extension of the boundaries, an unpopular view which cost him his job. For the next two decades, Hutchings traveled, lectured, and botanized between San Francisco and the Sierra, suffering a fatal accident near El Capitan in 1902 when his horse bolted.

This is an important study in that it forces a new view of Hutchings, firmly placing him in the vortex of California-in-transition from the Gold Rush through the Gilded Age. Several chapters repeat similar information, but the book accomplishes its goal while not diminishing the importance and legacy of Hutchings’ main distracter, John Muir, with whom he shared more similar values than biographers of both men have acknowledged.

W. R. Swagerty
This past spring, Michael Shea, a senior majoring in Environmental Studies with an emphasis on geology, completed a John Muir Center Internship that has led to a new Muir Botanical project on campus. Shea researched “Muir and the Big Trees” as a student in the John Muir course as a sophomore and followed up by identifying plants that Muir documented and/or collected that would be appropriate to the soil and climate of this campus. Shea found over sixty plants, many of which will become a part of the new area, near student dormitories just north of Callison Hall. For his good effort, Shea was named the John Muir Center’s Outstanding Senior for 2011-12 at the spring College awards ceremony. Other Muir Center initiatives are being implemented on campus, including a student garden, sponsored in part by Whole Earth Foods, and continued expansion of recycling operations thanks to Shanna Eller, Director of Sustainability.

Mr. Shea’s plant file is set up as a catalog. Most interesting are the entries that include Muir quotes. Following are a few of the catalog entries:

**Number: 1**
**Plant Name:** Bentgrass  
**Scientific Name:** Agrostis stolonifera  
**PH Requirements:** slightly acidic  
**Soil Texture:** fine to medium  
**Sunlight Tolerance:** full sunlight  
**Climate Requirement:** Northern California  
**Drought Tolerance:** low  
**Water Requirements:** average watering  
**Additional Information:** does not grow well with other plants  
**Muir Quote:** “Grass a species of Agrostis, with tall, unbranched, strong stem and panicle of purple flowers, arches above the low velvet sod-like tropic bamboo.”  
—John Muir

**Number: 3**
**Plant Name:** Bird’s-Eyes  
**Scientific Name:** Gilia tricolor  
**PH Requirements:** slightly acidic  
**Soil Texture:** medium  
**Sunlight Tolerance:** full sunlight  
**Climate Requirement:** California Central Valley  
**Drought Tolerance:** high  
**Water Requirements:** low watering  
**Additional Information:** San Joaquin Valley is its native habitat  
**Muir Quote:** “In beauty and simplicity they might be allowed to dwell within the sight of Calypso.”  
—John Muir
Number: 7
Plant Name: California Anemone
Scientific Name: Carpenteria californica
PH Requirements: slightly acidic
Soil Texture: medium
Sunlight Tolerance: full sunlight
Climate Requirement: Sierra Nevada Mountains
Drought Tolerance: average
Water Requirements: average watering
Additional Information: San Joaquin is its native habitat
Muir Quote: “Bounding to a certain hillside in Wisconsin where the Anemone
nuttallia came in clouds of spring and a
dozen species of goldenrods and asters
gathered and added gold to gold and pur-
ple to purple in autumn.” ~John Muir

Number: 15
Plant Name: Douglas Spruce
Scientific Name: Pseudotsuga douglasii
PH Requirements: slightly acidic
Soil Texture: medium, coarse
Sunlight Tolerance: full to partial sunlight
Climate Requirement: Northern California
Drought Tolerance: low
Water Requirements: average
Additional Information:
Muir Quote: “This tree is the king of the
spruces, as the Sugar Pine is the king of
pines. It is by far the most majestic
spruce I ever beheld.” ~John Muir

Number: 11
Plant Name: Chain Fern
Scientific Name: Woodwardia areolata
PH Requirements: acidic
Soil Texture: fine
Sunlight Tolerance: partial sunlight, full shade
Climate Requirement: American Northeast
Drought Tolerance: low
Water Requirements: high
Additional Information: usually grows near the edge of ponds
Muir Quote: “Ferns, tall Woodwardia
and gentle floating maidenhair and em-
erald mosses in sheltered coves even
wet with mealy spray are precious and
luxuriant fringes of maidenhair and
thickets of tall Woodwardia.” ~John
Muir to Jeanne Carr
The John Muir Center was established in 1989 with the following objectives:

- To foster a closer academic relationship between Pacific and the larger community of scholars, students, and citizens interested in regional and environmental studies.
- To provide greater opportunities for research and publication by Pacific faculty and students.
- To offer opportunities for out-of-classroom learning experiences.
- To promote multi-disciplinary curricular development.

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