

*'Such is Change in California':
James Mason Hutchings and
the Print Metropolis, 1854-1862*

JEN A. HUNTLEY-SMITH

NEW YEAR'S EVE in the snowy reaches of northern California found publisher James Mason Hutchings in a philosophical mood. He wrote in the diary he kept from September 1854 to August 1855, while he traveled through the region: "This has been a year of change—I have [,] to enable me to pay my board at the end of the week [,] hired out at mining for \$3.50 per day—Yet one month afterwards I cleared over \$1,000. Such is change in Cal[ifornia]."¹ Change was certainly the order of the day in mid-nineteenth century California, propelled by the gold rush from a sleepy backwater of the world to the sixth most industrialized state in the United

1. James Mason Hutchings, December 31, 1854, 'Original Diary 1854-5,' Photocopy, Yosemite Research Library, Yosemite National Park, California. From September 1854 to August 1855, Hutchings kept a daily journal of his travels through northern California. This is housed in the Library of Congress, with a photocopy in the Yosemite Research Library. The 1930s typescript transcription by his daughter, Gertrude Hutchings Mills, includes several editorial changes. Gertrude assumed that the diary ran from January 1 to December 31, 1855, and prepared the typescript accordingly. Copies of this transcript are in the Yosemite Research Library and the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley. Unless otherwise noted, all references to the diary are to the original version.

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States and a global economic force. A gold-rush emigrant from England, Hutchings spent the 1850s traveling through the central and northern reaches of the state, recording his impressions in articles he published in newspapers, his own diaries, and in scrapbooks. In 1853 he began publishing on his own account: first producing illustrated letter sheets, and then, for the next seven years, prodigious quantities of ephemera, including the illustrated monthly periodical, *Hutchings' California Magazine*. In 1862 Hutchings again spent New Years' in the remote California mountains, having left his San Francisco publishing career behind to manage a mine in Owens Valley before establishing himself with fortuitous timing as a hotel-keeper in Yosemite Valley, from which he could promote the region. Hutchings would continue publicizing Yosemite, the Calaveras Big Trees Grove, and other California landscapes until his death in 1902.

Between 1853 and 1861, however, he was primarily active as a publisher of various magazines, almanacs, lithographic prints, and illustrated letter sheets that fostered visions of California as a place to settle rather than to plunder. Seven years was a respectable career in San Francisco's large but highly volatile mid-century printing business, and Hutchings's publications, directed at a broad audience, suggest the ways print culture could be used to shape California society by combining Anglo-American traditions with images and stories of the unique Pacific Slope environment. Additionally, Hutchings's publications have contributed significantly to several aspects of California's mythic identity. Historians from Hubert Howe Bancroft in the nineteenth century to Rodman Paul in the twentieth have used them uncritically as source material. Although Hutchings's celebrations of the independent miner and gold-rush society were produced within specific social and economic contexts and for particular economic and ideological agendas, their significance thus extends well beyond the nineteenth century.

The theme of the agency of print, so central to history of the book studies, offers a useful guide for the interpretation of Hutch-

ings's experience as a cultural observer and working publisher in California. Hutchings's publishing career also sheds light on some distinctive qualities of printing and publishing in California at mid-century. The business expanded dramatically with the conquest and gold rush and played a key role in consolidating Anglo-American institutions of power in the then-remote, polyglot state. Hutchings's role as a publisher during the transition from the chaos of the gold rush reveals both the character of early California print culture and its central role in shaping its mid-century social universe.²

The peak of Hutchings's publishing career occurred between 1853 and 1861, precisely the years of California's transition to a diversified, industrial and agricultural state (fig. 1). In the first stage, Hutchings worked among the mining camps and towns in the hinterlands of the central and northern sections of the state. In 1855 he moved to San Francisco, which was becoming the economic and cultural metropolis of the Pacific Slope. During his tenure there, Hutchings worked in partnership with Anton Rosenfield to publish a wide array of ephemera as well as *Hutchings' Illustrated California Magazine*. Many of these imprints had their inception in the observations and experiences that Hutchings had recorded during his years in the mountains. But the form and content of his San Francisco publications suggest that Hutchings was trying to broaden his audience: from mountain miners to farmers, women, and an emerging middle class. Hutchings's publishing career, told through his diary, scrapbook, and a close analysis of his imprints, offers a unique opportunity to explore links between print culture and the growth of middle-class, Anglo-American institutions in mid-nineteenth-century California.

2. With many history-of-the-book scholars, I assume that print culture not only expresses economic, social, and political values of a given time and place, but that it in turn has agency to influence the society in which it is produced. For more detailed elaborations of this idea, see Michael Winship, *American Literary Publishing in the Mid-Nineteenth Century: The Business of Ticknor and Fields* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); and Michael Winship, 'Afterword,' in William Charvat, *Literary Publishing in America, 1790-1850* (1959; reprint, Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1993), 95-96.

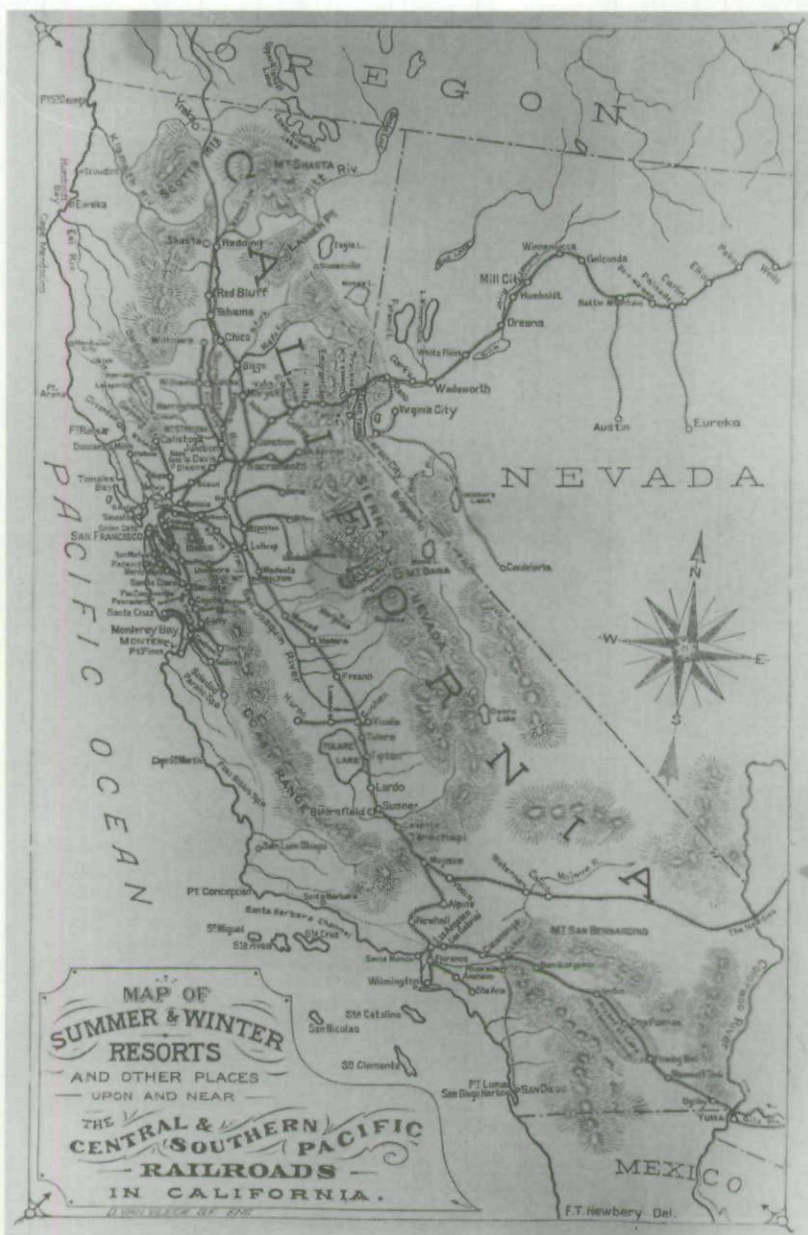


Fig. 1. A promotional map of California in 1883, 'Map of Summer and Winter Resorts . . . in California,' in Ben C. Truman, *Homes and Happiness in the State of California* (San Francisco: Passenger Department of the Central Pacific Railroad Co., 1883), inside front cover. Courtesy American Antiquarian Society.

Nineteenth-century California offers a striking opportunity to explore the dynamics of print culture within 'a matrix of social and cultural forces' in specific historic and geographical contexts.³ There are just a handful of official documents from the Mexican period of the 1830s through the United States conquest in 1847, but in the next five years thousands of California imprints appeared. This stunning proliferation dramatically illustrates the importance of print in Anglo-American efforts to assert power in the region. While the initial conquest of California involved relatively few military engagements, the United States Navy was quick to haul the old Ramage press owned by California's first printer, Augustin J. V. Zamarana, out of storage to begin issuing proclamations, legal documents, and a newspaper in Spanish and English.⁴ During and after the gold rush, Anglo-Americans in California took enormous financial risks to import the latest in print technology, including steam-powered cylinder presses and sophisticated lithographic equipment, to their 'instant cities.' A number of factors combined to foster such rapid growth, among them the economic independence afforded by the distance from major eastern publishers and demand fueled by the explosive population growth during the gold rush. Within a few years, lithographers, printers, type founders, daguerreotype artists, and engravers set up shop in the state and produced hundreds of imprints and newspapers. Furthermore, as steamship communication with the Atlantic states and Europe increased in the 1850s, imported books, magazines, and newspapers complemented California's indigenous print culture. California's dynamic regional print culture flourished until 1869,

3. Winship, *American Literary Publishing*, 7.

4. For more on California's early print culture, see Jen A. Huntley-Smith, "'The Genius of Civilization': The Material Culture of Print Technology in the Nineteenth-Century American West," *Western Technological Landscapes*, Nevada Humanities Committee *Halcyon* Series, 20 (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1998), 37; Edward C. Kemble, *A History of California Newspapers, 1846-1858*. Reprint from the Supplement to the Sacramento *Union* of December 25, 1858, ed. Helen Harding Bretnor (Los Gatos, Calif.: Talisman Press, 1962); *California Imprints, 1833-1862: A Bibliography*, ed. Robert Greenwood (Los Gatos, Calif.: Talisman Press, 1961), 66-251.

when the transcontinental railroad temporarily undercut the local market with low-priced goods from the east.⁵ But the foundations laid in the 1850s allowed the industry to recover, and San Francisco continued to function as the regional print metropolis for the Pacific Slope well into the twentieth century. Thus, the particulars of California's print history complicate the standard models of nineteenth-century print culture development, in which the expanding hegemony of New York and Boston publishing houses constitute the main story.⁶

Mexico had just signed over half of its territory to the United States in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo when the discovery of gold in California's American River launched an epic migration from around the globe. Eric Hobsbawm has termed the California gold rush the first expression of global capitalism, and the state's mid-century population certainly reflected the international composition of gold seekers. California's mostly male residents represented nearly every nationality, from Chinese to Miwok and Boston Brahmin to French peasant.⁷ California's print culture, to some degree, reflected this diversity. San Francisco printers published almanacs in several European languages, and the city boasted the first Chinese-language newspaper in the United States. Nevertheless, California print culture generally reflected the values and assumptions of Anglo-Americans. The Anglo publishing industry supported and extended the political,

5. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *Literary Industries: A Memoir* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1891), 59; Bruce L. Johnson, 'Printing in Nineteenth-Century San Francisco: A Flame Before the Fire,' *Book Club of California Quarterly Newsletter* 46 (Summer 1981): 87.

6. For example, see Madeleine B. Stern's argument in *Publishers for Mass Entertainment in Nineteenth-Century America* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1980), xiv; and in 'Dissemination of Popular Books in the Midwest and Far West during the Nineteenth Century,' *Getting the Books Out: Papers of the Chicago Conference on the Book in 19th-Century America*, ed. Michael Hackenberg (Washington, D.C.: Center for the Book, 1987), 93.

7. Eric J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Capital, 1848-1875* (New York: Scribner, 1975). On the diversity of gold rush California society, see Sucheng Chan, 'A People of Exceptional Character: Ethnic Diversity, Nativism, and Racism in the California Gold Rush,' in *Rooted in Barbarous Soil: People, Culture, and Community in Gold Rush California*, ed. Kevin Starr and Richard J. Orsi (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 44-85.

social, and economic institutions that consolidated power into Anglo-American hands by the end of the decade. Indeed, the remarkable spread of print culture in California might be said to suggest that Anglo-Americans believed in its power to finish the conquest of California begun in the Mexican-American war.

Although historians of California have mined Hutchings's publications for information, his career, spanning the latter half of the nineteenth century and intersecting tellingly with developments in California, has heretofore been largely neglected.⁸ Born in Towcester, England, in 1820, Hutchings was educated at the Edgbaston Proprietary School in the suburbs of Birmingham and worked as a cabinetmaker before emigrating to America just as the gold rush began.⁹ He spent the summer months of 1848 in New York City, traveled to New Orleans in the fall, and spent the winter there. The following spring he traveled overland to the California gold fields (fig. 2). Almost from the moment of his arrival in Placerville, Hutchings began to publish his impressions in letters to New Orleans newspapers. Although he started as a miner, gaining valuable experience and perspective that would help him in later publishing efforts, Hutchings quickly diversified his economic

8. Much of this story exists in scattered remnants in various California archives. A few letters remain of what must have been a large body of correspondence, and only three diaries survive. However, a scrapbook he kept from 1849 to the late 1850s recently came to the archives of the Yosemite Research Library, and this, together with newspaper articles, evidence from his diary of 1854-55, and close analysis of his publications themselves, allows us to reconstruct a great deal of his publishing activities in the 1850s.

9. Information regarding Hutchings's early life in England comes mostly from an autobiographical statement he wrote late in the nineteenth century for the Society of California Pioneers, *Autobiographies and Reminiscences of Members* (San Francisco: Society of California Pioneers, n.d.) 2:5-11. Gertrude Hutchings Mills corresponded with writers such as Shirley Sargent and wrote some additional notes based on her father's reminiscences that are now located in the James Mason Hutchings Biographical File, Yosemite Research Library. Both Sargent and the chapter devoted to Hutchings in the local history of Towcester rely heavily on these sources. Sargent, 'Introduction,' James Mason Hutchings, *Seeking the Elephant, 1849: James Mason Hutchings' Journal of his Overland Trek to California, Including his Voyage to America, 1848 and Letters from the Mother Lode* (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1980); *Towcester: The Story of an English Country Town: The Celebration of 2000 Years of History*, John Sunderland and Margaret Webb, comps. and eds. (Towcester: Towcester Local History Society, 1995), 199-200.



Fig. 2. Detail showing the relationship of the mining camps and mountain communities where Hutchings traveled before settling in San Francisco. Johnson and Ward, 'Johnson's California and Territories of New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, Nevada, and Utah.' Courtesy American Antiquarian Society.

activities to include mining, ranching, investing in canal companies, and (unsuccessful) speculation in San Francisco real estate. In June 1853, he published the text of his first and most famous letter sheet, the 'Miners' Ten Commandments,' in the weekly *Placerville Herald*. The success of this venture led him into a career that began with itinerant peddling in the mining camps before moving

to an office and shop on Montgomery Street in San Francisco, where he continued publishing full time until 1861. He left San Francisco abruptly to become a mine superintendent in Owens Valley. After two years, in 1864, he purchased the Upper Hotel in Yosemite Valley, just weeks before a congressional decision to grant Yosemite to the state of California. Thereafter, Hutchings actively promoted the valley to tourists from around the country and the world. He continued to publish tour guides to California but also experimented with other media, including public lectures illustrated with mammoth print photographs or lantern slides.

THE MINERS' OWN PUBLISHER

A fickle California spring drenched the foothills around Placerville, where Hutchings spent a few days at home in March 1855 to catch up on his business paperwork. 'Rain Rain Rain' he wrote in his diary of that year. 'Spending a wet day to the advantage of my business, for I posted my Ledger—and in the evening I received that great comfort—a letter from the loved ones afar—.'¹⁰ The contrast between the 'business' of posting his ledger and the 'pleasure' of letters from home belied close connection between the two. Letters, or rather the stationery on which they were written—illustrated letter sheets—were his business. These sheets, which combined pictures, text, and enough blank space for correspondence, were something of a cross between letter-head stationery and a rudimentary post card. Letter sheets were published throughout the United States in the nineteenth century but were especially popular in California. A genre perfectly adapted to the needs of transient miners, letter sheets offered a sense of the adventure in which miners were engaged through visual depictions of California scenery and mining life. The accompanying text was often moralizing.

Hutchings, one of California's most prolific publishers of these sheets, produced dozens in 1854-55 that covered a wide

10. James Mason Hutchings, March 31, 1855, 'Original Diary 1854-5.'

range of topics.¹¹ He traveled by foot, horseback, wagon, and steamship throughout California's Central Valley and the mountain mining regions, searching both for communities where he could sell his wares and interesting stories and scenery he could collect and transform into new publications. He took notes from his observations and from interviews with local residents, copied and clipped articles from local newspapers, took daguerreotype images, and hired artists to create sketches of scenes and people. His familiarity with the process of mining allowed him to coordinate his travels with the miners' economic cycles. Autumn was the season when miners were most likely to have cash on hand, and it was then that Hutchings conducted his most extensive tours of the mines. In the spring, when miners were busy investing cash and labor in new projects, Hutchings returned to Placerville, Sacramento, and San Francisco to develop new publications.

For these publications, Hutchings relied upon the talents of the numerous artists, printers, and lithographers who had established themselves in California by 1854. In the fall of that year, he hired French artist Edward Jump to accompany him to the northern mines, and in the summer, he took Thomas Ayres with him to Yosemite.¹² These artists took sketches, which Hutchings delivered to engravers. He also used artist-engravers such as Charles Christian Nahl and Harrison Eastman to refine his own daguerreotype images for engraving. By the early 1850s, several artists were based in Sacramento and San Francisco, and

11. Joseph Armstrong Baird, *California's Pictorial Letter Sheets, 1849-1860* (San Francisco: David Magee, 1967), 13-20.

12. Thomas Ayres (1816-58) was born in New Jersey and moved with his family to Wisconsin as a young adult. He arrived in San Francisco in August 1849, and spent the next five years sketching mining towns. His sketches of Yosemite, exhibited at the American Art Union in New York City, earned him a commission from *Harper's Weekly* to illustrate its series of articles on California. A promising art career was cut short when Ayres died in a shipwreck off the California coast. Katherine Church Holland, 'Biographies of the Artists,' in Janice T. Driesbach, Harvey L. Jones, and Holland, *Art of the Gold Rush* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 117-18. Edward Jump later produced at least one illustrated letter sheet of his own. Baird, *California's Pictorial Letter Sheets*, cat. 15.

their shops were producing quantities of woodcut engravings. Harrison Eastman, who illustrated the 'Miners' Ten Commandments' letter sheet, was one of the first artist-engravers to establish a business in California.¹³ Hutchings also worked with George Baker of Sacramento, the firm of Kuchel and Dresel of San Francisco, and with W. C. Butler of Sacramento and San Francisco, who were part of the range of artistic talent available in California within five years after the United States conquest.¹⁴ Hutchings delivered his sketches from the northern counties to Barber and Baker in March 1855, and his proofs were ready two months later. He then commissioned a printer such as Excelsior print, or a lithographer such as Britton and Rey, and combined the engraved images with his own text to produce the finished version.

Most of the printers and lithographers whom Hutchings patronized for his 1854-55 publications were in San Francisco or Sacramento. He also took advantage of the presence of printers, newspaper offices, and stationery stores in some of the most remote towns in his circuit through the mountains. In September 1854, for example, he had extra copies of the 'Miners' Ten Commandments' letter sheet printed in Nevada City before venturing into the nearby mining camps where he hoped to sell

13. Hutchings identified 'Mr. Eastman of San Francisco' as 'the artist for my commandments' in his diary, October 14, '1855 Diary Transcript,' 147. According to B. P. Avery, Eastman was the second engraver to begin working in California in 1849 and was still in business at the time of Avery's article in 1868. B. P. Avery, 'Art Beginnings on the Pacific,' *Overland Monthly* 1 (August 1868): 115. On Charles Christian Nahl's prolific career, see Harvey L. Jones, 'The Hessian Party: Charles Christian Nahl, Arthur Nahl, and August Wenderoth,' in *Art of the Gold Rush*, 47.

14. George Baker had trained at the National Academy of Design before moving to California in June 1849. His first lithographic city view appeared in the *New York Tribune* in August. Like Hutchings, he engaged in several businesses simultaneously, including running an express service, in addition to his work as engraver and lithographer. Kuchel and Dresel emigrated from Germany and were among the most prolific lithographers in California from about 1853 to 1865. John W. Reps, *Views and Viewmakers of Urban America: Lithographs of Towns and Cities in the United States and Canada, Notes on the Artists and Publishers, and a Union Catalogue of their work, 1825-1925* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1984), 165, 187.

them.¹⁵ Hutchings befriended newspaper editors in the towns he visited and interviewed them for stories of interest. Such friendships probably account for several of the promotional newspaper 'puffs' he clipped and pasted into his scrapbook. Hutchings took advantage of the newspaper offices that usually functioned as merchandising agents and print shops in small communities to distribute his sheets or print extra copies.¹⁶

Although the California gold rush often conjures images of ordinary folk becoming instant millionaires, it was in fact a very risky business, especially after 1850. After one particularly devastating rainstorm, Hutchings observed: 'Down the north fork of Yuba [River] this morning from Downieville—the whole course was one of floating spans lumber wheels &c. The heavy rains of yesterday had swollen the river, and washing down flumes, wheels, and tools. . . . You could see [men] standing with hands thrust low into their breeches pockets looking discouragingly upon the havoc made and prospects ruined.'¹⁷ Such discouragements often tempted miners to return to their homes. But entrepreneurs, like Hutchings, who chose to stay in California and hoped to make their fortunes in other businesses, such as publishing, needed to have the miners stay and new immigrants arrive. This simple economic motive explains the boosterish tone of most early California publications, including those by Hutchings. Traveling around the Sierras in late 1853, he may have worked as a 'runner'—a person who went east to meet trains with printed flyers promoting the trans-Sierran route that would bring the settlers into a particular town—in his

15. Hutchings may have carried stereotype plates or lithograph stones with him, enabling him to have R. H. Stiles print extra copies. According to Baird, most early letter sheets were lithographed, but a stereotype foundry did exist in San Francisco as early as 1855, so plates are a possibility. Baird, *California's Pictorial Letter Sheets*, 10–11; 'California Stereotype Foundry, J. M. Burke & Co., 75 Davis,' *The Illustrated California Almanac* (San Francisco: R. H. Vance, 1855), advertisement, 49.

16. On the multiple business dimensions to western newspapers in the nineteenth century, see Barbara Cloud, *The Business of Newspapers on the Western Frontier* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1992).

17. Hutchings, October 23, 1854, 'Original Diary 1854–5.'

case, Placerville.¹⁸ From this early step, Hutchings would spend the rest of his life promoting visions of California that would not only entice outsiders to come and visit, but also to stay and settle. "Thou shalt not grow discouraged nor think of going home before thou hast made thy "pile," because thou hast not "struck a lead," nor found a "rich crevice," nor sunk a hole upon a "pocket," lest in going home thou shalt leave four dollars a day, and go to work, ashamed, at fifty cents, and serve thee right; for thou knowest by staying here, thou mightest strike a lead and fifty dollars a day, and keep thy manly self-respect."¹⁹

An analysis of Hutchings's most famous and successful publication, 'The Miners' Ten Commandments' letter sheet, within the social, cultural and political context of its production, illustrates a nexus of cultural values, economics, and a social vision that drew upon the power of the printed word and image to impose ideals of order on a seemingly chaotic social landscape. Many of these values formed components of California's mythic origins, emphasizing the hard-working, honest, independent miner as the state's prototypical 'founding father.' First published as a newspaper column in June 1853, 'Miners' Ten Commandments' combined humor, biblical style, and the folk rules of mining-camp life. It exhorted miners to 'have no other claim than one,' not to steal from fellow miners, not to gamble, and so forth (fig 3). The 'commandments' echoed the mining district rules and regulations that were legal adaptations specific to California. These rules derived from miners' associations, small groups of men who combined their claims, divided their labor to increase profit, and frequently lived together, apportioning domestic duties among the overwhelmingly male population. While miners' associations have

18. This hypothesis is based on several clippings describing this process in Hutchings's scrapbook and by coordinating the dates of several *Placerville Herald* articles from various locales with Hutchings's own absences.

19. James Mason Hutchings, 'Miners' Ten Commandments' letter sheet. The first extant version is recorded in Baird's catalogue as: "'The Miner's Ten Commandments,'" H. Eastman DEL, Anthony & Baker (San Francisco: Sun Print, 1853), *California Pictorial Letter Sheets*, cat. 167.



Fig. 3. James M. Hutchings, *The Miner's Ten Commandments*, 1853 (San Francisco: Sun Print). Illustrated lettersheet, 29 x 24 cm. Courtesy American Anti-quarian Society.

been celebrated as folk expressions of the American democratic spirit, they overwhelmingly favored white men and often excluded the many miners of other races and ethnic backgrounds. Mining districts were legal constructs, which defined a geographical area and established rules and regulations for the conduct of mining claims and the settlement of disputes; the miners' associations operated more informally. Charles Howard Shinn applauded the miners' legal efforts as spontaneous expressions of their Anglo-Saxon racial predispositions to self-governance, but Rodman Paul has noted the Spanish and European origins of the mining codes.²⁰

When Hutchings drew upon these codes for the 'Miners' Ten Commandments,' he combined the contents of characteristically Californian documents with a familiar format to create a document that he hoped would touch a chord among the Anglo miners.²¹ He was apparently successful. By August 1853, other newspapers were reprinting the Commandments, as a notice in the *Herald*, 'For the Moral Benefit of the *Columbia Gazette*,' indicates.²² Hutchings later claimed that popular demand and unauthorized reprints motivated him to convert 'the Commandments'

20. Rodman Paul, *California Gold: The Beginning of Mining in the Far West* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1947), 211-14; Charles Howard Shinn, *Mining Camps: A Study in American Frontier Government* (1884; reprint, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948), 126; Josiah Royce, *California from the Conquest in 1846 to the Second Vigilance Committee in San Francisco: A Study of American Character* (1886; reprint, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948). The mining district codes came to constitute the law of the land, with state and federal governments refusing to intervene for at least twenty years. Malcolm Rohrbough, *Days of Gold: The California Gold Rush and the American Nation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997) 87-88; Paul, *California Gold*, 198-205; Maureen A. Jung, 'Capitalism Comes to the Diggings: From Gold-Rush Adventure to Corporate Enterprise,' in *A Golden State: Mining and Economic Development in Gold Rush California*, ed. James J. Rawls and Richard J. Orsi (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 58. See also Donald J. Pisani, "'I am Resolved Not to Interfere, But Permit All to Work Freely": The Gold Rush and American Resource Law,' in *A Golden State*, 123-48; Gordon Morris Bakken, 'American Mining Law and the Environment: The Western Experience,' *Western Legal History* 1 (1988): 215-16. These more recent California historians have also noted that it was not so much the technology itself, but the increasing competition for an increasingly scarce resource, that underlay much of the social tension.

21. An unidentified newspaper article dated May 7, 1853, entitled 'Laws of the Big Canon Mining District,' summarizes the mining codes of that district. Hutchings Scrapbook, 59.

22. 'A New Commandment,' *Placerville Herald* 1 (no.16, August 13, 1853): 2.

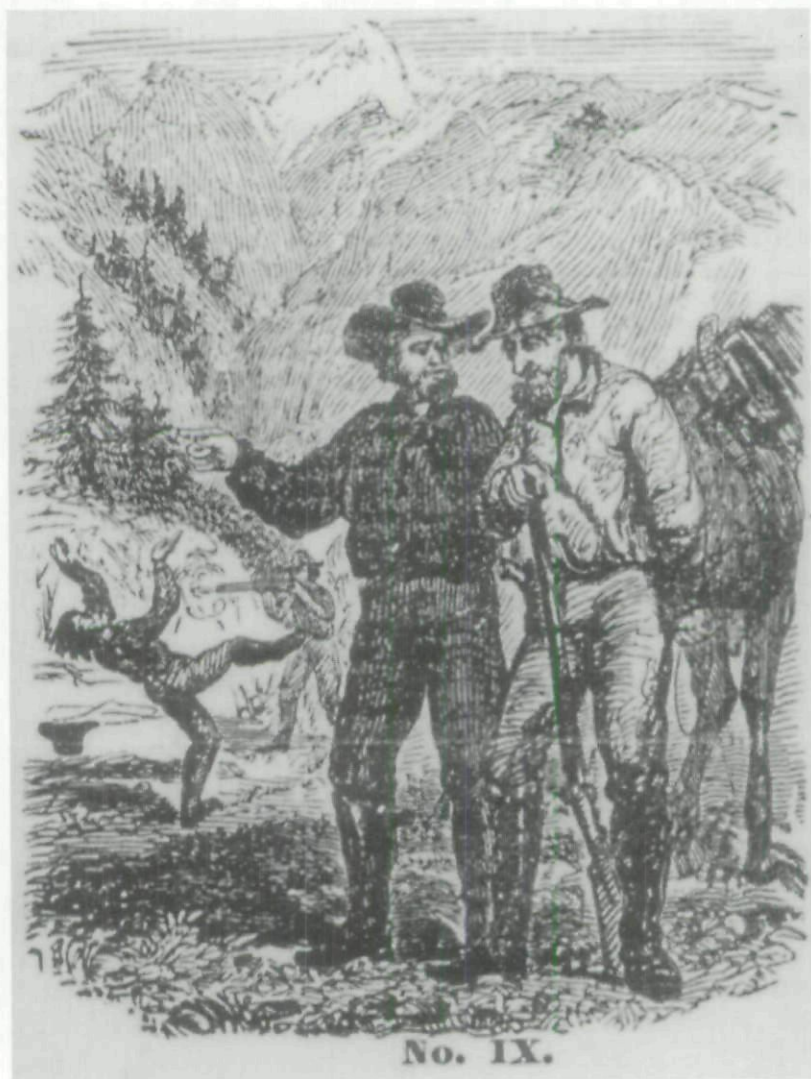
to an illustrated letter sheet. In doing so, he arranged his original text, with some modifications, into three columns, framed on all sides by eleven illustrations (corresponding to the commandments), drawn and engraved by Harrison Eastman.²³ The first copyrighted edition of the 'Miners' Ten Commandments' letter sheet dates from 1853, and in his scrapbook pages with other articles from 1853, Hutchings included some undated newspaper 'puffs' for it: for example, 'Miners' Ten Commandments, Illustrated.'—Mr. J. M. Hutchings, the author of the 'Miners' Ten Commandments,' has published them with eleven descriptive engravings. They may be had at the Express office of Hunter & Co., and Adams & Co., and at bookstores generally.²⁴ Hutchings later claimed that in the first year, the 'Miners' Ten Commandments' sold over a hundred thousand copies, but this may be an exaggeration, as his collection of puffs in the scrapbook set the figure at forty-five to fifty thousand, still a notable success.²⁵

The appeal of the 'Miners' Ten Commandments' is something of a paradox. It simultaneously celebrated the individual, independent miner while promoting the social norms that some believed were necessary to the success of both the miners' associations and Anglo-California society. Much of the text is touched with humor and exaggeration. The sixth commandment, for example, directed: 'Thou shalt not kill thy body by working in the

23. Most of the surviving copies of this letter sheet were cut to include only the illustrated portion of the sheet, which is 28.1 cm x 22.7 cm, but like many other letter sheets, the 'Miners' Ten Commandments' was printed in the corner of a much broader sheet that could include a written letter and be folded and mailed without an envelope. Prior to 1855, California postal regulations encouraged the use of these sheets by charging per sheet of paper, regardless of size or weight. Baird, *California's Pictorial Letter Sheets*, 13–20.

24. Hutchings Scrapbook, 110; Sargent, 'Introduction,' *Seeking the Elephant*, 22–23.

25. Both claims have been accepted by several historians, including Sargent, 'Introduction,' *Seeking the Elephant*, 22; Hank Johnston, *Yosemite's Yesterdays* (Yosemite: Flying Spur Press, 1991) 2:16. Dennis Kruska claims 97,000 copies sold; 'Hutchings' Letter Sheets,' *Hoja Volante* [Zamorano Club of Los Angeles] 192 (1996): 10. But Hutchings's memory is not entirely reliable. His sales estimate of 100,000 was probably an exaggeration. He also claimed that the 'Ten Commandments' were inspired by favorable response to the initial fourth commandment, 'Thou shalt not remember what thy friends do at home on the Sabbath day,' which he wrote for the *Placerville Herald* in 1853, but no such article appears anywhere in its pages.



Detail (No. IX.) from *The Miner's Ten Commandments* warns the miner not to 'tell any false tales about good diggings in the mountains.'

rain.' It continued: 'Neither shalt thou kill thy neighbor's body in a duel.' It concluded: 'Neither shalt thou destroy thyself by getting "tight," nor "slewed," nor "high," nor "corned," nor "half-seas-over," nor "three sheets in the wind."' Eastman's illustrations extended the text in numerous ways, and close examination shows a serious undertone to Hutchings's humor. Most of the illustrations not only depicted the action described in a commandment but also dramatized the consequences of violation. The illustration for number nine showed two miners in conversation in the foreground, one presumably telling the other 'false tales about "good diggings in the mountains."' In the background, two figures displayed the consequence: 'Lest in deceiving thy neighbor, when he returneth . . . with naught but his rifle, he presenteth thee with the contents thereof, and like a dog thou shalt fall down and die.'

Like many popular gold rush publications, the 'Miners' Ten Commandments' celebrated the independent miner. Possessing many of the same qualities and values of the yeoman farmers and artisans of the eastern United States, this popular figure could be considered a 'yeoman miner.' Yeomanry was a feature of Anglo-American republicanism that exalted honesty, truthfulness, and industry. Like the 'Miners' Ten Commandments' itself, the concept of the yeoman miner combined Anglo-American values with the particulars of the California gold rush.²⁶ Thousands flocked to California in the gold rush hoping to achieve a competency—'wealth somewhat beyond one's basic needs, freedom from economic or statutory subservience' and the 'respect of society for fruitful, honest industry' with a small investment of time.²⁷ News of California's gold rush breathed life into the yeoman dream, luring many men from the eastern

26. Jonathan Prude, 'Town-Factory Conflicts in Antebellum Rural Massachusetts,' *The Countryside in the Age of Capitalist Transformation: Essays in the Social History of Rural America*, ed. Steven Hahn and Jonathan Prude (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 87.

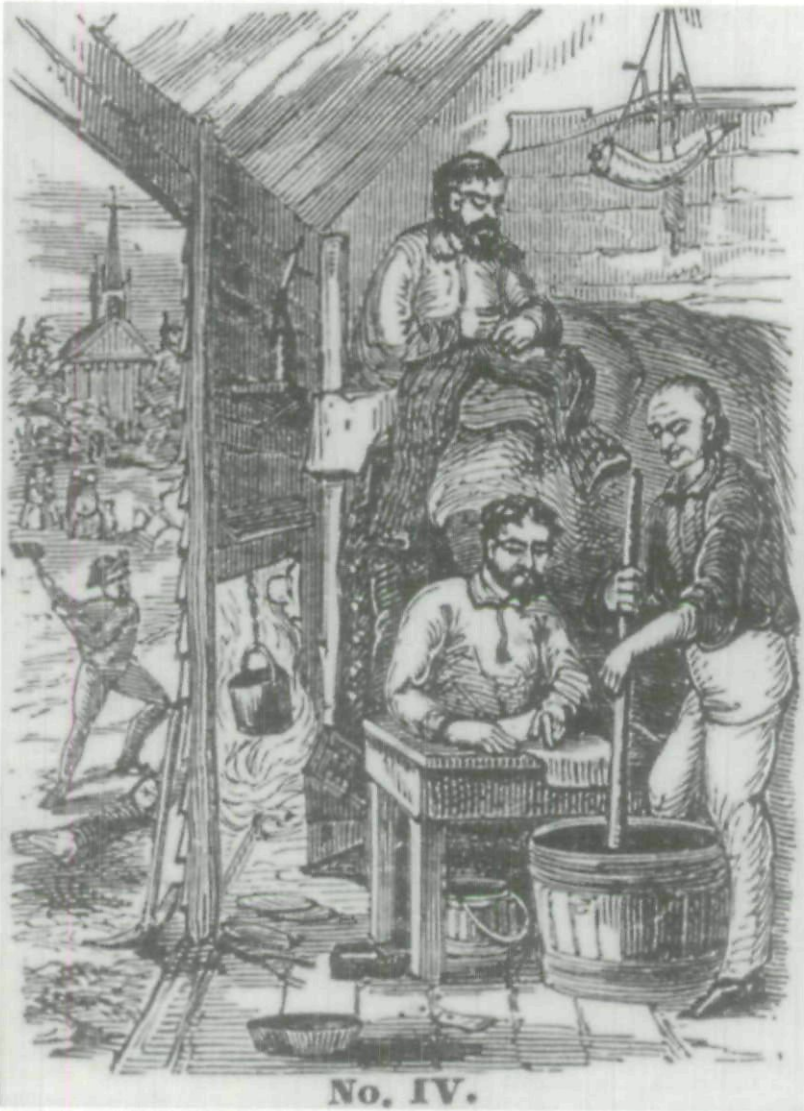
27. Rex Burns, *Success in America: The Yeoman Dream and the Industrial Revolution* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1976), 1.

United States to gamble all they had on a few weeks of work in the mining camps.²⁸

Once in California, the yeoman ideal was adapted to the mining context. In mining communities, which were made up of men from all nations, regions, and walks of life, familiar markers of class and status gave way to a universal 'uniform.'²⁹ To some, the almost total absence of social hierarchy meant that the California gold fields briefly represented the freedom and independence central to the yeoman ideal. For others, however, the gold fields represented social anarchy; the fluid social world of the gold rush threatened independence by its very lack of structure. Yeoman miner ideology, particularly as expressed in the 'Miners' Ten Commandments,' simultaneously celebrated the democratic vision of the first group while offering codes of morality and behavior that seemed to contribute to a more orderly society, thus mollifying the fears of the second. The ideals of yeomanry were also valuable to a more corporate life, in which individuals had to work together, often sacrificing dreams of individual success in favor of more modest gains. This was the reason for the emphasis in the 'Commandments' against forms of cheating other miners. Even Hutchings's exhortations against drinking and gambling can be read in this light: a member of any association who failed to work because of a hangover or who gambled away his portion of the group's profits would be a liability to the association as a whole. Illustrations of vigilante action and lynch law also served as reminders of the violence and chaos that could erupt as a result of failure to live up to the yeoman miner ideal.

28. J. S. Holliday, *The World Rushed in: The California Gold Rush Experience* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1983), 50; Daniel Cornford, "'We All Live More Like Brutes Than Humans': Labor and Capital in the Gold Rush," in *The Golden State*, ed. Orsi and Rawls, 83; Rohrbough, *Days of Gold*, 2; David Goodman, *Gold Seeking: Victoria and California in the 1850's* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994); Ralph Mann, *After the Gold Rush: Society in Grass Valley and Nevada City, California, 1849-1870* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1982), 1.

29. Paul, *California Gold*, 69. Francis E. Sheldon credits the illustrated newspaper *Wide West* with introducing the 'familiar figure of the flannel shirted miner working in his claim' in 1853. Sheldon, 'Pioneer Illustration in California,' *Overland Monthly* 11 (April 1888): 342.



Detail (No. IV.) from *The Miner's Ten Commandments* shows the miner doing his laundry on the Sabbath and the text describes making preparations for the week ahead.

Entrepreneurs such as Hutchings needed a stable, permanent society for their businesses to succeed, but Hutchings apparently knew miners well enough to avoid lecturing them outright and thereby risk losing sales. For example, although he cared deeply about Sunday church attendance, he seems to have recognized that his audience would resist direct badgering about it, for he observed in his diary that "Religious people and religion are become a by-word and reproach among men." *There is not* half a dozen men in the mountains who "preach the gospel" that are acceptable to an audience and are respected by the people—throughout the state—from Mariposa to Yreka.³⁰ In the 'commandments,' then, Hutchings appears to have sympathized with the miners' need to attend to chores: "Thou shalt not remember what thy friends do at home on the Sabbath day, lest the remembrance may not compare favorably with what thou doest here. . . . thou washest all thy dirty shirts, darnest all thy stockings, tap thy boots, mend thy clothing, chop thy whole week's firewood, make up and bake thy bread and boil thy pork and beans."³¹ Hutchings's humorous tone and recognition of the hardships embedded in mining life thus provided a balance between the moral codes and his unconcealed efforts to keep the miners in California.

While broad features of California gold rush society are visible in the 'Miners' Ten Commandments,' the particular context in which Hutchings began his publishing career illustrates the connections between early California print culture and Anglo efforts to assert power in the state. The scrapbook that Hutchings kept offers several clues about his interest in middle-class institutions. Notices for temperance meetings, firemen's balls, and a movement for closing businesses on the Sabbath dominate the collection of clippings. Hutchings had once contemplated a career as a missionary,³² and his scrapbook and diary indicate a special interest in church attendance. These repeated references link

30. Hutchings, 'Original Diary, 1854-5,' January 16, 1855. Emphasis in original.

31. Hutchings, 'Miners' Ten Commandments' letter sheet.

32. Sunderland and Webb, *Towcester*, 199.

him to the Sabbatarian movement that took shape as some Californians challenged the common Sunday practices of gold rush society.³³ Two clippings from the *Placerville Herald* illustrate this point. An article in the April 25, 1853 issue, entitled 'Movement for a Sabbath,' describes a petition signed by 'business men of Placerville,' who had agreed to close their stores on Sunday, beginning in June, and urging other entrepreneurs to do likewise. Among the signers were A. P. Brayton & Co., and Charles E. Brayton, as well as other prominent local businessmen. In the same edition of the *Herald* was a second, related notice that J. M. Hutchins [*sic*] together with A. W. Bee and T. W. Stowbridge, had issued a bid for contractors to build a new Presbyterian church in town.³⁴ It was probably not a coincidence that Hutchings printed the initial newspaper version of the 'Miners' Ten Commandments' in the *Herald* on the very deadline for the bids to build the church. His interest in church attendance placed him firmly in the ideological world of California's emerging elite. Many of the Placerville business leaders mentioned in the *Herald* and Hutchings's diary would go on to become industrialists and even senators. A. P. Brayton was an emerging industrialist, and his brother, the Reverend I. P. Brayton, was editor of a Christian periodical, the *Pacific*. In his diary, Hutchings described hearing I. P. Brayton give a 'good sermon' on April 8, and on the following day he wrote: 'Took tea with Rev. I. Pierpont, in company with Mr. I. Brayton and A. P. Brayton.'³⁵ The Sabbatarian movement, like many efforts to create order out of

33. The issue of social and economic activities on the Sabbath worried a significant number of Californians enough to pressure the legislature in 1855 to pass laws to suppress gambling and 'prohibit Barbarous and Noisy Amusements on the Christian Sabbath,' *Statutes of California*, 6 Session, 1855, 50-51, 124-25, cited in Paul, *California Gold*, 312, n.2. Mann links the Sabbatarian movement firmly to the efforts of emerging middle-class leaders in Grass Valley and Nevada City to reform and control the unruly population of those communities. *After the Gold Rush*, 56-58.

34. 'Notices,' *Placerville Herald* 1 (no. 5, May 28, 1853), 3.

35. April 9, Hutchings, '1855 Diary Transcript,' 61. The notice appeared twice in the *Placerville Herald*, first on May 14 and again on May 28. It is the second version that Hutchings clipped, as it included the addition of a 'Bingham' to the list. *Placerville Herald*, 1 (no. 3, May 14, 1853): 2; 1 (no. 5, May 28, 1853) 3. Newspaper Clippings, 'Religious Notice,' and 'Movement for a Sabbath,' Hutchings 'Scrapbook,' 107.

the apparent chaos of gold rush society, went beyond moral suasion directed to white miners. Other targets were ethnic groups perceived to contribute to the chaos. In the case of Sabbatarianism, some observers, such as Hutchings, blamed the Jews for keeping their businesses open and making it economically impossible for other tradesmen to close on Sunday. His commandment directed: 'Thy morals and thy conscience, be none the better for it; but reproach thee, shouldst thou ever return with thy worn-out body to thy mother's fireside; and thou strive to justify thyself, because the trader and the blacksmith, the carpenter and the merchant, the tailors, Jews, and buccaneers, defy God and civilization, by keeping not the Sabbath day, nor wish for a day of rest, such as memory, youth and home, made hallowed.'³⁶

Hutchings's reference to Jews in this passage connects to broader anti-Semitic sentiments he expressed more forcefully in newspaper articles at this time and saved as clippings in his scrapbook. Shortly after 'The Miners' Ten Commandments' appeared, Hutchings wrote another article for the *Herald*, entitled 'A Saw—one of 'em.' In it, Hutchings blamed the Jews 'that sawed us out of Sunday.' 'So much for Sunday-closing,' he continued, 'when Jews and auctioneers are more numerous than white folks. A great country this, . . . but, gentlemen of the town council, and others, couldn't you fence it in? The above would make excellent railers.'³⁷ This rant stimulated responses in Placerville's competing newspaper, the *El Dorado Republican*. Signed 'Many Israelites,' it was a complaint of 'ungentlemanly and unkind epithets' and a statement that they could not support 'any editor who will allow correspondents to make the columns of his paper the medium of uttering vituperation.' The letter concluded with assurances that 'we shall always be found ready to cooperate with our respected

36. 'Ten Commandments . . . The Miners' Ten Commandments,' *Placerville Herald* 1 (no. 6, June 4, 1853): 1. Although Hutchings later remembered, and several historians have repeated, that he originally published this commandment alone, it does not appear out of the context of the whole anywhere in the short run of the *Placerville Herald*.

37. 'A Saw—One of 'em,' *Placerville Herald* 1 (no. 7, June 11, 1853): 2. Hutchings Scrapbook, 102.

fellow-citizens in whatever may tend to the prosperity and well being of this community.’³⁸ Hutchings responded in the June 25 issue of the *Herald* with an extended and even more vituperative rant against Placerville’s Jewish community:

Now it came to pass, that when the Gentiles reasoned with the Israelites for undermining and defeating the desires of a large multitude of miners and traders who wish to do right . . . the Israelites were offended and considered themselves ill-spoken of, and quoted one Pindar, a poor old Greek, to prove that they were slandered, and then broke off in the middle of a laugh to attend business and take a sixpence; and with drunken Jack Falstaff, made up their avoirdupois by finishing the laugh when the sixpence was in their pocket. ‘Laugh and grow fat’ would suit their condition and my advice, and when they want to censure one Forty-Nine and one Herald for sawing about Sundays, let them think about civilization, and how far they have rolled it backward by their unhallowed seeking after gold. . . .³⁹

This article brought another response from ‘Many Israelites’ in the *El Dorado Republican*, this time involving merchants and business owners from the San Francisco community. While the *Herald*’s editor, W. Wadsworth, gamely defended his paper’s (and Hutchings’s) position—‘persecution from you, gentlemen, will never hurt us. “Let her rip”’—the *Herald* never again in its short run published an anti-Semitic diatribe. The economic clout of the San Francisco and Placerville Jewish communities may have carried the day, or perhaps the idea that Jews were solely to blame for an entire society built on ‘unhallowed seeking after gold’ proved difficult to sustain. Except for an unflattering portrait of ‘the Jew’ in a *Hutchings’ California Magazine* article lampooning several California ethnic groups later in his career, Hutchings appears to have dropped his overt anti-Semitism after the publication of ‘A Chapter.’⁴⁰

38. ‘For the *El Dorado Republican*,’ Hutchings Scrapbook, 103. The *El Dorado Republican* was the *Placerville Herald*’s chief rival. There are apparently no copies extant.

39. ‘A Chapter,’ *Placerville Herald* 1 (no. 9, June 25, 1853): 2.

40. ‘The World in California,’ *Hutchings’ California Magazine* 2 (February 1857): 338–44. Robert J. Chandler argues that Hutchings’s lampoon in this article perpetuated

Hutchings's anti-Semitism in his first, and highly successful, foray into publishing shares several characteristics with other reform efforts in California. Print culture was only one expression of the efforts of community elites—often businessmen holding several positions of authority—to reorder society from the perceived chaos of the early gold rush. These efforts included the promotion of schools, temperance unions, parades, literary meetings, and the like, while discouraging gambling, saloons, hurdy-gurdy girls, and prostitution. At times, these cultural efforts took a violent turn, such as vigilante actions and the destruction of a Placerville bear-and-bull fight arena in 1853. The owners of the arena filed a lawsuit naming several of Placerville's most prominent merchants and town leaders as defendants. Nearly all of these men were associates of Hutchings, and one was an editor of the *Placerville Herald*. Bear-and-bull fights were a legacy of California's Hispanic past, a blood-sport form of spectacular entertainment usually performed on Sundays and wildly popular with Californians of all races, nationalities, genders, and ages.⁴¹ The antagonism toward a rowdy, popular, Sunday activity was consistent with the *Herald's* Sabbatarian values, but the destruction of property and the Hispanic origin of the sport suggest that ethnic conflict and violence lurked just below the surface of middle-class Anglo-American efforts to create an orderly California society. Hutchings's first publication, emerging in the midst of attempts to assert the traditional institution of Protestant church attendance, represented an example of the way Anglo-Americans harnessed print in their efforts to organize California society along a middle-class model more familiar to urban England and 'the States' (as the East Coast was often described).

damaging stereotypes of Jews. 'A Stereotype Emerges,' *Western States Jewish History* 21 (July 1989): 310-13. On the other hand, by 1856, Hutchings had formed an enduring partnership with Anton Rosenfield, a Bavarian Jew who had lived in Mokelumne Hill.

41. Gary F. Kurutz, 'Popular Culture on the Golden Shore,' *Rooted in Barbarous Soil*, 301-2. See also Tracy I. Storer and Lloyd P. Tevis, Jr., *California Grizzly* (Lincoln, Neb.: Bison Books, 1978), 152.

If the origins of 'The Miners' Ten Commandments' demonstrate the glorification of individual miners as a part of broader, sometimes violent, efforts of Anglo elites to secure power in gold rush society, they also suggest new ways to think historically about the violence of gold rush California. Sensationalistic reports of aggressive behavior—duels or hangings—have contributed to the romanticization of the era, often cast in terms of individual outbursts or exceptions to peaceful, democratic community building, called 'progress' by boosters such as Hutchings. Until recently, only a handful of historians acknowledged the degree to which such violence was a widespread and almost systematic feature of the Anglos' efforts to wrest wealth from California and to prevent others from doing so. Homicides and vigilante law terrorized Californios, Mexicans, Chinese, Chileans, French, Native Americans, and African Americans as well as fellow Anglos. In San Francisco, semi-organized bands called the Hounds roamed the Chilean neighborhood in 1849, looting, raping, and pillaging. In 1851 and 1856, respectable businessmen countered such violence with vigilante actions of their own, resulting in hangings without trial.⁴²

In the late nineteenth century, two California historians developed competing ideas about gold rush violence that have influenced twentieth-century historians' interpretations. One of these, Josiah Royce, defined the extremes as: 'one, that there was no struggle for order, and two, that there was no order.'⁴³ In 1884 Charles Howard Shinn celebrated the yeoman miner and the 'spontaneous' development of mining camp law as the 'manifestation of the inherent capacities of the [Anglo-Saxon] race for self-government.'⁴⁴ Royce countered this position by finding that the gold rush destroyed ethics of responsibility and fostered a 'diseased local exaggeration of our common national feeling towards

42. Arthur Quinn, *The Rivals: William Gwinn, David Broderick, and the Birth of California* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1994), 37.

43. Royce, *California from the Conquest*, xxxi.

44. Shinn, *Mining Camps*, 126–27.

foreigners.' 'All this tale,' he wrote, 'is a disgrace to our people.'⁴⁵ Both Royce and Shinn drew their interpretations from even earlier ones outlined by observers such as Hutchings, whom both cited. Twentieth-century scholars have been deeply influenced by these two interpretations. Rodman Paul, writing in 1948, tempered Shinn's starry-eyed account with a more careful sifting of evidence but shared Shinn's racial biases when he excused much of the race-based persecution: 'The brutalities perpetrated on the Sonorans gave many members of that half-civilized race what little excuse they needed for turning to a life of crime.'⁴⁶ Clearly, in the first century of historical interpretation, one's understanding of the orderliness of gold rush society depended on whether or not one considered race-based violence 'lawlessness.'

The most recent gold rush historians tend to echo Royce's dim view of gold rush social order rather than Shinn's. J. S. Holliday's study emphasized both the excitement and chaos of the gold rush, agreeing that the gold seekers 'came as exploiters . . . ready to take, not build.'⁴⁷ Several historians, informed by ethnic studies, have clarified the violence of Anglos toward Indians, Chinese, Californios, and other non-Anglo groups. Indeed, while the romanticized view of gold-rush violence emphasizes white-on-white duels, assassinations, vigilante actions, and hangings, by far the worst violence was that perpetrated by the whites against the native Californians. The spontaneous actions of individuals, small vigilante groups, and state-supported military battalions resulted in such widespread and rapid decimation of native California peoples that the era has earned the officially recognized term of genocide.⁴⁸ Brian Roberts approaches the subject of gold rush violence from a cultural perspective, analyzing how letter writers to the eastern

45. Royce, *California from the Conquest*, 217, 219.

46. Paul, *California Gold*, 202.

47. Holliday, *The World Rushed In*, 297; see also Rohrbough, *Days of Gold*, 90.

48. See Albert L. Hurtado, *Indian Survival on the California Frontier* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988). For an excellent analysis of interracial violence in the southern mines, see Susan Lee Johnson, *Roaring Camp: The Social World of the California Gold Rush* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2000), especially chapter 4, 'Mining Gold and Making War,' 185-234.

United States emphasized some kinds of violence and downplayed others in order to dramatize the spectacle.⁴⁹ Hutchings's experiences illustrate how California's elites could engage in violence to serve their own purposes, and the importance of print in promoting images of social order. What once was a cultural tool of control over potentially unruly miners would become the material for historians' debates over the nature of California society and, for much of the twentieth century, the celebration of Anglo-Saxon individualism.

Other publications by Hutchings illustrate his ongoing interest in promoting social order. His letter sheet 'Way-Side Scenes in California' (1855) offers a vision of society that replaces random, race-based violence with a peaceful, hierarchical social order based on race. An illustration by Charles Nahl of several parties on a mountain path is elaborated in this text.

The Stranger, as he ascends the mountains towards the mining towns . . . notices the contrast in the scenes around him from anything he ever saw before . . . Indians are met in groups, and in every stage of filth and pitch, carrying their 'papoose' or baskets of 'chemuck' [food] upon their backs . . . strings of Chiniamen [*sic*] pass and greet you in broken English with 'how you do, John?'—we are all Johns to them and they to us—their faces, tails, and dress, their bamboo canes and heavy loads are strangely singular to us. Next comes a Negro, with polite 'good morning, sar,' or Chileno, Mexican, or Kanaka, with his bony horse and heavy load; then come horse teams, mule teams, ox teams, or mules laden with provisions, tools and clothing for the mines. Now a stage whirls past, or ladies and gents ride by in buggies or on horseback, to look at whom the miner drops his pick and wipes his brow. Here comes the expressman, he who links the vallies with the mountains, brings gladdening words of love from home, of tidings from the absent ones, of friendly hopes and cheering thoughts; he is always welcome, through rain or snow, or danger, dust and mud, onward he rides, and brings the latest news.⁵⁰

49. Brian Roberts, *American Alchemy: The California Gold Rush and Middle-Class Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 212–13.

50. James Mason Hutchings, 'Way-Side Scenes in California,' letter sheet, Anthony & Baker SC, C. Nahl, DEL (San Francisco: J. M. Hutchings, 1855).

Hutchings's race-based hierarchy divides California society into clearly recognizable groups related to each other by degrees of civilization. Beyond his vision of California were the 'friends afar,' presumably middle-class, eastern writers of letters carried by the express: 'Did our friends afar but know how dearly prized their favors are . . . no mail would leave the shores of the Atlantic without a letter to the absent ones in California.' Hutchings apparently could not resist a favorable mention of the letter-writers on whom his letter-sheet business depended. While his fantasy of California society was clearly racist by twenty-first century standards, it was a peaceful vision in the context of mid-nineteenth-century Anglo-Californians' genocidal practices. It belied the violence and antagonism fracturing mining society, frequently (but not always) along lines of race and ethnicity. As the assumption of white racial superiority was implicit in the definition of yeomanry, the idea of organizing California into a race-based hierarchy would have had special appeal to yeoman miners. And the reference to 'ladies and gents' riding by in buggies suggests an emerging elite group who would have also found comfort in a vision of social hierarchy.

Hutchings identified strongly with California's elites. He invested capital in the early infrastructure of industrial mining, and his diary records friendships with ministers, newspaper editors, and educators. On the other hand, his feelings toward the toiling miners to whom he sold his letter sheets were ambivalent. At times, he romanticized their hard work and honesty: 'So it is with the miner. He is frank, hospitable, and generous to a fault.' At other times, he was downright condescending: 'What "Sappys" miners generally seem!' He enjoyed the humor and openness of miners, but the casual violence he witnessed and recorded several times in his diary did not amuse him: 'This morning when leaving I was told . . . of 3 Chinamen being killed and 2 more dangerously wounded by Americans—robbers—for their money—on Shirt-tail Canyon.' In Yreka, Hutchings noted the 'singular and painful contrast' of the California Sabbath: 'Today Rodgers and Williams had had a quarrel over a Spanish woman. Tonight they met again

and Rodgers fired three shots at Williams, and running away as he fired, fell down, and Williams, badly wounded rushed up and stabbed him—four times—drove the knife through his body.⁵¹ One of the many motivating factors for Hutchings's pursuit of a career in publishing may have been the opportunity to redirect California society from the chaos, violence, and social fluidity of the gold-rush era to a more genteel and hierarchical vision based on eastern United States and English ideals of class, race, gender, and ethnicity. Such ideals are articulated in the 'Miners' Ten Commandments' and 'Way-Side Scenes.'

THE PRINT METROPOLIS

The year that Hutchings tramped through the mining camps and towns of northern California marked a turning point, both for the state's economy and for his professional career. The rush itself had marked an astronomical expansion of California's economy in the three-year period from 1848 to 1851. Financial crises, the increasing poverty of miners, and emerging icons of settlement and stability such as churches and schools marked the end of the earliest stages of the tumultuous gold rush. After that, the expansion slowed perceptibly each year, as gold deposits became more difficult to reach and mining increasingly demanded more investment of time and infrastructure to reach the valuable metal. The inflated prices and expectations of the gold rush finally collapsed in a series of financial panics in 1854-55, bringing down several banking houses, including Adams & Co., with which Hutchings had accounts.⁵²

By 1850, California's industrial output had grown from almost nothing during the Spanish and Mexican period to rank sixteenth among the thirty-six states and territories. In the decade after the gold rush, California's industrial sector grew fivefold.⁵³ Mining

51. Gertrude Hutchings Mills, 'Hutchings's Diary Transcript,' 75, 24.

52. Hutchings, 'Hutchings's Original Diary,' February 26, 1855.

53. David J. St. Clair, 'The Gold Rush and the Beginnings of California Industry,' *A Golden State*, 190.

itself became more industrialized throughout the 1850s, as hydraulic technology spread through the state. Businesses such as clothing, food, transportation, and printing, which were initially developed to support mining, expanded along with agriculture to reflect the diversification of California's economy and its independence from the small-scale mining of the early gold rush era. Power became concentrated in the hands of Anglo elites, and San Francisco became the regional metropolis. Hutchings's publishing career echoes these changes and illustrates the central role of print in consolidating power in Anglo institutions.

California's diversifying economy resulted from the energetic efforts of individuals who sought to invest their own earnings from mining in other enterprises and to convince others to do the same. As the Placerville entrepreneurs demonstrated, these people emerged from the mining towns as merchants, newspaper editors, and investors in water companies that became vital to hydraulic mining. By 1853, Hutchings had already invested \$60,000 in the Mokelumne Hill Ditch and Canal Company. Throughout his publishing career, he repeatedly extolled the virtues of such companies, even as small-scale yeoman miners protested monopolistic control over the vital resource of water.⁵⁴

With economic diversification came social stratification, celebrated as a sign of 'progress' by Hutchings and other boosters. By the late 1850s the social distinctions so lacking in the initial gold rush re-emerged as regional entrepreneurs promoted middle-class institutions. In the mining towns of Nevada City and Grass Valley, these entrepreneurs included merchants, physicians, lawyers, and newspaper editors, whose property holdings and customs were distinct from those of artisans, miners, and manual laborers. At the same time, the miners' daily earnings fell, plunging them well below the national poverty rate and eroding whatever material basis existed for a yeoman miner's dream. In 1857

54. 'Puffs from Papers, etc.,' Hutchings Scrapbook, 110; Donald J. Pisani, 'The Origins of Western Water Law: Case Studies from Two California Mining Districts,' *California History* 70 (1991): 242-57.

Hutchings wrote: 'Churches and school houses are fast dotting every city and village of the State, whilst wives are rapidly making glad the homes of our people, and cherub children are making musical every hill and valley; and this too, is progress.'⁵⁵ Ralph Mann's study of post-gold rush Nevada City and Grass Valley suggests that the emergence of these middle-class institutions, celebrated by boosters as evidence of community building, were in fact agents of social control, segregating the working-class. Therefore, it is difficult to ascertain whether society had in fact become more orderly or whether it had simply developed familiar signs and symbols of social order by marginalizing 'unruly' elements.⁵⁶

Increasingly, mines were sold to San Francisco concerns. In May 1855, Hutchings left the mining camps for San Francisco, using the city as his home base for the rest of the summer. He opened a shop there in August, joining other successful owners who moved to the city 'to enjoy the money made in our mines.' When William Tecumseh Sherman returned to San Francisco in 1855, he noted: 'You do not now see troops of girls displaying themselves on horseback and carriage.'⁵⁷ The following year San Francisco established its first public high schools. California's social stratification was thus expressed in geographic as well as material terms. The transition was more than merely physical. Over the next few years Hutchings branched out of the letter-sheet business to publish ephemera expressing in print the growing influence of San Francisco's and California's entrepreneurial classes. Indeed, just as the printing press had first served to assert the power of the United States over the scattered and polyglot populations of California during and after the Mexican War, it served after the gold rush, to consolidate and promote middle-class, Anglo cultural institutions.

Hutchings developed a vision of California that would encourage people to remain in the state. In contrast to the original gold

55. Hutchings, 'Editor's Table—Progress,' *Hutchings' California Magazine*, 2 (1857): 47.

56. Mann, *After the Gold Rush*, 63–67.

57. Mann, *After the Gold Rush*, 98; Quinn, *The Rivals*, 174–75.

rush miners, who hoped to make their 'pile' and return home, the growing bourgeois classes of California were invested, literally, in the growth of a settled society. Hutchings's works offered numerous ways for Californians to imagine themselves not simply as transients but as residents who would remain and participate in the future development of the state. This would come about by understanding and identifying with the terrain and climate, knowing and appreciating the history of the state, and recognizing appropriate social roles for people of differing occupations, gender, and sometimes race. Thus, in addition to promoting middle-class institutions, Hutchings's publishing efforts focused on the aesthetic appeal of California's landscapes to help its residents foster an appreciation of the state's current and future potential.

In July 1855, Hutchings and artist Thomas Ayres went in search of a thousand-foot waterfall rumored to exist in the central Sierras. Upon returning to San Francisco, Hutchings published the first known visual representation of Yosemite, a lithographic print entitled 'Yo-Hamite Falls' (fig. 4). In producing this print, Hutchings commissioned Ayres to draw the original, lithographers Kuchel and Dresel to transfer it to stone, and printers Britton and Rey to reproduce it. Hutchings probably spent about three hundred dollars for the first two hundred copies, which he then sold for \$2.50 each, a price clearly beyond the reach of miners, who earned an average of \$1.75 per day.⁵⁸ 'The Yo-Hamite Falls' marks a turning point in his career. It not only foreshadows his later preoccupation with the landscapes of Yosemite, but also illustrates Hutchings's turn to a different audience, one with the economic resources to afford the print and the cultural sensitivity to appreciate the scenery it depicted.

58. J. M. Hutchings, 'Hutchings's Panoramic Scenes in California: The Yo-Hamite Falls' (San Francisco: Britton & Rey, 1855), Lithographic print. The cost estimates are based on Hutchings's recorded expenses for another lithograph he produced the same summer entitled 'The Golden Gate,' in which he employed the services of the same artist, lithographers, and printers. June 1, 1855, and June 11, 1855, Hutchings, 'Diary Transcript,' 1855, 90, 94. The lithography firm of Kuchel & Dresel, both German, was one of the most prolific in California at mid-century. Repts, *Views and Viewmakers*, 187.

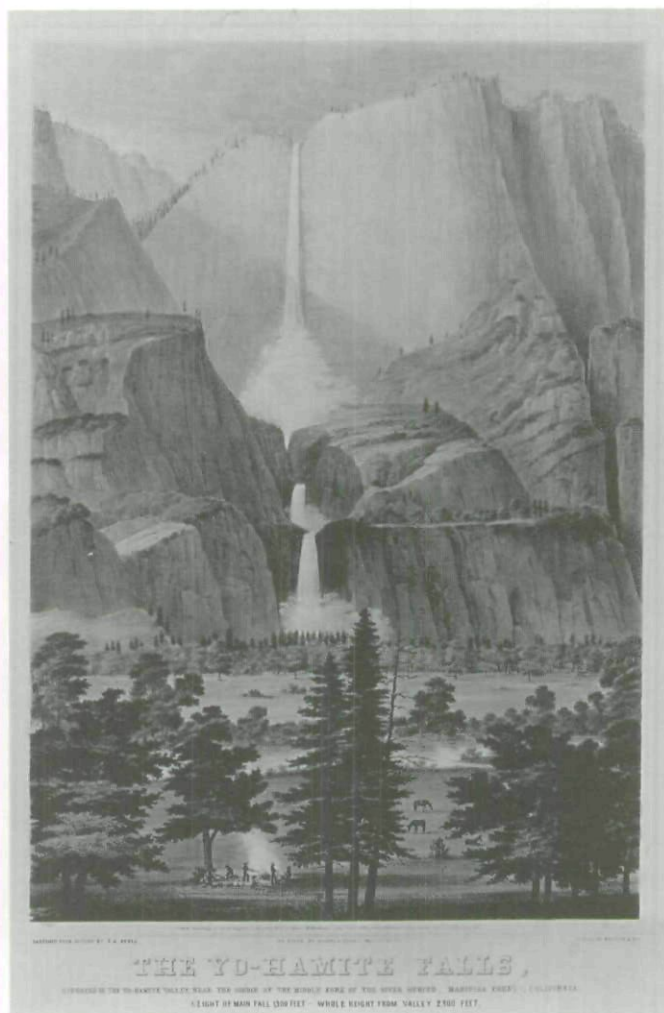


Fig. 4. Upper and lower Yosemite Falls drawn by Thomas A. Ayres; Kuchel & Dresel were the lithographers and Britton and Rey the printer. The text below the image reads: 'Situated in the Yo-Hamite Valley, near the source of the middle fork of the River Merced, Mariposa County, California. Height of main fall, 1300 feet, whole height from valley, 2300 feet.' *The Yo-Hamite Falls* (Yosemite Falls, California), ca. 1855 print on paper mounted on board: lithograph, hand colored. 68.1 x 52.6 cm. Robert B. Honeyman, Jr. Collection of Early Californian and Western American Pictorial Material, BANC PIC 1963.002:0402-D, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

The next month, August 1855, Hutchings wrote a simple comment in his diary that marked a significant shift in the way he did business: 'Took me an office in Armory Hall and furnished it. I like it.'⁵⁹ Thus began his six-year partnership with Anton Rosenfield, a Bavarian Jew. Like Hutchings, Rosenfield had emigrated to Mokelumne Hill by way of New Orleans during the gold rush. It is unclear where Hutchings and Rosenfield met, but Hutchings was apparently able to set aside his prior anti-Semitism in favor of the partnership. Armory Hall may have been the situation at 201 Clay Street where Hutchings and Rosenfield published for a short period in 1855. The majority of their publications and advertisements, as well as the San Francisco city directory, identify their office and shop as 146 Montgomery Street, 'second door north of Clay.'⁶⁰ There, the partners published material that Hutchings had gathered in his mountain travels into the resources familiar to California historians and collectors: more letter sheets, promotional brochures, lithographic prints, almanacs, tourist guides, maps to the Comstock mines, celebrations of industry, lithographic prints, children's books, and keepsake volumes, as well as *Hutchings' California Magazine*. Not only were their publications remarkably diverse, but Hutchings and Rosenfield's office also carried 'books, letter paper, writing materials of any kind, magazines, steamer papers, views of California scenery, musical instruments, pocket knives, paper cutters . . . or anything generally kept in a book and stationery store' (fig. 5).⁶¹ Their publications during

59. Hutchings, 'Hutchings' Original Diary, 1854-5,' August 18, 1855.

60. An undated letter sheet illustration of the block of Montgomery street between Clay and Commercial identified eight attorneys, three bankers, three merchants, one express agent, one stationer (Cooke and LeCount, who also produced lithographs), one daguerrean artist, and one dealer in distilled spirits. Baird, *California Letter Sheets*, cat. 177; Rosenfield Biographical File, California State Library. The ensuing discussion of San Francisco's print district is based on analysis of printers' advertisements and imprints on numerous ephemeral publications in the archives of the American Antiquarian Society, the Bancroft Library, California State Library, and the Kemble Collections at the California Historical Society.

61. Advertisement, inside cover. William Anderson Scott, *Pavilion Palace of Industry: California Industrial Exhibition, San Francisco, 1857* (San Francisco: Hutchings & Rosenfield, 1857).

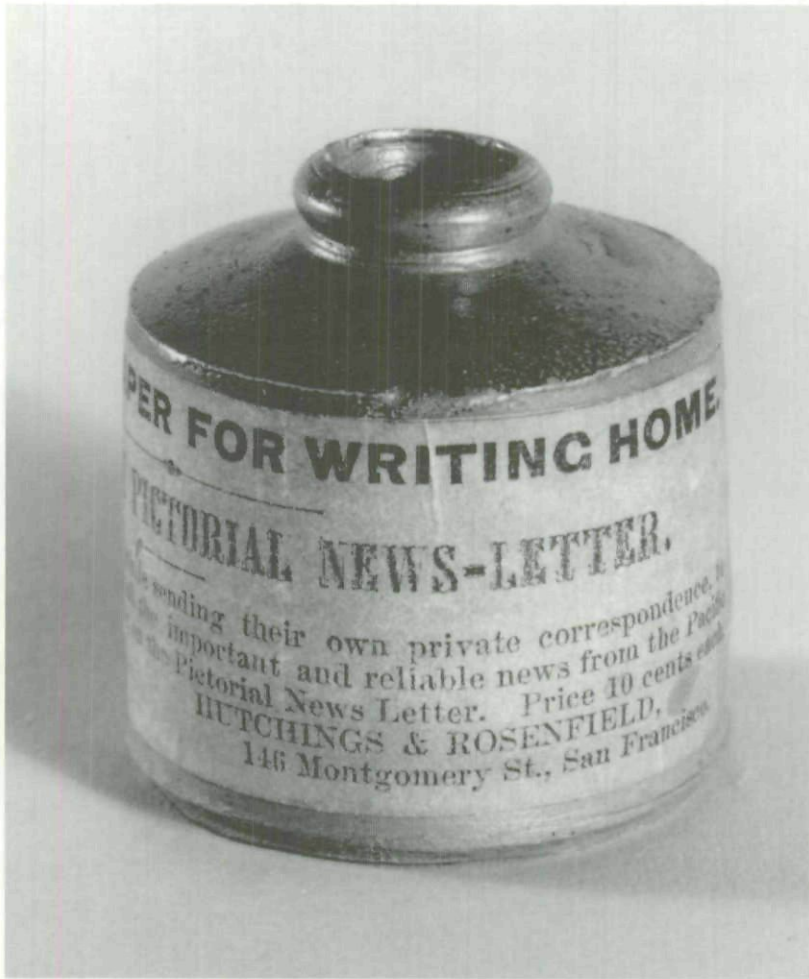


Fig. 5. Inkwell with label advertising news-letter paper for writing home. Hutchings & Rosenfield, ca. 1856; label on clay vessel (inkwell). 5.1 x 5 cm., x 5 cm. Robert B. Honeyman, Jr. Collection of Early Californian and Western American Pictorial Material, BANC PIC1963.002:1886-OBJ., The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

this period were designed to appeal to farmers, merchants, industrial laborers, and families, in addition to miners.

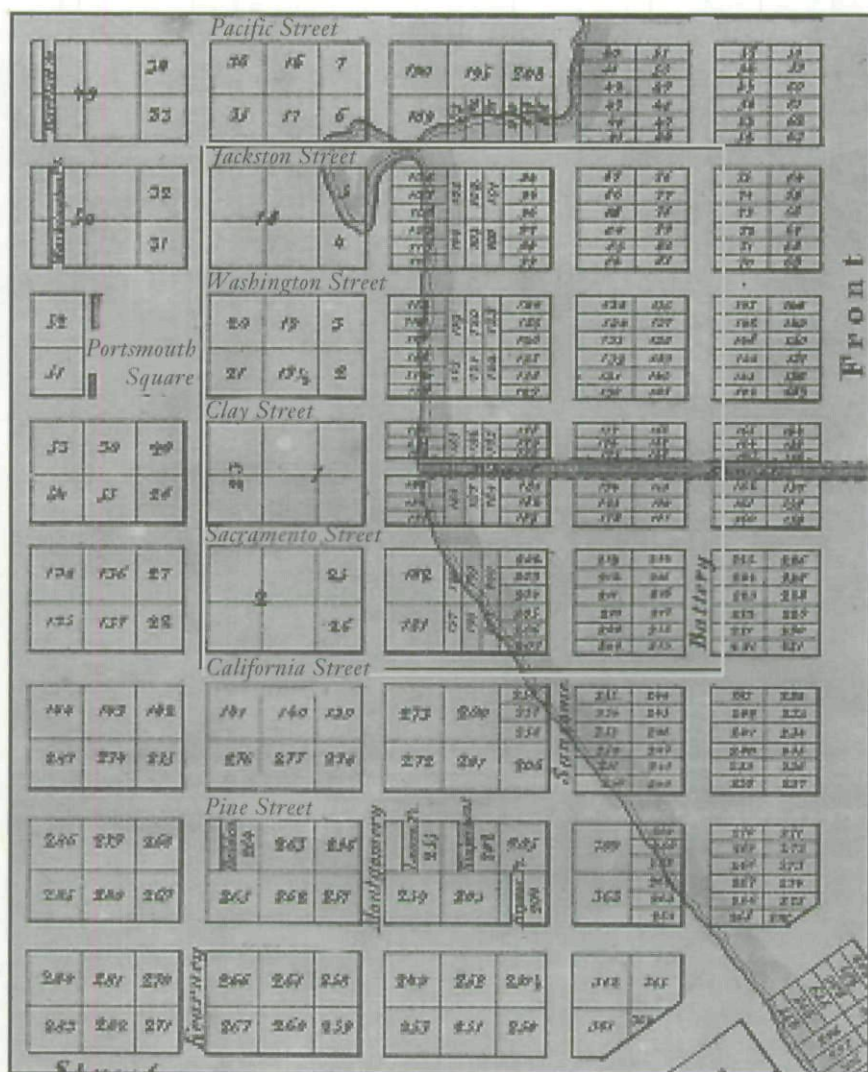
Hutchings & Rosenfield patronized several printers, including Sun Print; Excelsior Print; Whitton, Towne, & Co.; and Charles F. Robbins. This was easy to do, for the location of their office and shop placed the partners in the center of the San Francisco printing district.⁶² An area three blocks long and two blocks wide, the district contained about thirty businesses dealing in some aspect of print culture—booksellers, stationers, job printers, paper suppliers, lithographers, and engravers (fig. 6).

Hutchings apparently invested in his own plates early on, for despite the diversity of Hutchings's & Rosenfield's publications, they reprinted many of the same illustrations and texts. It is possible that the close proximity of so many related businesses helped to shape Hutchings's decision to remain in California and publish. In his diary, he discussed creating a panorama of California that he could take on a tour of the United States and Europe, but no evidence of this panorama remains. Although he never gave the reasons for changing his mind, the ready availability of printers and lithographers, as well as access to California's market for printed goods, may have convinced him that staying was a more feasible option. By branching out from the letter-sheet business, he could be part of California's increasingly diverse print culture. Lithographic prints, illustrated newspapers such as the *Wide West*, books, sheet music, broadsides, and other ephemera became more widely available in the mid-1850s. Imported wares, including books, also became increasingly available. California presented a seemingly insatiable market for printed materials, and importers as well as indigenous publishers were ready to supply them.⁶³

By locating their shop in downtown San Francisco, the geographical center of printing in California, Hutchings & Rosenfield were at

62. Cover, *Hutchings' California Magazine* 16 (October 1857).

63. Kurutz, 'Popular Culture,' 298; Gerard Hurley, 'Reading in the Gold Rush,' *Book Club of California Quarterly News-Letter* 15 (Fall 1950): 90.



Detail showing print district. 'Official map of San Francisco [1849].' Compiled from the field notes of the official re-survey made by Wm. M. Eddy, surveyor of the town of San Francisco. Drawn by Alex. Zakrzewski. Lithographed by F. Michelin. [on-line] Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division.

San Francisco Print District Key

East/West Streets

- Jackson Street
 - 28 Justh & Quirot
Lithographers
- Washington Street
 - 162 Wide West
 - 180 Chas W. Taylor, bookseller
& stationer
 - 184 Henry Payot
- Clay Street
 - 111 & 113 Chas F. Robbins,
printer
 - 125 Whitton, Towne & Co.,
cnr Sansome
 - 146 Warren C. Butler, "CA
Mail" office
 - 148 Allen & Taylor, paper &
blank books, etc.
 - 151 Whitton, Towne & Co
Harrison Eastman,
Designer & Engraver
Towne & Bacon, cnr
Sansome & Clay
Kuchel & Dresel,
lithographers
(542) Allen & Spier Union
Bookstore
- Commercial
 - 132 Noisy Carriers
- Sacramento
 - 124 Alta California Steam
Presses

North-South Streets

- Montgomery
 - Quirot & Co., cnr
California
Britton & Rey
Lithographer, cnr
California
 - 127 J. McGlashan & Co., books
& stationery
 - 146 Hutchings & Rosenfield
 - 168 Eureka Office
 - 186 Franklin Presses
Daily Pacific News, bn
Washington & Clay
Roman & Co., booksellers
Alexander Buswell,
bookbinder
- Sansome
 - 127 -129 Commercial Steam
 - 128 Valentine & Co.
 - 129 Commercial Steam Book
& Job printing presses

the heart of the entire Pacific Slope. San Francisco's importance in the print trades accompanied its growth as a regional metropolis in every sense of the word. The San Francisco printing district also housed banks, attorneys, and real estate agents, which fueled San Francisco's growing command of its hinterland resources.⁶⁴ This proximity mirrors the central role of print in consolidating the city's regional authority and middle-class institutions, illustrating the links between print culture and power on the Pacific Slope. Printers and publishers were essential to the process of developing capital for the new mining technologies. They produced promotional material to attract investment, the maps that directed people and materials to the mines, the bills of remuneration for those materials, the account books for merchants and miners, and the stock certificates that symbolized the flow of capital. Much of the printing was done in San Francisco for distribution throughout the region. For example, the printing firm of Towne & Bacon had clients throughout the state, as well as in Oregon, Idaho, and Nevada.⁶⁵

To fuel this growing trade, local entrepreneurs developed regional sources of essentials such as paper, type, and bookbinding materials. From the mid-fifties, San Francisco printers, engravers, and lithographers commanded increasingly sophisticated technology. San Francisco had its first type foundry in 1853, and J. M. Burke & Co. had established the first regional stereotype foundry by 1855. After 1856 the Taylorville paper mill north of San Francisco gave publishers access to a local source of paper,⁶⁶ and the Commercial Steam Book and Job Printing Company claimed to possess 'one of the largest Mammoth Presses,' with

64. Gray Brechin, *Imperial San Francisco: Urban Power, Earthly Ruin* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), xxiv-xxv.

65. Bruce L. Johnson, 'Nevada Imprints Produced in San Francisco: The Role of Towne & Bacon,' *Kemble Occasional* 19 (June 1978): 1-6; Towne & Bacon, 'Correspondence,' Kemble Manuscript Collection, California Historical Society, San Francisco.

66. Bruce L. Johnson, 'Printing in Nineteenth-Century San Francisco,' 91; advertisement for California Stereotype Foundry, J. M. Burke & Co., 75 Davis, *The Illustrated California Almanac* (San Francisco: R. H. Vance, 1855), 49; Huntley-Smith, "The Genius of Civilization," 44; Cloud, *The Business of Newspapers*, 137.

which it was 'prepared to execute Poster & Show-Bill Printing.'⁶⁷ In 1859 printer Charles F. Robbins advertised himself as 'agent for the sale of Ruggles' Celebrated Job Printing presses.'⁶⁸ With such resources at their disposal, the Clay Street publishers and booksellers purveyed an expanding range of printed materials: from imported books to locally produced lithographic prints, and from cheap almanacs to antique European volumes. Some of these dealers advertised in numerous languages, such as French, German, Spanish, Swedish, and Chinese. In 1854 twenty-two of California's fifty-seven newspapers were printed in San Francisco.⁶⁹ Not until the 1880s would Portland, Oregon, which was then developing as a center of paper production, be able to compete with San Francisco even for local business. San Francisco's command of print resources underwrote its economic dominance of the entire Pacific Slope region until the end of the century.

Close analysis of Hutchings's publications during this period reveals his continuing interest in influencing the shape of California society. *The Pavilion Palace of Industry*, a pamphlet commemorating the first exhibition of the San Francisco Mechanics' Institute, celebrated industrial growth while seeking to maintain orderly social relations.⁷⁰ The text was the printed version of 'The Mechanics' Industrial Exhibition, or the Useful Arts Exponents of the Nature, Progress, and Hope of Christian Civilization,' 'delivered in Calvary

67. E. A. Taylor, *The California Register and Statistical Reporter* . . . (San Francisco: Eureka Office, 1856), advertisement, inside cover.

68. Advertisement, *California Pictorial Almanac for 1859* (San Francisco: Hutchings & Rosenfield, 1859).

69. The others were distributed as follows: four in Sacramento, three in Tuolumne, four in El Dorado, two in Los Angeles, and seventeen in other cities and towns with one paper. Sister Julie Bellefeuille, S. N. D., 'Printing in California, 1831-1930,' *Pacific Historian* 19 (Fall 1975): 264.

70. For similar cultural efforts in the eastern United States, see Nicholas K. Bromell, *By the Sweat of the Brow: Literature and Labor in Antebellum America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 29-34, 40-45. For a discussion of mechanics' institutes as middle-class institutions and sites of the cultural construction of class, see Stephen P. Rice, 'Minding the Machine: Languages of Class in Early Industrial America, 1820-1860' (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1996), 25-91; Nina Lerman, 'From "Useful Knowledge" to "Habits of Industry": Gender, Race and Class in Nineteenth-Century Technical Education,' (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1993), 158-224.

Church,' by the Reverend Dr. William Anderson Scott.⁷¹ The *Pavilion Palace of Industry* was a four-by-eight inch, paperbound volume printed by Whitton, Towne & Co. The cover displayed a W. C. Butler engraving of two men clasping hands in front of a beehive set on a pedestal. The man on the left wore a leather apron and carried a hammer in his right hand, while the man on the right wore a suit and vest and held a scroll of paper and a compass in his left hand. The iconography of this image was fairly straightforward. It symbolized the union of the workingman and the thinking man for the good of the whole.⁷² This symbolism expresses the philosophy underlying mechanics' institutes in general—as fraternal organizations for workingmen, supported if not initiated by men in managerial positions, they were meant to replace radical unionization with a form of organized self-improvement. The Mechanics' Institute of San Francisco was one of the longest-lived of such institutions in the United States.

If *The Pavilion Palace* expanded the themes of social order articulated in the 'Miners' Ten Commandments' to a more general audience of industrial workers, other publications of this period illustrated changing perceptions of the California miners themselves. Although Hutchings's publication *The Miners' Own Book: California Mining Illustrated and Described* (1858) drew upon engravings and text from an earlier letter sheet to perpetuate his celebration of the yeoman miner, the change in genre and context suggests a different audience. Hutchings designed *The Miners' Own Book*, with 'illustrations and descriptions of the various Modes of California Mining,' as a keepsake documenting the short history of California mining, not as a how-to manual for current miners. The lengthy descriptions of mining technologies implied an intended audience of people either unfamiliar with mining techniques at all or only temporarily connected with

71. Scott, *Pavilion Palace of Industry*, 6.

72. Scott, *Pavilion Palace of Industry*, cover, 1.

mining.⁷³ Thus *The Miner's Own Book* seems to have been directed toward local or regional readers who intended to make California their home and sought some connection to the romantic gold rush past.⁷⁴

In defining California miners in terms of a nostalgic past, *The Miners' Own Book* offered a post-gold rush vision of California. While miners continued to be identified as important to the California publishers' and booksellers' market, by the mid-fifties they were clearly not the only, or even the dominant, audience for the California print trade. In 1856 the *Wide West* advertised *Mining Scenes and Sketches*, 'by an old miner,' with this appeal: 'To those who have participated in the scenes of '49 and '50, [these sketches] will not fail to recall many pleasing reminiscences.' Miners had become 'old,' the subjects of 'pleasing reminiscences,' rather than active participants in contemporary life. This reflected changes in the social structure of mining and in California's economy. Many perceived an increased potential for economic and social unrest once the independent miner of the gold rush became the wage laborer of industrial mining. For example, independent miners in districts throughout California protested, sometimes with violence, the growing control of water companies over their economic fortunes. By relegating the vision of the yeoman miner to the nostalgic past, Hutchings's publications reinforced the perspective of the entrepreneurial classes rather than that of wage-earning laborers. And yet, it was this romanticized version of the miner that would dominate California's historical memory of its mining origins.

Other publications devoted to the region's mineral resources illustrated the links between San Francisco print culture and the

73. [James Mason Hutchings], *The Miners' Own Book: Containing Correct Illustrations and Descriptions of the Various Modes of California Mining, Including All the Improvements Introduced from the Earliest Day to the Present Time* (San Francisco: Hutchings & Rosenfield, 1858), title page.

74. Romantic visions of gold rush miners such as these informed the works of historians such as Charles Shinn, who relied on Hutchings's publications as source material for his celebrations of the Anglo-Saxon miner. Shinn, *Mining Camps*, 120-30.

economic forces binding the city to its hinterland. The Hutchings and Rosenfield publication of Henry De Groot's *Sketches of the Washoe Silver Mines* and De Groot's *Map of the Washoe Mines* directed miners and investors to the burgeoning Comstock Lode in the Washoe mountains of Nevada. They are examples of the promotion of Nevada's emerging industrial hard rock mining enterprise, which needed labor, by drawing laborers out of California, where economic depression kept them in poverty.⁷⁵ Designed to attract investment, De Groot's *Sketches of the Washoe Silver Mines* was among the first of hundreds of publications that cast mining landscapes in similar terms. These included reports published by the federal government of explorations by J. Ross Browne and others and privately printed stock prospectuses that continued to make the case for the exploitation of natural resources for the remainder of the century.⁷⁶

Hutchings and Rosenfield's efforts to create an identity for resident Californians resulted in publications that encompassed a wide range of subject matter. While the diversity of topics mirrors the diversification of economy and society in California, the perspective of middle-class Anglo-Americans was consistently reinforced. Some publications, such as lithographic prints, were aesthetic constructions of California's urban and rural landscapes. The *California Pictorial Almanac* celebrated agriculture and other non-mining sectors of California's economy, but in its daily tables recording the

75. Henry De Groot, *Sketches of the Washoe Silver Mines: With a Description of the Soil, Climate and Mineral Resources, of the Country East of the Sierra* (San Francisco: Hutchings & Rosenfield, 1860); Henry De Groot, *De Groot's Map of the Washoe Mines* (San Francisco: Hutchings & Rosenfield, 1860).

76. A few examples of the use of DeGroot's reports as a model include such federal government reports as: J. Ross Browne, *Mineral Resources of Nevada Territory . . .* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1863); *Reports Upon the Mineral Resources of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1867); *Report of J. Ross Browne on the Mineral Resources of the States and Territories West of the Rocky Mountains* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1868); Rossiter Raymond, *Mineral Resources of the States and Territories West of the Rocky Mountains* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1868). Stock prospectuses and reports also adopted this format; see, for example, *A Statement by the President and Board of Trustees of the Silver Series Mining Company, at Geneva, Smoky Valley, Lander Co., State of Nevada . . .* (New York: Raymond & Caulon, 1866).

tides, sunrise, sunset, and phases of the moon, Hutchings included English, American, and Californian historical facts. For example, in the month of January 1860, the almanac recorded:

- Jan 6 Heavy fall of rain, 1850
- Jan 7 California Star, first paper published in San Francisco by Sam'l Brannan, in 1847
- Jan 8 Sacramento City destroyed by a flood, Jan 7-15, 1850
- Jan 9 Severe Earthquake at San Francisco, 1854
- Jan 10 Stamp Act passed the British Parliament 1765⁷⁷

In this way, Hutchings gave his adopted state a historical identity that fused the local with events in English and American history. His other publications celebrated the domestic, including one of California's earliest children's books, *Uncle John's Stories for Good California Children*, selected from stories by Granville W. Sproat that had appeared in the monthly periodical *Hutchings's California Magazine*. This periodical was, in the words of its introductory issue, to be devoted to 'California life; to portray its beautiful scenery and curiosities; to speak of its mineral and agricultural products; to tell of its wonderful resources and commercial advantages; and to give utterance to the inner life and experience of its people. . . . the lights and shadows of daily life.' Hutchings promised readers that each issue would have 'Forty-Eight pages of interesting Reading Matter, in double columns, with several Illustrations of the Scenery, Incidents, Curiosities and Resources of [California].'⁷⁸ These illustrations

77. *California Pictorial Almanac for 1860*, 5. In 1856 California presses produced at least eight different almanacs, more than were published altogether between 1848 and 1853. Almanacs were published in California in English, French, German, and Spanish, and for specialized markets such as Catholics and merchants. Robert Greenwood, *California Imprints*, 66-251; Maureen Perkins, *Visions of the Future: Almanacs, Time, and Cultural Change, 1775-1870* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 16; see also, David D. Hall, *Worlds of Wonder, Days of Judgment: Popular Religious Belief in Early New England* (New York: Knopf, 1989).

78. Hutchings, 'Our Introductory,' *Hutchings' California Magazine* 1 (July 1856): 1; and Advertisement, *Hutchings' California Magazine* 1 (August 1856), back cover. The original advertisement misspelled California as 'Califoairn.'

were among the magazine's greatest selling points. Averaging seven per issue, the engravings (some original to the magazine, others reprinted from letter sheets) were illustrations for articles on California tourist destinations and essays on flora and fauna, as well as a few biographical portraits. Although there were other illustrated California periodicals in the 1850s, such as the *Wide West*, none could boast the number and quality of illustrations of *Hutchings's California Magazine*. Indeed, in its wide range of topics, from scientific essays to sentimental poetry, it was a pioneering publication that ensured that Hutchings's vision of California would continue to define California long after his publishing activity ceased.⁷⁹

Hutchings relied on unpaid contributions, which saved him money and was also a way to promote literary talent in California. Many of the authors remained anonymous or signed with initials. Women and men were represented almost equally in signed contributions, and some children's writings were also published. It is not possible to ascertain the percentage of articles (in addition to his regular columns) that Hutchings wrote himself. His 'Monthly Chat with Correspondents' column indicates that readers from all over the northern portion of the state submitted work, signing themselves as: 'G.H.R., Secret Diggings'; 'C.D., Springfield'; 'Exeter, Upper Placerville'; 'A., Downieville'; 'Jessica, Sonora'; 'A., Oroville.'⁸⁰ Many fewer notices were directed to persons or places south of Monterey. Indeed, the geographical locales identified in correspondence between Hutchings and his contributors suggest that the *California Magazine's* range of distribution paralleled his 1854-55 travels through the central and northern reaches of the state.

79. San Francisco had hosted two literary periodicals, the *Golden Era* and the *Pioneer*, but neither was illustrated, and both were short-lived. Sheldon, 'Pioneer Illustration in California,' 340. In its range of material, if not quality of writing, *Hutchings's California Magazine* anticipated Bret Harte's *Overland Monthly*, which continued in various formats from the 1860s until the end of the century.

80. 'Monthly Chat with Contributors and Correspondents,' *Hutchings's California Magazine* 2 (July 1857): 48; and *Hutchings's California Magazine* 2 (August 1857): 93; 'To Contributors and Correspondents,' *Hutchings's California Magazine* 4 (June 1860): 576.

Contributions by Albert Kellogg, William Anderson Scott, Anna Bates, and Granville T. Sproat, all members of Hutchings's social circle, were signed. His reliance on friends to supply him with written material highlights an important dimension of Hutchings's publishing efforts in San Francisco: the use of his publications to continue to develop relationships with those who were, or aspired to be, California's cultural elite. Kellogg was co-founder of the California Academy of Science and an amateur botanist, and Scott was the popular minister of San Francisco's Presbyterian Calvary Church. Sproat contributed children's stories. He and his wife, Florantha, owned and operated a boarding house where Hutchings resided when he moved to San Francisco, and in 1860, at the age of forty, Hutchings married Elvira, the Sproats' seventeen-year-old daughter.⁸¹

Was Hutchings a success? There are no circulation records or financial documents to answer this question definitively. Anecdotal evidence suggests that he was successful on many levels and that his vision of California society accompanied the growth of the very institutions of middle-class progress that he celebrated. The growth of a society based on industrial capitalism was supported by his own works and the larger, ephemeral print market of which he was a part. But other elements of his publishing experience reveal limitations to the power of print. Indications of such limits are the independent agency of readers to draw meaning from his works and the broader geopolitical forces working against the development of regional identity in the age of incorporation.

81. James A. Silverman, 'Uncovering the Snow Storm: Rescuing California's First Children's Poem from Obscurity,' *California History* 63 (Spring 1984): 173. Florantha Thompson was the daughter of Cephas Thompson, a portraitist in Middleborough, Massachusetts. She married Granville Temple Sproat in 1838, and together they moved to La Pointe, Wisconsin, where they both taught in the Ojibway Indian Mission. Their two daughters were born in Wisconsin before the family moved back to Middleborough, then to San Francisco in 1854. Florantha ran the boarding house. Granville, who wrote poetry and children's literature, drifted away from his family, eventually joining a New York Shaker colony. Shirley Sargent, *Pioneers in Petticoats: Yosemite's Early Women, 1856-1900* (Yosemite: Flying Spur Press, 1966), 33-34.

The agency of readers, especially women readers, is illustrated in the *California Magazine* by Hutchings's efforts to define proper comportment of California women. He had first expressed himself on the subject in an 1855 letter sheet, 'Commandments to California Wives.' This misogynist letter sheet described the perceived misbehaviors of women who imagined themselves 'Angels—all but the wings.' It followed a diary entry made five months earlier, in which Hutchings noted the 'too common occurrence in California' of cases such as that of a Mr. Tower, whose wife left him for another man. 'It appears that she . . . wanted her husband to neglect business to take her out riding on fast and splendid horses—run out a large amount of money—went away with her *'gentleman'*— . . . Women being scarce have much attention paid them by gentlemen—they begin to think themselves angels— . . . and eventually surrender all discretion—then comes a divorce.⁸² In the 'Commandments,' Hutchings wrote: 'Neither shalt thou ride or walk with other men, nor associate with profligates and spendthrifts in the ballroom or by the way-side, in preference to thy husband.'⁸³ Two years later, in the *California Magazine*, he exhorted 'the ladies of our glorious young State, [to] become something higher and nobler than simply dolls, or toys to illustrate the talents of the dressmaker.'⁸⁴ However, these efforts to promote a particular vision of feminine identity in the pages of his magazine were complicated by a need to cultivate women as readers and contributors. In the first several issues, Hutchings advertised a free annual subscription 'to any Lady who will send us Six Annual Subscribers.'⁸⁵ He resisted installing a fashion page such as that of *Godey's Lady's Book* in any of the issues of the first volume, arguing 'we are not desirous that California Ladies should ruin their liege lords, as well as themselves, by becoming

82. Hutchings's Original Diary, December 31, 1854. His preoccupation with divorce is eerily prescient; he and Elvira would divorce twenty-one years later.

83. J.M. Hutchings, 'Commandments to California Wives' letter sheet (San Francisco: J. F. Larrabee, 1855).

84. 'Editor's Table,' *Hutchings' California Magazine* 1 (June 1857): 575.

85. Cover, *Hutchings' California Magazine* 1 (October 1856).

slaves to fashion.⁸⁶ But in March 1859, Hutchings capitulated to his women readers when he added a fashion page, albeit without illustrations, authored by a 'lady editress.' That month, the number of advertisements doubled and prominently featured one for sewing machines.⁸⁷ Complications such as this illustrate the power of readers to mediate or even contradict the social reform efforts of publications like Hutchings's.⁸⁸

Finally, events surrounding Hutchings's sudden departure from San Francisco in 1861 suggest that his efforts to foster a uniquely California identity may have run afoul of nationalistic response to the Civil War. The story begins with Hutchings's good friend, the Reverend Mr. Scott, who, like Hutchings, had come to California from New Orleans.⁸⁹ By many accounts a highly popular and influential minister, Scott was a frequent public speaker at events as diverse as the founding of the Ladies' Seminary of Oakland and a protest against the 1856 San Francisco Vigilance Committee. One of the first people Hutchings told about Yosemite, Scott was in the third tourist party to visit the valley in 1855, with results that Hutchings described: 'After a very satisfactory and soul-satisfying jaunt, Dr. Scott, upon his return to San Francisco, gave several eloquent discourses, and published some tersely written articles upon it. His magnetic enthusiasm largely contributed to the development of an interest . . . to witness such sublime scenes as he had so graphically portrayed.'⁹⁰ Even before the war, however, Scott was a controversial figure. In 1856 he condemned the actions of the Vigilance Committee in seizing judicial and military control of San

86. 'Editor's Table,' *Hutchings' California Magazine* 1 (June 1857): 575.

87. Hutchings, 'The Fashions,' 'Wheeler & Wilson's Sewing Machines,' *Hutchings' California Magazine* 3 (March 1859): 428, Advertising Supplement.

88. On the power of readers to mediate the message in print culture, see Cathy N. Davidson, *Reading America: Literature and Social History* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989).

89. Kevin Starr, *Americans and the California Dream, 1850-1915* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 101-3.

90. James Mason Hutchings, *In the Heart of the Sierras: the Yo Semite Valley, both Historical and Descriptive: and Scenes by the Way . . .* (Yosemite Valley: 'the Old Cabin,' and Oakland: Pacific Press Publishing House, 1888), 97; Greenwood, *California Imprints*, 182, 241.

Francisco, earning him the disapproval of several public figures. The secession of the South in 1860 generated a momentary identity crisis for Californians. With its population drawn from all regions of the United States, as well as the world, would the state involve itself in the conflict or remain neutral? Although the industrial base clearly favored the Union, one alternative perspective was that California could form the cornerstone of an independent Pacific Republic. Scott, however, proposed that California remain a neutral haven from the war. He preached tolerance and pluralism and vigorously opposed the secular ambitions of New England churches, including the enforced reading of the Bible in public schools, which was being advocated by a recently arrived Congregationalist minister, Thomas Starr King. In 1861, after Scott offered prayers for both American presidents, he was hanged in effigy and exiled from the state.⁹¹

Shortly after this episode, Hutchings ceased publishing, withdrew from his partnership with Anton Rosenfield, and left the city for a position as a mine manager in the remote Owens Valley, in the eastern scarp of the Sierra Nevada. It is impossible to know exactly why he quit publishing, although he did cite his own declining health as a reason. Other possibilities include the hostility toward California's cultural independence embodied in King's campaign to 'save California for the Union.' (King even claimed that landscapes such as Yosemite were evidence of California's 'natural' affinity with the Union.) To seal this identity, King called for replacing California's indigenous culture with publications from the urban Northeast. This message was wildly popular, and King became a California hero as a result. Hutchings, in contrast, had devoted nearly a decade to developing the kind of indigenous California culture that King disparaged, and he may have interpreted this campaign and Scott's public demise as direct blows to his own efforts to foster a California identity.

91. Starr, *Americans and the California Dream*, 103.

Hutchings's career as a California publisher suggests both the power and limitations of print culture to shape the nineteenth-century social universe. On one hand, he was able to exploit local talent and technological developments to foster a vision of the state as a place to live. Such images contrasted with the gold rush vision of California as a place to make money before returning to hearth and home somewhere else and replaced the democratic dream of the yeoman miner with a hierarchical social vision of middle-class capitalism. At the same time, Hutchings's visions of California society underpinned the efforts of cultural and economic elites to develop a diversified, industrial economy reliant on wage labor and stable capital. His capitulation to women readers on the matter of the fashion page in the *California Magazine* reminds us that the messages embedded in print culture are always mediated through the interpretations of its readers. And finally, King's cultural battle to 'save' California for the Union suggests that Hutchings's interest in promoting a regional identity for California residents could not be conducted in isolation from the expanding nationalism of economic and political interests in the post-Civil War era of incorporation.

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