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Harriet G. Eddy (1876–1966): California’s First County Library Organizer and Her Influence on USSR Libraries

By Dr. John V. Richardson, Jr.

INTRODUCTION
The early California county library organizer Harriet G. Eddy was educated at Albion College in Michigan and at the University of Chicago before moving west to make her mark under the watchful eyes of California State Librarian James L. Gillis. Invited to Russia in the mid-1920s by Anatoly V. Lunacharsky, the USSR’s Commissariat of Education, Eddy returned again in the early 1930s, having stayed longer than any other American librarian. Eddy influenced the organization of Soviet libraries by recommending a spoke-and-hub arrangement (a kind of command-and-control structure) which she used so successfully in California.

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grettably, the name Harriet G. Eddy is not well known in the profession of librarianship today. No entry for her can be found in the Dictionary of American Library Biography or in any of its supplements or even in the Encyclopedia of Library and Information Science; furthermore, one will find nothing in Cannon’s Bibliography of Library Economy. For that matter, no one seems to have written a doctoral dissertation on her pioneering work, nor is there any entry in Library Literature for analytical articles about her, much less book-length monographs about her contributions, despite the fact that a rich resource exists in the California State Library and at the California State Archives. Notably, too, Eddy is not on the list of the 100 most influential librarians of the twentieth century either; and, there is barely mention of her in the secondary literature.

And, yet, Eddy managed to organize forty of the fifty-eight county libraries in California in the late 1900s and into the 1910s, making her one of the earliest county organizers in the United States, and these pioneering efforts became a model for the rest of the nation. Furthermore, she worked in Moscow twice during the late 1920s establishing the model for unified library service in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Later, she worked in other Iron Curtain countries such as Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia.

Hence, this article is a significant contribution to library and information science, specifically filling a major historiographical gap in our understanding of the early development of California public libraries and the profoundly American influence on nascent library service in the USSR and may serve to change our perception of the truly international dimensions of librarianship.

EARLY BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS, 1876 – 1906
Eddy was born in Lexington, Michigan, in Sanilac County, north of Port Huron on Lake Michigan, on 19 February 1876 to George Washington Eddy and Louise Mackenzie; she was the younger daughter of Jacob Eddy.

Dr. John V. Richardson Jr. is a professor in the Department of Information Studies at UCLA with a specialization in the history of education for library and information science. Dr. Richardson has served as the first Presidential Scholar at LSSI, Inc., as well as a Visiting Distinguished Scholar at OCLC’s Office of Research. In addition, he was the 1999 recipient of the OCLC Library & Information Science Research Grant and the Beta Phi Mu, Harold Lancour Scholarship for Foreign Study. He has also been awarded ASIS Best Information Science Book (1995), American Library Association Outstanding Paper (1992) and the ALA Justin Winsor Prize (1990).
daughter in this family. Surviving genealogical material suggests that her father’s parents were from Wickliffe, Ohio, which is northeast of Cleveland and someplace in Pennsylvania, whereas her mother’s parents were from Edinburgh, Scotland, by way of Vermont. Interestingly, her mother, Louise, was born in Canada. In the 1880s, Harriet attended elementary schools in Lexington, Michigan, and graduated from high school in Adrian, Michigan. In a later letter, she writes that “we [including her sister Myrta] were brought up in the church.” Her high school studies must have been rather academically oriented because she later mentions reading Max Schneckenberger’s 1840 patriotic poem “Die Wacht am Rhein [The Watch on the Rhine].” And her parents were well-off, supportive, and liberal enough to encourage their daughter to think about pursuing higher education.

In January 1893, having graduated from Adrian High School, Harriet entered Albion College, a Methodist supported school nearby, as a freshman. While there, Harriet undertook the classical course of studies (as opposed to Latin scientific, or scientific, or letters courses), which required course work in English, German, Greek, Latin, algebra and trigonometry, chemistry and physics, history (ancient, Roman, and English), physical geography, and botany and zoology; and she chose French as her elective. Apparently, she excelled at Biblical Greek because she won first prize in 1895. Along with Emile Durfee and Florence Riddick, she pledged the newly founded Zeta chapter lodge of Delta Gamma Fraternity during her senior year (they are so old that they prefer to call themselves a fraternity) and graduated with a BA degree in the fifty-three member class of 1896.

After graduation, Harriet taught Latin for several years at her former high school. Having saved enough money, though, she enrolled in post-graduate work for her MA in Latin and English Literature at the University of Chicago, studied with Robert Herrick, and picked up the nickname of “Mighty Mite,” because of her five-foot, three-inch stature.

For some reason, though, on 25 April 1903, Harriet withdrew from the University of Chicago and had all of her materials sent to “Elk Grove CA, c/o Ralph Newman,” husband of her older sister, Myrta Louise (aka Myrt) Eddy. Two months later, on 2 June 1903, Harriet is traveling from Hamburg, “the second city of Germany” to Frankfurt. Based on a letter home from Germany, she
writes that “everyone is polite enough to say they understand me very well. But my vocabulary, I find, needs brushing up.” After three months, she returns to the United States, moving westward. She taught history and Latin as well as served as head of the English department at the Helena, Montana High School, for several years, before joining her sister in California.

**The Formative California Years, 1906-1909**

Turning thirty years old in 1906, Eddy settles down in California to become the principal of the Elk Grove Union High School, which is now a suburb of Sacramento. She seems to have found her place because she certainly had a winning way with young students, if the following declaration in the students’ constitution is any testimony: “Whereas, we realize that Miss Eddy hasn’t time to teach and have to discipline us, too, we will take care of ourselves.”

Ever vigilant on her students’ behalf, she convinced the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) next door to share their hall and established a small library. Then, in October 1908, Eddy writes to James L. Gillis, the California State Librarian, about “better library service” for her high school graduating class that she was trying to get certified by the University Examiner. Apparently, her letter piqued his interest, and looking ahead to the California Library Association’s (CLA) spring meeting, he asked her to give a talk to the assembled librarians.

So, in mid-April 1909, Eddy gave her talk to CLA in Oakland, as the Custodian of Elk Grove’s WCTU Hall/Library with 200 borrowers, which was about to become the first branch (i.e., substation number one) of the first county library. Recollecting years later about her library and background, she wrote:

> By profession I was a high school teacher... I was asked to tell about it at the state library convention and at once the State Librarian asked me to join his staff and organize county libraries. When I said, ‘But I am a teacher, not an organizer.’ He said, ‘It will be the same thing. You will teach the county officials how to establish one.’ It seems so simple that I agreed, and thus became another ‘First’, the first county organizer in California, and probably in the U.S.A.
She was appointed to the post of county library organizer for the California State Library by Gillis, the State Librarian, in September 1909. And, there was much for her to do, because Ulysses S. Webb, the longest-serving California attorney general, was about to rule that the 1909 County Library Law that had just been passed, was “defective,” except for section 12, due to an unworkable aspect of the law that required popular election by citizens.

She begins to travel and catches the eye of a young Sacramento Star reporter, Laurence Todd, who will become influential in the Soviet Union’s decision to invite her to Moscow. In the meantime, though, Eddy becomes well acquainted with the command center (i.e., the California State Library at the hub and its traveling staff the spokes of a wheel), its vision and mission, its financial resources, its library materials, and her professional knowledge grows. During the next couple of years, she learns firsthand the methods for organizing effectively at the county level, and the advantages of a centralized structure versus decentralization, as well as the value of close communication from the extensive ad hoc advice and consultation with the State Librarian. In fact, this “Mighty Mite” traveled much of the 158,297 square miles via bad roads, bus, stagecoach, steamer, row boat, and horseback.

**The County Library System, 1909-1918**

What did not exist before, Eddy and Gillis built together; or, as she explained:

> The County was the unit; the supervisors were ex officio the library board; a trained, certificated county librarian was appointed with salary fixed by law; headquarters at the county seat; branches were established throughout the county; [and]...the Union Catalog assured supplementary service.

She could do all of this organizing because she and Gillis were politically astute enough to get the supervisors’ “resolutions of intention” by having her visit all of the influential stakeholders in a county such as the women’s clubs, elected officials (including the mayor, the town and city councils, the county supervisors, and the attorneys general), members of the cham-
ers of commerce, grange members, the city library boards, the local newspaper editors, the largest taxpayers, the local PTAs and improvement clubs, and the local businessmen’s clubs. It is easy to conclude that she was adventurous and persevering—truly, a “Mighty Mite,” and who was later called a “Gillis Girl.”

Of course, based on the preceding paragraph the reader should not presume that it was a piece of cake. Eddy had to overcome opposition, which took various forms, including arguments about a monopoly (after all, there would only be one library in the state); worries about the loss of individuality—or, “being absorbed” in terms of collections; opportunities and chances for graft (in library purchases); an increased tax rate or levy, where the assessment evaluation would be one mill on $1 or two cents on $100; an excessive pay rate for county librarians ($2,000 as stated by law); professional envy or jealousy from some city librarians; misplaced beliefs that the California State Library would appoint only Eddy’s friends; and that old North-South rivalry including water rights from Inyo County and that this effort was part of Sacramento’s county library machine; and, finally, of course, the perception that Eddy was “The Outsider.”

One can only imagine the tiresomeness of these counter arguments after a time. Eventually, Eddy had enough, when one critical incident occurred. Shortly after 10 July 1917, when Gillis had written to Eddy at Angel’s Camp in the Sierra foothills (home of Twain’s celebrated jumping frog), he suffered a fatal heart attack on the steps of the Library. Although she soldiered along for nearly a year thereafter, Eddy’s heart was not in her tasks any longer. Apparently, she had little respect for Gillis’ successor, Milton J. Ferguson, the former first assistant at the State Library for the previous eleven years. Eddy wrote to him on 22 June 1918, resigning from the Library, but only after describing the opportunity to work for the extension service, saying professionally:

After careful consideration it seems best to accept. However, since it is possible that library organization may feel a later need for me, as you and I have talked it over, I wish to ask that I be given a year’s leave of absence in order that at the end of that time we may make a readjustment if necessary. If this request is granted, the leave might begin August 1st, or as soon as practicable.

Behind the scenes, some people were dismayed, shocked and disappointed enough to take action, when they learned of her impending departure.

On 3 July, Ferguson wrote back to Eddy, explaining:

I had a letter from Miss Steffens [the consulting Librarian, California Library Plan] in which she said among other things that county work could not go on without you. I do not desire in any way to seem to minimize the accomplishments and the powers which are yours; but I do hold that if the county free library plan is dependent upon any one person for its life and success, it is not the large thing I have always held it to be. Life is not laid out along such lines. I am inclined to think that she made such a sweeping statement out of regard for you, of course, and also in her own ingenious manner. I am telling you because I know you are the one who can help things over many a bump.

Sorely missed by some at the library, Eddy served as the state home demonstration leader for the University of California’s Agricultural Extension from late July 1918 until June 1941, and her work in California’s county libraries became a national model of how to reach out to rural communities and populations outside large cities, based on an extensive face-to-face net-
working among stakeholders. Together, though, they provided an “outstanding example” of library access to more than ninety-eight percent of the California population through an innovative and truly unified system.

**TWO TRIPS TO THE USSR, 1927 AND 1930/31**

Against the backdrop of the former Tsarist regime’s old-fashioned, backward, and semi-literate society, Vladimir Lenin crafted a cultural revolution. Continuing this work after his death, Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya, Lenin’s wife, formalized library training in Leningrad upon the Swiss-American system, and Genrietta K. Derman and Lyubov Borisovna Khavkina both helped found formal training programs in Moscow. Nonetheless, the state of Soviet libraries and librarianship in the mid-1920s was sad (in the sense that there were poorly stocked collections, ill-prepared librarians, and modest structures), yet full of potential because the Soviet people were eager book readers, but lacked the right guidance, some might say.

So, how did it happen that almost a decade later Eddy was invited to the Soviet Union? As she tells it, it happened in the autumn of 1926:

A friend, a magazine writer from New York, had been in Leningrad and Moscow, as a member of President Wilson’s committee [lead by William C. Bullitt as a secret envoy to Lenin in March 1919, and later served as the first Ambassador to the Soviet Union in 1933]. This friend told friends in Narkomindel [the commissariat for foreign affairs] and Narkimpros (sic) about the California county library plan which resulted in my receiving an invitation to Russia to: 1) observe their library work; 2) explain the California County Free Library Plan; and 3) offer suggestions for its application to Russian Library Work.

This friend was Laurence Todd, the former Sacramento Star reporter, who wrote about her State Library efforts in 1912. The invitation came from Anatol V. Lunacharsky of NARKOMPAS (i.e., the Commissioner of Education in the Federal Department of Education between 1917 and 1929), whom Eddy “rated one of the most brilliant men in Europe” and who had been studying libraries around the world for the past couple of years.

Staying at the Hotel Belgia from April through August 1927, she met other interesting individuals including Albert Rhys Williams on the third of May. For official activities, she was assigned an “official friend” and interpreter, Dmitri Dobbin. Otherwise, Eddy observed firsthand “about fifty institutions, ranging from kindergarten, through primary and secondary schools, to universities, institutes, public libraries, factory libraries, village libraries, etc.” in Moscow, Samara (formerly Kuybyshev, east of the Volga River), as well as Leningrad. She kept detailed observations of these libraries that included the unfortunately all-too-typical All-Union Lenin Memorial Library, which she described as follows: “On a visit one day to what was called the “State Library” we found what more nearly resembled a monastery, with its deal tables and benches; its books of leather and vellum on shelves extending to the ceiling and reached by ladders; its librarian bare-footed, wearing cassock girdled with a rope-like cord. The books were of course priceless, but never used by the public.”

She also had a couple of memorable visits with leading librarians including Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya, Lenin’s wife, of whom she wrote in her journal: “Loveliest smile we have seen in Russia. The most intelligent, kind face, too. Made me think at once of Mr. Gillis [the former California State Librarian]. Looks like him. Acts like him. She’s big [two underscores].”

According to Eddy, “Krupskaya listened to me very attentively. Since I had difficulty speaking through an interpreter, I endeavored to answer her questions as briefly as possible. She surveyed me seriously and with considerable astonishment. After all, hadn’t we, the Americans, recently invaded her country through Archangel and Vladivostok? However, her face softened when I went on to explain our system in California. Afterwards, she described the Soviet system of rural libraries, mentioning the name of Ilyich (Lenin) with extraordinary warmth.”

Eddy also met with Genrietta K. Abele-Derman, saying: “I enjoy her very much as she has a good head and is absolutely open-minded.”

Toward the end of her 1927 trip, she met again with Lunacharsky on 5 August, who thanked her “Most heartily in the name of Russia for coming ... [and that] the plan is good for the Soviet
Union and we will adopt it as fast as possible,” whereupon she supposedly replied “which means never unless you send a person to California to observe the system in action.”\(^{48}\)

Her response sets the stage for her Russian colleague, Anna Kravchenko, to visit California as part of this project. Back home, Eddy completes her twelve-page “Report on Library Work in R.S.F.S.R. [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republics]” on 8 December 1927. Therein, she discusses the proposed administration of Soviet libraries and the proper distribution of books based on the three California county library principles: equal, economical, and complete; her strategy is to get the trade union libraries unified into the local municipal system, in turn, municipal libraries into the rayon (county) system, and then other libraries into this national system.\(^{49}\)

**ANNA G. KRAVCHENKO, 1928-1929**

True to his word, the commissar of education continued to make things happen. In the autumn of 1928, Anna G. Kravchenko reciprocated by visiting the United States, after Senator Hiram Johnson (the governor of California when the Library Act passed) had to assist with her American visa at the Embassy in Riga, where Harry H. Hall was vice counsel,\(^{50}\) because the US government did not yet recognize the USSR diplomatically. Once in California, Anna toured county libraries in Alameda, Fresno, Contra Costa, Los Angeles, Monterey, San Bernardino, and Solano counties.\(^{51}\)

However, she is exposed to contrasting perspectives: most notably Herbert Putnam, who “is against the general plan in the library work. He preferred, like he told me ‘individual’ libraries. He [is] against the one system for whole U.S.”\(^{52}\) Not discouraged, Anna returned home, to the Institut Bibliotekovedeniia Publichnoi Biblioteki Soiuza SSR imeni V. I. Lenina, and during November and December 1929, she organized Orechovo-Zuevo, in the Moscow Oblast about 100 miles east of the capital while Eddy worked on “Dry Cleaning at Home” and revised her “Food Selection Score Card.”

The clearest expression of Anna Kravchenko’s thinking, which moves toward an integrated and large library economy, can be found in her report written back home in Moscow.\(^{53}\) In it, she proposes an experiment to reorganize and create a network of libraries in the region. Specifically, she wants to use the California model because California is the best state in the USA for such. She wants the Soviet-style “book cemeteries” to give way to an organized flow of books because the quality of a library is not the size of its holdings, but the books borrowed.\(^{54}\)

In any event, the exchange was profitable, so much so that Eddy was invited to return to the Soviet Union yet again. By way of background, this time she compiled a bibliography of California library catalogs “of interest to the Unified Plan for USSR.”

Given a “leave of absence (without pay)” in late November 1930, Eddy set out on the S. S. Columbus sailing from New York to Bremen. Arriving on 10 December in Moscow, Eddy teaches in the Library Science Institute, located at Moxovaja 6 in Khimki, eighteen miles from downtown Moscow.\(^{55}\) Indeed, it is an intense period of work, translating articles, such as E. C. Richardson’s work on union catalogs, with Tamara Vedernikova, and thinking about the general state of Russia, including the implications of the new Economic Five Year Plan for libraries.\(^{56}\)

As for her accommodations in 1931, Eddy wrote:

> There was a huge apartment house being built just across the river from the Kremlin. Apartments were so scarce that the committees were having great trouble finding housing for Myrt and me. We even slept on sofas in the Institute. But when this new apartment house was being built, Anna Kreschenko (sic for Kravchenko) and the Library [Science] Institute petitioned that they dedicate one of the apartments to us, and they did. The library people were horrified when I said it was time for me to go home. They thought I was there to stay, but I told them I had a job and my job expected me back. I didn’t hear what became of the apartment but one of my friends, a young man who was visiting in Moscow, was in the building when it was being finished and over one door it said, ‘Apartment of Harriet Eddy.’ Was I surprised.\(^{57}\)

In February 1931, to Eddy’s further surprise, she learned that Kravchenko would replace Sokolova, the former director of the Institute of Library Science, at the Lenin Library, who was not as sympathetic to the California plan. Like her previous trips, she traveled extensively.\(^{58}\) Back home in California again, Eddy continued her writing and was pleased to find that the 15 January 1932 issue of *Library Journal* carried her “Beginnings of United [sic for Unified] Library Service in U.S.S.R.” on pages 61 through 67. Written “in collaboration with Mrs. [Genrietta K. Abele-] Derman, director of first Library University and Mrs. [Anna] Kravtchenko (sic),” Department of Education of Russia and director of the reorganized Institute of Library Science, the reader can see five photographs of library buildings which they visited.

**LATER YEARS**

Perhaps because of her continuing efforts in agricultural extension, Eddy retains her interest in Soviet libraries, but blends the two; for example, in 1935, she writes a forty page photo-essay entitled “Library Work in the Collective Farms of the Poludenksy Region in Kazakhstan,” which she modeled after Kravchenko’s...
1932 Russian book.\textsuperscript{59} She also continued her international advocacy work\textsuperscript{60} and took some satisfaction that the Soviet Constitution of December 1936 contained an article about free libraries.\textsuperscript{61} In 1939, along with four hundred others, she signed “To All Active Supporters of Democracy and Peace: The Text of an Open Letter Calling for Greater Unity of the Anti-fascist Forces and Strengthening of the Front Against Aggression Through Closer Cooperation with the Soviet Union.”\textsuperscript{62} Signing this letter would become problematic for her later.

On 30 June 1941, she retired as the state home demonstration leader for the University of California,\textsuperscript{63} and devoted her energies to the Peninsula Council of the American-Soviet Friendship, an anti-fascist organization. During the Post-war era, Eddy traveled to several iron curtain countries including Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Czechoslovakia to consult on their national library systems. Eddy also stayed involved in the World Peace Congress (New York, 1949) as well as the National Peace Conference (Chicago, 1951).

In the spring of 1952, her international efforts came to an end due to Senator Joseph R. McCarthy’s red scare. On 3 April 1952, R. B. Shipley, chief of the Passport Division, U.S. Department of State writes to Eddy about her international itinerary:

> It is the opinion of the Department that your proposed travel abroad would not be in the best interests of the United States. In the circumstances, your request for the extension of the passport [Passport 19890, 11 August 1948 issue] is refused and the document is being retained in the Department’s files.\textsuperscript{64}

Those records have been destroyed, so it is difficult to know what the issue was exactly; however, suspicious minds will think that J. Edgar Hoover suspected her of guilt by association,\textsuperscript{65} subversion, espionage, or infiltration of some sort. As it turns out, her name appears in the U.S. Congress’ House of Representatives hearings on un-American activities in 1944.\textsuperscript{66}

Six years later, Eddy fell and fractured her hip, but she was still spry enough to travel to Bucharest, Romania. In failing health, she sought out the Geriatric Institute, noted for Dr. Anna Aslan’s popular H3 treatment, but it did not provide any sustained relief.\textsuperscript{67} On 19 February 1966, Eddy celebrated her 96\textsuperscript{th} birthday with a gala party at the Palace Hotel in San Francisco, but later that year on Saturday, 3 December 1966, she died at a friend’s home in Napa, California.\textsuperscript{68}

**Conclusions**

Eddy probably is not well remembered in the field of librarianship because she was not professionally trained as a librarian; however, the reader will recall that she earned a BA from Albion College in classical studies and then undertook post-graduate work in Latin and English Literature at the University of Chicago. Furthermore, she was a strong, direct, and independent woman in a position of leadership until her protective Republican mentor at the California State Library, James L. Gillis, died. Then, too, she left the field of librarianship in 1918 for agricultural extension work at the University of California before going to the Soviet Union, nearly a decade later.

California’s county library system may not have been the first as mentioned above, but it was among the earliest and most successful in the nation. Together, Eddy and Gillis pioneered an original approach to organizing California’s counties which resulted in outreach to ninety-eight percent of California’s population. The California State Library’s innovative spoke-and-hub organizational structure (a kind of centralized command-and-control approach) to county public libraries appealed to the Soviets’ sense of central planning, especially Anatoly V. Lunacharsky, the Commissariat of Education, who applied it during a turbulent time of social, cultural, technical, economic, and political transition.

Given Eddy’s willingness to travel twice to the Soviet Union, it is likely that she was appalled by the glorious and fantastic czarist court, but not insensitive to the massive illiteracy and wanted to help make a difference there with her librarianly knowledge and skills. Yet it is notable that nowhere does Eddy explicitly record her feelings toward communism or being a woman; for her, apparently, these were a given—simply objective, facts of life. From the available evidence, it is clear that she lectured about her experiences in the Soviet Union upon her return, but it does not appear that she was an apologist for them—rather, she was a vocal supporter of internationalism and pacifism due to the unnecessary and astonishingly brutal First World War and became more deeply concerned about the rise of fascism by the mid-nineteen thirties. Perhaps it is hard to imagine now, but she was an idealist then.

Notably, she did stay the longest time in country of any visiting American librarian,\textsuperscript{69} however, she only published three articles about her efforts in the open literature (one in Russian, although the other two appeared in the widely read ALA Bulletin and Library Journal). Despite the fact that the field was not well-aware of her agricultural, educational, or library work by the time of her death in the mid-1960s, nonetheless, the Soviets regarded her highly with their offer of a permanent flat near the Kremlin. Finally, given the anti-Soviet feelings from the early 1950s, her pioneering work and progressive attitude was unlikely to be defended by many scholars during the cold war era, which lasted until 1991.

Still, the tiny spinster and her mission to create rural library
service for readers in California's counties and her international contributions to the formation of the Soviet unified library system must be recognized. Both here and there, her vision was that the “library [be an] integral part of [the] educational system.”

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

An early version of this paper was presented as a talk accompanied by PowerPoint slides at the “Library Science in Russia and Western Tradition/ Bibliothekswissenschaft in Russland und die Traditionen des Westens, 1910–1930” Conference held at the Moscow State University of Culture on 4 September 2006 in Moscow, Russia. Ms. Anastasia Smirnova carefully translated this entire article into Russian for Bibliografija, although they only published ten pages of it along with twenty-one footnotes. And, I greatly appreciate the counsel of several readers of an earlier draft including the 2008 Winsor Prize Committee as well as Dr. Ronald Vroon, Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures and Dr. Arch Getty, History Department of UCLA as well as Dr. Donald G. Davis, professor emeritus and Dr. David B. Gracy II, Governor Bill Daniel Professor in Archival Enterprise, of the University of Texas’ School of Information at Austin.

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REFERENCES

4 “100 of the Most Important Leaders We Had,” American Libraries 30 (December 1999): 38–46, 48.
6 Although outside the scope of this article, Eddy played a significant role in the library profession in the United States due to her pioneering organizational work in California county libraries, which in turn was highly influential around the rest of the US; see Ray Held’s The Rise of the Public Library in California (Chicago: American Library Association, 1973), especially p. 107 as well as Carleton B. Joekel who discusses the importance of California’s county library movement in The Government of the American Public Library, Foreword by Louis R. Wilson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935, especially pages 46–47, 154, 176, 266, 268–269, 271,


My theoretical perspective is transideological (in an attempt to avoid the pitfalls of the various “-ism” lenses such as anti-communism, anti-fascism, Bolshevism, communism, conservatism, one world federalism, feminism, futurism, imperialism, internationalism, leftist, McCarthyism, nationalism, Nazism, nonconformism, pacifism, patriotism, radicalism, Stalinism, democratic socialism, or triumphalism), and is methodologically driven by the standard historiographic techniques interrogating primary and secondary sources.

Her birth date is confused; some sources cite 1876, while others give 1879. The latter date is incorrect, according to the Michigan Department of Community Health Vital Records, verified 18 April 2007. CSL, Eddy Papers, Box 2482, folder 1, includes genealogy background material related to Swansea, Massachusetts, as well as information about a move from Rhode Island to Vermont. See the 30 July 2006 CSL additions from Joe Wachtel in Wellington, Nevada. For more genealogical details, see Ruth Story Devereux Eddy’s The Eddy Family in America, a Genealogy (Boston, MA: Privately Printed, 1930) and Supplement, 1968, edited by Ruth Allendorf Breck (Boston: Eddy Family Association, 1971).

...and while we’ve departed from the error of those ways, we like the strength of Christmas tunes, as they are nearly all by German or Russian composers.” HGE to Joseph Freeman, 10 December 1927, Joseph Freeman Papers, Hoover Institution Archives, Box 20, folder ID 28.

According to Cherie R. Hatlem, the Albion Registrar, see Harriet Eddy’s “Check Sheet,” Albion College.

According to Cherie R. Hatlem, the Albion Registrar; see Harriet Eddy’s “Credit Sheet” and “Check Sheet,” Albion College.


Agnes McVittie, “Zeta: Albion College,” Anchora of Delta Gamma 11 (June 1893): 133–134 and Helen Alicia Davis, “Zeta: Albion College,” Anchora of Delta Gamma 12 (June 1896): 138–139. They were so old that they preferred to call themselves a fraternity. Their new lodge on East Cass Street wasn’t finished until after she graduated; despite claims of exclusivity and secrecy, ideally, a DG pledge should be “a girl of character and individuality which remove her from the commonplace” as well as “eager, diligent, and serious,” seeking friendship, and who attends college for “the sake of culture to be gained . . . the cultivation of our mental faculties, that discipline which prepares us to see and hear and understand the world about us, that knowledge of the experience of humanity which shall enable us to order our lives wisely.” (Clara N. Kellogg, “College Culture” Delta Gamma Anchora 12 (April 1896): 81.

In 1901, she was teaching high school; see CSL, Eddy Papers, Box 2482, folder 5 and 2006 typescript.

HGE to Joseph Freeman, 5 June 1936; Joseph Freeman Papers, Hoover Institution, Box 20, folder ID 28.

Harriet was left-handed and had blue eyes as well as a large freckle on her left temple; see archives at the Harriet G. Eddy Middle School Library Archives at 9129 Soaring Oaks Drive, Elk Grove, CA; Paige Berry, the School Librarian, possesses booklets, magazines, photographs, postcards, and a few pieces of correspondence. Eddy studied at the University of Chicago from 18 June (i.e., summer quarter) 1901 through the spring quarter 1903, see Harriet Gertrude Eddy of Adrian, Michigan’s “Record of Work: Matric. No. 11699.”

See CSL, unprocessed material from 2006; (“My Dear Chum [Miss Clara Louise Newman in Kansas]... Aunt Harriet,” 3 June 1903; most likely, she was guided by Karl Baedeker’s Northern Germany: Handbook for Travelers, 13th revised edition (Leipzig, 1900).

See Sims, (1941, p. 14) and “50 Years Ago” pasted on verso of MJF to HGE, 23 April 1919 (CSL, Eddy Papers, Box 2492, folder 1).

See L. H. Booker, ed. “Faculty,” The Nugget: Published by the Students of Helena High School 4 (no. 1, 1904): 2: HGE would have had to have graduated from one of fifteen recognized universities to hold a high school teaching certificate issued by the Sacramento County Board of Education, see “High School,” Sierra Educational News 1 (no. 2, 20 February 1905): 28–29; and CSL, Eddy Papers, Box 2482, folder 5—CSL, 8 December 1966 “Dear County Librarian” and unprocessed 2006 letter of 8 December 1966 from State Librarian to County librarians.

See Harriet G. Eddy Middle School’s Library Archives, Marion Wachtel, Mary Ross, and Sylvia Powell to All, March 1966; “First County Free Library Site Dedicated,” California Historian 14 (no. 2, December 1967): 64; and in 1895, one could find California Memorial Plaque No. 817 at 9125 Elk Grove Boulevard commemorating the first branch library of a California county library.


Indeed, her letter was timely because the library bill was making its way through the State Legislature; on 12 April 1909, it passed “An Act to Provide County Library Systems” (Stats. 1909, c. 479), based on a coalition of the Good Government Republicans and Democrats (i.e., square dealers) against the so-called machine element (which included the San Francisco waterfront, the Southern Pacific, the Electric Power Trust, and the race-track gamblers). See “Elk Grove, Sacramento Co.,” News Notes of California Libraries 4 (1909): 29, 164, and 340; note that the entire issue (vol. 4, no. 4, October 1909) is devoted to “County Library System for California: What it is, How to Proceed in Establishing It, Etc.”

See CSL, Eddy Papers, “Personal Memorandum to Elise Boulding,” circa 1961; 2006 addition to HGE papers; see also, Harriet G. Eddy, “Elk Grove Station of the Sacramento Public Library,” News Notes of California Libraries 4 (April 1909): 265. As for Eddy’s claim to first in the nation, Deanna B. Marcum notes that Maryland legislation developing county library services is somewhat earlier (see Laws of the State of Maryland, chapter 367, 1909) and that Mary Lemist Titcomb established countywide bookmobile service in Washington County, Maryland in 1905; there were 74 deposit stations in the county (Marcum to Richardson, 21 April 2008); see Good Books in a Country Home: The Public Library as Cultural Force in Hagerstown, Maryland, 1878-1920 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994).

45 “Successor for E. Brucken (sic for Bruncken), [assistant librarian who resigned],” Sacramento Union, 7 November 1909, p. 11, col. 2; and see section 10, Chapter 68 of the 25 February 1911 act, “[A New County Free Library Law],” Chapter 68, signed by Governor Hiram Johnson and distributed by Friend W. Richardson, State Printer, repealing the 1909 Act, which allowed the county’s board of supervisors to establish county libraries; see http://ia350011.us.archive.org/2/items/847686/847686.pdf

Laurence Todd, “Actual Scope of the State Library System: It will Send to Harvard for a Rare Book, If You Need It and has Access to Congressional Libraries—Plan a Branch for Every Postoffice,” Sacramento Star, 20 March 1912 (vol. 15, no. 104), p. 4, col. 2–3; see CSL, Eddy Papers, Box 2491, folder 8. In his early California years, Todd worked for the E. W. Scripps
newspapers and United Press; from 1933 to 1949, he served as the Wash-
ington Bureau Chief for TASS, the official Soviet news agency, but accord-
ing to Marilyn M. McNitt, Reference Assistant at the University of Michi-
gan Bentley Historical Collection’s Todd’s Papers (N6228 Aa 2). “Most of
the letters are Todd’s, in which he describes his family activities, work,
travels, and political and social thoughts. Unfortunately, I did not find any

correspondence to or from Harriet Eddy.” In addition she reported that
his autobiography written between 1932 and 1954 did not provide further
information about this point.

27 HGE to Andrew Horn, 24 May 1915, “It is a wonderful thing [“my note
book with the names from nearly every county”] to have, for it almost
makes up for the State Library’s having destroyed my daily reports.” (See
CSL, Eddy Papers, Box 2493, folder 14).

28 HGE, “County Free Library Organizing in California 1909-1918,” p. 21
and Kunkle, p. 93ff.

29 The rebuttal to these arguments can be found in California Library Service:
Economical, Equal, Complete (Sacramento: California State Printing Office,
1915).

30 California State Archives, State Library Papers, F3616:766. Apparently, on
7 March 1919, Eddy was hired full-time by Dean Walter M. Hart of the
University of California, Berkeley, although the offer letter is signed by
“B.H.C.” CSL, Eddy Papers, Box 2491, folder 9.

31 Laura Steffens Suggett, sister of Lincoln Steffens, the muckraker journal-
ist, and daughter of a prominent Sacramento banker, wrote The Beginning
and the End of the Best Library Service in the World (Sacramento, CA: Fran-
cisco Publishing Company, 1924); the preface is dated November 1923.
On the other hand, there is no mention of Eddy in May Dexter Henshall’s
“California County Free Library,” Library Journal 54 (no. 14, August 1929):
643–646.

32 C. M. Goethe to HGE, 25 November 1918, “I miss you very much at the
Library. You had a vision of that work which was remarkable.” See CSL,
Eddy Papers, 2006 addition.

33 In 1914, Congress passed the Smith-Lever Act creating cooperative exten-
sion between USDA and land-grant colleges and universities; http://www.
higher-ed.org/resources/smith.htm and in 1915, the Regents of the Uni-
versity of California approved agricultural extension work with county
boards of supervisors. On 1 August 1918, HGE takes a year’s leave of
absence to organize in the University of California’s College of Agricul-
ture at the invitation of Professor B. H. Crocheron, a 1908 Cornell Uni-
versity graduate, founder and director of Agricultural Extension work in
1915. She then resigns from the State Library (see Suggett, 1924, page 63).
In 1921, Harriet published a Home Account Book, 3rd edition, see OCLC
27978926.

34 Among others, Lillian Gunter from Texas traveled to California to study
the county library system; see Nichols, Irby C., and Margaret I. Nichols,

35 “On the whole, then, the picture is that of a library system centered in
the state library. Local autonomy is not eliminated, but the influence of
the state is very important,” according to Jœckel, Government of the American
Public Library; page 269, 291, and 334 respectively.

128.

37 The question also arises what Eddy might have known before she went;
she might have read L. Haffkin-Hamburger’s “Russian Libraries” in
Library Journal 40 (March 1915): 168–73; she must have known about
Lenin and Krupskaya’s Swiss-American library plan; the Montessori sys-
tem for kindergartens and the Dalton Plan (a progressivist move away
from drill and memorization to a focus on the individualized instruction,
especially the child’s needs and talents) in school rooms; and she might
have found the brief report at the Fourth General Session, the Second
International Session of the 50th ALA Conference in Atlantic City, NJ on
“Universal public education” . . . the Libraries in the Soviet Union] written by
Mme. L. Haffkin-Hamburger; see Library Journal 51 (15 October 1926):
910 and 916. Finally, HGE probably read Red Flowers (New York: Boni
and Liveright Inc., 1921), a novel about Russia, by Francis Haffkine Snow
(the husband of Haffkine’s sister, Valentina), who worked as an editor and
translated many works including the “Star Spangled Banner” into Span-
ish (which was only one of the thirty-two languages he claimed to speak,
read, and write); see Who Was Who in America, volume 5, page 677.

38 Eddy “was handicapped” as she said, not speaking Russian nor reading
nor writing Cyrillic before she left the US and clearly she writes words
3: HGE, “[Memoirs of Nadezhda Krupskaya, 1927]” circa February 1961;
CSL, Eddy Papers, Box 2488, folder 2; see also, Harriet Eddy, “Dve vstrechi
[Two meetings with Krupskaya],” Zhenshchiny Mira = [Women of the World]
No. 2 (Spring 1964): 20–21.

39 Working on newspapers in Kalamazoo, San Francisco, and Sacramento
before coming to Washington, DC in 1912. “Larry” Todd had served as
secretary to the socialist Congressman Meyer London and then worked for
the Federated Press, before moving to the Telegraph Agency of the Soviet
Union (TASS) as a stringer in 1923 (technically, an employee of Kenneth
Durant, the American correspondent for ROSTA), and then promoted to its
Washington bureau chief in 1931; Paul Todd, Correspondent on the Left:
The Memoirs of Laurence Todd, 1882–1937 (Anchorage, Alaska: Privately

40 More accurately, Narodnyi Komissariat Prosveshcheniia, abbreviated
NARKOMPROS, or the People’s Commissariat for Enlightenment; CSL,
Eddy Papers, Box 2493, folder 10. For an examination of Lunacharsky’s
cultural ideology, especially the new Soviet citizen and the need for skilled
technical workers, see Timothy E. O’Connor, The Politics of Soviet Culture:

41 Much of the trip leaving San Francisco involved a thirty-five day boat cross-
ing via the Panama Canal to Naples on an Italian steamer captained by
Melanotari/Malintini. Next, she travel to Berlin for Russian visas and then
on by train to Moscow via the Deutsche Reichsbahn-Gesellschaft accom-
panied by Myrta Newman, her sister, who was her constant traveling com-
panion; see passport No. 5399 (issued, 12 January 1927); see CSL, Eddy
Papers, Box 2494, folder 7. George F. Kennan did not arrive at the Consul-
ate General in Berlin until July 1928, according to his Memoirs: 1925–1950

42 Albert Rhys Williams, Through the Russian Revolution (New York: Boni
and Liveright, 1921); he also inscribed a copy of his book The Russian Land
(New York: New Republic, 1927) to Eddy in April 1929.


44 HGE to Carma R. Zimmerman, 7 July 1936. “California County Free
Library: Spread of Influence [to Union of Soviet Socialist Republics];” page
[4]; at the time, HGE wrote “Bibliotechnoe Stroitelstvo v Kalifornii” [“The
Development of Library Systems in California”], Krasnyi Bibliotekar (Red
Librarian) 7 (July 1928): 66–70.

45 CSL, Eddy Papers, Box 2487, folder 2.

46 Mary Hamilton-Dann, Vladimir and Nadja: The Lenin Story (New York:

47 CSL, Eddy Papers, Box 2487, folder 6; the Eddy Papers include extensive
tavel information, notably in Box 2487, which is full of passports; the
travel diary of her Russian trips (1927, 1931) as well as photos of the 1927
and 1931 Russian trips including some of Krupskaya; Anna Kravchenko;
Eddy’s translator/secretary at the Library Institute, Helen Vinogradova,
and her interpreter/translator, Tamara Vedernokova, in 1927; a Lenin
and Krupskaya photograph; her Krupskaya profile; and two postcards of
Lenin; also typescripts, dated November 1930 to May 1931 of correspondence
back to her family. Yet, another Eddy Box, 2488, contains the report to
Anatol V. Lunacharsky (Department of Education) re: HGE’s findings on Russian libraries (1927) and a Russian scrapbook (Box 2485, missing in August 2006), including pictures, letters (over the course of many years) and Russian pamphlets. For more on Krupskaya and Derman, see John Richardson, “The Origin of Soviet Education for Librarianship: The Role of Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya (1889-1939),” Lyubov’ Borisovna Khavkina-Hamburger (1871-1949) and Genrietta K. Abele-Derman (1882–1954),” *Journal of Education for Library and Information Science* 41 (Spring 2000): 106–128.

48 HGE, “Spread of Influence” (1956), p. [6]. In more contemporaneous documents, Harriet wrote that Lunacharsky “thanked me in name of Russia for coming. Said suggestions would be followed as fast as possible” (see CSL, Eddy Papers, Box 2487, folder 6) or that “He thanked me most heartily in the name of Russia for coming, and said my articles and report would be given widest publicity, and that the suggestions would be carefully studied and put into use as fast as possible” (see CSL, Eddy Papers, Box 2493, folder 10).

49 CSL, Eddy Papers, Box 2488, folder 1.


52 CSL, Eddy Papers, Box 2492, folder 12.


54 Ibid., page 24 and 103. The goal is to catch and surpass the leading capitalist countries; see p. 88.

55 CSL, Eddy Papers, Box 2493, folder 12; see also, HGE, “The Library Institute,” a 29-page photo-essay.

56 From her CSL archives it is clear that she avidly read Miles M. Sherover’s “An American Loan to Russia?” *New Republic* vol. 65, no. 837 (17 December 1930): 127–130 as well as the 24 December 1930 issue of the *New Republic* (vol. 65) which published the first of a four-part series entitled “Two American Boys in Soviet Russia” by David and Robin Kinkade in (no. 838: pp. 154–156), (no. 839, 31 December 1930: pp. 187–190), (no. 840, 7 January 1931: pp. 213–215 and (no. 841, 14 January 1931: 241–244) due to A. R. Williams’ influence. In December 1930, Alzada P. Comstock of Mount Holyoke College wrote a series of articles for Francis H. Snow, managing editor of *Current History;* see, volume 33, no. 3 entitled “Daily Struggle in Russia” (pp. 346–350). HGE believed that the third paragraph about workers on the street to be inaccurate, but otherwise she was in agreement with the author’s assessment. Other titles in the series include “The Grain War in Soviet Russia” (December 1929) and “Pitfalls of Soviet Planning” (March 1932).

57 HGE, *The Rover Girls* (San Francisco: Designed by Giacomo Pati, 14 February 1965), p. 24; see also, Olga Trifonova, *Dom na naberezhnoi* (The House on the Embankment, aka “Stalin’s Government House”) (Moscow: Moskva, 2005) and Yuri Slezkine of University of California, Berkeley’s department of history may be working on a social history of Boris Iofan’s eleven-story Constructivist building with twenty-four entrances for 505 flats.

58 For example, in April 1931, she traveled to Verblude (which means camel) to see the influence of Iowa State trained Edward J. Stirmiman, an extension specialist in Agricultural Engineering from the University of California, Berkeley, who established a tractor school there in 1929/30, using International 1510s; see Dana G. Dalrymple, “The American Tractor Comes to Soviet Agriculture: The Transfer of a Technology,” *Technology and Culture* 5 (Spring 1964): 191–214.

59 CSL, Eddy Papers, Box 2491, folder 1 and 2.

60 Eddy signed petitions along with Mary van Kleeck of the Russell Sage Foundation and others; see, for example, “Amity With Russia Urged in Petition; Letter to Roosevelt signed by 35 Here Asks for Immediate Recognition,” *New York Times*, 15 May 1933.

61 Article 46 states that “Citizens of the USSR have the right to enjoy cultural benefits...which are ensured...by extending the free library service” at http://www.departments.bucknell.edu/russian/const/77cons02.html (accessed 19 March 2007).

62 *Soviet Russia Today* 8 (no. 5, September 1939): 24–25 and 28. Apparently, Eddy was a cofounding member of the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom along with Jane Addams as well as a member of the national board of the supposedly communist front organization, the American Council on Soviet Relations in New York City. She remained close friends with Jane Addams toward the end of her life.


64 Harriet G. Eddy Middle School library archives; David J. Hardy, section chief, Federal Bureau of Investigation to Richardson, 1 March 2007, writes “Records which may be responsive to your Freedom of Information-Privacy Acts (FOIPA) request were destroyed on August 31, 2004.”

65 In the 1920s and into the 1930s, she was a member of the Northern California Mooney Billings Defense Committee (see also Todd, *Correspondent,* pp. 195–198) and she carried on a long correspondence, dating from 1927, with Joseph Freeman, a leftist/socialist or bohemian author as well as newspaper and magazine editor, signing some of her letters to him with “I shake your hand”—*Zhuu raka*, the Communist Party slogan; she joined the Inter Professional Association (IPA) and also hosted sixty members of the American Student Union, which had been denied access to Berkeley, in her home in 1916 and was friends with Mary van Kleeck, the labor reformer. See Hoover Institution’s Joseph Freeman Papers, Box 20, folder ID 28.


67 Also called GH3 and still sold today as Gerovital, this Novocain preparation became discredited in the medical community about the same time as her visit.

68 CSL, Eddy Papers, Box 2482, folder 5. In 1967, Emil Wachtel, as executor of her estate, in lieu of a funeral established the Harriet G. Eddy Emergency Loan Fund (#05010) in November 1967 at UCLA’s Graduate School of Library Service drawing upon the Harriet G. Eddy Memorial Fund (which came about due to Andrew Horn’s influence when he asked her to write her personal recollections in 1955).

69 According to Karetzky, at least five other American librarians visited between 1924 and 1935, with trips ranging from a few days to three months, including Harry M. Lydenberg and Avraham Yarmolinsky of the New York Public Library, Margaret P. Coleman of the Omaha Public Library, Douglas Waples and William E. Haygood of the Graduate Library School at the University of Chicago, and John R. Russell of the National Archives.

“When I get to California I intend to employ my pencil more” George Holbrook Baker, Argonaut Artist

By John E. Allen

You will doubtless ask if I have taken any views of the beautiful country through which I pass. To this I am sorry to answer ‘Very few. Not more than a dozen.’ But when I get to California I intend to use my pencil more.”

So wrote George Holbrook Baker in a letter to his family in Boston from San Jose, Baja California, on April 23, 1849. My introduction to this remarkable California artist began some twenty years ago when I was doing research in the California Room in the Library and Courts I Building. My eyes were drawn towards a framed print on the wall. As I came closer to it, I saw that it was an elevated view of 1857 Sacramento. I was astounded by what greeted my eyes. It seemed familiar, but foreign too. As a resident of Sacramento for half a century, it seemed familiar, but foreign. The large lithograph made it possible for me to overcome the two great barriers for all historians, time and space. Its fine exacting detail allowed me in my imagination to wander the streets of my adopted city more than a hundred years earlier. It certainly has to be one of the finest examples ever produced of the art of view-making in the United States, both in terms of the veracity of its subject matter and skill of its draftsmanship and artistry.

Beyond the work itself, I knew nothing about the man who produced it. It would be some years before I would become more fully acquainted with Baker’s remarkable and varied career. This all changed when I began work on curating an exhibit for the California State Capitol Museum in 2005. It was the subject of an article in the California State Library Foundation Bulletin (Number 88). The year-long exhibition, entitled “The Bird’s-Eye Views of California,” featured many rare treasures from the California State Library’s extraordinary collection of bird’s-eye views. It presented the public with the rare opportunity to see California commu-
nities from a most unique perspective. These aerial representations, known as bird’s-eye views, reveal the fascinating world of California’s ever changing urban landscapes. These wonderfully detailed artistic renderings provide us with a series of historic urban portraits for the last 150 years of our state’s history. “The Bird’s-Eye Views of California” was the first of its kind to fully look at the state’s communities from an elevated viewpoint and examine the efforts of view artists to capture the changing nature of our state’s varied communities on paper.

At the time, I was limited from doing more in-depth research on George Baker due to the constraints from mounting the exhibit. So when Gary Kurutz, Curator of Special Collections, approached me about doing an article on this gifted artist, I readily accepted so that I might once again have the opportunity to renew my acquaintance with this remarkable man.

George Holbrook Baker was born in Medway, Massachusetts, on March 9, 1827. He attended school in Boston and later the Academy of Design in New York City. In an 1857 letter to his son, Charles, we learn something about his artistic career. “My mother being of an artistic temperament rather encouraged me,” Baker wrote, “we went to some of the best engravers, and they all said I had great talent, but none wished to take an apprentice.” He then goes on to mention that he went to study art in Europe before returning to exhibit his paintings. He also found work as an illustrator for Gleason’s Drawing Room Companion, one of the first newspapers to have extensive engraved illustrations.

For what happened next in Baker’s life we need to turn to a February 7, 1849 letter. In it, the twenty-two-year-old writes:

I was a young artist in the great city of New York, with a reputation and standing in the community yet to be acquired. I loved my art, but I hated to be bound down in tastes and feelings by the stern hand of necessity. To me then the new “gold diggings” presented great inducements to emigration. Accordingly I caught the prevailing infection, and dropped my brushes and left for Boston in order to make the necessary arrangements for departure.

“A Bird’s–eye View of Sacramento, Capitol of the State of California” was produced in five different states between 1857 and 1858. This view, with its thirty-six vignettes of Sacramento buildings is a tour de force of the lithographer’s art.
Baker joined the “New England Pioneers.” This party of “twelve stout men armed and equipped and ready for California” made its way overland across Mexico. The rigors of the journey allowed him little time to make “any views of the beautiful country through which I have passed.” Baker, however, hoped to make up for this. Promising himself: “When I get to California I intend to employ my pencil more.”

After a four and half month journey by land and sea, the artist-Argonaut arrived in San Francisco in May of 1849. Soon after becoming “fairly located as a gold digger” on the North fork of the American River, Baker realized, like most other miners, he quickly needed to find more profitable work elsewhere.

I have pretty effectually made up my mind to leave the “diggings”...whatever may be the prospects here. I think I can make as much, if not more, in a more comfortable business.

The next year, Baker went into the express business under the name of “Baker’s Express,” operating between Marysville and the mining camps along the Feather River. Before the year was out, this one man express company went out of business, due to the difficult nature of the work as well as the fierce competition. Baker then found work as a store clerk. While many other artists gave up on an artistic career, Baker persevered. Like many other view-artists, he had a varied career. Unlike many of his contemporaries, however, Baker had a great advantage in having formal training in art. After further efforts at finding a “comfortable business,” he was able to finally establish himself in the publishing trade. Baker was the editor for two newspapers: the Spirit of the Age in Sacramento (1855—56); and the Granite Journal of Folsom (1856).

In 1855, he went into a short partnership with Edmund Lorenzo Barber (1808—70), an engraver from Connecticut. The firm of “Barber and Baker” occupied a building on the corner of Third and “J” streets. During the single year that they were in business together, the two men published the first urban history of a city in the American West, Sacramento Illustrated. Only thirty-six pages in length, this spectacular work was full of engravings of some of the city’s most prominent buildings and street scenes. A year later, George Baker married Mary A. Belden.

During the ten years Baker spent in Sacramento, he sketched and published his greatest masterpieces – a series of large,
A page from Baker's sketchbook with a pencil drawing of Nevada City, c.1855.

detailed views of his adopted city. “A Bird’s – eye View of Sacramento” was produced in five different states between 1857 and 1858. These views were published under various subtitles and the number of vignettes varied between thirty-one and thirty-six scenes. This view is a tour de force of the lithographer’s art. Its large format allowed the artist to crowd it with stunning detail of his adopted city. The print’s wide margins also presented Baker with the opportunity to surround the central view of Sacramento with smaller vignettes of many of the city’s most prominent businesses, churches, and civic buildings as well as the chance to charge his subscribers extra for their inclusion. We are most fortunate in that the State Library has some of his rare pencil sketches that he made for these vignette scenes.

Following the disastrous winter flood of 1861-1862, Baker moved to San Francisco, where he entered into a very long and productive career, spanning the decades from the 1860s to the 1880s. He established the premier publishing and lithograph firm in the city. While most of his work was more of a commercial nature – business cards, labels, stock certificates, and post-ers – he did manage to produce a total of nine known bird’s-eye views between 1849 and 1891: eight of California; and one of Fort Yuma, Arizona. Among his California views were those of San Francisco, San Diego, and Sacramento. George Baker retired from the business in the early 1890s, as one of California’s most successful publishers. He died on January 20, 1906 as the result of a streetcar accident. This would be just weeks before the catastrophic San Francisco earthquake, which would see the destruction of many of his works of art and business records. Fortunately, however, not all of these were lost on April 18.

During his active career, Baker like many businessmen of his day, kept detailed records and journals and wrote numerous articles. That these should survive is quite another matter. It is quite rare to find, let alone have in any public collection, the archives of a California view artist. This dearth of known material would be corrected in Baker’s case in 2000 when the California State Library became the beneficiary of a generous donation. It was in that year that the Library was fortunate to acquire a unique collection of Baker artifacts and papers. The
Bulletin Number 94

Photograph of Baker late in life (date unknown).

Prospectus for the publication of *Sacramento Illustrated* by Barber and Baker, January 15, 1855.

Pencil and wash sketch of Cliff House in San Francisco (date unknown) and the finished lithograph (date unknown).
Baker Collection was donated to the California State Library by Stephen R. Anaya of Santa Monica along with an important collection of Benicia daguerreotypes and photographs of the 1868 Hayward Earthquake by Eadweard Muybridge.

This welcome addition of Baker material, includes, among other things, drawings, sketchbooks, account books, diaries, samples of his work as a printer and even some examples of his personal drawing equipment. This remarkable collection is particularly helpful in allowing us to fill in many of the details in Baker’s lengthy career – details of his work as an artist and publisher that otherwise would remain unknown to us. These records help to provide us with a better sense of his business operations and practices, and at the same time reveal more about the man himself. The following samples from his journals, notebooks, and ledgers are among some of the more interesting entries:

January 7, 1865. Received from Bank on act of litho circulars; February 18, Engage to litho 150 copies of map for Mr. Bosqui for $35 To be done as soon as possible (Diary; Baker Manuscript Collection, box 1845, folder 5)

Feb. 4 [1865] Order form Petaluma through A. C. Wheeks, 1,000 cards representing Sanitary Relief of Healdsburg. Price $28; February 21, Paid $20 on office rent; May 5, pencils and ink $1.40; July 25 5 stones $65.00; August 25 repairing press $5.00 (Bancroft Diary for 1865; Baker Manuscript Collection, box 1845, folder 1)

Number 95, Chinese opium labels; Nr. 22, Sacramento Valley Railroad; Nr. 75, Heald’s Business College, Sacramento Savings Bank; Nr.115, U. S. Mint certificate (Memorandum of Lithographic Stones, January 1891; Baker Manuscript Collection, box 1845, folder 3)

F.S. Lardner of Sacramento, lithographing 25 views of building $75; Fort Yuma 7, $38; Kim Wing Co. American and Chinese newspaper; Mining Press. To cash $2.50, April 1, 1 roller $5, September 4, 1 zinco [plate] $5, by use of press as per settlement $12.75 (Ledger, 1867—1883; Baker Manuscript Collection, box 1845, folder 4)

The reference to Fort Yuma is of particular interest. It most certainly refers to his 1875 lithographed bird’s-eye view of Fort Yuma.

Sadly, of the twenty artists known to us who produced the more than four hundred published bird’s-eye views of California, very little is known. In most instances, we have to fill in the sparse details of their obscure lives from a wide variety of sources—census records, newspapers, city directories, and advertisements. This is happily not the case with George

Some of the drawing materials that George Baker used during his long career as an artist and lithographer: lithographed tin canister for Festains artist charcoals, lithographed cardboard box containing “Koh-i-nor British Graphite Condensed Lead Refills,” and lithographic crow quill pen made by Joseph Gillott, wooden pencil sharpener.
Holbrook Baker. Fate has been kind in leaving us many of his letters, diaries, and other personal and business records. The Baker collection in the California State Library, along with that in the Society of California Pioneers, provides us with invaluable sources to help us to better document and reconstruct the remarkable career of this great California artist. California is all the more fortunate that George Baker continued to use his pencil after coming to our state.

FURTHER READING


One can only imagine the excitement on September 15, 1830, when the first train rolled down the tracks from Liverpool to Manchester linking the industrial cities in northwest England. Watching the steam locomotive beginning to chug with smoke pouring out of its stack and the cars lurching forward must have been the modern equivalency of seeing a rocket blast off from Cape Canaveral. The Liverpool and Manchester Railway (L&M) became the first intercity railway in the world and the world’s second practical railway line. It set the standards that would govern future rail transportation across the globe, including timetables, the use of colored signals, and of the gauge or width of the track. It was also the first railway to carry mail.

To celebrate this momentous technological achievement, artist Thomas Talbot Bury (1811–77) produced a splendid series of aquatint engravings in a large quarto-sized volume entitled Coloured Views on the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, with Plates of the Coaches, Machines, &c. from Drawings Made on the Spot. A short eight-page history of the railway appeared at the end of the plates. This eye-catching quarto appeared in February 1831 and was published by the noted London firm of Ackermann and Company. Well received, Ackermann continued to print revised and expanded editions. As testimony of its international acclaim, editions were also published in Spain, France, and Germany. Henceforth, prints of railroad scenes became popular.

Through the kind efforts of Foundation Board Member Mead B. Kibbey, Charles Ripley of Camino, California, generously donated a splendid copy of the 1833 edition of this remarkable volume to the State Library. His gift is the finest color-plate book in the Library’s collection devoted to early rail transportation and serves as a wonderful example of the technique of aquatint engraving.

Artist T. T. Bury, a student of Augustus Pugin, worked at a time when publishers like Rudolph Ackermann possessed the technological know-how to produce sublime illustrated books. Ackermann used a form of illustration known as aquatint, which imitated a watercolor painting. The aquatint has been hailed as the most beautiful form of book illustration and reached its peak in Bury’s day.

Gary F. Kurutz is Executive Director of the Foundation and Curator of Special Collections at the State Library.

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Note to the reader: The illustrations for this article are reproduced in color on the Foundation’s website at www.cslfdn.org. Click on publications and then on the latest issue of the Bulletin.
zenith with John Audubon’s double elephant folio, *The Birds of America* (1827–38). An intaglio process (lines carved into the surface), the aquatint became popular in the late eighteenth century and flourished for several decades before giving way to the lithograph in the 1840s. To achieve its watery appearance, the metal plate received a ground of a powdery substance or resin and was heated to bond to the plate. The plate was then dipped in acid to eat into or bite the area around the resin or powder. Thereafter, the plate was “stopped out” with varnish. This process of acid baths and stopping out was repeated until the desired tonal qualities were reached. Once printed, a cheap labor force consisting of women and children under the artist’s direction began the process of hand-coloring each black and white print. The detail created by the plates is simply astonishing, and the color a delight to behold. Natural history, topographical views of the countryside and historic spots, and sporting events emerged as popular subjects for the aquatint illustrated book.

This 1833 edition given the to Library by Mr. Ripley includes not only the six plates from the 1831 first edition but also seven additional plates by Bury. His plates are followed by three twenty-four-inch long foldouts, two of which are by I. Shaw of Liverpool and the third by an unknown artist. Evidently, the original 1831 copper plates became worn, and for this new edition, Ackermann’s staff created a new set. The London publisher employed two talented engravers, H. Pyall and S. G. Hughes to produce the aquatints. It is not known how many copies Ackermann published, but such productions with the hand coloring were necessarily limited and expensive. Colin Franklin, author of the monumental study *Themes in Aquatint*, praised the railroad book calling it among the best produced by Ackermann.
Bury’s gorgeous plates attest to the wonder of this feat of English engineering. The railway was created to provide faster transportation of goods and raw materials from the port city of Liverpool to the mills of Manchester and vicinity, a distance of thirty-one miles. Joseph Sanders and John Kennedy, the original promoters of the L&MR, hoped to offer an alternative to water transport. Many believed that those who operated the canals and transport vessels levied excessive charges and stifled the growth of Manchester. Goods were known to make the distance from New York to Liverpool in less time than from Liverpool to Manchester! Once the railway company received the Royal Assent or permission to build in 1826, engineer George Stephenson undertook the project. He faced a California equivalency of crossing the Sierra. Rather than a mountain range, his barriers included skirting the docks at Liverpool and the immense and deep peat bog of Chat Moss that blocked the way into Manchester. At Liverpool, the railway company bored the 2,250 yard Wapping Tunnel, the first in the world to run underneath a city. Local landowners did not want the railway interfering with their docks. To bridge Chat Moss, Stephenson created a series of brushwood and heather hurdles laid under the wood sleepers (heavy beams) that supported the rails. Seemingly, the track floated across the length of the five-mile marsh. In addition, the railway had to cut through two miles of rock at Olive Mount and construct a nine-arch viaduct of 450 feet over the Sankey Brook Valley. All told, the railway required an astonishing sixty-four bridges and viaducts.

Despite the many obstacles, the number of years it took to build, and the expenditure of £740,000, the new rail line offered considerable advantages. Previously, the fastest a passenger could travel on land was by horse, and it would take three times as long to make the same distance. Furthermore, it would have taken two hundred horses to pull the same weight. The article even predicted that there would be a “vast decrease in the consumption of oats and hay by the substitution of steam engines in lieu of horses” and that the fields could be converted to more worthwhile uses like raising crops for feeding human beings. The text accompanying the book noted the L&MR “superseded almost all the stage-coaches and the labour of at least five hundred horses.” In a short time, the Liverpool and Manchester Railway increased in popularity to the point where six first-class and six second-class trains ran on weekdays and two of each on Sundays. People began taking this new form of transportation for excursions and to attend horse races. As predicted in the book’s final paragraph: "The success of this experiment has been so signal and so complete, as to justify the anticipation of the speedy introduction of railways throughout the country."

As mentioned before, the opening of rail service for public use brought about practical innovations still in place today. For example, the gauge or width of the track of 4 feet, 8 ⅓ inches came to be used universally. The railway also constructed double tracks so as to handle traffic in both directions. Before the invention of the telegraph, this was a necessity. Its rails were made of wrought iron, fifteen feet long, two inches broad, and one inch thick. The know-how gained from the construction of the tunnels, viaducts, and bridges would have immediate application as rail service expanded throughout the kingdom. To further facilitate safe passage, the company developed an important system of signal colors: red for stop, green for caution, and white for clear. The rest of England and the United States quickly adopted this color coding which was later changed to the present day
red, green (for go), and yellow (for caution). In addition, the first mail delivered by rail traveled over this historic line.

Bury’s drawings offer a truly captivating look at this pioneer railway. The volume begins with the cavernous and eerie-looking Wapping Tunnel followed by the stupendous cut through Olive Mount; the awesome nine-arch, seventy-foot-high viaduct across Sankey Brook Valley; the “floating” tracks over Chat Moss bog; profile views of locomotives and carriages; and scenes along the way. His views certainly convey the challenge these railroad builders overcame. While delineating a highly technological achievement, this artist beautifully rendered a serene, pastoral English countryside that would forever be disrupted by the ribbons of iron. In addition, his portrayal of both upper class and common people seems right out of a Charlotte Brontë novel. Bury’s plates are followed by three, twenty-four-inch long foldouts, two of which are by I. Shaw of Liverpool and the third by an unknown artist. The first of Shaw’s plates is a fascinating two-part profile of first and second-class passenger trains. First-class passengers are comfortably ensconced in enclosed cars with their baggage on top. In contrast, the lowly second-class travelers are stuffed into open cars like cattle. Heaven help them on a rainy day or a cold morning. His other panorama shows two lines of freight cars.

What also adds to the value of this handsome book is its record of provenance or previous ownership. Letters inside the volume indicate that its first or earlier owner was Charles
Lawrence, the first chairman of the rail line and Mayor of Liverpool. From his hands, it traveled across the Atlantic and, as indicated by an attractive bookplate, came into the possession of Robert Hesham Sayre of South Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. At one time Sayre served as president of the Pennsylvania and New York Railroad and superintendent of the Lehigh Valley Railroad. Appropriately, his ex libris depicts a large opened book with an illustration of a locomotive. The borough of Sayre, Pennsylvania, and town of Sayre, Oklahoma, recall his success as a railroad tycoon. A handwritten note inscribed on the flyleaf described the book as “Scarce. Fine copy.” Another bookseller wrote below: “very scarce.” How right they were.

This gift by Mr. Ripley represents an extraordinary addition to the Library’s collection of railroadiana and aquatint plate books. Among the latter, John James Audubon’s four-volume *Birds of America* and Thomas Daniell’s three-volume *Oriental Scenery* (1795–1801) stand as the most famous and rare examples in the State Library’s collection. Dan Flanagan of the Library’s Preservation Office constructed a beautiful clamshell box to house and protect this new treasure.

**ENDNOTES**

1. The Stockton and Darlington Railroad was opened in 1825, but it was intended only for private coal traffic and not passengers and general freight.


*Taking in Water at Parkside.*
“Excavation of Olive Mount, four miles from Liverpool.” The railway had to cut through two miles of rock.
The walls of the State Librarian’s office suite in the Library & Courts Building I were graced with an impressive collection of California oil paintings. All have historical significance and range in date from the 1840s to the 1930s. They include scenes of Sacramento at the time of the Gold Rush, Sutter’s Fort, Bidwell’s Bar, Knight’s Ferry, the Arroyo Seco near Pasadena, the Colorado Desert near Palm Springs, a haunting scene from the Great Depression, and portraits of Manuel Mietorena, Isaac Graham, Elisha O. Crosby, Bennet Riley, and Joaquin Miller. Artists represented are Maynard Dixon, Manuel Valencia, J. E. Stuart, George Frost, and Carl Eytel. With the closure of the building for restoration purposes (see Bulletin 92) and the relocation of the paintings, it seemed like an excellent opportunity to commission the creation of high quality digital photographs of these priceless works. Thankfully, the Foundation funded this much needed effort.

Because of the reflection of the surface and frame, photographing an oil painting can be a real challenge. To undertake this important and complex task, the Foundation selected Fair Oaks photographer Jesse Bravo. Recently, Mr. Bravo photographed many of the paintings in the Crocker Art Museum. In addition, he has photographed paintings and other works of art for private collectors and other museums. Previously, he won many awards for his work in photojournalism and celebrity portraiture. Bravo brought to the job not only his considerable skill as a photographer but also a unique understanding of how to faithfully capture with his digital camera the true colors of each painting. Color transparencies shot with film often do not do justice to the art work, especially when reformatted for publication. A former photojournalist, Bravo employs the latest computer technology and lighting techniques to obtain the best possible image. Each image averages 180MB in size, and is captured in forty-eight bit-depth allowing for an excellent range of tones and billions of colors. Viewing his photographs on a large screen computer monitor is simply an amazing experience. Detail not seen with the naked eye appears with astonishing clarity. The paintings, in effect, become three-dimensional.

With the completion of Bravo’s work, the paintings have been transferred to the Library’s facility at 900 N Street in Sacramento. Many will be hung in the California History Room to be enjoyed by the Library’s many researchers. The high resolution digital files will also be made available for reproduction once they are cataloged and loaded onto the Library’s server.

One more painting-related project needs to be done: the Foundation hopes to obtain outside funding to secure the services of Jesse Bravo to photograph the Maynard Dixon murals on the second floor and in Gillis Hall as well as the Frank Van Sloan murals in the World War I Memorial Vestibule. All three pose significant challenges because of their immense size, height above the floor, and decorative elements that partially block the view of several of the individual mural panels. Despite their significance, these murals have never been professionally photographed close-up, much less digitally, and creating a visual record of them before restoration work begins is of crucial importance.
Bidwell’s Bar, Butte County, c. 1856. Artist unknown.

Sutter’s Fort in 1846 by Manuel Valencia, c. 1875. The painting is based on a contemporary sketch by Valencia’s father, also named Manuel.

Sacramento City, 1849 by George A. Frost. The Library also has George Baker’s original pencil sketch that served as the model for this 1889 painting.
On March 11, 2009, Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger appointed Toby Ewing Director of the California Research Bureau (CRB). The Bureau is a section of the California State Library that provides objective, nonpartisan research services to the Governor and his staff, members of the legislature and legislative staff, and state-wide elected and appointed officials. As the Foundation and CRB work hand-in-hand on many projects, Dr. Ewing’s appointment was eagerly awaited. He succeeds Dean Misczynski, who retired as CRB Director during the fall of 2008.

Prior to his appointment, Ewing was research director of California Forward (2007–2009) and research director for the New California Network (2006–2007). From 1999 to 2006, he served as project manager for the Little Hoover Commission. As executive director for the Senate Advisory Commission on Cost Control in State Government from 1997 to 1999, Ewing managed California’s “Grace Commission,” a landmark effort that identified strategies to move the state toward efficient, accountable, and well-managed government. Honored as a Fulbright Scholar in the mid-1990s, he facilitated and documented a complex community development initiative in Costa Rica.

A PhD graduate in sociology from Syracuse University, Ewing serves on the Governing Council of the California Sociological Association and is a member of the American Sociological Association, Community Indicators Consortium, and Words to Deeds Leadership Council.

Ewing’s recent publications include two studies on California budget reform for the New California Network and eight reports for the Little Hoover Commission on state policy issues as diverse as preparing for catastrophic events, improving health and human services, reforming foster care, making commitments to mental health, and improving access and quality in California’s community colleges.

“Toby is a wonderful addition to the California State Library,” said Acting State Librarian Stacey Aldrich. “His breadth and depth of experience and energy are perfect for the continued growth of the California Research Bureau and State Library.”

Ward Ritchie Rarity Acquired in Honor of Gary E. Strong

Since his departure as State Librarian of California in 1994, Gary E. Strong has generously supported the Foundation with an annual contribution. Throughout his noteworthy career, Mr. Strong has had a passionate interest in California fine press books and has created one of the most impressive collections in private hands. Mr. Strong, while State Librarian, befriended one of California’s greatest fine printers, Ward Ritchie of Los Angeles. Their friendship resulted in a special exhibition and reception in the State Library’s California Room when it was in Library and Courts Building I and the Foundation publication in 1984 of The Mystique of Printing: A Half Century of Books Designed by Ward Ritchie.

It seemed only fitting to use some of his donated funds to acquire an important Ward Ritchie title in his honor. The opportunity came when a Los Angeles bookseller listed a legendary rarity, Robinson Jeffers’ Stars. It was printed by Ritchie under the imprint of The Flame Press in 1930 when he was just beginning his illustrious career. Twenty-five years of age at the time, Ritchie had set up his studio at Clyde Browne’s Abbey San Encino Press in the Arroyo Seco of Highland Park. Ritchie actually shared his studio in this Bohemian enclave with another legendary bookman, Lawrence Clark Powell. The poet Robinson Jeffers, like Ritchie and Powell, had earlier graduated from nearby Occidental College, and Ritchie recognized the genius of a fellow alumnus in Jeffers. It seemed only natural that they would collaborate. Jeffers, of course, had moved to the Carmel area and, with his wife, Una, erected Tor House and Hawk Tower. Powell later wrote a book on Jeffers published by the San Pasqual Press of Pasadena.

The publication of Jeffers’ Stars reflects the vagaries of the publishing business and fine printing in particular. According to a bibliography of Ritchie’s imprints, only seventy-two copies of the first edition were printed and most of those were destroyed. Apparently, this first edition was filled with errors causing its suppression. Ritchie then issued a corrected version of 110 copies, and it is this second edition that the Foundation purchased on behalf of the Library. This beautifully printed eight-page work of poetry is still in its original blue wrappers, and a slip case will be constructed to ensure its preservation. The catalog record will reflect Gary Strong’s donation. Perhaps adding further to the connection between these bookmen, Mr. Strong now serves as University Librarian of UCLA, a position once held by Powell.
The Story of Grandma Moore’s Painting of Sutter’s Fort

by Marilyn [Moore] Sommerdorf

EDITOR’S NOTE
The following delightful story was furnished to us by Marilyn Sommerdorf, the donor of the painting that graces the cover of the Bulletin. The original oil painting now hangs in the State Library’s California History Room. Painted in 1895, it depicts the historic fort before its restoration. This painting, along with several others, was recently photographed by Jesse Bravo. Please see page 28 of the Notes Section of the Bulletin.

A n interior renovation of the family home brought to light the nearly lost provenance of this painting. My father’s cousin Eva Scott came for a visit to the house after the Sutter’s Fort painting had been relocated to a different wall in the living room. Casually she mentioned how much she liked the new location of “Grandma Moore’s painting.” After some conversation, she was surprised to hear that my mother and I did not know the story of the painting’s origin.

According to Eva, the painting was commissioned by my great grandmother Sarah [Lufkin] Moore to be the backdrop for her fruit booth at the California State Fair. This was during the era when the State Fair was held on the grounds of the State Capitol. Sarah grew fruit on the family ranch two and a half miles south of the town of Freeport along the Sacramento River. I did some cursory investigation and discovered my great grandmother’s name in a Sacramento business directory around the same time as the date on the painting. She was listed under her own first name growing fruit on the ranch. I thought she must have been an interesting woman to list herself using her first name at that time.

My mother, Dorrance [Chandler] Moore and I had always wondered why the painting of the Fort had such a plain frame. Most oil paintings of the era had intricate gesso and gilded ones. The wide board frame finished with what appeared to us to be a wipe of gold paint now made sense. The frame fit the function of a fruit display giving it height and a larger presence. A search of some early State Fair catalogues revealed that Sarah Moore had indeed exhibited fruit.

As to the artist, J. W. Huber, I could never find much about this person. I did find an artist with the last name of Huber displaying paintings at the same time at the Fair. This name did not seem to match. I suspected the artist to be a woman for three reasons. The first is the painting was signed using initials rather than a first name. The second reason is the fact that Sarah Moore appeared to be a rather independent person. It would not have been surprising to me that she commissioned the painting from a woman artist. The third is that I found a woman with the last name of Huber who taught art at an academy in Sacramento for a short time.

When I sold my portion of the Moore Ranch I gave great thought to “Grandma Moore’s painting.” At first I wanted to take it with me. But the more I realized how much I had enjoyed growing up with this painting, I wished to share it and have many people enjoy it as well. I contacted Gary Kurutz at the California History Room at the State Library knowing a collection of California images and several of Sutter’s Fort including the period between decay and restoration, was there. Gary came to see the painting and told me he would gladly accept it for the State. I was pleased to know it would be housed with regard to its importance as a California oil and as a piece of history. I was so totally overwhelmed when Gary called me to let me know the painting had been hung in the main reading room. My wish could not have been more fulfilled, for now it was displayed where more people than I ever imagined could enjoy it.

1. Artist Jennie Louise Willis Huber Brother (1873–1950) is listed in Edna Milton Hughes’ monumental Artists in California with the following entry: “At the turn of the century Jennie’s married name was Huber, but by 1920 she was the wife of Amos J. Brothers. She exhibited at the State Fair from 1892–1902.”
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