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Illustrations/Photos: Pages 2-9, 11-12, and 14, California State Library; pages 13-15, Society of California Pioneers, San Francisco; 17-21, Jerry Kilbride Papers, California State Library; 23-28 California State Library; and page 29, Windgate Press.

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The Glories of Chromolithography: Color Plate Books During the Victorian Era

By John Windle

From earliest times in cave paintings and primitive pictorialization, color always played an important role in illuminating and explicating, or, as it were, glossing an image. An animal painted in red meant one thing, a tree colored green another, and of course we painted ourselves; the ancient Celts, for example, famously daubing themselves with woad, a blue dye intended to scare their enemies with its fearsome qualities. Sadly, this practice continues to this day, with college students and NFL fans for example, painting their faces and all too often other parts of their bodies in bright colors to demonstrate their team loyalty, membership in that team’s tribe, and hopefully to be as offensive as possible to the opposing team and their fans. As art and manufacturing techniques became more refined, colors became more widely available and began to be used more richly and more subtly in Asian, middle- and near-Eastern, and African art, spreading west into Europe and perhaps occurring independently in the Americas and Oceania. I will focus here mainly on Europe and touch on North America.

John Windle is one of the nation’s foremost antiquarian booksellers and an authority on William Blake, bibliographer Thomas Frognall Dibdin, and the history of book illustration. He has been of great assistance in developing the State Library’s special collections. In 1980, Mr. Windle published a magnificent facsimile edition of Edward Bosqui’s Grapes and Grape Vines of California.

EDITOR’S NOTE: The following article is the text of John Windle’s superb talk given to a joint meeting of the California State Library Foundation and the Sacramento Book Collector’s Club. It was given on the occasion of the opening of an exhibition “Illumination and Color Printing in the Victorian Era” in the Mead B. Kibbey Gallery of the Library and Courts II Building.
In Europe from the earliest known manuscripts, we see color being used in conjunction with text to illuminate the word, partly as an act of spiritual reverence especially in the use of gold reflecting the sun-like glory of God, etc., and partly as a way to keep the attention of a largely illiterate lay public whose understanding of texts (almost entirely religious) was limited to listening to the words read by a priest whilst at best looking at a picture that would then serve as a mnemonic device for recalling a priest’s teachings or a scene he had described in reading from the Bible or in the Order of the Service. The Chinese and Koreans being far ahead of us by 1450, the first book printed in the West was the forty-two line Gutenberg Bible which, in addition to having illumination and rubrication added by hand to embellish the text and create the illusion of an illuminated manuscript, also had some few lines of text experimentally printed in red. As many of you may already know, rubrication literally means the act of adding the color red, whether in a book as rubrics or on a face as rouge, a practice that has existed as long as people have felt the need to add emphasis to a text or color to their cheeks or lips. In medieval books of hours, both manuscript and printed, in which the prayers for the day are printed according to the hours that they should be said, saints of particular importance had their day rubricated in the calendar found at the front, a practice we commemorate to this day by calling a special day a “red letter day.”

Although Gutenberg’s first efforts at color printing in 1454 were minimal, by 1457 his disciples Fust and Schoeffer printed the Mainz Psalter, which is renowned for the stunningly beautiful color-printed red and blue initial letters made of two interlocking pieces of copy that were inked separately and then printed together with the text in one pull. It has often been remarked that printing may be the only craft in western history whose very first exemplars, the 42-line and 36-line Bibles and the Mainz Psalter, are regarded to this day as the supreme and still unsurpassed examples of the craft of letterpress printing, even if experts still disagree on how exactly they were created. By the sixteenth century, color printing had spread widely and was in use in every print shop in Europe, printing that included color from type, from woodblocks, and from copper plates, using a number of different and ingenious methods to achieve various effects, culminating in the eighteenth century with the illuminated printing of William Blake, whose techniques are not clearly understood to this day and who, when asked how he had devised such arcane methods for producing such sublimely beautiful and unique color-printed books, replied that his dead brother Robert had appeared to him in a dream to show him how to do it. Blake’s creative output peaked in 1796 with...
the production of some of his greatest books and prints. By a

strange coincidence, it was in 1796 that a twenty-five-year-old

German named Johann Nepomuk Franz Alois Senefelder, an

out-of-work actor and writer whose father had recently died leav-
ing him to support eight siblings and his mother, decided to

publish his writing himself and experimented with traditional

relief and intaglio printing processes. For some reason, most

likely expense, he tried drawing and writing on Kilheim lime-

stones, presumably because they were easily available where he

lived, and after not having much luck with incising the stone or

treating it with acid as if to create an etching or engraving, he

discovered by accident that a greasy image on the surface of a

water-attracting substance such as limestone would take up the

ink rejected by the rest of the surface and what he christened

“chemical printing,” which we call lithography, was born.

By 1799 he had perfected the process to the point where he

was awarded the first patent for printing from a planographic

surface on September 3 in Bavaria. He began using the tech-
nique to print music and pictures and opened a lithography

shop in London in 1800, where he was granted a British patent

in 1801. In 1808 he printed what is usually called the first litho-

graphic book, the *Book of Hours of Emperor Maximilian* illus-

trated by Albrecht Dürer. If you think about it, there are really

only two ways to print, at least until very recently after the inven-
tion of computer-driven ink-jet and laser printers—either from

an impression from a relief or incised area, or from a flat sur-

face where the image would transfer without impression. The

entire history of printing resides in those two techniques and

Senefelder’s invention is, if not nearly as well understood, every

bit as astonishing as Gutenberg’s. How exactly does lithography

work? Here’s a nontechnical explanation taken from Grove’s

article on lithography in the *Dictionary of Art*:

To make a lithograph on stone, the surface is ground with

abrasives to prepare a grease-free surface, which can be

smooth or coarse, to suit the intended image. The drawing

medium comes in solid sticks of various consistencies or as

‘Tusche’ (Ger.: ink) which is diluted with distilled water or

more volatile solvents for application by pen or brush. When
the drawn stone has been treated with a mixture of acid and 
gum arabic (called “the etch” but not related to etching), 
adsorption bonds the greasy constituents onto (but not into) 
the stone creating insoluble particles so integral to its surface 
that it can be reused only when they have been ground away. 
The etch also creates a water-loving barrier to resist grease, 
thus establishing image and non-image area simultaneously. 
After a solvent has removed the pigment in the image to 
leave only the grease, prints are made by sponging the stone 
with water, then inking the image with a roller which bears 
oil-based printing ink. Drawn areas repel water and attract 
ink, while undrawn areas retain water and repel ink.

Senefelder devised a way of writing with a special liquid on 
prepared paper and transferring the text to stone by damping 
the paper and passing it, face down, through the press. Chalk 
drawings too can be transferred, as can inked impressions from 
relief blocks, intaglio plates, or “mother stones” replicated for 
the speedier delivery of large editions. Whereas a direct drawing 
reverses when printed and must be conceived back-to-front, 
transferred images are returned to their original orientation 
by double reversal. Senefelder believed this to be the principal 
and most important part of his discovery. He built an upright 
pole press with a hardwood scraper-bar pulled under pressure 
across a greased tympan against the inked stone. Soon there-
after the star-wheel or cylinder press was designed which kept 
the scraper-bar stationary and moved the stone, and this was 
the forerunner to the Brisset press which dominated continen-
tal lithography from the mid-nineteenth century well into the 
late twentieth century. A separate stone was normally created 
and used to print each color, but small rollers were created that 
could localize many colors on one surface, and highly skilled 
printers could seamlessly blend a number of different color inks 
on one roller using a technique called “rainbow roll” or “iris” 
printing. Although these techniques are virtually lost today, the 
astonishing results achieved from their usage can be seen beau-
tifully displayed in this exhibition.

For over thirty years I have been urging collectors and librarians to seek out and acquire early lithography and especially 
chromolithography, but despite one or two exhibitions in the 
last few decades and the publication of a handful of excellent 
books on the subject by Ruari Maclean, Alice Beckwith, Marie 
Korey and others (see the brief bibliography at the end), the field
has been amazingly neglected and consequently quite undervalued. When Gary Kurutz first talked about the exhibition he was planning, I was very excited to be a part of his team locating and acquiring, when necessary, the finest examples of color printing that the California State Library did not already own. Those who have seen the show can attest, he has done a superb job of bringing together a world-class exhibition in a very short time.

Senefelder, who died in 1834 at the age of sixty-three, experimented with color lithography from 1827 until his death, but others had much greater success with it than he did. In France lithography was embraced by artists at once, and to this day the French are the masters of artistic lithography, in which the artist draws directly on the stone, and the lithographer prints the results, giving us such *chef d’œuvres* as Matisse’s *Jazz* and Chagall’s *Bible Illustrations*. Commercial lithography was quickly taken up all over Europe, and the first lithograph printed in the United States (a print by Bass Otis) appeared in the *Analectic Magazine* for February 1819. But commercial as well as artistic chromolithography was really created by the French. In 1837 Godefroy Engelmann patented a technique for printing colors from stone and for the rest of the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth century chromolithography was the preferred process for color printing.

Just as Engelmann was perfecting his process in France, a Gothic revival began to sweep through western Europe, especially England and France. Amongst other things, medieval illumination became all the rage from the 1840s well into the 1860s. Manuals on illumination were printed in large numbers, and to encourage potential practitioners, illuminator’s kits were sold with all the materials necessary to create illuminated manuscripts and decorations. Picking up on this new hobby, publishers began issuing incredibly elaborate and beautiful books, reproducing glorious books of hours; medieval manuscripts; medieval book illuminations; and bindings; as well as works on costume, architecture, decoration and design, and so forth. It is not my intention to list all the great chromolithographic books issued at that time. Many are held by the State Library, including masterpieces by Engelmann, Owen Jones, H. Noel Humphreys, and our own Edward Bosqui, and it is an exciting quest to go in search of others and see where your eye leads you. Let us not forget that in addition to the glamorous gift books and illuminated books of the 1840s on, there were also vast numbers of children’s books; cheap artistic prints, such as the wonderful series of American scenes issued by Currier and Ives; maps; atlases; voyages and travel books; and, perhaps grandest of all, natural history folios with the chromolithographic recreation of Audubon’s double elephant folio *Birds of America* being the largest, most striking, and surely the most expensive example ever created — so expensive in fact that only
the first part was completed.

Instead, I thought I would offer a few specific examples from personal experience in the hope that this may inspire the reader to sally forth in search of these marvels as well as some of their more humble offspring. A word of warning before jumping in, however. A collector and friend of some thirty years now, who was a pioneer in computer engineering in the 1950s became fascinated with color printing and began collecting seriously, not only books but also orange crate labels, trade cards, cigar bands, and all kinds of color-printed ephemera, mostly lithographic and almost all from the nineteenth century. When we spoke just recently he only lacked one significant nineteenth century lithographic book but decided not to buy the copy I brought to his attention (which he already knew about, I found out later) as he was in the process of arranging for the donation of his entire collection to a major research institution. As his collection currently consists of over 100,000 items, now removed from the market forever, you can deduce that for most of us the concept of collecting chromolithography needs to be narrowed down or focused a bit.

You could start, for example, by collecting British chromolithography, the origins of which were dominated by three men: Henry Shaw, Owen Jones, and H. Noel Humphreys. Jones, in addition to designing and printing his own books, also printed for his friend Humphreys, and it is pleasant to imagine those two eminent Victorian artists and craftsmen spending hours together designing and producing their beautiful books. Just prior to Jones and Humphreys, in 1833 Henry Shaw began issuing a magnificent series of books on medieval illumination, dresses and decorations of the middle ages, alphabets, numerals and devices, furniture, and so forth. His books employed a mixture of techniques, including woodblock printing, engraving, lithography, and hand-coloring, and, in the deluxe issues where gold leaf was applied by hand (as in Shaw’s 1833 Illuminated Ornaments Selected from Manuscripts . . . with text by Sir Frederick Madden of the British Museum) the results are, as Maclean noted in Victorian Book Design, “almost as glorious as the original they are reproducing.” But it was Owen Jones, a Welshman trained as an architect, who prepared a massive study of the Alhambra Pal-
Edward Bosqui’s Grapes and Grape Vines is one of the most important books ever printed in California because it represents a number of “firsts” in the state’s printing annals: The first California imprint illustrated with color-printed plates, the first California imprint illustrated by a woman, and the first depiction of the California grape in color.

Plate from Owen Jones’ Grammar of Ornament published in 1868.

ace in Granada where he lived for a while as one could in those days, and who decided to set up his own lithographic press to print the study himself. Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Details of the Alhambra and a companion volume Details and Ornaments, with descriptive text by Pasqual de Gayangos, was issued in parts from 1836 to 1845 and today is recognized as one of the great masterpieces of chromolithography. But for a few earlier experiments, this was the first chromolithographic book printed in England, and its production involved the use of as many as eleven stones per plate, each plate measuring about twenty-six by twenty inches. Just the physical labor alone of creating, loading inking, printing, cleaning, and storing the stones for sixty-nine plates is hard to imagine. Litho stones are very heavy, and he would have had about five hundred or so just for this book, each weighing around one hundred pounds — I weighed one recently to check my numbers); therefore, for this book he had about twenty-five tons of stone to prepare, print, clean, and store.

The book was not a success, and copies were still available years later at a deep discount from the original published price of £36-10s, or about $200 at that time. This compares with Audubon’s double elephant folio Birds of America, which was published in parts beginning in 1836 at $225 a volume. Today’s price for an Alhambra would be around $25,000, if you could find one, and of course, a complete set of Audubon is now in the millions. Jones followed the Alhambra with quite a few lesser but still intricate and fascinating productions, such as volumes of illuminated poetry in embossed bindings, which were as financially unsuccessful as the Alhambra, resulting in a massive “remainder” sale of most of Jones’s inventory at Hodgson’s over four days in 1854. Then came what is surely his chef d’oeuvre: another huge folio published in 1856 entitled The Grammar of Ornament, which consists of plates depicting ornaments of all periods and countries; each plate bears from twenty to sixty design elements for a total of around 4,500 individual designs printed on the one hundred plates, each printed in up to twenty colors, each color requiring its own stone for separate printing, a registration and printing nightmare. It was published in ten parts, selling in bound form for £19-12s, and was no more successful than his previous efforts, though, in this case, it was later reissued in reduced format and it remains in print to this day as a Dover paperback. It was, and has remained ever since, the best single reference source for design and ornament ever created, outclassing even the best efforts of the contemporary French artists and authors such as Auguste Racinet, whose L’Ornement Polychrome (1875) with one hundred plates and Le Costume Historique of 1888 with five hundred plates are the only works worthy of comparison with Jones’s.
Jones’s friend and collaborator H. Noel Humphreys designed and printed several books which, though less dramatic than Jones’s books, were much more popular, especially his charming small books copying medieval illumination into religious texts packaged in so-called papier-mâché (but actually composition) or leather (or once even wooden) relievo (embossed or raised) bindings. It was his Art of Illumination and Missal Painting 1849 that both helped to create and capitalized on the mid-Victorian craze for all things Gothic which gave us such icons as the Houses of Parliament and led to William Morris and the arts and crafts movement. In fact, it is possible, even likely, that Morris as a student at Oxford in the 1850s would have been influenced precisely by Humphreys’s Art of Illumination (more on that in a moment). Humphreys’s guide for illuminators has been called the prototype for such manuals and indeed several more were issued by author/artists such as Tymms, Digby Wyatt, the Audsleys, etc. from 1849 well into the 1860s, though none are as beautiful as Humphrey’s little manual in its fragile white kid leather binding with the upper cover decorated with a chromolithographic plate.

Earlier I mentioned William Blake as a precursor of Victorian illuminated books, and it is worth noting that in 1806 Blake’s one and only lithograph, a view of some frescos in a Stratford-upon-Avon chapel, was published in Specimens of Polyautography, a very rare and costly collection of lithographs using an early name for the process whereby the artist actually draws on the stone or plate. I also just mentioned William Morris, and many readers will recall our dear friends Helen and Sanford Berger whose unparalleled collection of Morris now rests safely in The Huntington Library alongside the latter’s amazing collection of Blake. I mention this because in 1857 Morris, who was twenty-three at the time, presented a copy of Froissart’s Chronicles with chromolithographic illustrations from illuminated manuscripts to Louisa Macdonald —she of the four astonishing Macdonald sisters who variously gave birth to Rudyard Kipling and Stanley Baldwin (Alice and Louisa) or married artists (Georgiana Burne-Jones and Agnes Poynter) —and inscribed it to her with “illuminated” writing that had to have been derived from some manual on the Gothic arts. Morris was sharing rooms at the time with his friend Edward Burne-Jones, and they were renowned for walking the streets of Oxford arm-in-arm chanting Chaucer loudly, and almost thirty years later their joint edition of Chaucer printed at the Kelmscott Press and illustrated by Burne-Jones was the happy result of these influences and friendships. The illuminations in the Froissart Chronicles, published by Bohn in London in 1852 were by H. Noel Humphreys, and biographers of Morris have noted that Froissart’s Chronicles “was since his college days almost his favorite book,” so the link between Humphreys and Morris is clear. Humphreys’s career encompassed the history of chromolithography from his earliest involvement in 1840 to his last book, A History of the Art of Printing (1861), which was printed from lithographic stones prepared from photographs of the originals, a “harbinger of things to come” as Marie Elena Korey notes in her book Elegant Editions: Aspects of Victorian Book Design.

I now want to touch on one shining example of American chromolithography: Edward Bosqui’s Grapes and Grape Vines of California, published under the auspices of the California State Vinicultural Association, oleographed (as the title page calls it) by William Harring from original watercolor drawings by Hannah Millard in San Francisco in 1877. Although Bien’s unfinished elephant folio chromolithographic edition of Audubon’s Birds of America (New York: 1861) is the grandest and most expensive American chromolithographic book, about fifty sets are known to exist today and the last copy at auction recently sold for over $150,000; Bosqui’s Grapes is far rarer, with only a dozen or so copies know to exist today, and a copy, were one to come onto the market, would surely fetch well over $50,000. It was issued in parts, though no set in parts has survived, and in a handsome half-leather binding, and consists of seventeen leaves of text and ten chromolithographic plates. It is one of the most important books ever printed in California because it represents a number of “firsts” in the state’s printing annals: The first California imprint illustrated with color-printed plates, the first California imprint illustrated by a woman, and
the first depiction of the California grape in color.

Although chromolithography was well established in the United States, almost all the work was being done in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, and it was a rare event for a book to be color-printed west of the Rockies until late in the nineteenth century. This makes Bosqui’s achievement all the more astonishing, for his book is a masterpiece. Entirely produced in San Francisco, the chromolithographs are printed using a technique called oleography which the Oxford English Dictionary defines as “the reproducing of a painting by a lithographic colour process: after printing, the result is finished to resemble the surface of an oil painting on canvas,” a process that Bosqui mastered so that the grapes hanging lusciously from their vines are almost tangible in the realistic nature of their presentation.

Sadly a series of fires destroyed Bosqui’s studios three times, and at some point the original paintings and presumably all the sheets of the book were destroyed, accounting for its great rarity. I was fortunate enough to acquire a copy in 1978 and decided that it was a perfect candidate for a full-size accurate facsimile, since the original was all but impossible to come by. Dr. Kevin Starr was kind enough to write a stirring and enthusiastic introduction to my new edition, and by deliberate intention, I aped Bosqui and had the entire book produced in San Francisco, designed and seen through the press by Linnea Gentry of the Amaranth Press, the facsimile lithographs printed by Phelps-Schaefer, and the binding by the Schubert Bindery. Although, like the original, the facsimile was not a commercial success at the time of publication, it is now quite sought after for the extraordinarily fine quality of the facsimiles that, when placed next to the originals, are truly indistinguishable one from the other. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich recognized the commercial potential of the book and published a reduced-size trade edition, which sold tens of thousands of copies before being remaindered, and it too is in steady demand in the second hand book market. So Bosqui’s legacy lives on and is one of a tiny number of nineteenth century chromolithographic books to still be recognized to this day.

From this brief and superficial overview one can see how chromolithography begins with an appreciation for the glories of medieval illuminated manuscripts; derives inspiration from William Blake and illuminated printing; finds its medium through Senefelder and the earlier experimenters with lithography; sees Savage, Baxter, Fawcett, and Shaw amongst others, not to mention the superb French color printers of the late eighteenth century, taking color printing as far as they could before chromolithography; and culminates in the work of the great chromolithographers such as Jones and Humphreys, Engelmann, Curmer, Bien, and Bosqui, as well as the cheap commercial color printing used in schoolbooks, trade cards, magazines, and so forth. As a bookseller I have seen the delight and pleasure that the masterpieces of chromolithography have brought to the great innovators and pioneers of our day such as the leaders of Adobe, Microsoft, and Xerox, who have bought and shared with colleagues examples of color printing and design some of which I have touched in this discourse. An exhibition and collection such as Gary Kurutz has so brilliantly conceived, created, executed, and mounted for our pleasure here in the California State Library is not just a Victorian extravaganza but rather a moment in printing and publishing history that encompasses, backwards and forwards, the entire history of the book as a medium of communication, education, and pleasure. I wish to congratulate the California State Library Foundation, who generously contributed to many of the acquisitions for this exhibition that Gary selected to complement the State Library’s already strong holdings, and also the Sacramento Book Collectors’ Club, whose members have also been enthusiastic supporters of this show.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY


The Library gratefully acknowledges the contribution of Jane Wheaton in translating the French titles illustrated with chromolithographs on display in the exhibition. Her work greatly added to the richness of the display.
multilingual black mariners were amongst the first English-speaking immigrants in San Francisco. Many of the African Americans who settled in gold rush San Francisco were born free, but opportunities also attracted fugitive slaves. While the number of blacks living in antebellum California in 1849 remained small, slavery shaped their lives and they were excluded from participating in politics. On February 17 and 24, 1849, public meetings were held in San Francisco to consider the slavery issue in California. Captain Joseph Libby Folsom (1817–1855) led a local movement to influence the San Francisco delegates to the Constitutional Convention in Monterey, “by all honorable means to oppose any act, measure, provision, or ordinance that is calculated to further the introduction of domestic slavery into the territory of California.” California entered the Union as a free state in 1850, but this fact did not ensure safe refuge for the small African American community, as the newly formed community designed a subculture even as the California legislature and courts adversely shaped its destiny.

Ironically, Captain Folsom became obsessed with the fortune of the first man of African American descent, Captain William A. Leidesdorff (1810–1848), who cultivated the largest estate in California when San Francisco was still a small village known as Yerba Buena. The affluent son of a Danish sugar planter and a Creole mother, Leidesdorff sailed into Yerba Buena Cove in command of his own ship, the Julia Ann, in 1841. He purchased a lot on the corner of Kearny and Clay streets, where he established a hide and tallow business. Leidesdorff’s ability to assimilate inspired confidence from diverse groups involved with commerce throughout the Pacific Rim, so he quickly accumulated wealth. As a prominent landowner and American Vice Consul, Leidesdorff served on the town’s first City Council. He died at a young age from a brain fever before gold was discovered. His unexpected death created a dilemma for local officials. Leidesdorff, thought to be a naturalized American, was actually a naturalized Mexican citizen, and left the largest estate in California without instructions. Had Leidesdorff lived to experience the Gold Rush, he likely would have been separated from his land.

Speculators quickly seized the opportunity to bid on his estate. In June 1849, Joseph Folsom traveled to the island of St. Croix in search of Leidesdorff’s mother Anna Maria Spark, the absentee heir to the vast Leidesdorff estate. Folsom and Spark struck a deal on November 13, 1849, and Folsom made a $5,000 deposit on the properties. Spark accepted the deposit, but disgruntled speculators from California followed Folsom and reported a more accurate assessment of the estate’s worth.

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Folsom had offered Spark less than one half of the land’s value. Spark refused to accept the second payment, and Folsom hired the prestigious local law firm of Halleck, Peachy and Billings to pressure Spark to accept the final payments. Five years later the California Supreme Court decided that Spark, as femme sole, was considered capable of traveling to assess the value of the properties; therefore, the title legally passed to Folsom, who instantly became the wealthiest man in California.

During the 1850s, approximately half of the African Americans in California resided in San Francisco. City directories created a distinct picture of how blacks accumulated wealth and built cultural institutions during the Gold Rush. Black mariners listed in city directories during the early 1850s increased from thirteen to eighteen percent. Mariners were affluent and patronized black-owned establishments while in port. The first city directory published in San Francisco in 1850 described a transient boontown where the streets had no numbering system. The September 1852 city directory included eight black San Franciscans without any ethnic designation. Directories published after the Fugitive Slave Act, document the presence, occupations, and residential and business addresses for prominent African Americans. Later editions documented the black community in different ways: earlier directories list a high proportion of black men employed as cooks; in 1854 black artisans appear; but after 1856, blacks move into low-paying jobs as shoe shiners or bootblacks. Publishers later commissioned citywide surveys calculating demographics for likely subscribers, and these surveys indicate that approximately one-sixth of residents may have been black.

According to the degree of inequity enforced under the law, it seemed that African Americans created a counterculture more conservative than the risky lifestyle of the dominant white community. Blacks could not vote, own a homestead, nor hold public office, and they could not provide testimony in court against whites. A man’s educational background determined his ability to position himself. While men could prosper in ordinary occupations, most were unwilling to do domestic chores. Despite this sensibility, the white population scorned African Americans who became affluent utilizing these skills. Sully Cox was one of the first blacks to settle in San Francisco in 1850. He established a billiard saloon on Kearny Street. Like Alexander Leidesdorff, Cox developed a multipurpose property, expanded his business by adding a bar and rooms for lodgers, and later took on partners to form a construction company.

Mifflin Wistar Gibbs (1823–1915), from Philadelphia, became a leading entrepreneur. The son of a minister, Gibbs was well educated. He apprenticed as a carpenter and joined the Philadelphia Library Company, a black literary society with a library. Gibbs served as a shrewd operative in the Underground Railroad. He traveled with Frederick Douglass on the antislavery lecture circuit and heard about gold discovery in California while on tour. Gibbs arrived in San Francisco in September 1850 on the steamship Golden Gate and stayed in Cox’s establishment while he worked in a clothing store and as a carpenter for John C. Fremont. In 1851, he formed a partnership with boot maker Peter Lester and opened the Pioneer Boot and Shoe Emporium, stocked with fine boots and shoes imported from Philadelphia, London, and Paris. The Emporium gained a reputation for being the best shoe and book importer in the state.

While white miners tolerated Europeans, they saw some minorities as unwanted competitors, and aggressively forced Latin American and Chinese miners to the margins. The Foreign Miners License Law (1850) taxed all non-U.S. citizens twenty dollars per month. Meanwhile, slaves enabled their masters to accumulate wealth with an unfair advantage. As a free
state, slave owners were permitted to travel through California with slaves (considered under the law to be servants), but when a slaveholder chose to reside in the state, the slave was permitted to leave. Alvin A. Coffey, who did not come to San Francisco until after the Civil War, provided an account of a slave’s experience in the gold fields. Alvin A. Coffey was sold to Dr. Basset for $600 in 1846. Coffey worked for three years on Basset’s farm in Missouri. Basset brought Coffey with him when he arrived in California gold country in October 1849. Coffey may have assumed that he could save enough gold to purchase his freedom, but California’s legal climate motivated Basset to return to Missouri with Coffey and his fortune a year later. Coffey described how his newfound wealth did not buy freedom:

I worked on Dr. Basset’s farm three years. The common price for a hand like me was $120 a year. It amounted to $360, and then in ’49, I came to California with him. I worked thirteen years for him in California. I saved him $5,500 in gold dust. I saved $616 of my own money in gold dust.

Going home in 1851 we went by way of New Orleans. He said, ‘Let us go to the mint and have our gold coined.’ He kept my money and when we got up to Missouri, he sold me for a thousand more.

My labor on his farm amounted to $360, I made $5,000 for him in California, he kept my $616 I saved and sold me for $1,000, in this way clearing $6,876 clear profit. 7

Throughout the 1850s, the California Legislature attempted to halt African American migration into the state. Anti-immigration bills were unsuccessfully introduced in the legislature in 1851, 1855, and 1858. Blacks held political conventions to share information and resources and petitioned the legislature to be able to testify in court and to vote. By 1852, Chinese, Jewish, German, and Italian communities began to establish benevolent societies to provide assistance to community members when municipal services were not provided. But the African American community was challenged to provide assistance and meet the needs of a growing population despite the absence of basic civil rights. They later fought the California poll tax, a business tax that black entrepreneurs were required to pay even though they could not vote.

African American women were rarely documented. In early 1851, a Mrs. Aspinwall, along with her family and their slave Kitty, checked into the Oriental Hotel. 8 Within a week of the Aspinwall’s arrival, Kitty’s hands were tied while Mrs. Aspinwall banged her head against the wall. Before Marshal Malachi Fallon could intervene, a sixty-eight year old cook named Frank and another black man ushered Kitty to safety within the household of a local merchant. Frank rescued fugitive slaves and found them refuge in sympathetic white households until they could gain safe passage to the Hawaiian Islands. Kitty remained with the family until bounty hunters stopped searching for her, and accordingly, she was dressed in boy’s clothing to conceal her identity.

Free blacks found that their hands were also tied when they could not testify in court against white men. Chinese prostitute Ah Toy (1829–1928) made the newspaper when in November 1851 she accused Lewis Ottinger of stealing a diamond pin worth $300. 9 Ottinger was a client who had tried to entrap Ah Toy in the back room of her bordello. Ottinger later tried to sell the brooch to H. M. Lewis, an African American pawnbroker on Clay Street. Lewis returned the diamond pin to Ah Toy, and the charges were promptly dropped. The jeweler would not have been able to testify against Ottinger. In 1852, Mifflin Gibbs was humiliated when a white man entered the Pioneer Boot and Shoe Emporium and severely beat his partner before stealing an expensive pair of boots.

Wealthy African American widow Mary Ellen Pleasant (1814–1904) arrived in San Francisco on the steamer Oregon in Febru-
ary 1852. Pleasant, who did not have freedom papers, alternated between “married” and “widowed” status to circumvent the Fugitive Slave Act. She worked as a cook and housekeeper for the commission merchants Case, Heiser & Company House where Selim and Fred Woodworth lived. Selim E. Woodworth (1824–1873) was stationed on the sloop-of-war Jamestown off the coast of Africa in an effort to suppress slave trading. He was thought to be lost when the ship sunk off the coast of Madagascar in 1844, but he was rescued by a native woman and eventually returned to the United States. Later, Woodworth became a local hero when he served in relief expeditions to rescue the stranded Donner Party in 1847. He made news again with his involvement in Fulton v. Woodworth (1850), a landmark case in the California Supreme Court that voided all titles from land grants issued by the American alcaldes from the public domain. Woodworth, an abolitionist, defined California’s policies towards slavery when he served in the first Legislature.

Mary Ellen Pleasant later operated a bachelor’s club for the brothers, where fugitive slaves found refuge in the city. Her career provides insights into the ambiguous world of black women in antebellum San Francisco. Pleasant participated in church-organized campaigns to help the needy. While other immigrant groups developed mutual aid societies, the black community needed to maintain discretion. Pleasant was one of the few black women to accumulate great wealth. She established an elite boardinghouse on Washington Street, and contributed to the library at the San Francisco Athenaeum Institute. She developed networks of houses where fugitive slaves could find refuge and found employment opportunities for African Americans during the late 1850s.

The first indication of a real community documented in city directories was the establishment of “colored” churches that served as education centers with libraries and benevolent societies. On August 1, 1852, the first “colored” congregation the Wesleyan Episcopal Zion Church, founded by the Reverend John Jamison Moore (1818–1883), was located on Stockton Street near Vallejo. August 1 was significant as an annual commemoration held to celebrate the emancipation of slaves in the British West Indies. A Baptist Church established by Reverend Charles Satchell (1806–1872) was located on Grant Street near Greenwich in a private home a year later. By 1854, Thomas M. D. Ward (1823–1894) led the St. Cyprians African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church located on Jackson Street at the corner of Virginia Place.

Mechanical labor kept the San Francisco port economy booming throughout the Gold Rush Era. Black Masons attended a segregated Masonic Hall located at 306 Stockton Street. Community leaders saw the creating of educational opportunity as the best means to pursue upward mobility. The San Francisco
Athenaeum Institute, located at 273 Washington Street, became a hub for the black community with social gatherings, dances, meetings, and card games. Monroe Taylor and James Riker managed a saloon on the first floor, and the second floor housed a large library. California’s first weekly black newspaper, *Mirror of the Times*, grew out of the Athenaeum Institute. San Francisco floated an education bond of $100,000 to expand public education programs in 1854. African American students were segregated from white students, but received a share of the money. That year, a “colored” school was opened with twenty-three students meeting in the basement of the St. Cyprian Church. Reverend John J. Moore was appointed principal, and $150 was appropriated per month for the school. This became the first California public school for African American children in 1855. In 1859, Jonas Holland Townsend described the efforts in the black community to secure public education:

> Fugitive Slave Enactments, Supreme Court Decisions, together with refusals of the general government to allow us the right to preempt the Public lands, may be imposed upon us, yet in the majesty of our manhood, we will by perseverance overcome them all.

Every generation must define civil rights during their age. San Francisco’s African American community never acquired enough wealth and numbers to sway sentiments in the dominant population that shaped the law. When California’s Fugitive Slave Law expired in April 1855, the black community experienced about two years of stability even though slavery remained a juggernaut. In 1857, Charles A. Stovall traveled from Mississippi to California with his father’s slave Archy Lee. Like Dr. Basset did earlier, Stovall hired Lee out for wages, but when he experienced local resistance, he decided to return to his home. Lee escaped and hid in a black-operated hotel in Sacramento, but was arrested in January 1858. The lower court sided with Lee, and he was released. But Stovall had Lee arrested again, and was granted a hearing before the California Supreme Court. In February, the Court announced Lee was considered to be “in transit,” so he was held in Sacramento City Prison for extradition to Mississippi.

Another anti-Negro immigration bill was introduced in early 1858. This bill’s provisions were not only harsh on blacks, but also on their white employers. This coincided with gold discovery in the Hudson’s Bay Company territory on the Fraser River. Mifflin Gibbs traveled to Victoria with provisions to sell to the gold miners in June 1858 and quickly seized the opportunity to purchase land at affordable prices. He reported that Victoria was a “whirlpool of excitement.” This prompted approximately four hundred African Americans from California to follow, creating a vacuum in the middling part of the black community. A few professionals remained, but many artisans,
individuals trained in specific trades or handicrafts, relocated where opportunities opened, taking with them resources from the informal sector where cottage industries fueled black institutions and businesses.

The 1860 United States Census recorded 1,146 blacks, while the city directory broke down the demographics with more detail counting 1,800 individuals. The vast majority of black San Franciscans worked in labor-intensive service jobs by then. About half of the population married, and some employed Chinese servants in their homes. Most black men worked as hairdressers. Businesses previously considered part of the black informal business sector such as recycling, clothing renovation (dry cleaning), and second hand variety stores, came to the fore. However, most African American women who worked for wages at the end of the decade did domestic work and were employed as cooks and seamstresses. Black dressmakers, who were part of the artisan class, created opportunities for other women to work at home. Women shaped their community through activities in churches, charities, literary societies, and businesses in the informal business sector. The Daughters and Sons of Zion Benevolent Association, which was established in 1860, met in the AME Zion Church. The church organized events to raise money for the abolitionist movement. The Ladies Union Benefical Society was incorporated on April 8, 1861 to aid members when they were sick and to bury them when dead. The Society supported union causes and aided widows and orphans in the black community.

Commander Selim E. Woodworth, U.S.N. Courtesy the Society of California Pioneers.

ENDNOTES


4. The city directories utilized in this essay (1850, 1852, 1852–53, 1854, 1856, 1858, 1859–60 and 1860–61) are housed at the Sutro Library, the San Francisco branch of the California State Library.

5. The Fugitive Slave Act, or “Compromise of 1850,” passed September 18, 1850, included laws that were concessions to pro-slavery forces needed to gain the admission of California to the Union as a free state.

6. Gibb’s mother Maria advised him early in life to seek educational opportunities: “Get a trade, boys, if you have to live on bread and apples while attaining it. It is a good foundation to build higher.” Mifflin Wistar Gibbs, *Shadow and Light: An Autobiography*, (Lincoln, NB.: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 45, 62–3.


11. On April 10, 1856, Selim Woodworth married a Mary Ellen protégé Lissette Flohr, and later that summer Mary Ellen was employed as a housekeeper in the Woodworth home located at 36 Minna Street. Lynn M. Hudson, *The Making of “Mammy Pleasant”: A Black Entrepreneur in Nineteenth Century San Francisco*, (Urbana, IL.: University of Illinois Press, 2003), 44.

12. Moore edited the literary magazine, *Lunar Visitor* during the Civil War. Ward became the highest-ranking black Methodist clergyman, and was among the few black leaders to remain in California after the 1858 exodus to Vancouver.


15. 9 Cal. Rept. 171 (1858), and “City Intelligence: Case of Archy the Fugitive Slave,” *Sacramento Union* (Feb. 12, 1858) 2.


EDITOR’S NOTE. This remembrance of Jerry Kilbride was given by Dr. Starr at the memorial service held at the beautiful Swedenborgian Church in San Francisco on December 10, 2005. The standing room only service was attended by many State Library staff appreciative of Jerry’s many contributions to the Library and for his bringing joy to so many of us.

Dr. Kevin Starr is State Librarian Emeritus, noted writer and scholar, professor of history at the University of Southern California, and close friend of Jerry Kilbride.

Jerry Kilbride
An Appreciation

By Kevin Starr

Poet, world traveler, mountaineer, longtime head bartender at the Olympic Club, archivist and honorary curator at the California State Library, self-described dharma bum and rucksacker: Jerry Kilbride, 75, departed this earth—the last of his many trips—on November 3, 2005, after a lifetime of bartending, rucksacking, poeticizing, union activism, and philosophical and spiritual quest.

The cause of death was complications from prostate cancer, which Jerry had been battling for more than a decade. A widely published poet in the haiku and haibun formats, work for which he received international recognition, Jerry had for more than fifty years been in one way or another a self-supporting blue-collar intellectual and creative writer, on the road in the existentialist style probed so resolutely by two of his heroes, Jack Kerouac and Gary Snyder, as depicted in Kerouac’s 1958 novel Dharma Bums.

Born in Denver in 1930 to Irish Catholic parents who had eloped to Los Angeles in 1926, where they were married in St. Vibiana’s Cathedral, Jerry grew up in hard-scrabble circumstances that kept him oriented throughout his life to the theory and practice of union activism in his chosen profession, bartending and hospitality service. His father, an accountant with the Portland Monolith Cement Company in Denver, lost his job shortly after Jerry was born. His paternal grandparents brought the family back to Chicago, where they lived while Jerry’s father struggled to make ends meet operating a passenger elevator in a corn products building. Jerry and his brother and sister lived for a while with his maternal grandmother, Mary Fielding, in Morrison, Illinois, 125 miles west of the Windy City.

Returned to his parents in Chicago in the mid-1930s, Jerry was educated at St. Mel’s Grammar School near Garfield Park, run by the Sisters of Providence from St. Mary’s of the Wood, Indiana, and St. Mel’s High School, conducted by the Christian Brothers, from which Jerry graduated in 1948, supporting himself through school as a soda jerk, a theater usher, and stock boy for Sears Roebuck. These years at the epicenter of Irish Catholic inner-city Chicago left Jerry with a lifelong Chicago accent and a lifelong
concern for the pursuit of truth through reading, travel, writing, and ecumenical pilgrimage. An admirer of the Trappist poet and spiritual writer Thomas Merton, Jerry would later sojourn as a guest worker at many of the leading monasteries of Europe and devour countless volumes of Christian and Zen writings, together with building up an impressive acquaintance with the scriptures and commentaries of a half dozen other religious traditions.

Already, by the time of his high school graduation, Jerry had set his sights on going on the road, as Jack Kerouac would later describe that mythical place in motion. As a boy in Morrison, Jerry would thrill, wanting to go with them, when the streamlined City of Los Angeles, City of San Francisco, and City of Denver went speeding through town en route to far-off California. An inveterate reader who astonished his father with his ability by the age of thirteen to read an entire book in one sitting, Jerry made the Legler Public Library on the west side of Chicago the epicenter of his universe. Through books, he came to know that there was a world beyond the factories, tenements, and warehouses of Chicago. With the story of its protagonist, Chicagoan Larry Durrell, on a worldwide quest for meaning, W. Somerset Maugham’s Razor’s Edge (1944) — together with Hemingway’s The Sun Also Rises (1926), the travel memoirs of Richard Halliburton, and the novels of Denton Welch, especially Maiden Voyage (1945) — helped strengthen Jerry’s growing resolve to see the world and decipher its meaning.

“I wanted to get out there and see the world,” Jerry later remembered. “But I was as of yet incomplete: no strong identity, no idea of what to do with my life, I therefore identified very strongly with literary characters who were on the road in search of a larger meaning.”

Following graduation from St. Mel’s, Jerry took the first of his many short-term jobs before settling into bartending, in this case, a year and a half as an office clerk at the Mt. Carmel Roman Catholic Cemetery in Chicago, the busiest cemetery in the United States. He then went on the road from mid-1949 to late 1951, hitchhiking across the country, settling in for sojourns in the YMCAs or local boarding houses of Boston, Ashville, North Carolina (hometown of novelist Thomas Wolfe, another favorite), New Orleans, and Los Angeles, working as a busboy, dishwasher, and other odd jobs, reading constantly, absorbing the ambience of a place, searching to decipher its meaning in terms of the writers and artists who had come of age in one
or another region. In Boston, for example, Jerry worked at the Hayes-Bickford Cafeteria, while exploring Harvard, the Boston Public Library, Plymouth Rock, hitchhiking up to Augusta, Maine. In Los Angeles County he lived in a one-room cottage in Inglewood on Kelso Street.

In October 1951, the Chicago draft board caught up with Jerry and he was sent for Army basic training to Camp Breckenridge, Kentucky. Scoring over 95 in the Series Ten test, Jerry was assigned to the Army Security Agency (ASA). Trained in signal intelligence and Morse code and given a Top Secret clearance, Private Kilbride was shipped to Okinawa, where he spent a year monitoring Chinese troop movements. This ASA assignment saved his life, for he would have otherwise gone on to Korea as a rifleman and like several members of his training platoon would have been killed in action within months. The death of his basic training pal Ray Sutherland haunted Kilbride across his lifetime, given the fact that they were such good friends during basic and that Jerry had been called out of ranks to enter the ASA while Sutherland was sent to Korea as a rifleman. Jerry would later assemble a record of the attack in which Sutherland was killed and visit the spot where his friend fell in action.

The orderliness of the Army and the obvious value of the work he was doing tempted Jerry – however briefly! – to contemplate a career in the ASA, where everyone was so smart and where Army chickenshit was kept to a minimum. “I loved what I was doing,” Kilbride remembered of those months monitoring the Morse code’s transmissions of Red Chinese field armies, “and I was good at it.”

Yet the road was calling as well as the GI Bill. Wanting to experience New York City, Jerry lived there for nine months following his discharge, working as a temporary clerk at the Internal Revenue Service. He became a regular standing room attendee of the play Ondine starring the husband-and-wife team of Audrey Hepburn and Mel Ferrer. He met Audrey Hepburn that year, briefly as they passed on the street, and he would remember this meeting for a lifetime and would later visit her grave in Switzerland and write of the experience in one of his most memorable haibuns, a Japanese literary form comprised of a prose travel statement, followed by a haiku.

Jerry spent 1954 as a student on the GI Bill at the Kansas City Art Institute, followed by a stint in Mexico City studying Spanish, followed by a stint at the Art Institute of Chicago, which he attended at night, working days as a seller of school books and bibles for the Catholic publishing firm of Benziger Brothers. Once again, the road called. Jerry returned to Mexico City for 1959-60, then back again to Chicago for 1960-63, where he worked as a lamp designer for Florence Art.

Again, the road was beckoning, this time to Europe, where he spent the years 1963 and 1964, teaching conversational English in Athens to three sisters for a while, but mainly hitchhiking about – Athens, Mykonos (three weeks there, staying with relatives of a childhood friend), Paris, Rome, Berlin, Frankfurt, Munich – living out of his rucksack and sleeping bag, sleeping in youth hostels whenever possible, or on clear nights sleeping outside near cemeteries or mountainsides, never hassled by the police. In Germany, hitchhiking illegally on the autobahn itself, trying to get from Frankfurt to Munich on a day filled with snow, sleet, and rain, the cops picked him up, threw his rucksack and sleeping bag into the back of their patrol car, told him to sit there with his gear, and continued down the autobahn for three to four miles. Jerry thought they were taking him to the slammer. Instead, the polizei dropped him off at an autobahn entrance, where it was legal to hitch a ride, returning his rucksack and sleeping bag and telling him that it was okay to hitchhike here.

The entire European trip cost Jerry little more than $1100. Youth hostels, where he could get a shower, cost thirty-five cents a night. Lunch at the hostels averaged fifteen to twenty cents. In Rome Jerry stayed at the Fosterria Pelegrino (Pilgrim House),
an old church near the Piazza Faranese, sleeping along a wall of the old church beneath the statue of a cardinal.

Jerry spent the ferociously cold month of March 1963 at the Hotel Sphinx in Paris, $1.15 per day, breakfast included. It was the coldest winter in Europe in recent memory. The Rhine froze over. Everything in Paris was frozen. Jerry got to know a number of people at the Sorbonne and hung out with a group of Australians staying at the Sphinx, socializing over wine and bread. He wrote his first poem that winter, describing the coldness of Paris and the impromptu parties of his friends, wrapped in their blankets at the Hotel Sphinx.

Jerry drank his fair share of red wine that winter but shortly after returning to the United States on the Queen Mary from Cherbourg and resuming lamp design in Chicago, where – motivated, most likely, by an automobile accident about which he would only hint in later life – he went on the wagon, joined AA, and stayed on the wagon for life. Ironically, it was at this very time that he forswore booze that he discovered his vocation, along with writing. Landing a job in June 1965 as a bartender at the Top of the Rock on the highest floor of the Prudential Building in Chicago, Jerry felt a shock of recognition. “As soon as I got behind the bar at the Top of the Rock,” he later recalled, “I said to myself, ‘Eureka. I’ve found it.’”

The year he spent as a bartender in Chicago confirmed Jerry in his lifetime vocation, but it did not cure him of the road. The summer of 1967 found him in Scandinavia, then heading by a cheap ($32) flight on Sterling Airways from Copenhagen to Istanbul, where he met up with his longtime friend Jerry Werner, who was getting married at the end of the summer, the two of them traveling from Istanbul to Ephesus on a prolonged bachelor party. At one point, as they were trying to book passage for the Greek islands, the Turkish police confiscated their passports and arrested the pair along with a family of three from Indianapolis and an Australian. There was a war between the Turks and the Greeks on Cyprus, and all travelers were under suspicion. Police toting machine guns escorted the detainees to a Greek launch and Jerry and Werner proceeded on to Kios, Perea, and Mykonos.

By this time, the restless rhythms of Jerry’s life had been established. Returning from Greece, he resumed his place at the Top of the Rock before being sent out to Denver as a troubleshooter, where he worked for a year. Then on to Los Angeles, where he worked for a year and a half as a bartender at the commissary at Universal Studios, serving in the stars’ dressing rooms or at their catered parties.

“Robert Mitchum would shake my hand,” Jerry recalled of this time, “and there would be $20 bucks in it. ‘Hello you sono-fabitch,’ Mitchum would say. He was a decent guy. The Universal lot was a village. Ann Blyth was mayor of Toluca Lake at the time. I remember standing at the corner of Hollywood and Highland waiting for a bus. Ann Blyth drove by in a convertible. ‘Hi, Mr. Bartender, you going to the studio?’ She gave me a ride. On Sundays I would work the Circus Roof of Universal. Bing Crosby would be in there studying a script. Another great guy.”

Kilbride liked Denver, where he was born, and Los Angeles, where his parents had been married; but Chicago was calling, in this case in 1970, when Art Haas, manager of the Top of the Rock, called and offered Jerry the job of head bartender. “I was ambivalent about going back,” Jerry later admitted, “because I liked the job at Universal and I liked California, but I’d worked with Art’s wife Mary, a cocktail waitress, and she was dying of lupus at the time. I knew Art would have his hands full with their little daughter, and so I decided to go back. For five and a half years I was head bartender in the Hancock Center.”

This time there was only one interruption: the year 1973. On leave from his job in the Hancock Center when the bar on the 96th floor was being repaired following an arsonist’s attack, Jerry spent the summer, once again, rucksacking across Europe, visiting monasteries, working as a grape-picker in the south of France during the harvest season: age forty-three, self-supporting, but forever the dharma bum heading out over the next horizon, experiencing places and people, reading book upon book, keeping extensive diaries.

He was back in Europe and North Africa for another year 1975-76, “kicking around,” as Jerry would put it, “living by my wits.” Outside Uppsala, Sweden, Jerry joined an old friend who grew
organic carrots for restaurants, weeding the carrot patches, pulling out the smoke plants that threatened to choke the carrots. Jerry had met Paar on a train north to the Arctic Circle, putting aside his copy of *The Brothers Karamazov* to talk to the genial Swede. By the time they got to Kairana, a mining town north of the Arctic Circle, the two had become bosom buddies. Staying for a while on Tromso on the Arctic Circle, the newfound pals moved down to the coast of Norway before returning to Paar’s carrot farm outside Uppsala.

Returning to the United States in 1977, Jerry, ever on the move, spent the next two years in Hawaii, working as a bartender at a cash-only late-night jazz joint, a hangout for musicians and bartenders after work. He became active in the Hawaii Trail and Mountain Club, continuing a taste for mountain hiking that he had begun in the Rockies while working in Denver and would eventually see him climb to the top of Mount Fuji as part of a delegation of Women Against Breast Cancer from the Bay Area: an ascent (by then Jerry was himself suffering from cancer) that he saw as one of the high points of his hiking experiences across Europe, North Africa, and in Thailand.

When the Honolulu late-night joint was sold, Jerry found himself once again out of a job. He loved Hawaii and hated to leave, but he could find no work there. “So I blew into town in May 1979, knowing no one except Gary and Nancy Potter in Menlo Park,” remembered Jerry of his arrival in San Francisco. “I stayed at the Turk Street YMCA and found out that I had just missed the chance to take a union test for bartender. The people at the union hall told me that there would not be another test for two months, so I got a job at a non-union place.” Six months later, Jerry passed the union test.

In the course of looking for employment, he dropped his resume off at the Olympic Club on Post Street. There was no opening at the time, but Jerry fell in love with the place. “I looked at the bar there, and the entrance hall, and the members coming and going from their workouts,” Jerry later recalled, “and I said to myself: ‘If only I could work at that place, I’d be the luckiest guy in the world.’”

A few months later, Jerry Kilbride became the luckiest guy in the world when the Olympic Club personnel office, impressed by his resume, called and offered him a job. Here was his destiny: the city of San Francisco, rich in bohemian and literary associations, a job at the Olympic Club, behind the great bar and beneath the Howard Brodie murals, an apartment on nearby Bush, with his typewriter set up by a window, and, eventually, a cottage in Sky Meadows in South Lake Tahoe, to which Jerry – a non-driver since going on the wagon – would take the Greyhound on Fridays if he were not working that weekend.

Jerry prided himself on his membership in Local 2 of the Bartenders and Hotel Workers Union, AFL-CIO. His fellow employees elected him shop steward, and every fourth year he sat on the contract renegotiation team. In 1985, when Dave Cunningham, the head bartender, dying of lung cancer, was forced to

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**Tracings**

By Jerry Kilbride

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**Jerry Kilbride**

- night without a moon
- lights from the fishermen’s torches
- move along the reef

- the wind chimes
- the yellow leaves of the willow

- while reading huo-shan
- fog moves between the city
- and angel island

- monastery bell
- the curled cat opens its eyes
- closes them again

- banking into clouds
- my friend down below
- in the rain

- my parents’ tombstone
- my shadow
- across it

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An accomplished *haiku* poet, Jerry contributed poems to *A White Chrysanthemum* (1994) and *Tracings* (2003).
leave his job, Jerry Kilbride was promoted to head bartender of the Winged O. “Professionally,” remarked Jerry of this promotion, “I had arrived. There could be no finer job for a bartender in this city.”

Behind the bar at the Winged O, Jerry developed an extensive practice. He knew hundreds of members by name, and he knew their drink before they even ordered it. He knew if they wanted to schmooze, and he knew if they wished to be left alone. Jerry never presumed. Each member was addressed as Mister. Behind the bar, arrayed in his black pants, red jacket, white shirt and black bowtie, Jerry maintained a demeanor that was simultaneously professional yet approachable. Under his jurisdiction, the bar at the Olympic Club became a haven, a crossroads, a moment of respite at the end of a busy day for Jerry’s clientele: which in true Winged O fashion included cops, firemen, lawyers, judges, stock brokers, union leaders, contractors, PhDs, and high school dropouts, millionaires and guys not knowing where their next paycheck was coming from: all of them brought together in the alembic of sport in an athletic club that judged a man – and soon judged a woman as well — by his or her love of the game and not the bottom line of his or her checkbook.

Not only was Jerry at the top of his game as a bartender, he was soon at the top of his game as a haiku poet and a writer of haibun. Jerry had started to write poetry while working at the John Hancock Center in Chicago, but it was San Francisco – specifically the Small Press Traffic Writers Workshop that he took from the Tejana poet Gloria Anzal Dua in the Noe Valley Public Library in 1979 – that galvanized and polished his poetic talent. In the years that followed, Jerry began to concentrate on haiku and haibun. His work appeared in twenty-five magazines – to include Modern Haiku, Frog Pond, Haiku Spirit, Bottle Rockets, Raw Nervz, and other publications in Ireland, Canada, and Australia – as well as four anthologies. In 1989 Jerry was elected vice president of the Haiku Society of America. In 1996, he co-founded The Haiku Poets of Northern California. In 2004 an anthology of Jerry’s haibun was published as Tracings by the Swap Press of Northfield, Massachusetts. Among other recognition, he received the Tokyo-based Mainichi Award, naming him as one of the best haiku poets in English, worldwide.

When Jerry retired from the Olympic Club in March 1995, he tried living in Palm Springs, which exacerbated his allergies, before moving to Sacramento, where he embarked upon yet another career, this time at the California State Library. Before his retirement, in cooperation with the noted haiku poet Elizabeth Lamb and other officials of the Haiku Society of America, Jerry had helped found at the State Library the American Haiku Archive, which soon developed into the preeminent collection of haiku and haibun in the country. In retirement he also worked part-time in Special Collections as a curator for the Archive and as an archivist with the California Veterans collection, for which – given a crash course in archival preparation by the State Library staff – he helped organize numerous files from the Civil War, Spanish-American War, World War I, World War II, Korean War, Vietnam War, and Gulf War, and contributed two essays – one of them on his own experiences during the Korean War – to the Bulletin of the California State Library Foundation. A lifelong reader, an Army veteran, and – to his delight – a skilled archivist, Jerry loved these five years at the California State Library, experiencing in his work there yet another aspect of his talents.

In 2003 Jerry was grateful to be named a contributing member of the Olympic Club, responsible for writing articles for The Olympian. To be a member of the Club he had served so loyally as a staff member and had come to love brought to Jerry’s final years an immeasurable yield of personal gratification. After five years in Sacramento, Jerry Kilbride had come home: home to San Francisco, where he purchased a condominium in the Opera Plaza, home to the Olympic Club where he was now a member.

These were good years, the final years, the years in which he resumed his associations with the Bay Area haiku community, schmoozed with his friends at the Olympic Club, wrote informed and perceptive articles for The Olympian, caught the latest foreign film, spent pleasant hours in local cafes, sipping coffee, reading books, talking literature with friends, being invited out to dinner by one or another of his innumerable acquaintances: a dapper figure, white haired and slightly hunched with age, dressing like a retired professor of humanities – tweed jacket, denim shirt, plaid necktie, khaki pants, comfortable shoes, wearing an Irish tweed cap if the weather were brisk. Because he had been so generous with the gift of his friendship in his earlier years, he would always manage to find company of one sort or another.

As the end was approaching, Jerry’s friends would visit him in his condominium in Opera Plaza, where until his strength finally gave out, Jerry would regale one and all with tales of his travels, his reading, his favorite Olympians, his memories of Chicago, his preferences among the great writers he had read and cherished. Up until the very moment he slipped into his final coma, Jerry was alert, engaged, dapper and jaunty as ever, even when pushing a walker, and replete with amusing or informed anecdote. It was as if, during these final months, he were preparing to hit the road one more time on one last trek, a rucksack over his shoulder filled with a change of clothes and some books, a look of wanderlust in his eyes as he glimpsed the far horizon, preparing himself for one final journey.
California State Library Responds to 1906 San Francisco Earthquake and Fire Commemoration  

By Gary F. Kurutz

The 100th anniversary of the 1906 San Francisco Earthquake and Fire generated a wide range of publications, exhibits, web sites, films, television documentaries, and special commemorative events. The buildup to the April 18 commemoration date resulted in such well researched books as Philip Fradkin’s *The Great Earthquake and Firestorms of 1906* and David Burkhart’s *Earthquake Days: The San Francisco Earthquake and Fire in 3-D*; exhibits at virtually every San Francisco museum and historical organization; and DVDs like ‘06: *The Next Great Quake* that included commentary by State Librarian Emeritus Dr. Kevin Starr. Auction houses in San Francisco and book fairs in Northern California eagerly offered Earthquake and Fire photo albums, books, letters, postcards, and newspapers. On the eve and actual day, the Palace Hotel hosted a special dinner dance and a 6:00 A.M. breakfast appropriately called “San Francisco Rising.” A ceremony presided over by the City’s mayor was held at Lotta’s Fountain. Last, several government and scientific agencies including the Federal Emergency Management Agency, U. S. Geological Survey, and National Science Foundation held a conference at the Moscone Center to cover not only the historical angle but also to tackle such pertinent questions as “What will happen if a 1906-size quake struck today?” and “What will the next great quake mean to Northern California?”

In anticipation of this anniversary, researchers and media production companies quite naturally drew upon the rich visual and documentary resources of the California State Library. As
the date drew closer, frantic television and newspaper reporters contacted the Library’s California History Section in need of digital images. Of course, a quick turnaround was fully expected by impatient news organizations. Fortunately, through a collaborative project with the Bancroft Library of the University of California at Berkeley, California Historical Society, and State Library, many of these images were already digitized and the requests efficiently filled. Consequently, State Library images graced the pages of anniversary issues of newspapers and served to support the narrative reports of several televised newscasts.

### Capitol Museum Exhibit

While providing photographs and information for the above-described publications and events, the Library also played a pivotal role in supporting a major exhibition in the California State Capitol Museum entitled *Rumors of Great Disaster: The 1906 San Francisco Earthquake*. When the State Capitol Building reopened following its restoration in 1981, the preservation team designed a portion of the museum’s rooms to re-create the time period of 1906. Specifically, the historic governor’s office appears as it did that fateful day when Governor George Pardee responded to the horrifying events taking place in San Francisco. The desks and tables in the historic office suite include Earthquake and Fire telegrams and other official documents. The theme portrayed in these offices provided the inspiration for the California State Department of Parks and Recreation and its curators to create a 100th anniversary exhibit in the Capitol’s three exhibition rooms. Opening on April 22 and continuing to run for several months, *Rumors of Great Disaster* features reproductions of scores of State Library images documenting the cataclysm from the initial shake through the phoenix-like resurrection of the City culminating with the 1915 Panama Pacific International Exhibition (PPIE). Dramatic images of the city burning, fissures in the streets, devastated city blocks, twisted steel building frames, and refugee camps with long lines of people waiting for food provide ample evidence that this ranks as the greatest disaster in California history. Particularly striking is a large folio chromolithograph by Carl A. Beck melodramatically depicting the City in flames, and another colored lithograph showing a snarling California grizzly bear with an arrow in its back standing defiantly on top of a smoldering San Francisco. Books and pamphlets with sensational titles like *The Doomed City* and *Complete Story of the San Francisco Horror* round out the exhibit.

A supplementary highlight is a powerful 3-D film, ‘06: The Big One. This film was inspired in part when Department of Parks researchers visited the Library and inspected its impressive collection of stereographs of the 1906 Earthquake and Fire. These vintage images published by Underwood & Underwood, Keystone View Company, H. C. White Company, and others led to the idea of producing a 3-D film for viewing in the Capitol.
Left, top to bottom:

This business block, probably in Hayward, was another victim of the 1868 earthquake.

Muybridge captured the massive building damage in the East Bay of San Francisco with this image.

A dejected man sits outside a devastated home in the Hayward area.

Right, top to bottom:

The great shake caused Edmonson’s Grain Warehouse in Hayward to collapse.

Astonished onlookers survey the damage of this building that was knocked off of its foundation.
Museum’s theater. To quote the Museum’s Web site, viewers, by donning 3-D glasses, will “have the opportunity to experience the horror ‘up close and personal’ as the ground splits open, buildings crumble, and fire consumes the great city. This documentary thriller—which premiered 100 years from the date of the earthquake (April 18, 1906)—provides modern audiences with an unforgettable look back.” Behind these images of chaos looms that profound question: will this happen again?

Eadweard Muybridge, the celebrated landscape photographer and father of the motion picture, took the photographs given by Mr. Anaya. Shortly after the dust settled, the San Francisco photographer took his wet-plate cameras over to the East Bay to photograph the destruction wrought by this tectonic event. Muybridge exposed his negatives in front of the San Leandro Courthouse and P. C. Heslep’s Flour Mill and Edmonson’s Grain Warehouse in Hayward, and several unidentified business blocks and residences in the area. The destruction he captured was unbelievable with whole buildings pancaked. This geologic trauma led architects and builders to be more conscious of the need to incorporate seismic safety in their designs. None, however, could anticipate the devastating effects of the three-day uncontrolled, wind-whipped fire that incinerated much of San Francisco in April 1906. The Muybridge images measure 3 x 3 inches and 9 x 7 inches in size. The smaller, 3 x 3 inch images may have been one half of a stereo photograph. Unfortunately, a previous owner cut up the images perhaps to mount them in an album or scrapbook. On the back or verso of two of the larger images is a handwritten title: “A series of Photographs / illustrating the effects of / the Earthquake of 21st Oct. 1868; San Francisco / Hayward and / San Leandro / by / Helios / Edward Jas Muybridge / 415 Montgomery St. / [San Francisco].” Comparisons of the handwriting on this title distinguished by its bold strokes with other examples in the Library’s collection indicate that the master himself may have held the pen.

These images along with others centering on California earthquakes may be found on the Library’s web site catalog at www.lib.state.ca.us. Scroll to the Picture Catalog and type in key-word “earthquake” and over 134 records will appear. By typing in “Hayward” and “earthquake,” the Hayward Earthquake images will be found. Vickie Lockhart, Jenny Hoye, and M. Anthony Martinez worked diligently and patiently to catalog and scan the Library’s 1868 and 1906 earthquake images.
The California State Library Foundation is pleased to announce the publication of *The Triumph of Helios: Photographic Treasures of the California State Library*. Beautifully designed by Angela Tannehill, the twenty-eight-page catalog was produced to accompany the recent State Library photography exhibition at the University Library Gallery of Sacramento State University. The title of the exhibition and catalog, *Triumph of Helios* pays homage not only to the early “sun artists” who documented California but also to Eadweard Muybridge the celebrated landscape photographer, who, incidentally, presented copies of his own books to the Library in the 1890s. Measuring 10 \(\frac{1}{4}\) x 9 \(\frac{1}{2}\) inches in size, the catalog includes a foreword by Professor Roger Vail of Sacramento State University; exhibition text describing over 100 items by Gary F. Kurutz of the State Library; and biographies of six of the principal photographers by Heather Mosqueda of the university. It is embellished with forty-five rare images of photographers and representative examples of their work selected to illustrate the development of photography in California from the Gold Rush to the early twentieth century.

*The Triumph of Helios* exhibition and its catalog grew out of Professor Roger Vail’s popular class “Art and Photography,” which emphasized historical techniques. For nearly twenty years, Vail’s class has visited the California History Section to see actual examples of pioneer photography. With the creation of the University Library Gallery on the campus, Vail proposed an exhibit based on the class curated by Kurutz. The exhibit opened on March 3, 2006 and closed on June 24. An appreciative audience from the university and the general public viewed the exhibit over the weeks in the spacious gallery. Phil Hitchcock, Director of the university’s School of the Arts and the University Library Gallery, provided enthusiastic support for the exhibition, and the university’s Friends of the Library hosted an opening reception. Following the reception Gary Kurutz presented an illustrated talk on highlights of the exhibition, sharing with the large gathering his exceptional knowledge and enthusiasm for early California photography. The catalog served as the foundation for his lecture. Gerrilee Hafvenstein and L. J. Dillon of the Library’s Preservation Department assisted with the installation of over one hundred framed prints, albums, and cased images.

Chronologically, the catalog begins with descriptions of Gold Rush era daguerreotypes and ambrotypes; touches on examples of stereo (3-D) photographs; discusses the works of such master photographers as C. E. Watkins, Eadweard Muybridge, and I. W. Taber; and surveys the photographs of other “heliographic art-

In addition to the above chronology of early photographers, the catalog describes a variety of photographic media including, a pannotype or daguerreotype on fabric of the Gold Rush town of Volcano, circa 1860; glass positives, including Arthur C. Pillsbury’s breathtaking orotone and silvertone images of Yosemite, circa 1908–10; and a beautiful autochrome of Krotona in Hollywood, circa 1910. The latter, consisting of a sheet of glass with a reflecting mirror, was the first successful form of color photography. Sacramento photographer and Foundation consultant, Mary Swisher, contributed an elegant 16 x 20 inch silver print of a building gargoyle made from a glass-plate negative found in the Library’s Gladding McBean Collection of architectural terra cotta. Included in the exhibit were two non-Californian or Western treasures. Found in the Sutro Library Branch is a gorgeous two-volume large-folio album of prints of the famed Crystal Palace exhibition center in London. Made from wax paper negatives, the images range in date from 1852 to 1854 and are the earliest examples of paper photography in the Library’s collections. The other example is a large folio album, published in 1865, of seventy-one original albumen photographs entitled *Rays of Sunshine from South America*. Famed Civil War photographer Alexander Gardner and M. Moulton, created the album to promote commercial activities in Peru.

*The Triumph of Helios* catalog is available for sale through the Foundation. The cost is $15 including sales tax and shipping. Only 500 copies were printed.

Please be sure to look at the Foundation’s Web site for other book-buying opportunities at www.cslfdn.org.

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**JoAnn Levy Makes Presentation for Women’s History Month**

Noted historian JoAnn Levy gave a well-received presentation in the California History Room on March 10 concerning her new book, “*Unsettling the West*: Eliza Farnham and Georgiana Bruce Kirby in Frontier California.” Her lecture was co-sponsored by the Foundation and our friends from the Sacramento Book Collectors Club. Having Ms. Levy at the Library represented a perfect way to celebrate Women’s History Month. *Unsettling the West* has been heralded as a biographic gem, an entertaining and groundbreaking work. Foundation board member and one of California’s greatest ever historians J. S. Holliday wrote, “JoAnn Levy’s dual biography of two audacious leaders (till now unheralded) who helped find the way to suffrage and other longed-for rights is an inspiration. What a revelation, what an achievement!”

A superb speaker and dynamic writer, Ms. Levy has won national attention and awards for her studies of women in the rough and ready world of the California Gold Rush. She is the author of *They Saw the Elephant: Women in the California Gold Rush; Daughter of Joy, A Novel of the Gold Rush; and For California’s Gold*. A frequent user of the Library’s California History Room, Ms. Levy lives and writes in Sutter Creek, in the heart of the Gold County. As book people and users of primary sources, the audience was captivated by her account of tracking down documentary materials on the two women featured in her book.

To find out more about the many contributions of JoAnn Levy and her important books visit her Web site at www.goldrush.com/∼joann/joann.htm or simply type in JoAnn Levy in any search engine.
A Southern California Album
New Windgate Press Book Available Through Foundation

Copies of the Windgate Press’s new book A Southern California Album: Selected Photographs, 1880-1900 may be purchased through the Foundation. Sales of this magnificent book directly benefit the Library’s California History Section. Written and beautifully designed by Linda and Wayne Bonnett, the oblong volume features photographs from the Library’s collection of historic photographs found in the California History Room. Many of photographs published in the volume are from the William H. Fletcher Collection that was acquired on behalf of the Library by Mead B. Kibbey, a member of the Foundation’s Board of Directors. Gary F. Kurutz, the Foundation’s Executive Director and Curator of Special Collections, supplied a lengthy foreword profiling William Fletcher.

A Southern California Album sells for $45 plus applicable sales tax and shipping. Copies may be purchased by contacting the Foundation at (916) 447-6331 or cslf3@juno.com. For other titles available through the Foundation visit our website at www.cslfdn.org.
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