Assembling the Past, Re-imagining the Region: Anglo Collecting of California History and Literature in Los Angeles, c.1900-1930

A thesis submitted to The University of Manchester for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Humanities

2018

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Abstract

This thesis argues that in critical discussions of the history, mythology, and literary culture of California, the work of Los Angeles’ bibliographers, antiquarians, collectors, librarians, and archivists has been hugely overlooked. Examining this group from the end of the nineteenth century through to the 1930s, this thesis proposes that their collection and assemblage of literary, historical, and visual material about California – often dubbed Californiana – points to a much wider and more systemic operation of regional mythology. Critically evaluating the history of these bibliographic institutions in Southern California, this thesis argues that the collecting and arranging of Californiana has been as influential to the construction of regional knowledge as the material itself. This thesis is concerned with both the literal and metaphorical shapes of history that these collections construct. Essentially, whilst there has been much scholarship on the mythography of Los Angeles and California history, this thesis proposes that how that history has been indexed and classified is as important and generative as what was written in its key historical and literary texts.

This thesis is mostly about white elites of Anglo-American Southern California and how they framed regional history in line with their, at times, imperialist beliefs about the region’s Spanish, Mexican, and Native American past. Whilst there is a substantial amount of academic literature on Anglo society, this thesis proposes that an entire strata of this culture has been relatively unexamined. This group of antiquarians, bibliographers and collectors were centrally concerned with cataloguing and arranging texts and historical data about the region and the conclusions we can draw from their work significantly advances our historical understanding of how the epistemology of American culture in the region operated, with all the social divisions that imperial lens implies.

Anglo collecting and bibliographic culture developed in Los Angeles in a historical context radically different to, and much later than, other American cultures of regionalism. Reframing the region’s past as antiquity, they collected and assembled Californiana in a setting of late-modernity in which the landscape of Southern California was rapidly changing. Through bookshop catalogues, the building and housing of library collections, the activities of the historical society,
and the dimensions of private collections and personal archiving, this thesis posits that these works of artefact and document assemblage mediate between a romanticized past and a changing present, recreating narratives of Californian history and the way that history is experienced. The extension of this argument is that these institutions contributed to a historical optic and perspective on the region that would continue to be utilised by Anglo-American society throughout the twentieth century. The conclusions this thesis draws ensures it contributes to studies of American antiquarianism and modernity, bibliographic culture, regional history, material culture, and visual studies.

This thesis builds on the recent critical directions in Los Angeles history that scholars such as William Deverell, D. J. Waldie, and Phoebe Kropp have advanced but it also reaches towards theoretical discourses proposed in fields not centrally connected to the study of California. In addition to the extensive work on Los Angeles and California, this thesis brings together theory in cultural history, studies of bibliographic culture, travel writing, and studies of visual culture. This theory helps to situate this thesis’ archival case studies within a much broader and more dynamic critical context. Where these case studies have been written about, if they have been written about at all, they are restricted to local studies or limited discussions of the trades they were each a part of. But they deserve a much more expansive consideration: they each operated at the intersection between space and text, and their collecting work tells us how Anglo American society viscerally understood the history, culture, and mythology of a region that has long maintained a place within many societies’ imagination and historical experience.
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Acknowledgements

I am extremely grateful to my supervisors, colleagues, friends, and family that have provided patient, generous, and unending support during the researching and writing of this thesis. Huge thanks must also go to the staff of the Huntington Library, William Andrews Clark Library, Braun Research Center, Claremont Colleges Libraries, the Historical Society of Southern California, Workman and Temple Family Homestead Museum, UCLA, the Bancroft Library, and the Los Angeles Public Library.
Introduction

Californiana: The Construction of Anglo Regionalism in Los Angeles, c.1880-1940

“The way Californians live in time has everything to do with the history of their experience of space.”1 – David Wyatt

“How do we know Los Angeles and where does that knowledge come from? This is a complicated question with too many easy answers.”2 In a 2010 essay, Eric Avila proposes this query about the epistemology of Los Angeles, critiquing some of the most influential formulations of the city by critics such as Carey McWilliams, Reyner Banham, Joan Didion, and Mike Davis. For anyone studying the contemporary or historical culture of Los Angeles, it remains a vital question. Avila suggests that the clichéd response is to jump to the iconic, inviting images Hollywood produces, images that can be “prone to distortion, hyperbole, and much mythology”, often disconnected from the experiences of immigrants drawn to the city, but images which do carry a significant cultural weight.3 Avila’s essay, surveying the major twentieth century writers who attempted to precisely define Los Angeles and how it was different, points toward the idea that the regional identity of the city is in fact a striated, dense and complex field with many interweaving perspectives and narratives, a field which historically, to use Avila’s term, “hyperbole…and much mythology” has been a part of.

Los Angeles’ regional culture is a deeply multifaceted site of knowledge, histories, and affects. Echoing Avila’s call to dig deeper, Leo Braudy writes of Los Angeles’ cultural history that,

[the] myths obscure a richly layered history. In fact, the past and present, the seemingly real and the actually fictitious, interweave tightly in Los Angeles. For a place whose stereotyped popular image by the early twenty-first century was defined by superficiality and short-lived glamor, Los Angeles at closer look is made up of layers, not just geological layers that need to be penetrated, but also juxtaposed layers that slip and slide under one another

3 Avila, p. 177.
like the tectonic plates that both create and undermine the city and the region’s fragile identity.\textsuperscript{4}

The complexity of regional understanding that Avila outlines is compounded by Braudy’s assessment that Los Angeles’ surfaces belie a deep, contradictory epistemology.

Furthermore, Los Angeles film and essays are two clear examples of not just how dense and enveloping this regional identity is but also how remarkably prevalent acts of definition are. Southern California’s identity often seems founded on cultural works whose whole mission is to determine what the region means. Architectural critic, Michael Sorkin, wrote in 1982 that “Explaining Los Angeles” was now a “hoary business developed to the point of industry.”\textsuperscript{5}

“Whereas talking about ‘New York-ness’ would be cringingly retardataire, nobody erects a stick in LA without seeking to understand and justify Southland to man. … LA is probably the most mediated town in America, nearly unviewable save through the fictive scrim of its mythologizers.”\textsuperscript{6} Elsewhere, scholars have repeatedly noted how multifaceted and mediated the city’s representation on screen is. Thom Anderson’s immense video-essay, Los Angeles Plays Itself (2014), is a recent reflection on Los Angeles’ complex portrayal but the extensive inter-relation between Hollywood and Los Angeles’ filmic representation has been well-documented.\textsuperscript{7} Even just the title of Anderson’s documentary indicates the recursive quality that literary and visual texts about Los Angeles possess, suggesting the complexity of answering Avila and Braudy’s enquiries. Anderson’s film interrogates that relationship between Hollywood as a site of production and Los Angeles’ depiction on screen to show how conflicting and multivalent the representations of the city are alongside their physical location. Moreover, like

\textsuperscript{6} Sorkin, pp. 48-49.
Los Angeles’ history of paradigm-shifting essays about the place, Anderson’s film adds to the argument that reflexivity between the image and the structure, between content and form, is essential and particular to regional understanding in Los Angeles and Southern California.

This thesis does not look at film or the Los Angeles essay as a form, but it goes to the heart of sites of regional knowledge, historically and in its archival practice, places where the layers Braudy speaks of become visible. The points raised above indicate what is found there: the interpretation and definition of landscapes in Los Angeles County; the mediation between past and present; the presence of mythology; and a recursive, reflexive, mutually influential quality between documents and structures and what they contain. This thesis does not focus on the literature, architecture, film, or art that many cultural historians of Los Angeles have covered but instead focuses on the catalogues, scrapbooks, indexes, archives, notebooks, and ephemera created by Southern California’s bookshops, libraries, historical societies, and private collectors in the early twentieth century. Some of these figures and institutions have appeared in other academic works on Los Angeles; few, if any, of their organizational documents have been focused on. No one, to my knowledge, has critically appraised these documents or investigated this community of collectors beyond a cursory survey. Yet they are wholly worthy of such an appraisal, because these are individuals and figures with significant cultural influence.

To examine these sources is to argue that a significant stratum of regional knowledge in and about Los Angeles County has been ignored, obscured, or restricted. This thesis proposes that a huge amount of the cultural work that Anglo-American society performed in re-imagining, redefining, and restructuring areas of Southern California came not from its sources of spectacle but from what has been regarded as the more prosaic indexes and organizational systems embedded in collections, bibliographies, catalogues, and archives. For every William Mulholland, there was a library employee, surveying and restructuring the landscape’s arteries; for every Helen Hunt Jackson, a local historian remapping and romanticizing the past. And for every Hearst Castle, there was a private collector with their own microcosmic regional world.

Reflecting that recursive quality outlined above, this thesis focuses on antiquarian and bibliographic organisations and individuals that collected or
organised the literary and visual documentation of California, a material and textual form often dubbed Californiana. In Los Angeles the collection and usage of Californiana generally mediated California history but, more specifically, it significantly contributed to fashioning Anglo understandings of the regions of Los Angeles County and Southern California as separate and unique entities to elsewhere in California or the US. Los Angeles’ collectors, antiquarians, and bibliographers frequently engaged with the whole scope of materials that Californiana entailed but their attention to local history and texts specific to Southern California attenuated this literary field, refocusing the genre on the area they lived in.

As found in other outlets of Los Angeles’ cultural expression, the development of this regional understanding was often founded on continually delineating what exactly it constituted. For some of the figures in this thesis, Los Angeles and Southern California’s regionalism was partly generated through the continual veneration of certain iconic narratives (e.g. Ramona, discussed below) but often grounded more in repeatedly cataloguing and indexing the components of an emerging field of regional collecting. Turn-of-the-twentieth century Southern Californian regionalism often hinged as much on the refining, ordering, and reimagining of aspects of regional imagery, mythology, and iconography, and making these distinctive to elsewhere.

Thus, this thesis argues, whilst the narratives we historically find elsewhere about Los Angeles and Southern California are found in this dissertation too, it is particularly illuminating to find them in this thesis’ chosen case studies. To Anglo perceptions, frequently embroiled in regional mythology, those narratives included (but are not limited to) Southern California as a place at the extremes of American westward expansion, with a dramatic human and natural geography not replicated elsewhere, and a romantic past distinguished against its boosted present. The tenor of the narratives is unsurprising – that they exist at the organisational level that texts of regional literature, history and art stem from and fit into is remarkable.

Yet these sites of regional knowledge, in addition to revealing where much of Southern California’s contested epistemology comes from, contain much more. Because this thesis’ case studies are multi-format in nature and embedded in institutions with a wide scope and influence, this thesis contributes to a variety of
distinct fields. In rethinking regional literary studies, this thesis argues for an expansion of Los Angeles literature – so much of the figurative work usually just ascribed to the region’s fiction is found in histories and reference works, enough that this determination deserves to be significantly widened. In adding to the work on Southern California’s cultural history and geography, this thesis argues that local historiography and collecting continually remapped this regional space. In doing so, these collectors and institutions often renegotiated what was meant by antiquity and local history. In arguing for the concrete ways that cataloguing, archiving, and scrapbooking constructed a regional identity, this thesis also positions itself within studies of material culture and the history of the book. In critiquing Anglo identity at the turn of the twentieth century, the analysis here widens our understanding of racial ideology in Southern California. In arguing that the importance of certain figures and archives has been underemphasised, this thesis contextualises local studies within a much wider framework. Lastly, in its willingness to seek the overlaps between the visual and the literary, this thesis argues Anglo collecting culture constructed a way of seeing the region, an optic on its past and present. This introduction now outlines those areas and case studies in more detail.

Anglo and Californiana: Terminology and Scope for Two Key Concepts

This thesis focuses on Anglo-American institutions and individuals in Southern California that collected Californiana. In this context, the terms ‘Anglo’ and ‘Californiana’ are used in specific ways. Firstly, as William Alexander McClung notes, ‘Anglo’ refers “in California usage” to “speakers of English …regardless of ethnic ancestry”.8 Following the work of McClung and William Deverell, this project considers the Anglo mediation of Californiana, as performed by “whites with social, political, economic, and cultural power at their disposal.”9 Deverell, continuing the legacy established by Carey McWilliams, notes that, “[u]nderstanding Los Angeles requires grappling with the complex and disturbing relationship between whites, especially those able to command various forms of

power, and Mexican people, a Mexican past, and a Mexican landscape."  

Although a synoptic account of how Anglo collectors related to every ethnic group within nineteenth and twentieth century California should be written, this thesis primarily focuses on Anglo understandings of Spanish-speaking Southern California because a) this is what this thesis’ case studies predominantly focused on, and b) this thesis seeks to take existing critical understandings of this dynamic in new directions. Although some attention is accorded to Los Angeles’ wider multi-ethnic relations, such as in chapters two and four, future studies of Californiana should look to focus on how Asian, African-American, and California Indian communities were framed by regional collecting.

As noted by McClung, Deverell, DeLyser, and Kropp, the Anglo invention and mobilization of the supposed romance and mythology of Southern California’s past, especially what became termed the Spanish Fantasy Past, was central in cementing and expanding Anglo identity and civilization in the Southland. Through public pageantry like La Fiesta and immensely popular fictional works such as Helen Hunt Jackson’s Ramona (1884) and John Steven McGroarty’s The Mission Play (1911), Anglo Los Angeles mythologized the Californio, Native American, and Mexican history of the region as “a half-imagined Spanish past that could be prefixed to the Anglo ascendancy.”

Reframing the eras and spaces of Spanish Missions and Mexican ranch holders as an Arcadian “paradise lost”, the Spanish Fantasy Past not only justified the rise of Anglo imperialism, it was wholly central to that rise, as hugely successful economic boosterism that marketed the region to tourists and would-be residents. As Glen Gendzel has written, Ramona and Anglo Los Angeles’ focus on “padres, not pioneers” gave Southern California its own historical drama and

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10 Deverell, p. 6.
“founding myth”, challenging the primacy Northern California’s Gold Rush held over the state’s legends and becoming a key part of Los Angeles’ success in eclipsing San Francisco as the burgeoning centre of the state.14

The term ‘Californiana’ is partly related to this history of conquest and Anglo reframing of regional history. According to Leonard Pitt and Lisbeth Haas, Californios, defined as Spanish-speaking native-born Californians first articulated their own territorial identity during the early 1830s, in political debates between the California territorial legislature and the Mexican federal government over the emancipation of neophytes and secularization of the California missions. Californios used Spanish colonial ideas to define their territorial government’s right to control the land of mission Indians.15

In this context, ‘Californiana’ should refer to Californio women, women who, as Lisbeth Haas notes, “negotiated their positions from within a complicated gender order and on distinctive grounds relative to Indian women.”16 Within this stratified social order, Californianas based in Southern California battled US imperialism to hold on to the lands they felt belonged to them, disregarding Indian land rights in the process.17 Faced with this impending potential loss, “Californianas established their new position in the late nineteenth century…by asserting their role in California history”, centring themselves within historical narratives of the previous century.18 Crucially, however, “Californianas’ sense of entitlement to property and to a place in public memory derived from social practices unfamiliar to many Anglo-Americans” and, as a result, Anglo-American writers and settlers poorly interpreted the roles that Californianas and Indian women played in public life. A gendered politics of conquest was one result of this (mis)reading of social roles, which in turn helped to further numerous false assumptions about Mexican and Indian peoples, regional history, and society. Consequently, Californianas and Indian women had particular burdens as they negotiated more than one gender system in the American period.19

Perhaps this failure to understand the experiences of Californianas as Anglo conquest advanced through late nineteenth century Southern California.

14 Glen Gendzel, “Pioneers and Padres: Competing Mythologies in Northern and Southern California, 1850-1930”, Western Historical Quarterly, 32, 1 (Spring, 2001), 55-79 (pp. 68, 66, 77).
15 Pitt, Decline, p. ix; Lisbeth Haas, Conquests and Historical Identities in California, 1769-1936 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), p. 3. Also see Deverell, p. 17.
16 Haas, pp. 82, 77-88.
17 Haas, pp. 79-82.
18 Haas, pp. 84-85.
19 Haas, pp. 85-86.
explains why, amongst the predominantly white male turn-of-the-century Californian bibliographers and booksellers, the term Californiana is used differently. Amongst this group the Latinate appurtenance in Californiana stands for a distinct subset of Western Americana, now referring to the printed and visual material that described or depicted California, material in which Californio life was often romanticized. Leonard Pitt notes that the term Californio “[w]as in widespread use from the 1830’s to the 1880’s” though “Californiano” was used “rarely”. Nevertheless, knowingly or not, the emergence of West Coast Anglo bibliographic and antiquarian activity toward the end of the nineteenth century and rapidly expanding at century’s end neatly delineates the changing trajectories in noting which group came to dominate historical authorship in the state. Because this thesis primarily focuses on and critiques the documents of that bibliographic community, ‘Californiana’ is used here to refer to this Anglo literary understanding. Yet this semantic alteration is worth bearing in mind as the following chapters map out the cultural and ideological parameters of collecting in Southern California and how its space, history, and people were represented.

The Emergence of Anglo-American Antiquarianism in Los Angeles

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Los Angeles became one of the central hubs for the collection of literary and historical material relating to California and the American West. In regards to institutions like Dawson’s Book Shop or the Huntington Library, this specialty would become one of their defining characteristics. These institutions mediated between the vast array of Western historical spaces in their collections and the changing context of their immediate environment of Los Angeles County. This mediation was intensified when the Californiana in question was about Los Angeles. This process did not always proceed smoothly, in part due to the construction of an oppositional identity for Los Angeles when it came under Anglo-American control. As critics such as D. J. Waldie have noted, much of the knowledge produced about Los Angeles also derives from having been defined against America, Mexico, and the

20 Pitt, Decline, p. 309.
rest of California. “Anglo Los Angeles established itself as a city in opposition: in opposition to Mexican identity, to colonial history, to other cultures and languages, and to existing urban centers”, he says. It became a re-imagined cityscape that “reflect[ed]…anxieties about being in a Catholic city, its capture in an unjust war, …Mexican irredentism…and the segregationist assumptions of its builders.” As scholars such as Phillip J. Ethington have written, although the Californio rancho system of agricultural peonage had begun to be displaced prior to 1880, it was only from then onward, when wealthy Anglo landowners took over huge acreages of land, that this oppositional city building Waldie describes earnestly began. This thesis primarily looks at collection building within this period, an era that Ethington describes as the regime of “US Industrial-Imperial/Porfirián Borderland, 1881-1940”, coming after the end of its “mercantile” period and before Los Angeles fully emerged as a “US Military-Industrial” megacity. In this period, “an interlocking directorate of reactionary economic and political leaders”, many enriched by oil and real estate holdings across Los Angeles County and the politically fractured US-Mexico borderlands and backed by the labor of millions of white and non-white immigrants, helmed a drastic restructuring of the region.

A time of dramatic flux and change: this thesis continues that argument that many of the dominant understandings of Los Angeles were formulated in this roughly 60-year period, often in opposition to the cultural identity of its past and elsewhere. This oppositional identity was intense, self-reflective, and essential to its imperial city building. Whether it was in racial opposition to the non-Anglo communities of Southern California or, as Gendzel argues, it was fuelled by “intrastate sectionalism” and “urban rivalry” with Northern California, such an identity was dependent on cultural work that defined and detailed Los Angeles

22 Ibid.
23 Waldie, “A City in Opposition”. See Deverell, chapter 1, for a further discussion of Los Angeles’ relation to the Mexican-American war.
25 Ethington, pp. 190-201.
26 Ethington, p. 200.
and Southern California as cohesive regional entities. As Anthea Hartig notes, “[t]he ascendancy of Los Angeles would not, could not, have occurred without the powerful, complicated construction of the place, both literally and figuratively […] Los Angeles grew up alongside, even inside, its own promotion and popularization.” That promotion and popularization, dependent on the labour of millions, many newly arrived, resulted in what Robert Fogelson, referring to Los Angeles’ socioeconomic and topographic aspects, described as “perhaps the most extraordinary expansion in American urban history.” In this period when the city was dramatically expanded and reconstructed — both physically and culturally — this thesis asks, how did its bibliographic, antiquarian, and literary culture contribute to its regional identity and history?

Reimagining the Past: A Critical Focus on Los Angeles’ “Small Renaissance”

Elements of this oppositional identity appear within the chronicles of the emergence of Los Angeles’ Anglo literati. The rise of this Anglo bibliographic scene is prominently described by the coterie of intellectuals surrounding bookseller Jake Zeitlin. Zeitlin termed the proliferation of bookish activity through the first half of the twentieth century a “small renaissance, Southern California style”, and for him and others this movement strongly indicated that a bookish culture worthy of a cosmopolitan Euro-American city — encompassing printing, collecting, and public and private antiquarian literary institutions — had arrived in the Southland. In a more recent context, the synoptic overviews by Madeleine Stern and Kevin Starr have drawn this scene’s broad contours. Descriptions of the emergence of this ‘renaissance’ in bookish culture by critics

27 Gendzel, pp. 79, 77.
such as Stern and Starr and the more personal reflections by those who lived through it are invaluable. These evaluations evocatively detail this literary culture: this thesis relies on their insights. Southern California’s small renaissance takes place amongst a wide network that flourished in the first half of the twentieth century but extends much beyond 1950, as well as having important antecedents. This thesis examines some of the institutions and individuals that were part of its genesis.

This thesis, however, takes a departure from the current scholarship on this movement. Many of the bibliographic and antiquarian sites this thesis focuses on – Dawson’s Book Shop, the Huntington Library, the Historical Society of Southern California – become a part of what Starr terms “a book culture that had become a regional badge of identity.”

Undoubtedly, this was true. There had never been institutions like this in Southern California and they were remarkable compared to their counterparts nationwide.

Yet in determining the uniqueness of these predominantly Anglo organizations, these accounts have the potential to generalise and marginalise Southern California’s past. The irony here is that these accounts focus on institutions which, antiquarian by design, were ostensibly centred around the collecting and documenting of the region’s past. The further irony is that some of these institutions and individuals often romanticized that past and so secondary reflections on the ‘small renaissance’ contain little critical distance, often colluding in this mythologizing, with notable exceptions. This bibliographic culture is frequently described in terms that herald the arrival of, and equate bourgeois Anglo literary arts to, ‘civilization.’ For instance, in relation to the antiquarian book shop Dawson’s, the subject of this thesis’ first chapter, Jon D. Markman attributes Lawrence Clark Powell in describing Ernest Dawson as “a force in the civilizing of Los Angeles”.

Madeleine Stern likewise describes Dawson as “a catalyst, a civilizing agent, in Southern California”.

Kevin Starr offers an expansive observation on how this bookish culture overtly courted more established bibliographic centres. He remarks that Dawson’s

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32 Starr, Material, p. 342.
33 See Deverell, p. 29 on the Historical Society’s genesis.
34 Markman, p. 6
35 Stern, p. 158.
acquisition of rare books from Victorian England “engendered in Dawson a sense of civilization coming to Los Angeles via antiquarian books and other distinguished imprints in which the texture of civilization itself, its intellect and imagination, was preserved for the enjoyment of the citizens of this emergent English-speaking city on the Pacific.”

Starr argues that Southern California’s Anglo culture understood that establishing ‘civilization’ required a certain degree of transplanting of culture from classicism and the European Old World to Los Angeles.

However, although Starr observes this bibliographic culture’s “British/Hispanic emphasis that I find so revealing of the Los Angeles cultural formula”, it seems fair to suggest his concern is often with the flair, drama, and character of the emergent literati and the vibrancy of their role within California’s grander story. When, in an earlier work, he remarks, “[a]fter decades of obscure lethargy, the city of Los Angeles began to grow during the boom of the 1880s”, it echoes the way the celebrated Los Angeles printer and core member of the ‘small renaissance’, Ward Ritchie, described the emergence of Anglo bibliographic culture.

Culture in the pueblo of Los Angeles germinated slowly. The good padre, Junipero Serra, several times limped across its dry terrain, and he founded a mission nearby in San Gabriel in 1771. Ten years later 44 tired and dusty colonists from Mexico arrived…. [They] enjoyed an equable climate, planted vines and trees, raised cattle, and probably lived a lazy and comfortable life. They were generally unaware of the tensions and responsibilities of progress, even after their conquest by the United States and the discovery of gold in the northern regions of the State.

And then in 1851, after seventy years of tranquillity, a printing press was introduced into the town, and with it progress began to infiltrate.

The “obscure lethargy” that Starr presents is matched by Ritchie’s image of pre-Anglo Los Angeles as a place and people of stasis, tranquillity, backwardness, and idleness.

This discourse posits a break from the past, in which the proliferation of printed material during modernity is distanced from a prelapsarian Arcadia; an

36 Starr, Material, p. 309.
37 Starr, Rise, p. 23.
38 Starr, Inventing, p. 64.
Anglo-American present of animated language becoming increasingly removed from a dormant Hispanic and Native American tableau. William Deverell has uncovered the imperialist dimensions to this construction of “sleepy” Los Angeles. Linking one memoir by Anglo, Andrew Copp, to a much wider discourse, Deverell remarks that,

> In accounts such as these, Mexican Los Angeles – “the lethargic going to and fro of a somnolent collection of human beings” – always gives way to Anglo Los Angeles sometime in the 1870s: “an awakening came, and behold a transformation appears.”

The continual allusion to a sleepy regional past occludes a racial narrative. As Deverell notes, “The Los Angeles problem was of course not sleepiness or some kind of weird village-wide narcolepsy. The ‘problem’ was race and the nagging symptomatic persistence of the so-called Mexican problem.” The recasting of the Mexican, Native American, and Californio past into touristic and romanticized narratives was a tactic deployed by Anglo-American boosters of the 1880s and 1890s who were committed to remaking Los Angeles into an Anglo-Saxon city.

Explored in this thesis, the echoes of this narrative are felt within the way Anglo antiquarian culture constructed itself at the turn of the twentieth century. This thesis aims to reconsider the history of Los Angeles’ antiquarians and their relationship to the past without the romantic retrospection. Some groups and figures maintained the hubris and chauvinism of Anglo boosters but even others that did not maintained the temporal split between Los Angeles’ “sleepy”, romanticized non-white past and its emergent Anglo present. Key to this distance were the poetics of Californiana which hinged around: mythology, travel, and romance; describing and ordering; American identity; and the visualisation and spatialisation of regional history and culture. These are now further examined.

Mythology, Travel, and Romance: Californiana as a Reimagined Literary Field

This thesis focuses on how Anglos framed the region’s history, landscape, and non-white peoples through the multivalent corpus of documents described as Californiana. It seeks to extend beyond fiction, beyond Ramona, McClung’s

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40 Deverell, p. 27.
41 Ibid.
42 Deverell, p. 27, 264n50.
43 Deverell, p. 28.
argument that, "'[p]lace' is the thesis of LA literature in the era that saw Anglos move from frontiersmen to bourgeoisie; the fictions they wrote and read are largely a pretext for appropriating Los Angeles to their own historical imperatives and cultural needs." McClung writes that “almost all of these fictions [of popular late nineteenth/early twentieth Los Angeles literature] merge imperceptibly with travel writing to constitute a literature of place, obsessed with analysing, publicizing, and critiquing both the found and the constructed landscape.” Yet this framework surrounding the re-imagining of the region has been overly restricted to fictional works. How this combination of found and constructed landscape, written through the cultural lens of travel writing, is assembled across the range of literary and visual documents that comprise Californiana is critical to this thesis. This range of texts includes not just fiction but descriptive memoirs, travelogues, reference works, historical articles, newspaper reports, maps, and photographs, with equal attention given to the paratextual devices, ordering systems, and physical spaces that housed such documents. If Southern California’s turn-of-the-century fiction was obsessed with refiguring space, why should we not also examine the literary apparatus and culture surrounding it?

Franklin Walker’s *A Literary History of Southern California* (1950) was path-breaking for taking a wide-ranging perception of what constituted Southern California literature, moving fluidly across fiction, chronicles, travel literature, memoirs, and descriptive accounts. This thesis follows aspects of Walker’s approach but takes Southern California’s literary, bibliographic, and archival structures as its focus rather than the diverse literary field that sprang from such sources. Walker clearly perceived the cultural and ideological visions that Southern California literature propagated, tracking these visions across an extensive range of institutions and sources. This thesis goes further and contends that Southern California’s cultural reimagining takes place at a more fundamental level of collecting, cataloguing, and ordering historical and literary material.

If the romanticism of Southern California fiction borrowed its cultural framework from travel writing, this was probably because Californiana as a

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44 McClung, p. 23.
45 Ibid.
generic descriptor for textual and visual documents encompassed many actual travel narratives. In a Dawson’s Bookshop catalogue of 1939, the Californiana collector, historian, and central member of the Historical Society of Southern California, J. Gregg Layne, reflected on nearly four decades of Californiana collecting:

for almost at once after starting a collection of Californiana, the collector becomes so intensely interested in the contents of his books…a state that does not often obtain in the general collecting of books…that he reads his books and thirsts for the further adventure that beckons from those he does not yet possess. And well may this be, for in what field of literature can one find the history…the romance…the adventure that the books of California reveal?47

Layne lists examples, suggesting Californiana presents the opportunity to vicariously travel with early explorers and colonizers such as Cabrillo, Drake, and Portola, the Mission Padres, and Jedediah Smith, whilst also climbing mountains with John Muir, mining gold with forty-niners, suffering with the ill-fated Donner and Death Valley Parties, and enjoying “the delights of the fiestas and fandangos of the early Spanish Californian.”48 Compared to tracts about other places, Layne strongly argues that Californiana is not just a more intensely affective regional writing, but a more greatly diversified corpus too. Layne gestures here towards historical dramas in Northern and Southern California but it is worth noting that this emphasis on scope and intensity, the citing of kaleidoscopic extremes, is frequently invoked by observers, writers, bibliographers, and collectors in Southern California. Californiana, it is implied, can take readers on a wider range of journeys than anywhere else, each one offering more vicarious thrills than can be found elsewhere. Layne argues all of this occurs in a state which has a scant history of bibliographic culture, relative to other American places. Regardless of whether Layne was being hyperbolic about the amount of adventure to be found in Californiana, his comments attest that a kaleidoscopic sense of literary voyaging and romantic mythology was at the heart of Californiana collecting. As Anglo Los Angeles increasingly boosted the iconography of its own regional culture, this

47 Dawson’s Book Shop, *California and the West*, Catalogue 134 (Los Angeles: Spring, 1939), p. 2. Box 20, Dawson’s Book Shop Records (Collection 117). Department of Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles. Note: after their initial full citation, catalogues are abbreviated to a ‘Cat. [Number]’ format.
48 Ibid.
kaleidoscopic narrative was central to the literary documents and framing of Southern California.

This thesis brings McClung’s comments about travel writing and Southern California fiction into a critical dialogue with the celebration of travel in Californiana by collectors like Layne. This thesis thus opens out this bibliographic and collecting culture to critical debates surrounding travel writing, particularly travel writing in the Americas. Where Californiana has been written about as a whole genre of literature, if it has been studied at all, it has been referenced in narrowly defined studies of the development of the book trade and antiquarianism or as a footnote within the history of California’s Anglo culture. Yet Californiana is deeply relevant to the theory and practice of travel writing for a number of reasons.

Continuing the focus on romance and mythology, we should first note Judith Hamera and Alfred Bendixen’s assessment that, “[travel writing] exists betwixt and between the factual report and the fictional account, personal memoir and ethnography, science and romance…[T]he boundary between travel writing and fiction can be especially murky…”49 Because Anglo fiction in Los Angeles frequently utilised travel writing and because one of the mainstays of Californiana as a genre was travel writing, Hamera and Bendixen’s comment, like much of the contemporary critical work on travel literature, is applicable to the collecting of Californiana. This indicates that the mythology of the region, the lines between factual reports and fictional re-envisioning, were embedded in the collecting and organising of Californiana from the start. Furthermore, because collections of Californiana in private homes, antiquarian bookshops, and public and research libraries, were the basis for further discourses and texts on the region, it becomes more important to pay close attention to how Californiana’s organising structures were built. Historians of Southern California could, and did, distance themselves from this bind of mythology. But Californiana, mirroring the blend of figurative imagery and descriptive data it contained, held a significant sway, partly because

Anglo antiquarian and bibliographic institutions emerged concurrently with Anglo historiography.

**Travel, Description, and Distance: Californiana’s Depiction of Regional Landscapes and People**

Secondly, in addition to always incorporating figurative and re-imagined depictions of the region, Californiana established itself as fundamentally built on the observation, description, ordering and taxonomising of the region’s physical and human geography. Again, travel literature is in large part responsible. Because California had long occupied a place on the world stage, Californiana encompassed everything from the maps and journals of early modern European explorers to, for example, twentieth century travel accounts in Los Angeles County. Californiana thus brought under its purview over three hundred-and-fifty years’ worth of travel narratives. Indicative of this, the title page of Dawson’s third catalogue, for instance, advertised the following: a seventeenth century *Cosmography and Geography of the World* from London depicting California as an island; the Jesuit, Miguel Venegas’ 1767 description of California, published in Paris; the relation of Junipero Serra, published 1787 in Mexico; and a nineteenth century compendium, the “Annals of San Francisco”, describing its “discovery, settlement, progress” accompanied by a list of American pioneers, published in New York.50

A core part of Californiana, then, is what Joan Pau Rubiés describes as the “ethnographic impulse” in travel writing. Rubiés remarks that, “The description of peoples, their nature, customs, religion, forms of governance, and language, is so embedded in the travel writing produced in Europe after the sixteenth century that one assumes ethnography to be essential to the genre.”51 With California occupying a prominent place within the published works of early modern Europe, Rubiés’ remarks are clearly relevant to Californiana. Rubiés notes that actually “[e]thnography is central to some forms, clearly secondary to others, and

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sometimes entirely absent” (and this is true for Californiana too), but it is clear the descriptive, taxonomic impulse remains paramount to California texts.  

Californiana’s historical context means that it includes many ethnographic works. Rubiés remarks that the “most fundamental form” of ethnographic travel writing was ‘the relation’, a synthetic descriptive account which could be narrative or analytical and which throughout the sixteenth century was widely used by Iberian and Italian writers as a vehicle for geographical (and occasionally historical) information concerning their discovery in Africa, America, and Asia. The genre had its origin in the ‘relations’ written by Venetian ambassadors, and was also adopted by the Monarchy of Spain for its colonial administration and by the Jesuits in their far-flung missions. It became the foundation stone for the great cosmographies of the period…

Exemplary of the literature Rubiés describes, the Dawson’s catalogue title page listed above contains two relations, one from the Spanish missionary, Serra, and the other from the Jesuit writer, Venegas, as well as a cosmography of the world from 1682. Thus, from the moment that California was written about by people external to the region, it was through a descriptive, analytical lens (one that could often be highly romanticizing too). Californiana embeds this taxonomic impulse in its ordering of the state’s literature. This thesis considers how Los Angeles’ Anglo antiquarians and bibliographers provided particularly heightened examples of this ordering impulse, both in relation to the whole of California and in relation to Los Angeles and Southern California, framing these local spaces as distinctive regions.

If travel and regional description were important for defining early modern European imperial understandings of California, it was also at the heart of constructing American identity in California, from the mid-nineteenth century onward. That construction would continue to be negotiated as Californiana became a generic classification and antiquarian and bibliographic culture developed across the state. As well as early modern relations, Californiana is also a corpus of texts that includes nineteenth century overland and naval narratives by American traders and explorers. The inclusion of the San Francisco pioneers volume on the title page of the Dawson’s catalogue listed above indicated this scope that Californiana sought to always, immediately, present one with.

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52 Rubiés, p. 244.
53 Ibid.
Californiana is directly linked to travel writing’s construction of American identity, a construction that Bendixen and Hamera state is complex and contradictory:

[Travel writing] creates American “selves” and American landscapes through affirmation, exclusion, and negation of others, and interpellates readers into these selves and landscapes through specific rhetorical and genre conventions. … American travel writing, like travel itself, is constitutive, a tool of self- and national fashioning that constructs its object even as it describes it.\(^{54}\)

Californiana wholeheartedly embraced this way of constructing the state through describing it. Collecting Californiana, Anglo Los Angeles reconstructed the region of Southern California through this process that variously affirmed, excluded, and negated other conceptions of this regional space and the spaces surrounding it, such as Northern California and Mexico.

Americans in California richly described the landscape, though they vacillated between evoking what was in it or what could be in it. The question that Hamera and Bendixen suggest attaches itself to all American travel writing is “both the simplest and most complex: is this landscape empty or is it full?”\(^{55}\) This question is integral to California writing. Found in works by Jean Francois de Laperouse (1797) George Vancouver (1798), and Fray Juan Crespi (1769), the central topos of early California travel writing is, according to Bruce Greenfield, a rich celebration of the landscape followed by a

disappointment that California society, native or immigrant, seems not to realise the potential of the natural surroundings … Some forty years later, another English traveller, Sir George Simpson, epitomised this topos with what he called ‘California in a nutshell’: ‘Nature doing everything and man doing nothing’.\(^{56}\)

Greenfield and Deverell both note that Richard Henry Dana, Bostonian sailor and author of the hugely popular *Two Years Before the Mast* (1840), summarized this topos with the remark, “In the hands of an enterprising people, what a country this might be!”\(^{57}\) Clearly an instigating endorsement for the American colonial project

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\(^{54}\) Hamera and Bendixen, p. 1.

\(^{55}\) Hamera and Bendixen, p. 4.


\(^{57}\) Greenfield, p. 209. Deverell, p. 60.
in California, such a perspective on the contents and value of the landscape is a central part of American identity’s construction through travel writing:

Empty, full, or both, the American landscape provides multiple kinds of cultural patrimony. Fecund emptiness was a commercial invitation and an opportunity for scientific investigation. It provided a kind of providential capital that could be deployed against the presumed cultural superiority and relative geological modesty of Europe.58

Later California writing swaps that attraction to ‘emptiness’ with either a remorseful nostalgia for a despoiled Arcadia, a disenchantment with California’s sociocultural project, or an apocalyptic fixation on the landscape’s instability and degradation — often all three.59

Focusing further on the plenitude of California’s travel writing is important because this is what operates in Californiana with a rare intensity. Describing a full taxonomy of the landscape is one of the principal tools toward American identity and imperialism, as discussions of American travel writing indicate. Hamera and Bendixen argue that, in contrast to those who saw the landscape as empty, “[g]enre considerations blur into those of nation-building in other accounts by those who found the landscape ‘full’; taxonomies of flora and fauna, rubes and rustics, and ethnographic accounts of Native peoples produce ‘Americanness’ as an effect of cataloguing the former and excluding the latter.”60

Yet if cataloguing and taxonomising, through travel writing, was a part of creating ‘Americanness’, it also shared this lineage with much earlier travelogues, such as those of early modern imperialists (a prominent presence in Californiana). As Rubié’s notes, even before more scientific systematicity came into travel accounts in the wake of the Enlightenment, travel writing that incorporated ethnography relied on a taxonomic methodology: “[t]he history of ethnography in travel writing can thus be written as the history of the emergence of a basic set of analytical categories, expressed in different genres and languages.”61

So because California was a subject of interest to travel writers prior to it being approached by Americans, Californiana utilises this taxonomic mode through and beyond purely an expression of American identity and nation building. Or, rather, Californiana brings together under one heading close to four

58 Hamera and Bendixen, p. 5.
59 These responses are summarized in Waldie, “Rereading”, pp. 22-39.
60 Hamera and Bendixen, p. 4.
61 Rubiés, pp. 251-252, 260n10.
centuries’ worth of descriptive ordering, writing often with imperial agendas. Californiana’s taxonomising continues to present itself, to the extent that when Layne and other Los Angeles bibliographers remarked on the richness of the field — “…for in what field of literature can one find the history…the romance…the adventure that the books of California reveal?” — they are commenting most immediately on the landscape as ‘full.’ They are delineating the plenitude of description about California and the extent of ordering that Californiana has applied to it. At the heart of its poetics, one of the dominant rhetorical devices of Californiana (both in the texts and in the genre’s organizing documents) is the maximal catalogue, simultaneously a microscopic and panoramic perspective, all points in focus. Whilst Californiana enthusiasts across the state voiced similar sentiments to Layne, it is striking how much collectors and antiquarians in Los Angeles utilised this framework in their projects of documenting the city’s history, literature, and culture, as we will see. As Los Angeles experienced astronomic rates of immigration and urban development at the same time as its Anglo contingent looked to reimagine a rich mythology for its past, this catalogue of fullness, an optic that witnessed things up-close and from far away, was increasingly utilised by Anglo bibliographers, collectors and antiquarians in Los Angeles.

Californiana’s construction of self and other, the prominent place California has long held in global understandings, both physical and imagined, and the numerous (often violent) interactions between its indigenous peoples, settlers, and colonial invaders, combine to ensure Californiana’s relevance to discussions of travel writing, ethnography, and colonialism. California, home to approximately 331,000 Native Americans before European contact and witnessing eras of Spanish, Mexican, and American control, surely fits Mary Louise Pratt’s definition of the “contact zone”:

the space of colonial encounters, the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict.  

Pratt’s contact perspective stresses “the relations among colonizers and colonized, or travelers and ‘travelees,’ not in terms of separateness or apartheid, but in terms of copresence, interaction, interlocking understandings and practices, often within radically asymmetrical relations of power.” Rubiés, too, points to the importance of a dialogic perspective, remarking that “[t]he fundamental issue about the political dimension of the description of other peoples in travel writing is determining the extent to which ethnography and ethnology were essentially a justification, or a tool, for empire” and that whilst some texts, perhaps the majority, may be stridently imperialist, ethnographic travel writing is not always in line with imperialist ideology, despite being produced under such a context. Californiana — in both the texts that constitute the genre and the apparatus (bibliographies, catalogues, etc) that defined and ordered — moves between an exclusionary, monologic perspective and a ‘contactedness’, though this contactedness, far more often than not, reifies those asymmetrical power relations Pratt mentions.

This thesis opposes that strict dichotomy between a “sleepy” Mexican Los Angeles past and an Anglo present of the 1900s vigorously establishing bastions of bibliographic culture. Such fictions propagate the idea of an intractable historical distance and Southern California, fitting Pratt’s definitions, is clearly a historical site of continuous social contact. As Deverell’s work underlines, fictions of historical distance were used most stridently by Anglo boosters who wanted to stress the idea that they naturally embodied the dominant position in the history of civilizations in the region.

This thesis makes an intervention to frame Californiana differently. Rather than merely narrating an expanding Anglo bibliographic culture, memorialising it in a contained and narrow manner, this thesis proposes that Californiana is a corpus primarily about mediating ideas of regional historical distance. As the above discussion shows, contact zones, in which travel writing predominates, are the sites in which, counter to their physical proximities, oppositional identities are constructed and inter-cultural distances are inscribed. It follows that Californiana, absorbing these historical texts, centrally revolves around these distances. Those

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63 Pratt, p. 7.
64 Rubiés, pp. 255-256.
65 See, for instance, Deverell, pp. 28, 59-62.
distances could seem monolithic were it not for the cultural history on Los Angeles and the critical work done by scholars such as Mark Salber Phillips on the construction of historical distance. Phillips interrogates historical distance, a concept too frequently prescribed as the necessary buffer between the past and present in order to acquire a sense of accuracy in narrating history.\textsuperscript{66} Salber removes this dividing line, destabilizing historical distance to recover its plasticity and rendering it a more tangible property in historical discourse.\textsuperscript{67} In thinking about a multiplicity of distances, rather than an abstract distance based on a reductive then-now binarism, Phillips’ reconfigured historical distance “encompasses the variety of ways in which we are placed in relation to the past (or — to put the case more fully — to the futures that the past makes possible.)”\textsuperscript{68}

Salber’s retheorization of distance allows us to see the varying proximities the regional past had to a growing and changing Los Angeles, pushing us to evaluate more precisely the complex and contested mechanics of constructing an American regional identity. Phillips provides a toolkit, focusing on:

the genres, media, and vocabularies that shape the history’s formal structures of representation; the affective claims made by the historical account, including the emotional experiences it promises or withholds; the work’s implications for action, whether of a political or moral nature; and the modes of understanding on which the history’s intelligibility depends. These overlapping, but distinctive distances — formal, affective, summoning, and conceptual — provide a framework for examining changing modes of historical representation.\textsuperscript{69}

Even the brief discussion so far of Californiana’s variety suggests how productively these analytical categories could be applied to its variegated series of reckonings with, and appropriations of, the regional past. Under every dimension of representation Phillips proposes, Californiana offers a diverse range of expressions. This thesis evaluates the collecting, framing and indexing of these distances and thus shows how antiquarianism in Los Angeles, c.1900-1930, understood the past in a way no other regional culture did.

Coupled with the descriptive impulse it had already developed through early modern European-American ethnography, the distanciation that American travel

\textsuperscript{67} Phillips, pp. 6, 9, 13-14.
\textsuperscript{68} Phillips, pp. 6, 12. For Los Angeles’ relation to the future, see Deverell, pp. 1-3.
\textsuperscript{69} Phillips, pp. 14.
writing brought to the documenting of California’s landscape and people meant that to collect, read, trade, and arrange Californiana was to continually delineate the region, underlining a detached perspective through the taxonomic fashioning of self and other. Californiana viscerally related and mediated ideas about the past and present of the region. Importantly, this construction of a perspective, an Anglo regional visuality, was enhanced by the emergence of Southern California’s antiquarian and bibliographic culture within late modernity.

**Antiquarianism in Regional and National Settings**

Californiana’s presentation of regional history and culture takes on even more importance when the precarious material context surrounding its printing and collecting is considered. Stalwarts of Southern California’s bibliographic culture frequently commented on the increasing rarity of Californian texts and limited opportunity to acquire them. In that same catalogue essay for Dawson’s, J. Gregg Layne commented that, “No state in the Union has a greater number of printed worthwhile items relating to it than has California. Nor is the literature and historical material of any state harder to obtain or in greater demand than is that of California.”

In another Dawson’s catalogue, Robert E. Cowan, the foremost bibliographer of California, concurred: “Western Americana has at no time been plentiful.”

Ecological and marketplace factors were the cause of such rarity: “Fires, floods and the permanent absorption by Public Libraries tend to lessen the number [of local books] appearing in the market.” The esteemed Los Angeles bookseller, Jake Zeitlin, stated that one main aim of his Primavera Press was to reprint “rare classics of California which have become lost or inaccessible through the high prices they fetch in the original editions.”

Even Primavera’s reprints, however, were given a rarity and cache, one being marketed in 1930 as “certain to become a very scarce and desirable collectors’ item.” For Anglo Americans at the forefront of the pursuit of Californiana, such claims to rarity lent these

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70 Cat. 134, p. 2.
regional pasts even more of an elusive mystique. Bibliographies, catalogues, rare book shops, and auctions all traded off the allure that scarcity brought. The challenges for collectors in physically owning portions of these histories and literatures ensured the regional spaces these texts depicted carried even more of an appeal.

Californiana’s rarity and its extensive bibliographical indexing, coupled with its presentation of place through evocative, romanticized content and taxonomic, catalogue-like form, clearly shows how it was a field well-suited to Anglo collectors and antiquarians. It was a geographically and historically wide assortment of texts with enough formal ordering to define a shape but enough intangibility to excite the imagination. But how did antiquarianism and collecting differ in Los Angeles from elsewhere and what does this tell us about Anglo American approaches to culture, place, and history?

It is mainly a question of timing. Writing in 1950, George H. Callcott described the period 1800-1860, covering the majority of the antebellum era, as “the day of the antiquarian and of an unprecedented concern with the publication of documents and the compilation of historical minutiae.” What is striking to Callcott about this period is its sheer proliferation of antiquarian activity, coupled the American populace’s tendency toward collecting local data, rather than writing national narrative history, a distinction most evident in the flourishing of local historical societies. Yet, in Los Angeles, the antiquarian practices that overlapped with bibliographic institutions and private collectors only emerged from the late 1880s onward. Los Angeles’ first antiquarian bookshop, Dawson’s, was only established in 1905 (Samuel G. Drake’s Antiquarian Bookstore had opened in Boston in 1830) whilst the Historical Society of Southern California was not founded until 1883.

In its intermingling of literati, Southern California’s antiquarian scene has much in common with the activity Anne A. Verplanck identifies amongst the bibliographic and historical community of 19th century Philadelphia, surrounding men such as John Fanning Watson, John A. McAllister, and Benson Lossing —

76 Callcott, pp. 19, 21, 23.
77 Stern, p. xiii.
only the activity in Los Angeles takes place approximately half a century later.\(^{78}\) Alea Henle’s expansive study of American historical societies, cited by Verplanck, is likewise limited to the period of 1791-1850.\(^{79}\) Compared to the flourishing of bibliographic, visual, and antiquarian culture that took place elsewhere much earlier in America, such as in Philadelphia, Los Angeles’ strains of Anglo bookish activity only began to appear toward the end of the nineteenth century. Such a gap, with Los Angeles’ Anglo antiquarian culture only developing after the Civil War, automatically installed a different perception on the past. As Heather Cox Richardson notes, huge technological development and the emergence of a newly formed middle class that championed an exclusionary individualism, mirrored by the romantic mythology of the rugged American West, combined to ensure the post-Civil War period of the late nineteenth century “defined modern America.”\(^{80}\) Los Angeles’ antiquarian and bibliographic culture emerged in the midst of this modern American era.

This relatively late arrival of antiquarianism was doubly exacerbated by Los Angeles’ extraordinary boom of the 1880s which Anglo bookish culture developed from.\(^{81}\) Furthermore, California’s antiquarians and bibliographers were not just developing their own collecting culture that was analogous to other American regions – Californiana was an entirely distinct field. As Robert Cowan remarked about the national collecting of Americana:

> An examination of the annals of book-collecting discloses the fact that from 1850 to 1900 there were numerous industrious collectors, and many collections of great extent and importance. … These were then and would now be notable gatherings, but their owners seem to have observed rigidly an immutable purpose not to stray from the Atlantic coast and these libraries were entirely of Eastern Americana. The famous words of advice of Horace Greeley meant nothing in their scheme of collecting.\(^{82}\)

Collectors did not ‘Go West’, Anglo antiquarianism did not emerge in Southern California until the final years of the nineteenth century, mainly because a vast portion of Anglo migrants only moved to Los Angeles around this time, and, as a

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81 For the boom of the 80s see Starr, *Inventing*, p. 64; McWilliams, pp. 118-125.
82 Cat. 81, p. 3.
result, bibliographic and antiquarian culture in the Southland was modulated very differently in comparison to other American cities.

Antiquity, Modernity, and the Spatialisation of Regional History

Finding itself far removed from anything like antebellum Philadelphia, Los Angeles’s Anglo antiquarian, collecting, and bibliographic culture distinctly overlaps with the social changes associated with twentieth century modernity. The qualities of objects of material culture, including texts, were increasingly called into question. This is despite Verplanck’s assertion that Philadelphia’s antebellum “antiquarians used reproductive technologies to help define accuracy, memory, and history decades prior to the turn of the twentieth century, a moment when broad quests for authenticity consumed Americans.”83 Collectors of Californiana, despite undoubtedly holding affinities with previous antiquarian cultures across the nation, could not fail to appraise material culture in a different way or, at least, recognised a more severe disjuncture between their historical texts and the rapidly-modernising world around them.

One defining aspect that we should consider is the question of aura around works of Californiana. It was Walter Benjamin who theorised the changing status of the aura in late modernity. To Benjamin, the aura was the irreducible nature of an object or work of art’s authenticity, “the unique phenomenon of a distance, however close [the object] may be.”84 Through photography and film, technology’s ability to reproduce images destroyed the aura and its sense of distance, replacing artworks’ original, ritualistic use-value with a new political dimension.85 Scholars examining the changes in literary culture in America have found Benjamin’s theories helpful. Janice Radway’s work on Harry Scherman and the Book-of-the-Month Club in 1920s America argues that the question of books as auratic objects was a central issue surrounding the early twentieth-century

83 Verplanck, p. 396. “Nearly eighty years before Walter Benjamin invoked the ability of reproductions to change the context of the original, Philadelphia’s antiquarians shaped citizens’ conception of historic people, places, and things through prints, photographs, and other visual media” — Verplanck, p. 396n3.
literary marketplace. Compelled to action by a leisure environment increasingly dominated by radio and the movies, it required innovation for publishers to sell new books in the space between the conception of books as singular auratic works of high culture and the mass market reproduction of texts that might simultaneously devalue books as desirable consumer items. Radway remarked that,

Where Benjamin was able to offer in 1936 a theoretical explanation of how the technological possibility of reproduction fundamentally transformed the mode of existence of the cultural object, some ten years earlier Scherman had confronted in practical fashion the contradiction between a book still permeated ideologically by the aura of the work of art and a market process calling for infinite reproducibility and promiscuous, ever-expanding exchange.

At first impression, although the pressures of the literary marketplace existed in Southern California as they did nationwide, especially during the Depression, the question of whether books maintained an aura does not seem to be as much a problem for Southern California’s rare book sellers and antiquarian collectors as Scherman’s marketing of new novels. It would appear as though the rarity of Californiana, coupled with the fascination with the state’s past and present, had led to texts venerated as singular works of art. The bibliography of rare Californiana produced by Los Angeles’ Zamorano Club, The Zamorano 80 (1945), seems entirely predicated on such a notion. Furthermore, books were glorified by the bibliographic and antiquarian culture of Southern California in general, not just those interested in Californiana, as indicated by the activity of traders such as Alice Millard, who exalted The Book to a level of sheer reverence.

87 Ibid.
But again, precisely what is important is Southern California’s comparatively late installation of antiquarianism, collecting, and bibliographic culture, emerging as it did in late modernity. Reading Benjamin and reflections on his work by critics such as Susan Buck-Morss and Matthew Rampley, it would actually appear that any aura surrounding Californiana is, at best, illusory or fragmented and, at worst, absent entirely. Rampley specifies that the aura is fundamental for analysing modernity:

Benjamin recognised that the advent of modernity entailed a radical reorientation in the representation and experience of space and time, in which both material and conceptual shifts had brought about a collapsing of space (and time) into a visual simultaneity. … For Benjamin, the question of modernity was framed by the discourse of “aura.” Modernity heralds the demise of auratic distance … The decline of aura can be registered in the decline of distance marking out the work of art as something apart.  

Following Benjamin and Rampley, whilst the surface and aesthetics of Los Angeles’ antiquarian and bibliographic culture suggests that the aura persists into the early twentieth century, our earlier discussion that utilised Phillips to suggest the constructedness and plasticity of historical distance surrounding the collecting of Californiana in Los Angeles would actually indicate that that auratic distance was diminished or non-existent.

If books and art objects could no longer convey a weighty, ritualistic sense of the past, the framing devices of Californiana’s ordering, collecting, and indexing had to step in and re-imagine what that historical distance could look like. In doing so, the spaces, places, individuals, indexes, and societies of Californiana replaced the auratic with the oneiric. The oneiric – relating to dreams and the dreamlike – is a term most often associated with Gaston Bachelard, who contemplated the reverie and imaginative potential of certain spaces and the language we attach to these spaces. The ‘poetics of space’ is useful for placing imaginative associations of regions into dialogue with texts and institutions that could otherwise be confined to formal studies of the bibliographic and antiquarian trades. The textual and physical spaces of antiquarian bookshops like Dawson’s Bookshop, the public and research libraries across the region, the private

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91 Rampley, pp. 96-97.
collections of wealthy elites, and groups like the Historical Society of Southern California were all consciously set up to provoke imaginative, dream-like associations with historical landscapes — our brief introduction to Californiana collectors like J. Gregg Layne indicate that. Texts of Californiana and the rooms that housed them produced a sense of reverie of regional space that took the place of any aura of authenticity that conveyed a sense of historical distance. If potential collectors were to go looking in these locations for auratic objects, they would be disappointed, for the sheer array of historical spaces of the region that they would be at once confronted with, written and pictographic, overlapping and continually reconfigured, would obliterate any singular, temporal distance the aura relied upon. As Rampley argues, examining the work of Benjamin and art historian Aby Warburg, looking at space instead of time is key:

both recognised that shifts in the material conditions of contemporary life were leading to a profound change in the perception of space … this recognition also led to a change in the logic of cultural representation. As a consequence of the general preoccupation with space, culture itself came to be considered in primarily spatial rather than historical terms. The importance of this substitution cannot be overestimated. … Instead of the narrative of historical development one finds the idea of a cultural space, in which metaphors of vision become prominent. …[T]he emergence of the notion of a cultural space, and the replacement of a concern with temporal diachrony by one of spatial synchrony can be traced back to Warburg and Benjamin.  

Anglo Southern California’s antiquarianism, collecting, and bibliographic culture is distinguished from other nodes of regional historical and literary activity because any diachronic relation to the past that might be achieved through auratic objects and their establishing of distance is replaced by a spatial synchrony. And if, as Rampley suggests, the proof of this is in the recourse to visuality, then Californiana exemplifies this because the importance of visual metaphors for relating the historical past, combined with the ordering and taxonomy of visual images and visual space, is extremely prominent in this regional literature. Californiana is essentially a collection of visual perspectives; a regional historical optic. The optic that Rampley explores in Warburg and Benjamin’s work is both literal (in the image) and figurative (in the spatial metaphor) and their interlocking understandings are explored across this thesis.  

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93 Rampley, pp. 97, 113.  
94 Rampley, p. 112.
Chapter one focuses on Dawson’s Book Store and discusses how, through their ordering of Californiana, the employees created multiple spaces through which California’s culture, history, landscape, and people was re-imagined. Perhaps more than any other antiquarians, Dawson’s, helmed by their expert in Californiana, Eleanor Reed, understood this conflicted sense of historical distance that collecting regional material entailed. Through their celebrated catalogues and in the space of the bookstore, Dawson’s created microcosmic realms of regional literature that enticed collectors with its blend of rarity, mythology, romance, and order and continually broadened the taxonomy of what California could look like to its Anglo audience. In this manner, Dawson’s profoundly influenced the region’s bibliographic and literary culture, and with that, the Anglo understanding of California history.

Dawson’s was a central hub for the making and remaking of collections, often literary but visual and cartographic too. Yet, as chapter two shows, for Anglo antiquarians, collections could be produced as part of a broader project, such as historical research on Southern California. Whilst often considered secondary to the final work, this initial process of collecting, documenting, and taxonomising deeply informed these historical works’ approaches to regionalism. Marion Parks and Edwin L. Lewis pursued projects that collected historical data about streetcars and adobe houses. Where Dawson’s promised the vicarious thrill of literary travelling, Parks and Lewis physically traversed the landscape in collecting and documenting their historical focus, particularly the social memory about adobes and streetcars. Their projects show how regional collecting, frequently embracing the region’s mythology, was always a spatial act of renegotiating the landscape and their collecting shows the taxonomic imperative embedded in Anglo civic and business institutions in Southern California.

The inscriptive, spatial work that Parks and Lewis performed through their collecting and archival practice is transposed in chapter three into a much wider public, institutional frame in the Huntington Library’s Californiana Project. This acquisition program for regional historical material employed a Field Agent, Lindley Bynum, to make contact with civic groups and individuals in order to find and acquire manuscripts pertaining to Southern California. This expansive traversing of the region fitted with the similarly expansive conceptual frame the library staff envisioned for their regional history program, conceiving it be a vast
storehouse of Western Americana. This chapter interrogates that framework, showing how the narrative of westward expansion comes into dialogue with a set of archives that suggest that containing frame is much more permeable and less ideologically grandiose than it initially appears.

Chapter four looks to the collecting of Californiana that took place within the private home. Focusing on a set of collectors in Pasadena, this chapter argues that each of their collecting projects were remarkable undertakings that, in any other context, would have garnered significant critical appraisal. Drawing the link from these collections, generally only known to local historians, to much wider discourses about antiquity and modernity at the turn of the twentieth century, this chapter argues that these collectors materially produced Anglo ideologies about Southern California, where others had only written or conceptualized these understandings.

A final conclusion returns to the conflicted history of looking at the regional landscape and posits that distance and mythology continued to influence Anglo antiquarians. Their collecting culture was located in that influential mediating midpoint between landscape and perception. Across this thesis, then, mythology, cataloguing, historical distance, and the negotiation of socio-cultural identity all coalesce. They conjoin around a bibliographic and collecting culture that was situated between modernity and a reimagined antiquity and they created a new perspective on Southern California and its history. For these reasons, this thesis is an important intervention.
Chapter 1

An Indexed Land: Dawson’s Book Store and the Anglo Reconstruction of Regionalism

“The colored fragments of Los Angeles’ antiquarian past reassemble themselves, interrelate one with the other, reflect their early brightness. Shake the kaleidoscope and the images flash by …”\textsuperscript{1} – Madeleine Stern

“…paradoxically, it was not until I went to France to study in the University of Dijon that I began to get some sense about Southern California’s past — and then it was by way of literature and landscape, not history.”\textsuperscript{2} – Lawrence Clark Powell

713 South Broadway in Downtown Los Angeles was an inauspicious place to begin to reassemble and catalogue the literary documents of California’s past. Yet in April 1905 it was here, amongst the furniture warehouses “on the outer fringe of the business district” that the new proprietor placed the sign for Ernest Dawson’s Antique Book Shop, soon shortened to just Dawson’s Book Shop.\textsuperscript{3}

Closing in 2010, Dawson’s was the longest-standing and perhaps the most popular rare and antiquarian book shop in Southern California, famous for its early specialization in Californiana.\textsuperscript{4} Whilst a number of other book stores existed in the city in 1905, Dawson’s claim as Los Angeles’ first antiquarian book store rests on the fact that no other store specialised in rare books: Dawson’s catalogue of December 1907 was the first rare book catalogue to be produced in the city.\textsuperscript{5} In


\textsuperscript{3} Dawson’s Book Shop, *[35th Anniversary Catalogue]*, Catalogue 142 (Los Angeles: April, 1940), p. 3. Box 20, Dawson’s Book Shop Records (Collection 117). Department of Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles. Hereafter ‘Cat. 142’. Note: after their initial full citation, catalogues are abbreviated to this ‘Cat. [Number]’ format. This catalogue also quoted in Russell Arthur Roberts, “Dawson’s Book Shop: Publisher of Western Americana and Patron of the Book Arts”, *California Librarian*, 25, 2 (April 1964), 97–101 (p. 97).


\textsuperscript{5} This claim has been commented on by many, including members of Dawson’s themselves. See Cat. 142, p. 3; Stern, p. 155; Kevin Starr, *Material Dreams: Southern California Through the 1920s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 309; Glen Dawson & Muir Dawson, Interview with David W. Davies, *Dawson’s Book Shop: An Oral History Memoir*, Vol. 1 (Claremont, CA: Oral History Program, Claremont Graduate School, Claremont, [1973] 1986), pp. i-29 (pp. 13-14); Fern
her study of the US rare book trade, Madeleine Stern notes that the first American book store exclusively dedicated to antiquarian material was Samuel G. Drake’s Antiquarian Book-Store which opened in Boston in 1830, though Eastern bookstores had begun to specialise in certain areas from the late eighteenth century onward and book catalogues had existed on the East Coast since 1693.6 Dawson’s, then, was picking up an American literary and commercial trend that had been in existence for over a century. As Stern notes, even compared to booksellers in San Francisco, Southern California’s antiquarians arrived much later, a factor Stern suggests was potentially instrumental in honing their “chauvinism and their spirit of competitiveness”.7 This comment is indicative of the discourse surrounding the fashioning of a bookish Anglo identity in Los Angeles, where Anglos attempted to distinguish themselves from other American centres of bibliographic, collecting and antiquarian activity. The way this development was framed as part of a region-wide ‘small renaissance’ that broke from the past was discussed in the introduction.

This comparatively late establishment of rare book culture in Southern California was significant because, through the framework of antiquarianism, it immediately codified the relation between texts, the landscape, and the past, installing a collecting culture around a regional literature that had otherwise been absent from American bibliographic ordering. Whereas other literary genres and historical material had been collected in a linear, piecemeal manner within other American cities, Dawson’s opened in Los Angeles and immediately embarked on collecting, advertising, and selling Californiana. Stern termed Los Angeles’s antiquarian bookselling world “a phenomenon within a phenomenon” that “emerged and flourished against a peculiar background.”8 In this distinctive and relatively late Anglo world of literary collecting, regional identity was formulated in a far more expansive and immediate manner than other American literary hubs. Born from a wider culture of Western expansionism, Dawson’s catalogues continually engage with Western ideologies of landscape and space. Regional spaces and the temporalities surrounding them were assembled and recombined in

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6 Stern, pp. viii, xiii-xiv.
7 Stern, p. 151.
8 Ibid.
the catalogue listings, metonymically represented through works of Californiana. Taking seriously the way these catalogues were structured elucidates how such seemingly monolithic Anglo ideologies were built and performed. Collecting and assembling Californiana at Dawson’s reveals the West Coast bookshop as a place that understood region not as glyphic, hermetic, and contained but spatial, expansive, and visual. This chapter argues that the assemblages of texts in the catalogues and store shelves – similar to both the collections by other Southern California regionalists discussed in this thesis and texts and anthologies of modernism – were inscriptive acts of mapping regional spaces and their history. Dawson’s was one of the central parts of a Southern California-wide trend of collecting and inscribing a sense of regionalism. Imbricated within wider cultural contestations, this assemblage had palpable effects on historical, spatial, and racial narratives in Southern California.

As critics such as Russell Arthur Roberts and Dawson himself noted, Dawson’s chose to trade in Californiana partly because, following the San Francisco earthquake and fire in 1906, this material was rapidly becoming rarer and, by the time the first catalogue was issued in 1907, it was a lucrative, collectible genre that had a dedicated audience. Growing up in California and reading Western Americana classics, Dawson also had a personal interest in this material and the textual worlds from those classics crossed over into the bookshop catalogues. From that very first catalogue in 1907 onward, Dawson’s made Californiana a core priority, approaching this material with a concerted interest and curatorial spirit in a way previous bookstores in Los Angeles had not. The most comprehensive introduction to the catalogues is local book collector, Stuart F. Robinson’s, in the preface to the 2005 reprint of Dawson’s first catalogue, commemorating the bookshop’s centennial anniversary:

The catalogues leave a bountiful record of antiquarian bookselling in twentieth century Los Angeles. They are the product of a balance among the interests of the staff and proprietors, the collecting habits of their customer base, and the availability of material. Many substantial collections were

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9 On the relations between modernism and the assembling of texts, see Jeremy Braddock, Collecting as Modernist Practice (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013).
11 Roberts, pp. 97-98.
formed and, after the passage of years, subsequently sold through these
catalogues. The shop was not a consistent dealer in high-spots, but excelled
in the broad middle range of collectible books. This marketing position and
the shop’s geographical location thus assisted in what became its signature
specialty: Californiana and Western Americana. The catalogues reflected
this aspect and turned attention on under-appreciated and extremely scarce
historical pamphlets and brochures of Southern California history. This
focus is the shop’s enduring legacy.

Whilst there exists a reasonable number of sources on Dawson’s and Los
Angeles’ bibliographic world, the wider implications of Dawson’s trading and
indexing of Californiana have been ignored outside of a few, scattered sources
which only briefly consider the ramifications of this mass accumulation of
regional material. This is despite contemporary and historical sources on
Dawson’s repeatedly mentioning how special the catalogues were. The catalogues
are frequently described as the signature hallmarks of the bookstore’s curation, the
“enduring legacy” of the shop. To Fern Dawson Shochat (Ernest’s daughter), the
catalogues represent “the most important publications” of the store. As well as
valuable individual artefacts showing the history of antiquarian bookselling in Los
Angeles, the totality of the catalogues, over 550 editions in all, stand as a whole
body of work, as Robinson noted: “[t]hese catalogues together represent the book
shop’s most extensive publication, …an enormous bibliographical resource.”
Librarian Lawrence Clark Powell evidently agreed, as noted in a 1984 interview
with the *Los Angeles Times*:

‘[the catalogues] are kind of like bibles,’ said Powell, who had an entire set
of Dawson’s catalogues indexed at the UCLA library later named after him
[Powell]. ‘We use them as a reference. We want to see what Dawson priced
books at, what he thought.’

Ernest Dawson also believed the catalogues were chronological markers of the
rare book trade, “chronicl[ing] the progress of the business [Dawson’s]” but they
also showed the fragmentary mass from which collections were built:

“[n]umerous rare books, manuscripts, fine printing and runs of early newspapers
have from the pages of these catalogues found their way to the shelves of

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Library, San Marino, California.
14 Ibid.
16 Robinson, op. cit.
17 Quoted in Markman, p. 6.
collectors and libraries. Practically every phase of literary collecting is represented…”

Yet, despite these acknowledgements that the catalogues are an extensive bibliographical reference, a history of the business, a portrait of literary collecting and antiquarianism in Los Angeles, a collection in their own right, and a vital and influential spotlight on the printed material relating to California, there is little further comment that might centre Dawson’s in evaluating how collecting constructed Anglo ideas of region in Southern California. Commentaries on the catalogues are generally very brief, mementos in narrating the bibliographic story of early twentieth-century Los Angeles. The catalogues are seen as valuable but only as bibliographic reference works or, as outlined in the thesis introduction, as material evidence of an emergent West Coast literati: the wider cultural work they perform is wholly under-considered. Much the same could be said for the various spaces and locations of the store.

Reconceptualizing how Dawson’s framed Californiana puts the store into dialogue with deeper processes of defining regional history, literature, and space. That definition depended on the work of framing Californiana as a concept and as a grouping. This chapter thus focuses on both the arrangements in the physical space of the various Dawson’s stores and the material and textual space of the catalogues: spaces simultaneously in dialogue with each other and with California’s envisioned historical and contemporary landscapes. Across these spaces, the bookshop and its catalogues both reflected and contributed to the ongoing Anglo re-negotiation of California history and regionalism in Los Angeles. In the early twentieth century, California and Los Angeles’ built environments, social demographics, and cultural politics were rapidly changing. Dawson’s was a product of and a contributor to the structural forces mainly responsible for such change – US capitalism and imperialism in the American West. Yet, antiquarians as they were, the business relied on providing a threshold between the past and modernity. At that intersection, Dawson’s catalogues and its stores show how Anglo collections and practices of collecting developed an historical optic (visual, spatial, and cartographic) that reframed the past and contemporary landscapes of Los Angeles and California. This chapter proposes that through a variety of

18 Cat. 142, pp. 3-4.
devices, Dawson’s situated themselves between how California had been textually represented and the imaginative possibilities the region could promise to its Anglo consumer base.

Assembling the Region: The Ordering of Californiana and the Visualising of Landscape

In his lyrical study of California geology, *Assembling California* (1993), John McPhee considers the diversity of composition of the Sierra Nevada mountains. Crossing the range, he remarks,

> The rocks seem to change as fast as the traffic. You see olivine-rich, badly deformed metamorphic rock. You see serpentine. Gabbro. One thing follows another in a manner that seems random — a collection of relics from varied ages and many ancestral landscapes, transported from far or near, set beside or upon one another, lifted en masse in fresh young mountains and exposed in roadcuts by the state. You cannot be expected, just by looking at it, to fit it all together in mobile space and sequential time, to see in the congestion within this lithic barn — this Sierra Nevada, this atticful of objects from around the Pacific world — the events and the vistas that each item represents.¹⁹

In order for him and his audience to try to understand this “messy” array of natural forms, McPhee asks us to imagine a “spacious loft” overflowing with period pieces of furniture that, in their style and origin, are completely non-sequential and the processes whereby they came to be in this space cannot be fathomed – at least, “not in a single reconnaissance.”²⁰ Gradually, though, through extensive studies of the topography, the geologic stories begin to emerge; the pieces of California begin to be assembled in a somewhat recognizable form.²¹

McPhee’s framing of this diversely composed geologic narrative is relevant to Dawson’s and Californiana for both contextual and conceptual reasons, relating to topography and to how regional characteristics come to be ordered and classified. The geologic analogy is appropriate firstly because, as with the non-uniform tectonic composition of California, the texts about the region were unevenly distributed at the turn of the twentieth century. The California bibliographer, Robert E. Cowan, in a 1931 essay for a Dawson’s catalogue, wrote

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²⁰ McPhee, pp. 22-23.  
²¹ McPhee, p. 24.
that “Western Americana has at no time been plentiful.” Cowan’s background as a bookseller in San Francisco and author of the most well-known bibliography of California means this assessment of print culture West of the Mississippi centrally includes Californiana. The reasons Cowan cited for this unstable situation were: limited editions because of unfavourable conditions for printing; devastation caused by fire and flood; “the unsettled state of society and the nomadic habits of its population”; as well as the destruction of texts by individuals who deemed them worthless. This material precarity was most drastically exacerbated by the San Francisco earthquake of 1906 — our second geologic link — which directly increased the rarity, interest of collectors in, and marketization of, Californiana, creating a frenetic collecting culture. As Ernest Dawson noted,

About a year after opening my shop, occurred the San Francisco earthquake and fire, in which many notable libraries were destroyed. Immediately a scramble began for almost any material relating to early California. I made the most of the interest and ever since a considerable section of our stock has comprised books, maps, views, magazines and newspapers relating to the West.

Yet the link between McPhee’s escarpment-and-attic analogy and the collecting and classifying at Dawson’s runs deeper than the direct tectonic consequences on California’s book trade. Although Dawson’s were working through a much shorter time scale than McPhee’s conceptual reconstruction of geologic cons, the catalogues and the bookshop were similar works of assemblage, piecing together diverse bits of the region, distinct in space and time. As with McPhee’s analogy, the initial perception of Dawson’s Californiana is an assembled array of histories and narratives – not sequentially ordered – but

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24 Ibid.
25 Cat. 142, p. 4. Also see Stern who remarks that the fire “spurred so much regional collecting”, p. 153, and Roberts who echoes Ernest Dawson’s reflections in commenting that the store greatly took advantage of the intense “scramble” for printed material relating to early California, ensuring it would always be a core focus, Roberts, p. 98.
leaping from one historical space and textual style to another. Furthermore, McPhee’s analogy shows the mediation of California that takes place between exterior and interior spaces. Drawing the link between the expansive “lithic barn” of nature and the loft (voluminous but enclosed) of manufactured, stylized furniture shows how understandings of California are constructed through and between varying containers of knowledge. Furthermore, McPhee’s analogy shows the mediation of California that takes place between exterior and interior spaces. Drawing the link between the expansive “lithic barn” of nature and the loft (voluminous but enclosed) of manufactured, stylized furniture shows how understandings of California are constructed through and between varying containers of knowledge. The Dawson’s catalogues, in arranging works of Californiana, were always mediations from an envisioned regional landscape to the bibliographic world of the bookshop and the material and textual spaces of the catalogues. Doubly so, considering the region had already been represented once in the texts the store sought to arrange.

McPhee’s attic where period furniture stands in for geologic periods of California calls to mind Jorge Luis Borges’ poem “Inventory”, which Roger Cardinal has discussed, remarking it “speaks of visiting an attic crammed with the bric-a-brac of several generations”, full of “forlorn items”. Like McPhee, the initial perception for Borges and Cardinal is an assortment of objects – for example, “an old charcoal iron”, “a stove with only two legs”, “a peeling gilt frame, with no canvas” – entirely divorced from meaning and from each other as a series. Initially, the scene is merely, “the flotsam of disorder” where “a whole context of richly layered experience has simply dropped away without recall.” However, like the Sierra Nevada roadcuts and the pages of Dawson’s catalogues, whilst the surface reading is initially random and “chaotic”, the ‘collection’ begins to reveal itself by the joint association of these items as historical actors. Reflecting this thesis’ introductory discussion of the layers of Los Angeles’ regional history, Cardinal remarks, the ‘series’ to which an object belongs is that stratum of past time from which it has emerged, as a surviving material witness. … Borges’s inventory eventually yields its common denominators: each of those relics is ancient,

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26 On narratives of containment see Susan Stewart, On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection (Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 1993), and chapter three of this thesis.
28 Ibid.
29 Ibid.
each has played a part in the lives of people now dead, each participates in a tacit narrative, an ancestral history (albeit a faulty one).\textsuperscript{31} Borges and Cardinal draw attention to the weightiness and visceral quality of the past at the same time as pointing out the arbitrary, if well-intentioned, process of cataloguing that past.\textsuperscript{32} Equally relevant to McPhee and Dawson, Cardinal observes, “[d]ocuments like Borges’s attic inventory seem to want to coax singularities into an avowal of simultaneity and unison; yet they cannot dispel sparks of discord, which allow absurdity and alienation to encroach.”\textsuperscript{33} Catalogues of Californiana reflected this desire to “systematise” the region and its past.\textsuperscript{34} Coming from an antiquarian bookshop, the catalogues drew out the reverential meaning of these regional artefacts’ provenance but, in doing so, they also showed the genre of Californiana to be an unstable mnemonic system, a re-envisioning of regional history.\textsuperscript{35} For Anglo culture at the turn of the twentieth century, there is little collective memory of these rare books and the region they present, only their framing by the catalogues and the store as reflecting a past landscape.

Cultural representations of physical landscapes are central to Californiana and literary critics of the region have proclaimed as much, David Wyatt noting “the literature of California everywhere explores the ways we express identity in terms of topography.”\textsuperscript{36} Whilst Krista Comer echoes this understanding when remarking “a major link between California and western narratives is articulated through representations of landscape”, Comer generally challenges Wyatt’s narrative in order to critique the way ideology structures ideas of landscape.\textsuperscript{37} Seeing Wyatt’s framing of California as a “narrative of loss” of an Edenic world that echoes nineteenth century accounts by writers like Richard Henry Dana (one of Wyatt’s case studies), Comer finds that Wyatt, through the gendering of California as female, ends up retrenching dominant imperial perspectives, “implicitly reinscrib[ing] the protagonist of this narrative of nation as white and

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{31} Cardinal, pp. 24-25.
\bibitem{32} Cardinal, pp. 23-26.
\bibitem{33} Cardinal, p. 26.
\bibitem{34} Cardinal, p. 25.
\bibitem{35} Cardinal, pp. 24-25.
\bibitem{37} Krista Comer, \textit{Landscapes of the New West: Gender and Geography in Contemporary Women’s Writing} (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), p. 69.
\end{thebibliography}
masculine”. Comer’s project of destabilising such ideologies takes on W. J. T. Mitchell’s understanding that the “landscape perspective” is “[a] particular historical formulation associated with European imperialism” and that “landscape is an instrument of cultural power, perhaps even an agent of power”. Revealing such structures of power allows for a more critical perspective that understands landscape as a “dynamic form of cultural practice.” This cultural practice was pervasive in Dawson’s arranging of Californiana.

**The Catalogues of Californiana**

Not just landscape but travel, distance, taxonomy, and vision distinctly informed the bookshop’s re-envisioning of the region, cultural processes outlined in the introduction to this thesis and detailed further here. In marketing Californiana, the store sought to encapsulate the Anglo perspective on California that surrounded those cultural dynamics: California as a place overflowing with cultural, topographical, historical, and social themes that could potentially be narrated, collected and indexed but also a region with an inherent intangible quality. With a lineage of what Wyatt refers to as a Euro-American “distanced spectatorship” always informing this regional perspective, California and the Anglo books that came to represent it both enticed and eluded collectors. The heart of what Californiana meant to Anglo observers always seemed to be located in another subgenre of books, another map, a further manuscript collection. On one level Californiana epitomised Walt Whitman’s remark on reaching the Pacific Ocean: “Where is what I was looking for and why is it yet unfound?”

Two points about Dawson’s and Californiana thus present themselves. One is Dawson’s cannily knew the allure the region’s texts had on collectors. As much as any other Anglo chronicler, booster, or artist, Dawson’s understood the whole attraction to Anglo collectors was the relation between California (and Californiana’s) material and imaginative dimensions, realms of experience that hugely informed each other but refused to exactly correlate. Thinking of the pre-

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38 Comer, pp. 68, 202, 201-203.
40 Comer, p. 13.
41 Wyatt, p. 15.
eminent example as the mythology immediately surrounding the Gold Rush, the writer James D. Houston remarked, “it is now almost impossible to separate the place on the map from the legends that have kept it alive in the imagination. And one would not want to keep them separate for very long. The beguiling attraction of California lives right there, in that interplay.” Dawson’s understood that interplay completely. Secondly, for Anglo collectors, that interplay was a privileged position, as Californiana, as it was defined, was a genre always emerging from that oppositional identity created through distanced observation and description. Collecting Californiana was a practice striated by imperial ideology.

The first few catalogues of Dawson’s indicate how these frameworks were embedded in the collecting of Californiana from the outset. The first catalogue’s selection of Californiana listed around twenty-three works in a subsection devoted to the genre, the occasional volume in other subsections, as well as five California items of especial interest placed in the first pages. Even in this relatively small set of works, selected out of the “over 15,000 volumes of Good Books” in stock, the thematic co-ordinates of this reconfigured Californian space were extensively sketched, indicating how much of a hybrid amalgam of literary and visual material Californiana was. The Californiana in the first catalogue indicated the inherently broad range of material on offer. With many items containing rich illustrations, this catalogue featured a set of Charles Fletcher Lummis’ magazine Land of Sunshine from 1894-1902, Venegas’ early history of California printed in Paris in 1757, wide-ranging histories of Los Angeles city and county, romantic tales, John Muir’s Picturesque California (1888), the publications of the Southern California Historical Society, and even a San Francisco City Directory of 1850, complete with an inscription and ship’s manifest written by the former owner who arrived from Boston in the same year. Also featured were military surveys of the West, travel writing in California, assorted local studies, and a landscape painting of Arrowhead Springs, San Bernadino, by Carl Oscar Borg entitled “The Land of the Eternal Afternoon”. In all, many places and time-periods of California were

44 See Cat 1, p. 16 for stock announcement.
45 Cat. 1, pp. 3, 10-12.
46 Cat. 1, p. 3. A fuller reference to this painting is in Dawson’s Book Shop, Catalogue of Rare and Early Printed Works, Catalogue 5 (Los Angeles: December, 1908), p. 14. The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.
covered, including how California was portrayed from afar, in the form of a map of California from 1597 printed in Douay, France in 1605, and another printed in London in 1682 presenting California as an island.47 These items’ collection and indexing brings them into the perspective of collectors in twentieth century Los Angeles. Yet thrown amongst this array of citations and descriptions that metonymically stand for the presence of the books’ perspectives, it becomes clear how much these varied Californian spaces, historic and contemporary, intersect and overlap. Like the earlier analogies from Borges and McPhee, the first impression is of a collection of works which so differ in form and provenance that the link between them, unaided by the exceedingly broad descriptor of Californiana, is not clear. How did we end up with this selection of texts and how would you go about starting a collection faced with such plurality?

However, from this initial sense of disarray, like the reading of the geologic strata, deeper structures emerge. From this catalogue onward, two bibliographic strategies present themselves and, whilst initially seeming opposed, work in tandem. The first is that a vast array of themes, forms, and subgenres was entirely the point of Californiana. As this thesis’ introductory remarks on Californiana and the collector J. Gregg Layne noted, the hook of the genre was its plentitude, and working out how these disparate components of the region might, as a collection, narrate a broader understanding of American experience in California:

> for almost at once after starting a collection of Californiana, the collector becomes so intensely interested in the contents of his books…that he reads his books and thirsts for the further adventure that beckons from those he does not yet possess.48

Acquiring Californiana – and thus acquiring knowledge about the region – only seemed to suggest how much more regional material potentially existed beyond the collector’s grasp. But if Californiana had no guiding framework, it would have been unlikely the genre would have persisted as something collectable. The second bibliographic strategy Dawson’s pursued was in the heightened illustrative, ordering, and evocative elements of the catalogues that sought to frame Californiana and entice customers. This advertisement increased as the

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47 Cat. 1, pp. 1, 3.
48 Cat. 134, p. 2.
catalogues progressed and was particularly effective because the increased ordering of the catalogues reflected how ordering was such a central dynamic of the works Californiana encompassed. So before those added paratextual elements of further catalogues are considered, it is worth examining the imperial taxonomies present in this catalogue, and which pre-dated it in the life of Ernest Dawson and his store.

**Imperial Taxonomies: Californiana’s Ordering of the Region**

If in general this first catalogue suggested to potential Californiana collectors the sheer range of material available, the vast assortment of textual and visual perspectives on the landscape to be acquired and assembled, then a selection of works from the catalogue made it clear that collecting, taxonomising, and indexing the region were the central dynamics within many of these works. Catalogue 1 advertised the narrative accounts of soldiers and explorers, John Fremont (1845, 1887) and William Emory (1848), as well as the *Report of the Secretary of War on the Several Pacific Railroad Explorations* (1855). These works show that a core part of these imperial accounts of westward expansion and manifest destiny was the classification and collecting of the human and natural landscape of the West. As much as relating the military endeavours of the conquest of the West, these works also featured, sometimes crudely, ethnology, geography, mapping, anthropology, botany, meteorology, and cosmography.49 These works would have significant appeal to collectors of Californiana, seeking to uncover more knowledge about the state and, as with their library, looking to structure that knowledge in a more systematic way.

For example, item 147, Emory’s *Notes of a Military Reconnoissance* [sic][…] (1848) was described by Dawson’s as an “interesting volume [that] gives rare old views of San Diego, plates of the battle of San Pasqual, Dec. 7th, 1846. San Gabriel and Los Angeles Jan. 8th and 9th, 1847, scenery, Indians, chiefs,

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portraits, hieroglyphics, botany[,] natural history, etc.” Emerging from the Mexican-American War of 1846-1848, this book acts as an example of that nexus of overlapping descriptive focal points and generic categories including, but not limited to: military and imperial operations in California; encounters with Native Americans and Mexicans; extensive taxonomies of the natural and man-made landscape; with the addition that much of this is lucidly and figuratively described by its author. Commenting on these military surveyors, William Goetzmann states,

collection, classification, and organization…of the unique and the marvellous, from time-stained ruins hidden away in canyons lost for centuries, to specimens of volcanic ash or exotic Indian vocabularies, commanded the attention of government explorers, whether or not they also looked for emigrant wagon trails or mountain passes over which to march an army.

A very similar mix was advertised by Dawson’s in Frémont’s Report of the Exploring Expeditions to the Rocky Mountains, 1842, and to Oregon and California, 1843-1844 (1845) which contained “plates of rare old scenes, botany, fossils, folding plans of the route”, whilst Frémont’s 1887 reminiscences of this mid-century period of conquest also featured “[a]bout 100 maps, plates, portraits, Indians, views, etc” in which Dawson’s noted “[t]he conquest of California has a prominent place[…].” The imperial lens applied to California in these works was thus a heavily taxonomic one, and this taxonomy was extensively visualised through the frequency and prominence of ‘views’, both descriptive and pictorially illustrated. Dawson’s and the potential purchasers of these books thus engaged in a double collecting of the past: the acquiring of regional perspectives through texts which were themselves attempting through various means – often visual, often violent – to rapaciously identify and order the history and physical and human geography of California and the West. Goetzmann remarks the military surveyors’ job was “to relate all the new Western phenomena to a great cosmic and Linnaean chain of order out of which was derived all that man needed to

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50 Cat. 1, p. 10.
51 See Goetzmann, pp. 303-304 and Traas, pp. 84-87. For the most recent comprehensive, critical overview of the war see Peter F. Guardino, The Dead March: A History of the Mexican-American War (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2017). The continuing, unending warfare against Mexican people in and around Southern California is detailed by Deverell, Whitewashed, pp. 11-48.
52 Goetzmann, p. 304.
53 Cat. 1, p. 10.
know of a universe” and, to some degree, this applied to collecting Californiana too.\textsuperscript{54}

The US explorers and engineers’ imperial taxonomies are particularly emblematic of the first Dawson’s catalogue for two reasons. Firstly, they are the logical output of pre-Mexican War assessments of California and the West by explorers and writers such as Richard Henry Dana, who was a key influence on Dawson. The importance of Dana’s work to the American oppositional identity generated out of landscape surveying and travel writing has already been established. Secondly, the US engineers’ cosmological taxonomising pervades through the rest of the century and informs the cultural framework of regional collecting much closer to the time of Dawson’s establishment. Indeed, as we will see, in one work, this search for order proved to be the genesis of the bookshop.

As Russell Arthur Roberts remarks, Ernest Dawson’s early love for Dana’s \textit{Two Years Before the Mast} (1840) and Buffalo Bill’s \textit{Story of the Wild West} (1888) were two central influences for the book store’s specialisation in Californiana and Western Americana.\textsuperscript{55} Ernest read these books as a boy during the era he worked in Goodrich’s Bookstore in San Luis Obispo and these books, Fern Dawson Shochat writes, “formed the basis for a life-long fascination with Western Americana”.\textsuperscript{56} In the catalogue essay, Ernest commented on their decisive effect, stating, “These books made a lasting impression and influenced my future reading, collecting and bookselling”.\textsuperscript{57} Dawson responded as many others did. Wyatt makes clear that Dana’s account becomes the ur-text of nineteenth-century American experience in California, something Dana was aware of: “every American in California had read \textit{[Two Years]}; for when California ‘broke out,’ as the phrase is, in 1848, and so large a portion of the Anglo-Saxon race flocked to it, there was no book upon California but mine.”\textsuperscript{58}

\textit{Two Years Before the Mast} conveyed an ideology of Anglo-Saxon imperialism primarily through its meditation on landscape, presenting a region witnessed and evocatively recast. William Deverell argues Dana’s remark upon witnessing California, then a part of Mexico — “In the hands of an enterprising

\textsuperscript{54} Goetzman, pp. 303-304.
\textsuperscript{55} Roberts, pp. 97-98. Roberts cites the anniversary catalogue, Cat. 142, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{56} Shochat, \textit{Fiftieth}, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{57} Cat. 142, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{58} Dana quoted in Wyatt, p. 8.
people, what a country this might be!” — “exactly” encapsulates the “imperial designs” Americans in the early nineteenth century had on the region, “anticipat[ing] the racial and ethnic presumptions of later generations.”59 Deverell suggests Dana’s perspective on California implies the landscape looks as it does because of Mexican indolence.60 This discourse only became more overt in the decades following Dana’s visit and would violently erupt as a national strategy in the Mexican-American War 1846-1848, confirming “Manifest Destiny’s darkest assumption that racial and national supremacy went hand in glove.”61 The accounts of Frémont and Emory in Dawson’s first catalogue were a product of that assumption.

Through the comparison of Two Years with Dana’s following retrospective elegy, Twenty Four Years After (1869), Wyatt comments, “Dana acts out the first American version of what will become a familiar story, the discovery of California as paradise only once it is lost.”62 This mythology and ideological narrative was conveyed through the optical surveying of the landscape. Dana becomes “an exemplary type of that onlooker for whom landscape becomes visible only by the memory of loss” and thus installs a “distanced spectatorship” into Anglos’ sense of regionalism.63 At once drawing Anglos toward California yet simultaneously attaching an elusive “reverie” to that landscape, this duality of appropriation and loss is encoded in the visual.64 That this reverie was built into this visual spectatorship is important because, as Deverell notes, the invocation of Los Angeles’ Mexican past as a sleepy daydream was an essential tool of Anglos’ reconstructed regional mythology in disenfranchising the region’s non-white population.65 As noted above, that “distanced spectatorship” also formed the basis for Dawson’s framing of California texts.

60 Deverell, pp. 11-12.
61 Ibid.
62 Wyatt, pp. 3, 8. Also see Comer, p. 68.
63 Wyatt, pp. 8, 15.
64 Ibid.
65 Deverell, pp. 11-12, 26-27.
Ideologies about the cultural patrimony of Western American spaces were equally communicated to the young Dawson by William Cody’s Buffalo Bill. Richard Slotkin’s study of Western Americana, *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth Century America*, makes clear the significant and far-reaching cultural work Cody performed in establishing the mythic space of Buffalo Bill and the West through the attendant Wild West show and countless dime novels.66 This space was one in which “a mythic spectacle” was enacted, the various stage shows in particular featuring panoramic tableaux of frontier warfare that the nation was invited to see and observe.67 Becoming one of the strongest promoters of imperialism, especially in relation to the presidency of Theodore Roosevelt, Cody presented “a mythic space in which past and present, fiction and reality, could co-exist; a space in which history, translated into myth, was re-enacted as ritual.”68 That idea of regional space and landscape, in which the history of the American West was recast as mythic iconography, would continue to permeate the catalogues of Dawson’s.

Dana and Cody’s works were entrenching imperial perspectives that had been imposed by European powers in California and elsewhere. Both American protagonists embody what Mary Louise Pratt terms “the ‘seeing-man,’” an admittedly unfriendly label for the European male subject of European landscape discourse – he whose imperial eyes passively look out and possess.”69 Pratt’s formulation is important because it shows us the affective ways that landscape ideology is enacted. Understanding Dana and William Cody as “seeing-men” not only suggests the imperialism inherent in their narratives: Pratt and Wyatt’s analysis of vision suggests the ideological legacy of looking at the landscape that Dana and Cody’s narratives permanently installed in Californiana and Western Americana.

‘Seeing-men’ and the US engineers’ attempts at a Linnaean cosmology of the American West’s people, culture, and topography only increased in prominence as institutions of American anthropology developed at century’s end.

67 Slotkin, pp. 74, 70, 67-68.
68 Slotkin, pp. 82-87, 69.
As Curtis Hinsley notes, whilst “[t]he search for order and control was a central dynamic of Victorian America”, the strictures of the new organizational society now brought anxieties about the grounding and trajectory of human civilization. “Caught between a fading human past and an uncertain technological future, anthropologists in the nation’s capital felt a particular responsibility to retrieve that past in order to take a hand in determining and shaping man’s fate”, Hinsley explains, in discussing the work of Otis Mason and company at the US National Museum. Their taxonomising prioritised a sequential order through all things and peoples, giving a “cosmic purpose” to the history of civilization and creating a school of anthropology that was “constraining rather than expansive, classificatory rather than exploratory.” Mason and his colleagues “sought to contain the world within walls and categories; they sought old verities, not new truths.” Particularly in works based on museum studies, such as *Aboriginal American Basketry* (1904), Mason’s conception of Native American societies as being contained within antiquity revealed itself through seeing material artefacts as the traces of the past existing in a now-distanced, civilized present – “a one-way path to the primitive world.” Uncovering Native American cultural understandings and technical methods behind the aesthetics of material objects enabled a hierarchical, then-now comparison of cultures amongst the Museum ethnologists, instituting a belief in “a logic of superiority by virtue of evolutionary transcendence.” The first curator of ethnology at the Smithsonian’s U.S. National Museum from 1884-1908, Mason is regarded as one of the central establishing figures of American ethnology and anthropology and, of his publications, the work on basketry is seen as his “masterpiece.” As the masterwork of Mason, it symbolizes the attitudes and processes of the Museum

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71 Hinsley, p. 84.
72 Ibid.
73 Ibid.
74 Hinsley, p. 91
75 Ibid.
anthropologists – a case study of how that community approached the concepts of antiquity, civilization, and the collection.\textsuperscript{77}

Not only did Mason’s work appear in Dawson’s first catalogue (item 218), it was the first book Dawson ever sold. It signalled to Dawson his professionalisation – he had “metamorphosed from collector to bookseller”, or, rather, continually re-arranging collections was now his stock in trade.\textsuperscript{78} Having acquired 2,250 books from the Salvation Army for the cost of a penny each, Dawson found that one was Mason’s book and this work, Fern Dawson Shochat wrote, “Ernest remembered immediately that Mr. Le Compte Davis, a prominent attorney, had been looking for”.\textsuperscript{79} Later decisively noted in a Dawson’s catalogue as “The Book that Started A Rare Book Shop”, selling Mason’s work was evocatively remembered by the bookseller:

I jumped on my bicycle and called at his office. ‘Remember, Mr. Davis, you wanted a copy of this book.’ It had a paper cover and I told him he could have it for $2.50, have it bound for $1, and for $3.50 he would have a book worth $5.

This transaction took place in the Bryson building at Second and Spring Streets. I can still see him ringing out the money — $2.50 — on the table. I rode down Broadway with my hands on my pockets instead of on the handlebars, jingling the money. I had bought a book for a penny and sold it for $2.50.\textsuperscript{80}

The economy of this first book sale pushed Ernest firmly toward trading in antiquarianism: “The possibility of buying a book for a cent and selling it for $2.50 must have gone to my head for I decided that mine was to be old and rare books rather than the new trade.”\textsuperscript{81} Whilst Mason’s text does not strictly guide the practices of Dawson’s bookshop on a day-to-day basis, its position as the store’s ‘first book’ gives it a substantial conceptual weighting. It launched the antiquarian business and was the makeweight between the bookshop and, exemplified by Le Compte Davis, the literati of Anglo Los Angeles’ professional class.

Emerging in the same late- or post-Victorian era of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Dawson’s and the Anglo literary culture of Los Angeles shared many of the same ideas as the anthropologists about the past and

\textsuperscript{77} Hinsley, p. 91.
\textsuperscript{78} Stern, p. 155.
\textsuperscript{79} Shochat, p. 8; Stern, p. 155.
\textsuperscript{80} Quoted in Shochat, pp. 8-9. And see Cat. 142, p. 7.
collecting. The bookstore was not as didactic or as technical in its display but the sense of distance and containment of the past created by the arrangement of Californian books is analogous to the ordered catalogues of Native American objects that Mason and the National Museum produced. The link between Mason and Dawson’s draws out the shared importance of collecting and taxonomising that circumscribed contemporary civilization – literary and anthropological antiquarianism both contained non-Anglo groups within the past.

That containment proceeded through mass projects of cataloguing. Mason’s ethnological works relied on his first task at the Museum of ordering the 5000 piece-strong uncatalogued collection of ethnographic material. In 1905, Dawson’s embarked on a wholesale arranging of Californiana and Western Americana (as well as material about Native Americans outside of these regions) few had attempted before. Collecting demarcated the regional landscape into distinct temporalities. Linking Dawson’s collections to the taxonomising at the nation’s pre-eminent centre of anthropology reframes what is remembered as an ebullient expression of Californian bookish life instead as a central hub of taxonomising the region’s culture.

As befitting an antiquarian bookshop, there were many other types of book featured in this first catalogue (dictionaries, bibles, works on many different types of art and architecture, English literature, theatrical works, a whole subsection on Napoleon) but for our purposes, it is important to note the sections on “Travels” and “Indians.” Some of the same dynamics from the Californiana section also appeared here, the difference being that in the Californiana section these qualities coalesced around a single state. “Descriptive sketches”, views, and maps relating to expeditions and countries around the world filled the ‘Travels’ section of forty three volumes, including five relating to explorations and the history of neighbouring Mexico. Similarly, in the ‘Indians’ selection of twenty two works – all authored by Anglo Americans – there were numerous books with illustrations, maps, and descriptive accounts, books which ranged from the early

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82 Hinsley, pp. 91, 97.  
83 Hinsley, p. 84.  
84 Hinsley, p. 94.  
analytical ethnology of Mason and the National Museum to the cruder, racist accounts of frontier violence in works like Charles McKnight’s *Our Western Border in Early Pioneer Days* (1876).  
This first catalogue, then, lays out the dimensions of Californiana Dawson’s would continue to emphasise. Californiana often drew similar ideologies from travel literature and ethnography, especially the more imperial perspectives. The annotations highlight how Californiana prioritised places, views, people, travels, taxonomies, and mythologies. In this first catalogue this regional literature emerges as: a literary genre of divergent styles and thematic interests; a genre valued as highly collectible that was in itself frequently obsessed with cataloguing, collecting, and taxonomizing; and an inherently visual genre, with written and pictographic perspectives ordered and ranging from typical to rare.

**Catalogue 3 and Beyond: Views and Travel Literature as Form and Content**

Bolstered by this ordering and desire to classify, the catalogues became more illustrative, structured, and evocative in listing Californiana. The increase in the decorative and visual elements of the catalogues matched the increase in stock of Californiana – it became a dedicated concentration. By Catalogue 3, June, 1908, Dawson’s had moved to 518 South Hill Street in Downtown and, although some of the items from Catalogue 1 remained unsold, the Californiana listings in the catalogue had dramatically increased to 212 items, supplemented by 53 books on “Travel, Mexico, South Americans, Indians, Local History and the West” that would likely have interested Californiana collectors. Indeed, in this catalogue, all the central dimensions of Californiana outlined in the first catalogue – core components of an emerging regional historical optic – had been strengthened and this imagined Californian space now appeared fuller, more distinct, more fantastic. More to the point, the iconography is a clear

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86 Cat. 1, p. 14.
87 Cat. 3, pp. 1-15.
88 Cat. 3, p. 1.
indication of how Los Angeles-based antiquarian and bibliographic institutions had begun to re-centre and re-frame Californiana from the perspective of Southern California. The mission and the orange cultivated at the base of the mountain are prototypical Southern California scenes. The title page indicates a selection of material from across the state would of course continue to be sold by Dawson’s. But those texts would, at least in this catalogue, be approached from a standpoint that understood Southern California and its increasingly rich iconography as the centre of the state’s literary life. It indicated the antiquarian scene in Los Angeles had begun to rival its San Francisco counterparts. 89

89 On the competing rival mythologies between Northern and Southern California, see Glen Gendzel, “Pioneers and Padres: Competing Mythologies in Northern and Southern California, 1850-1930”, Western Historical Quarterly, 32, 1 (Spring, 2001), 55-79.
The visualisation of Californian spaces that the title enacted through its recourse to the iconography of the Southland was complemented by two extracts from maps (Palou’s map of the Mission Stations (1787) and the map depicting California as an island from the 1682 London atlas originally described in Catalogue 1 and reappearing here) as well as illustrated, decorative headers subdividing the Californiana into “Books on Los Angeles” and “Books on San Francisco”.

These subsections show that, out of the mass of material, the

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80 Cat. 3, pp. 5, 10, 12, 15.
taxonomy of Californiana was being refined and divided further. Yet it is worthwhile noting that, whilst the San Francisco section features drawings of the Call Building on fire and San Francisco harbour, the Los Angeles title is flanked by caricatured illustrations of a mission padre and a Mexican man smoking and wearing a sombrero.\footnote{Cat. 3, pp. 12, 10.} The impression given by such depictions is that these were seen as iconic, typified elements of the past, essentialized parts of a Southern Californian tableau. Again, it brought a visual perspective to the literary collecting of regional material.

Dawson’s selling of Californiana relied on the catalogues attempting to persuade their readership they could traverse the distance to the regional past. Central to this was continuing to construct and increase the sense of visuality and the multiplicity of perspectives. This wide-ranging optic on California brought pictographic and literary views under its lens. Catalogue 1 had already described the high propensity of both illustrative and descriptive “views” in accounts of California and, not only did Catalogue 3 contain more of these visual descriptions, these accounts were now joined by stand-alone photographs and illustrations of Los Angeles. Two images from the very recent past depicted Los Angeles from a bird’s eye view, and were not only now rare but had a distinct historical fascination to the collector:

170 Los Angeles. Bird’s Eye View, 1887; size, 2 ft. 9 in. x 3 ft…$1 ‘A remarkable picture, showing the principal buildings, streets, parks, churches, residences, etc., 21 years ago. Indexed with numbers designating places of interest. Scarce.’\footnote{Cat. 3, p. 11.}

Similarly, a panorama of Los Angeles in 1869 “taken from where the courthouse now stands” was described by Dawson’s as “[p]robably the finest early view of Los Angeles in existence.”\footnote{Ibid.} Two other small collections entitled “Los Angeles Views” from 1850 and 1887 rounded out this selection.\footnote{Ibid.} Approximately only twenty to fifty years after these perspectives were recorded, these wide-angle images of the region were now desirable items to be collected. Even a work written a scant eighteen years prior to the publication of Catalogue 4 in 1908, Los Angeles Illustrated, 1890, was now remarked on for the rarity of its
perspectives: “Contains descriptions of L.A. in 1890 with 50 views of business blocks, residences etc., many of which have since been torn down, also birds-eye view of L.A.” Advertised views and their catalogue captions such as these promised access to a regional topography that had immutably changed, and the most macroscopic, ‘bird’s eye’ perspectives offered a command of the landscape that bent and morphed topographical features into the purview of the observer. Views continued to be a dominant part of the catalogues – Catalogue 34 even featured an entire subsection dedicated to “California Views.” Interestingly, many of the items listed do not use this term “view” in their title or in their description. Yet Dawson’s brings them under this group term that highlights the construction of perspective, of actively looking. The catalogue’s promise was of a command of diverse and rarefied regional perspectives, scenes from California history viscerally relating the history of the region to collectors.

Perhaps even more than the sense of visuality communicated, Dawson’s realised the affective weight of Californiana lay in the propensity to travel. If California views promised a scope on the region, the use of the poetics of travel literature advertised intimate access to the interior and exterior spaces of California history. The spatiality of the catalogues’ framing of Californiana matched the listed texts’ description of movement and landscape. This spatiality was indicated in the language, imagery, and arrangement of the catalogues. Two catalogues in particular stand out in this regard.

Catalogue 170, Autumn, 1942, was produced much later than the issues this chapter has looked at thus far. By this time, Ernest’s son, Glen Dawson, had taken over the running of the business, becoming a partner in 1937. Ernest Dawson died in 1947 and it was at this time Glen and his younger brother, Muir Dawson, became co-owners. Glen prepared Catalogue 170, which was entitled, “Around the World in an Old Bookshop”, and began with an appeal to his customers: “All aboard for a world tour in the pages of a rare book catalogue.” This catalogue presented over 250 items, arranged by region: as readers perused

96 Cat. 34, pp. 4-5.
97 See, for instance, Markman, pp. 1-2.
the book lists, they figuratively traversed the globe. With the first section entitled “Eastward Through the Middle West”, the tour “starts at Dawson’s Book Shop at the Los Angeles end of Wilshire Boulevard and goes eastward across the United States.”

In sequential order, this initial section included nineteenth century works on Spanish and Mexican territory in Arizona, early New Mexico printing, travels through Louisiana and Missouri, agriculture in Indiana, a dictionary of Americanisms, an extensive history with lithographs entitled “Events in Indian History” (Lancaster, PA, 1841), a Hannah More poem on slavery printed in Philadelphia in 1788, and an account of Jonathan Edwards printed in Boston in 1749. This first section – very diverse in time-frame, geographic region, and thematic scope – shows how the store’s stock was creatively re-ordered for the remit of the catalogue. Some of these works were travel narratives and so quite easily fit onto the path Dawson’s had sketched out. Others, such as an 1872 business directory of Kansas, Colorado, and Wyoming, and Ellsworth’s investigation of agriculture in the Valley of the Upper Wabash (New York, 1838), were much more static in their focus but by being reframed next to other books roughly adjacent in geographic location they become part of a broader narrative of travel. This dynamic indexing reveals how the ordering and reading of the catalogues enacted metonymically the same qualities held by the travel narratives the book shop advertised: the capacity for movement and the simultaneously distant and intimate relation to landscape.

This dynamic continued throughout Dawson’s circumnavigation – indeed, “circumnavigation” was the telegraphic code word customers used to order books from this catalogue – moving through “The Nation’s Capital”, then an excursion into “Confederate Imprints”, before heading to New England. From there, the tour departed “Across the Atlantic”, and featured sections from all across the globe, picking up works from across six centuries that were either about travelling across certain areas, about life in these regions, or printed in these locations. Naval histories, sea voyages, descriptive accounts, rare incunabula all featured from a sequential selection of regions going progressively East across Europe, the

99 Cat. 170, pp. 3-4.
100 Ibid.
101 Cat. 170, pp. 2, 4-6.
Middle East and Asia, Pacific Islands and Alaska before, finally, the tour ended “Home Again in California.”

The “back home” section of Californiana contained two early San Francisco newspapers from 1848, and a document on historical mining law in California (Los Angeles, 1902). It also featured McKenney and Hall’s *History of the Indian Tribes of North America* (Philadelphia, 1838-1844), an 1881 work on Chinese immigration to California, and two works on Japanese communities in America, one of which, the *Year Book and Directory 1940-1941* for the *Los Angeles Japanese Daily News*, was described by the book store as “an important record of Japanese in Southern California before Pearl Harbor.” A standard example of the varied scope Californiana encompassed, this last section is notable because, placing these volumes at the end of a book world tour was an acknowledgment, even if only tacitly, of the multiplicity of migration paths and homelands California encompassed. Yet with the catalogue being prepared in the autumn of 1942, the start of Japanese American internment casts a shadow over this last selection, and the inclusion of these volumes, perhaps especially emphasised at this historical moment by the *Los Angeles Japanese Daily News* yearbook, signal how fraught and contested those Californian migrations and homelands were.

Catalogue 170 drew from the huge range of material in stock to inscribe a narrative of travel the catalogues’ recipients could follow, imagine and potentially hold a part of in perpetuity. It points to two material qualities about the catalogues: they were designed to be sequentially read; and that the space of the catalogues was a very different, more linear assemblage of literary space to the space of the store. Though the title page had a brief outline of the catalogue’s contents, it made little sense to jump into the catalogue mid-way through. The catalogue’s selections only made sense when considered with what came before and after. By the hundred-and-seventieth edition, Dawson’s long-term customers would surely know that single catalogues were in no way wholly representative of the range of stock in store. The catalogues were thus designed to be enjoyable reading experiences, literary texts in their own right, and this underlines the

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102 Cat. 170, pp. 7-23.
103 Cat. 170, p. 23.
argument that the reference works of Anglo bibliographic culture in Los Angeles frequently mirrored the form and content they indexed. Furthermore, the textual and material space they mapped out was unique to the catalogues. The works advertised did not lie next to each other in store and purchasing any item listed further removed it from the collection it had been ordered with in the catalogue.

Catalogue 170 was not the first time Dawson’s catalogues had been so self-referential. If Catalogue 170 replicated a world tour then Catalogue 41, September 1925, emulated a New England almanac, which the catalogue editorial suggested fulfilled the function of the radio broadcast for a much earlier generation.104 The catalogue’s ambition of mirroring an almanac was immediately indicated by the style of its full title:

Dawson’s Book Catalogue Containing a New and Interesting Selection for the Month of September in the Year of our LORD 1925 Being a Collection of AMERICANA and Containing besides, a large number of books of DISCOVERY, EXPLORATION and CONQUEST of divers countries; together with many interesting items about the inhabitants. The whole rounded out by the inclusion of numerous stirring accounts of early sea voyages about and along the shores of this continent; and a choice collection of CALIFORNIANA.105

The title was adorned with a border and set above an illustrated medallion taken from Benjamin Franklin’s Poor Richard’s Maxim, in which a sketched New England agricultural scene was surrounded by one of Franklin’s idioms: “He that by the plow would thrive, himself must either hold or drive – The eye of the master will do more than both his hands.”106 But whilst Franklin’s almanac featured anecdotal advice toward living a productive and economical life, this catalogue was a grand selection of Americana, travel narratives, and Californiana [fig. 2].

105 Cat. 41, pp. 1-2.
106 Ibid.
The same vicarious voyaging that Catalogue 170 cultivated was also prominently deployed here. For a section entitled “Voyages and Travels” featuring travel narratives relating to the Age of Exploration and the American interior, the catalogue’s authors and store employees, Geraldine Kelly and Charles Yale, wrote:

For those who love armchair voyages, let Portlock, Dixon, La Perouse, or Humboldt guide the way around the world or thru the island passages of the South Seas; for journeys afoot, go with Clarence King on that most splendid of all mountaineering trips – thru the High Sierras – or explore the hidden nooks of the Yosemite with Hutchings. These and many other pleasurable
excursions await the readers of books of travel to be found on the balcony at Dawson’s Book Shop.\textsuperscript{107}

Here the catalogue advertises to the potential buyer the literary wonders of travel that could be found on the balcony space at Dawson’s. The balcony is discussed imminently but, staying with the catalogues, it seems clear the imaginative groundwork of vicarious voyaging had been achieved by the catalogue. Just as those early travel narratives suggested that survey and collection was the primary objective, Dawson’s catalogues indicated that the indexing and arrangement of the books could be equally generative and oneiric as the figurative depictions of landscapes in the works they listed. Their citations and annotations metonymically stood for the content and perspectives of the books, offering micro-circumnavigations that worked in dialogue with the longer macroscopic and durational voyages presented at length in the works themselves. Much as with the travel narratives, this catalogue offered the reader the possibility of entering into the spaces of California’s past in its Californiana section. In this case, such exploration-through-indexing came with the gloss of romance, with the catalogue drawing attention to “California’s Diamond Jubilee”, 1850-1925.\textsuperscript{108} The catalogue celebrated California’s inauguration as an American state and highlighted its historical drama: “\textit{To enjoy in fullest measure the re-living of those times} DAWSON’S BOOKSHOP offers the original narratives of these same hardy spirits, written in Ship’s Cabin, Mining Camp, or Covered-Wagon [Emphasis added].”\textsuperscript{109} Backed by this romantic and imperial grand narrative, the catalogue promised to vicariously and viscerally mediate between the interior spaces of pioneers, California’s landscapes, and the contemporary space of Anglo Los Angeles.

This is perhaps one of the strongest examples indicating how Dawson’s collecting and cataloguing were inscriptive acts that, in drawing together a disparate print culture, stood as prominently as any California historiography in narrating the American colonising and settlement in the region. Even if they did not purchase or witness the items, the catalogues promised their customers the potential to re-travel any route and space of California, re-view any forgotten,

\textsuperscript{107} Cat. 41, p. 11.
\textsuperscript{108} Cat. 41, p. 19.
\textsuperscript{109} Ibid.
diminished, or erased perspective, and re-classify any person, place, or geographic and ecological feature. Robert Harbison’s writing on museum catalogues is equally relevant here to bookshop catalogues, which attempted a similar sense of institutional spatiality.\textsuperscript{110} Catalogues, “books of things” that portrayed the “poetry of lists”, “multiply ways of seeing things we had just one view of, are full of new ideas of how to live expressed in a blatant poetry of substance and making, which turns the manufacturer into a creator rivaling not artists but the world’s.”\textsuperscript{111} For Dawson’s customers this was precisely the expansive work of California history that the bookshop performed. In the first few decades of the twentieth century, their vision of regional antiquarianism was one that exactly bore out Benjamin and Warburg’s conception (discussed in the thesis introduction) of modernity’s shifting of diachronic history to a synchronic perspective in which multiple understandings of space and vision predominated. Distances between locations in space and time could now be easily crossed in the catalogues and, by extension, in the cultural imaginary of the bookshops’ consumers. In catalogues, Harbison reminds us, “[e]ach item of a list is repetition and novelty at once, conflates the past and the future, makes things co-present.”\textsuperscript{112} For Anglo collectors of Californiana here was the entire region at once, culturally, topographically, historically. At least in the catalogues, creating a collecting field with such simultaneity of regional perspective sustained that Edenic mythology of California’s illusory promise purportedly offered to Anglos. This was the allure of Californiana and California although within this synoptic field something always lay beyond. The catalogues merged the potential to taxonomise, classify, and collect with a realm of regional knowledge outside of the collector’s purview. Harbison likens catalogues to Trajan’s many-panelled column in Rome in that the risk of reading and collecting these forms is that, even if the whole story is there, it can be difficult to maintain in one vision: “The further a catalogue pursues its objects the more impalpable they become.”\textsuperscript{113} This is true of Californiana catalogues too. Yet even if at times that simultaneous regional perspective elided into mythology, promising more than it could deliver, it at least gave Anglo

\textsuperscript{111} Harbison, pp. 153, 156, 159.
\textsuperscript{112} Harbison, pp. 154.
\textsuperscript{113} Harbison, p. 161.
collectors of Californiana an imperial perspective of their presence within the region at the end of a centuries-long narrative.

California Mezzanine: Eleanor Reed and the Changing Spaces of Dawson’s Bookstore

Our analysis of how Dawson’s framed Californiana is incomplete, however, if we do not consider the spaces and employees of the bookstore, which reflected many of the catalogues’ dynamics but also significantly contrasted with them. The bookshop, faced with a rapidly changing cityscape, moved many times across Los Angeles’ Downtown area before eventually relocating north to Larchmont. As Robert Fogelson notes, the central business district shifted and expanded between 1885 and the 1920s, creating fluctuating property values and a changing composition of units. Within this period, “office buildings and department stores increased their share of downtown space at the expense of hotels and stores.” Like other small businesses, Dawson’s experienced the contours of this changing urban environment. In the spring of 1922, when the store moved to 627 Grand Avenue, it changed the store layout and occupational structure. As Fern Dawson Shochat remarks, “The long one story building was remodelled to provide ample window display and a balcony at the rear.” The balcony was to be the location of “special departments”. The move to the South Grand Avenue location also entailed a change in personnel. As noted by Shochat, “It was in this location that the business developed from a one-man business into an organization. As trade grew and developed Mr. Dawson added staff members who took charge of various departments.” Indeed, it is only after this move that catalogues began to carry notes indicating who compiled and produced them. For Californiana, the first catalogue specifically attributed to members of staff is the almanac-style Catalogue 41 of Spring, 1925, written and compiled by Geraldine Kelly and Charles Yale.

115 Ibid.
116 Shochat, Fiftieth, p. 17.
117 Cat. 34, p. 20.
118 Shochat, Fiftieth, p. 17.
These changes distinctly impacted the collecting, indexing, and trading of Californiana. The balcony was where the Californiana and Western Americana sections were relocated and it became the domain of Eleanor Reed, an addition to the store force. Reed’s arrangement of Californiana advanced the mystique of Dawson’s collections and the elusive promise of Californiana but, like her female colleagues, Reed’s work at Dawson’s took charge of the curatorship of what had been demarcated as the space of a masculinist literary geography. Reed’s curation of Californiana enriches our historical understanding of bookwomen as well as how the physical, architectural housing of Californiana diverged from the textual and material space of the catalogues but was no less oneiric for doing so. Context about the organization of the bookstore develops our understanding of these two points.

Reed is not as well remembered as she should be. Reed initially managed the Californiana and Western American sections with Charles Yale who, as announced across the catalogues, was “for fourteen fine years . . . the General Manager of Dawson’s,” leaving in the autumn of 1938.119 Yale’s specialty in Western Americana was continually noted by the catalogues and secondary accounts, Roberts suggesting he “made [a] lasting contribution to the development” of the Western Americana department, citing Dawson’s pronouncement that he “devoted much of his time to this specialty”.120 Yale’s specialist interest was further indicated by his Historical Society of Southern California membership, for which he printed and promoted their lecture series.121 Los Angeles’s celebrated printer, Ward Ritchie, remembering browsing Dawson’s and the downtown Bookseller’s Row in the late 1920s and 1930s, remarked, “Charles Yale, before opening his own bookshop in Pasadena, was then the baron of the balcony where the Californiana treasures were kept”.122

Yet store clerk Leura Dorothy Bevis suggests Yale’s delegation over the staff was “very minor” and there was not as formal a hierarchy as his title of

119 Cat. 131, p. 2; Cat. 142, p. 4.
120 Roberts, p. 98; Cat. 142, p. 4.
121 Apostol, p. 91.
general manager would imply. With no staff hierarchy below Ernest Dawson, the clerks were free to focus on their own departments and remain, as Bevis noted, “really all-powerful in our specialties. And we knew our books.” As catalogues and reminiscences note, Eleanor Reed was part of this ‘all-powerful’ group, responsible for Californiana. Ritchie includes Reed in his account of the “friendly group working there,” though not as being in charge of Californiana; Reed does not appear in Roberts’ account of Western Americana at Dawson’s. These are significant oversights: when Dawson’s was located at South Grand Avenue between 1922 and 1952, the Californiana department on the balcony mezzanine was as much the domain of Reed as it was of Yale, very possibly more so.

The fiftieth anniversary publication printed a picture of Reed alongside Dawson’s staff, Glen Dawson and Joann Lubner, and remarked that in 1955 Reed was “now in her 34th year at Dawson’s”. Reed was at Dawson’s when the store moved to the South Grand site with the balcony and then to its final Downtown location at 550 South Figueroa. Reed was one of the most central and long-standing employees of the store, Fern Dawson Shochat writing she retired on March 15, 1957 “after forty-two years of service to book lovers in Los Angeles, a record which cannot be matched by anyone in this area”. Echoing other appraisals, Shochat noted Reed’s “particular sphere was the half balcony…where she graciously presided for thirty years…Miss Reed was greatly admired for her tact and understanding in handling the many divergent points of view represented in her stock, as well as her ability to find almost any book requested”. In a 1969 survey of women in Californiana, the Huntington Library’s Edwin Carpenter, remembered her as the “knowledgeable and charming woman who for many years

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125 Ritchie, “Forgotten Street”, p. 52; Roberts, p. 98.
126 Cat. 260, p. 5.
127 Shochat, Fiftieth, p. 23.
129 Ibid.
presided over the Californiana at Dawson’s”. Shochat went further, hailing Reed as an “extraordinary saleswoman in the field in which she dealt”. Men dominated Californiana and Californiana professionals were often gendered in the abstract as men (see, for instance, the quotations from Layne above). Surveys such as Carpenter’s underline how women have been marginalised in the history of California book collecting and cataloguing, though they clearly were a significant presence, an exclusion from the record tallying with Huw Osborne’s discussion of the ‘forgotten middlewomen’ of bibliographic culture. Dawson’s seems to have been somewhat more progressive than other institutions in the employment of women, even if patriarchal elements remained. Known to the staff as “Father Dawson”, Ernest was remembered very fondly by his employees. Employee Ellen Shaffer remembers the book shop staff being very “close-knit”, a working environment in which “[e]verybody had their say, from the shipping clerk on.” Likewise, Leura Bevis stressed “Everyone was a staff member.” Remarking on Ernest Dawson’s approach to his staff, Bevis remembers, “[h]e always appreciated what they did and how he felt. And he wanted them to know it, and he didn’t hesitate to say so.” A graduate from nearby Pomona College in 1927, Bevis benefited from Dawson’s hiring practice when other bookstores were not interested in employing her, as she recalled:

I went to the different book-shops – Jones’s Bookstore and Parker’s Bookstore – and said, “If you would just give me a chance, I am sure I could be a good bookwoman.” Well, one or two of them thought it was true, but they had no place.

But Dawson offered Bevis a post and she worked as an expert clerk and book buyer at the store for eleven years. Bevis remembered Dawson “expected good

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130 Edwin H. Carpenter, “Skirting Rare Californiana”, Biblio-Cal Notes, 3, 2 (Summer 1969), 12-21 (p. 13). The title of the article seems outdated and inappropriate now.
131 Shochat, Oral History, p. 32.
133 See, for instance, Bevis, pp. 7, 22.
136 Bevis, p. 6.
137 Bevis, p. 4.
things of them, and he gave them the opportunity for it.” The bookwomen of Dawson’s were utterly central to the operation and identity of the store and, where they had been denied a place elsewhere, they demarcated their own professional and bibliographic space in the departments of the book store.

Reed’s control of the balcony was continually asserted by the Dawson’s publications, as with Catalogue 55: “The Californiana Department is on the balcony, ably presided over by Mr. Yale and Miss Reed”. Remembering being a young intern at the store, the bibliographer Anna Marie Hager, remarked, “The balcony was crammed with western Americana and books on the occult sciences and Miss Eleanor Reed, a remarkable lady, well informed in both fields, was in charge”. Californiana was the dominant focus of the balcony, but mentions of other genres appear in descriptions of the balcony in catalogues from 1929 onward: “Beside the extensive stock of Californiana and Americana [the balcony] also includes material on Natural History, Heraldry, Early Voyages, Old Botanies, Rare Philosophical and Metaphysical Works, Egyptian Antiquities, etc.” Store clerk Tom Neal, in his recollection of Dawson’s, also stressed the diversity of this section: “Voyages, travel, biographies of American historical personages, early histories, Civil War material, philosophy, essays, psychology: there is no end to the treasures one can turn up”. Led by Californiana, the balcony encapsulated the strains of bookish interest found elsewhere in the shop. However, whilst every section of Dawson’s offered dedicated expertise, Reed’s balcony was a specialized bookish world separated within an already specialized antiquarian bookstore, a department described with reverence and intrigue, immensely varied and rich in its bibliographic holdings.

The balcony acquired its curious atmosphere for a number of reasons. Firstly, being physically located above the rest of the store automatically gave it an exclusivity, removed from the main floor yet looking out over it. Hager evocatively remembers customers climbing the ladder (including Lawrence Clark

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139 Bevis, p. 7.
140 Shochat, Oral History, pp. 23-26, 35.
141 Cat. 55, p. 2.
143 Cat. 59, p. 2.
Powell) up to Reed’s “bookish eyrie”; Enid Douglass, upon hearing employees Bevis and Shaffer describe it, asked Muir Dawson about “the alcove up there, where interesting people would come up”; whilst Tom Neal further heightens that sense of spatiality in describing it as “that very busy microcosm revolving around within our book shop”. The idea of the balcony being a separate realm was enhanced by the permanence of Reed’s presence. Clerks Leura Bevis and Ellen Shaffer had no idea how long Reed had worked there before they started but that it was “lengthy” and she was “thoroughly institutionalized” when they began their careers at Dawson’s. In fact, as Shochat’s notice on Reed’s retirement indicates, Reed was one of the earliest staff members to be hired. Reed had moved over to Dawson’s from Jones Book Store “in 1920 when [Dawson] had decided to hire his first full-time sales lady. It was an introduction for which the book world may well be grateful, for Miss Reed made a unique contribution to the reputation and luster of the trade.” Such permanence was behind the description of Reed’s department as her “empire” by colleagues and Bevis’ observation that she held an exclusive authority – “even he [Ernest Dawson] didn’t touch her empire.”

This “realm” of Reed’s was surely enhanced by Reed’s demeanour. As part of the “close-knit” group of employees, Bevis described Reed as “always pleasant and lovely” and “always sweet and kind” but this geniality was matched by a “mysterious” quality. Other colleagues reiterated this, Muir Dawson noting she maintained an elusiveness and that the staff “really knew very little about her”, whilst Shochat remarks she was a “very cool kind of individual” and a “very, very private person”. If the coolness of Reed’s demeanour added to the mysterious perception of her department, this was added to by the character of her clients who seemed to exclusively patronise the balcony at the expense of the rest of the store. Along with the serious Californiana scholars such as Cowan and Powell, Hager remembers the eccentricity of others: “Some visitors would spend hours expatiating on occult theories but Miss Reed bore it all with noble

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146 Bevis and Shaffer, p. 8.
147 Shochat, “Eleanor”.
148 Bevis and Shaffer, p. 8.
149 Shaffer, p. 8.
150 Bevis and Shaffer, pp. 1, 9.
151 Muir Dawson, p. 30; Shochat, Oral History, p. 33.
patience… One quickly learned not to inquire or delay the progress of anyone headed for the balcony.\textsuperscript{152} Ellen Shaffer was less charitable, describing the occultists as “the kooks creeping up the stairs” whilst the staff alluded to the balcony’s Occult/Metaphysics section as the “Nut Department”.\textsuperscript{153} This perception was not necessarily kept in-house. As one catalogue put it, perhaps directly appealing to such eccentric clients, the balcony was for those specialist customers “with wants incomprehensible to the clerks on the main floor”.\textsuperscript{154}

Lastly, Reed’s idiosyncratic organization of books ensured no other employees entered, or could quite understand, her department. Alphabetisation or a broad generic categorising did not appear to have a place on the balcony, as Shochat recalled: “She had her own system… of organizing the books so that she knew exactly where everything was, but nobody else did. And when you had to go up and take care of the balcony and somebody wanted something, it was just terrible to be able to find anything.”\textsuperscript{155} When Ellen Shaffer, in Reed’s momentary absence, re-arranged the books, “in a reasonable order”, Reed “was furious, and everything was rearranged back.”\textsuperscript{156} Shaffer’s account highlights the idiosyncrasy of Reed’s bibliographic ordering:

I thought: ‘I never saw such a mess in all my life. I am heaven-sent. I shall try to get this organized into some sort of shape, so you can find things.’ Eventually, Miss Reed came back, and I explained to her how I had arranged things. She was very sweet and gracious and nodded all the time. And as she listened to me, she absentmindedly picked up a book on California flowers and set it down beside the O[h]spe Bible. [laughing] And as I continued, she reached for another book and seemed to feel a little bit better. [laughter] And I learned Mr. Dawson sent one person after another up there, and nobody could do anything with that department. They finally realized it.\textsuperscript{157}

Rather than scatty or disorganized, Reed’s assemblage indicates a high level of curation. This curation clearly commanded great respect from authorities on Californiana, even if very few wrote about Reed. As Shaffer noted, “The Californiana customers respected her highly. Now in later years, Glen [Dawson] got in there quite a bit. Glen was always interested in Californiana. But she could

\textsuperscript{152} Hager, p. 16.  
\textsuperscript{153} Shaffer, p. 5.  
\textsuperscript{154} Cat. 143, p. 2.  
\textsuperscript{155} Shochat, Oral History, pp. 32-33.  
\textsuperscript{156} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{157} Shaffer, pp. 5-6.
handle those people, the leading Californiana specialists thought the world of Miss Reed.”

Indeed, there was no-one that could match Reed’s expertise. Bevis remembers Reed’s “customers wouldn’t deal with anybody but Eleanor Reed anyway. If one of us was up there [on the balcony] at noontime and she was out for lunch, they would come back when she was in.” Californiana collectors were extremely indebted to her extensive knowledge and ability to deftly traverse the scale of Californiana, this regional material so diverse in form and content. Only a handful of others could navigate this literary field and none with the specific curation Reed applied.

Reed authored a number of the Californiana catalogues but the idiosyncrasy of her physical arrangement of the books is important because it dramatically reveals the constructed, literary nature of the catalogues’ presentation of regional space. The books on the Californiana balcony were so differently arranged to how they were in the catalogue. At the same time, the balcony generates its own sense of expansiveness, a microcosmic realm of regionalism.

The catalogues were textual works that were liminal makeweights between the customers and the regional worlds that works of Californiana depicted, treasure chests mimicking the form of travel narratives and guides and offering expansive perspectives into the region’s history, culture, and landscapes. The arrangement of the citations in the catalogue suggested they were works to be enjoyed in their own right, ordered and inviting, not passive references but indexes inscribing their own regional space. Reed’s Californiana department destabilised and contrasted with the catalogue’s arrangements. Her balcony assemblage was not mimetic of other texts but wholly idiosyncratic and, to outsiders, even bibliographers, highly aleatory. The catalogue was a document that, in reading, allowed the mind to quickly leap from one Californian space to another, guided along the path that the cataloguer had laid out, with the outcome that all manner of regional history and experience seemed to present itself at once. The references about book-buying from Reed’s balcony are limited to what has been outlined above so some speculation is required but, from these accounts, it seems reasonable to suggest the Californian space presented by the balcony could

158 Shaffer, p. 7.
159 Bevis and Shaffer, p. 8.
not be traversed in quite the same way. The movement one would take from the street into the store and from the shop floor up the stairs to the balcony ensured that one had to deliberately enter into this bibliographic world of California. But unlike the catalogues, having entered into this space, the multiplicity of Californiana did not immediately present itself. Reading the region was a much more corporeal and piecemeal experience on the balcony as clients would converse with Reed and be guided to examine certain works. Customers would meticulously pore over the catalogues but they would spend lengthy amounts of time in discussion with Reed and Dawson too. If the catalogues were vicarious, the balcony was visceral: a customer could enquire to Reed about a work they had seen in the catalogue but the materiality of the book presented ensured customers, in running through their mental taxonomy of the region, lingered at least momentarily on what this artefact conveyed. If the catalogues continued to offer a wide-angle perspective on California, Reed’s arrangement and curation offered close-up detailed visions of the region. Both the catalogues and Reed’s curation sought to create that intermediate space that utilised the mythology of the region to bring the book shop and its customers to the threshold of regional understanding. Dawson’s Bookshop always invoked an imagined California beyond what its customers knew. In the catalogue, the continuing addition of more and more items suggested the potential scope for collecting Californian texts would only expand – the conception of what a Californiana collection looked like was always changing and growing. In Reed’s expert curation, the idea that there was a California beyond what was known was suggested through the surprise, unexpected, unfamiliar works that clients would be led to from discussing the field with Reed. If writing and reading the catalogue was a cartographic exercise of assemblage by Dawson’s employees and their customers, fitting in bits of Californiana here and there within an overall perspective and suggesting the potential for imaginative travel, the experience of Reed’s Californiana balcony made parts of California come alive, tangible, deepening that sense of regional understanding.
Conclusion

To trade in Californiana – to physically collect and organise works in the store, file and index in the store’s inventory, arrange and advertise in a catalogue, and proclaim in promotional literature – was to continually engage in demarcating the boundaries and content of this regional space. Works of Californiana could be also described by their purported relevance, such as ‘local history’, or another genre descriptor (biography, reference material, memoirs, romantic literature, poetry), or by their type of format which could incorporate anthologies, newspapers, maps, photographs, and much more. Indeed, works about the region were frequently listed by Dawson’s according to these terms. However, to attach the generic classification of ‘Californiana’ was to instantly and continually put the wider meaning of these texts in dialogue with the conceptual and physical boundaries of the region. This linkage not only connected texts to wider discourses of historical ideology, iconography, and mythmaking, but it also acted as a grouping mechanism, putting texts into dialogue with each other, often physically next to each other in the store or cited concurrently in the catalogues. These texts may not have otherwise been given such close proximity to each other or located in the same physical, bibliographic, and cultural spaces.

This grouping mechanism has an additional effect. To a degree, the ‘-na’ appurtenance in ‘Californiana’ formalized and circumscribed this wildly disparate series of documents. The term made this series of works a genre, a canon, on to which rankings, values, and comparisons could be imposed. Rarities, oddities, high spots, essential works, works of specialist interest, minor classics — the descriptive tenets of classification apparent in other literary genres and fields of collecting could now be applied to this corpus of texts. Robert Harbison remarks, “A catalogue’s largest function is to create subjects, to give names, or to put topics in touch with a supply of particulars, to bring data to a generalization. They can dignify any noun by starting it with a capital letter, which makes it worth pursuing, an unfinished discussion.”160 ‘Californiana’ was that term, becoming an organizing category but also ensuring it would remain “an unfinished discussion” that continually expanded the scope of what could be collected. As well as increasing the relevance of such works for professional historians and librarians,

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160 Harbison, p. 157.
the suffix brought Californiana under the purview of the collector, the antiquarian, and the connoisseur, expanding the range of material for consumption and how such material was consumed.

Furthermore, by bringing together such a disparate range of materials, ‘Californiana’ suggested to consumers the kaleidoscopic range of materials they could potentially collect. Catalogue 34 proclaimed Californiana to be “an open sesame to a Land of Romance and Adventure”. 161 This sense of scope and mythology was particularly effective as an ordering method and a marketing strategy because it replicated ideologies propagated about California – a place of limitless horizons and diverse forms, now replicated in textual form, be that literary, factual, cartographic, or visual. Despite the British author, Hugh Walpole, proclaiming on a visit to the bookstore its “decorous” nature and “cathedral-like quietude”, Californiana at Dawson’s, at least in the catalogues, is less the austere regional storehouse that other local institutions sought to build and more the cornucopia which appeared so prominently on late-nineteenth and twentieth-century booster iconography of California. 162

Californiana’s promise of a multiplicity of form was directly related to its plenitude of content. Yet, a further duality can be identified in the genre’s ordering process: the classification of these works as Californiana (with subgenres describing their content, e.g. books about Pasadena, the Missions, mountains of California) mirrors the taxonomic impulses, processes, and desires that so frequently permeated these texts. In reckoning with the region, many works of Californiana distinctly carve up the physical and human landscape into analytical categories. Dawson’s trading in Californiana – rearranging, indexing, and cataloguing these works in the store and in the catalogues – was a double inscription of physical and cultural spaces and boundaries. These qualities of Californiana – its purported kaleidoscopic nature and its propensity for ordering – are interconnected because, as Elsner and Cardinal comment on collecting, “the plenitude of taxonomy opens up the space for collectables to be identified, but at

the same time the plenitude of that which is to be collected hastens the need to classify”. Especially because Anglo collecting of Californiana was installed comparatively so much later than the Euro-American bibliographic worlds of Philadelphia, New York, or even San Francisco, and there were so many more thematic categories within the region to identify, this duality between classification and content was particularly heightened and prolific in Los Angeles at the turn of the century.

Dawson’s were so effective at marketing and trading Californiana because they tapped into and repurposed the affective mechanics of the ideologies surrounding the genres of Californiana, travel literature, and Western Americana. The desire to classify and consume, to taxonomise, was embedded within the discourse of imperial westward expansion, particularly within narratives of travel and exploration, works frequently sold by Dawson’s. In their catalogues and expert curation, one of the bookstore’s superlative achievements in marketing their stock to Anglo consumers was replicating the distanced, taxonomic gaze located within these narratives, suggesting it could partially be crossed but an imagined California always continued to exist beyond the bibliographic order.

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Chapter 2

Tracing Streetcars and Adobes: Collecting, Mapping, and Archiving Southern California’s Cultural Memory in the 1920s and 1930s

“The time may come, when, in lieu of these lists, we may have the things themselves…”1 – J. J. Warner, Inaugural Address of the Historical Society of Southern California, 1884

“This seems to be one of the main techniques of Los Angeles, to occlude precisely by making something spectacular.”2 – Ed Dimendberg

As a hub of collecting, Dawson’s continual reframing of Californiana perpetually evoked the plurality, romance, and multiplicity of the region for its predominantly Anglo customers. This worked extremely effectively within the antiquarian bookshop, linking together bibliography and cultural imagination. But collecting played a role in other projects, such as historical research. Across a number of different organisations, not just bibliographic or antiquarian groups but businesses and public services too, Southern California’s Anglo collectors reframed the region’s past and present. Looking at two collections primarily from the 1920s and 30s, this chapter argues that the physical traversals of the landscape by documentarians in order to collect instances of historical memory were inscriptive acts of mapping that authored distinct narratives of Southern California history. Dating from a similar time period and sharing both a connection to the Historical Society of Southern California (HSSC) and a focus on the region’s changing spaces, the collections examined in this chapter are the Los Angeles Railway Corporation collection, held at the Huntington Library, and the Marion Parks archive at the Claremont Library. Ignored in scholarship on Anglo regionalism, these collections are connected to organisations that shaped Anglo cultural identity and its sense of the past in Southern California. Marion Parks was a core member of the HSSC whilst Edwin Lewis lectured before a number of civic

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1 J. J. Warner, “Inaugural Address of the President, Col. J. J. Warner, delivered before the Society, Jan. 7, 1884”, Historical Society of Southern California, Los Angeles, 1, 1 (1884), 7-13 (p. 8).
2 Edward Dimendberg and Allan Sekula, “Allan Sekula”, BOMB, 92 (Summer, 2005), 38-45 (p. 44).
groups, including the HSSC. Through collecting, taxonomising, and indexing Southern Californian history, Parks and Lewis’ projects on adobe houses and streetcars rearticulated and produced spatialised knowledge – cultural perceptions coalescing around specific locations and routes within the landscape. The different backgrounds of the two collectors indicate the broad swathe of Anglo institutions seeking to acquire the region’s historical memory. Yet the two collections also reveal substantially different approaches to documenting the landscape and its past.

Commenting on the reworking of cultural memory at the turn of the twentieth century, historian Phoebe Kropp argues, “Anglos in Southern California entered the memory business …, inscribing several regional histories on the landscape.”

Kropp clearly notes the link between mythology and this inscriptive process:

The region’s diverse, intriguing, and sometimes brutal history, wrested from the hands of earlier inhabitants, became the raw material from which Anglo-Californians fashioned new memories. The focus on romantic ambiance became both a figurative preamble to Anglo development and a material product of it. First floated to tourists before the turn of the twentieth century, these memories by the 1930s formed a dominant mode in which locals and newcomers imagined the region.

This dominant reconstruction of a Spanish Fantasy Past, elsewhere examined by scholars such as William Deverell and as far back as Carey McWilliams, saturated boosterist Anglo understandings of the region, partly because it was a product of the imperialism that had brought Anglos westward: “The Anglo appropriation of California’s Indian, Spanish, and Mexican past was so forceful that to disentangle romance and history, one would have to unravel race and the nation itself.” In this chapter, Parks and Lewis’ work is located at the threshold of romance and history.

Yet romantic mythology was not the only way Anglos re-appropriated cultural memory. American imperial city building was at times hugely dependent on more logistical mappings of the Mexican past and historical memory, as

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4 Ibid.
described in William Deverell’s work on the US Corps of Engineers’ surveying of the Los Angeles River. Lacking data on how the river flowed and flooded, the Engineers engaged in an “extraordinary history project”, interviewing some of Los Angeles’ longest-residing persons — many of them elderly Mexicans — about their recollections of the river’s course and nature.\(^6\) Engineers “began to map the courses of the basin’s rivers by deliberately establishing a cartography of memory”.\(^7\) The Corps could examine the contemporary flow of the river and consult pre-existing maps but such information only provided a limited understanding. What the engineers “did not know was history, particularly the ‘pre-history’ of Mexican Los Angeles (to say nothing of the Native American history and memory of and in the region). And there were precious few places to turn in 1914 to fill any gaps.”\(^8\) Mexican memories of the region, disregarded by many Anglo boosters, became an invaluable resource to be exploited: “What [Engineering Committee Chair, J.W.] Reagan’s engineers were after was evidence of the river’s wanderings and its excesses, a way to map reminiscence.”\(^9\) Yet Deverell argues that, whilst “Anglo Americans had interviewed elderly Mexicans before in California history”, citing the work of Hubert Howe Bancroft, this was different. Antiquarianism had been replaced by utilitarianism. In [Bancroft’s] case, the words and stories themselves were the object. In the latter case of the young hydrologists talking to octogenarians, the personal histories were but means to an engineered end.\(^10\)

Kropp and Deverell’s work provides a starting point for how we could continue to conceptualise regional collecting, mapping, and memory. Parks and Lewis both created ‘cartographies of memory.’ Moreover, though they were not diverting rivers, the collectors in this chapter saw a clear social importance to their antiquarian work. Far from being inert and hermetically sealed within their institutional housing, these collections reveal the physicality, mobility, materiality, and discursivity of Anglo collecting, record creation, archive construction, and historiography. Anglo understandings of Southern California were distinctly reflected in the work of those who drove the region’s roads, collected historical data, explored the archives, and discussed their findings.

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\(^6\) Deverell, pp. 115-116.
\(^7\) Deverell, p. 116.
\(^8\) Ibid.
\(^9\) Deverell, pp. 117-120.
\(^10\) Deverell, p. 121.
This chapter focuses on two comparatively unknown antiquarians who made their mark not through Kropp’s public “venues” of memory such as Olvera Street and El Camino Real, or through legendary literary works like The Mission Play and Ramona, but through more diffuse, repeated accessions of the historical record. In the process, these collectors made extensive social networks, deep connections between fragments of historical data, and strong conceptual links between regional spaces. Their collecting and taxonomising connects the archive and the landscape. Whilst their work ostensibly seems less spectacular than those sites and texts mentioned above, it is no less limited in scope. Because of the lack of scholarship on these collections, they initially seem contained, limited in influence. But upon immersion within each collection, the sheer scale of Parks and Lewis’ collecting, their connections to other institutions, and the scope of their ambition becomes apparent – these collections were significant historical projects showing the wide-scale re-envisioning of Southern California. Huge, overt enterprises of recreating the region have rightly received much attention – but it is important to see how the Anglo work of mythology operated on a much more granular level too. That these collecting projects existed at the heart of civic institutions and prominent businesses draws out the argument that, beyond the spectacle, the cultural reworking of regionalism operated at a more diffuse but no less significant level. Archival collecting had a strong connection to public discourse and display.

Whilst other scholarly works have considered Southern California’s regional memory through architecture and public space (Kropp), its utilization by civil engineering and theatrical pageantry (Deverell), and the Ramona tourist industry (DeLyser), this chapter advances this discourse by focusing on the cultural practices of collecting and archive building. It puts the materiality of historiographic work into dialogue with the physical and cultural space of Southern California, arguing for the wider effects of note-taking, record compiling, data logging, and scrapbooking on the region’s historical imagination. This chapter argues these processes of collecting and assembling data were always spatial and visual practices, restructuring the Anglo optic on the region, in line

12 Kropp, ch. 1-6; Deverell, ch. 2, 3, 6; Dydia DeLyser, Ramona Memories: Tourism and the Shaping of Southern California (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005).
with the synchronic changes of late modernity, as discussed earlier. Either seeking out historic adobes or retracing the lines of old streetcars, the documentary work in these collections conceptually and physically remapped Southern California from the perspective of Anglo society, resituating the region’s cultural and historical memory.

“A Dream of Things That Were”: Edwin L. Lewis, the Los Angeles Railway, and the Re-Tracing of Streetcar Lines

At the monthly meeting of the HSSC held on Tuesday, November 13, 1928, there were two lectures scheduled for the evening program in the Chamber of Commerce building in downtown Los Angeles. The first talk was from Robert Ernest Cowan with the “eminent bibliographer…speak[ing] informally on ‘Rare Printed Californiana.’”13 Cowan shared the bill with Edwin L. Lewis, the Vice-President and Superintendent of the Los Angeles Railway Corporation. Lewis gave “an illustrated lecture upon ‘The Romance of Transportation Development’” that sought to “visualize the expansion of transportation within … [Los Angeles] from 1874 to the present.”14 On different topics, these men were discussing aspects of Californian history but there is a deeper link: both were presenting works fundamentally based on collecting and assembling. Cowan discussed texts featured in the extensive accumulation of citations for his Bibliography of Californiana (1914). Lewis’s lecture emerged from his giant indexing of the extant printed material about the Los Angeles Railway, or, as it was termed, the LARy. Both figures represent Anglo cataloguing and taxonomising of the region’s cultural history. Through different media, both discussed collections depicting Southern California’s regional past and historical memory as acquirable objects for Anglo society, collections framing the supposed sweeping historical drama of California. Such projects of historical and spatial meaning coalesced around Anglo organizations like the HSSC.

Lewis’ descriptive yet breezy lectures of the early rail transportation history of Los Angeles were delivered to civic groups such as the HSSC and the

13 HSSC flyer [1928], p. 6, Folder 1, Item 219, Box 4, photCL58(219), in Los Angeles Railway Corporation Collection of Photographs, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California. Hereafter ‘LARy photo collection.’
14 HSSC flyer, LARy photo collection.
Rotary Club and also appeared serialised in a 1929-1931 column Lewis wrote in *Two Bells*, the LARy’s official journal, entitled “The Romance of the Rail.” Yet these public discourses were only a small glimpse of Lewis’ vast institutional history of the LARy and other streetcar companies that he worked on through the 1930s. Lewis collected over a thousand photographs and compiled four enormous scrapbook volumes of newspaper clippings, oral histories, letters, and historical business records, complete with multiple indexes. From this huge mass of material Lewis wrote an extensive, salutary two-volume history of the LARy and other streetcar organizations entitled *Street Railway Development in Los Angeles and Environs*.15 Printed in 1935 and 1939 yet never published, it remains in manuscript form at the Huntington Library where it was deposited in 1939, a fitting home since the LARy and other franchises covered in Lewis’ history were owned by Huntington and significantly contributed to the largess Huntington used to build his library.

The formal narratives are not a direct transferral of the data in the scrapbooks: Lewis’ collection was both countered and augmented to create a heroic narrative of Anglo enterprise. Presenting a history designed to correct “errors [in the Historical Data] that rested on faulty memories and distorted traditions which tended to belittle the efforts of the promoters and bring their names into contempt”, Lewis replicated the historical data of the scrapbooks yet also wrote *in opposition to* these components of the collection.16 “Feeling strongly that this condition [of purported inaccuracy] should be corrected this history has been undertaken,” Lewis wrote, “and it has been my endeavor to so carry the picture of the work, based on well authenticated facts, that proper credit shall be accorded them, and that a true understanding of the trials and tribulations be in the record.”17 Historians have used both Lewis’ cohesive narratives as well as his scrapbooks of Historical Data to corroborate certain episodes of Los Angeles history.18 However, neither the finished works nor the scrapbooks have been the subject of critical discussion in their own right.

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17 Ibid.
18 See, for instance: Glenn S. Dumke, “The Career of James F. Crank: A Chapter in the History of Western Transportation”, *Huntington Library Quarterly* 6, 3 (May, 1943), 313-332 (p. 319n24);
Lewis’ prefatory statement on correcting the documentary record, coupled with sections like “Relations with Employees” seemingly opposed to union activity, indicates that his narratives were partly a revisionist, top-down representation of LA transportation history, correcting negative assessments of the streetcars and their owners. Lewis’ position becomes explicit in passages such as the following, regarding the Spring and West Sixth Street line:

Conceive, if you can, the boundless optimism of the early railway projectors of Los Angeles to inspire them with confidence enough in the future to invest their money in such an enterprise…This is an exemplification of the character that seems to grow and thrive on the conditions in Southern California, and this spirit has continued to be shown by all those who later joined in the work, culminating in the activities of Mr. H.E.Huntington who became identified with this development in 1898, and who brought it to the fruition we find today.

Generally focused on the development of different streetcar franchises and lines, Lewis’s history is close to a hagiography of American transportation magnates and the development of streetcar franchises in Southern California.

What is more useful for conceptualizing the relation between regional space and historiography than Lewis’ narrative history are the scrapbooks which show the collecting and mapping of both the urban space of Los Angeles and, through logs of Lewis’ research, the city’s archives. Lewis’ 1928 lecture for the HSSC was given at an early stage of his research. By the time the first scrapbook of Historical Data was completed in 1929, the sheer scale to which streetcars had made an impact on the historical record must have become keenly apparent to Lewis. Considering all four scrapbooks (1932-1938), Lewis’ drive toward historical detail and accuracy leaves a paper trail revealing the proliferation of documentary evidence about streetcars within the city archives.

Lewis was tapping into the mass collection of data that had developed at Anglo antiquarian sites across the region. His presentation to the HSSC reinforced how Anglo collecting pervaded multiple social and occupational sectors of Los Angeles. Historians and bibliographers from various cultural and educational establishments in Los Angeles made regular appearances for the HSSC. That the


20 Lewis, Street Railway, Vol. 1, p. 6
head of the one of the largest municipal transportation networks was as invested in this cataloguing and historicizing points to a region-wide movement in Anglo society. It shows how deeply embedded historical collecting, collecting which frequently courted mythology and romance, was amongst Anglo organisations and businesses.

This movement was extremely keen to record and valorise its activity.

Writing about the emergence of Anglo culture in Southern California, a culture begun in opposition to the region’s Mexican and Native American past, William Deverell remarks the

mere presence of the Historical Society of Southern California, a distinctly white enterprise, is testament to some kind of transition in local culture, some maturation of a sort. Begun rudely in a dank police court office, the Historical Society nonetheless went about its work in earnest. *Save everything*, the society’s president urged the membership in 1884, everything that will create a physical memory that the 1880s were important.21

In the 1884 Inaugural Address Deverell paraphrases, J.J. Warner proclaimed the HSSC would be dedicated to the work of “two branches, *collection* and *preservation*”, with “*collection* of historical material …[referring] to the past, *preservation* to the present and future [emphasis in the original]”.22 To Warner and the Historical Society, it was preservation (primarily the accumulation of contemporary documents) that most immediately bore witness to the development of the emergent Anglo society in Southern California, even if this was work “the importance of which will be, at first underrated”:

In this new, busy, bustling town of ours, new enterprises are started, older enterprises are abandoned, or modified, social life is changing; and all so rapidly that within a short time it will be difficult to trace their beginnings, unless a careful watch is kept of current events by persons interested.23

Warner suggested local newspapers were one of the key sources for this information stockpiling and, indeed, fifty years later, it is the newspaper office archives Lewis relies on, as well as the legacy of other record-keeping offices in Los Angeles that had expressed similar preservation sentiments to the HSSC.24

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21 Deverell, p. 29.
24 The LAPL had a similar program from 1905 onward, and Lewis benefited from this. See Charles Fletcher Lummis, “Books in Harness”, *Out West*, XXV, 3 (September, 1906), 195-225 (p. 220).
Lewis’ scrapbooks reveal the extent to which Los Angeles’ Anglo documentary repositories had so swiftly been built up since the mid-to-late nineteenth century. Testament to the archiving and collecting that had occurred and was ongoing across Los Angeles, Lewis gathers historical material from the offices of the LARy, the Los Angeles Express and Los Angeles Herald, the Huntington Library, the Los Angeles Public Library, the Museum of History, Science, and Art, the County Clerk’s Office, and the Hall of Records. Collecting over 3000 individual pieces of data, Lewis’ project most immediately evidences how extensive Lewis’ research was and the significant presence of the streetcar organizations within the daily annals of Los Angeles. As much as any notable Californiana book collection, Lewis’ project was devoted to accumulating and quantifying all instances of the streetcars and their presence in Southern California. That this task took him to such a range of archives indicates how earnestly the documenting of Anglo enterprise had been carried out and thus how important a place in the historical record these archives held American development of the region to be.

In recording the process of his research and collecting, Lewis’ movement through the city’s archives becomes a bodily and physical redoubling of the narratives of Anglo enterprise in Southern California. When Lewis notes the date and location of his note-taking and transcription — for example, “notes dictated 8-30-28… E.L. Lewis at Public Library”, “March 1, 1929: Mr. E.L. Lewis - Library in the Museum at Exposition Park”, and “E.L. Lewis at Express Office - Aug. 21, 1929” — he highlights the sites of Anglo regional knowledge and underlines their collecting and historiographic programme through the record of his accession. In making notes from old newspaper files on matters such as “Mar. 24, 1885: (Herald) Work commenced grading on the Second Street Cable Road by E.C. Burlingame, the Contractor”, or “October 15, 1886: The Temple Street Cable Railroad broke down for one hour yesterday afternoon”, Lewis reassembles the minutiae of the streetcar era in Los Angeles.

25 Edwin L. Lewis, Historical Data Concerning Street Railway Transportation in Los Angeles Since First Franchise Applied for July 2, 1873. Also Data Concerning Interurban Electric Service, Book No. 1, Items 516, 525, 735, LARy manuscripts.
26 Lewis, Historical Data, Vol. 1, 500, 568.
No-one had attempted as extensive a Los Angeles streetcar history before Lewis. One of Lewis’ central aims was to establish when streetcar lines were established, by who, their logistical and financial record, and where they ran. This granular recovery of routes and terminals was an essentially cartographic aim, tracing and orienting regional space. Every fragment of data Lewis collected placed another co-ordinate in the historical grid of Los Angeles’ urban space. Every piece of collected data about new lines, stops, and franchises gave Lewis the material to draw an ever more illustrious picture of the streetcars and their presence within the historical space of Los Angeles. It firmly linked the memory of Anglo enterprise to physical locations and their documentation within archives.

The William Garland Three-Cent Franchise: Retracing Memory and Geography in Los Angeles’ Transportation Past

Lewis’ research and writing about the Garland streetcar franchise, filed for in March 1903, is one of the clearest examples of this relation between collecting, assembling, and the mapping of regional space. On September 20, 1933, embedded within the office of the Herald-Express at the corner of Second and Broadway, Lewis discovers from the newspaper archives that William M. Garland filed a petition “to the Board of Public Works for 41 distinct street railway franchises.”

As noted by Pitt & Pitt, William May Garland (1866-1948) was a “Los Angeles booster and attorney” from Maine who “came to California in 1890 and became a successful real estate man and president of the California Chamber of Commerce.” He was remembered as one of the “Builders of Los Angeles” by the HSSC in a plaque unveiled in 1952 and commonly known as the “Prince of Realtors”, beginning the “roll call of modern Los Angeles realtors” when he “subdivided and sold off Westlake, Ocean Park, Hermosa Beach, and Beverly Hills in the 1890s and early 1900s.” Considering that Robert M. Fogelson’s pioneering socioeconomic study concludes that street car developers in Los

27 Lewis, Historical Data, Vol. 3, 2146.
Angeles “all considered the electric railway more a means of furthering real estate ventures than meeting transportation requirements,” realtor Garland’s involvement and representation for a streetcar franchise is unsurprising. Garland’s franchise is a core component of the historical narrative Lewis built up through collecting.

When comparing the scrapbook fragments to the newspaper articles they refer to, it becomes apparent Lewis was often not copying the articles verbatim but quoting, paraphrasing, summarizing, and editing the lengthy newspaper articles down into shorter passages. He was thus reading and interpreting the historical record as he rediscovered more and more of the narrative of the streetcars. Upon finding the application for the Garland blanket franchise, he wrote to Garland asking if he could remember any further detail – this correspondence later appeared in Lewis’ narrative history. In Garland’s reply to Lewis, Garland wrote that the three-cent application, as it came to be known, was part of a “tense period in street railway circles” whilst Lewis later summarized the application as having a “magical” effect on its detractors who proclaimed huge indignation about such a proposal. As Lewis describes it, the application from Garland caused such a furore in Los Angeles because of its geographic scale, its unknown backing, and its pricing structure. Proposing not only to operate at two cents per ticket lower than existing lines, the franchise application was made by Garland in the name of an “unknown Eastern capitalist” and it covered an enormous eighty-two miles of track that duplicated existing lines, utilized other franchises’ tracks, went up “impossible” grades, and stretched beyond the city limits. The application was a particularly notable event in Los Angeles’ transportation history and it prompted deep consideration by those involved in how the city’s streetcar network was configured. The impact the franchise had on

32 Lewis, Historical Data, Vol. 3, 2147 1/2; Lewis, Street Railway, Vol. 2, pp. 41-42.
33 Ibid.
the documentary record and the city’s memory ensured it was an important occurrence for Lewis to collect and re-appraise.

Attempting to enlist the clout of mining magnate and senator, William Andrews Clark Sr., the three-cent franchise plan transpired to be part of a series of “obstructionist” tactics by the Southern Pacific president, Edward H. Harriman, to arrest the accelerating expansion of Huntington’s control.35 As Fogelson and Spencer Crump note, the actions of the syndicate headed up by Harriman — who had acquired stock in Huntington’s Pacific Electric system in order to head off the threat to his own Southern Pacific line — persuaded Huntington to accede more of a controlling stock in the Pacific Electric and Los Angeles Railway to Harriman.36 With Harriman’s eventual acquisition successful, when the three-cent franchise came up for final review before the Board of Public Works, it was no longer required and thus had no backers and was dismissed.37

Lewis’ re-tracking of the three-cent franchise narrative as it was presented in the newspapers, coupled with his textual and cartographic tracing of the proposal’s parameters, combine to recontextualise and map the region’s memory. In collecting, assembling, and synthesizing his research, Lewis remaps the imaginative projections of urban space that had occurred a generation before. That is, because the Garland franchise never came to pass, everyone that heard about the proposal had to reconcile their existing physical geography with an imagined new outline of the city’s transportation network. This reconfigured spatiality was not confined to those city council members that heard Garland’s application. As suggested by the extensive and hyperbolic press coverage, it was an episode that had a deep, if relatively short-lived, impact on Los Angeles residents’ sense of the shape and structure of the city. An evening performance of the University of Southern California’s glee club attended by fifteen hundred indicates the effect Garland’s application had on the city’s consciousness less than a month after

36 The Pacific Electric board member to sell his stock was I. W. Hellman. See Fogelson, pp. 89-91; Crump, p. 72; Lewis, *Street Railway*, Vol. 2, pp. 41-45.
being proposed. Satirizing Garland’s proposal, as well as his earnest boosterism, the glee club made explicit reference to the franchise plans when they sang:

They say that Willie represents  
In the town of the Angels  
A car-fare of about three-cents,  
In the Angels’ town;  
And if Senator Clark should come out here  
To the town of the Angels,  
He would build new car lines far and near,  
In the Angels’ town;  
And they’d transfer to Garvanz-i-a,  
From the town of the Angels;  
And for three cents we could ride all day  
In the Angels’ town.39

The glee club derided the logistics of the franchise plan, equivocating it to Garland’s hubris about Los Angeles’ growth which they had mocked in the opening verses of the song — one stanza notes that if Garland doesn’t stop “lying” about there being “ten billion [people in LA] by two thousand A.D.” then “Old Satan will take him…”40 As Spencer Crump notes, Garland’s real estate business became “locally famous, although at times ridiculed, by its red and white signs which flatly stated that the population of Los Angeles would be 250,000 in 1910.”41 Residents “laughed at Garland because they thought his signs were too optimistic” but Henry Huntington felt Garland’s estimates were “too conservative.”42 The premise of Garland and Huntington’s assessment was absolutely correct – in 1910 the population of the city of Los Angeles stood at 319,198 and Los Angeles County was resident to 504,131, a staggering 196 percent and 211 percent increase, respectively, over the estimates for 1900.43

Yet, despite their scorn for Garland’s forecast, evidently the glee club was picking up on a widespread sentiment: the Times remarked, “It was fully three minutes before the applause which this original ditty created died away, and even

38 “Song of Three Cents in the Angels’ Town”, Los Angeles Times, April 11, 1903, p. 6.
39 Ibid.
40 Ibid.
41 Crump, p. 13.
42 Crump, pp. 13-14.
then the faces of many were wreathed with smiles.”

44 The explicit reference to Garvanza, the town lying along the Arroyo Seco river between Los Angeles and Pasadena, highlights the conceptual mapping Los Angeles’ residents were undertaking. Even if the club were merely looking for a half-rhyme with “day”, the juxtaposition of Los Angeles with Garvanza and the implication Garvanza is an outlandish interchange (though streetcars had ran beyond this point to Pasadena as early as 1895 – see fig. 3) indicates the spatial boundaries of the city and region’s geography that Los Angeles’ residents were exploring, testing, and reconfiguring.45 Lewis’ collection does not make reference to the glee club event or to the Times report. Yet if the Times article was a record of the spatial imaginary surrounding the streetcars, one instance of the memory of this era being quantified, then through revisiting this record through other sources, Lewis’ collecting and historical work resituates and re-inscribes this memory. The Times report indicates how much public interest surrounded Garland’s franchise; collecting and archiving details about the franchise puts this vernacular memory into dialogue with a much broader narrative of Anglo settlement and enterprise in Southern California.

44 “Song of Three Cents”, p. 6.
45 See maps in Lewis, Street Railway, Vol. 2 for indication of LARy lines in a northwest direction from the city of LA. See Crump, p. 35, for date of earliest Pasadena-to-Los Angeles line.
Apart from the assemblage of the newspaper fragments that reframes the chronological narrative of the streetcars, Lewis drew out regional memory and reimagined regional space through other methods too. The Herald article from March 28, 1903 that Lewis took notes from only described the three-cent franchise’s proposed route in text but Lewis took this and made it into an extensive map featured at the end of the second volume of his narrative history.
[see fig. 4].

Figure 4 – “Map showing streets covered by application for a street railway franchise filed before the City Council March 27, 1903, by Wm. E. Garland.” in Edwin L. Lewis, Street Railway Development in Los Angeles and Environs 1873-1895, Vol. 2. (1939). LARy mss.

The map is a simple and schematic rendering of what Garland applied for but its layout is still indicative of a wider sense of spatiality. The franchise’s layout of black lines over white space suggests the priority of the streetcar system on the landscape, as well as its mutability and lack of constraint, despite the unrealistic grades the Garland franchise wanted to scale. The only other feature of the map — a flourished arrow indicating north — simultaneously binds this expansive free-

46 See Lewis, Historical Data, Vol. 3, 2146-2147 and “Three Cent Fares”, p. 5. For the Garland map see Lewis, Street Railway, Vol. 2 Map No. 3 (back cover).
ranging movement through blank space (or reveals its provenance) to a pre-established, strict, gridded cartography. Even so, the Garland application was always supposed to be an attritional, disruptive scheme on the part of its backers – Garland to Lewis: “I never was thoroughly sanguine that my clients were very serious. I doubt if they really wanted or expected this franchise”. 47 Lewis’ map reflects this disruptive intent, the Garland franchise ignoring other transport lines or any other physical geography, pushing up against the “city limits” found on the far right of the map, close to where the USC glee club’s emblematic destination, Garvanza (figs. 5-6), would be. Lewis’ mapping and archival work reframed the spatiality of 1900s Los Angeles, probing the contours and limits of the regional imagination.

Figure 5 – “Over at Sycamore Park, Garvanza, 1895.” photCL58(94), Box 2. LARy Photo Collection, Huntington Library.

Oral Histories and Photographs: Lewis’ Acquisition of Micro- and Macroscopic Perspectives

Lewis’ dynamic cartographic tracing of network lines was one way of collecting and reframing the memory attached to the streetcar enterprise. Another aspect of his research and collecting more verbally drew out this memory. Through letters and interviews, Lewis explicitly requested employees and residents’ recollections of their background, their involvement with streetcars, and the urban spaces surrounding the streetcar lines. There was perhaps an especial urgency on Lewis’ part to track down, quantify, and extract this memory because, when his collecting project was undertaken in the 1930s, the process of disassembling the railway streetcar system was fully underway.48 At a time when the lines were being physically taken apart, Lewis took it upon himself to reassemble the fragments of document, memory, and image the streetcar system had

48 See Fogelson, pp. 183-185; Crump, pp. 203-211; Bottles, pp. 49, 56, 236-239.
produced alongside its steel infrastructure. The expediency of this collecting was indicated by two examples in Lewis’ collection. Lewis and Garland’s correspondence of September 22 and 23, 1933 showed there was now a significant distance to that earlier era, with Garland professing the 1903 blanket application was now “like a dream of things that were” and that “the details...have long since passed out of my memory”. This dissipation of memory was a pattern within the Lewis collection: one item of historical data on an early line across Bimini Slough indicates that, only three decades on, some of this early streetcar activity was now considered “the dim and distant past”. The statements are testament to the rapidly changing nature of the urban landscape in this first half of the twentieth century. What Garland was looking back across was the boom of the 1920s, a “truly bonanza affair” to Carey McWilliams in what McWilliams felt was a history already distinguished by its booms. Jules Tygiel, commenting on McWilliams’ observations, remarks “Los Angeles assumed much of its modern form in the 1920s.” Immigration, the replacement of streetcars by automobiles, the development of industry, the emergence of new towns all accelerated on a massive scale. Some of the central protagonists of the streetcar era now felt there was an impossible distance to this earlier traversing of the region. As Los Angeles geared up for its freeway autopia of the future, Lewis scrambled to recover, collect, and preserve this earlier memory of urban space.

Concluding his statement on witnessing the first electric streetcar to run down Pico Street in 1887, T. E. Stanton remarked to Lewis in an interview in Lewis’ office that, “I didn’t ride on the first car and was there as an onlooker on foot. If you can get a story out of this meager information, all right.” It may have seemed meagre to Stanton but statements like this were to Lewis part of recollecting a much wider narrative of Anglo enterprise. In addition to the research and collecting at newspaper offices, city record archives, and libraries, Lewis collected historical statements, orally or communicated by letter, and over a

50 Lewis, Historical Data, Vol. 2, 1457.
52 Tygiel, p. 2.
53 Ibid.
54 On autopia, see, for instance, Bottles, pp. 211-234.
55 Lewis, Historical Data, Vol. 1, 892.
thousand photographs. Through all, what Lewis was recovering was the extent to which Anglo enterprise had enmeshed itself within the structure of the region. Like Lewis’ outline of the Garland franchise, regional space, as presented through the LARy collection, takes the form of a dynamic, changing network map, a “mutable palimpsest” of a changing city space and the potential ways one could have moved through that space. In providing a clear record of how one could go from A to B, the LARy collection shows to be a part of this enterprise was to be part of a grand taxonomic project that: surveyed the landscape in preparation for the streetcars; collected perspectives of the changing city and how that cityspace could be traversed as the streetcars became progressively installed; and left extensive documentary traces for a period that, with the continual growth of Los Angeles and simultaneous total collapse of the streetcars, would in turn be dimly remembered.

The physical maps and franchise incorporation records outlining the shape and time-frame of the individual lines did much of the skeletal work for Lewis, giving him a core historical shape to work around. The newspaper accounts complemented this by recording the minutiae and daily occurrences of the streetcars, providing a chronological narrative to those franchise routes. However, although these accounts could also point toward the wider contours of the battles between captains of industry, as the Harriman and Huntington conflict indicated, what Lewis needed from the oral histories and photographs was more of the texture of this history. These textual and visual accounts of the oral histories and photographs give the LARy collection micro- and macroscopic perspectives of the region and they point toward the wider socio-cultural forces Lewis and the LARy were a part of.

It is not known what images Lewis presented when he gave his “illustrated” lectures that sought to “visualize the expansion of transportation within … [Los Angeles] from 1874 to the present” but, judging from the enormous collection at the Huntington, Lewis was clearly not lacking for options. As with the oral histories, the scope of potential scholarship lying within these archives is enormous, but there are conclusions we can draw about

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56 This is Allan Sekula’s term, which he argues twentieth century Los Angeles predominantly embraces – Dimendberg & Sekula, p. 43. See later discussion of Sekula in this chapter.
57 HSSC flyer, LARy photo collection.
Lewis’ visual collection, especially if we focus on the predominance of views of Los Angeles. Even for an enterprise as extensive as the LARy, the LARy photograph collection’s scope exceeds any daily, programmatic use Lewis and the LARy might have for the running and planning of streetcar lines. Far from merely capturing streetcar lines in action, the LARy photo collection catalogues in detail views of Los Angeles and the surrounding area. Although some appeared in the LARy journal, *Two Bells*, the fact that the photographs within the LARy collection make no appearance within the histories Lewis wrote — with the exception of the maps at the end of volume two, they are entirely comprised of written text — speaks to the wider cultural work this collecting performed. The LARy photograph collection indicates the imperial acquisition of perspective that came with the Anglo enterprise of streetcar transportation. If the oral histories and newspaper files gave Lewis the minutia of historical life around the railways, the wide-angle panoramas and long-distance views of Los Angeles mirrored the large-scale manipulation and command of space the railway and real estate magnates aspired to. Streetcar magnates speculated on Los Angeles’ imagined, potential suburban geographies. As Robert Fogelson notes, “immense migration [after 1885] generated a potentially remunerative market for improved transit, but to capitalize on it entrepreneurs were obliged to lay tracks well in advance of actual passenger requirements.” 58 Fogelson points to Henry Huntington’s remarks as evidence of this future trading:

> It would never do well for an electric line to wait until the demand for it came … It must anticipate the growth of communities and be there when the home builders arrive — or they are very likely not to arrive at all, but to go to some other section already provided with arteries of traffic. 59

Lewis’ need to document the streetcar era of Los Angeles was a desire to collect and catalogue this boom of Anglo enterprise that had acquisitively taken control of significant tracts of land in Southern California from the 1880s onward. But in the late 1920s this was fading, and the views of Los Angeles Lewis collected were as much about valorising a legacy of imperial perspective controlled by a series of elites — a legacy of ambition toward the future — as they were about collecting the records of the streetcars’ employees. If late modernity heralded the shortening of

58 Fogelson, p. 85.
59 Ibid.
visual and spatial distance, Lewis’ photo collection is testament to the LARy’s role in that diminishing.

As indicated by the stamp on the reverse of the prints, many of the photographs Lewis collected came from the office of noted documentarian C. C. Pierce. As Gary F. Kurutz notes, with thousands upon thousands of photographs attributed to his name (though some undoubtedly were reproductions from other photographers), “Pierce, from the time of his arrival in Los Angeles in 1886 to the sale of his collection in 1941 [to the Title Insurance and Trust Company, another major collector of Los Angeles historical ephemera], created the single finest photographic record devoted to the Los Angeles area.”

Kurutz comments that Pierce was deeply invested in documenting the changing, growing city and a core part of this was the development of transportation in the area, perceived by Pierce as a heroic narrative of enterprise. The link between Pierce and Lewis underlines the taxonomic quality to Lewis’ collecting. If Pierce shared the same interest as Lewis in seeing and celebrating the burgeoning expansion of Los Angeles’ infrastructure, then it seems reasonable to suggest Lewis was as invested as Pierce in collecting, indexing, and taxonomising these perspectives too. Views such as the C. C. Pierce image of the Temple Block on Main Street around 1885 or Third and Hill Streets approximately 1900 [figs. 7 and 8] gave Lewis pre-existing coordinates to reconstruct his street railway history, a tangible historical index from which corresponding oral histories and newspaper accounts could be aligned.

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60 Gary F. Kurutz, “‘Courtesy of Title Insurance and Trust Company’ — The Historical Collection at CHS’ Los Angeles History Center”, *California History*, 57, 2 (Summer, 1978), 186-194 (p. 188).
61 Kurutz, p. 191.
Figure 7 – [C. C. Pierce], “Looking South on Main and Spring Streets from Temple – 1883”, photCL58(10), Box 1. LArY Photo Collection, Huntington Library.
Elsewhere in the LARy collection, the panoramas and wide-angle perspectives point toward a wider, macroscopic framework for Lewis’ collection. In the context of the rest of the Lewis & LARy project, views of Los Angeles from 1853, 1869, and 1871 [figs. 9-11] that display a much less built-up topography become retrospectively tinged with the imminence of imperial acquisition by Anglo enterprise. The collection guide remarks there is a “then and now” aspect to the LARy photos: indeed, when these earlier wide-angle perspectives are considered alongside panoramas such as the 1920s series taken at cardinal intervals looking out across Los Angeles from the roof of the LARy headquarters, it is hard to escape the idea that the perspectives of the pre-streetcar past were (re)collected with a rapacious gaze.62 If the aggressive monopolization of space that Huntington, Harriman, and others imposed through the streetcar system was an archetypal expression of a new era of capital, then Lewis’ collecting and taxonomising of the visual and textual traces the streetcar left, the

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perspectives it garnered, arguably represents what Martin Jay terms a “scopic regime of modernity.” The LARy’s physical ordering and manipulation of the landscape, re-inscribed by Lewis’ collecting and arranging of visual perspectives, installs “the dominant visual order of modernity”, one of “Cartesian perspectivalism” in which an “ideal of a geometric, isotropic, rectilinear, abstract and uniform space meant the imposition of regular patterns”. In the case of the streetcars these patterns are lines and terminuses on Southern California’s topography. In the material Lewis collects, those patterns are the visual and textual perspectives, panoramic or close-up, oriented around these points or foreshortening the landscape into a single view. Such containment is then reiterated in the framing of the collection, in gridded maps, frames of images, and controlling bindings and boxes around assembled historical fragments. I would argue this is the deeper meaning behind the remark on the HSSC flyer that Lewis’ lecture sought to “visualize” the history of transportation development in Los Angeles — the history of regional transportation development is also a history of scopic and spatial acquisition and the collecting and indexing of this history re-inscribed that acquisition.

64 Jay, p. 190-191.
Figure 9 – “First known picture of Los Angeles, sketched in 1853”, photCL58(43), Box 1. LARy Photo Collection, Huntington Library.
Figure 10 – “North on North Broadway, from hill above tunnel. 1869”, photCL58(44), Box 1. LARy Photo Collection, Huntington Library.
Promoting and Discussing the Collection

The propensity with which Lewis was able to garner historical accounts and oral histories indicates his influence. People were very keen to contribute to his collection and invite him to discuss it publicly. An article in the July 1938 edition of *Two Bells*, noting Lewis’ fifty-year service with the LARy, indicated Lewis’ authority:

Perhaps better acquainted with the development of local transportation than any other Angeleno, Mr. Lewis is compiling an extensive transportation history of which he has already completed the first volume. Much interest is evidenced in Mr. Lewis’s research on the subject and it is expected that upon completion… it will afford an extremely valuable source for those seeking information on the early days in Los Angeles.65

Even if Lewis’ history was never published, it was still utilized by subsequent scholars and his lectures and columns further indicate the immersion of his

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65 “50 Year Veteran Establishes Enviable Service Record”, *Two Bells*, 19, 7 (July 1938), 4. Also cited in “Former St. Clair County ‘Boy’ Is Recognized”, *St Clair County Democrat*, August 11, 1938, p. 18, LARy photo collection, photCL58(219).
collection within public discourse. Whilst the collection initially seems contained, the historical work within it was distributed to other civic and educational groups.

One clear example was on March 9th, 1931, when Lewis was invited to give a lantern slide lecture for Mrs Anne Harris’ A-4 class at the East 20th Street School. According to an article in Two Bells, Lewis was “very sure that his lecture was appreciated as he has received about forty-five letters from the students expressing their appreciation and interest. The subject of the lecture related to the history of Los Angeles and the development of local transportation.”66 Evidently the timing of Lewis’ visit was propitious — the students had been learning about California history. That Lewis’ collection had an effect on the historical and spatial knowledge of Los Angeles residents is exemplified by a number of students writing to Lewis that the maps he presented were particularly enjoyed because they had been studying “about maps”. One student noted, “We are making a map of old California and we are going to study street cars too”, and this seems to clearly implicate the streetcar enterprise within the wider historical and cartographic imagination of the region. As well as the street cars, the urban layout of ‘old’ Los Angeles was well represented within Lewis’ lantern slide talk and these images distinctly resonated with Lewis’ audience, partly due to the historical narrative the students were being taught: one student wrote, “I was more happy with the street cars and the plaza. Because we are studying about the first twelve white men and we’re studying about the plaza. And we made a map of them.”67 Mapping, ‘old’ and ‘new’ California, Anglo industry, and Manifest Destiny’s appropriation of the plaza become dialogically linked in Lewis’ lecture and Harris’ curriculum. Lewis’ lecture cartographically and historically joined white settler colonialism with the street car enterprise – the map of ‘old’ Los Angeles in which those settlers ostensibly featured gives the Anglo streetcar enterprise a genesis and erases the Mexican and Native American past before this.

Even if the fantastical portrayal of the past by Lewis to the school was just a single talk, the mythologizing of the past was willingly accepted elsewhere in society by those who heard Lewis’ lecture or read his work. Lewis’ lecture, “The Romance of Street Railway Development”, was gleefully hailed by the Wilshire

66 “Learning About Street Cars”, Two Bells, 12, 4 (April, 1931), 1. LARy photo collection photCL58 (219).
67 Letters found adjacent to Two Bells clipping, LARy photo collection, photCL58(219).
Rotary Club as “second to none” on their 1933 programme whilst Lewis, in the
news story about the schoolhouse lecture as well as elsewhere in *Two Bells*, is
referred to as the “Romancer of the Rails”, a title derived from the name of his
column. In a rapidly changing urban space, the attribution of an antiquarian
romance to streetcar development helped to mitigate the public dissent levelled
against the streetcars and establish a mythic legacy for organizations like the
LARy. At times in his lectures, this legacy building seemed particularly blatant,
as when Lewis was at his most hyperbolic:

Nowhere in all human experience has the increased purchasing power of
money equalled that enjoyed in Los Angeles in the purchase of
transportation from July 1st, 1874, when the initial line was opened with its
meagre 1.35 miles of single track – fare ten cents, to the splendid system of
177 miles of double track today, any portion which is at the service of the
people of this community at any hour for a paltry fare.

The Occlusion of Mexican Labour in the Los Angeles Railway Collection

Lewis touts the municipal undertaking and charitable, social benefit of the
LARy but his genial histories minimize the debt to, conflict with, and exploitation
of the workers who built the tracks, particularly Mexican labourers. Lewis wrote,
“[I]t little thought is given by the casual citizen to the tremendous expenditures
called for by the necessity of providing and distributing sufficient power to
operate the system,” yet Lewis’ approach is equally limited, siding with Anglo
management and offering little attention to the Mexican labour involved in
streetcar development.

Despite their importance to the construction and maintenance of
infrastructure of the street cars in Los Angeles, Mexican labourers are excluded
from Lewis’ history. There are no references in the lectures or column, only
indirect references in the completed volumes when discussing labour more
generally, and only isolated references in the scrapbook records. Yet, as Charles
Wollenberg notes, “by the end of the nineteenth century, southwestern lines were

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68 Rotary Club letter, LARy photo collection, photCL58(219); “Romancer and His Rails: E. L. Lewis
Compares New and Old”, *Two Bells*, 11, 2 (1930), 9.
69 On dissatisfaction with the LARy, see Bottles, pp. 48-49, 72-74.
70 Lewis lecture, p. 5, LARy photo collection, photCL58(219).
71 Lewis lecture, p. 6.
72 For instance, Mexican labourers were employed in the organizations Lewis mentions but are not
showing preference for [the employment of] Mexicans over other nationalities" in the construction and repair of rail track. By 1903, “Mexicans were coming to dominate track work on the railroads of the West and Southwest.” Similarly, William Friedricks, writing about the turn of the century streetcar system in Los Angeles, commented that “Mexican laborers had long been hired to lay track in the southwestern United States”. And, whilst the focus is on the whole of rural and urban Southern California, Stephanie Lewthwaite nevertheless remarks that Mexicans undertook “practically all’ railroad section work” in the early part of the twentieth century. Whilst Lewis often focuses on the earlier streetcar history in Los Angeles (e.g. the columns in Two Bells) from around 1870 that it appears would not have had such a frequency of Mexican employment as the first years of the 1900s, Lewis’ LARy history is extensive enough in its temporal scope, 1873-1938, that this still stands as an occlusion. And whilst critics have focused on the labour struggles between Mexicans and Anglos in relation to Huntington’s Pacific Electric, there seems no reason why a similar employment structure would not be in effect at the LARy, seeing as it was owned and operated by Huntington. Indeed, in the Los Angeles Herald articles that Lewis collects detailing the 1903 Strike (discussed by Wollenberg and Friedricks through other contemporary sources) Mexican workers are frequently described as being jointly employed by the Pacific Electric and Los Angeles Railway.

Lewis’ racial exclusion redoubled an already existing economic divide. As Wollenberg notes, in relation to railways, a racially segregated labour market existed that ensured track work was all that was available to Mexican workers:

Labor on all lines which employed Mexicans was ethnically stratified. Only Anglos served as carmen (engineers, motormen, conductors, and so forth), while Mexicans were employed almost exclusively on track work

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74 Ibid.
75 Friedricks, “Capital and Labour”, p. 383
77 Wollenberg’s source for historical data on Mexican railroad labour focuses primarily on the years around 1900 – see Victor S. Clark, “Mexican Labor in the United States”, Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor, 78 (Washington, 1908), 466-521.
construction crews building new lines or “extra” and “section” gangs maintaining existing lines.\textsuperscript{79}

The Spring of 1903, the period in which the Garland franchise was filed, again stands as a useful case study. Indeed, this era suggests the porous nature of the LARy collection, with the assemblage of material potentially speaking beyond the collector’s full control. In following the assemblage of newspaper fragments within the Historical Data scrapbooks from this time, the predominant narrative of the streetcars Lewis focuses on is the aforementioned Garland franchise. But within these newspaper transcriptions are references to strikes by Mexican employees, references that seemingly make no appearance within the volumes of Lewis’ narrative history. “About 500 Mexicans employed by the Pacific Electric Railway in installing their third rail work on Main Street, went on strike yesterday”, reads an entry adapted from the \textit{Herald} for April 25, 1903.\textsuperscript{80} “The peons continued their strike on the Pacific Electric work on Main street”, reads the derisory entry for April 26.\textsuperscript{81} In his article on this strike, Wollenberg notes it was “one of the first major labor disputes between Mexican workers and Anglo employers in the United States.”\textsuperscript{82} It was a short-lived but intense and important strike that saw the establishment of the Unión Federal Mexicanos, a labor union that within a month of being established had “900 track workers, a bank account of $600, and a small adobe headquarters in Los Angeles’ ‘Sonoratown’ – it was, Wollenberg assesses, “probably the first union of Mexican track workers in the United States.”\textsuperscript{83} The strike eventually collapsed, Huntington proving thoroughly unmoving in the face of disruption and eventually able to find alternative labour.\textsuperscript{84}

Yet, the 1903 strike brings into focus the temporal and cultural dynamics of early twentieth century regional history collections. The vitality and significance of the movement far exceeds the tiny reference Lewis collects and then ignores. Wollenberg argues the impact of the strike extends far beyond its

\textsuperscript{79} Wollenberg, p. 364.
\textsuperscript{81} Lewis, \textit{Historical Data}, Vol. 3, 2178. Corresponding Herald article is “Striking Peons Restive”, \textit{Los Angeles Herald}, Number 200, 26 April 1903, p. 1
\textsuperscript{82} Wollenberg, p. 359.
\textsuperscript{83} Wollenberg, p. 361. And see Douglas Monroy, \textit{Rebirth: Mexican Los Angeles from the Great Migration to the Great Depression} (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), pp. 8, 10.
appearance in the newspaper record of 1903. The strike is a core part of a regional legacy of resistance that relates to “the men who crossed the border to work on el traque during the first decade of the twentieth century [who] not only were forerunners of a great migration, they also began a seventy-year heritage of class and ethnic struggle.”85 That narrative of resistance pushes against Lewis’ “romance of the rails” and calls into question the boundaries of the collection and its conception of regional history. Far from a success story of Anglo enterprise, the strike acts against Lewis’ official history and “stands as an historical contradiction to generalizations about the ‘passivity’ and ‘tractability’ of Mexican labor.”86 Where Lewis writes a heroic narrative of Anglo individuals and their entrepreneurship, the strike represents a counternarrative of “collective action.”87

That the strikers refused to work on the line that was the central artery of La Fiesta of 1903 is even more pertinent to presenting a history outside Anglo mythology. As William Deverell has argued, the Fiesta in its heyday of the late 1890s was a civic parade that, through its presentation of historical scenes on floats, “emphasized historical progression through linear tableaux: savagery progressed to barbarism, barbarism became civilization.”88 Deverell stops short of the Fiesta of 1903 but accounts from the Times indicate it was a similar event to the Fiesta of 1902, Theodore Roosevelt filling the position William McKinley had held in the parade the year before.89 By 1902 the Fiesta had traded in its exoticized reimagining of the Spanish Fantasy past for pennants, bunting, and more strident displays of US nationalism: “[i]n short, it was time for an ‘American’ fiesta as opposed to a “Spanish” event.”90 All of the yearly iterations of the Fiesta, however, match Deverell’s description: “[f]rom the vantage of a century later, La Fiesta looks like the party white Los Angeles threw to celebrate the triumph of Manifest Destiny in the Far West.”91 Douglas Monroy argues the rail strike and La Fiesta of 1903 represent a convergence between Anglo and Mexican communities in Los Angeles, a forceful interjection into the region’s

85 Wollenberg, p. 368.
86 Wollenberg, p. 369.
87 Wollenberg, p. 369; Monroy, p. 10.
88 Deverell, p. 75.
90 Deverell, p. 88.
91 Deverell, p. 64.
consciousness from a community, Mexican Los Angeles, often pushed to the margins. Monroy argues: “now those people who picked and hoed in the fields, and dug and hauled on the streets and railroads, and then went away to Sonoratown, or across the river, or back to Mexico, or somewhere, now began to presence themselves in American history.” Events like the Strike of 1903 were key interventions into American history in Southern California.

Street car franchises, tying together Anglo capital interests in real estate and transportation, were clearly a part of Anglo America’s legacy of westward expansion. Lewis’ collection at first glance seems discrete and contained but its classificatory impulse in collecting and taxonomizing the lines of streetcar development was a central part of the large-scale manipulation of regional space, time, and society by Anglo enterprise. Signified most overtly through the LARy photograph collection but present in the vast accumulation of historical data and oral histories, the establishing of street car lines and Lewis’ subsequent retracing and remapping stands for the wholesale acquisition and command of regional perspective. Yet, at times, the labour that was essential to such a grand project – particularly the work of Mexican labourers – could be marginalized by the collection. That particular history remained confined and contained within the annotations in the scrapbook whilst other components of Lewis’ collection that were more salutary of white American industrialists found their way into a panoramic, public renegotiation of regional history and space.

Containers, collecting, and mapping intertwined in other exercises in documenting Southern California. A further conclusion to be drawn from the streetcar archive is that Lewis and the LARy should be considered not just within the genre of transportation history but recontextualized as documentarians, collectors, even antiquarians. Echoing the HSSC event, a 1917 letter to Lewis from the collector, antiquarian, booster, and critic, Charles Fletcher Lummis, indicates the circles Lewis crossed into. Responding to a report Lewis wrote of a talk Lummis gave before the Transportation Association, Lummis’ letter indicates

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92 Monroy, pp. 10-11.
93 Monroy, p. 10.
he and Lewis shared an affinity. Lummis remarks that Lewis’ report of the talk was “very well done indeed” and he “very much enjoyed” his visit. He comments that railroad men had “the most responsible job of anyone” and that he missed the rudimentary “Good Old Days” of poorer quality rail transportation because technology’s shortcomings only served to highlight the “expert ingenuity that stops the Gap.” Lummis then echoes Lewis’ remarks on the benevolent service the LARy offered to a populace that failed to appreciate its service: “[today,] if it doesn’t take the same kind of heroism, it takes a far nobler patience to get along with conditions that are pestered by the meannesses, the cowardice and the selfishness of congested populations.” Lastly, indicating Lummis and Lewis shared a like-mindedness regarding the region’s history, Lummis closes with a note inviting Lewis out to Lummis’s home of El Alisal: “I think there are things here that would interest you…”

Detailed in chapter four of this thesis, Lummis could be opposed to industrial development but his praise for Lewis echoes Lewis’ reflections elsewhere on the heroism of Anglo entrepreneurship. Yet they also shared a deep desire to collect and catalogue the history of Southern California. Further exemplified within the next case study, Lewis and the LARy are part of a region-wide process of mapping space, locating records (physical, historical, and architectural), and building collections.

“Doors to Yesterday”: Marion Parks’ Antiquarian Mapping of Southern California

Most likely present at Lewis’ 1928 lecture for the HSSC were Lindley Bynum and Marion Parks, two historians who, although only formally becoming Society members on February 5, 1929, and January 7, 1930, respectively, were centrally involved with the Society and became appointed to core positions. In fact, Parks had given a lecture at the meeting before Lewis’ appearance, a lecture which was subsequently printed in two parts in the 1928 and 1929 annual publications of the Society. This was entitled “In Pursuit of Vanished Days: Visits

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94 Quotations from Charles Fletcher Lummis to Edwin L. Lewis, February 9, 1917 [microfilm]. Charles Fletcher Lummis Papers, 1888-1928, Braun Research Library Collection, Autry National Center, Los Angeles, California; MS.1.1.2643.
to the Extant Historic Adobe Houses of Los Angeles”. There is not space in this chapter to examine all of Parks’ projects of California history – Parks’ collecting, research, and writing for this adobes project is the central case study here. Bynum’s collecting and field work for the Huntington Library is considered in detail in chapter three.

Like Lewis, Parks and Bynum were engaged in processes of collecting, mapping, and archiving Los Angeles. Parks was Secretary of the Society from 1934-1935 whilst Bynum often held a position on the Board. Amongst many other core positions, they both featured on the 1931 publishing committee of the Society and Jane Apostol’s discussion of this committee in her centennial history of the HSSC underlines their connections to the wider bibliographic and antiquarian community of Los Angeles. Parks was “[Laurance L.] Hill’s publicity assistant at the [Security Trust & Savings] bank”, whilst Bynum “was once described by Lawrence Clark Powell as perhaps the best-known Californian in ‘the bookish mainstreams and backwaters’ of the state”. Like the Title Insurance and Trust Company collection that purchased many of C. C. Pierce’s photos and became a part of the California Historical Society and USC, the Security Trust & Savings Bank was a financial institution in Los Angeles deeply invested in collecting historical material about the region. Hill was a part of the Society’s publication committee and the “many historical photographs…[that] enliven[ed] the pages of the Annual…came from the collection he built up for the…bank, of which he was publicity manager. Hill wrote a number of community histories for the bank, including La Reina: Los Angeles in Three Centuries, published in 1929.” Parks, as much as Hill, was responsible for assembling and maintaining the bank’s historical collection. A Pasadena resident and history graduate from UCLA in the Class of 1925, Parks was a prolific public intellectual who worked on projects of Californian history at a number of cultural institutions around Los Angeles, including the HSSC, the Museum of History, Science, and Art (1926-

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97 Apostol, p. 99.

98 Apostol, p. 97. The bank’s collection became a part of the Los Angeles Public Library – Apostol, p. 99.
1927), the Southwest Museum (1927-1928), and the Security Trust & Savings Bank (1929-1934). A biographical statement noted Parks “has done much research in California history and has specialised in interpreting the State’s colourful background through entertainment programs. She is a founder of Club Los Fiesteros in Los Angeles, dedicated to this purpose.”\footnote{This biographical information on Parks is gathered from the various curriculum vitae in Folder 38, Box 1, Marion Parks Papers, Special Collections, Honnold/Mudd Library, Claremont University Consortium.} She was also a core member of the La Fiesta Association, the Native Daughters of the Golden West, and in 1936 she became “Supervisor of the Index of American Design, a part of the Federal Art Project,” where she “conduct[ed] important new research in the art records of California from Mission days down to 1900.”\footnote{Ibid.} Across the wealth of Parks’ professional activity, the collecting, documenting and historical reframing of Southern California’s past was paramount, indicating the extensive nature of that taxonomic scope amongst this Anglo community.

In her focus on adobe structures within Los Angeles County, the physical presence of Parks in researching, documenting, and collecting the region is evocatively expressed in both her published work and in the material traces in her archive that document her cataloguing of the landscape. Lewis’ scrapbooks contained written markers signposting his trail across the newspaper archives and record offices and from these and his letters we can reconstruct Lewis’ movement and collecting process. It is important to reconstruct his agency and deliberations in sourcing material because this is the cultural work that fundamentally structures his much more strident and expressive lectures and narrative histories. Parks, however, makes her exploration of the region’s adobes the central perspective and dramatic narrative of her article and collection. The title, “In Pursuit of Vanished Days”, underlines the centrality and vigour of the action of historical discovery as well as, like Lewis, the expediency of her project to attempt to reclaim a historical narrative fading or already gone. She begins:

Crumbling adobe walls, stark and abandoned, inch by inch giving way before the driving onslaught of the winter rains – I used to see them near the highway, melancholy remnants of forgotten households. To me they became symbols of vanished California days, of the Age of Adobe, which like its
mud walls, melted away, yielding inch by inch before the bewildering onslaught of the Yankee strangers.\footnote{\textsuperscript{101} Parks, “Vanished I”, p. 7.}

Parks expresses the understanding shared by other Southern Californian Anglos in this era who, as Deverell puts it, “saw transitions between building materials as synonymous and simultaneous with transitions in racial realities.”\footnote{\textsuperscript{102} Deverell, p. 133.} If brick stood for American progress,

[a]dobe, on the other hand, that ubiquitous building material of water, clay, and straw or weeds, stood for the past, a dark-skinned past at that, even a different epoch. ‘Los Angeles in the Adobe Age’ was the title historian [and HSSC founder] J.M. Guinn used for his 1898 discussion of the pre-American city, a none-too-subtle linking of time and mud.\footnote{\textsuperscript{103} Ibid.}

As discussed below, as a fellow HSSC affiliate, Parks knew Guinn’s essay. Parks is as direct as Guinn is, correlating the building material and its structure with distinct periods of regional history. But if some boosters of American imperialism in Los Angeles would dismiss out of hand the adobe structures as worthless traces of a bygone civilization, Parks is not as chauvinistic. Whilst a romantic invocation of Southern California before US conquest and industrialisation is at the heart of Parks’ essay, her often meticulous historical work complicates how we understand Anglo regionality. Though her analysis ultimately may end up aligning with the proponents of the Spanish Fantasy Past, Parks’ sense of regional history is nuanced, complicated, and both direct and conflicted. This liminal position is analysed in more detail as we see how Parks’ proceeded to collect materials and write her historical work.

Parks undertook her history of the adobes because of the lack of attention they had received from the historical preservation community in Los Angeles. After an initial wave of destruction (“none could escape the combined ravages of enterprise and carelessness”), historical preservationists began to restore the region’s structures.\footnote{\textsuperscript{104} Ibid.} Yet, according to Parks, the adobes had still “received only casual attention” and preservationists favoured the “Spanish and Mexican-Colonial prototypes” such as the Missions over the more everyday adobe buildings.\footnote{\textsuperscript{105} Ibid.}
adobe on Olvera Street, adobe houses had been ignored in the wave of preservation led by Charles Fletcher Lummis, Harrie Forbes, and the Landmarks Club to restore the Missions and link them together through the promotion of the El Camino Real as a state-wide tourist route. And the adobe structures Parks sought out embodied a plainer style also ignored by the new architecture of red-tiled roofs of Spanish-Colonial revivalism that gathered traction in the early decades of the twentieth century. Although, in many respects, Parks was picking up the romantic description of the adobes that Sonoratown reformers had written at the turn of the century, she still believed more antiquarian focus was needed regarding these structures.

The argument that historical collecting and documenting by Los Angeles’ historians and antiquarians was a spatial process of mapping and moving (specifically the movement of the author-collector) is immediately evident from Parks’ account. After receiving an initial list of adobes to visit from her HSSC colleague, Florence Dodson Schoneman, Parks ventures out “[f]ortified with a few gallons of gasoline, an old camera, and a notebook”. But it quickly became apparent the scale of the task would exceed a few day trips and so she reassesses:

After a few days of sight-seeing I began to draw in the boundaries of my field of exploration. They shrank until now they are identical with those of Los Angeles County. My task became shaped in definite outline - to find and see and identify as far as possible the extant historic adobes within this area, and its fascination increased as steadily as the speedometer clicked off the miles. Now the red tenths have turned the black numbers up for over 1000 miles - I have backtracked more than once - and on my roadmap X marks the spot for sixty-five adobes. To learn in complete and picturesque detail the histories of them all will require more than the spare time of almost anyone.

The visualizing of Parks’ exploratory movement continues to be evocatively made clear when she continues, initially slightly tongue-in-cheek:

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107 On the Spanish-Colonial revival, see Kropp, pp. 159-206, 261-262. Parks was aware of the imaginative license being taken by revivalism enthusiasts – “Even at the Mission settlements tile was by no means as commonly used as modern restorations and reproductions might suggest. One house alone boasted a tile roof in Los Angeles” – “Vanished I”, p. 13.
108 On the romantic descriptions of adobes by reformers in the first years of the 1900s, see Lewthwaite, pp. 30-34, 49-61.
My method was empirical. I followed tips and rumors from a surprising variety of sources, and drifted into towns and out of towns, down alleys, and up canyons, on the pavement and off, like a prospector in the lure of El Dorado. From a known number of ten I proceeded deviously to the unknown – a quantity that increased beyond my most extravagant expectation.111

It is worth quoting Parks at length because this opening section reveals much about the spatial imaginary Los Angeles’ Anglo antiquarians constructed and worked within. First, there is the initial emergence of the historical project from the “sight-seeing” of regional tourism. That link, as discussed in this thesis’ introduction, is a reminder that much of the initial Anglo description of Southern California was travel literature and the work of the historical and bibliographic community in Los Angeles emerged from and alongside this genre. Thus the cultural framework of the city’s early historical community (and its book sellers, as chapter one made clear) overlapped with the style and perspective inherent within this literature of exploration.

The potential historical sites for Parks to visit initially seems vast but she does standardise her subject as a historian, “draw[ing] in the boundaries of my field of exploration.” The outline of Los Angeles County gives the project defined borders in which regional space can be further quantified. The objective and mechanics of classifying the landscape – which this thesis has argued is the central and powerful dynamic behind the work of the antiquarian and bibliographic community of Los Angeles – is delineated here when Parks states she desired “to find and see and identify as far as possible” the adobes. Without being overly reductive, these terms gesture toward the prioritizing of the Anglo epistemology in the 1900s Southland: “find” pointing toward how the landscape was seen as being ‘discovered’ by Anglos; “see” highlighting the emphasis of visuality and perspective in quantifying this discovery; and “identify” underlining how the taxonomizing of these spaces was a central rationale.

The goal of that classification was “to learn in complete and picturesque detail the histories” of the region and this points toward the fullness of knowledge acquisition Anglos strived for at the same time as that knowledge became romanticized or mythologized. The ‘picturesque’ quality becomes explicitly tied to the landscape in the language of the adventure narrative. Following the passage

above, Parks describes the project as both “quest” and “adventure” that promised “romance” and “mystery” and these terms tally with the cartographic allure inherent in “X marks the spot.”\textsuperscript{112} The notion that Californian treasure was to be found in these spots is underlined by Parks’ comparison of her meandering movement as “like a prospector in the lure of El Dorado.”\textsuperscript{113}

The final point this passage makes clear is the centrality of movement and driving to Parks’ explorations of the adobes. At the same time that Lewis began to memorialize the slow death of the streetcars, Parks and Bynum, like so many other Southern Californians, used the automobile to cross the region in search of its historical memory. Bynum’s automotive movement is discussed in chapter three in relation to the Huntington’s Californiana project. In Parks’ account the crossing of regional space is quantified by the index of the speedometer, the guide to the territory is a roadmap, and gasoline becomes as essential a tool for the regional antiquarian as a notebook and camera. Even the initial perspective from which the adobes were witnessed by Parks – “I used to see them from the highway” – indicates the change in stance from which the region was now navigated and witnessed. The importance of the highway to Parks and Bynum’s historical projects further underlines this chapter’s argument that the collecting, documenting, and ordering of regional history were spatial and cartographic practices.

The Parks archive reveals further material traces of this movement and mapping. Figure 12, a loose leaf within the Parks collection showing driving directions, indicates Parks’ movement through the landscape.\textsuperscript{114} Retracing her route from the street names, we see Parks head east from downtown Los Angeles out to Whittier, crossing through Turnbull Canyon past the Workman and Temple Family Homestead (an adobe featured in her article) to La Puente, before continuing east to Pomona, southeast to Chino and further south toward what appears to be the Yorba-Slaughter Families Adobe. This adobe does not feature in her article for the HSSC – perhaps the journey was undertaken after the article.

\textsuperscript{112} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{113} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{114} Unnumbered items in Folder 30, Box 1, Marion Parks Papers.
was written or perhaps Parks was unable to verify information about the adobe – but the directions nonetheless bear witness to her exploration of the landscape.\textsuperscript{115}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure12.png}
\caption{Driving directions. Unnumbered item in Folder 30, Box 1, Marion Parks Collection.}
\end{figure}

Figure 13 - Further mapping of adobes. Unnumbered item in Folder 30, Box 1, Marion Parks Collection.
This material archival fragment furthers our understanding gained from the article of how Parks traversed and quantified regional space. The liminality of this regional space becomes clear in the imposition of Parks’ personal geography and movement over a wider cartographic frame. The driving directions and orientating sketches (see figs. 12-13) are the material traces of the archive acting in dialogue with the eventual remapping Parks offers in her pictographic map accompanying the article (fig. 14).\textsuperscript{116} Parks’ intermediary position between the spaces of the present and the regional past was even something that could be indexed by her

\textsuperscript{116} Parks, “Vanished I”, pp. 8-9.
rapid, wide-ranging movement and emulated if, indeed, one could only catch up with her, as indicated by Perry Worden’s profile:

one has only to commandeer an auto and pursue – if he can – that radiant and incomparable personality Miss Marion Parks, flying about from Mission to Mission, or city to city, a much-sought entrepreneur, who alone seems capable of winding up all the clocks of the Southland, and keeping them and everybody about her going.\(^{117}\)

Worden’s comments indicate both the primacy of vehicular movement to Parks’ historical documenting and the extensive nature of her work as a California historian. She was much-sought because of the historical perspective she could apply to the region’s spaces, placing her audiences in an imagined communion with the past.

The sketches and notes within the Parks archive indicate this regional knowledge was gained through classifying. The sketches of components of adobes – windows, walls, fireplaces, doors – isolate the architectural details from the total structure of the building and suggest both the periodization and materiality surrounding each component. “2ft walls”, “wood”, “adobe”, “brick”, “13ft ceiling – maybe modern addition?” – Parks’ annotations for each component compartmentalize the adobe structures further and position her and the reader as both within and without the structures, the adobes seen as physical and tactile at the same time as they are distanced and divided into isolated parts.

The taxonomic impulse behind Parks’ work becomes more overt in subsequent textual fragments as Parks begins to fit the components of the adobes into a classification expressing their regional character. On a typescript note headed “ADOBES”, Parks’ descriptive lens comes to the fore: “Californian, not Spanish, not Mexican […] architecturally”, “abiding charm”, “strength”, “comfort”, “type of woodwork almost Colonial in feeling often”, “breathing”, “corredor”, “patio”, “essentially Californian” – technical, aesthetic, and racial sensibilities here combine to classify this regional architecture for Parks. It is tempting to dismiss these notes as merely drafts, scraps of text inconsequential in comparison to their evolution into the finished article for the HSSC. Yet the fragmentary, dispersed nature of these archival texts foregrounds the surveying tendency of this historical project – conclusions about the adobes that romanticize,

\(^{117}\) Perry Worden, “Gleanings from History”, unknown newspaper clipping, Folder 38, Box 1, Marion Parks Papers.
mythologize, and eulogize necessarily initiate from or work in tandem with the perfunctory, clinical work of classification found in the archival notes.

In this documenting, Parks expresses a midpoint between a material physicality and an abstracted romanticism. Parks’ work is rich with detail yet her ultimate romanticizing of the adobes suggests the assemblage of fragments, the taxonomizing of architectural components, can result in a fixity and distance too. By way of their inventoring, the sketches (and Parks’ descriptions in the article) seek to comprehend the structures in a more haptic and tactile way. Yet the disconnected bits of wall and door and window on the draft sketches become analogous to how Anglo observers eventually came to see the adobes, isolated from a material narrative and milieu of Yankee wood and steel that denied the structures a more sustaining historical presence. Detached from their surrounding components in the archival space and the physical geography, through classification the adobe walls end up losing their material and conceptual cohesion and to Parks as for other Anglos become fixed as romantic artefacts of the past.

That surveying and taxonomizing were two processes central to Parks’ work on adobes is further indicated by the references to books Parks cites in her article or uses for research. Despite setting out to view the adobes “through no eyes but my own” – and it is important to stress that Parks’ work is original and not subsumed by her citations from male writers – her vision of the region correlates with earlier Anglo imperial surveys of the landscape.118 Her archive contains clippings and notes from works by early Southern California boosters and chroniclers: Charles Nordhoff’s California for Health, Pleasure, and Residence: A Book for Travellers and Settlers (1872) and Horace Bell’s Reminiscences of a Ranger: or, Early Times in Southern California (1881). As Starr notes, Nordhoff’s work was a best-seller that “painted life on the Tejón and in California in general in such roseate colors that it single-handedly stimulated significant migration from the East and from Europe.”119 Horace Bell, meanwhile, was a “soldier of fortune, rancher, journalist, and memoirist all rolled into one” whose compilation of recollections of mid-century Los Angeles as an “immensely violent” place was, by some accounts, the first book to be published in Los

Starr notes that, as a “veteran of the Nicaraguan Civil War”, amongst other conflicts, Bell had “witnessed, and took part in, prodigious slaughter” and this legacy of violence persisted in to his time in Southern California. Reminiscences of a Ranger is described as a picaresque narrative nostalgically and bawdily recounting the 1850-1870 period in Southern California, a parodic and “burlesque” account of the brutal frontier decades.

Parks uses Bell’s account to align her narrative with Bell’s nostalgia for a lost past, praising the adobes as the most liveable, sturdy, and expressive example of Southern Californian vernacular architecture, embodying the spirit of “fandangos” of a by-gone era: “Nothing but an adobe house could have stood an old-fashioned fandango … Alas! Alas! we will never see the likes of them again.” In immediately following up this quotation from Bell with a desire to “see [the adobes] in their relation to events and figures in the romantic pageant that the headlong years have swept so swiftly through our town”, Parks makes clear her perception of the regional landscape is part of an Anglo cultural lineage of looking backward, a vision that immediately contextualizes the adobes within a dioramic mythology.

If the vision applied to the landscape is always already romantically retrospective – a temporal position – then other works referenced in Parks’ collection indicate how that landscape is spatially understood through the visitor’s surveying lens. That the California tourist’s vision is the precursor to the resident’s is inordinately clear in Nordhoff’s work with chapters entitled “The Tourist – What to see and how to see it”, explicit in their scopic performance, and being the precursor to the later call to agrarian farmers to settle the region. This was a project of settlement with clear Anglo-Saxon parameters: California is to Nordhoff “…the first tropical land which our race has thoroughly mastered and made itself at home in”.

The conflation of imperial ideology with visuality is the central dynamic of travel literature and two influential works of this genre in a Southern

120 Deverell, p. 13; Starr, Inventing, p. 31.
121 Starr, Inventing, pp. 31-34; Pitt & Pitt, p. 44.
122 Starr, Inventing, p. 33.
Californian context also appear in Parks’ article and archive. One is the collected letters from East Prussian-born traveller and Los Angeles county surveyor, Frank Lecouvreur, entitled *From East Prussia to the Golden Gate* (1906) and the other is “the first published work about Los Angeles to gain wide currency in Europe”, Ludwig Salvator’s *Eine Blume aus dem Goldenen Lande* (1878, reprinted in LA in English as 1929’s *Los Angeles in the Sunny Seventies: A Flower from the Golden Land*). Lecouvreur was thus deeply attenuated to mapping, visualizing, and quantifying the landscape. Parks copies a section from his memoir about the mission and adobe structures near San Jose in 1854, in which Lecouvreur described the adobe walls as lending “a rather mediaeval appearance” to the architecture. Lecouvreur is thus quite explicit in his linking of the adobes with a regional antiquity and Parks follows this manoeuvre.

The position Ludwig Salvator’s book held amongst the bibliographic world again also indicates a cultural lens turned toward the regional landscape. Like Nordhoff, Lecouvreur, and Dana, the act of looking at the landscape is foregrounded and intimately linked to imagining what the region might become if it was more rapaciously appropriated by Anglo settlers. In the introduction to the English reprint, Phil Townsend Hanna stresses how prized Salvator’s book became by “students of California history and collectors of Californiana”, who referred to it off-hand as “Eine Blume”. Visuality and perception are central to the book’s framing of the region and this is underlined by Hanna’s remark that Salvator “journeyed extensively and his facile pen was as busy in drawing the intriguing compositions his eyes fell upon as it was recording the observations.

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126 Pitt & Pitt, p. 446.
128 Lecouvreur, pp. xii, 308-311, 352
129 Lecouvreur, p. 299; and unnumbered clippings in Folder 30, Box 1, Marion Parks Papers.
that were later to be made the basis of his book.” As with Dana’s *Two Years Before the Mast*, the book was so widely read in Europe because it wedded a lyrical and expressive visuality to a colonial future – Salvator “concluded that Southern California held more than promises for the colonist” and his book was “an influence of vast import in augmenting the existing German colony” in Southern California. Salvator’s colonial vision of future acquisition was part of a wider imperial discourse, evident in statements such as Hanna’s: Salvator’s work is “the history of Southern California in the transition period, quite as essential to a proper knowledge of the formative influences that have made a modern commercial Tyre out of a lazy Mexican pueblo, as Bell’s *Reminiscences of a Ranger*, or Newmark’s *Sixty Years in [Southern] California*.” The passages from Salvator found in Parks’ archive are not as explicitly chauvinistic but it remains important to situate that optic of travel literature in dialogue with Parks’ work. Salvator’s view of adobes takes a “glance” at the structures of the region to determine if they are wooden “American” homes or the “Californian” adobes that are “not…beautiful [but]…well suited to the climate.” Parks’ position is similar, opening her essay by identifying the adobes by their specific location in region and time – they are not the “red and yellow newness” of Yankee New England, nor “Spanish and Mexican Colonial prototype” but “of California” in the “Age of Adobe”. Parks’ work is distinct from these earlier surveyors but it does rely, to a degree, on reapplying their own expressions of documenting and cataloguing the landscape.

Imperial vision and the practice of classification and assemblage were thus key forces within the regional imaginary in which Anglo antiquarians worked, subdividing the landscape into certain temporalities. But this chapter has argued Parks leaned toward a more intermediary position, if only temporarily before mythologising takes hold. The cultural discourse Parks endorsed and which featured in the reference works of her collection – the adobe structures as “traces of the past”, instances of the Age of Adobe – weighs heavily on the HSSC article.

131 Hanna, p. vii.
132 Hanna, p. viii.
133 Ibid.
134 See Parks, “Vanished II”, p. 195 which describes Salvator as “the first tourist writer of Southern California”.
135 Folder 30, Box 1, Marion Parks Papers.
But Parks visited these places in the present and at times this temporal division does not seem quite so clear cut. Indeed, as noted earlier, often the tension within Parks’ work is between a wholesale endorsement of romantic pageantry, and writing and collecting that looks toward, if never quite reaches, a more grounded material realism. She shares this liminality with other members of the antiquarian and bibliographic community of Los Angeles, as other chapters demonstrate.

Parks was the chief organiser behind a number of historical pageants in Los Angeles and Santa Barbara that appear as swept up in the historical drama of the Spanish Fantasy Past as any aspect of John Steven McGroarty’s *The Mission Play* (1912-c.1950s) or the tourist industry surrounding Helen Hunt Jackson’s historical romance, *Ramona* (1884).\(^{137}\) She organised the Los Angeles La Fiesta of 1931 and the pageant at San Fernando Mission, contributed to the Old Spanish Days festival in Santa Barbara and the San Gabriel Fiesta, in addition to writing a number of dramatic scripts for stage and radio based on California’s romantic history.\(^{138}\)

And yet, amongst this activity and the picturesque drama of “In Pursuit of Vanished Days”, at times the tenor of Parks’ work moves more toward excavation than historical re-enactment. Perry Worden, in a newspaper clipping found in the Parks archive, described the HSSC article as:

> the fruits of her own original investigations while on visits, with pad, pencil and camera, to the extant historic adobe houses of Los Angeles County, all written and profusely illustrated in a manner to make both text and pictures of peculiar appeal for posterity to come.\(^{139}\)

Worden perhaps thinks of “peculiar” in this context as synonymous with “quaint”, photographs as curios rather than historical documents, but, for these collectors and documenters such as Parks, who rushed to the dramatic and picturesque, the peculiarity of the adobe photographs stems more from their spectral appeal, “the precarious tenure the ancient adobes hold on life”, as Parks envisions it.\(^{140}\) Parks’ visualizing of the adobes as transient and ethereal comes through strongest in examples such as the García adobe in downtown Los Angeles and Casa Ramirez in Santa Fe Springs (figs. 15 & 16). Parks was obviously drawn to these structures because of their proximity and juxtaposition to the symbols of modern US

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\(^{137}\) See DeLyser, ch. 1-10 and Deverell, pp. 207-249.

\(^{138}\) Perry Worden’s celebratory article on Parks outlines some of these activities. And see curriculum vitae, op. cit.

\(^{139}\) Worden article in Parks papers, op. cit.

\(^{140}\) Parks, “Vanished I”, p. 8.
industrialization in Southern California. These adobes stand adjacent to highways, advertising hoardings, and oil derricks: it is with these images most profoundly, but elsewhere too, that Parks’ historical work approaches what Edward Dimendberg and Alan Sekula termed “an honest materiality”, something that is the “most elusive” quality for documentarians in Los Angeles.\textsuperscript{141} These critics discuss Los Angeles’s propensity toward obstructing a “documentary sensibility” (Sekula argues the city is “the graveyard of documentary”):

[\textbf{Sekula}]: The prevailing ideas are that everything is a mutable palimpsest, that social identity is dissolved by the endless masquerade of self-improvement, that there is no layer that can be designated as truth. The very mutability of the landscape, the sense of its ceaseless change and false facades confounds classic documentary notions of correspondence between the look of the place or thing or person and essential economic reality …

[T]hings can be visible but they can also be occluded at the same time.

[\textbf{Dimendberg}]: This seems to be one of the main techniques of Los Angeles, to occlude precisely by making something spectacular.\textsuperscript{142}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{garcia-adobe.jpg}
\caption{Garcia adobe from Parks, "Vanished 1", p. 27. Also found in LAPL collection: "N. Broadway and Sunset", 1929, LAPL 00013680, Security Pacific National Bank Collection, Los Angeles Public Library.}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{141} Dimendberg and Sekula, p. 43-44.
\textsuperscript{142} Ibid.
Amidst all of the spectacle of late nineteenth and twentieth century Los Angeles, Sekula stresses, “We need to acknowledge that there was a great period of social documentary in Los Angeles stretching from the 1930s through the early 1960s. The key figures are few and mostly forgotten.”¹⁴³ In the late 1920s, Parks’ images for her public history appear to anticipate this “honest materiality” Sekula describes. Judging by these images and their description, Parks seems to fully envision Los Angeles as palimpsest. Describing Casa Ramirez, Parks seems profoundly aware of the processes of urban erasure when she remarks:

Forgotten, [the adobe] seems to be, and in tremendous contrast to the vast activities of the present with which it is surrounded. Still greater contrast its presence suggests, when one thinks back to the days when it stood among fields of corn and wheat, with only cattle and horses or sheep in sight upon the neighboring hillsides. Then the Ramirez had communication with the distant town of Los Angeles solely by means of the single road which passed through the rancho going ‘into Los Angeles by the ranchito of Don Pio Pico’ and over which the San Diego stage travelled through the sand and dust, toward Santa Ana.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³ Dimendberg and Sekula, p. 43.
The photograph accompanying this description graphically illustrates that “tremendous contrast” – indeed, amongst the spot-lit towers of the oil derricks it becomes hard to locate the building itself. Parks’ envisioning of the landscape takes on extra weight when she mentally reconstructs the older geographic lay-out of the area, drawing lines of sight out to Los Angeles and San Diego – again linking historical documenting with imagined regional mapping.

The effect is even more disruptive applied to La Casa de Francisco Garcia which places the adobe amongst the spectacle of Anglo enterprise and construction. Noted as “the most unexpected of all” of all the adobes Parks visits, she writes,

Colossal billboards hide one side of it completely, while on the other side, behind a fence and a garden, the broad, sloping roof of a corredor conceals the adobe wall like the wide visor of a cap pulled down to shade a face. It huddles to the earth on a little promontory between Justicia Street and Broadway, at Sunset, that barely escaped the opening of the Broadway Tunnel. Someday still it will doubtless become a victim to progress – just a couple of scoops in a big steam shovel.145

Here Parks echoes the women reformers of the first years of the twentieth century that Stephanie Lewthwaite argues both embraced and criticised modern industrialisation. “Anglo women critiqued the new urbanism while remaining ambivalent about the modern city”, she notes.146 Parks’ disdain for the oversight and lack of preservation is reinforced by her composition of the image. At the expense of architectural detail of the adobe, Parks’ photograph highlights the speed and scale of industrial modernity surrounding the adobe, drawing attention to its occlusion. The sidewalk on the opposite side of the tunnel would surely have been a more advantageous perspective. Better still would have been the street on the far left which is either N. Broadway or Justicia Street. Indeed, it looks to be from this angle that C.C. Pierce, discussed above, captured the adobe [fig. 17].

The Los Angeles Public Library description of this Pierce photograph gives no date and only links it to another item in their catalogue from a similar angle [fig. 18]. The LAPL suggests they may be the same structure and, from comparing the shape of the architecture, the surrounding foliage and billboards, and the fact they are both listed as being on a slight hill on the north end of the N. Broadway

146 Lewthwaite, p. 60.
Tunnel, they surely represent the same building, especially as Parks mentions no others in this vicinity. Furthermore, from comparing the cardinal perspectives of the Parks photo with the Pierce photo and its companion, these also all surely depict the same adobe, from opposite angles. These three images of this adobe belong to the LAPL’s collection donated to the Library by the Security Pacific National Bank. There is no author note in the catalogue description for the image from Parks’ article or the image taken from the same perspective as Pierce but, as this was the collection Parks was in charge of from 1929 to 1934, it seems clear she took the initial photograph (evidence for this: it was featured in her article of 1928, whereas the catalogue dates the first photograph as 1929; it was not credited to anyone else; and we know taking photographs was a central part of her work) and highly likely she took the other image, possibly after seeing Pierce’s version in the bank’s collection.

*Figure 17 - C. C. Pierce & Co., “Whitewash adobe home”, ca 19--, LAPL 00078800, Security Pacific National Bank Collection, Los Angeles Public Library.*
It is important to evaluate the authorship of these photographs because it has implications for how the image was composed and how it was read by audiences. Where Pierce’s image centres the adobe in the middle of the picture and foregrounds it against the cables behind and hills in the background, Parks’ placement of the adobe has to contend with the Broadway Tunnel to its right, billboards above and across the street, Central Hall towering over Fort Moore Hill, nine automobiles going back and to in front of it, whilst a streetcar either emerges from or disappears into the tunnel. Parks’ placement seeks to juxtapose the adobe next to the dominant iconography of the new Anglo city but, in doing so, the implied temporalities of these components become unexpectedly uncontained, merge into each other, and the image suggests potential readings beyond a framework of Anglo mythology. Pierce’s photographs were hugely wide-ranging and captured many details of street scenes in Los Angeles but, in general, there is a case to be made that his and others’ photographs of adobes and missions were collected by Anglo audiences because their composition – the structure, sometimes ruined, framed in isolation, centred and prioritized in the
space of the image – allowed Anglo audiences an easy classification of the region. These are photographs striving to present a representative quality, depicting the structures of a by-gone era. Parks definitely contributes to this representative style but with certain images she disrupts this, presenting a social milieu in which the adobe has a contemporary position, albeit one laced with foreboding about the future. Indeed, that foreboding comes to pass when a later image (fig. 19) of the N. Broadway tunnel intersection features the same streetcar but the space where the García adobe was has been replaced by a brick and glass structure with an automobile forecourt. But in images like figs. 15 and 16 an historical and social liminality exists that belies the romantic and mythological retrospection of Parks’ work.

![Figure 19 - “View of North Broadway”, 1946, LAPL 00033400, Herald Examiner Collection, Los Angeles Public Library.](image)

This intermediary perspective seems to exist around the edges of Parks’ work, gesturing to other ways that regional space could be drawn, other

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perspectives on the region’s temporality. Indeed, that tension surrounding the desire to preserve the past inside the present even at times appears within the same sentence. Parks can frame the adobes as “genuine monuments” but they become monumental to “the life that produced our most cherished traditions of romance and hospitality and happiness under the California sun.” When other early twentieth-century preservationists ignored adobes, they ignored, to Parks, what was both “charming” whilst simultaneously “useable”. Parks desperately wanted the adobes preserved yet the ‘useable’ past that the adobes formed part of seems to ultimately be at the service of expanding the repertoire of regional romance than championing the viability of this vernacular architecture.

Indeed, in writing of the adobes as representing “our most cherished traditions”, Parks is replicating a wider process of Anglo appropriation. Describing the publicity strategy of Christine Sterling in marketing Olvera Street, Phoebe Kropp notes that the use of possessive pronouns demarcated the space as Anglo property:

[Stirling] proclaimed it a place to ‘preserve our history,’ an opportunity to ‘keep alive our patriotism and sentiment.’ While her broadest audience was all Southern Californians, the way in which she and others used these words was self-referential and implied a much narrower definition of ‘we.’ ‘We could have all the ‘fiestas’ as they have them in Spain and Mexico’; ‘We thrill to its rhythm and beauty’; ‘our lost inheritance.’

The similarities between the ways that Stirling describes Olvera Street and Parks describes the adobes is clear. For Parks, the containment of the Mexican and Californio past and its simultaneous appropriation for Anglo regional mythology becomes most overt when, counterintuitively, the physically liminal thresholds of the adobe are crossed. It is in these passages which ultimately fix the position of the adobes within her regional history. “Adventure seemed to await at the threshold of every adobe” and once that threshold was crossed it became difficult to imagine anything other than the Spanish Fantasy Past.

The example of the adobe on Rancho Los Cerritos is the best example of this immersive mythologizing. In a description repeated in the title to Parks’ 1932 pamphlet on historical landmarks for the Security-First National Bank, Doors to

149 Ibid.
150 Kropp, p. 246.
Yesterday: A Guide to Old Los Angeles, Parks writes, “[t]o cross the threshold of Los Cerritos is veritably to enter through a doorway into the past. In the dreamy atmosphere of the deserted patio scenes of the Old Days live again for those of sympathy and imagination.” The desertion Parks mentions indicates that what is required in order for the romance of the past to be deployed is, firstly, an absence of modern alteration or imposition by industrialization, but, more importantly, an absence of people entirely. Paradoxically, it is only when there is a total absence of Mexican and Californio life that the presence of the past, in all its romantic vibrancy, can be re-installed by the Anglo imagination:

It is in such memory-haunted and deserted places as Los Cerritos that you will best discover the spirit, the architecture, or whatever it is you are seeking, of old Alta California. … History and romance unadulterated await you beyond the portals of Los Cerritos and La Casa Ávila, and the others that stand lonesome and deserted, and they are the ones that cry out for your attention - to save them before it is too late.

Here, regional history can only come to life when there is no human presence. Or so it would seem. Parks’ final statement about Los Cerritos is all the more ironic for having previously stated she had been given a tour of the property by a Spanish-speaking old man. “If you are lucky when you visit there[,]” Parks writes, “you will meet on the front corredor, or in some sunny corner of the patio an old, old vaquero whose dim eyes seem ever to be engaged with visions of another time, thirty years and more ago…” Not only does the Anglo optic romantically survey and mythologize the landscape, but it even appropriates the vision of those persons it wishes to romanticize, imagining what it is that is seen by the old man. For Parks, the man acts as a semi-official tour guide, detailing to her the historical uses of the rooms, some “claimed by the old vaquero to have been quarters for the cowboys and herdsmen” and another “[t]he ancient vaquero declared…served in the old times as both kitchen and blacksmith shop”, though Parks is sceptical of this last claim: “Quien sabe?” Parks also vigorously disputes the man’s claim to the house, calling him “naïve”:

‘To whom does the old house belong now?’ I said to the aged Californian. ‘Pues, a mi porque yo vivo aqui,’ was his naive reply. Thus a lord of the

manor, he sometimes looks for a cigar, or a bit of silver, in acknowledgment of his hospitality, or extracts a dollar from the photographers he admits.\(^{156}\)

Parks states the house “actually belongs to the Llewellyn Bixby Estate” but if no-one else was present on the property, it seems odd to discount out-of-hand his residency there.\(^{157}\) Evidently by Parks’ tone, others had visited the adobe and the man had provided a similar tour. Yet the material exchange for historical knowledge seems a skewed transaction. As elsewhere, the lives, cultures, and histories adobe architecture represented, in Parks’ framework and to the eyes of Anglo antiquarians, only get to exceed the boundaries of this domestic space in a manner that reinforces Anglo notions of “old” California. As Phoebe Kropp notes, “in myriad representations, the past became [Mexican and Native Americans’] natural abode, and they survived into the Anglo-American present only as artifacts, colorful but awkward remnants of another time.”\(^{158}\) Parks’ movement across the adobe’s threshold (at one point she pointedly describes it as “my invasion”) only goes one way: Parks can step back into the past but the society the adobes represent are denied a footing in the present or the future.\(^{159}\)

Parks is grateful to the Mexican residents of “Sonoratown” adobes when she asks in Spanish for information about the houses and receives it verbally and sometimes in the form of a document indicating the landlord’s name.\(^{160}\) George J. Sánchez states the term “Sonoratown” was an Anglo American nickname for the area around the Plaza district of Los Angeles, the nickname being “in mock imitation of the birthplace of a large group of Mexican miners who resettled there after being forced to leave the northern California gold fields during the early 1850s.”\(^{161}\) Sánchez remarks, “over twenty different ethnic groups were represented in the Plaza community, with Mexicans and Italians accounting for over three-fourths of the total” and that, in general, “this part of town had emerged in the late nineteenth century as Los Angeles’ immigrant quarter and it continued to serve such a function during the early twentieth century.”\(^{162}\) By the time Parks

\(^{156}\) Parks, “Vanished I”, pp. 55-56.
\(^{157}\) Parks, “Vanished I”, p. 56
\(^{158}\) Kropp, p. 5.
\(^{159}\) Parks, “Vanished I”, p. 9.
\(^{160}\) Parks, “Vanished I”, p. 10.
\(^{162}\) Sánchez, p. 72; Lewthwaite, pp. 22-23.
was conducting her research in the late 1920s, the Plaza area was more detached from the centres of industry and business and, although Mexican families continued to prominently live in the Plaza area, there was a “widespread dispersal of Mexican homes throughout central and eastern Los Angeles.”\textsuperscript{163} Sánchez also notes that “in almost every section of Los Angeles where Mexicans lived, they shared neighborhoods with other ethnic groups”, with the Plaza area and Sonoratown a diverse mix of groups, as well as being just north of Little Tokyo and Chinatown.\textsuperscript{164} Indeed, Mark Wild stresses this heterogeneity, commenting that 1920s Sonoratown “had attracted a broader spectrum of inhabitants: a substantial number of Italians, smaller numbers of Asians, and a smattering of African Americans and Anglos.”\textsuperscript{165} This pattern of multi-ethnic residence and occupation stretched across the eastern and central districts: “from Lincoln Heights to Watts, working-class Angelenos of various ethnic backgrounds built up, worked in, and moved through a collage of industrial, commercial and residential spaces at a time when the city was poised to vault into the ranks of the most powerful metropolises in America.”\textsuperscript{166}

In contrast to the continued existence of this diverse community, Parks imagines, in adobes where there are no Mexican residents (and sometimes where there are), “a Presence, perhaps it was the voiceless echoes of the past.”\textsuperscript{167} To a predominantly Anglo audience at the HSSC, that Mexican and Californio memory and historical knowledge was being repurposed for Anglo discourse by Parks’ position as interlocutor, framing the adobes as part of a “happy, unhurried time”.\textsuperscript{168} Parks “imagin[es] away the modern surroundings” to envision the wide geographic distribution of the adobes (“how terribly alone the old houses were”) but that imagining away seems to erase any potential, more accurate representation of those that had lived there and those who continued to live in the adobes that had not been deserted.\textsuperscript{169}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{163} Sánchez, pp. 72-76.
  \item \textsuperscript{164} Sánchez, p. 74; Mark Wild, \textit{Street Meeting: Multiethnic Neighborhoods in Early Twentieth-Century Los Angeles} (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), pp. 10-11.
  \item \textsuperscript{165} Wild, p. 10.
  \item \textsuperscript{166} Wild, p. 13.
  \item \textsuperscript{167} Parks, “Vanished I”, p. 10.
  \item \textsuperscript{168} Ibid.
  \item \textsuperscript{169} Ibid.
\end{itemize}
Even though Parks was willing to find out about the residents and owners of some of the adobes around the Plaza area, a more vital and collective history existed that was either ignored or unknown by Parks in the final edition of her article. One example extends our discussion of Lewis’ archive too: contemporary newspapers and Wollenberg’s article make clear that the Unión Federal Mexicanos who were behind the Strike of 1903 established their headquarters in an adobe on San Fernando Street in 1903.\textsuperscript{170} Comparing maps from 1903 and when Parks’ article was written in 1928, we see that San Fernando Street becomes North Spring Street.\textsuperscript{171} This leads us to the hypothesis that the Unión adobe is the same as, or in the same grouping of buildings as, the adobe described by Parks as being located at 664½ N. Spring Street, in or close to Sonoratown. Likening this adobe to another in the Plaza area (708 New High Street), Parks describes the two adobes as “[e]vidently of ancient vintage but not noteworthy architecturally or historically.”\textsuperscript{172} Yet, if it is the same building, this Spring Street adobe had been the hub for a vital reaction by Mexican labour against unjust Anglo labour practices. Monroy argues the Strike of 1903 is indicative of how “Mexicans began to make scratches upon the historical slate. They would become part of the history as they began to build and dwell upon the land of Southern California.”\textsuperscript{173} Far from being un-noteworthy, sites such as this Spring Street adobe deserved a much greater appreciation of their importance in the historical record of Los Angeles. Their legacy challenges the myth-making of the region’s past by Southern Californian antiquarians.

In addition, this dismissal of the adobe denies any continuing narrative to this structure and to the Plaza/Sonoratown community of the late 1920s. It was mentioned above that this area was home to a diverse set of ethnicities, including Japanese and Chinese residents. Yet, in contrast to her dialogues in Spanish about adobes, Parks gives short shrift to any adobes with Asian occupants:

\textsuperscript{170} Wollenberg, p. 361; “Agitator Must Support Idle Peons”, Los Angeles Times, April 27, 1903, p. 10. 
\textsuperscript{172} Parks, “Vanished I”, p. 23.
\textsuperscript{173} Monroy, p. 10.
Once only did I retire nonplussed from an adobe doorway, three doorways in one adobe, to be exact, on North Spring Street, where neither Spanish nor English could break into the blank and uncomprehending silence of the Japanese barbers and their retainers who hold forth there today. Adobe walls, shiny-haired Japanese in white coats, the twirling red, white, and blue of an American barber pole under a roof that shelters the side-walk in the manner of a century gone by!  

Parks only mentions an adobe on North Spring Street twice so it is fair to suggest this description of the Japanese barbers refers to the same adobe she lists at 664½ North Spring Street, the adobe outlined above as the potential site of the Unión Federal Mexicanos. Contemporary research indicates this adobe very well may be the same as that depicted in a 1929 image showing “adobe establishments along Spring Street” [see fig. 20]. Although the catalogue description offers a slight discrepancy in numbering to Parks, reading “662 S. Spring St’’, the roof over the sidewalk, the three doorways, and the barber poles at the left of the image, coupled with the similarities in time-frame (this image from 1929, Parks’ article published in 1928), provide a strong argument this photograph and Parks’ description refer to the same adobe. Considering that the image also comes from the Security Pacific National Bank collection, which we know Parks worked on, Parks may well have even taken this photograph herself.

More to the point, Parks’ diction reveals the temporal split inherent in her antiquarian work. Failing to communicate with the Japanese barbers, and perhaps being denied any access to the adobe and the occupants’ business – Parks cannot “break into…the silence” – Parks retires but finds the opportunity to contain this impasse within the romantic history she has elsewhere established.\footnote{Parks, “Vanished I”, p. 10. Also see John Modell, The Economics and Politics of Racial Accommodation: The Japanese of Los Angeles, 1900-1942 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977).} The adobe represents a quite remarkable example of the emergent complex amalgamation of working-communities, ethnicities, nationalities that Wild describes: Japanese barbers, with an “American barber pole”, next to a Spanish-American restaurant and “La Mexicana”, a Mexican barbershop, all in an adobe structure that was the possible headquarters of an earlier Mexican labour movement, and located in an ethnically diverse part of...
central Los Angeles. Yet, in her “pursuit of vanished days”, Parks hones in on the adobe corredor roof to contain all of this diverse, contested present “in the manner of a century gone by!” Faced with this scene, Parks neither accords it a continuing narrative in Los Angeles’ present nor accurately relates the deeper history of the location. We are left with the architectural features, shorn of the narratives of those that had worked and organised, and continued to work, around such locations.

Conclusion: Anglo Romance and the Liminality of the Regional Past

The archival collections standing behind Lewis and Parks’ historical projects point to three conclusions about Anglo regional history in early twentieth century Southern California. The first is the overlap of form and content between, on the one hand, the collection, and, on the other, the published histories and the public discourse. Parks is overt about her documenting practice, making her collecting of historical data the central narrative thread of her journal article. Lewis is more distant, using the archival collection to generate a breezy and sweeping historical drama about the success of Anglo enterprise in the Southland. But classification and co-ordination are at the heart of his project, reconstructing the history of a municipal enterprise that was built upon the quantifying and demarcating of regional space.

Putting the archives into dialogue with their respective historical works makes it clear that the mythology and romance of Anglo history is generated from collecting: that collecting is the central dynamic at work. The praxis of collecting is more obvious in an institutional context such as a museum where display and framing are so important. But collecting is equally important in the establishment of a body of historiography, not only acquiring the data of the topic of focus, be that streetcars or adobes, but the textual and visual material surrounding these sites, as well as the collecting of further referential aides that inform and quantify the ideology of the project. In the case of Parks, these were secondary texts that embodied a desire to survey, quantify, and possess: travel literature, booster hubris, reminiscences from surveyors and colonisers. Lewis, too, collected

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material based on classification and surveying: this appears at a macroscopic level with the wide-angle panoramas and long-distance views and at a microscopic level with the extraction of historical memory about the daily running of the LARy and other streetcar businesses.

The archive’s materiality and its fragmented assemblage makes this classification-collection dialogue concrete. Angeleno audiences of the 1920s and 1930s would hear Parks and Lewis’ lectures and read their written outputs, understanding the classification that was occurring to forward Anglo historiography: outlining how and when a streetcar went from one street to another and who set it up; or what an adobe was made of, who had lived there, and where it was located. But the collecting behind such classification remained obtuse to most, only hinted at in asides. Yet one could not exist without the other, as Elsner and Cardinal, following Susan Stewart note: “if classification is the mirror of collective humanity’s thoughts and perceptions, then collection is its material embodiment. Collection is classification lived, experienced in three dimensions.”

Experiencing the materiality of these archives and examining the material traces that indicate its authors’ physical movement and historical documenting brings the force and cultural work of collecting to the fore, giving tactile evidence to Southern California Anglos’ classificatory desire.

Secondly, with the collecting and classification dynamic having been established, the archival collections behind Parks and Lewis’ histories lead us to understand the spatial work of acquiring and taxonomising: the literal and conceptual remapping of the region. This is particularly apparent with these two projects, which were heavily invested in the spaces, movement, and perspectives of the regional topography. Yet at the same time as the archive and collection could make their presence felt within the published outputs of the historians, they remained, at least to the majority of Parks and Lewis’ contemporaries, somewhat hidden and fragmentary. Whilst the published works proclaimed the drama of the past and made a spectacle of its romance, the archival collection is not as decisive in its declaration. Collectively, it remains a malleable text where certain parts gesture to others and, whilst it can often contain pieces that are as didactic about

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Southern California as any of Los Angeles’ Anglo boosters, there are other directions or possibilities we can trace.

And if this relation between occlusion and spectacle that Dimendberg & Sekula discuss (something they suggest is a fundamental part of twentieth century Los Angeles’ desire to quantify itself) can be applied to these historical collections, then the understanding we have of Anglo society’s sense of the past is furthered. A much more dynamic and conflicted labour history exists within the Lewis archive, or at least traces of such a history are present. Parks especially seems to vividly live this movement between spectacle and occlusion, between retrospective pageantry and a more open-ended, grounded, material history. She appears to understand processes of urban and social erasure while at the same time she contributes to the mythologizing discourse that furthered such erasure. This vacillation points to the liminality and constructed nature of Anglo romantic ideology in Southern California. It indicates the temporal tension and cultural unease present within regional antiquarianism. If the final destination of these written and presented regional histories was a romanticized landscape, the archiving of each reveals the disjuncture and fragmentation of such landscapes, and collecting, assembling, and reframing required to construct regional mythologies. Lewis’ streetcar story appears as a quaint retelling of the days of the red and yellow trolleys; Parks’ article is fully enmeshed in a mythologised vision of Old Spanish Los Angeles. But their collections reveal the wider social and cultural meaning of Anglo romance – celebrating the past required the rapacious collecting and classifying of regional space.
Chapter 3

Narratives of Institutional Collecting of Californiana

This thesis thus far has considered the mediation that collecting entails between a physical and literary landscape and an archival frame informed by Anglo mythology and ideology. The following two chapters continue to examine that mediation, arguing that the way in which Californiana moved between these spaces is central to the way Anglo society understood and reframed Southern California’s culture, society, history, and topography. This chapter takes the Huntington Library’s Californiana Project, a program begun in 1934 to acquire documents of Southern California history, as its starting point. It critically analyses the way regional material was acquired, arguing that ‘the storehouse’ – a gigantic repository of ultimate knowledge – was a guiding concept for the library project’s staff. Conceptualizing the Huntington as a great storehouse for regional history invokes a long temporal analogy, drawing on classical images of the repositories of antiquity, most notably the Library at Alexandria. The remit of the Huntington’s early collecting of Californiana and the Library at Alexandria’s quest to be the single repository of universal memory are obviously different but in deploying the language of gargantuan proportions, it reveals the frame in which these early American bibliographers wanted to encapsulate the region of Southern California.¹ How these Anglo collectors understood this narrative frame and the parameters and mission of the storehouse distinctly informed how regional material was acquired and how Southern California history was understood.

This was a storehouse whose ideological lines were set up to reflect Anglo-Californian enterprise and settlement in Southern California. Building on the extraordinary acquiring of books and artworks by Henry Huntington, the storehouse of Californiana was a grand concept deployed in the years after the founder’s death that attempted to continue the remarkable collection Huntington had acquired. Much has been written about Henry Huntington’s en bloc acquiring of whole libraries – it was an unparalleled period of collecting and, by the time of Huntington’s death in 1927, his library stood “as a materialization through books, manuscripts, and paintings of the forces that had brought English-speaking

civilization to the Southland.” The Californiana Project’s role in building the “great storehouse” of regional material was consistent with Huntington’s ambition. Yet, as this chapter shows, this conceptualization of the giant public storehouse of grandiose Western American experience depended on accessing less spectacular local histories, private collections, and the archives of the everyday. This relationship has been overlooked but it is critical to understanding the changing collection and presentation of regional history in Southern California.

The borders and permeability of public and private spaces are central features of bibliographic and archival worlds, bringing these worlds into dialogue with much more than their facades suggest. Commenting on the tension between the built form and planned function of libraries, John Ganim writes that, far from being a problematic by-product of their existence, such permeability between spaces is their defining quality. “[T]he almost impossible demands of the library program,” he notes cannot be met in the single, unified structure extolled by modernist agendas or the formal symmetries extolled by neoclassical architecture. The buildings do not always, in fact, rarely work to the satisfaction of librarians, because of that conflict. But they are libraries because of that conflict, because libraries function in the public consciousness and unconscious as peculiarly liminal spaces. Like the books stored within them, libraries can say more about the societies that build them than those societies would sometimes like to know.

The “peculiarly liminal” and telling qualities of Southern California libraries and institutions are especially pronounced in relation to holdings of Californiana because these collections came from and relate to the libraries’ immediate surroundings. The expansionist narrative of the regional storehouse required maintaining a liminal relation to the everyday and the ordinary of Southern California’s archives and social history. This chapter argues for a deeper understanding of how historical archives of Southern Californian regional material were constructed, considering not their gigantism but the plurality of spaces they were in dialogue with.

Though literary critics acknowledge the impreciseness with which ‘liminality’ has at times been applied, at its most useful it is a concept accurately

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3 John M. Ganim, “The President’s Address 2017”, Pacific Coast Philology, 52, 2 (2017), 149-165 (pp. 150-151).
alluding to the permeability and ‘between-ness’ of certain spaces. As these repositories of bibliographic knowledge grappled with working out the contents and form their Southern California regionalism would take, they necessarily adopted a position between their library archives, the imagined landscapes of Southern California, and the regional worlds depicted in the caches of manuscripts they sought. Liminality has long been bound up with the distinctions and interactions between places as perceived locations and spaces being the unbounded realms surrounding such places. With liminality as the dividing location between space and place, “our understandings of place and space are tied both to our physical environments and to what [Yi-Fu] Tuan has termed our ‘landscapes of the mind’” and Katherine Morrissey has termed “mental territories.” With Californiana being a collection of inter-related places and spaces, as sites within the state came to be determined, physically, conceptually, and bibliographically, the term liminality becomes a useful tool to better understand formations of regionalism. “Liminal spaces are those which are, simultaneously, place and space”, Downey, Kinane, and Parker assert. Asserting that Southern California’s archives are liminal spaces illuminates a more fluid field of historical and regional definition. Through examining the acquiring and rehousing of collections of Californiana, this chapter uses liminality to show how historical narratives of region shift as their material documents move from one space to another. Such a position allows for an understanding that sees such institutions not as monolithic but as continually contesting and engaging with how Southern California should be represented and defined. It is in this capacity that the term liminal is used here.

From the Californiana Project, this focus on external and internal archival spaces moves to the Prefecture Records, dating from the era of when Los Angeles was a part of Mexico. For Anglo antiquarian groups this archive became a storehouse holding the pre-US history of the city. It was in danger of

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7 Downey, Kinane, and Parker, p. 3.
disintegrating but the fundraising efforts for it ultimately show a disconnect between the archive’s content and the romantic mythology applied to it by certain Anglo groups. A concluding section on one of California’s earliest bibliographers, Alexander Smith Taylor, puts these guiding modalities of regional repositories into dialogue with a textual work also designed to be a storehouse of Californiana. This case study furthers this thesis’ argument that the textual references of Southern California’s antiquarian world – their catalogues, guides, bibliographies and indexes – frequently emulated in format and content the regional works they described. This thesis continues to posit an expanded understanding of what constitutes California literature – what should not be viewed as merely historical or antiquarian but literary too. Thus, a bookshop catalogue can be a travel guide, antiquarians can take on the guise and narrative of explorers, and, with Taylor, an index can itself be a library and regional storehouse.

Narratives of Containment: The Huntington Library’s Californiana Project

Writing on September 18, 1939, about the future of the Californiana Project, library employee and Historical Society of Southern California (HSSC) member, Lindley Bynum, believed the library should consider collecting all historical documents pertaining to the area west of the Rocky Mountains:

From such an increased program it is hoped that the Huntington Library may become a storehouse for all of the materials necessary for the study of western history and will in time stand in the same relation to this subject as does the Massachusetts Historical Society, the New York Public Library, and other eastern repositories to their respective localities.8

The collecting of Western Americana was not Henry E. Huntington’s initial priority and impetus but Bynum here, twelve years after the founder’s death, echoes Huntington’s ambition for prestige and scale of acquisition in his call for a library rivalling the major collections of regional material in the East.9 Bynum sees the appropriate frame for the Huntington’s vast acquisition programme as the concept of the storehouse and this was evidently an image shared by other Library affiliates. Discussing the collecting of Californiana, Homer Crotty – bookman,

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8 Untitled report by Lindley Bynum, Sep 18, 1939, p. 3. Huntington Institutional Archives (HIA) 30.9.2.5, Huntington Library, San Marino, California.
lawyer, and representative of the Friends of the Huntington Library – wrote to Chief Librarian, Leslie Bliss, in 1941, remarking, “Both you and I at various times have felt that the Library should be the great storehouse of books on western American history.”

The language used by these bookmen has distinct implications for the way California history was framed by Anglo society in the early half of the twentieth century. Bynum and Crotty’s language surrounding the concept of the storehouse invokes a massiveness and a finality; as they envision it, the Huntington’s collection of Western Americana will not only be enormous but it will be the ultimate location for this regional history too. Here, the Huntington was making a concerted effort to match the other centres of regional material in California. As critics have noted, and as the Huntington well understood, the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley, and the State Library at Sacramento had long been the major repositories for documents on California history. “All roads in California research lead to Bancroft”, as UCLA Librarian Lawrence Clark Powell put it. Yet, as Pomfret notes, if Bancroft’s library had been the centre of research for the historical era when California was controlled by Spain, the Huntington could become the focus for Southern California and its control by the United States, expanding the library’s regional collections from there.

Bliss was frustrated by the offers of California manuscripts and other rare material he continually had to decline because of the lack of funding for acquisitions whilst the Huntington grappled with the founder’s wish of transitioning from a private collection to a research library. Yet, with the purchase of the Solano-Reeve collection for a thousand dollars, Bliss spotted an opportunity. The Solano-Reeve collection, offered to the Library by Alfred Solano, was the voluminous documentation relating to the surveying of Los

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10 Homer Crotty to Leslie Bliss, August 23, 1941. HIA 30.9.2.5.
11 Pomfret, p. 80; Lawrence Clark Powell, Bibliographers of the Golden State (Berkeley and Los Angeles: Berkeley School of Librarianship and Los Angeles Graduate School of Library Service, University of California, 1967), p. 13-14; Letter from Leslie Bliss to Max Farrand, June 1, 1933, Agenda for Trustees Meeting, June 7, 1933, p. 3, Director’s Office Correspondence & Memoranda 1933-1935, HIA 11.1.3.3.
12 Powell, p. 13.
13 Pomfret, p. 80.
14 Bliss’ frustration at the lack of funds available to the Library’s acquisition program is detailed in a letter to Farrand, November 18, 1931, where he lists California manuscripts he has had to decline - see letter in HIA 11.1.2.11. On the transition period see Pomfret, pp. 52-92.
Angeles County by George Hansen, county surveyor of Los Angeles, later joined by Solano and S.B. Reeves.\(^\text{15}\) It included around two thousand items of maps, survey and log books, notes and diaries all relating to Los Angeles County, 1853-1905: “[t]he usefulness of this body of basic material for studies of the growth of Los Angeles and of the ranchos is obvious”, John Parish wrote in his survey of the Library’s holdings of California material.\(^\text{16}\) Pushing his point about the importance of a renewed regional history programme to the director of research, Max Farrand, Bliss deemed the Solano-Reeve collection to be “of greater value for its money in this transaction than in any purchase made since the death of Mr. Huntington.”\(^\text{17}\)

The Solano-Reeve collection gave the Huntington a direct channel to the earliest era of American control of Southern California and a clear opportunity to cement the Huntington as a storehouse of regional documents, augmenting its existing Californiana. The Trustees’ Meeting of June 7, 1933 ratified the purchase of the Solano-Reeve collection. One of the Trustees had suggested the Bancroft Library might be a better repository for the collection. Bliss strongly disagreed, reasoning this was material that would distinguish the Huntington:

> the great strength of the Bancroft Collection ends with the 1850’s[sic]. Our own great California collection covers the whole nineteenth century, and especially the ‘60’s, ‘70’s, and ‘80’s, into which periods most of the Solano-Reeve material falls. … In our favor is the fact that the Solano-Reeve material also relates exclusively to Southern California.\(^\text{18}\)

To underscore to the trustees this was no minor acquisition, Bliss went on to state, somewhat pointedly (“[f]or your own information and that of any others who may be interested”), that there were now, three great collections of Californiana in public hands and one in private. The private collection is that of Robert E. Cowan of Los Angeles, and this will pass to his son at his death. The three public collections are the Bancroft, that in the State Library at Sacramento, and our own.\(^\text{19}\)

\(^\text{15}\) John C. Parish, “California Books and Manuscripts in the Huntington Library”, *The Huntington Library Bulletin*, 7 (April, 1935), 1-58 (p. 57); Pomfret, pp. 32, 79; ‘Southern California MSS’, Bliss Memorandum for Agenda for Trustees Meeting, April 29, 1933, Director’s Office Correspondence & Memoranda 1933-1935, HIA 11.1.3.2; Letter from Bliss to Farrand, June 1, 1933, Agenda for Trustees Meeting, June 7, 1933, p. 3, Director’s Office Correspondence & Memoranda 1933-1935, HIA 11.1.3.3.

\(^\text{16}\) Parish, p. 57.

\(^\text{17}\) Bliss to Farrand, June 1, 1933.

\(^\text{18}\) Ibid.

\(^\text{19}\) Ibid.
As Bliss made clear, not only did the Huntington now rival other repositories’ collections of Californiana, it had an opportunity to distinguish itself against them by specializing in regional material not prioritized elsewhere: the era of American control and expansion in Southern California in the decades after the Mexican-American War.20

Whilst there had been suggestions for a field work programme prior to the Solano-Reeve acquisition, the Californiana Project, with Lindley Bynum in the field agent role, was launched in earnest after this purchase. In February, 1933, Bliss had initially been reluctant to commit to the project but by the Trustees Meeting of December 19, 1933, the Solano purchase and discussions with academics like Robert Cleland of Occidental College had changed his mind: “Mr. Bliss thinks the time is propitious and would like to try the experiment for a year.”21 Trialled in 1934, the Californiana Project was a hugely successful experiment that continued into the 1940s.

In his initial report to Bliss, Lindley Bynum identified four categories that caches of material might be divided into: “the Spanish period”, “the Mexican period”, “American occupation”, and “After the railroad.”22 Bynum was open to the idea of acquiring all Californian material if relevant but it is important to note the railroad era of the late 1870s and 1880s, in which American migration to Southern California first boomed, was described by Bynum as “possess[ing] greater significance for the life now being led in California than any of the other periods.”23 The Californiana Project, as well as drawing all manner of regional material into the Huntington, strengthened the Huntington’s position as a storehouse of American involvement in Southern California. This collecting of documents from “After the railroad” was material evidence of the narrative of western expansion into Southern California that Huntington and his library had been a clear proponent of. The collecting of such material was a central platform of Bynum and Crotty’s calls for the Huntington to be the storehouse of all Western American history.

20 Also see Pomfret, p. 80.
21 Agenda for Trustee Meeting, December 19, 1933 from the Director of Research, p. 2, HIA 11.1.3.5.
The Huntington’s evocative ambitions of building a great storehouse seemed entirely congruent amongst a campus that courted the classicism of Mediterranean antiquity in such a devoted yet solemn manner, as Peter J. Holliday has shown.24 Myron Hunt’s design for the library and art gallery pavilions incorporated Ionic columns, William Hetrich placed neoclassical sculptures and Italianate fountains into the gardens, and John Russell Pope installed a “mausoleum in the form of a classical temple”, complete with panels by John Gregory that portrayed the “four seasons” and the “four stages of life, a traditional theme in Roman funerary art.”25 If Arcadian culture could be transplanted from the classical era and methodically installed through the architecture and landscape, then the invocation of the library as the great storehouse of Californian material was not glib or offhand but indicated deep classical allusions and imperial ambitions in its call to house regional knowledge and memory.

The spatial language of the storehouse gives the library an encompassing nature – Susan Stewart’s insightful theory about narratives of scale helps us to better understand how and where this quality manifests. “[B]oth the miniature and the gigantic may be described through metaphors of containment”, Stewart writes, “the miniature as contained, the gigantic as container. We find the miniature at the origin of private, individual history, but we find the gigantic at the origin of public and natural history.”26 The Huntington’s Californiana Project tallies with this formulation of the gigantic, in its external scope and ambition as a public repository. The Project’s traversing of the landscape and its scope of acquisition were both hugely expansive and this external tracing of Californian space mirrors the Library’s internal holdings of a huge scope of textual depictions of the region. Even if the Huntington as research library was only semi-public, restricted to accredited researchers (a quite exclusive social category in early twentieth century Southern California), the transition from the private collection of Henry Huntington to the field agent work of Lindley Bynum, exploring and canvassing the region, is enough of a move away from a private collection to qualify for

25 Holliday, pp. 200-204.
Stewart’s terms in equating ‘storehouse’ with a ‘gigantic container’ of public history.

Yet the gargantuan sense of scale the Anglo Southern Californian library project represented and strove for was necessarily dependent on texts and histories that were, in Stewart’s formulation, miniature, contained, private, and individual. After all, something had to go into the storehouse, and Bynum was seeking the forgotten and unknown caches of family, business, and civic records and manuscripts in attics and basements. Most immediately, the Californiana Project represents the Huntington’s mediation between the public and private spaces where regional material was held. “Private, individual” history had to be moved into the realm of the “public and natural”. Bynum clearly understood that mediating between public and private spheres was the way to uncover historical material. From his keen interest in California history and membership of the HSSC, Bynum had some intuition about where letters, records, manuscripts, and ephemera might be located where but the content, form, and condition of such material was almost completely unknown and extremely unlikely to be listed in any bookseller’s catalogue or bibliography. Henry Huntington’s collecting was undoubtedly extraordinary but, at least to some degree, he, like most book collectors, utilised guides to his collecting in the form of catalogues and bibliographic authorities such as the Philadelphian bookseller A. S. Rosenbach. The caches of regional history Bynum was searching for were not located textually in reference works but physically somewhere amongst the localities of Southern California and, as such, Bynum had to explore and re-map the territory almost entirely from scratch, much like the American pioneers the Californiana Project had been set-up to focus on.

Like the work of his HSSC colleague, Marion Parks, Bynum’s Californiana Project shows how regional collecting was a spatial act, inscribing a re-envisioning of the landscape. Bynum’s lectures and discussions with individuals and societies – which had the added benefit of “the creation of friendly relations and a better understanding between the Library and the people of this state”— built up a detailed network of correspondents who might possess or know

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27 Ibid.
28 See Bynum, “Californiana Project”, p. 3, HIA 30.9.2.4.
29 See Starr, Material, p. 335.
about documents of local history.\textsuperscript{30} He kept an extensive card catalogue (the whereabouts of which are now unknown) of these correspondents and, as both the Huntington and Bynum were keen to track expenses, also maintained a detailed log of where he went and who he spoke to.\textsuperscript{31} Initially beginning the Field Representative work three days out of five, all of Bynum’s work for the Huntington was devoted to this role from October 22, 1934 to his departure from the Huntington in the summer of 1941.\textsuperscript{32} Only daily field reports from January 1934 to January 1936 appear to exist in the institutional archives but even these reveal the great distances Bynum covered. The Huntington’s annual report for 1935 remarked Bynum had “cover[ed] extensively the territory from San Luis Obispo and Bakersfield south to the Mexican border.”\textsuperscript{33}

Representing the scale and frequency of movement repeated throughout Bynum’s tenure, the first ten days of the Californiana Project saw Bynum travel across Southern California driving to Long Beach, Eagle Rock, Culver City, San Pedro, Los Angeles, San Juan Capistrano, Orange, Placentia, Anaheim, South Pasadena, Hollywood, and Tujunga, 543 miles in total, before ending January with a trip to San Francisco.\textsuperscript{34} With his job for seven years located in the field, Bynum traversed the geography of Southern California and beyond perhaps more than any other collector in this period. Like Marion Parks, Bynum plots a mode of historical collecting reliant on the automobile. With almost every entry in the daily reports beginning with the format “To [destination]”, Bynum’s position as collector becomes centrally defined by his driving, the expenses and mileage as indexes that quantify his archival search, the windshield of his Plymouth Sedan the frame through which regional collecting and experience passed.

Bynum’s mapping and collecting of the region by driving was the physical movement required to locate manuscripts. Bynum understood that building the storehouse of Southern California regionalism required the acquisition of private collections. As the Huntington Library bulletin put it, Bynum, “has given a large part of his time to locating Californiana in private hands. The value of such

\textsuperscript{30} Bynum, “Californiana Project”, p. 1-5, HIA 30.9.2.4; “Californiana project”, p. 16-17, HIA 11.1.3.6.
\textsuperscript{31} See Bynum, “Californiana Project”, p. 3-4, HIA 30.9.2.4 and Bynum Reports, HIA 30.9.2.4.
\textsuperscript{32} Lindley Bynum report on project, April 11, 1941, p. 6. Bynum Reports, HIA 30.9.2.4.
\textsuperscript{33} Huntington Annual Report 1935, p. 21.
\textsuperscript{34} January 1934, Bynum Reports, HIA 30.9.2.4.
historical material is often not appreciated and much of it is lost through inadequate protection while some of it is thoughtlessly destroyed.”

35 Much like the *Los Angeles Times* interview with Ernest Dawson that asked their readers, “Does a Fortune Lie Bound In Your Attic?”, Bynum was searching for private homes unknowingly containing “buried treasure,” as his 1939 lecture before the Native Daughters of the Golden West was titled. 36 Again, like Parks’ search for adobes, the language of the adventure narrative of nineteenth century pioneers frames these collecting projects, embedding them with a reflexivity that puts them in dialogue with a previous generation’s imperial ambitions.

Yet, as indicated by the countless appearances that Bynum makes in front of local groups, the only way to discover and acquire these private collections was through an overt, public display. Appearing in front of historical societies and civic groups and meeting regularly with key individuals gave Bynum the network and cartography of where historical manuscripts were located. As Bynum noted in a 1941 report, “[a]n average of forty lectures were given each year, at various times of day and night, and at places ranging from San Francisco to San Diego.”

37 The more that certain localities, groups, and individuals were visited, the more visible the boundaries and conduits of this map and network became. As Bynum described it to the Board in 1941, the Californiana Project was not a random assortment of unconnected journeys but, rather, had a “definite pattern that was based on the necessity of maintaining a periodic contact with the larger collections located, and of making an appreciable number of new calls each month”, coupled with the ad-hoc lecture program before clubs and societies:

With the passing of time, the records of located collections have grown, and, in consequence, the work has become more a matter of keeping contacts already established than of making a large number of new calls. Nevertheless, there are always present a number of new names which need investigation and leads are received almost daily which have to be checked. Favors have to be done for prospective donors which entail both travel and time, and there is a large amount of what might appear as lost motion and effort that is necessary merely to keep the project alive and before the public.

38 Huntington Seventh Annual Report, 1934, p. 20.
Bynum’s role as collector of private material centrally relied on his public performance as lecturer and as interlocutor between the Huntington Library and the general public. Bynum realised the lectures were vital: “it must be said that the lectures were not all waste effort in relation to the collecting, because they did furnish a certain amount of publicity which was of benefit to the project.”\textsuperscript{39} Even when Bynum was not addressing the public through lectures, the conversations he had with collection owners or individuals who had information about the whereabouts of manuscripts kept this image of the library as repository of regionalism vivid and in an external, public realm – “\textit{alive and before the public}”.

Far from being “lost motion”, Bynum’s physical traversal of the region was a co-ordinated act of mobility that was supposed to be witnessed, a spectacle to the public that made visible the desire to collect, and thus represented a projection of the Huntington’s gigantic storehouse out into the surrounding region.

This constant, wide-ranging and frenetic crisscrossing of the state and the public engagement granted Bynum access to the interior, private spaces of those that held collections. Such public mediation of the gigantic led to the private communion of the contained, internal archive, sometimes miniature (in Stuart’s antonym) in the case of those with “one to a dozen letters, books, or miscellanea”, but also extensive in the instances of those individuals that held “from 100 to several thousand items.”\textsuperscript{40} Evidently, Bynum’s personable and gregarious nature was essential in gaining access. As \textit{Times} columnist, Lee Shippey, portrayed Bynum,

\begin{quote}
All great libraries need someone who has a successful “bedside manner,” as the doctors put it. It isn’t everyone who can go into a miner’s cabin and listen to a rambling old man’s reminiscences with such enthusiasm that the old fellow feels like willing his prized records to the listener’s institution.\textsuperscript{41}
\end{quote}

Instances of these types of archival experiences frequently appear in the project’s daily reports, building a picture of these private archives. For instance, Bynum and Mildred Crank of Altadena establish contact and through the winter of 1934-1935 she searches for and compiles material in her home relating to the family and business of James F. Crank (1842-1935), agriculturalist and business

\textsuperscript{39} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{40} Bynum report, September 18, 1939, p. 1.
magnate, who in 1877 had bought the Fair Oaks ranch, originally part of Rancho San Pasqual.\textsuperscript{42} After acquiring one initial cache, Bynum returns on December 2, 1935: “To Crank home and spent morning going through trunks and boxes in attic. Segregated a large basketful of letters, ledgers, letter-books, photographs, etc, which I brought to Library.”\textsuperscript{43} This quantifying and transferral between the home and the library continues over the next few days, and even the antiquarian bookseller Dawson goes to visit some of the books Mrs Crank has.\textsuperscript{44} The work is finally completed as Bynum makes one last survey of the attic archive on December 24, 1935 just before the Library Christmas party.\textsuperscript{45} These family histories, business documents, correspondence, and early photographs of the life of the Fair Oaks ranch emerged from their confines of the attic and became a part of the storehouse that broadly narrated this era of Southern Californian history.

Bynum is quite brisk and perfunctory in his daily reports but if he, Crotty, and Bliss could imagine the Huntington as storehouse – filled with the countless narratives of life in California and Western America – it is worth considering how that concept depended on the intertwining of imagination, memory, and history in places very different to the public library. A phenomenological reading, such as Gaston Bachelard’s in \textit{The Poetics of Space} (1958), would see these manuscripts, texts, and photographs as \textit{inhabiting} the spaces of attics, trunks, baskets, boxes, and basements – spaces that innately produce their own microcosmic dreaming world.\textsuperscript{46} Multiple material narratives and histories present themselves in Bynum’s account: the repeated tracking down of a number of “trunk[s] full of mss.” in various houses in Santa Barbara (March 20, April 24, June 20, 1924); gaining access to the papers located in the Santa Barbara County Court House basement from the County Recorder and janitor (April 24, July 25, 1934); the learning of a lost archive and property destruction through discussion with Adolfo Camarillo that “[m]ost of ranch and family papers burned in ranch house fire” (March 19, 1934); or “dusting and cleaning mss.; Searching drawers and trunks” out in

\textsuperscript{43} Bynum daily report, December 2, 1935.
\textsuperscript{44} Bynum daily report, December 3, 4, 1935.
\textsuperscript{45} Bynum daily report, December 24, 1935.
\textsuperscript{46} Gaston Bachelard, \textit{The Poetics of Space} (New York: Penguin, 2014).
Kernville, Kern County (July 13, 1935). It is fair to suggest Bynum would probably not ally himself too closely to French philosophies of poetics. Yet, as someone so enmeshed in the search for historical material and so prominent in Los Angeles’ bibliographic and antiquarian world (with its own form of dreaming and mythology), the lives and potentialities of these elusive, mysterious caches of documents must surely have occupied his thoughts as he ate up the miles of roadway in criss-crossing the state.

The caches of material that Bynum acquires hold a different temporality when held in the private archives of their owners, rather than the Library. In the institution, these documents’ preservation and restoration, as well as their recontextualization and juxtaposition amongst many other artefacts, each with their own material histories, grant a certain degree of stasis, even if they are now opened out to a public re-reading. Stewart suggests that, “The collection replaces history with classification, with order beyond the realm of temporality. In the collection, time is not something to be restored to an origin; rather, all time is made simultaneous or synchronous within the collection’s world.” Theorizing these temporalities, Stewart’s argument hinges on the dichotomy between the souvenir and the collection. Anthony Shelton describes Stewart’s formulation of the souvenir as “an object redolent with feelings of nostalgia and longing acquired through its ability to interiorise and domesticate external space and condense personal experience” whilst the collection embodies antiquarian restoration and mercantile aestheticisation.

It would be misleading to strictly apply this dichotomy to the Californiana Project – collections could be collections before they entered the Library, and private archives were by no means just groups of souvenirs. Yet surely there is a significantly different sense of regional time and history between the Library and the personal, nostalgic, private archive in play in passages like the following:

May 26 To Kernville. Talked with Mr and Mrs Brown and with his help, opened boxes and looked at mss. Old books and ledgers of general merchandise store. Wells fargo records and bills and other material. Some

47 Bynum daily reports, dates in text.
48 Stewart, p. 151.
badly mutilated by termites and worms. Will return at later date, clean the
material and bring down. Think there is no doubt of our getting it. […]50
Especially indicated by the presence of insect life, these manuscripts’ fragile
materiality speaks to a visceral sense of the passing of time and that temporal
movement, when encased in boxes in a small town in Kern County, shows a deep
association between place and history, conveying a significant affective weight. It
puts the Huntington as institution into a particularly liminal relation to local
experiences and regional traces and fragments.

Even when the materials were rehoused, fumigated, and rearranged in the
Huntington, their imaginative capacity remained, even if latent. Carolyn Steedman
remarks that “[w]e must add the Archive to the oneiric spaces that Bachelard
described: alone in the Archive, in the counting house of dreams, the historian
opens the bundles [of historical documentation].”51 Sharing in Bachelard’s
concept of microcosmic containers of daydreams, Steedman suggests that,

The Archive is this kind of place, a place that is to do with longing and
appropriation. It is to do with wanting things that are put together, collected,
collated, named in lists and indices; a place where a whole world, a social
order, may be imagined by the recurrence of a name in a register, through a
scrap of paper, or some other little piece of flotsam.52
But if Bachelard’s poetics can prime the space of the archive with the potential for
dreaming, it cannot, to Steedman, actually do the work of reimagining the traces
of the past: the dreams of the past are only created out of the archive by the
historian’s usage of them.53 Yet Steedman’s point was that it was precisely the
prosaic, monotonous, motionless, even inert qualities of archival fragments that
allowed for the generative capacity for historical meaning – the archive as the
interlocutor between historical narrative and memory.

Counterintuitively, it is the fact that compared to “the great, brown, slow-
moving, strandless river of Everything,” what is contained in the archive is
actually “nothing at all.”54 This is the formulation that irked other archivists but

50 Bynum daily reports, May 26, 1935.
51 Carolyn Steedman, “The space of memory: in an archive”, The History of the Human Sciences, 11,
52 Steedman, “space of memory”, pp. 67, 76
53 Ibid.
54 Carolyn Steedman, “‘Something She Called a Fever’: Michelet, Derrida, and Dust (Or, in the
Archives with Michelet and Derrida)”, in Archives, Documentation, and Institutions of Social
Memory: Essays from the Sawyer Seminar (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), ed. by
Francis X. Blouin and William G. Rosenberg, pp. 4-19 (pp. 7, 16n11).
Steedman cites Thomas Osborne’s article, “The Ordinariness of the Archive” (1999), and here, recalling the “prosaic” quality that could be so generative and reveal material collections’ potential, Osborne argues that “publicity, singularity and mundanity” are the defining qualities of the archive.\(^{55}\) Studying de Tocqueville’s archival links between pre- and post-Revolutionary France, Osborne argues that Tocqueville’s conclusion is “not the antiquarian suggestion that there is a transhistorical primacy to ordinary life, but rather that the ordinary was itself invented by the administrative regulations of the Ancien Régime and was then furthered by the Revolution.”\(^{56}\) Such a perspective thus finds itself concerned with the localised, everyday intersections and machinations of “life, work, administration, and power, wherever it was to be found.”\(^{57}\) Osborne’s position is that Tocqueville’s work is a quite radical thesis of “archivality” where the archive produces the ordinary and everyday:

A kind of implicit philosophy of the archive, which is to say, a philosophy of ordinariness and of the everyday, even when one is looking apparently at the very heart of power itself; that, in any case, the place of power may be not confined to the big world of sovereigns and politics or to the realm of overarching theories, but be in the interstices of life itself, where the ordinary and everyday are played out.\(^{58}\)

Prioritizing the gravity of the ordinary and everyday in theorizing the archive is important to this chapter’s argument that a liminality and unrealised depth is a core part of the institutional collecting of regional material. In outlining the parameters of the great storehouse of Western American history, Crotty and company’s ambitions and conceptualisations seem to be squarely directed not at mundanity and ordinariness but about diverting and capturing the flow of that giant river of Everything, particularly its arteries that traced the dramatic rise of US expansion into the West. However, the storehouse program actually found itself reliant on and in close proximity to the ordinary.

The Regional History Program, the research arm of the Huntington’s Californiana and Western Americana focus, instituted after the success of the Californiana Project, focused on the grand narratives of American history. In


\(^{56}\) Osborne, pp. 60-61

\(^{57}\) Ibid.

\(^{58}\) Ibid.
proposing “A Suggested Program for the Use of the California Material in the Huntington Library”, Robert Glass Cleland, historian at Occidental College, went further than Bynum’s demarcation of four eras of Spanish, Mexican, and US control before and after the Southern Pacific’s connection to Southern California. “Roughly speaking there are two distinct divisions in California history”, he remarked,

the first, which chronologically covers down to about 1860, has little direct bearing upon contemporary society or institutions; the second, covering the years since 1860 furnishes the basis for understanding and interpreting the California of today.

The first of these periods has been pretty thoroughly exploited [by the Bancroft]; the second is virgin territory.59

Cleland was deemed to be “the right man for the job” and the work that resulted,

*The Cattle on a Thousand Hills: Southern California, 1850-1870* seems firmly in line with the Huntington’s ambitions in centring the story of Southern California around American westward expansion and the transition from Califiornio ranch holders to Anglo enterprise.60 Amongst others, Cleland in his book thanked Bliss and Bynum for their assistance as well as “Miss Phyllis Rigney [who] placed at my disposal her extensive knowledge of the Library’s California manuscript material.”61 Cleland also noted that he had mainly relied on “the extraordinary collection known as the Gaffey Manuscripts”, a collection acquired by Bynum from Mr Gaffey of San Pedro.62 The Californiana Project was central to Cleland’s work and he clearly shared in the Huntington staff’s conceptualisation of the library: “Indeed, without access to that extensive and varied storehouse of Californiana, the book could not have been written.”63 And, again reflecting the ideology of this group of Anglo Southern Californians, the work this storehouse produced was a monograph

chiefly concerned with the impact of Anglo-Saxon customs and institutions upon the pastoral life of the Spanish-Californians, with the conversion of great grazing ranchos into farms and settlements, with the gradual displacement of frontier violence and instability by a more restrained, law-

61 Cleland, *Cattle*, p. xiv.
62 Cleland, *Cattle*, p. xii. For evidence of Bynum’s attempts to acquire Gaffey’s collection, see, for instance, April 15, November 27, 1934, daily reports.
63 Cleland, *Cattle*, p. xii.
abiding society, and with the transformation of the so-called ‘Cow Counties’ of the post-Gold Rush era into the small beginnings of the southern California of our own time.\textsuperscript{64}

Cleland’s work is immensely detailed and researched but it is clear his historical position is quite stark. Farrand summarized this position in a 1935 memorandum for the Board, stating that “…American domination is the controlling factor after 1842-5 and it is suggested that the Huntington Library studies should pay particular attention to the period after the coming of the Americans.”\textsuperscript{65}

The positioning of Cleland’s outlined program is matched by the invocation in his memorandum of this regional historical field as “virgin territory”. The language brings to mind the gendering of Western landscapes that Krista Comer deconstructs, discussed in chapter 1, thus suggesting masculinist and expansionist overtones. In addition, like Bynum and Parks’ language of the explorer and prospector, and Dawson’s elaborate recreations of Western travel narratives, this language again shows the re-performance of historical roles in historical and antiquarian work, the distinct interlinking between form and content. It furthers the argument that historical re-enactment and romantic mythology are always closely linked to this early era of Southern Californian historiographic, bibliographic, and antiquarian practice.

Yet the archival fragments that Bynum pulled into the Huntington – over 200,000 items – entailed a broader scope than this re-enactment.\textsuperscript{66} In drawing in the material that Cleland et al could use for some of the grander historiographical narratives of Anglo enterprise, Bynum was collecting instances of those archival interstices of local life, power, expression, and occupation that Osborne suggests Tocqueville was so fascinated by. The Andrew Brown collection relates the transactions between Brown, an Irishman who came to Southern California via Philadelphia and San Francisco, and those who frequented his general store, including Chinese individuals in Kernville.\textsuperscript{67} The Crank collection retrieved from the attic predominantly relates the business dealings of successful Anglo entrepreneur, James Crank, but there are also records and images of those

\textsuperscript{64} Cleland, p. xi.
\textsuperscript{65} [Max Farrand], “California history”, in “Agenda for Trustee Meeting March 30, 1935 from the Director of Research”, pp. 9-12 (p. 10), HIA 11.1.3.11.
\textsuperscript{66} 1941 report, p. 6
labourers who worked on his ranch. Osborne reminds us that the ordinary and the everyday can resonate out from even the most central figures of power. The archives of those figures of Anglo enterprise do not automatically produce hagiographies – the ‘mundanity’ of their business transactions equally point to an interconnected network showing the relations of power and socio-cultural expression and existence in Southern California.

Indeed, it is not just the experiences and records of Anglos in California that Bynum collects. One of the trunks “full of mss” that Bynum locates in Santa Barbara holds the papers of the de la Guerra family, an elite Californio family. The physical manuscripts remained in Santa Barbara but the Huntington microfilmed the collection in full for its own archive. Exactly highlighting the type of work Osborne and Steedman proposed, Louise Pubols’ 2000 dissertation on the de la Guerra family (albeit utilizing the original manuscripts at the Santa Barbara Mission Archive library) was a work dedicated to “uncover[ing] the operation of power, negotiations and individual choices within the constraints of a particular patriarchal social and economic order”.

The Prefecture Records of Los Angeles

It was another collection microfilmed in its entirety (with the Huntington retaining the originals) that produced the Huntington’s most expansive relation to the everyday archivality of the nineteenth century. Reflecting on the nascent progress of the Californiana Project, the Annual Report of the Library for 1934-1935 remarked “the most noteworthy outcome” thus far was the Huntington becoming the trustee of the LA County Supervisors records dating from when the city had been governed by Mexico. As Jane Apostol notes, the HSSC had been trying to institute the translation and preservation of the “old Mexican documents in the Los Angeles County archives” since 1889. A memorandum presented to

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68 Osborne, p. 61.
72 Apostol, p. 39.
the Huntington board noted that HSSC Executive, J. Gregg Layne had been “working for years to have these volumes transferred to some safe place where they could be properly cared for and also become available to students. Layne in particular has been directing his endeavours towards having them transferred to the care of the Huntington Library.”

Although the initial attempt to transfer the archives was stalled by a court ruling, eventually Bynum and the Huntington, as the party responsible for preserving and reproducing the manuscripts, entered into partnership with the HSSC and the County Recorder, with the Works Progress Administration’s State Emergency Relief Administration providing funds and a team of workers to translate the documents. For the HSSC, Marion Parks was “named supervisor of the translation project” of the “some twelve hundred manuscript pages”, and the SERA team of “sixteen translators and eight typists”, under the supervision of William Charles, translated the documents. The Huntington gave the County back a copy of the photostatic reproductions and kept the original documents and its own set of photostats. As Bynum details it in his Field Reports, “[t]hese papers go back to the 1820s and comprise papers of the Alcalde courts, the Ayuntamiento and other legal bodies.” Minutes from a meeting in March, 1935, described the cache, in poor condition and needing urgent preservation, as “the most extensive body of information regarding developments in and about Los Angeles.” As the finding aid notes, the archive contains records of governance of the region under Mexico from 1824 until US conquest in 1846 and the California State Constitution in 1850.

The Prefecture Records bring the storehouse of Western Americana into dialogue with a very different archival space. Firstly, they distinctly illustrate the
ordinariness of the archive through the production of archivality by judicial administrations that Osborne outlines. “Relating to affairs of the Prefecture of Los Angeles, from 1825 to 1850”, the manuscripts, Parks wrote, “are concerned with the whole wide region from what is now Ventura County south to San Juan Capistrano.” Osborne’s point that “the ordinary” is “invented by administrative regulations … Archives produce a certain kind of relevant information; the ongoing mundane facts.” In this case, that production is redoubled by the relocation of the documents to the County Recorder’s Office and from there to the Huntington Library. Evidencing this production of knowledge by a juridical body, the archives contained detail on “petitions for land-holdings, controversies regarding the sale of hides and tallow, distribution of estates, with minute lists of personal and household possessions, orders regarding horse races and the bets offered and collected, claims for mines in adjacent mountains, and countless other subjects.”

Parks is enthralled by the entire archive but evinces a particular interest in the mentions of “early American citizens of the Southland” like John Temple and, the major subject of Cleland’s work, Abel Stearns. Yet it is clear from the list of topics covered that the city archive is not the storehouse of American westward expansion but an extensive social network of primarily Mexican experience in Los Angeles County. Parks praises the archives for their revealing of significant facts and narrating key events from the time but is equally interested in how these facts are drawn from the minutiae of the everyday and the ordinary and her reading of the whole archive suggests a revelatory social and public history. Furthermore, in the employment in Parks’ team of California-born citizens, some of whom recognized their ancestry by name in the archive records, the archive provides a direct, public link between the early and late eras of the nineteenth century in Southern California – a period, as Cleland and internal memoranda at the Huntington suggested, so often strictly bifurcated, with the earlier period marginalized in favour of the latter. The Californiana Project was initially

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80 Parks, p. 29.
81 Osborne, p. 60.
82 Parks, p. 29.
83 Ibid.
84 Parks, p. 29; Osborne, p. 61.
85 Parks, p. 29.
launched to build the storehouse of American westward expansion but those accounts were put into a clear dialogue with a much longer Mexican history.

Returning to the theories proposed by Steedman, there are two typologies of historical dreaming at work here, both with a liminal capacity. One, in the space of the Prefecture archive, the visceral and fragile materiality of the documents provides the oniric capacity for socio-historic imagination:

In short, the old, brittle, soiled and yellow pages, with their difficult, complicated scrawls in hundreds of varied handwritings, their spectacular and decorative signatures and rubrics, give a comprehensive picture of human life and the concerns of men in Southern California one hundred years ago, revealing and illustrating many facts of significance, especially in the transition period between old Spanish and early American days.86

Parks holds that the illustrative and material parameters of the texts bring to life the courts’ words in these documents. Such a reading provides us with an image of The Archive’s generative capacity. Yet, at multiple points in her article, the usage of “old Spanish” instead of ‘Mexican’ – in addition to the fact that the whole purpose of the project is to translate the manuscripts to English – suggests another type of historical dreaming, one that becomes immersed in the romantic mythology of the Spanish Fantasy Past.

Funding the Archive Project: ‘The Beaux and Belles of Yesterday’ Gala

Parks’ historical re-imagining again suggests the interstitial position of Southern Californian antiquarians, bibliographers, and historians between romantic mythologizing and a more expansive and inclusive social history. Parks remarks that some of the funding and publicity for the translation project was driven by staging the “‘Beaux and Belles of Yesterday,’ a colorful and picturesque theatrical program in which an extremely valuable collection of historic costumes was shown, as a benefit performance” – Parks arranged and directed this program, as Apostol notes.87 Putting the archives project into dialogue with pageantry firmly rooted in the trappings of the Spanish Fantasy Past again reveals the appropriation and performativity inherent in the Anglo romanticisation of the history of Southern California.

86 Ibid.
87 Parks, p. 29. And see Apostol, p. 39.
It must be stressed that the preservation efforts of the Historical Society and Bynum and the Huntington were, and continue to be, a very valuable and perceptive public service for Los Angeles and its historical community. That the rescuing of these documents from deterioration was a beneficial act is not in question. My interest here and elsewhere is how such histories are framed and what social discourses and cultural imaginaries they are connected to. The Beaux and Belles of Yesterday fundraising event provides a superlative example of this imbrication of archival Californiana with the re-envisioning of the state’s past.

Firstly, the Beaux and Belles program maintains that bifurcation of Southern Californian history that Cleland (president of the HSSC in 1935) and the Huntington proposed. Marion Parks’ theatrical program, taking place January 24, 1935, at the Major Theater was divided into two parts – “Spanish Arcadia” and “American Los Angeles”.88 Parks described the bifurcation as “natural historical divisions, part one typifying old Spanish days and party [sic] two being reminiscent of the old American Los Angeles, from the days of ’49 down through the end of the century.”89 The division not only ensures a temporal split but a socio-cultural one too – the changing of ‘Mexican’ to ‘Spanish’ and the mythologizing of the era as arcadian immediately draws the program into the cultural imaginary of the Spanish Fantasy Past, similar to the workings of The Mission Play, Ramona, Christine Sterling’s renovation of Olvera Street, and La Fiesta of Los Angeles.90 “Categories of time – past and present – came to define regional citizenship”, Phoebe Kropp notes on the Anglo division of Southern California’s history.91 Despite the obvious fact that Californios, Californian Indians, and Mexicans continued to live in Southern California after the war between Mexico and the United States, no depictions of their lives exist beyond the halfway split in the program. Furthermore, in retelling the Anglo-Californian development of life after the gold rush by way of decades – Part II of the program’s format: “Gold Days, or Westward the Course of Empire”, “The Sentimental Seventies”, “The Elegant Eighties”, and the “Gay Nineties” with

88 Flyer in HSSC scrapbooks, Historical Society of Southern California Archive, Homestead Museum. The unpaginated scrapbook makes citations complicated. References are given to the titles and sources of the clippings where possible.
89 “Marion Parks, ‘‘Beaux and Belles of Yesterday’ Pageant”, Saturday Night – HSSC scrapbook.
90 See, for instance, Deverell, pp. 49-90, 207-249.
91 Kropp, p. 5.
“Great Moments in the Los Angeles Theatre” also placed between the 1880s and 1890s – it draws attention to the different sense of time attributed to “Spanish Arcadia” and “American Los Angeles”. The second part of the program’s divisions of decades give it a measured diachronic narrative, which the audience may well have read as indicative of the progress of empire, as the gold rush era’s subtitle suggested.\textsuperscript{92} Comparatively, then, the “Spanish Arcadia” seems both wholly atemporal, in the sense that time is not measured and seems not to pass, and relegated to an antiquity located much further back in history than its juxtaposition to the second period of the gala could suggest.

Continuing the Arcadian theme, the whole program was subtitled “Life on the River Porciuncula” and its format and billing – a “program of living pictures after the manner of the Elegant Eighties including a brilliant entertainment and the showing of a noteworthy collection of historical costumes” – indicates this romance was to be conveyed as a series of historical tableaux.\textsuperscript{93} Evidently, no expense was spared. These tableaux of scenes and costumes – “One hundred lovely gowns of bygone days and centuries” – were “sponsored by professional stage and screen talent who will participate, assisted by the most prominent club men and women in this section of the state.”\textsuperscript{94} As the Times reported, this number of performers included “More than 125 social, civic and theatre leaders of Southern California, attired in authentic original costumes loaned by museums and wealthy private collectors, [who] will produce again the entertainments that were popular in the days of the dons and padres.”\textsuperscript{95} The romantic and dramatic performance of Los Angeles’ past took place in front of many patrons who had been a core part of the city’s Anglo development: “…almost one hundred names famed in the historical, social, cultural and progressive business life of the city. … The elite of the city and nearby cities and towns will be in attendance.”\textsuperscript{96} Even

\textsuperscript{92} Flyer – HSSC scrapbook.
\textsuperscript{94} “Historical Group Fete Scheduled”, Los Angeles Times, January 16, 1935; Parks, “Beaux” – both HSSC scrapbook.
\textsuperscript{95} “Early History” – HSSC scrapbook.
\textsuperscript{96} Many syndicated local newspapers repeated these lines but see, for instance, “Beaux and Belles of Yesterday”, L.A. Journal, January 11, 1935 – HSSC scrapbook.
these descriptions undersold who exactly would be there. The moguls of Anglo Los Angeles turned out from the media (Harry Chandler), real estate (William Garland), architecture (Myron Hunt), politicians (Boyle Workman), education (Robert Millikan of CalTech, Remsen D. Bird of Occidental College, Rufus von KleinSmid of USC), Hollywood (Cecil B. de Mille) and literature (Hamlin Garland).97

It was a night described as “Outstandingly Historic”, of “romance and glamour”, in which “Pueblo Scenes [were] To Be Revived”, accompanied with sketches in which,

   elegant moustachioed gentlemen acrobats in tights and strings of chest medals ride high-wheeled old ‘bikes’ with the greatest of ease while frail females swoon with admiration around the edges; and gay caballeros dash off on white steeds leaving mantillaed maidens at home to weep into their handkerchiefs.98

   The debate about appropriation at these historical events is complex or, at least, multi-faceted. Considering the newspaper reports above, these descriptions seem startlingly similar to the language used by other Anglo boosters who, as Phoebe Kropp puts it, sought to “recast the eras of Spanish mission colonies and Mexican rancho settlements as an idyllic golden age, depicting a picturesque land of pious padres and placid Indians, of dashing caballeros and sultry senoritas – their very own myth of moonlight and mantillas. These dreamy pasts that Anglo-Californians recalled were not their own.”99 That mantillas and these mythologized figures actually took centre stage at the HSSC gala in their own specific tableau seems to squarely place the event within the same Anglo romanticizing of the past. Only two years prior to the HSSC’s gala, Christine Sterling, writing for a pamphlet on Olvera Street, eulogized that “life in Los Angeles before the Americans came was almost an ideal existence,’ where the men ‘rode magnificent horses,’ the women wore ‘silk and laces,’ and there were ‘picnics into the hills, dancing at night, moonlight serenades, romance, and real happiness.’”100 Parks’ historical event seems entirely drawn from the same

97 Flyer – HSSC scrapbook.
99 Kropp, p. 2.
100 Quoted in Kropp, p. 3.
cultural imaginary about Southern California’s past as that of Sterling and other boosters, clearly drawing historical lines that segregated who lived in what time frame.101

More than just this dramatic imagining, however, the Beaux and Belles event directly replicated earlier staged historical tableaux. Part of the “Spanish Arcadia” section was entitled “La Reina de la Fiesta”, featuring “La Reina” and her “Ladies in Waiting.”102 One report noted that “Mrs O. W. Childs, one of the three first fiesta queens of Los Angeles in the early nineties, will appear in costume… The other two fiesta queens referred to, Mrs. Mark W. Lewis and Mrs. Charles Modini Wood, have also graciously consented to appear in costume.”103 Parks’ preview for Saturday Night corroborates this – “three former queens of early day fiestas de las flores.”104 These references make it clear that this is the same spectacle that was constructed for La Fiesta of 1894, which William Deverell has analysed in depth. The “invented tradition” of La Fiesta and ersatz history of the La Reina queen – designed as a symbol of Spanish romance that heralded the beginning of the week of Los Angeles’ La Fiesta festivities – thus re-inscribes for the 1930s what had already been forty years previously an “object lesson of historical progression, Victorian style.”105 What seems most telling is that the tableau, representing an event from 1894, appears not in the HSSC gala’s “Gay Nineties” section of the American period but in the “Spanish Arcadia” that opened the performance, further loosening the temporal boundaries of this reinvented regional identity.

Yet if the guiding frame in which the gala’s tableaux took place appears overtly mythologizing, it is harder to suggest this argument of appropriation at the level of the performers themselves, and from the program roster and newspaper clippings there is a limit to what we can presume about the performance of identity. As Jane Apostol, Marion Parks, and newspaper reports indicated, “[d]escendants of many old California families took part in the performance, wearing heirloom costumes for the event.”106 As one report suggests, these

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102 Flyer – HSSC scrapbook.
104 Parks, “‘Beaux’” – HSSC scrapbook.
105 Deverell, pp. 62, 64, 69. Wallis, pp. 138-140.
California families were comprised of American pioneers and Californio ranch holders: “Many an old chest and trunk has been ransacked in the past few weeks to provide magnificent costumes, mantillas and fans which will be worn by descendants of the De La Guerras, Sepulvedas, Bandinis, Carrillos, Workmans, Machados, Avilas and others.”

Examples of these displays by descendants were “Dolores Malin Luckey, descendant of Juan Bautista Alvarado”, and the two vice presidents of the prominent women’s social club, the Friday Morning Club, Mrs Florence Dodson Schoneman (a core HSSC member too) and Mrs John V. Barrow – listed as Senora Florencia Sepulveda Schoneman and Senora Dolores Machado de Burrow, respectively. Parks described Barrow as descended from the Machado family and wearing the gown “inherited from her Grandmother Machado” whilst Schoneman, descending from the Sepulveda family of Rancho Palos Verdes wore “a mantilla two hundred years old, which has been handed down from generation to generation in the Sepulveda family.”

Emma Punter, meanwhile, “daughter of Mrs. Isabel Den de Monroe” and related to both Spanish soldier, Francisco Ortega, and Concepcion Arguello, daughter of Spanish governor, Jose Dario Arguello, wore a “rare embroidered mantle which is almost as much a part of the history of California as the Golden Gate.”

Kropp and Wallis’ work, particularly in relation to Schoneman, makes clear the presence of Californio descendants in the life of Los Angeles’ women’s clubs. With their family history in mind, appropriation would be a reductive reading of these women’s presence in the gala. Whether the past in which their Californio ancestors were being represented by way of gowns, mantles, and mantillas was being fairly portrayed is perhaps more contentious. Parks’ reference to the mantle as occupying such a presence in the mythology and history of California’s past and the centrality of the mantilla in the tableau Schoneman performed in – entitled “La Mantilla” – points to the prioritizing of regalia equally as much, perhaps more, than the persons who they adorned. Yet such clothes could contain a social presence, a historical weight, and an affective power.

110 Ibid.
111 Kropp, pp. 57, 244. Wallis, p. 144.
conveying their own temporality. Timothy Campbell’s work on English fashion, print culture, and historical understanding notes how essential the development and representation of fashion was to an “emergent historicism” that made eighteenth-century Britons understand how they “were present-day products of contingent historical circumstances.”112 This era made visible “the temporal provenance of clothing”, whether that was from the present or past, each item of dress expanding the boundaries and perception of the “synchronic order”.113 At the HSSC gala, whether the audience distinctly confined such items of clothing to a non-Anglo past or understood the items’ presence as connecting the “Spanish Arcadia” and “American Los Angeles,” the temporal power of the objects is undisputed. Parks notes that many of the outfits came from “Senora Acacia Orena de Rickard, who divides her time between Los Angeles and Santa Barbara. Some of the shawls are between 200 and 300 years old and reflect in glory of color and design almost lost arts of craftsmanship.”114 In light of this, however romanticized and fetishized the outfits were by some, there is a viable historical lineage to be drawn from the display of the outfits to a Spanish Colonial and Californio history.

Yet if some of the tableau performers could claim a direct link to a regional past, other outfits and the musical entertainment highlighted again just how contested and reimagined this space was. As the program notes, some of the gala’s costumes came from the Theatre at Padua Hills in Claremont, home to the Mexican Players. As Matt Garcia has argued, the Mexican Players of Padua Hills represent a complex and contradictory space in which the Mexican troupe recruited from the Claremont region strived to enact a “strategic essentialism” of their shared expressions of Mexican identity within an often romanticized and mythologized framework of historical plays about Mexico and California.115 The plays of the Mexican Players, 1931-1974, were written and directed by Anglos – Herman and Bess Garner and Charles Dickinson.116 The Garners represent an intercultural “progressivism” that wanted to further relations between Anglos and

113 Campbell, p. 15.
114 Parks, “‘Beaux’” – HSSC scrapbook.
116 Garcia, p. 132.
Mexicans and Mexican Americans by celebrating Mexico and California’s historic cultures – although often genuinely supportive of the Players, that progressivism could be appropriating, reductive, and paternalizing, in both the content of the plays and in the reactions from white audiences.117

The costumes are a particularly apposite indication of this conflicted expression of Mexican culture. “Although the Garners and Dickinson made specious claims to authenticity in the story lines of many plays,” Garcia writes, “it would be a mistake to reduce Padua productions to simple acts of counterfeit.”118

The Padua Hills plays were meticulously composed:

Throughout the 1930s and 1940s, the Garners made several trips to Mexico for costumes and stage props, and invested heavily in a wardrobe department that employed a small army of seamstresses to reproduce many of the garments worn in the plays. This attention to detail bespoke an overwhelming concern for the maintenance of an authentic and folk image of the Mexican Players and a sincere commitment to honoring what they perceived as the traditional cultures of Mexico and early California.119

Yet the Garners’ perception of this traditional culture was, Garcia notes with reference to Robin D. G. Kelley, based on an understanding of ‘folk’ and ‘authenticity’ that was always counterposed to US industrial modernity and prefigured Mexico and its people in an essentialized manner as a rural and outdated society.120 “The appreciation of Mexican culture expressed by the Garners and white patrons was largely a function of their ability to appropriate and represent it within a context that affirmed U.S. cultural hegemony in North America.”121 In Marion Parks’ loaning of costumes from Padua Hills, the historical gala was borrowing the same cultural framework that the Garners expressed: both relied on that telling slippage from ‘Mexican California’ to the antiquity inherent in the reframing of the past as ‘Spanish California’.122

Amidst this rendering of regional history, the altruism of the archival preservation of the Prefecture Records becomes distorted. The Huntington successfully preserved the records, and the HSSC and WPA finished translating the records in 1938.123 Yet the record of these archives in the public sphere, as the

117 Garcia, pp. 141-142, 149-151
118 Garcia, p. 138.
119 Ibid.
120 Garcia, pp. 138-139.
121 Garcia, p. 139.
122 Garcia, p. 140.
123 Apostol, p. 39.
regional newspapers of the 1930s recount it at least, seems inextricably tied to the spectacle of the “tableaux vivant” at the HSSC gala. One newspaper column remarked that “if anyone knows archives in this city, it’s Marion [Parks]” – but archival knowledge, and thus historical knowledge, was publicly distributed through the frame of these archival projects, a frame often partly informed by ideological and mythological imperatives. Yet these storehouses and theatrical dioramas were not completely hermetic: their existence depended on being permeable and in their quest to acquire regional history, they often incorporated both public and private historical expression that resisted and modified grand narratives of American westward expansion.

Conclusion: The Storehouse of California History and Life

This thesis has continually shown how Anglo documents about Californian texts – catalogues, bibliographies, articles, even internal memoranda – distinctly reflect their content in their form. The reference works of nineteenth century California historian and bibliographer, Alexander Smith Taylor, provide a fitting conclusion to this chapter – simultaneously reflecting the massive and the miniature in historical understandings of California’s space and time but also presenting an opportunity to further critique the contexts into which regional knowledge was arranged.

As outlined by prominent bibliographers and librarians in California, Alexander Smith Taylor (1817-1876) was a realtor and district court clerk at Monterey from 1848 until 1860 when he married Josefa Hill and moved to a ranch outside Santa Barbara.124 Maintaining a varied interest in the history, literature, demography, ethnography, and ecology of California, Taylor wrote extensively on these topics, with some of his lengthier works appearing in local newspapers like the Sacramento Union, the California Farmer, Hutching’s California Magazine, and the San Francisco Herald.125 As bibliographer Robert E. Cowan noted, Taylor was a great collector of historical Californian documents – manuscripts, newspapers, as well as a small but reasonably valuable personal library – and this

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124 Powell, Bibliographers, p. 5; “Alexander S. Taylor”, Overland Monthly, 7 (Second Series), 41, (May, 1886), 553.
collecting fuelled his historical and bibliographical work. Cowan notes that Taylor acquired 6000 Spanish documents “relating to the history of California from 1770-1846, among which are some forty or fifty letters written by Padre Junipero Serra”, offered to the United States Congress but eventually ending up in the Catholic diocese at San Francisco. Taylor also possessed “400 specimen newspapers printed in California from 1846-1854”, their rarity and short-lived nature meaning they held “great historical value”, as Cowan noted. Yet the Mercantile Library they were given to burnt down in the fire of 1906, which also claimed many of his scrapbooks of historical writing that had been presented to the Society of California Pioneers.

The fire symbolized Taylor’s luck. Although his Indianology of California (1860-1863) was regarded at the time as a relatively pioneering work of ethnology utilized by historians like Bancroft, obscurity, isolation from the academic and bibliographic community of Northern California, and a distinct lack of success in converting the scrapbooks and newspaper articles into any meaningful published format meant Taylor’s work was little known outside of the handful of collectors and historians ardently interested in Californiana. Indeed, the Bibliografa Californica (1863, 1866) – which was the work the bibliographic community recognized as the first considerable attempt at a California bibliography – was quite firmly disregarded by Cowan and Bancroft whose own reference works would not only surpass Taylor’s effort for scope and scale, they had none of the factual liberties, bibliographical and typographical errors, or the amateurish style they criticized in Taylor’s attempt.

Powell and Cowan were sympathetic of Taylor’s effort, however, recognising that in some capacity he had furthered the field of California bibliography. Not only this, Taylor’s work, perhaps because of its shortcomings and erraticism, further reveals the conceptual frame in which Californian Anglo antiquarians understood regional collecting. Taylor strikingly demonstrates the taxonomic impulse of Anglo society when that culture approached not just

126 Cowan, pp. 19-20; Powell, p. 11.
127 Cowan, p. 19.
128 Cowan, p. 20.
129 Cowan, p. 20, Powell, p. 8.
131 Powell, pp. 5-6, Cowan, pp. 22-24.
historical bibliography but almost any aspect of California life. As Powell reports, Taylor did not believe that the sole need was for a bibliography of California history. He called for further bibliographies of Philology, Chartography, Legalia, Poeta, Missioni, Nueva Mexicana, and finally Romantica or Gold Rushiana, saying of this last category: ‘Let us have the ground work of a California Boccaccio or Arabian Nights, for the life of our young state has brought forth the strongest exuvia of the human soul. But a catalogue must be made first’[my emphasis].

Taylor’s comment is one the clearest statements we have that the romanticizing and narrativizing of California history was inextricably tied to its cataloguing and taxonomizing. It suggests that the Anglo epistemology of the region – and thus the historical narratives of American investment and expansion – heavily relied on its ability to index and arrange the physical and cultural geography of the region. It also highlights the reference work – an index, catalogue, or bibliography – as the privileged textual form of regional knowledge.

These impulses were epitomized by the fullest conceptualization that Taylor had for his work and for California, a prospectus or portfolio of his writing, entitled *The Storehouse of California History and Life* (1872). As Powell notes, he sent this work – “an elaborate synopsis…of [his] revised scrapbooks of the works he proposed to have printed in book-form” – to Bancroft and it remains bound in the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley. Those scrapbooks are listed in *The Storehouse* by title with scores of subheadings demarcating each volume’s contents. The volumes cover the “Discoverers, Founders, and Pioneers of California”, two works on the ecology of California, the *Indianology*, the *Bibliografa*, and “The Odds and Ends of California Life and of the Waysides of Ancient and Modern Arizona.” Yet, disconnected from the rest of Taylor’s work, some of which was irretrievably lost to fire, *The Storehouse* is less a repository of reference works than an index to the wider Anglo lens and epistemology on the region. Taylor claimed that the “contents deraigned in the Synopsis are not as fragmentary as their titles would indicate” but the *Storehouse* does not contain any of the contents: they exist, if they exist at all, beyond its

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133 Powell, p. 12.
134 Powell, pp. 7-8.
pages and the *Storehouse* merely contains the signifiers.\footnote{Taylor, p. 1.} For that reason, then, at only three pages, Taylor’s *Storehouse* is a superlative example of the California library as both miniature and gigantic. The scale which it gestured to – in terms of space, time, and topic – was voluminous, covering everything within the region’s history and ecology that Taylor could possibly think of. Yet it was a regional world held in microcosm, fragmented, and defined by its mislaid components. As the index to a library and storehouse that did not and could not exist in the capacity it suggested, it points to the precarity of Anglo bibliographic concepts and structures in nineteenth and early twentieth century California life. Far from being solid and gigantic, narrating of the course of American westward expansion, Taylor’s storehouse and the Huntington’s Californiana Project show, and even depend upon in the case of the Huntington, a fragmentation, permeability, and mutability. Regional histories could be grand and mythologizing, like the HSSC’s gala event, but such romanticizing relied upon a distinct reframing of archival knowledge. How collections and archives moved between these public and private containers had a distinct effect on how regional knowledge was constructed. The chapter that follows now considers how historical knowledge was created within those private collections – in the arrangement of Californiana in personal scrapbooks.
Chapter Four

Private Collections and Indexes in Pasadena

Having examined how private collections became reconfigured, physically and conceptually, into public libraries and how public archives were reframed by cultural institutions, this chapter examines the structures of regional knowledge produced within private collections and indexes. The aim is to show the construction of regional knowledge within these personal texts and spaces. This chapter argues that the material and textual assemblage of these works gives us a further modality of how Anglo society understood Southern California and its past. Where this thesis has spoken of a taxonomic approach to the region’s history and literature, as well as an understanding of regionalism that was increasingly visual, this chapter argues that those cultural frameworks are visible within the personal reference documents of Anglo collectors. In doing so, it also seeks to draw attention to the similarities between the formal (published) and informal documents of regional assemblage in this Anglo bibliographic world.

Pasadena of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century provides a productive focal point for analysing the construction of private archives of regionalism. This is because, as critics like Kevin Starr and Robert Winter have shown, it was a community that was very self-consciously looking to establish the institutions, frameworks, and social groupings of elite Euro-American art and culture, whilst simultaneously celebrating what it saw as an Edenic climate and Southwestern landscape precisely lacking in other European and American cities.\(^1\) Starr outlined “two modes of Bohemia”, one in the exclusive residences and winter time hotels of Pasadena and the other in the community of artists and craftspeople that lived along the Arroyo Seco gulch that ran southward from Pasadena’s western border.\(^2\) Whether it was in a domestic ideal that embraced a Euro-American horticultural finery or in the Arroyo homes that vigorously celebrated and appropriated the American Southwest’s ecology and Native American and Spanish-speaking cultures, “Pasadenans sought the emblematically

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The Arts and Crafts architecture of Greene and Greene was particularly symbolic of this cultivated aesthetic and lifestyle:

like their fellow Pasadenaans, the Greene brothers pursued the pleasure of the genteel tradition – art, music, poetry, painting, history, literature – and, of course, the outdoors, taken as domesticated landscape, taken that is, as the garden enlivened by a lingering element of original wilderness, the so-called middle landscape, which allowed American nature and the European art past to blend in harmony: the landscape, in short, of Pasadena. … For architects and clients alike, Pasadena was a liberal Protestant upper-middle-class daydream…

Amidst this daydream, members of the community that were engaged in assembling Californiana reflected this burgeoning regional identity in their collecting practices. The collections examined in this chapter not only display core aspects of this Anglo Pasadena identity, their aspirations to these Pasadena ideals reveal how the Anglo lens on Southern California history and literature was structured.

Regarding these private collections and personal indexes of Southern California history and literature, what is so important about Starr’s summation of the Pasadena aesthetic, lifestyle, and social ideal is that negotiation between the external landscape and the remaking of Southern California’s culture and history within the cultivated space of the home and garden. When considering scrapbooks of regional history or private collections of Californiana, that relationship between landscape exteriority and the curation of an internal space gives these texts and collections an affective and cultural significance, broadening our understanding of how Southern Californian history was encapsulated.

One theorist who explicitly focused on that internal-external relationship between image, text, archive, and Western spaces and people, was the renowned German art historian, Aby Warburg (1866-1929), eldest son of the Hamburg family that became most famous for their success in international banking. In February 1896, Warburg visited Pasadena, met some of this burgeoning culture’s high society, including collectors, and visited a few local tourist attractions. The

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1 Starr, pp. 100, 102, 107-8, 112
extravagances of Anglo high society culture and the grandeur of American enterprise must have been noticeable to Warburg. A Los Angeles Times report of daily hotel and society comings-and-goings indicates that Warburg stayed at the Hotel Green, one of the resorts Starr described as among the places where “rich America lazed in the sun, played polo, and held teas and masquerade balls while the East Coast lay under a mantle of snow.”

Robert Winter notes that the hotel “showed its lineage [to American enterprise] by being placed next to the Santa Fe [railroad] depot” whilst contemporary visitors of the time rhapsodised over its “romantic and photogenic” Spanish Islamic architecture and opulent interiors. Hotels like Hotel Green primarily catered to tourists but they were nevertheless emblematic of Pasadena’s high society.

Warburg had arrived from New Mexico and would soon leave – via San Francisco and New Mexico again – for Arizona to observe and meet the Hopi Indians. That Warburg stays in Pasadena before this trip is not surprising because the city and its adjacent Arroyo community was a significant hub for Anglos interested in the Native American and Spanish-speaking cultures of the Southwest, such as A.C. Vroman, Grace Nicholson, George Wharton James, Charles Fletcher Lummis, and Eva Scott Fényes. Most notably, the Arroyo region would hold by 1914 the Southwest Museum of the American Indian, founded by Lummis.

Frederick Webb Hodge became the museum’s director in 1932, one of the anthropologists that had been so influential in Warburg’s decision to visit Western America when they met at the Smithsonian, Washington, DC, in the autumn of 1895. The Pasadena high-society of genteel art and leisure that Warburg interacted with drew on the idea of a Native American antiquity in their collecting practices. As Winter notes, Pasadena art and curio shops like Grace Nicholson’s traded in the arts of Southwestern Pueblo Indians and these objects and the cultures they represented were “among the chief resources for the West Coast Arts

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6 “Pasadena Yesterday”, Los Angeles Times, February 8, 1896, p. 12; Starr, p. 100. Also see Winter, pp. 304-5.
7 Winter, p. 305.
8 See Winter, pp. 305, 309-310 on the relationship between residents and hotels.
10 See, for instance, Starr, pp. 107-118; Winter, pp. 304-5 for Nicholson.
and Crafts movement”, of which Pasadena and the Arroyo was a hotbed. In this division of space, time, and society, this community may well have intimately understood the duality in Warburg’s reaction upon meeting the anthropologists at the Smithsonian, where these “pioneers of native research…opened my eyes to the world-wide importance of prehistoric and ‘wild’ America. Hence I decided to visit Western America both as a modern creation and in its lower Hispano-Indian strata.” Warburg’s journey to the American West and his experiences among the Hopi have become one of the critical focal points for studies of his life; indeed, his biographer Gombrich notes that, “[m]ore has been published in English on this episode in Warburg’s life than on any other aspect of his work”. I believe the genesis and early influences of his work from this era provides a useful insight into Southern Californian collecting because Warburg finds himself in Pasadena at a time when others were similarly codifying the links between texts, collections, regional peoples and landscapes.

Nicholas Mann remarks that Warburg’s study of “the juxtaposition of a newly constituted Western civilization and the more ancient and ‘primitive’ strata of indigenous Indian culture” had a lasting effect on Warburg, resulting eventually in three lectures on the subject when he returned to Germany, and his findings on symbolism continuing to influence his studies. One of the lectures was given at Kreuzlingen Sanatorium in 1923, and became known as the lecture on the Serpent Ritual or “Images from the Region of the Pueblo Indians of North America.”

The unpublished notes accompanying this lecture were translated to English in full (excerpts had appeared in Gombrich’s biography) in Alain Michaud’s volume of 2004, in which some of the deeper influences of Warburg’s Western excursion became apparent. Michaud emphasises the Smithsonian document archive as being fundamental:

Warburg discovered Native America through archives, and a book and a certain image, even more than his meeting other researchers, revealed the object of his quest to him. In the library of the Smithsonian Institution, he

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13 Winter, pp. 308-309.
14 Quoted in Gombrich, p. 88.
15 Gombrich, p. 90.
consulted the large folio edition by the Swedish archaeologist Gustaf Nordenskiold of *Cliff-Dwellers of the Mesa Verde, Southwestern Colorado*, published in Stockholm in 1893, and a poor-quality photograph (or print) in this text took on an initiatory meaning for him: ‘A book and an image gave me the scientific grounding for my trip and a certain vision of its goal.’

Michaud sees it as highly significant that Warburg’s inspiration for his journey came from the “association of an image and a text” and an “immersing” in the archive. For Michaud, this expansive potential of the image leads to an interaction between the archive and the space beyond its walls. Warburg discovered

the ability of images to lead the seeker toward exteriority. The almost fortuitous combination of text and image that prompted Warburg’s trip to New Mexico led to his transforming the experience into a document and, inversely, his making the document a place of experience - or adventure. This was accomplished by taking paths from the circumscribed space of knowledge in order to return to the real world.

Warburg’s discovery distinctly mirrors the ways in which Anglos in Southern California practiced antiquarian, historical, bibliographic, and collecting work. It provides evidence that the mediation between an external world or landscape and the internal archive and collection was one of the central ways regional knowledge was constructed. Furthermore, as I have noted, the form and content of the works of this community often distinctly mirror each other and the texts reach beyond their pages to perform an ideal of Western American identity. For this Anglo community, the iconography and typologies of regionalism – whether it was adobes, missions, Native Americans, the climate, or topography – enter into the regional literature in a way that foregrounds the experience and perspective of the American settler within the physical landscape: using Michaud’s phrase, Californiana as “the place of experience - or adventure.” If we remember the way that Marion Parks and Lindley Bynum traversed the landscape and Dawson’s Book Shop embodied the poetics of travel literature, this relation between text and exteriority becomes clear. Turn-of-the-century Los Angeles’s nascent (though rapidly expanding) academic structure necessitated this circuitous route from the “space[s] of knowledge” – the return to the landscape, with an often imperial lens,

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18 Michaud, pp. 179-180.
20 Michaud, p. 181.
21 Ibid.
was the generative work for creating Anglo Southern California regionalism. As Starr puts it, “In the beginning, and always, was the land; and from the land, the first and last premise of the California experience.”

Yet it was the articulation of landscape and the people within it through collections and taxonomic systems that was fundamental to constructing Anglo California experience. How this formulation of regional knowledge was constructed in the private collection and how such private collections intimated an exteriority and perspective beyond their confines is demonstrated through this chapter’s case studies, the first of which is that of Leontine A. Lowe.

The Collection of Leontine A. Lowe

When Warburg visited Pasadena in 1896 he found that community in the process of building collections of Southwestern regional material. Warburg’s very presence in Pasadena indicated that a network of antiquarians, regionalists, preservationists, and collectors had been established, a network he could tap into. This group was an important progenitor for the emergence of organizations like the Southwest Museum in 1907. Central to Warburg’s Pasadena visit is the meeting with Leontine A. Lowe and her husband, Thaddeus S. C. Lowe. The Lowes were one of Pasadena’s wealthiest families and owned an enormous, opulent mansion on Orange Grove boulevard, Pasadena’s most exclusive street – they would both die having lost their entire fortune, however. Thaddeus Lowe is remembered as a professor, businessman, and founder of and pilot in the Army Balloon Civil War Corp who, upon residing in Pasadena in the late 1880s, built a 3,000-foot long funicular railway up one of the nearby Sierra Madre mountains and placed an observatory, series of alpine-style hotels, and a gigantic searchlight on the peak next to it. Opening in 1893, the railway became one of the premier

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22 Starr, p. 128.
tourist attractions of Southern California, before eventually being dismantled following a fire that destroyed the Mount Lowe Tavern in 1936. Warburg himself took the trip up Mount Lowe, one of his photographs documenting the experience. Thaddeus Lowe is well-remembered today by his Civil War exploits and the Mount Lowe funicular and hotel venture, the foundations of which are still visible on Mount Echo. Warburg, however, seemed to have much more interest in the collection of Mrs Leontine Lowe, whom he described as:

Intelligent, a born collector. Incredibly rich collection, but badly sorted and without any mention of provenance. Great collection of Cliff Dwellings pottery (whether everything is genuine?)

Despite the concerns over order and authenticity, Warburg was astonished at what Lowe had been able to collect.

This description, however, undersells Leontine Lowe and her collection. Writing in 1895, Hiram Reid, one of Pasadena’s first Anglo chroniclers, remarked that within the basement rooms of the Lowe mansion, Leontine Lowe had, over the course of forty years, amassed “thirty-one distinct and different collections”, her “life-work” that was “said to be the largest one now in private hands in the United States, and is without doubt the largest one ever made by a woman in the world – hence its prominence as a living incident in Pasadena history.” Whether Reid was being hyperbolic or not, the reported scale of Lowe’s collection is astonishing. It makes it all the more remarkable she has received such little attention, both in contemporary reports and in modern academia – with the exception of Reid’s few pages and a half-page obituary by fellow Pasadenan, George Wharton James, any mention of Leontine’s collection is within the few works about Thaddeus Lowe. Yet whilst not as public and overt as the Mount Lowe funicular – and the limited exposure of the collection is perhaps one reason why Leontine scarcely appears in the document record – Leontine’s collecting was an equally impressive commitment and as striking, if not more, in its largesse and command.

27 See Guidi and Mann, pp. 86-87.
28 Quoted in Guidi and Mann, p. 153.
30 Poleskie, pp. 315, 330; Block, pp. 140, 160; George Wharton James, “In The Editor’s Den”, Out West, 3, 6 (June, 1912), 393-386 (p. 394).
According to Reid, “all branches of natural science, all phases of artistic skill, and all zones of the earth are liberally represented in this unique collection, which is estimated to contain over 300,000 specimens.” 31 Lowe’s collection of minerals and precious stones had “80,000 specimens”, she had spent $150,000 on the curio collection (“some of the rarest old paintings, old laces, tapestries and costumes…relics of rank and royalty; carving, sculptures, coins, mosaics, and other relics of classic antiquity”); and the ceramics were equally ornate, from “Venetian porcelains” to “a set of tableware used by George Washington while he was President”. 32 Leontine Lowe’s collecting had taken her “around the world” and she had “enlisted the co-operation of scientists, travellers, mine-managers, art collectors, antiquarians, curio dealers, high officials in different countries, missionaries, etc., thus levying tribute on all lands.” 33 To Reid, Lowe’s collection distinctly surpassed the burgeoning collections of archaeology, mineralogy, conchology, and geology that were being developed elsewhere in Pasadena by prominent individuals. 34 Wharton James likewise thought Lowe was an expert in these fields and that her collection was “world-famed” but suggests that only those who knew Lowe ever saw the collection – he states that she was very opposed to “local fame or notoriety”. 35

Reid was also impressed by Lowe’s book and ethnology collection which were both auctioned in San Francisco around 1914. 36 These parts of the collection were sold as distinct entities – it is unclear what happened to the remaining items Lowe had acquired. The catalogues are useful because, whilst they contain material garnered across the continent and further, these were the two parts of the collection that most directly evinced Lowe’s interest in the cultural expression of the Southwest. The auction catalogue for the library listed 1093 lots but the library as it was sold must easily have contained more than four times as many items as

31 Reid, p. 214.
32 Reid, pp. 213-214.
33 Reid, p. 214.
34 Reid, pp. 212-214.
35 James, “Editor’s”, p. 394.
36 See Reid p. 214, for a description of these divisions of Lowe’s holdings: “Rare old books”; “In the field of Ethnology the exhibits are most extensive, comprehensive, versatile and instructive”.
this, with many sets of often hundreds of items (e.g. picture collections) grouped under one lot number. Bearing the kind of range that antiquarian booksellers like Dawson’s would come to continually stock, the scope of the Lowe library was indicated by the catalogue frontispiece listing “Americana, Indians, Fine Arts, MSS, Costume, Numismatics, Ceramics, Illustrated Travels, Books of Colored Plates, Architecture, and rare editions of General Literature.” With in this collection was a wide range of Californiana that included descriptions of the region, memoirs (Lecouvrer), tracts from the various antiquarians along the Arroyo (Hiram Reid, George Wharton James, Lummis), romances (Jackson’s *Ramona*), early histories of Los Angeles (Guinn), as well as thousands and thousands of views of various scenes of the region. Works on Native Americans across the continent were grouped together and included books by the prominent ethnographers of the time including Wharton James, Otis Mason, and Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, as well as Mary Rowlandson’s captivity narrative, Helen Hunt Jackson’s anti-imperialist tract *A Century of Dishonor* and the book by Nordenskiold, *The Cliff Dwellers of the Mesa Verde*, that had been Warburg’s inspiration for his decision to head west. Warburg may even have flicked through this volume again whilst visiting Leontine Lowe and her collection.

Out of over 1700 lots, the catalogue of Native American pottery and baskets contained around 250 examples of the Cliff Dwellings pottery Warburg had been so interested in. According to the *Times*, the total collection of Native American material, however, contained over 20,000 items, was bought for $15,000 by oilman William Fitzhugh (though the collection was later valued at $200,000), and was bequeathed to San Francisco after speculation it would go to UC Berkeley.

My reason for detailing the Lowe collection is not only to draw attention to a greatly understudied collector worthy of much more extensive consideration but to deepen our understanding of how turn of the century Anglo society was reframing the region. Warburg visited the Lowe collection at Leontine’s home on

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38 Catalogue [Library] - what is usually designated as Californiana is located pp. 33-38, photographic views, pp. 76-78.
39 Catalogue [Library], pp. 38-42.
Orange Grove boulevard and he ascended Thaddeus’ funicular railway up Mount Lowe – in a way, Warburg’s experience at both sites was similar. Both Lowes’ projects expressed a command of regional perspective, drawing in as much of the physical and cultural horizon as was feasibly possible. Guidi and Mann’s caption for Warburg’s photograph of the Lowe railway – a “disquieting photograph of the cablecar plunging down the mountain, with the American flag hoisted, as a symbol of the new civilization introduced by Western cultures” – accurately links imperialism and the industrial manipulation of topography, headed up by the nationalist iconography of the American flag. Yet the fullest expression of this rapaciousness was located not by descending Mount Lowe but by what one acquired by reaching the top: the panoramic view gave one a sense that Anglo enterprise had collapsed and reframed regional space within a singular perspective. As the Pacific Electric’s promotional pamphlet stated,

Standing on the summit of Mt. Lowe, with such a beautiful world spread out at his feet, the traveller gains a new conception of the handiwork of God and man as here exemplified, and is also in a position to endorse the advice of the old-timer who said: ‘The best way to see Southern California is first to go up on Mt. Lowe and look at it all at once!’

Back on Orange Grove boulevard in the many basement rooms of the Lowe mansion, Leontine was attempting to render not just Southern California but the whole world visible all at once, with a discerning focus on the American Southwest.

Like the Kunstkammern collections of the Habsburg empire, Leontine Lowe’s collection distinctly merged material from the natural world with what was regarded as the modern and antiquarian artefacts of the human world: “an embodiment of an encyclopaedic ideal…thought to represent the world in microcosm.” As opposed to the programmatic mission of institutions with more stringent boundaries in deciding what to collect between art, human crafts, and the natural world, the Kunstkammer was “not merely a curio cabinet” but a far more expansive and dynamic synthesis between spaces, objects, and temporalities.

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41 Guidi & Mann, p. 86.
42 The story of Mount Lowe, n.p.
44 Kaufmann, p. 142.
Leontine Lowe’s collection embodies this same goal of all-inclusiveness but it also holds the same structure of knowledge that the Kunstkammer had. Thomas Dacosta Kaufmann notes that,

the symbolism of some of the objects contained in [Holy Roman Emperor] Maximilian’s collections carried a specific charge. Their imagery turns on the notion that the macrocosm, the greater world and time, were linked by a system of correspondences to the microcosm, the world of man. This notion underlay the construction of a collection that had objects which corresponded to all the aspects of a greater world.45

For a society such as turn-of-the-century Anglo Los Angeles that so keenly stressed the ‘inevitable’ regime change in the civilizations of the Southwest, the dioramic construction of American society in the Southwest gave that ‘system of correspondences’ a deep political weighting. Through different media, both the basement rooms and catalogues of Leontine’s collection and the steel railway of Thaddeus made claims as to what varying relations that microcosmic world of man-made objects had to that macrocosmic world of time – which items represented past and which represented present. Both projects of the Lowes also represent that powerful mediation between the exteriority of the world or landscape and the interiority of the collection and visual perspective. As Leontine drew the outside world in to the space of the mansion, Thaddeus’ project was to command enough of the external realm that it could maintain a singular perspective, giving the region a sense of the contained ‘American interior.’

Warburg’s movement between these two projects of the Lowes must surely have contributed to his understanding of the relation between archive and landscape, between text and experience, that Michaud suggests was paradigmatic for his North American trip. And if Warburg understood this, it is reasonable to suggest other members of the Pasadena and Arroyo community understood it too. Charles Lummis wrote to Lowe on a number of occasions asking her if she would join the Southwest Society of the Archaeological Institute of America that he had established. She declined on the grounds of health and finances but commented that the Society “surely seems to be a good thing” and “seem[ed] so praiseworthy”, indicating her and Lummis’ shared understanding of the Southwest

45 Kaufmann, p. 143.
Reinforcing this, Lummis replied, “…[W]e cannot get along permanently with you, and you yourself belong to the Society, where I shall be glad to count you sometime.” Whether or not Lummis was angling for Lowe’s collection to become a part of the Southwest Museum, they clearly both held an appreciation for each other’s investment in the region. Both extensive collectors, the mutual respect in this correspondence surely redoubled their perception, expressed by Warburg, that the material and literary collecting of the region was where the reframing of the landscape took place and thus a space that allowed for the reimagining of personal identity through that regionalism.

The Scrapbooks and Indexes of Eva Scott Fényes

“I wish I had $50,000 to spare for Mrs Lowes collection to present to the [Southwest] Museum”, Eva Scott Fényes wrote to Charles Fletcher Lummis in a letter of June 1905, demonstrating the high esteem and value that the Pasadena community regarded the Leontine Lowe collection. In wanting to present the collection to Lummis’ Southwest Museum, the remark also demonstrates how invested Lowe’s collection was in the cultures of the Southwest and, in turn, how influential it was as a collection to other regionalists, collectors, and antiquarians such as Lummis and Fényes. Immediately following the remark about Lowe’s collection, Fényes asked Lummis, “Would you like to have me bequeath my small collection of books on California to the same institution? I cannot give them up yet.” Lummis made no mention of Lowe’s collection in his reply but affirmed that he would welcome Fényes’ collection of Californiana in the future.

Eva Scott Muse Fényes (1849-1930) is remembered today as a successful watercolourist, wealthy patron of the Southern Californian art scene, and, like the Lowes, one of the most influential members of Pasadena’s high society, with an

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46 Leontine A. Lowe to Charles Fletcher Lummis, February 3, 1904 and November 7, 1904 [microfilm]. Charles Fletcher Lummis Papers, 1888-1928, Braun Research Library Collection, Autry National Center, Los Angeles, California; MS.1.1.2749.
47 Lummis to Lowe, November 21, 1904 [microfilm]. Lummis Papers; MS. 1.1.2749.
48 Eva Scott Fényes to Charles Fletcher Lummis, June 14, 1905 [microfilm]. Lummis Papers; MS. 1.1.1408.
49 Ibid.
50 Lummis to Fényes, June 18, 1905 [microfilm]. Lummis Papers; MS. 1.1.1408.
opulent Beaux-Arts mansion on Orange Grove boulevard to match. Jasper Schad notes she was one of the most vigorous and enthusiastic patrons of the local art scene and “perhaps Southern California’s most sophisticated art lover.” In their expansive profile of the Fényes female dynasty, Virginia Scharff and Carolyn Brucken note that Eva became an ardent part of the Pasadena-Arroyo community of Anglo regionalists and preservationists most conspicuously led by Charles Lummis.

Eva embraced the mission of saving the southwestern past, and at Lummis’s urging she began painting California’s adobe buildings as a means to record an imperiled landscape. She became a life member of Lummis’s Archaeological Institute of America, Southwest Society, founded 1903, and an early member of the Casa de Adobe Committee, formed in 1917 by the Hispanic Society of Los Angeles to re-create a 1850s Spanish California rancho home...

An extensive collector and cultural patron, Fényes’ “Pasadena salon provided a glittering gathering place for artists, intellectuals, and wealthy preservationists” and when she died in 1930 she left “a legacy of thousands of watercolor paintings and countless photographs, a fortune in real estate and other investments, and a wealth of projects in the preservation of Spanish Colonial and Native American crafts.”

Despite being such a prominent presence in the Pasadena art and preservationist scene, Fényes’ activity in Southern California has received little critical attention outside of the sources mentioned above. Her watercolours, the art objects and paintings she collected, and the Orange Grove house and gardens (donated to the Pasadena Museum of History) have been the subject of focus. Yet the reference documents and indexes that Fényes produced are important resources that tell us more about the system of regional knowledge her collection’s components fitted into. Here I focus on Fényes’ newspaper scrapbooks relating to California and the indexes to her Californiana collections.

52 Schad, pp. 32-33.
53 Scharff and Brucken p. 48.
54 Scharff and Brucken, pp. 48-50.
55 Scharff and Brucken, pp. 50, 53-54.
Located within the Autry Museum of the American West’s Braun Research Archive, the six volumes of Fényes’ scrapbooks are predominantly clippings from Southern California’s newspapers on an extensive range of topics and individuals, frequently relating to episodes and figures of Southern California history, including the Californio, Mexican, and Native American cultures of the region, as well as prominent antiquarians and preservationists within the Anglo community of Pasadena and Los Angeles. \(^56\) The scrapbooks’ form, content, and indexing are analysed here.

Thickly-bound, the scrapbooks Fényes used were from a range of stationery books entitled “The Ideal Scrap Book”, produced by the New York and Chicago firm, the Ideal Stationary Company. \(^57\) The Ideal Scrap Books were praised for their innovation and flexibility – a British advertisement for the range was touted as “the most practical scrap book ever invented”. \(^58\) Ideal Scrap Books contained six columns of gummed circles on each page which items were damped and attached to by their right or left edge, depending on whether one was fixing the items to the verso or recto, respectively. As Ellen Gruber Garvey notes in her history of nineteenth century American scrapbooks, the Ideal Stationary Company’s books were versions of the Mark Twain scrapbook format that Samuel Clemens had patented: blank pages of pre-gummed grids that items could be attached to. \(^59\) The Ideal Scrapbooks were designed so that fragments of text and image could be interleaved into layers with every item free on its outside edge and able to be held back to reveal the layer underneath. The Ideal Scrapbook thus kept the duality and reversability of texts in play. They did not, as Garvey describes the majority of scrapbook making, “obliter[ate] the pasted side of the clipping”, a much smaller proportion of the item being required to surrender forever to the page. The result is more systematic at the same time as it is more expansive and enveloping: items are fixed and filed into columns and along linear pathways but the extra dimension that the layering gives the scrapbook makes it a more visceral

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\(^56\) Scrapbooks 1-6, Boxes 1-3, Eva Scott Fényes Collection, 1904-1951, Braun Research Library Collection, Autry National Center, Los Angeles; MS.206. It should be noted that there are scrapbooks produced by Fényes in the Fényes-Curtin-Paloheimo collection at the Pasadena Museum of History. The format of the scrapbooks differs between the two institutions, however – I have focused on the Braun’s holdings.

\(^57\) “Ideal Speciality Company”, *The American Stationer*, LI, 26 (June 28, 1902), p. 32.

\(^58\) *The Sphere*, 18, 237, August 6, 1904 [London], p. vi

and dynamic piece of assemblage, the created links between items now crossing more than the flat horizontal space of the page.

In the Ideal Scrapbook’s command that items must be affixed to the gummed columns, this format lends the semblance of a stricter order and categorization to scrapbooks, textual structures always with the potential to be unruly and surprising, yet the actual effect is one in which the potential linkages between items are more suspect or multifarious. 60 At times, a strict hierarchy is imposed on the page, either for necessity (in that a newspaper article was too large to be arranged in one piece), or in the instances where a letter or image clearly guides and references the content below. At other times, the assemblage is much more free form – certain articles and clippings do not automatically dominate and multiple fragments compete for our attention. In both instances, however, the dynamic quality of this format is visible compared to flatter, ‘two-dimensional’ scrap books. Not that other scrapbook formats were inert and passive, far from it: the immersive quality that is latent in every scrapbook is what drives Garvey’s work. However, the Ideal format automatically lends Fénes’ envisioning of Southern California regionalism a multitudinous quality – the dimensions of items, presenting certain icons of regional culture, immediately become related to what is in front and behind them. In placing items onto the page of the scrapbook, one did not have to work in a linear manner from the centre outward: items could be placed and subsequently prefaced or followed by others. Even if the method of arrangement one chose was potentially mechanical – perhaps you simply filled up each page of the book from the centre to the edge as you went along – having to manipulate fragments, lifting them up to place something behind it or wilfully obscuring something in favour of a text placed in front, kept the relationality and proprioception of scraps at the forefront of the compiler’s mind. The continually changing relationship of the fragments as the scrapbook pages evolved is especially important to these volumes and especially important to the cultural framework, discussed below, that Fénes was establishing through this work of assemblage.

This is exemplified when we compare the Fénes scrapbooks to another set of scrapbooks relating to California history, that of the Historical Society of

60 For the unexpected quality of scrapbooks and their messy “scrappiness”, see Garvey, pp. 14, 210.
Southern California editor and Los Angeles historian, J. Gregg Layne.\(^{61}\) The Layne scrapbooks are similarly expansive in their scope of California history, reflecting the collecting habits of their owner who amassed two enormous collections of Californiana during his lifetime, one that was purchased by Carrie Estelle Doheny through Dawson’s for the University of Southern California libraries, another that was bequeathed to UCLA.\(^{62}\) The Layne scrapbooks are entirely worthy of study on their own terms but here I focus on their overlaps with the Fényes volumes.

Layne’s scrapbooks are not the Ideal Scrapbook format and their assemblage and affixing of newspaper clippings replicate as strictly as possible the clippings’ original lay-out in the newspaper. Indicating the overlapping interests amongst the Anglo bibliographic and antiquarian community, Layne and Fényes often selected the same items from Southern Californian newspapers like the *Los Angeles Times*. Yet where the Layne fragments lie ordered, linear, flat, in a manner that commands a progressing, measured, column-to-column reading, the Fényes scrapbooks continually ask us to relate one piece to another.

For instance, the 1915 *Times* article “Saw Old Plaza Church Built” about the Californio centenarian Senora Antonia Verdugo Chavoya, resident of Verdugo Canyon, appears in both the Layne and Fényes scrapbooks.\(^ {63}\) The article discusses: Chavoya’s hundredth and seventh birthday; her parents, Lugarda Ramero and Julio Verdugo, who owned a huge area of land north of Los Angeles plaza; marriage at San Gabriel Mission to Don Pedro Chavoya; and reminiscences that include seeing the Plaza Church built.\(^ {64}\) The article venerates Chavoya but this admiration is mixed with a somewhat patronizing tone in describing the elderly woman, and a propensity to exaggerate and focus on the romanticizing of the Californio past for its predominantly Anglo readership.\(^ {65}\) The Layne scrapbook
is creative in placing the story next to a *Times* article on the death of Chavoya’s brother, Julius Chrisostino Verdugo, an article that was published a month apart from the Chavoya piece.\(^{66}\) This additional information broadens our historical understanding, but the assemblage remains a quite formal and distanced arrangement. Elsewhere, Layne meticulously organized his California library by a series of notecards and his final occupation was in sorting the regional history collection at UCLA.\(^{67}\) Whilst the mere selection and re-assembling of newspaper articles suggests an imaginative re-envisioning of the regional past, there is a sense with the Layne scrapbooks that his historical engagement and imagination was grounded in constructing a very systematic and formalized archive.

The Chavoya article’s incorporation into the Fényes scrapbook is a far more dynamic placement. The diverse selection of articles combines with the stratified yet inter-linked Ideal Scrapbook format to make the page much more the site of experience, an archive that pronounces a curation that draws attention to the authorship of the compiler. Firstly, centring and ensuring that the image of Chavoya would not be obscured, Fényes annotates the article to make clear her personal connection – at the bottom right of the clipping of the photograph of Chavoya, Fényes writes: “I went to see her in Feb 1916 […] E.S.F”.\(^{68}\) Then, where Layne neatly placed the Chavoya article next to the obituary of Chavoya’s brother, Fényes links the article to one in front of it about the San Gabriel Mission, which we know to be the location where Chavoya was married, something Fényes probably realised too.\(^{69}\) Where that article asks about the adobes adjacent to the mission – “…who can know what wraiths of yesteryear are hovering with their memories of faded glories and achievements?” – Fényes implicitly suggests it is figures like Chavoya that are part of this spectral historical re-envisioning.\(^{70}\)

Leafing through the fragments of text, the Chavoya article is also placed in dialogue with articles on the Peralta family’s loss of their land title around San Francisco County and the death of Franciscan priest, Joseph O’Keefe, to which

\(^{66}\) Layne Scrapbook 155/14 Vol. 1, pp. 141-142.

\(^{67}\) *To Remember.*

\(^{68}\) Fényes Scrapbook, Volume 2, p. 1.


\(^{70}\) Ibid.
Fényes adds, “met him at San Luis Rey”. Fényes’ collecting and assembling intimately re-narrates an understanding of Californio and Anglo society, one that underlines her experience and engagement with these figures and the region, at the same time as it seems to dwell on an Anglo-centric romantic retrospection that argues this era and its Spanish-speaking inhabitants was drawing to a close. The Ideal Scrapbook’s format allows for Fényes to make this textual space the site for the personal experience of regional history.

Garvey’s insightful monograph details how the form of scrapbooks led to the creation of unique worlds and archives cut from the continual stream of textual information in the daily press. “The scrapbook maker”, Garvey remarks, demands that the reader acknowledge the predetermined path through the clippings. Scrapbooks declare that they are something other than files of clippings; the framework and arrangement…materialize the collector’s vision, and each reflects the desire to promulgate a particular understanding of our relationship to the material it presents.

Describing the scrapbook as “an archive itself, shaping and delimiting knowledge”, Garvey attests that the selection and reassembling of newspaper fragments constitutes a deeply expressive act of curation and writing. Garvey’s theorization thus expands our understanding of the scrapbook’s capacities and places it in a similar conceptual space to the other collections of texts this thesis has examined. Demarcating the link between identity and collection, Garvey comments that,

a scrapbook parallels what book collectors call an association collection, a collection because of who once owned it. Every item in the scrapbook is like an association copy. Association copies need not be unique or even rare, but their ownership by a particular person enriches knowledge of both the owner and the text. … Just as association collections turn mass-produced books into unique copies, scrapbooks convert widely distributed ephemeral newspaper items into unique items and groupings. The act of cutting clippings from the newspapers…and placing it on the page constitutes an intimate act of writing with scissors that converts mass-produced print into manuscript.

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72 Garvey, pp. 86, 207.
73 Garvey, pp. 207-208.
74 Garvey, p. 212.
75 Ibid.
From the mass of Southern Californian newspapers, Fényes’ scrapbooks, as a personal and private curatorial space, collect and reconstruct a presentation of Southern Californian history and culture. More than this, they write Southern Californian history. With the exception of the posthumous printing of her collection of watercolours of adobes and missions, Fényes did not produce any published books on regional history. Yet, following Garvey’s formulation of scrapbook making as “writing with scissors”, these scrapbooks stand as authored works of Californiana, deeply considered “writing” that matches any other early Anglo chronicle on California, equally as literary and historical in its presentation of regionalism. Much like bibliographies, catalogues, and historical works that expressively narrativise their author’s journeys, scrapbooks deserve a place within the expanded understanding of California literature this thesis has argued for.

If the scrapbooks are California literature, what did Fényes write? The above comparison to Layne is one indication of how regional culture and history were narrated and re-assembled. I would suggest there are at least three further ways of reading Fényes’ scrapbook narratives: as dynamically and materially evidencing a romanticised understanding of California that other Anglo texts merely conceptualised; as a personal narrative of the trajectory of the Anglo antiquarian and preservationist community of early twentieth century Pasadena and the Arroyo; and as texts to read against and consider how marginalised histories could otherwise have been told. In all three accounts, the relationship between the scrapbook (as collection and archive) and the exteriority of the Southern California landscape is integral.

The Scrapbook as Kaleidoscope: Fényes’ Perspective on California

On one level, whilst the scrapbook as a format is always unexpected, its use of juxtaposition imbuing it with potentially hybrid narratives, the content of the Fényes scrapbooks is not subversive or even particularly surprising. In predominantly filtering the region through the accounts of organs like the Los Angeles Times, Pasadena Star, and the Los Angeles Examiner, accounts which go unchallenged, Fényes confirms the dominant perspective of Anglos in Southern

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76 Eva Scott Fényes and Isabel López de Fáges, Thirty-two adobe houses of old California (Los Angeles: Southwest Museum, 1950).
77 Garvey, pp. 210-211, 250.
California, romanticizing the past or acting as an agent of modernity, even if Fényes generally adopted a Progressivism toward the region’s non-white cultures.  

Yet, even if Fényes and the newspapers’ romanticizing ideology of Anglo antiquarianism could be found in a variety of other sources, many discussed in this thesis, the expression of it in these scrapbooks remains remarkable. The scrapbooks make material in their form what others alluded to in their content. The form of the Fényes scrapbooks gives that Anglo ideology tactility, a visceral quality that distinctly shows what Southern California antiquarians meant when they discussed a prismatic regional history of romance and plenitude.

Two examples depicting California as a kaleidoscopic place demonstrate this language, perspective, and affect of California history to Anglo antiquarians. The *Sacramento Daily Union*, which initially published the *Bibliografa* of Alexander S. Taylor, discussed in chapter three, wrote in 1858 that California needed to start producing its own historians and writers, rather than relying on the mass of books about the state written and printed elsewhere. The hyperbolic excesses of scale and variety that were frequently attributed to California are apparent in the article’s language:

> We possess the oldest country, in point of History, on the North American continent, can boost of an antiquity as proud as any, and a modern life more wonderful than the world has ever seen; but our legends, chronicles and chapters are in the hands of strangers.  

The author gestures towards both the past and the present of California, arguing that both match or exceed the grandeur of other regions and countries. To the author, the longevity and wonder of California’s antiquity is only matched by the unique kaleidoscopic marvel of its present.

About fifty years later around the turn of the twentieth century, the same ideology of outright boosterism appears in *Land of Sunshine*, the magazine of the Southwest edited by Charles Fletcher Lummis. Here again, much closer temporally and geographically to Fényes, in a promotional pamphlet for the magazine, the region is relentlessly celebrated through a language of fullness and

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78 Scharff and Brucken, pp. 46, 59, confirm that Fényes held firm to the ideologies of dominant Anglo society in relation to the Southwest.

79 “Who are our historians?”, *Sacramento Daily Union*, 15, 2231, May 21, 1858, p. 2.

diversity, language that renders the region and its literary culture as endlessly varying:

**SCOPE**

With an undepleted storehouse so vast and unique as California and the West, the LAND OF SUNSHINE need never lack for an interesting variety of material, while its staff of eminent writers is an assurance that it will have it. Consequently the number of its possible readers is limited only by those in the West who are proud of their locality, and those elsewhere who are interested in the West.81

*Land of Sunshine*’s potential and diversity, Lummis argues, is directly correlated to the exceptionally expansive scope of the region.

If California’s antiquarians and boosters alluded to a kaleidoscopic regional culture, Fényes’ scrapbooks presented this in material form. Whether regarding topography, climate, history, or culture, the early twentieth century Anglo boosterist idea of California as a place of endless plurality rendered everything accessible, simultaneous, and iconic – but that rendering was based on deracinating California’s non-white cultures, always consigning them to a distanced antiquity, no matter how much appreciation and empathy was extended by Lummis and company.82

Fényes’ vision of California is firstly that romantic invocation of a kaleidoscopic region in which, as in scrapbook volume three, Californio descendants, Indian centenarians, American capitalists, antiquarians like Lummis, old Mission relics, and “picturesque scenes in the Southland sixty years ago” all coexist.83 Scrapbook three’s flyleaf page set the tone with a clipping of the lyrics to the state song, “I Love You, California”, whose initial lines outline the extremes and grandeur of its topography, centring the protagonist within an Edenic space.84 Yet the chauvinism and racism of one article in the scrapbook entitled “Hoary Aborigines” – describing “Indian types”, some that are “extremely odd, and even repulsive” – makes clear the dehumanization and segregation of society that the

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81 Undated *Land of Sunshine* promotional pamphlet, Charles Fletcher Lummis Papers, 1888-1928, Braun Research Library Collection, Autry National Center, Los Angeles, California; MS.1.
82 See, for instance, Starr, *Inventing*, p. 89: “A racial myth underlay all this, a conviction on the part of many that Southern California was the Anglo-Saxons’ destined place. Charles Fletcher Lummis pushed the notion of Southern California as ‘the new Eden of the Saxon home-seeker’ continually in *Land of Sunshine*/Out West.”
83 Fényes Scrapbook Vol. 3, pp. 4, 7, 14, 18, 19, 31, 33.
84 Fényes Scrapbook Vol. 3, flyleaf.
Anglo framework on Southern California held.\textsuperscript{85} That the item was indexed by Fényes at the front of the scrapbook as “antique Indian Types. S. Diego” indicates at least that there was a cultural othering of racial groups in Fényes’ understanding, even if she did not share the chauvinism of the article’s author.\textsuperscript{86} The usage of the phrase “antique” makes clear the historical division between the Anglo perspective and Native Americans. As Phoebe Kropp notes, California Indians were often relegated to a distant past by Anglos, often with a revulsion attached, as we see in the above clipping: “Anglo-Californians’ remembrances of native people, however full of nostalgia, rarely failed to characterize them as degraded.”\textsuperscript{87}

For an Anglo perspective on the region that viewed California’s history and culture as romantically kaleidoscopic but maintained clear divisions of space and time, the Ideal Scrapbook proved to be the perfect format. Far from a linear chronology, the Fényes scrapbooks shuttle us as readers forward and backward in time, and around in space; now here, now there. A sense of movement across the region’s history and geography can be found throughout the scrapbooks. For instance, on a page of scrapbook five, a 1924 clipping depicting the famous ‘Garden of Eden’ roundhouse between Spring and Main Street in 1884 rests on top of a 1923 article about “prehistoric gears” of stone found by Mrs J. D. Machado at Ballona Creek. Partly obscured by these articles are the funeral notices for Francisco Verdugo, descendant of the famous Californio family, and Mrs Rosa Belle Rimpau, grand-daughter of Los Angeles’ first mayor, and Anglo pioneer.\textsuperscript{88} The kaleidoscopic vision of California depends on this perspective of moving between items and pages. As much as the texts’ recontextualizations and juxtapositions could suggest new conceptual relations, their fixity and containment were essential for being able to survey California as a curated patchwork. The historical actors within these texts maintained places in deeply skewed power relations but the Fényes scrapbooks’ prioritizing of a constantly changing chromatic display essentially flattens those relations. The fact that this vision

\textsuperscript{85} “Hoary Aborigines”, [unknown clipping], p. 14.
\textsuperscript{86} ‘A’ section in index at front, Fényes Scrapbook Vol. 3.
\textsuperscript{87} Phoebe S. Kropp, \textit{California Vieja: Culture and Memory in a Modern American Place} (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), pp. 81-83.
\textsuperscript{88} “Pioneer to be Buried Tomorrow”, \textit{Los Angeles Times}, February 4, 1923, p. I7; “Prehistoric Gears Found”, \textit{Los Angeles Times}, April 3, 1923, p. II1 – both Fényes Scrapbook Vol. 5, MS 206 S6, p. 43.
emerges from a format that overtly announces its status as a work of assemblage further speaks to the constructed nature of Anglo ideology in Southern California.

This traversing of historical space and time is apparent to us today looking at the scrapbook as Fényes left it but that sense of movement is redoubled when we remember that this traversal would have been perceived by Fényes as she was making the scrapbook, particularly emboldened by the free-form, deceptively ordered Ideal format. That perception underlines Garvey’s notion that scrapbooks, collections of historical works in the form of yesterday’s news, always contain a latent futurity: if they are not intended to be read by a public audience, they are at least a dialogue with the anticipated continuing construction by its maker. And our perception of the process of the scrapbook maker invokes a historical spectre: reading the scrapbook “may not reanimate the life of the maker,” Garvey reminds us, “but it places us for a moment behind the maker’s eyes, to glimpse what he or she saw in reading the newspapers about to be cut up to make the book. The scrapbook thus adds another ghostly figure alongside the researcher: the archivist/scrapbook maker who came before, with his or her own vision.” As a final point on the Fényes scrapbooks’ kaleidoscopic perspective, Garvey’s language here underlines the visual perception of history the scrapbook as a format engendered. We get to share the perspective “behind the maker’s eyes,” “glimpse” different textual points of California amidst the mass of material, with the final work standing as an expression of a prismatic vision of the region. The Fényes scrapbooks therefore materially show how California was figuratively conceptualized and visually witnessed by Anglos.

Applying Garvey’s framework, the Fényes scrapbooks constituted: an archive; an artistic, literary, and historical dialogue with its maker and thus a continual refashioning of Fényes’ identity in relation to the region; and a material narration of movement through the region’s newspapers and thus through its culture and history. In all of these points, there is a clear link between Fényes and the mediation between an archive and the exteriority of the region that Warburg experienced. Just as Warburg’s experience became a text and then that text became a personal “site of adventure”, Fényes’ scrapbooks are a personal

89 Garvey, pp. 208-209
80 Garvey, p. 227.
navigation of Western spaces through text and a reassembling of those texts to make a new Western literary space. In that sense, then, as well as a romantic mythology of California history, we can also read the Fényes scrapbooks as a commentary on the process of regional collecting and archiving which Fényes, as a core part of the Pasadena/Arroyo antiquarian community, was clearly enmeshed in.

The Scrapbook as Archive: Fényes and the Documenting of the Pasadena-Arroyo Antiquarian Community

The Fényes scrapbooks’ presentation of a romantic kaleidoscopic diorama of California was something observed as it surrounded its Anglo maker. That is, the Fényes scrapbooks are a conscious, active construction of the identity of Fényes within the Pasadena and Arroyo community she had established herself in and a narrative of that community’s development. The scrapbooks are not just a general selection of Californiana – they contain much about the activity and lives of the antiquarian and preservationist community. In particular they feature Hector Alliot and Charles Lummis, the curator and founder, respectively, of the Southwest Museum. Clippings related to these figures and others occasionally carry Fényes’ annotations indicating her personal attachment, recording and documenting her presence and activity within that community. On a Times article reporting the death of Thaddeus Lowe she wrote: “I saw him a few days before his death – E.S.F.”91 On an article on the Casa de Adobe building by the Southwest Museum, added text seemingly reproaches the Los Angeles Examiner for not according Fényes credit in suggesting in the scheme of the house and the hiring of a Mexican construction crew: “Mrs Fényes first suggested this house to Dr Alliot. […] Mrs Fényes got the workmen from Father O’Sullivan.”92 The annotations underline Fényes’ personal attachment and placement of the clippings, whether reflective or reproachful.

Yet the scrapbooks do not just feature newspaper clippings; they contain correspondence between Fényes and figures like Lummis and Alliot. The

92 Fényes Scrapbook, Vol. 5, p. 49. The handwriting and the third-person perspective suggest this annotation may not have been written by Fényes. See later note on assistant Howell Brown.
placement of these documents within the scrapbook not only solidifies this interaction, it reframes them as part of a collection. Fényes’ general correspondence, even the majority of correspondence to and from these figures, is by and large located elsewhere at the Autry or at the Pasadena Museum of History. That she chose to place these items within the scrapbooks speaks to Fényes’ belief in their status as artefacts, as literary texts that implicitly had something to say about the fragments of material they suddenly found themselves amongst. They were voices that spoke of the presence and development of Anglo collecting and documenting, the reframing of the region. In assembling material about California history, in which Californios, Mexicans, Anglos, and the indigenous peoples of California and the Southwest were all arranged, the addition of the material relating to Lummis and Alliot implicitly places these figures at the end of a diachronic narrative of regional history. Furthermore, despite the fact that the scrapbooks remained without an audience until they became a part of the Autry, in placing this private correspondence in dialogue with the newspaper clippings of the public realm, Fényes reimagines their capacity to speak within a much wider discourse and to a much broader audience.

Fényes was clear in writing to others that the letters from this community deserved to be treasured, remembered, and reframed. In a December 1911 letter to Lummis, Fényes mentions that “Mr Howell Brown has just finished the scrapbook, into which he has fastened for me all of my Bandelier letters, and the photos you so kindly presented me with.”  

Howell Brown, mentioned in a similar role at other points in Fényes’ correspondence to Lummis, was presumably an assistant to Fényes.  

Adolf Bandelier (1840-1914) was an “archaeologist, ethnologist, and historian” originally from Switzerland who was one of the foremost American scholars of Mexican and indigenous peoples of Mexico and the US Southwest. A friend of Fényes and Lummis, Bandelier was similarly codifying the link between archive, experience, peoples, region, and epistemology. As Madeleine Turrell Rodack notes, Bandelier “felt that the historian should also

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93 Fényes to Lummis, 25th March 1911 [microfilm]. Lummis Papers; MS. 1.1.1408. These letters are most likely affixed in the scrapbooks at the Pasadena Museum of History.

94 See Fényes to Lummis, 18 September 1916 [microfilm]. Lummis Papers; MS. 1.1.1408.

go into the field to confirm his archival research. The field worker, in turn, should examine the documents concerning the subject of his study. In this belief that archaeology, anthropology, and ethnology went hand in hand with history, creating a new dimension that led to knowledge, Bandelier was a pioneer.96 The Bandelier letters are not located in the Autry scrapbooks but there are numerous letters from other influential Anglo antiquarians, collectors, and ethnologists in the scrapbooks that were pursuing similar paths to Bandelier.

Scrapbook volume three, part two, is an excellent example of the commemoration of the Arroyo antiquarian and ethno-anthropological community. It contains three letters to Fényes from Lummis and Alliot on Southwest Museum-headed notepaper inviting the arts patron to the corner-stone dedicating ceremony for the Museum and expressing their disappointment when she cannot attend due to illness.97 Central to Lummis and Alliot’s invitation to Fényes is that she place a document of her choosing in the bronze casket that was placed in the cornerstone:

It is fitting upon such an occasion that those who contribute their memorial to the future, shall deposit some article at once most appropriate to the purpose of the Southwest Museum and to the connection of said depositor with this great educational movement.98

When it became apparent that Fényes could not attend, Alliot acted as proxy and placed in the cornerstone “a memento in your name, and a statement concerning your collections and your adobe series of paintings.”99 Both the collections and paintings were donated by Fényes to the Museum.

Here again the assemblage and juxtaposition of the scrapbook’s arrangement suggests a scope beyond the parameters of the inserted documents. It is especially salient that the letters about “the memorial to the future” and the forward momentum Lummis suggested should be bookended by two articles centred on the excavation of the material artefacts of the Southern Californian past: “Cannon Ball Dug Up on Main Street” and “Old Mission Relics Are Dug Up on Ranch”.100 Amongst two accounts of the removal and transposal of historical artefacts, there is the correspondence’s celebration of the founding and installation

96 Rodack, “Bandelier”.
of material. Fényes’ arrangement of the newspaper articles around the letters underlines the physicality of the Lummis & Alliot documents, their materiality stressing her presence amongst the Southwest Museum community. It is not clear what exactly the “memento” that Alliot placed was, but the statements about the donation of the Fényes watercolours and her collection of Californiana and material relating to the cultures of the Southwest speak volumes about the material, textual, and conceptual way that this community were defining their engagement with the region. It points to the paramount status of the text and the collection in these figures’ understanding of region. Through the texts and collections of an antiquarian institution focused, for the most part, on the non-white cultures of the region, the reframing of that region’s history for a future-oriented, Anglo-centric “educational movement” could take place. That Lummis’s cornerstone memorial was the edition of the Southwest Society Bulletin that detailed his gift of his own collection to the Museum further underscores how important the indexing and documenting of a collection was to these figures’ understanding and reframing of regional knowledge. Fényes rearticulates these acts of enshrinement through the scrapbook and this redoubles the agency of her donated collection, making clear her own investment and experience in ordering regional material.

It is especially relevant that Alliot places the documentation about Fényes’ adobe drawings in the cornerstone casket. Predating the efforts of Marion Parks, discussed in chapter three, Fényes’ major work of regional documentation, an extensive series of watercolours and sketches, relied on first establishing where adobes were and what their historical background was. Again codifying the exchanges between region, experience, text, and archive, aspects of Fényes’ adobe project and other sketches are documented best in the Autry scrapbook collection by scrapbook volume four. In this volume, correspondence between Fényes and others identifies that antiquarian and bibliographic network and firmly establishes Fényes’ position within it.

Amongst a creative assemblage of newspaper articles and captions that indicated the trajectories of Los Angeles’ architectural past and future – “Old Adobe Homes Fast Disappearing” and “Los Angeles Grows in Steel and Concrete” – pasted correspondence to Fényes from figures like Luther Ingersoll of the Los Angeles Public Library and San Francisco bookseller Robert E. Cowan
relate her quest to discover the whereabouts and history of adobe ranch houses of Southern California. At the turn of the twentieth century there were many people interested in California’s history but it should be noted that there were few who were doing what Fényes and Parks were attempting – the Southwest Society and the Historical Society were comparatively small organizations. Scrapbook four narrates that expressed desire of this community to actively commemorate the traces of the regional past whilst such artefacts were still extant. At the same time, the volume shows the romantic mythologising that fixed that past as reverie and thus contributed to its continuing distanciation and marginalisation.

Two letters from the historian and collector Luther Ingersoll demonstrate Fényes’ active role in these Anglo regional history projects. In an October 1916 letter, Ingersoll responds to Fényes’ wish to contribute to an exhibition of Southern Californian historical views he was organising for the Long Beach Public Library:

I wish to assure you that we most heartily appreciate your sincere desire to aid us, in our work here. … Your suggestion of a gift of paintings of Alamitos and Cerritos adobes in case you are permitted to do them is greatly appreciated. I am interested in your contemplated plans of securing views of the early family burial grounds … the idea is a new one, and if worked out along your thorough and practical way of doing it will add greatly to the sum total of human interest in the historic past, of our region of country.  

The sketches of burial grounds never materialised and, whilst Fényes had already by October 1916 produced watercolours of adobes at the Alamitos and Cerritos ranchos (which the city of Long Beach now covered), it is unclear if they were loaned to Long Beach and if Fényes produced new versions. But Ingersoll is clear that Fényes’ documenting of these structures and her proposal to produce more sketches is vital historical work that will aid in the understanding of the region – the scrapbook enshrines Ingersoll and Fényes’ mutual appreciation of each other’s work.

As Parks would also discover, there was a marked expediency to this documenting because these structures were rapidly disappearing from the landscape. Isabel López de Fáges, who contributed the text to the publication of Fényes’ watercolours, wrote in 1961, “Many years ago my husband and I sought the histories of adobe houses in the Eva Scott Fényes collection of water color paintings for the Southwest Museum. We found many of the landmarks neglected and uninhabited. Others had been demolished in the interest of progress or through sheer lack of interest by communities or the state.”¹⁰³ Fáges was presumably writing about the years prior to, or around, 1950 but scrapbook volume four documents this loss much earlier, much sooner after Fényes had chronicled certain structures. Fényes had painted the adobe in San Francisco near Mission Dolores and evidently had designs on painting other adobes in the city. Robert E. Cowan would dash those hopes when he wrote in 1905, “It may be perhaps of melancholy interest to you to know that the old adobe (about the last of its kind in S.F.) that you were desirous of sketching last year was destroyed by fire on July 4th of this year…”¹⁰⁴ Cowan’s letter is important for expressing the internal debates amongst the antiquarian community of California. Cowan blamed the inactivity of local historical groups to record the adobe: “So many months the ‘Landmarks League’ have been talking of buying this old place with the purpose of preservation in view, but it is almost safe to say that the Society never even went so far as to photograph the premises.”¹⁰⁵ Cowan felt that that group had prioritized the promotion of the reconceived El Camino Real at the expense of documenting local landmarks:

The ‘Camino Real’ is undoubtedly of interest and its restoration praiseworthy but while they waste time, sentiment and money in such a matter, the individual points of greater interest pass out forever and leave no trace.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ Cowan to Fényes, July 27, 1905.
¹⁰⁶ Ibid.
In contrast to the California Historical Society, Cowan thus recognized in Fényes’ work the importance of documenting those historical structures such as “the old house that bore a charm and an attraction for you and me…”\textsuperscript{107} There was evidently a kinship between Cowan and Fényes about this local history that the scrapbooks continually document. This shared interest centered around this vernacular architecture that through fire, neglect, and modern construction was being erased – “you none the less know the feeling and know the keen regret that follows the passing of one landmark whether living or inanimate — what then of the passing of a whole city, and that the only city for which one cared?”\textsuperscript{108} Cowan’s lingering sense of loss over San Francisco’s history – “the old and historic buildings are all gone, the picturesque beauties of Telegraph and Russian Hills are no more” – was perhaps one of the main impetuses to his relocation to Los Angeles to catalogue the library of William Andrews Clark.

Cowan’s only recourse to the sense of historical loss was to consult images of the city before the fire, as well as presumably his enormous Californiana library, and retreat into an imaginative reverie: “I can retire within one of my many castles in Spain and from its windows I can in a moment see San Francisco as it was with all beauties undimmed and unchanged.”\textsuperscript{109} Cowan’s remark signals the increasing romantic retrospection – and historical envisioning – that the regional past came to possess as the landscape morphed dramatically. Other letters from Anglo antiquarians, commemorated in Fényes’ scrapbooks, more directly assert this romantic mythology, often more out of boosterist celebration than historical loss. Percival J. Cooney, author of the highly romanticizing *The Dons of the Old Pueblo* (1914), wrote to Fényes remarking that her illustrations “will be very greatly appreciated by all those who love the romantic side of the history of our state.”\textsuperscript{110} What exactly that romance encompassed is fairly explicit by Cooney’s monograph introduction which remarks that, “In all that pertains to modern industrialism the Anglo-Celt will lead, as he has done for centuries. But much may he learn from the Latin races of kindliness of heart and speech, of poiseful dignity,

\begin{footnotes}
\item \textsuperscript{107} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{108} Robert Ernest Cowan to Eva Scott Fényes, December 11, 1906. Fényes Scrapbook Vol. 4, p. 7.
\item \textsuperscript{109} Cowan to Fényes, December 11, 1906.
\item \textsuperscript{110} Percival J. Cooney to Eva Scott Fényes, November 12, 1914. Fényes Scrapbook Vol. 4, p. 31.
\end{footnotes}
of the graceful, gentler art of living.” Thus Scrapbook volume four writes a somewhat conflicted narrative of the Southwestern Anglo antiquarian community as they sought to document a regional past. A spectrum of methods feature in the same space, from histories such as Cooney’s that seem purely mythological, to more documentarian impulses held by figures like Alliot and Ingersoll: Fényes and her work of scrapbook assemblage stands as an intersection between these points, a perspective on the community that distinctly relates her position.

The Scrapbooks as the Space of Antiquity

Scrapbook four sought to document the Arroyo antiquarian community’s present development, even as they alternately mourned and romanticized the past, whilst other volumes present a romantic kaleidoscopic California by shuttling back and forth between spaces, times, and icons. However, scrapbook three, part one, is wholly a recreated historical space. Here, the central dynamic of Fényes’ approach to the regional past revolves, as it did for others in this Arroyo community, around the concept of antiquity. Scrapbook three, part one’s flyleaf indicated that the volume contained “Cuttings” relating to both “Indians – South West” and “Los Angeles in Antiquities”. Both of these subject areas stood for Anglos as representing the distant past rather than recent history. Both were also synonymous for this community as defined against the accelerating modernity of the region. Replying to Fényes’ 1905 offer of donating her Californiana collection to the Southwest Museum, Lummis enthusiastically approved and remarked,

We are getting quite a little nucleus already, and I hope to add materially to it, for this is among the many things that must be done quickly to be done well. We are doing all we can to retard the march of ‘Progress’, which degrades all these industries, but we cannot stop it, and our only hope is to gather in all we can as fast as possible.

Lummis here defines the rapid collecting of Southwestern cultural objects and California texts as slowing the pace of the modern US imperial city, even if he

113 See Kropp, pp. 81-83.
114 Lummis to Fényes, June 18th, 1905 [microfilm]. Lummis Papers; MS. 1.1.1408.
believed it could not be halted. Leontine Lowe presumably had the same belief as Lummis and Fényes in the temporal work that regional collecting could attempt or achieve. Writing to Lummis about her inability to attend a Southwest Society-sponsored lecture on Mayan culture, Lowe remarked, “…I am interested in everything that pertains to the American antiquities”. Fényes did not have as extensive a range of material artefacts as Lowe but the scrapbooks become as much a representation of regional antiquity as the Southwest Museum and Lowe’s private collection.

The breadth of clippings and their dense interlinking in this scrapbook combine to produce for Fényes a deep immersion into what was defined as regional antiquity. At times, as seen by the arrangements on pages 7 and 41, the necessary clipping and restructuring of the newspaper articles to fit the page distinctly heighten the telescopic effect on the past that the articles in their original linear format attempted purely through their words. With the selections of clippings, “Ramona’s Tribe of Indians” or “Los Angeles views in 1896, 1890”, the cuttings’ recombination and layering from the flat newspaper page into a ‘vertical’ aligning have the effect of synoptically presenting the newspaper material [figs. 21-22].

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116 Scharff and Brucken, p. 47, indicate that Fényes had a sizeable collection of Indian crafts and artefacts at her home in Santa Fe, New Mexico.
118 Ibid.
Figure 21 - Fényes Scrapbook, Vol. 3, pt. 1, p. 7.
Thus each item is now distinctly in the presence and view of every other component, resulting in the assemblage becoming enveloping and dynamic. If that is a spatial determination, then Fényes’ choice of clippings (frequently purporting to represent ‘old’ California) and the subject heading of the scrapbook (“antiquities”) remind us where that synoptic view is located in time. The effect is strongest when parts of the assembled fragments have ‘cut-aways’ to reveal the images below – then the tenor of Fényes’ assemblage becomes less about preservation and more about excavation. Arranging the newspaper articles in this manner, with their elastic form, allowed Fényes to continually, and quite literally,
“Turn Back The Pages Of Time”, as another article clipped from the *Times* stated.\(^\text{119}\)

Into scrapbook four go many clippings from the region’s newspapers, written and edited by Anglos, that are deeply invested in maintaining that perceived split between the ‘antiquity’ of Southwest Indian groups and Anglo ‘civilization.’ Phoebe Kropp writes that “[t]he most popular tourist images of Indians showed the oldest looking people available”, frequently stating the subjects were of “improbable ages, from over 100 to ridiculous estimates as high as 180 years.”\(^\text{120}\) The effect of representing such people as improbably old had the effect of confirming for Anglos “a social Darwinist logic and validated national and racial succession in California”, a logic that held that “native people would soon die out…in line with their prescribed fate in the ascendance of civilization.”\(^\text{121}\) The clippings Fényes selects frequently maintain the same perspective on California’s indigenous peoples as those tourist photographs. An article on Santa Isabel Mission included a photo of a “group of oldest living members of Santa Isabel tribe”; Inyo County Indians were described as “an ancient band of which little is known”; Major Rust wrote of the “Pre-Historic Remains” of settlements near Pasadena; and a Soboba Indian annual celebration was patronizingly described as the “strangest fiesta of simple people.”\(^\text{122}\) Elsewhere in the scrapbook, the dichotomy between ‘antiquity’ and ‘civilization’ is maintained through clippings focusing on the disjuncture between these two conceptual realms: Harry Carr’s article, “Tribal Life With Frills”, regaled its Anglo audience with anecdotes about the Soboba Indians’ novel use of twentieth century agricultural machinery.

Within this framework, there was little escaping such an all-pervasive dichotomy. The clipping, “Destroying Relics”, focused on the erasure of historic monuments in Downtown Los Angeles by a new trolley line and put such a development under the header “Progress vs Romance”, making clear the affective weighting Anglo society ascribed to the past. This idea of romance indicated the only possible way it was suggested that historical objects, structures, and cultures


\(^{120}\) Kropp, p. 81.

\(^{121}\) Kropp, pp. 81-82.

could live in the present. Lastly, exaggerated designations of antiquity were not just applied to California Indians. A clipping saved by Fényes discussed Francisco Amate, “Lummis’s Minstrel”, who played at gatherings at Lummis’s home of El Alisal.\textsuperscript{123} He is described by the article as the “Only Professional Minstrel Left Over from Middle Ages”. The scrapbook, through its cumulative assemblage of these clippings has the effect of locating so much of California’s contemporary societies within a far-flung ancient time. Whilst the authors of each clipping may have agreed with each other’s sentiments, their texts were originally distinct and apart. Fényes’ combination and assemblage emphasises, reiterates, and maximises the ideology of these pieces to create a private museum of regional antiquity.

The effect is totalising but there are alternative ways to consider these narratives. Robert Harbison suggests that any didactic impression of both scrapbooks and catalogues is unstable, a ruse:

> Once given its starting point, a catalogue is fertile and full of surprises, but it must be pushed off, the impetus comes from outside. Like scrapbooks they are collections of beginnings. If scrapbooks are unalphabetized catalogues, all art is in some sense disguised scrapbook: unheard-of-new-feeling wholes are made of many odd bits taken from here and there. In a child’s scrapbook the sources are evident and edges abrupt; styles and sizes of pictures taken from magazine stories, advertisements, greeting cards cannot be made to match. As in grownups’ collages, we never forget these things were not meant to be put together.\textsuperscript{124} [my emphasis]

“These things were not meant to be put together” – if we continually remember the status of the scrapbook as assemblage, the perception of antiquity becomes easier to disentangle. The scrapbooks presented a distinct construction of the past and who and what was in it but it was not watertight. The Soboba Band of Luiseño Indians, for instance, whilst both represented as being of antiquity in the scrapbook and decimated in number in actuality, were a very real presence in Southern California in the years when Fényes was constructing her scrapbook. James Clifford reminds us against the knee-jerk locating of groups to antiquity: “I am especially skeptical of an almost automatic reflex — in the service of a unified vision of history — to relegate exotic peoples and objects to the collective past.”\textsuperscript{125}

\textsuperscript{123} Assorted clippings, Fényes Scrapbook, Vol. 3, pt. 1.
Whichever way we read the scrapbook, Fényes’ beliefs iterated that Social Darwinist logic Kropp outlined at the same time as Fényes held a sympathy for Californio and Indian peoples, a set of beliefs typical of the Arroyo community.126 In a series of letters to Lummis that described a painting she wanted to undertake but was unable to, she lays out this understanding of racial transition. She remarked that she wanted to “make a picture of the three woman types — Indian, Spanish & American, to typify the three successive Cal. civilizations or occupations” but had “had to abandon on account of want of skill.”127 A further undated letter again referred to the project:

I have contemplated also the producing of an allegorical painting, depicting three beautiful women, gracefully and appropriately grouped - an Indian, a Spaniard, and a Caucasian. No straining for effect, but just a Californian suggestion which will make one think: again - alas! - many years training must go to this, I don’t know any artist here who could do the subject justice. It could be very lovely if not executed in a commonplace manner. Should a young “Jap” girl represent the future as those mentioned do the past and present?”128 [emphasis in original]

As far as I am aware, this painting was not produced but Fényes’ remarks are nonetheless a particularly telling conceptualization of her understanding of regional society. There is a profundity, albeit limited, about the female history and lineage Fényes imagines. Scharff and Brucken praised the Fényes matrilineage as “a remarkable female dynasty” that constructed a dynamic yet substantial relation to region and familial space.129 In these letters to Lummis, Fényes seems to imagine another regional lineage of femininity, one of ‘beauty’ and ‘grace’, where each figure is emblematic of that regional society. Thinking back to the first scrapbook analysis, it offers a guide to how Fényes may have felt about meeting Antonio Verdugo Chavoya.

Yet it remains a fact that this is a depiction of a social history that confirms a narrative of imperial conquest. Scharff and Brucken note that the Fényes dynasty were “co-architects of the cultural landscape of the American Southwest and emblems of the creative destructiveness of American capitalism, embracing

126 Scharff and Brucken, p. 59, remark that the Fényes family both “profited from and protected the Spanish and native pasts they admired”.
127 Fényes to Lummis, September 18th, 1916 [microfilm]. Lummis Papers; MS. 1.1.1408.
129 Scharff and Brucken, p. 44.
tradition even as they embodied modernity." In Fényes’ description of the imagined painting, not only are social differences in each group conflated into single racial typologies, these typologies are explicitly understood as supplanting each other. She comments that the painting would be an “allegory”, not overdone in effect but “just a Californian suggestion which will make one think”. But any subtlety of suggestion is erased by Fényes’ comment that such an arrangement of types firmly represents “the past and present”. The undecided upon suggestion of the Japanese girl being a part of the painting and representing “the future” may well have been envisioned with the same empathetic tone as the other depictions of racial types but the derogatory language and enquiring, even accusatory, question speaks more to the racism and xenophobia directed toward Japanese residents of California at this time.

Indexing the Region: Private Collections as Taxonomic Regional Perspectives

Fényes’ imagined painting is important because it underlines Anglo Californians’ impulse to catalogue the region. Fényes meticulously indexed and ordered her collections. The further scrapbooks, albums, and notebook indexes that Fényes compiled that are located at the Pasadena Museum of History indicate the scope of potential future research that could be conducted. There are two sets worth focusing on because they further this chapter’s key points: the indexes to Fényes’ library of Californiana that was donated to the Southwest Museum; and the “Ramona Index”, a subject-oriented notebook relating to Jackson’s novel.131

The Californiana indexes demonstrate that Fényes had collected a substantial and wide-ranging library of material about California. Many of the authors mentioned in this thesis – Cowan, Emory, Mason, Cooney, Dana, Ingersoll, James, Jackson, Lecouvreur, Lummis, Reid – feature in Fényes’ library, amongst many other works. These Californiana notebooks point toward three conclusions. They firstly indicate how extensive a book collector Fényes was and, assuming this is the same collection of Californiana that was given to the Southwest Museum, indicates how, in one fell swoop, that institution acquired a

130 Scharff and Brucken, p. 59.
weighty range of literary and historical knowledge about California. Fényes’ position within the arts community of Pasadena and Los Angeles is well-remembered but her role within its overlapping bibliographic community is under-emphasised. In 1905, the bookseller, Robert E. Cowan, remembered as the foremost bibliographer of California, wrote to Fényes, “If I thought I had anything that you might want I would advise you, but you have many good books already.”\(^\text{132}\) In expressing the scale and depth of Fényes’ library, the notebooks show the prestige her Californiana collection garnered amongst her contemporaries.

Secondly, in featuring the works by authors that repeatedly appeared in bookstore catalogues and library collections, and, as a result, within this thesis, the notebooks to Fényes’ library are a further indication of how Californiana, through the work of collectors, booksellers, and bibliographers, had swiftly developed its own canonical touchstones. Whilst the generic descriptor ‘Californiana’ just meant, in a bibliographic context, texts about California, a very open field, in reality Californiana libraries frequently coalesced around the works by the authors mentioned above. It gives us a deeper understanding of how Los Angeles’ Anglo community of the late nineteenth and twentieth century constructed their regional understanding through and between specific texts, with these regional markers only increasing in influence as collections and bibliographic activity proliferated. The ideologies expressed within these works thus continued to guide and influence the collections and collectors they became a part of.

Lastly, the notebooks’ indexing of the library, by title and by author, indicate how central a Californiana collection was for reference and for the development of an Anglo understanding of regional culture. When Fényes has the idea of sketching California Indian dwellings, she writes to Lummis that, “primitive [dwellings] and descriptions of the source, might be both useful and interesting. Howell Brown is now helping me to gather together any illustrations we can find in the books & magazines in my library — Also we are seeking mentions of the subject in all my Californiana. Has this ever, to your knowledge, been done before?”\(^\text{133}\) When Fényes needed to understand the region and its

\(^{133}\) Fényes to Lummis, September 18th, 1916 [microfilm]. Lummis Papers; MS. 1.1.1408.
people better, this was mediated first and foremost through the personal collection and private archive. Furthermore, that such understanding came from a source of order and classification indicates the way Anglo collectors applied a taxonomic lens to the region. The indexed library was at the heart of Anglo regional culture.

This taxonomic lens and expression of indexicality is developed further in the Ramona Index. Compared to the notebooks for the Californiana Library, the Ramona Index is an altogether stranger document. Taking Helen Hunt Jackson’s famous novel of 1884, Fényes creates a notebook of almost every item and scene in the book, with page numbers indicating where those objects and landscapes were to be found. If there had been a setting or a set of items that Fényes was particularly interested in – for example, when a mission was used – then the utility of the notebook would be transparent. But the scale of classification completely exceeds this. Fényes’ notebook is a granular, encyclopaedic reading of Ramona that categorizes almost every objective noun in the book. A run-through of the notebook categories, each at least a full page of citations, frequently more, serves to exemplify the scale of Fényes’ classification: “Persons”, “Animals”, “Landscapes”, “Buildings”, “Trees and Plants”, “Waters[,] Rivers and Seas”, “Articles of Dress, Jewelry”, “Church and belongings”, “Farm utensils and articles”, “Furniture[,] household utensils”, “Indians”, “Villages[,] Towns”, “Vegetables and flowers, fruit – seeds, grains”, “Ranches”, “Missions”, “Food”, “Genre pictures out of doors”, and “Genre pictures and indoors”.134 If something was described by Jackson in Ramona, it appeared in Fényes’ notebook.

Ramona’s cult literary fandom spawned a huge tourist industry promoting places in the Southland and instituted its characters as social archetypes deep within Southern California’s cultural landscape.135 DeLyser notes how the tourist industry that sprung up around landmarks associated with Ramona became so extensive that “the romanticized images of the region’s past that the novel presented became inscribed on the landscape and in the touring practices of travellers—and the fictional story of Ramona became an indispensable part of

134 Ramona Index, Folder 15, Box 36, Fényes-Curtin-Paloheimo Collection.  
135 See, for instance, Dydia DeLyser, Ramona Memories: Tourism and the Shaping of Southern California (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005).
Southern California’s real social memory.” Yet it is fair to say no-one dissected Jackson’s book quite like Fényes did.

A unique document, Fényes’ exhaustive index performs a number of functions that point to the structure of wider Anglo cultural frameworks. Like the scrapbooks, by taxonomising and classifying Ramona, Fényes creates an archive out of Jackson’s work. As with the scrapbooks, the notebook comes to stand as its own representation of the material, essentially fixing the content of the novel through its own system. Because of the extent of its scope, that system renders every item on the same plane, making everything both iconic and banal, whether it was “priest angry [p.] 317”, “Los Angeles [p.] 36” or “copper saucepan [p.] 8”. Many readers of Ramona were aware it was fiction (though many, generally in the immediate years after its publication, were not) and that places claiming to be “Ramona’s birthplace” or people purporting to be “the real Ramona” were artifice. One of Fényes’ scrapbook clippings discusses Lummis debunking precisely these myths in the same scrapbook space as images of both the Hemet Ramona Pageant and the places where it was purported Ramona took place. Even for those who understood the artifice, the Ramona myth held an enormous sway over Anglo culture, clearly transgressing its fictional setting and becoming instituted into the physical and cultural landscapes of Southern California.

Fényes’ notebook indicates how the Anglo bibliographic and collecting community of turn-of-the-century Southern California viewed not just Ramona but the whole of the region’s history, culture, and topography. It distinctly shows how a taxonomic and indexical approach was a way of reading and consuming applied not only to the texts that Anglos collected but to all of Southern California. DeLyser’s work applies the criticism from cultural geography to Ramona, commenting that landscapes “are read every day by their viewers … Landscapes, like written texts, encode powerful social, cultural, and political messages that are interpreted by their viewers, whether we stop to question them

136 DeLyser, p. 63.
137 Ramona Index.
138 DeLyser, pp. xi-xii, 63, 182-183.
140 DeLyser, pp. xv-xvi.
or not.” Fényes’ notebook reveals just how ordered that reading was – indeed, it shows that ordering was the primary way of reading that landscape.

Conclusion: The Relationship of the Image and the Archive in Southern California Anglo Collecting

Across the physical and textual collections of the Pasadena Arroyo community, Anglos acquired and wrote their own regional worlds through the taxonomic ordering of the Southwest’s materials. The interior space of their material archives was where the external region was mediated, reconstructed, and placed within certain historical settings. This reframing ensured that these works of physical and textual assemblage became the site of authorial and communitarian experience, works that remain relatively unexamined and contained in their respective institutional archives but which nevertheless faced outward back into the region. Lowe and Fényes’ reimagined regional histories show how a visual perspective that was predominantly taxonomic was not just a practice pursued by public institutions and published bibliographies but was a private, personal worldview that placed author, region, and archive in a continual communion.

Apart from his writings on Native Americans of the Southwest, the other work that Aby Warburg received the most attention for was his Mnemosyne Atlas, a project started in 1927 but left unfinished when Warburg died in 1929. This artwork was “envisaged as a series of between 60 and 70 plates, each of which consisted of a montage of images of classical motifs and their reappearance and transformation in the Renaissance and also during Warburg’s own lifetime.” Cornell University and the Warburg Institute’s critical, interactive “meanderings” through Warburg’s work note that it was “Warburg’s attempt to map the ‘afterlife of antiquity,’ or how images of great symbolic, intellectual, and emotional power emerge in Western antiquity and then reappear and are reanimated in the art and

141 DeLyser, p. xviii.
cosmology of later times and places, from Alexandrian Greece to Weimar Germany.”

As Matthew Rampley notes, one of the images in the Atlas was a picture of a dirigible (in this case the William Randolph Hearst-sponsored Graf Zeppelin), a technology of keen interest to Warburg, juxtaposed next to “a diagram of the solar system from Kepler’s cosmological text Mysterium Cosmographicum of 1596, and also an image of Mars from a medieval astrological manuscript in Tübingen.” Rampley argues this montage of “modernity, Renaissance, and the Middle Ages” charted the transfer of the cosmological into the arena of the modern, underlining modernity’s “radical reorientation in the representation and experience of space and time in which both material and conceptual shifts had brought about a collapsing of space (and time) into a visual simultaneity.” Seeing the collapse of distance between subject and object as dangerous, Warburg’s focus on the persistence of antiquity in the present pushed him to create a work of montage that stressed simultaneous visual and cultural space instead of a post-Enlightenment historical narrative of progress. As Rampley notes, “The Atlas thus functions as a visual archive of cultural history. Of this the juxtaposition of the Zeppelin images with the astrological manuscript offers a prime example.”

If only Warburg had arrived in Pasadena a decade or so later, or made his way back to the US, as Davide Stimilli’s translation of Warburg’s letters show was his desire. In 1911, the year before Leontine’s death, Thaddeus Lowe started work on designing a new type of airship, even going so far as to set up a joint-stock company, the Lowe Airship Construction Corporation, to market interest in what was extravagantly termed Planet Airship. Planning to travel between Los Angeles and New York, “Wireless telegraph and army signals by day, and cabin windows aglow at night, will bring the travellers into perpetual

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144 Rampley, p. 95.
145 Rampley, p. 96.
146 Rampley, pp. 96-100.
147 Rampley, p. 100.
149 Poleskie, p. 332; Block, pp. 159-160; Wm. H. Knight, “The Lowe Passenger Airship”, Out West, XXXII, 1 (January, 1910), 29-35.
contact with the world below. It will be a journey of historic interest for all participants in the first voyage”. The plan lacked investors and the “dream-ship” of Pasadena’s first dirigible went unrealised.

“Perpetual contact with the world below” – Lowe’s airship plan sought to unite sky and earth and, in the process, obliterate the sense of distance Rampley argues was attributable to pre-modernity space and time. Perhaps Warburg garnered a premonition of this flattening by his experience of the Lowe funicular railway, rapidly ascending the mountain and looking out on the Southern California landscape below. But even if he did not, the refraction of historical distance into a spatial synchrony was distinctly understood by Warburg in the private worlds of collectors like Leontine Lowe. Both Lowe and Fényes, through their exhaustive and dynamic works of assemblage that had few equals, understood the arrival of modernity in Pasadena that Anglo imperialism had hastened and created texts that presented a synchronic perspective, archives of a reimagined and re-envisioned regionalism.

Yet the concept of antiquity between these figures operates in different ways, reflecting their differing agendas. Warburg’s Mnemosyne Atlas was pre-occupied with the persistence of antiquity’s images – its ‘afterlife’ in cultural memory – within the marauding technologies of modernity, an afterlife that created a space of temporal and visual “dialectical simultaneity.” For all the synchronic and kaleidoscopic work of assemblage that Fényes, Lowe, and the Arroyo and Pasadena antiquarian community of the turn of the twentieth century performed, the simultaneity of regional culture they created was decidedly undialectic. It was designed to entrench and distantiate an understanding of antiquity, one often driven by racial ideology. Their ordering and indexing created microcosmic conceptions of California and the Southwest, bringing all of the region’s literature and iconography into play. Yet that scopic perspective that the private archive generated was created with political demarcations in mind about where Southern California’s civilizations were to be placed. Whilst the segregation of California’s cultural history by Anglo boosters has

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150 Knight, p. 34.
151 Poleskie, p. 332; Block, p. 160; Glen Dawson described Lowe’s dirigible as a “dream-ship” in listing the official publication of the airship in his collection of Californiana – Glen Dawson, Californiana: A Priced Catalogue of One Thousand Books and Pamphlets relating to the history of California (Los Angeles: Dawson’s Book Shop, 1943), p. 58.
152 Rampley, pp. 100, 104, 112-113.
been well-explored, particularly in their most public instances, this chapter has shown how that ideology permeates private collections and how bound up collecting, indexing, and ordering were with restructuring, rewriting, and re-seeing Southern California and the Southwest.
Conclusion

Collecting Californiana: Fragmented Visions in Southern California Regionalism

This thesis has examined that mediating space between the physical and human geography of Los Angeles and California and its capturing, collection, documentation, assemblage, indexing, and cataloguing by a generation of Anglo society in Southern California in the approximately fifty years between the end of the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth. It has argued that this group of antiquarians, bibliographers, collectors, historians, librarians, and archivists were fundamental to the continued production of mythology in and about Southern California. They produced this mythology in a social and cultural space that has not only been ignored by scholars – if studied at all, limited to the strict disciplinary boundaries of the trades within each one operated – but one which was vitally influential to the production of more well-known cultural works. James Houston wrote that the alluring attraction of California was that its history was perceived by many as an inextricable interplay between imagination and region. “It is now almost impossible to separate the place on the map from the legends that have kept it alive in the imagination”, he wrote, “And one would not want to keep them separate for very long. The beguiling attraction of California lives right there, in that interplay.”

We can take Houston’s formulation further: in a Southern California context, that interplay can be reframed as the space between the region and the collecting and assembling of its description – between site and text, image and index, space and frame, landscape and catalogue. For Anglo society’s epistemology of the region, at that intersection stood Dawson’s Bookshop, Marion Parks, Edwin Lewis, Lindley Bynum, and Eva Scott Fényes. These figures were themselves on a threshold between late modernity and what they reframed as a regional, non-white antiquity. Looking out and recasting the region, these figures developed an optic that sprung from the legacy of malleable distance in imperial travel literature’s assessments of landscape, a distance that collapsed further with the advent of late modernity and the spatialization and visualisation of history into a synchronic simultaneity.

Perhaps indicative of the oppositional identity that Anglo culture in Los Angeles constructed in relation to the previous eras of control under Mexicans, Spanish, and Native Americans, that optic on the landscape that rapaciously encapsulated the region could at times seem – knowingly or unknowingly – partial, distorted, illusory. For all their claims of an expansive scope, Anglo visions of Southern California could be obscured by their romance and mythology. The language surrounding the Anglo culture of looking at the region’s history can initially seem oddly un-sustained. In 1955, Dawson’s Book Shop reprinted *Glances Into California*, the last chapter of *Deck and Port* (1850) by New Englander and governor of Monterey, Walter Colton. This synoptic, hyperbolic, and romantic narrative of California becoming an American state seems at odds with the partial looking or “glancing” that Colton repeatedly alludes to. Mostly a work about California and sea-voyaging, Colton’s alternately maximal and occluded vision of the landscape recalls the conflicted distance Richard Henry Dana evoked and which Dawson’s bookshop, in chapter one, were seen to deploy magisterially for their customers that collected Californiana.

This is a repeated pattern. Similar to Colton, the diaries and letters about California by American soldier and surveyor, William Rich Hutton, were published by the Huntington as *Glances at California, 1847-1853*. Again this work seems to suggest the region is only fleetingly envisioned through this Anglo optic, and even though the diary entries are far more perfunctory than Colton’s expositions, his letters are detailed descriptions of the journeys between North and South California. What both accounts suggest is the distance that is generated by Anglo representations of the region. Colton and Hutton are both ‘in’ and ‘at’ California when writing these works but their literary framework appears to place them outside of the region, as if they were still writing from the East Coast regions they had journeyed from, and California is not something to be immersed in but to glancingly look at. The imperial missions they were involved in fully imbricated the writers in the region, however.

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3 Colton, pp. 18, 22, 38.
For writers of travel literature in California, the glance or glimpse seemed to work alongside their desire to describe and catalogue the region. In works such as Ludwig Salvator’s *Eine Blume aus dem Goldenen Lande* (1878) (reprinted as 1929’s *Los Angeles in the Sunny 70s*), the fragmented and transitory look at the landscape seems at odds with Salvator’s extensive taxonomy of Southern California’s physical and human geography.⁵ “Glimpses of the Past and Present” feature within a work that is Baedeker-like in its boosterist appraisals of the region’s ecology and its potential for development.⁶ Salvator’s indexing and research, as well as the timing of his visit in 1876, positions him at the threshold between a romanticized Spanish, Mexican, and Native American past and an emerging white Anglo-American present and future. Having surveyed a great deal of the agriculture, industry, and natural landscape, Salvator’s taxonomy divides wealth and romance into distinct eras of the region’s history: “No one will deny that even if the material prosperity dates from the day when the stars and stripes were unfurled, yet the true poetry of California is inseparably linked with the Spanish element.”⁷

This statement further qualifies that fragmented vision and suggests how race, vision, landscape, and mythology intersect in works like Salvator’s. The documenting of the area and the conceptualization of the region’s history merge most strikingly in a chapter entitled “A Drive Along the Los Angeles River.”⁸ Here memory and views of the region clash uneasily around that affective experience of moving through the landscape, as Salvator travels by horse and cart. He writes:

> Memories of the past, of the early days of the Indians and Californians, are vividly recalled by driving along the broad, almost waterless bed of the Los Angeles River through country that is still virgin, uninhabited, and where the silence of Nature is unbroken. Even the names of this river’s tributaries hark back to the remote past: *El Alamo, Pacoima, the Tuhunga, Los Verdugos*, and, lastly, on the left, the *Arroyo Seco*.⁹

Now, surely, having arrived in 1876, the memories of “early days” that Salvator speaks of are not ones he himself possesses. His invoking of this collective memory shows us two things. It suggests that such an understanding of historical

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⁶ Salvator, p. 33.
⁷ Ibid.
⁸ Ibid.
⁹ Ibid.
memory is generated from other sources. As the printer, Ward Ritchie noted, “Ludwig Louis Salvator, Archduke of Austria, … came to Los Angeles in 1876 and, with thoroughness, read what was then available about the area, interviewed inhabitants, travelled over the territory, and [wrote] a comprehensive and detailed account of Los Angeles and its inhabitants of that time.” Secondly, Salvator’s adoption, command, even dominance over this collective memory demonstrates how culturally constructed that understanding is. The re-purposing of regional memory was likewise explored in chapter two of this thesis in the extensive cataloguing of streetcars and adobes by Lewis and Parks. Reframing and re-siting memory allowed for these collectors to write more strident and romantic regional histories that centred an Anglo perspective: Mexican adobes became a romantic vestige of the past whilst Lewis tried to salvage a legacy for Anglo municipal enterprise.

The tension in Salvator’s indexing of the landscape between a mythologized past and an American future is resolved for Salvator when the racialized legends are banished in favour of a perceived Euro-American destiny:

Continuing on to the right the way leads to Portesuelo, with its cornfields and scattered houses, then past the Cañada de Francisco Maria, so-called from a treacherous Indian who lived down in a gully and was greatly feared by his neighbors. These unpleasant memories are soon dispelled, however, by visioning what appears a veritable paradise on earth — a grove of olives and assorted fruit trees, particularly peaches, pears, and apples, as well as a sunny vineyard. Here, the imagined memory is consciously dispelled to be supplanted by the envisioning of Southern California as Edenic cornucopia. The polysyndetic rhetoric used to describe the kaleidoscopic bounty is amply backed up by the extensive index of the land that Salvator develops throughout the book.

If works like Salvator’s, Colton’s, Hutton’s all displayed this intriguing half-glance at the region’s history, then the bibliographic and antiquarian culture that sold these works a half century on from their publication utilised it too. Advertising these books’ scarcity and oneiric potential, the publisher of the reprint

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11 Salvator, p. 142.
of Salvator’s work, Jake Zeitlin, wrote to the Librarian of the Mechanics Mercantile Library in San Francisco, Francis B. Graves:

You have just returned from Los Angeles. Did you walk down the Mexican street off the plaza or through some of the bypaths in Sonora Town, and catch a glimpse of another Los Angeles, one that died 60 years ago when the railroads came? If so, you probably experienced the same desire of many of the other more imaginative visitors here: to read and own in your own library an authoritative book about that time.

There are few books of this sort available. LOS ANGELES IN THE SUNNY SEVENTIES … is one of them. … It is certain to become a very scarce and desirable collectors’ item.zeitlin

Zeitlin was supposedly offering a rarefied glimpse into Los Angeles’ past, an experience only becoming rarer. It is especially striking how this affective desire for ‘antiquity’ and for a pre-US past is transposed from a physical experience of the city — walking around, physically looking at it, catching an obscured glimpse of the past — into a textual one in the form of the bound volume, an “authoritative” work acquired for one’s own library. The scarcity and desirability of the work of Californiana becomes intimately aligned with the nefarious concept that the Mexican past it represented has now “died”, when, in 1930, nothing could be further from the truth. Zeitlin’s point is that Los Angeles has changed dramatically but the issue here is the romanticisation of the Mexican present by Anglo literary culture. Graves’ momentarily glance at Mexican Los Angeles is framed as the experience of looking at a relic.

An illusory vision, an unstable optic, frequently appears in the romantic mythology of Southern California’s past. Like Zeitlin and Salvator, Helen Hunt Jackson’s Glimpses of California and the Missions (1883), presents the romance of the past as something registered in a transient and uncanny way. Visual glimpses merge with “echoes in the city of angels” to provide a perception of two interwoven cityscapes: “But [Los Angeles] has not yet shaken off its past. A certain indefinable, delicious aroma from the old, ignorant, picturesque times lingers still, not only in byways and corners, but in the very centres of its newest activities.”

William Deverell suggests this passage indicates Jackson’s belief that “one would not, could not, truly know Los Angeles…unless one could penetrate the outward reserve of the remaining survivors of the old Spanish and Mexican regime.”  

Yet the romanticising Jackson pursues purposefully keeps that nostalgic knowledge at a distance. Svetlana Boym reminds us that to “unearth the fragments of nostalgia one needs a dual archeology of memory and of place, and a dual history of illusions and of actual practices.”  

The Anglo optic on Southern California simultaneously combined real place with a purposefully illusory vision, one that appropriated a regional memory and remapped this into Los Angeles. The fact that the non-Anglo past can only be attained in glimpses and glances speaks for how the appropriation of that past could only ever render an ersatz history, a romantic mythology. As McClung notes, “Anglo Los Angeles was largely an effort to satisfy that [nostalgic] yearning by building the imaginary home.”

The collecting of Californiana envisioned the landscape, culture and people of Southern California as a kaleidoscopic multiplicity that rendered each taxonomised item iconic and fixed within space and time, whether that was a re-imagined ‘antiquity’, a colonial legacy of travel, or an Anglo Los Angeles of the present. As shown by bookshop catalogues, archival practices, manuscripts, letters, scrapbooks, and indexes, this construction of regional knowledge suggested how ordering and collecting deeply permeated Anglo society. At times, Anglo Americans in Southern California pursued their antiquarian and bibliographic culture of collecting in a way that reflected imperialist doctrines elsewhere but by pushing their regional mythology to the heart of this mediating process, they created a regional literary culture that was unlike any other in form, practice, or lineage. Future critical work on American regions should take account of this collecting culture and it should make us rethink Californian literature, the epistemology of Los Angeles, and cultural history at the turn of the twentieth century.

14 Deverell, p. 30.
16 McClung, p. 78
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Note: Publications found in archives and libraries that are not manuscripts or newspaper articles and were published in their own right (e.g. bookstore catalogues) are listed in Secondary Works. If they were works which all came from the same location (e.g. the same box at UCLA), then the full location is given for the first item and abbreviated thereafter. If such works were also part of a formal manuscript collection (e.g. Dawson’s catalogues at UCLA but not at the Huntington), the collection is also listed in full under Archival Collections.

Newspaper articles, where full publication details are available, are listed in their own category with other reference entries. Newspaper articles the provenance of which is unknown (e.g. certain clippings in scrapbooks), letters, scrapbooks, and other items found in manuscript collections are subsumed into the listings in Archival Collections. In 2017 the Historical Society of Southern California records were located at the Workman and Temple Family Homestead Museum in the City of Industry, California. However, at the time this thesis was submitted, they were due to be relocated.

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