



CHAUTAUQUA:

THE NATURE STUDY MOVEMENT IN PACIFIC GROVE, CALIFORNIA



I revere his memory with that of my father and the New England Puritans, - types of the best American pioneers whose unwavering faith in God's eternal righteousness forms the basis of our country's greatness. - John Muir

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PROLOGUE

ANY PERSON CAUGHT MOLESTING BUTTERFLIES WILL BE PROSECUTED TO THE FULL EXTENT OF THE LAW

PACIFIC GROVE POLICE DEPARTMENT

We begin with a true story: the origin of legal protection for the monarch butterflies that migrate annually to the small coastal town of Pacific Grove, California. As far back as anyone can remember monarch butterflies have arrived in Pacific Grove late in the fall where they overwinter in a particular grove of trees. By the thousands, these butterflies gather in great clusters on the trees, remain all winter long, and depart in early spring. The clusters of monarchs would often draw the curiosity of mischievous small boys who, from time to time, tossed sticks or stones at the fragile butterflies, or worse yet, crudely dissected the monarchs by tearing them into small pieces. Witnessing such destructive acts, one local individual by the name of Paul Brace Norton recognized the butterflies' need for protection --- and provided it.

PB Norton's father, Henry Brace Norton had been vice principal and instructor of natural history at the Kansas State Normal School in Emporia, Kansas. In 1875, HB Norton accepted the position of vice principal and instructor of natural history at the California State Normal School at San Jose, and the Norton family moved to California. Together, HB Norton and his wife, Marian Goodrich Norton, had five children, the last two of them born in California. PB Norton was their fifth child, born on the centennial of the United States, July 4, 1876, in the small town of Sequel, in Santa Cruz County. It was this fifth son of HB and Mar-

ian Norton who would take the lead in establishing an ordinance to protect the butterflies in Pacific Grove.

PB Norton first attended the California State Normal School at San Jose and later the Oakland Technical School of Engineering. For over 20 years, Norton worked for Southern Pacific Railroad as a traffic agent, then founded a wholesale florist business in San Francisco, a venture that netted him a tidy fortune. After two years, he sold the florist business and moved to Pacific Grove, his permanent residence. There, Norton became the manager of the shipping and receiving department of the Holman's Department Store, where he would be employed for over 15 years. In addition to working at the department store, Norton served two terms on the City Council of Pacific Grove and was director of the city's Chamber of Commerce.

It was during his time on the City Council that Norton authored one of Pacific Grove's most famous ordinances, making it a misdemeanor to disturb the monarch butterflies. In the year 1939, City Councilman Paul Brace Norton "instigated a city ordinance making it a crime, punishable by six months in jail or a \$500 fine, or both, to disturb the butterflies" of Pacific Grove (Pacific Grove Butterflies Leave For Distant Parts, San Jose News, March 16, 1939).¹ Norton argued before the Council, "Driven from pillar to post, the defenseless butterflies are fast approaching extinction at the hands of brutal and heartless people" (Pacific Grove Butterflies Leave For Distant Parts, San Jose News, March 16, 1939).² His proposal gained overwhelming approval; the resulting ordinance provided protection for the monarchs and eventually led to the designation of a select grove of trees to serve as a butterfly sanctuary.

We begin with this history of how an ordinance protecting butterflies came to be, as it touches on four of the subjects of prominence in the pages to come. The first of these subjects of prominence being what were once commonly referred to as "Objects of Nature." As we will come to understand, a monarch butterfly is but one example of an object of nature commonly found among the col-

lections gathered together, displayed within natural history museums, and utilized by instructors of natural history for the proper method of study of nature. The second of these subjects of prominence being a pioneering family by the name of “Norton,” specifically HB Norton and his older sister, Mary EB Norton. The third of these subjects of prominence being a small coastal Methodist camp named the Pacific Grove Retreat, an outpost for the ideals of New England Puritans, positioned two mile west of Monterey, California. The fourth subject of prominence being the source of Anglo Californian’s reverence for the natural environment, which would serve to catalyze the advancement of both a state and national movement for the legal protection of nature. This story is about the intersection of these four subjects as told through the history of the Pacific Coast Branch of the Chautauqua Literary Scientific Circle (established 1880) as California’s first summer school of science.



A SUMMER SCHOOL OF SCIENCE

The second half of the 19th century was a time in this nation's history when America experienced a great scientific awakening, sparked by a remarkable period of both scientific discoveries and scientific ideas. In 1858, the first fossilized dinosaur skeleton to be found in the United States was unearthed in Haddonfield, New Jersey; a finding soon eclipsed by the discovery that the American West held some of the richest fossil fields on Earth. These discoveries coincided with the new scientific ideas put forth by Charles Darwin in *The Origin of Species*, published in 1859. This was a period in American history when geologist and paleontologists were uncovering fossils that proved life on earth was over several hundred million years old, and astronomers began to theorize the formation of the galaxies from whirling gasses in outer space.¹

The American public quickly became impassioned with desire for a deeper understanding of the natural world. As a result of this new-found interest in nature, the study of natural history experienced a remarkable emergence in the United States, accompanied by an enormous zeal, amongst both amateurs and professionals alike, for collecting "objects of nature."² Throughout the United States, in large cities and small towns, was heard a clamor for establishing natural history museums and for collecting, classifying, cataloging, and exhibiting the treasured objects of nature.

Accompanying this sudden increase in the American public's interest in nature was the development of an educational phenomenon that became known as the "Nature Study Movement." This movement was, in part, the result of an educational experiment that took place at America's first summer school of science held at America's first

seaside laboratory, on an uninhabited and remote island, some twenty-five miles off the coast of Massachusetts, named Penikese. The person largely responsible for organizing this first summer school of science was a Harvard professor named Louis Agassiz. As we will learn, Agassiz's purpose in establishing this seashore program of education was not to advance scientific research but to introduce to instructors, who themselves were in the position of training schoolteachers, a more effective method of teaching nature study to students.

We begin with an introduction to Louis Agassiz, for it will be his method of teaching natural history that will migrate across the continent, to the farthest reaches of the Western United States, and be adopted as the method of instruction by the instructors of California's first summer school of science in Pacific Grove, California: the Pacific Coast Assembly of the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle (est.1880).

JEAN LOUIS RODOLPHE AGASSIZ, M.D, Ph.D., LL.D.

Louis Agassiz was born on May 28, 1807, in a village named Môtier in the Canton of Fribourg, Switzerland. His father was a Protestant pastor, as were five generations of his ancestors. After being home schooled until age eleven, Agassiz was sent to Gymnasium of Bienna, where he spent four years studying ancient and modern languages. It was during this period that Agassiz's interest in natural history arose, while during school vacations, he took up the practice of organizing collections of objects of nature.³ Though his father wanted him to join the clergy, his early interests in natural history could not be resisted. As a result, Agassiz chose to pursue the study of medicine, in line with his interests in nature.⁴

In 1824, Agassiz entered the University of Zurich, where he pursued zoological investigations under the Swiss physician and naturalist Professor Heinrich Rudolf Schnoz. Agassiz next studied at the University of Heidelberg, under Friedrich Tiedemann, Professor of Anatomy and Physiology. In 1827, Agassiz transferred to the University of Munich. There, Agassiz was selected by Carl Friedrich Philipp von Martius to work on the natural history of the freshwater fishes of Brazil, utilizing the material that had been collected by a scientific expedition sponsored by the governments of Austria and Bavaria. Agassiz's study of Brazilian fishes was published in 1829 in a folio volume, "*Pisces etc., quos collegit et pingendos curative Spix, descripsit Agassiz*" and included 91 lithographic plates. It was in this work that Agassiz began to establish his reputation as a naturalist.⁵

By now, Agassiz's parents had become quite disappointed with their son's increasing interest in natural history, which had almost completely displaced his study of medicine, and they suspended his financial support.⁶ To regain his parents' approval, Agassiz returned to his medical studies, receiving a doctorate in medicine from the University of Munich in 1830. From Munich, Agassiz traveled to Paris, where he spent a short time studying under the direction of Georges Cuvier, a major figure in natural sci-

ences in the early 19th century.⁷ Agassiz remained in Paris, until Cuvier's death in 1832, where upon he returned to Switzerland, accepting the position of Professor of Natural History in the recently established College of Neuchâtel.

By the age of thirty-three, Agassiz belonged to every scientific academy in Europe and had received invitations from several leading universities to join their faculties.⁸ Agassiz chose to remain at College of Neuchâtel and continue his studies of natural history. His next work, titled *Natural History of the Freshwater Fishes of Central Europe*, was published in two parts (1831, 1842). The progress of this work was interrupted by *Researches on Fossil Fishes*, published in parts from 1832 to 1842, with 311 lithographic plates. For this publication, he examined many important museum collections, particularly those of the Museum of Natural History in Paris.⁹

From 1836 to 1845, Agassiz spent his summers in the Alps, developing his theory on the formation of glaciers, often in the company of his friend and fellow Swiss geologist Arnold Henry Guyot. In 1840, Agassiz published *Etudes sur les Glaciers* ("Studies on Glaciers"), a volume that revolutionized existing theories on the development and movement of glaciers. This publication was followed by a more detailed exposition that presented further evidence for his theory *Système Glaciaire*, ("Glacier System") published in 1847.¹⁰ With these works, Agassiz established himself as the author of a massive treatise on fossil fishes and a major proponent of the ice-age theory. As such, by the time Agassiz arrived in America, he was uniquely positioned to become a leader in American science.¹¹

Louis Agassiz's influence on the United States began in the fall of 1846 when, at the age of thirty-nine, he crossed the Atlantic Ocean.¹² Fresh from Switzerland, he found himself welcomed in America like the prophet of a new religion.¹³ From the moment of his arrival, he began the mission of advancing both science and the teaching of science in the United States. He had traveled to America at the invitation of textile magnate and Harvard University supporter John Amory Lowell, who requested Agassiz present twelve lectures on the three subjects, "*The Plan of Creation as shown in the Ani-*

mal Kingdom, Ichthyology, and Comparative Embryology” at the Lowell Institute of Boston, Massachusetts.¹⁴ During that first winter, Bostonians flocked into Lowell Institute’s Tremont Temple to hear Agassiz speak; on some evenings as many as five thousand packed the temple.¹⁵ So great was public interest to hear these talks of science that Agassiz found it necessary to offer his lectures each day to a second audience.¹⁶ It would be these lectures for the Lowell Institute that initiated Agassiz communication of science to the American public for the next twenty-seven years of his life.

With every series of lectures that Agassiz presented thereafter, his popularity amongst the American public grew ever larger. During October and November of 1847, at the request of the Faculty of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of New York, Agassiz delivered in the hall of that institution a series of twelve lectures on the principles of classification in the animal kingdom. The complete transcript of each lecture was printed the following day in the *New York Tribune*, the first time Agassiz's lectures had been transcribed and printed in full, just after an evening’s presentation. Newsboys in the streets of New York could be heard yelling at the top of their voices, “Professor Agassiz’s Lecture!”¹⁷ The American public was enthralled. The demand for the papers containing these admirable discourses was so great that the editor of the *New York Tribune* was obliged to issue them in the form of a pamphlet, *An Introduction to the Study of Natural History*.¹⁸

Several months after this lecture series, in January 1848, Louis Agassiz was approached by several friends, among them John A. Lowell, to ask if he would consider accepting a permanent position as Professor of Zoology and Geology at Harvard College in Cambridge, Massachusetts.¹⁹ That very year, Louis Agassiz was officially appointed to position of Professor of Zoology and Geology in the new Lawrence Scientific School at Harvard University. Agassiz would spend the rest of his life at Harvard, training America’s first cohort of academic instructors of natural history and many of this country’s first and most prominent naturalists.

LOUIS AGASSIZ AS MENTOR

During his career at Harvard (1848-1873), Louis Agassiz served as the direct mentor to numerous students, many of whom went on to become some of America's most famous scientists. According to David Starr Jordan, the first president of Leland Stanford University, nearly all the early teachers of biology in America—men born between 1825–1850, most of them prominent in their field of study—were, at one time or another, students of Louis Agassiz.²⁰ The names of the scientists mentioned by David Starr Jordan form an impressive roster:

Alexander Agassiz, Director of Harvard's Museum of Comparative Zoology;

Joel Asaph Allen, Curator of the American Museum of Natural History;

John Gould Anthony, Director of the conchology department of Harvard's Museum of Comparative Zoology;

Albert Smith Bickmore, American naturalist and one of the founders of the American Museum of Natural History;

Jesse Walter Fewkes, Director of the Smithsonian's Bureau of American Ethnology;

Samuel Garman, Assistant Director of herpetology and ichthyology at Harvard's Museum of Comparative Zoology;

Charles Frédéric Girard, Smithsonian Institution, specialist in ichthyology and herpetology;

Charles Frederic Hartt, Professor at Cornell University;

Alphas Hyatt, Professor of Biology and Zoology at Boston University;

Joseph Le Conte, Professor at the University of California;

Theodore Lyman, member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and of the National Academy of Sciences, a trustee of the Peabody Education Fund, and an overseer of Harvard University;

Charles S. Minot, Professor at Harvard Medical School;

Edward Sylvester Morse, Professor at Imperial University of Tokyo;

Alphas Spring Packard Jr., Professor at Brown University;

Frederic Ward Putnam, Director of the Peabody Museum of Archeology and Ethnology of Yale University;

Samuel H. Scudder, distinguished entomologist;

Nathaniel Shaler, Dean of Harvard Graduate School;

Philip Reese Uhler, Professor of Natural Sciences at Johns Hopkins University;

Charles Otis Whitman, founder of the Marine Biological Laboratory at Woods Hole;

Burt Green Wilder, Professor at Cornell University.

In addition to those he mentored, Agassiz's closest friends and associates included many of America's leading early naturalists:

Spencer F. Baird, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, Commissioner of Fish and Fisheries for the United States Fish Commission;

James D. Dana, Professor of Natural History and Geology at Yale College;

Asa Gray, Professor of Natural History at Harvard University, considered the most important American botanist of the 19th century;

Hermann August Hagen, Professor of Entomology, Harvard University;

Jared Potter Kirkland, naturalist, malacologist, and physician, co-founder of

Western Reserve University's Medical School and what would become the

Cleveland Museum of Natural History;

John P. Lesley, Professor of Geology at the University of Pennsylvania;

Charles Léo Kirkland, Swiss bryologist and a pioneer of American paleobotany;

William Stimpson, Director of the Department of Invertebrates, Smithsonian Institution, Director of the Academy of Science in Chicago.²¹

Not only did Louis Agassiz serve as mentor for the first generation of America's prominent scientists, but he also provided the inspiration and organizing force behind what would become one of the greatest museums of natural history in the world, the Harvard University Museum of Comparative Zoology.²²

THE MUSEUM OF COMPARATIVE ZOOLOGY

When Louis Agassiz began his professorship at Harvard, there existed not a single collection of tangible objects of nature at the school with which to illustrate his lectures on geology and zoology.²³ As a start toward organizing a collection of such specimens, the University provided, as storage for the objects Agassiz had begun to gather, a small old wooden shack that rested on four pilings along the Charles River. The shack itself contained little more than a few pine shelves and several wooden tables that provided space for dissecting specimens. It was within this small wooden shack that Agassiz began to organize his collection.²⁴

Within a short time, Agassiz's collection of objects of nature would outgrow this wooden shack.²⁵ In 1850, to further support his efforts, the University provided Agassiz with a larger storage space in the basement of an old building on the Harvard campus and began to appropriate a small amount of funding each year toward the care of the collection.²⁶ The next several years found Agassiz's collection of natural objects burgeoning, with storage split between the wooden shack along the Charles River, the basement of Harvard Hall, and his own residence. In 1852, Samuel Eliot, then Treasurer of Harvard University, raised by private donation, the amount of twelve thousand dollars to purchase and pay for the arrangement of Agassiz's collection.²⁷

Finally, in 1858, a Mr. Francis C. Gray of Boston provided in his estate, upon his death, fifty thousand dollars to Harvard to establish a museum to house these specimens of nature, under the direction of Louis Agassiz, with the condition that the institution should always be referred to as The Museum of Comparative Zoology.²⁸ In that same year, through Agassiz's influence and encouragement, the Massachusetts legislature provided a grant of one hundred thousand dollars, with more than seventy thousand dollars pledged by the citizens of Boston *for the purpose of erecting a fire-proof building in Cambridge suitable to receive, to protect, and to exhibit advantageously and freely to all comers, the*

collection of objects in natural science brought together by Professor Louis Agassiz, with such additions as may hereafter be made thereto. ²⁹

And so it was that by the year 1859, the very year in which Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species* appeared, Louis Agassiz had successfully organized the Museum of Comparative Zoology at Harvard College. In the following excerpt from an address given in San Francisco, on September 2, 1872, to the California Academy of Sciences, Louis Agassiz discusses establishing the museum, and the collection's usefulness to his method of instruction of natural history.

I went single-handed to Cambridge, to teach natural history, twenty-five years ago. When I delivered my first lecture, there was not in the University a single specimen to illustrate what I had to say. And yet, a little band of students, feeling an interest in what they could learn in the lecture room, and others, thought such a pursuit was worth encouraging, and by and by the idea arose that a museum would be of use, and the means were gradually forthcoming, at first in small contributions, but gradually more liberally in larger sums, until at this moment, after fourteen years only, the museum at Cambridge stands in my estimation, without parallel in the world. This is what the world wants-not books read, but men to learn what is not yet known. Those men cannot be educated in the schoolroom. They must be educated in Nature, among specimens, by the teachings of that thing that has not been explored now ³⁰

Many of the students who were trained by Louis Agassiz at the Museum of Comparative Zoology later featured prominently in the history of natural science in America; becoming professors at Harvard or other universities; or the leaders of major natural history museums, which were rapidly being established throughout the United States.³¹ Among these were Albert Smith Bickmore, who is credited for the design and creation of the American Museum of Natural History in New York City³², and Frederic Ward Putnam, who was among the founders of the Museum of the Peabody Academy of Science in Salem, Massachusetts and served there for many years as director.³³ Even with the completion of the Museum of Comparative Zoology, Louis Agassiz continued his drive to popularize nature study, by extending the teaching of natural history beyond the walls of the museum into school curricula, and thereby advancing the scientific literacy of the American people.

LOUIS AGASSIZ'S ASPIRATIONS

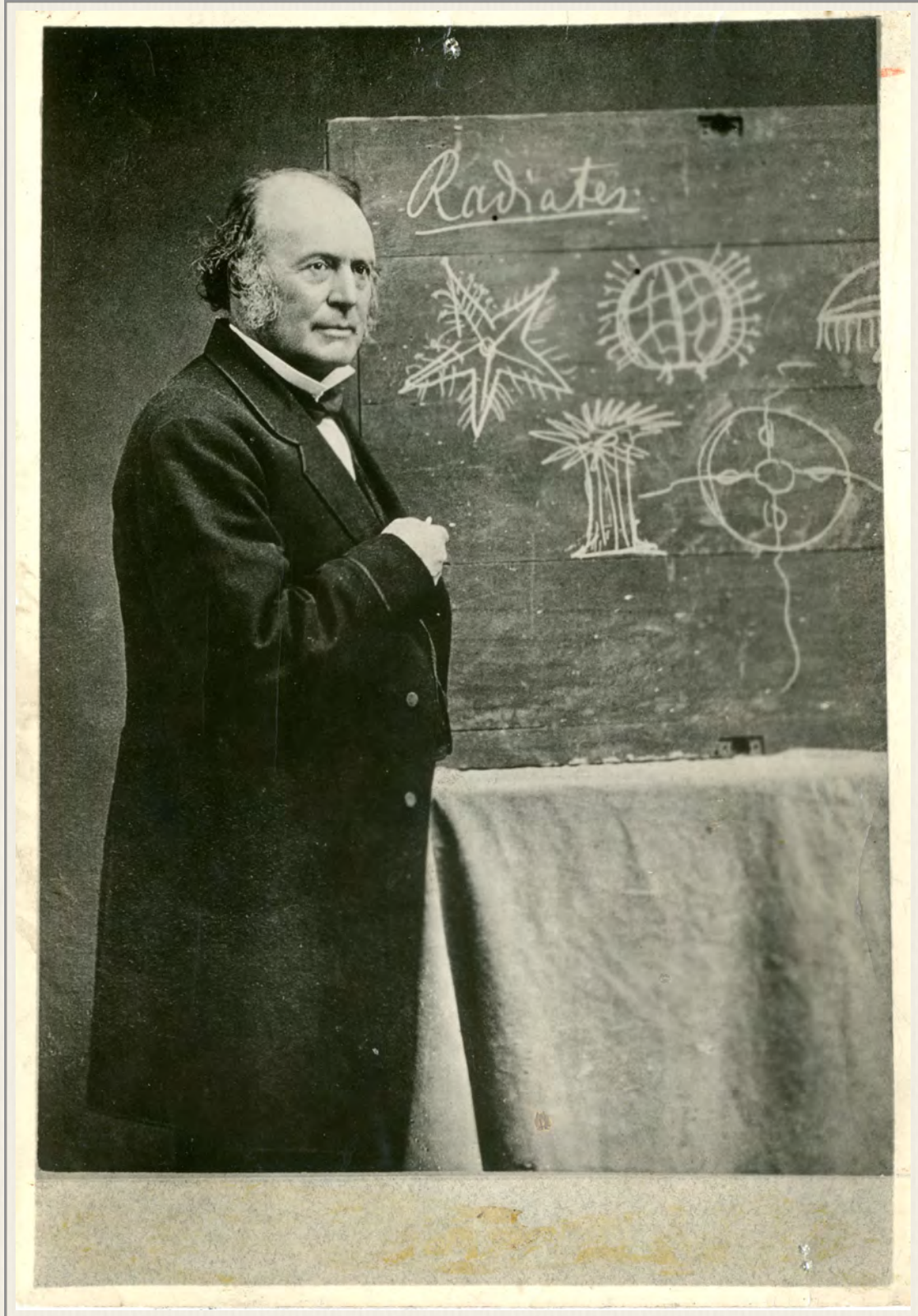
Louis Agassiz was a man who had many aspirations during his lifetime. One of his aspirations was nothing less than the complete transformation of how American society as a whole related to, talked about, and studied nature. To this end, Agassiz aimed to introduce his method of nature study into the curricula of the American school system. From the time of his arrival in this country, Agassiz had worked to establish a strong connection with the teachers of the State of Massachusetts; attending and lecturing to the Teachers' Institutes, visiting the teacher training schools, then referred to as "normal schools," and associating himself actively, as much as he possibly could, with the interests of public education.³⁴ As a charismatic, well-respected Harvard professor, he was frequently invited to speak to the general public. In addition to giving countless public presentations, he opened his lectures at the Harvard Museum of Comparative Zoology to schoolteachers, encouraging women as well as men to attend.³⁵

As poignantly described by Sally Gregory Stimpson, *Louis Agassiz lectured to anyone who would listen—from the educated elite at the Lowell Institute, to the young women attending his wife Elizabeth Agassiz's girls' school in Cambridge, and to audiences in major cities interested with idea of building public natural history museums. His vision for engaging learners in studying the natural world influenced both his formal and informal students, many of whom in the years to come, would work to introduce Agassiz's method of instruction of natural history to the public schools through the training of schoolteachers.*³⁶

In the article titled *Agassiz at Penikese* (*The Popular Science Monthly*, April 1892), David Starr Jordan aptly describes the educational effort that was taken up next by Louis Agassiz, as yet another attempt to introduce nature study into the curriculum of American schools.

Notwithstanding the great usefulness of the museum and the broad influence of its teachers, Agassiz was not fully satisfied. The audience he reached was still too small. Throughout the country the great body of teachers of science went on in the old mechanical way. On these he was able to exert no influ-

ence. The boys and girls still kept up the humdrum recitations from worthless text-books. They got their lessons from the book, recited them from memory, and no more came into contact with Nature than they would if no animals or plants or rocks existed on this side of the planet Jupiter. It was to remedy this state of things that Agassiz conceived, in 1872, the idea of a scientific "camp-meeting," where the workers and the teachers might meet together — a summer school of observation where the teachers should be trained to see Nature for themselves and teach others how to see it.³⁷



Louis Agassiz at the chalkboard.

Photograph courtesy of the Marine Biological Laboratory Archives.

THE ANDERSON SCHOOL OF NATURAL HISTORY

In 1873, during the last summer of his life, Louis Agassiz would conduct one final experiment in education and obtain the extraordinary results he had long sought. In this last effort toward advancing the scientific education of the American people, Agassiz set about establishing America's first seaside laboratory, the Anderson School of Natural History, to serve as America's first summer school of science. The spark for this summer school of science is credited to Nathaniel S. Shaler, who first suggested the possibility to his college professor, Louis Agassiz. The original idea was to establish a seaside laboratory on Massachusetts' Nantucket Island, to operate during the summer, for the education of both university students and science teachers of secondary schools.³⁸

What Agassiz did not know at the time, was that the results of this final experiment would fulfill his grand aspiration, as his popularization of the study of nature was to be embraced by the American educational system and American society at large. To grasp the influence of Agassiz's experiment on this nation's education system, one must appreciate that at this time in U.S. history, university education was centered on the classics. An education in natural sciences offered little career opportunity and, therefore, was largely avoided.³⁹ This strong emphasis on the classics resulted in few standard academic institutions, be it a seminary, normal school, college, or university, capable of training schoolteachers as instructors in biological sciences or natural history.⁴⁰ Agassiz's final experiment in education, the Anderson Seaside Laboratory of Natural History, was his attempt to remedy this problem. The purpose that Professor Agassiz had in mind when establishing this seaside laboratory was not to advance scientific research but to introduce to instructors, who themselves were in the position of training school teachers, to a more effective method of teaching the study of nature to students.⁴¹

On December 14, 1872, twelve months to the day before his death, Agassiz issued the following circular announcing his summer school of science:

*Programme of a Course of Instruction in Natural History, to be delivered by the Seaside, in Nantucket, during the Summer Months, chiefly designed for Teachers who propose to introduce the Study into their Schools and for Students preparing to become Teachers. I must make hard work a condition of a continued connection with the school, and desire particularly to impress it upon the applicants for admission that Penikese Island is not to be regarded as a place of summer resort for relaxation. I do not propose to give much instruction in matters which may be learned from books. I want, on the contrary, to prepare those who shall attend to observe for themselves. I would therefore advise all those who wish only to be taught natural history in the way in which it is generally taught, by recitations, to give up their intention of joining the school.*⁴²

Agassiz is emphatic in the circular that his primary intent for the summer school is to introduce teachers to the instruction of natural history through observation. As a location for the experimental school, Agassiz had persuaded John Anderson, a wealthy New York tobacco merchant who owned a small isolated island named Penikese, to allow him to use the land as a site. Along with the use of the island, Anderson provided a fifty-thousand dollar endowment for the school. Additional donations were provided including a quickly constructed building that provided fifty-eight rooms for lodging on the second floor and a yacht with 80-ton cargo capacity for collecting purposes.⁴³

The next step, in the spring of 1873, was for Agassiz to personally select, from over one hundred applicants, forty-four students to attend the summer school on Penikese Island. These chosen students, twenty-eight men and sixteen women, were primarily instructors from seminaries, normal schools, and small colleges who themselves, at their own institutions, were in the position to of training schoolteachers.⁴⁴ In doing so, Agassiz seized an opportunity to select those students whom he could teach and send forth, as apostles on a mission, to carry into their own institutions his view of the proper method of studying nature.

On July 8, 1873, the Anderson School of Natural History opened on uninhabited Penikese Island, the most remote of the Elizabeth Islands off the coast of Massachusetts in Buzzard's Bay, twenty-five miles southeast of Newport, Rhode Island. In the

early morning of this first day, a little ferry steamer set out from New Bedford, Massachusetts carrying those forty-four chosen students and eight accompanying instructors bound for Penikese Island. That morning, Agassiz intercepted the group at the dock upon arrival, providing an impromptu lengthy lecture emphasizing the summer's theme: students attending the Anderson School would "study nature, not books."⁴⁵

The summer experience at the Anderson School of Natural History presented Agassiz's chosen group of American educators with their first opportunity to study nature in nature.⁴⁶ The course of instruction for the six-week program began each morning with a set of informal talks, followed by an hour or more of dissection and working with microscopes. During the afternoons on Penikese, the students were free to explore the island and collect materials for scientific investigation. The evenings on Penikese were spent writing up notes from the day's work, dissecting by candlelight, or attending lectures.⁴⁷ As described by Jules Marcou in the book *Life, Letters, and Works of Louis Agassiz* (1896) *Every one was collecting, examining with microscopes, dissecting, or watching marine animals in aquaria improvised out of pails and buckets. Agassiz lectured nearly every day, and frequently twice a day; and his passion for teaching had full play.*⁴⁸

Thus it was here, on this isolated island named Penikese, that Louis Agassiz inspired forty-four students to return to their institutions and introduce his method of nature study. A number of these students would become leaders in what eventually became this nation's "Nature Study Movement."⁴⁹ Sadly, Agassiz would not live to see the results of his educational experiment spread far from the shores of Penikese Island. That winter, on December 14, 1873, Louis Agassiz died unexpectedly at the age of sixty-six. Alexander Agassiz, Louis Agassiz's son and himself an expert zoologist, continued the Anderson School of Natural History for a second successful summer session. Regrettably, Alexander's idea of relocating the laboratory to the more convenient locality of Woods Hole was let drop; as the colleges appealed to for support showed little interest, and America's first seaside laboratory closed permanently at the end of only its second

season.⁵⁰ As a result, the buildings and facilities of the Anderson School on Penikese were abandoned and allowed to rot slowly away.⁵¹

As fate might have it, like prophets of a new-found religion filled with missionary zeal, six of the students in the Penikese class of 1873 would go forth and establish their own seaside laboratories. Agassiz's educational experiment on Penikese Island (1873-1874) was first followed by Alpheus Packard's Summer School of Biology at the Peabody Academy of Science (1876-1881) in Salem, Massachusetts. Next, William Keith Brooks established the Chesapeake Zoological Laboratory of Johns Hopkins University (1878-1906). The third seaside laboratory was the Annisquam Seaside Laboratory on Cape Ann, Massachusetts, under the auspices of the Boston Society of Natural History (1881-1886); with Alpheus Hyatt as its founder and director.⁵² Although these first three seaside laboratories were short-lived, the next three facilities to be established remain active today. In 1888, under the leadership of Charles Otis Whitman, the Woods Hole Marine Biological Laboratory was established in Woods Hole, Massachusetts. Next, in 1890, Franklin William Hooper, then director of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, established the Brooklyn Institute Biological Laboratory in Cold Springs Harbor, Massachusetts, today simply known as Cold Springs Harbor Laboratory. Finally, in 1892, David Starr Jordan, then president of Stanford University, established Hopkins Seaside Laboratory of Natural History in Pacific Grove, California, the teaching and research facility known today as Hopkins Marine Station of Stanford University.⁵³

These six early seaside laboratories were originally established with the intent to attract, in addition to university students and scientific researchers, an audience of elementary and secondary schoolteachers, as well as instructors of seminaries, normal schools, and small colleges, who themselves were in the position of training schoolteachers.⁵⁴ As such, these early seaside laboratories served to extend Agassiz's experiment in education, embracing his belief that the most effective way to teach

natural history was to bring a select group of students face-to-face with nature, under the expert guidance of gifted instructors.⁵⁵



HIGHER EDUCATION IN MID 19TH AND EARLY 20TH CENTURY AMERICA

In the United States, the start of the second half of the 19th century was an era when few instructors in academic institutions held advanced degrees, such as Master of Arts, Master of Science, or Doctor of Philosophy. This was simply because few academic institutions in America awarded advanced degrees. America's academic institutions were in their infancy, with many of the early colleges being established by various religious denominations, for the primary purpose of training men for the ministry. Consequently, the great majority of instructors at these early academic institutions were men, and predominantly clergymen. During this time, other than the ministry, the two most commonly chosen professions requiring any type of an academic education were medicine and law.

Scattered primarily in the States east of the Mississippi, these early academic institutions consisted of mostly small colleges that provided a limited undergraduate curriculum with a primary focus on the liberal arts and religious studies. The students, predominantly young men of wealthy families, were offered an education in the classics, which included Greek, Latin, ethics and rhetoric, ancient history, geometry, logic and music. Markedly absent from the vast majority of these early colleges was any course in astronomy, biology, chemistry, geology, zoology or any other natural sciences.¹

Also, markedly absent from the vast majority of these early colleges were female students. Before the second half of the 19th century, women in this country had limited access to the higher education offered at American colleges. It was not until the late 19th and early 20th century that increasing numbers of this nation's colleges began to accept women. Those young women able to extend their education beyond grammar school, attended a female academy, seminary, or a state normal school where they were most of-

ten trained as elementary and secondary schoolteachers. In fact, during the late 19th century and into the early 20th century, a majority of the students attending normal schools - educational institutions whose main purpose was to train schoolteachers and establish teaching standards (i.e. norms) - were women. Enrollment numbers from the California State Normal School at San Jose show just how dominant the attendance of women at a state normal school could become.²

Year	Enrollment	Percentage of Women
1874-1875	328	82.6
1884-1885	528	85.2
1894-1895	675	92.6
1904-1905	608	93.4
1909-1910	619	96.3

During this period in American history, women who attended these educational institutions did not focus on the classics but, in sharp contrast to their male counterparts, were often trained in the natural sciences.³ Beginning in the last quarter of the 19th century and into first quarter of the 20th century, instruction in natural history and laboratory science became an important component of the curriculum of normal schools. As a result, practically every normal school in America included botany, geography, nature study, and physiology. Beyond these courses many normal schools had required curricula that included one or more of the following subjects: astronomy, biology, chemistry, geology, mineralogy, and physics.⁴

The California State Normal School at San Jose, for example, provided an extended curriculum of courses in natural history and sciences, and in addition, possessed a natural history museum and a herbarium.⁵ The museum featured cases hold-

ing specimens in conchology, including a collection of over three thousand specimens of West Coast shells provided by an amateur conchologist, Mr. Henry Hemphill, and a collection of more than fifteen hundred rare California and foreign shells provided by Miss Jennie R. Bush. Other branches of natural history were well represented within the museum by twenty cases of minerals, thirty cases of insects, two cases of crustaceans and radiates, one case of California tertiary fossils, one case of Silurian fossils, and two cases of foreign and native woods.⁶ A herbarium, gathered through years of effort by Miss Mary EB Norton, the instructor of botany, contained several thousand plants, among them representative species from each continent. Each plant specimen was carefully classified, labeled, and arranged in its case. The aim of the California State Normal School at San Jose was to make this museum collection useful and instructive, as opposed to just a display to satisfy simple curiosity.⁷

Beyond the museum and herbarium, the California State Normal School at San Jose maintained a chemistry laboratory, complete with the necessary equipment for experimental work by the students. In the case of chemistry and physics, the students themselves manufactured much of the equipment used, which better prepared them for teaching elementary science in the rural communities of California. The school was equipped with microscopes for the study of botany, physiology, and zoology.⁸ For astronomical studies, although the Normal School did not have an observatory on the campus in San Jose, each senior was allowed use of the large telescope at the Lick Observatory during annual trips up Mount Hamilton.⁹

This emphasis on the natural sciences at the California State Normal School prepared women to become qualified science teachers, primarily at the elementary school level, given that there were far more grade school than high school teaching positions, especially in rural countryside of California during the later years of the 19th century.¹⁰



Lick Observatory, Mount Hamilton, California.

Detroit Photographic Company, c1902.

Photograph courtesy of the Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

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ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN MID 19TH AND EARLY 20TH CENTURY AMERICA

In the United States, during the second half of the 19th century, the majority of America's children attended one-room school houses where the teachers were predominantly young women.¹¹ Just how disproportionate women were as schoolteachers in the far reaches of the West is exemplified in the County of Monterey, California, where in the year 1900, the school system was divided into 101 school districts employing 125 female teachers and 10 male teachers. Based on those figures, the Monterey County school system was dominated by one-room schoolhouses with women making up 93% of the schoolteachers, primarily engaged in elementary education.¹²

During this period in American history, the majority of these female instructors in elementary schools did not hold advanced degrees in education or teaching credentials from accredited academic institutions. Most were in their teens or early twenties, with many having little or no education beyond the eighth grade.¹³ As a result of this virtually complete lack of training in pedagogy, teaching was based almost entirely on repetition and memorization. This method of instruction had children reading and reciting from textbooks until they knew large portions of the material by heart.¹⁴ With William McGuffey's *Eclectic Reader* being the most common textbook of the 19th century, there were eleven- and twelve-year-old children who had memorized and could recite 200 or even 300 pages of the *McGuffey Reader* practically word for word.¹⁵ Other children, whose only opportunity to obtain any schooling was limited to their attendance of Sunday school, were provided an education through the memorization of scripture.¹⁶ One such student, who first learned by rote learning of the scripture, was the famous California naturalist John Muir, who by age eleven had memorized much of the Bible and could recite the entire New Testament and most of the Old Testament verbatim.¹⁷ In sharp contrast to learning through memorization and recitation,

the method of study that Louis Agassiz wished to introduce into the American educational system was one that encouraged using textbooks together with objects of nature.

LOUIS AGASSIZ'S METHOD OF STUDY

Louis Agassiz's method of study was one that encouraged students to develop their critical thinking abilities through a combination of inquiry-based observation and a direct "hands-on" approach to learning. His method of teaching natural history encouraged a spirit of investigation, while developing the faculties of observation, critical reasoning, and independent thinking. Agassiz, in his own words, describes his teaching technique, and how this pedagogical approach differed from the dominant method of the late 19th and early 20th century, that of continual recitation and memorization:

Our school system has been developed in a manner which has produced the most admirable results, and is imitated everywhere as the most complete and the most successful; but, while we have attained the highest point in that respect, we are also best prepared by that very position to make any further improvement which may lead to a better future. And I believe that the introduction of the study of natural history, as a branch of the most elementary education, is what can be added to what is already so admirable a system. The difficult art of thinking can be acquired more rapidly by this method than by any other. When we study moral or mental philosophy in text-books, which we commit to memory, it is not the mind we cultivate, it is the memory alone. The mind may come in; but if it does in that method, it is only in an accessory way. But if we learn to think, by unfolding thoughts ourselves, from the examination of objects around us, then we acquire them ourselves, and we acquire the ability of applying our thoughts in life. The teacher who is competent to teach the elements of this science, must, of course, feel a deep interest in it; he must know how to select those topics which are particularly instructive and best adapted to awaken an interest, to sustain it, and to lead forward to the understanding of more difficult questions. He should be capable of rendering the subject attractive, interesting, and so pleasant, indeed, that the hour for the school should be welcomed by the scholar instead of being dreaded as bringing something imposed by duty, and not desirable in itself.¹⁸

Agassiz's "hands-on" method of instruction presented a new approach for teaching biology and elementary science in the United States. Students would now be taught to study rocks, plants, and animals, not only in the classroom, but in the field as well. This method of instruction, encouraging students to study the object of nature rather than a book's description of the object of nature, was a brilliant pedagogical tool that served to inaugurate widespread reform in science education.¹⁹



The Anderson School of Natural History on Penikese Island.

Photograph courtesy of the Marine Biological Laboratory Archives.

THE INFLUENCE OF PENIKESE ON AMERICAN EDUCATION

That there should be a course of science teaching in the elementary schools was borne in upon the minds of educators in this country as soon as the discoveries and methods of Charles Darwin were generally understood and the idea began to take form when the pupils of Louis Agassiz went back to their schools from Penikese Island.²⁰

Few events during this period in American history had a more significant influence on educational development of this country than the establishment of the Anderson School of Natural History on Penikese Island.²¹ A considerable amount of the success associated with this educational experiment was the result of Louis Agassiz's immense popularity on the American stage, which enabled the Harvard professor to generate an enormous quantity of press surrounding the opening of Penikese. Savvy to the powerful role of media coverage in informing the masses and shaping public opinion, Agassiz had encouraged journalists from newspapers along the Eastern seaboard, including the New York Times, to visit the Anderson School and report on the daily happenings.²² The resulting articles, picked up and published in leading newspapers throughout the United States, vividly described the activities taking place at the summer school. Americans were presented with stories and hand-drawn illustrations of young female students attending lectures, collecting specimens, and dissecting marine animals, along side their male counterparts.²³ In addition to the newspaper reports generated that summer of 1873, for many years following, glowing articles about the Penikese experience, penned by the cohort of students from that original class, were published in virtually every popular periodical, education and science journal of the day. The years of continual publicity associated with the Anderson School of Natural History turned into decades. This extended campaign of publicity not only broadened public opinion of the value of Agassiz's method, but served to advance the acceptance of women as teachers of nature study. Even more, the immense amount of publicity associated with Agassiz's ex-

perimental summer school of science catalyzed a nature study movement that swept the country and inspired in the American public a deep appreciation for nature. The workings of this movement changed the way science in American schools was taught, by emphasizing learning from tangible objects of nature. This emphasis was celebrated by the movement's unswerving hymn: Louis Agassiz's "study nature, not books."

And so it was, that the idea of summer schools for advancing the teaching skills of educators was introduced to America when Louis Agassiz conducted the first summer session on Penikese Island in 1873. A summer program for Sunday school teachers, established on the shores of Chautauqua Lake in the wilderness of upstate New York, would soon follow.



CHAUTAUQUA

The most American thing in America
*Theodore Roosevelt*¹

Only one year after Professor Agassiz's summer school of science was held on Penikese Island, another summer school was established on the shores of Chautauqua Lake in Western New York, in 1874. This summer school gathering would serve as the first step toward the establishing of what became known as the Chautauqua Institution; a pioneer in the formation of a national four-year correspondence program, directed toward educating the masses, who had limited access, if any, to an education. The founding of this summer school on the shores of Chautauqua Lake was largely driven the efforts of two friends, Reverend John Heyl Vincent and Lewis Miller.²

John Heyl Vincent was born February 22, 1832, in Tuscaloosa, Alabama. When he was six years old, his parents moved to Chillisquaque, Pennsylvania, where he attended Milton and Lewisburg academies and devoured the volumes on his family's bookshelf, which included the works of Plutarch, Edward Gibbon, William Shakespeare and the blind Puritan poet, John Milton.³ It was said that when he was barely eighteen years old, he delivered his first sermon and began to develop his talent as a preacher. At the age of nineteen, he became a licensed minister. In 1863, Reverend Vincent was transferred to Illinois and successively held pastorates in Joliet, Mount Morris, Galena, Rockford, and in 1865, Chicago. At Galena, Ulysses S. Grant was among his parishioners. That was just before the end of the Civil War, and the friendship between the two men continued until General Grant's death. Also, in 1865, Vincent established a religious circular, the *Northwestern Sunday School Quarterly*. The following year, he launched the *Sunday School Journal for Teachers and Young People*, a Methodist

Episcopal circular that would soon have a national audience. These circulars, devoted solely to furthering the work of Sunday schools, established the direction for practically all of Vincent's subsequent work.⁴

Lewis Miller was born July 24, 1829, in a log cabin, on his father's farm in Greentown, Ohio. He became a teacher at the age of sixteen, but his skill for invention soon led him to other prospects. His Buckeye Mower and Reaper made him famous and sufficiently wealthy to pursue his humanitarian and philanthropic interests in education and religion. Another invention by Lewis Miller, in collaboration with Ohio architects Walter Blythe and Jacob Snyder, was the design of a popular religious building, known as the "Akron Plan Sunday School," in response to the nation's growing educational movement. The Akron Plan was named for the city of Akron, Ohio, where this design was first used in the construction of the city's First Methodist Episcopal Church in 1872. It provided for a central rotunda as a space for worship connected to Sunday school classrooms on either one or two levels. Unique to the Akron Plan was a movable wall system that enabled rooms to be thrown open to allow a school superintendent or minister to address every class from a central podium.⁵ This design also allowed for efficient movement by congregants between worship and Sunday school. Between 1872 and 1920, thousands of Akron Plan Sunday schools were built throughout the nation.⁶

During his time as superintendent of the Methodist Sunday School in Akron, Ohio, Lewis Miller established a close friendship with John Heyl Vincent. Both men, Mr. Lewis Miller and Reverend John H. Vincent, valued the schooling provided at Sunday schools, which in the late 19th century was often the only opportunity for the majority of the U.S. population to receive any level of an education.⁷ It was their shared value of Sunday school education that compelled the two men to establish what would be most commonly referred to simply as Chautauqua or the Chautauqua Institution.

The majority of the histories written of the Chautauqua Institution begin with the arrival of Reverend Vincent and his friend Lewis Miller at the Camp Meeting

Grounds at Fair Point, on Chautauqua Lake, in the summer of 1873. At the time, a Methodist Association owned Fair Point and had recently started holding annual camp meetings at this location. The two men, Vincent and Miller, were visiting the Fair Point to assess the meeting grounds as a possible location to hold a two-week summer school assembly program. The function of this summer school program, which Vincent and Miller wished to establish, was to give instruction, in all subjects of study, both secular and religious, to Sunday schoolteachers, thereby advancing the education of these instructors and their abilities to teach Sunday school to the masses.⁸

The location of Fair Point, New York on the shore of Chautauqua Lake fit well with Vincent's and Miller's belief that a Sunday school assembly should be held outdoors, in close association with nature. Lewis Miller was a strong believer in the beneficial influence of woods and nature; Miller's view of nature was one of a cathedral, a holy place where an individual could draw close to God.⁹ This idea, in step with a popular belief at the time, was that nature possessed curative, inspirational, and even spiritual powers. By vacationing at Chautauqua Lake, participants would be provided with an opportunity to experience the healing and divine powers that nature possessed and the chance to participate in the educational and religious programs that were offered.

The following statement by Reverend John H. Vincent aptly describes his view of the Chautauqua Program and the basis for its establishment. *The Chautauqua Assembly opened, in 1874, as a Sunday-school institute, a two weeks' session of lectures, normal lessons, sermons, devotional meetings, conferences, and illustrative exercises, with recreative features in concerts, fire-works, and one or two humorous lectures. It was called by some a 'camp-meeting.' But a 'camp-meeting' it was not, in any sense, except that the most of us lived in tents. There were few sermons preached, and no so-called 'evangelistic' services held. It was simply a Sunday-school Institute, a protracted institute held in the woods. We called it the first 'The Chautauqua Sunday-school Assembly.'* *The basis of the Chautauqua work was in the line of normal training, with the purpose of improving methods of biblical instruction in the Sunday school and the family.*¹⁰

Within just a few short years of establishing the first Sunday school assembly at the Fair Point Camp Meeting Grounds in 1874, Reverend Vincent put into motion an effort to extend the Chautauqua program to those who could not travel the long distance to the shores of Chautauqua Lake. As part of this effort, in the summer of 1877, John Heyl Vincent interviewed the founding father of American poetry, William Cullen Bryant, and talked in detail his idea of extending the program beyond the Chautauqua Lake of upstate New York.¹¹ After their discussion, Vincent sent along a letter to WC Bryant, which Reverend Vincent later described as follows: *I wrote him afterward a long letter, defining it more clearly, if possible; and through friends that were conversant with the scheme, that distinguished man became thoroughly acquainted with our aims and methods.*¹²

Less than a month before his death, William Cullen Bryant responded to Vincent's long correspondence with a handwritten letter of hearty approval for expanding Chautauqua and his wish to see the program advance during the short time he had remaining.¹³ Within the letter, William Cullen Bryant expressed particular support for Vincent's proposal to incorporate natural science into the program as Bryant, quoting Chautauquan historian and archivist Jon Schmitz, "*believed this would be the only way to prepare and protect Christian believers in a modern and changing world.*"¹⁴ Beyond the incorporation of natural sciences into the curriculum, an emphasis on the literary works, which had informed WC Bryant and his poetry - the likes of William Shakespeare, Edmund Spenser, John Milton, Alexander Pope, Robert Burns, Walter Scott, and William Wordsworth - would be extended to the Chautauqua syllabus.

Writing in the period in history when the lore of this nation was still being composed, during the first half of the nineteenth century, Bryant served as the translator and voice of Puritan ideals to the American people. Embracing the neo-Calvinistic theory of Jonathan Edwards, William Cullen Bryant's literary works served to extend the Calvinistic view of nature deep into the collective American psyche.¹⁵ As such, Bryant's poetic voice supported the myth of a chosen people selected to participate in a drama that found an element of its metaphor from a Puritan sermon titled *A Brief Recognition*

of *New-England's Errand into the Wilderness*.¹⁶ Together, the prose of WC Bryant and the transcendental philosophers of the nineteenth would serve as a cornerstone of the literary instruction of Reverend Vincent's soon to be extended Chautauqua program.

In 1878, Vincent established the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle (CLSC), a structured four-year correspondence program, which provided an individual the opportunity to earn a Chautauqua educational degree and an honorary diploma.¹⁷ The CLSC program was designed to provide higher education for the masses, through a national correspondence course, based on a literary and science curriculum. For a few weeks during the summer, individuals could vacation at a regional Chautauqua Assembly, with the opportunity to attend the lectures and classes that were offered. The remainder of the year, they could study on their own, or join with their local Chautauquan Circle, reading the books listed on the course outline, which had been delivered to Circle members through the mail.¹⁸

Thousands of CLSC reading circles were established throughout the United States, proving to be popular in both in rural and urban communities.¹⁹ It became a common practice for those individuals, who completed the four-year of course study, to attend their regional Chautauqua assembly and participate in an elaborate graduation ceremony and be awarded their diploma.²⁰ These regional assemblies were referred to as the daughter Chautauquas, thereby referencing the original assembly gathering on Chautauqua Lake as the mother Chautauqua. By the end of the 19th century, more than two hundred and fifty regional daughter Chautauquas, patterned after the mother Chautauqua, had been established throughout the nation.²¹ As was the case for the mother Chautauqua assembly, over twenty-two of these regional daughter Chautauquas chose to locate their assembly on the properties of previously established religious camp meeting grounds.²²

The selection of a small coastal Methodist campground, located two miles west of Monterey, California - named the Pacific Grove Retreat - as the location for a daughter Chautauqua for organizing an annual assembly, where the reading circles of California

could gather each summer, was the end result of a well-planned transcontinental train tour named the “Pacific Institution Excursion.”

THE PACIFIC INSTITUTE EXCURSION

In April of 1877, Reverend John Heyl Vincent attended the California State Sunday School Convention in Oakland, California, and proposed the idea of convening several Sunday School Assemblies for the State. The California Sabbath School Association embraced the idea and an organizing committee was appointed. In December 1877, the *Sunday School Journal for Teachers and Young People*, of which Vincent was the editor, published the following announcement:

*The "Yosemite" Bulletin is now ready, and persons who desire to see the outline programme of the great assembly in Yosemite Valley in 1879 will do well to drop a line to the Editor of the Sunday School Journal. The Executive Committee of the California State Sunday-School Convention is fully pledged to the scheme of a Sunday School Assembly in Yosemite Valley, and by the Pacific, down at Monterey, in June 1879. Arrangements are being made for the erection of a stone chapel in the Yosemite valley as a memorial of the Assembly, and as a reminder to all future tourists of the lively interest felt by all the Churches in the study of the word of God, and in the promotion of religious instruction among the young. Will you go to Yosemite in 1879? Will you contribute to the chapel fund? Let us hear from you.*²³

As the announcement mentions, these Sunday School Assemblies were to be hosted in the Yosemite Valley of the high Sierra Mountains and along the seashore of Monterey, California, two awe-inspiring locations where the beauty of nature has the ability, to this very day, to move one emotionally to a spiritual experience. With Reverend John Heyl Vincent as acting chairman, the organizing committee arranged for these assemblies, as part of a transcontinental railroad journey, named the "Pacific Institute Excursion."²⁴ The overarching purpose surrounding this train excursion was to support, and encourage, the advancement of Sunday school education in the West.²⁵

Several months before the Pacific Institute Excursion's arrival to California, the organizing committee began efforts to secure, as a speaker for the Yosemite Valley Sunday School Assembly, the eminent naturalist John Muir. On March 14, 1878, Rever-

end John Knox McLean of the First Congregational Church of Oakland, California wrote to John Muir, inquiring if he might consider presenting several talks during the Assembly. As it turns out, the Reverend was familiar with Muir, as several years earlier the eminent naturalist had presented a talk at the Oakland Congregational Church where JK McLean served as pastor.

Several weeks following Reverend JK McLean's letter, Muir wrote to his close friend Jeanne C. Carr, herself a seventh generation descendent of the Puritans of New England, mentioning his likely participation in the Yosemite Valley Assembly.

“...The Sunday Convention Manager offered me a hundred dollars for two lectures on the Yosemite rocks in June, I have not yet agreed to do so, though I probably shall, as I am not going into Colorado this summer. Excepting a day at San Jose with Allen, I have hardly been out of my room for weeks, pegging away with my quill accomplishing little. My last efforts were on the preservation of the Sierra forests, and the wild and trampled conditions of our flora from a bee’s point of view...”

Letter from John Muir to [Jeanne C.] Carr, 1879 Apr 9. ²⁷

GOD'S FIRST TEMPLES: HOW SHALL WE PRESERVE OUR FORESTS

In February of 1876, three years prior to the Yosemite Valley Assembly, John Muir reached out to the America's growing congregation of religious faiths, and the nation at large, in his editorial *God's First Temples: How Shall We Preserve Our Forests*, published in *The Sacramento Daily Record-Union*.²⁸ This outreach effort of Muir's was one of his earliest attempts to rally support for the protection of the California's forest, which at the time, were being severely damaged by fires set by "sheep men." Muir's chosen title *God's First Temples*, purposely referenced William Cullen Bryant's famous 1825 poem, *A Forest Hymn*, whose opening verse "*The groves were God's first temples*" had long served as an inspiring anthem for America's Protestant faiths; many of whose congregates had come to their religion attending a camp meeting held in a forested grove of trees. This first verse of Bryant's poem, a lyrical reference to those wilderness camp meetings, is evoked countless times in untold numbers of printed religious readers, circulars and periodicals of the nineteenth century.

The arrangement for John Muir's participation in the Yosemite Sunday School Assembly of 1879 provided convention participants with the opportunity to celebrate, with the assistance of California's most famous naturalists, their resounding belief in the sanctity of nature. As we will come to understand, it was not just Muir himself who identified the divine beauty of nature as an expression of God's handiwork, but a belief held by much of the Protestant faith during the nineteenth century. For both John Muir and the participants of the Pacific Institute Excursion, the Yosemite Valley and the wilderness of the Sierra Mountains were spiritual gateways equivalent to the great gothic cathedrals of Europe. With the convention plans in full order, including Muir's procurement as a guest speaker, the Pacific Institute Excursion left Chicago, Illinois on Tuesday, May 27, 1879, with a total of nine train cars carrying approximately 350 Christian Sunday school workers headed for California.²⁹

YOSEMITE

SUNDAY SCHOOL ASSEMBLY OF 1879

*We entered the Yosemite Valley at 2 P. M., on Friday, June 6, [1879] by way of "Inspiration Point."
The view from that point is simply indescribable. – John Heyl Vincent.³⁰*

The first California Assembly of the Pacific Institute Excursion was a nine-day program, scheduled for June 7-15, 1879, in the beautiful Yosemite Valley.³¹ As part of the Excursion, the organizers of the program announced that a chapel was to be built, and ready for use, in time for the Yosemite Valley Assembly.³¹ Though the first lumber for the chapel began arriving in the Valley three weeks before the event, the structure was rushed to completion within just hours of the Assembly's opening on June 7. This final push concluded with the arrival and installment of the chapel bell, just one half hour before the evening services; a gift provided through the generosity of H. W. Bacon of San Francisco.³²

And so it was that, on the evening of Saturday, June 7, 1879, within the new chapel built by the California Sunday school workers, the Chautauqua Vesper Service and the opening exercises of the long-awaited Yosemite Assembly took place. The final moments of that evening's vesper service was fittingly remembered by the Reverend John Heyl Vincent, who penned the following:

The "Hutchinson Family" (now in California) favored us with several songs. With grateful and enthusiastic hearts - the roar of Yosemite Falls in our ears - we joined at the close of this first service in singing the Yosemite Doxology, composed by Joseph Cook while riding over in the stage the other day: "The hills of God support the skies; To God let adoration rise; Let hills and skies and heavenly host, Praise Father, Son, and Holy Ghost."³³

On the morning of June 8, 1879, the first Sunday school session was held in the new Yosemite Chapel. During the remainder of Yosemite Valley's week-long Sunday School Assembly, the group participated in various activities, including hikes to Glacier Point and to Yosemite, Vernal, and Nevada Falls. During their stay in the Valley, the California naturalist John Muir treated the Assembly participants to lectures of the following titles: "*Big Trees*," "*The Geological Records of Yosemite*," "*Mountain Sculpture*," and "*Sequoia*."²⁴ The lecture "*Mountain Sculpture*" delivered by John Muir at Glacier Point was briefly described by John A. Brewster's article "*Yosemite Sunday School Assembly*" which appeared in the circular *The Friend*, in August 1879:

Hence John Muir's loving rehearsal of the "testimony of the rocks," has been a prominent feature in the curriculum of the Assembly. He gave one open and upper air lecture on Glacier Point before 200 enthusiastic listeners, and filled the role of guide, philosopher and friend to any troupe of trampers having enough scientific zeal to scale Inspiration Point, and he says, and shows, "there's a good many of 'em." Muir is a hot adherent to the frigid theory. The glacier, he stoutly declares, made Yosemite. He totally dissents from Prof. Whitney's theory of "local subsidence," and contemptuously denies his assertion that Yosemite is an "exceptional creation," affirming that there are among the Sierras four similar "Great Gaps."³⁵

During the Assembly, the organizers presented sermons providing direction for one's proper discourse with God. The Reverend Thomas Guard of the First Methodist Church of Oakland preached the sermon "*Are ye not of more value than many sparrows?*" Reverend Joseph Cook, the famous Congregational preacher of Boston, Massachusetts, delivered the sermon "*The Omnipresence of God; or, God in Natural Law*." The Reverend John H. Vincent spoke to "*The Way of Salvation*." The Reverend Dr. Sheldon Jackson of Denver, Colorado, gave one lecture on the Aztecs and another on the opportunity of missionary efforts in Alaska.³⁶

Also presented during the Assembly were lectures on improving Sunday school instruction. Conversations were held regarding "*The Spiritual Power of the Sunday-school, and How to Increase It*" and "*The Preparatory Lessons of the Chautauqua Course*." A lecture by the Reverend Dr. Gregory Peltz was titled "*A Week of Sunday-school Work*." Finally, the Rever-

end Messrs. Allis and Kittredge, James M'Gee, Reverend Dr. SH Willey, and Dr. Gregory provided discourse during a meeting on "*Improvements Needed in our Sunday-schools.*"³⁷



Yosemite Valley Chapel.

Photograph courtesy of the Yosemite National Park Service.

PACIFIC GROVE RETREAT

“The Groves were God's first temples. Ere man learned”

A Forest Hymn by William Cullen Bryant ³⁸

For the organizers and participants of the Pacific Institute Excursion, the next Assembly on their program was a gathering scheduled for June 27 - July 4, 1879, at a Christian seaside resort named the “Pacific Grove Retreat” near Monterey, California. The Grove Retreat itself, and forty thousand acres of adjoining land, was then the property of a Methodist by the name of Mr. David Jacks, an intelligent, hard-working, liberal Scotsman, who lived in Monterey and had an interest in the development of the “Grove.” ³⁹ How it was that a select grove of pines on the southern tip of Monterey Bay came to serve as a location for a Methodist Camp Retreat, in the first place, is told as follows:

In 1873, a Methodist minister by the name of Ross and his wife, both being in feeble health, and having tried all the remedies that science could suggest, were advised to find some place where the temperature varied but little through the entire year, and where the fluctuations from heat to cold were merely nominal. After many months spent in research, it was at last decided that Monterey was the most likely place to supply those requirements. By the kindness of Mr. David Jacks, who at that time owned large tracts of land extending throughout what is now known as Pacific Grove and all the grounds acquired by purchase by the Pacific Improvement Company, they were induced to try a residence amongst the pines as being beneficial and conducive to the restoration of health.

After a short residence, the effects were so palpable that Mr. Ross went back to his former home and brought with him his brother and his brother's wife, who were also troubled with pulmonary complaints. They all lived out of doors, they slept in hammocks under the trees, and ignored for the time being all indoor comfort, living principally on fish and game. Their recovery seemed almost miraculous, for in a very few months they were perfectly restored to health.

In 1875, Bishop Peck, who was ever on the alert to do good, conceived the idea, after a brief visit, that this place so nearly resembled those health-giving retreats in the East, that negotiations were soon pending with Mr. Jacks for the purchase of a site that should at once form the nucleus around which could be built a retreat where spiritual and social comfort could be had without limit, and where the ever rolling, restless sea would sing a sweet lullaby to woo the drowsy god and produce that sweet, refreshing sleep which is acknowledged by all scientists to be the great restorer of human nature. Here in this lovely spot, breathing the pure aroma of the pines, and inhaling the pure ozone from the broad Pacific, with no one to trouble them or make them afraid, these people proved beyond all doubt that so far as they were concerned, this was to them the Mecca for which they had so long and so persistently searched.⁴⁰

To initiate the establishment of a Methodist camp retreat, on June 1, 1875, with Bishop JT Peck presiding, a number of ministers, and several members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, met in San Francisco at the Howard Street Methodist Episcopal Church to discuss the formation of a retreat association.⁴¹ Two weeks later, on June 15, 1875, David Jacks and representatives of the Methodist Episcopal Church implemented the articles of incorporation of the “Pacific Grove Retreat Association.” Among the purposes for which the corporation was formed, as stated in these articles, was the leasing or purchasing and improvement of lands in the county of Monterey, for a Christian seaside resort and for camp-meetings.⁴²

It was this Methodist campground that would serve as host of the Sunday School Assembly associated with John Heyl Vincent’s Pacific Institute Excursion of 1879.

PACIFIC GROVE

SUNDAY SCHOOL ASSEMBLY OF 1879

*Methodism is not asleep on the Pacific Coast. Its ministers are hard worked and faithful, true to the Gospel, and loyal to the Republic. – John Heyl Vincent.*⁴³

Those participants of the Pacific Institute Excursion who next traveled to the Pacific Grove Retreat for the week long Sunday School Assembly, listened to sermons and lectures presented by Dr. John Heyl Vincent, Reverend GS Abbott, pastor of the First Baptist Church of Oakland, Reverend Dr. EG Beckwith of San Francisco, Reverend Dr. MC Briggs of San Francisco, Reverend Joseph Cook of Boston, Massachusetts, Reverend AS Fisk, Vice Principal and Professor Henry Brace Norton of California State Normal School of San Jose, Reverend Dr. George A. Peltz of Jamestown, New York, Reverend HH Rice of Sacramento, Reverend Dr. CC Stratton, president of the University of the Pacific at Santa Clara, Reverend Dr. SH Willey of the Congregational church of Santa Cruz, and others. Scattered among the sermons and lectures were discussions of how to improve Sunday school methods.⁴⁴

While the Pacific Grove Assembly of 1879 was in progress, Reverend HH Rice, secretary of the California Sabbath School Association and Reverend Dr. M. M. Gibson, president of the California Sabbath School Association, met with Reverend John H. Vincent and four instructors from the California State Normal School at San Jose, notably, Miss Mary EB Norton, Mrs. Myrtle Hudson Wagner, Miss Lucy M. Washburn, and Mrs. Arthur H. Washburn [then Miss Jessica Thompson], for a discussion around a campfire fueled by pine cones.⁴⁵ During the course of the fireside chat, the women of the group encouraged Reverend Vincent to establish in California, a Pacific Coast Branch of the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle. The final result of this informal fireside gathering, just five years after the mother Chautauqua was

founded in upstate New York on the shore of Chautauqua Lake, was the formation of a Pacific Coast Chautauqua Assembly, located on the southern tip of Monterey Bay.

With his interest and his money, Mr. David Jacks of Monterey helped support the establishing of the Pacific Coast Branch of the CLSC. Along with his financial contribution, Mr. Jacks proposed that Dr. CC Stratton, then president of the University of the Pacific, stand as the first president of this Pacific Coast Assembly. Reverend Dr. Joseph H. Wythe, M.D., D.D., LL. D., (M.D. Medical Doctor; D.D. Doctor of Divinity, LL.D. Doctor of Law), a prominent medical doctor and Professor of Microscopy and Histology at in the Medical College of the Pacific, San Francisco, was selected as vice-president and Miss Lucy M. Washburn, of the California State Normal School, as secretary. Soon thereafter, Jacks sold the land of the Pacific Grove Retreat to the Methodists as a permanent location for their annual summer assembly.⁴⁶

And that is the history of how the Pacific Coast Branch of the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle established, as its annual assembly location, a Methodist camp meeting grounds named the Pacific Grove Retreat, located two miles west of Monterey, California. The Pacific Coast Branch of the CLSC would be the second daughter Chautauqua established west of the Mississippi and the fourth in the nation.⁴⁷ The coming years saw over one hundred independent regional daughter Chautauquas established across the United States, each modeled after the original mother Chautauqua, located on the shores of Chautauqua Lake in Western New York.⁴⁸

With the arrival of the Southern Pacific Railroad to Monterey the following year (1880), participants wishing to attend the Pacific Coast Chautauqua Assembly were provided with an affordable, dependable and efficient form of transportation for their commute to and from the Pacific Grove Methodist Retreat.



Pictured above is hardworking engine #1438 of the Southern Pacific Railroad's Del Monte Express. Running south from San Francisco, the Express was described as a great pleasure route to the principal summer and winter resorts south of San Francisco. The train ran through one of the richest and most fruitful sections of California, and was at the time, the only line traversing the entire length of the Santa Clara Valley.

Photograph courtesy of the Pacific Grove Natural History Museum.



Front west view of Hotel Del Monte circa 1900

Photograph courtesy of Dudley Knox Library, Naval Postgraduate School

THE SOUTHERN PACIFIC AND CENTRAL RAILROAD, LIVERY TEAMS, ACCOMMODATIONS AND SUPPLIES

The Central Pacific railway bore on swiftest wings to this California paradise, from day to day, eager crowds of people. The grove, which is one of the finest natural situations, had been beautifully fitted up, and everything which could contribute to physical recreation had been provided.⁴⁹

On January 1, 1880, the first Southern Pacific Railroad passenger train arrived in Monterey. Six months later on June 10, 1880, the Pacific Improvement Company opened for business - the Hotel Del Monte - an upscale tourist resort, located a stone's throw away, and directly across from Monterey's new Southern Pacific train depot. These two events, the arrival of the first passenger train and the opening of the Hotel Del Monte, launched the promotion of the Monterey Peninsula, by the Southern Pacific Railroad and the Pacific Improvement Company, as an appealing summer tourist destination.⁵⁰ In an effort to attract vacationers to the Monterey Peninsula, the Railroad offered a reduced rate for special round-trip tickets, good from June 1 through September 30, and available for purchase at any train station of the California Pacific, Central Pacific, or Southern Pacific Railroads.⁵¹

Situated just two miles from Monterey, and the Southern Pacific depot, sat the charming Pacific Grove Methodist Retreat, nestled in a grove of Monterey pine trees, yet located close enough to the shore of the bay to hear the ocean waves. To reach the Chautauqua Assembly, participants were transported from the railroad depot to the Methodist campground by livery teams, then operated by Mr. J. O. Johnson, manager of the Pacific Grove Retreat.⁵² The organizers of the Pacific Coast Assembly encouraged those who could, to bring their own tents and camping gear, as the grounds were often crowded during the gathering and the available camping equipment was limited.⁵³ To this end, the Southern Pacific Railroad, in addition to their allowance of 100 pounds of baggage per ticket purchased, allowed passengers to carry, free of

charge, camping equipment of all kinds, including tents. To further accommodate vacationers, the campground maintained a convenient grocery store capable of supplying any necessary provisions that the campers might wish to purchase during their stay,⁵⁴ as well as a small restaurant.⁵⁵ Board at the restaurant was \$6.50 per week, or three meal tickets for \$1.25.⁵⁶ For those individuals who were unable or preferred not to bring their own camping equipment, the Pacific Improvement Company provided a variety of lodging options.⁵⁷ These options included furnished tents, ranging in size from 10' x 12' to 12' x 24' and priced from \$4.00 to \$9.50 per week, or lodging in cottages, priced at \$5.00 per week for one person or \$6.00 per week for two people lodging in one room.⁵⁸

Mary H. Field, in her book *Kate Thurston's Chautauqua Circles*, provides a detailed description of the tent accommodations and accompanying services available at the retreat: *The room was about fourteen by sixteen feet and contained two double beds and a cot, a little stove, a stand, and three chairs. At the rear was a canvas-covered kitchen with cooking stove, pine table, and a cupboard scantily supplied with dishes and cooking utensils. The beds looked neat and proved most comfortable, while bright colored chintz curtains surrounding each gave them, as Kate said, "a certain degree of seclusion."* *The whole arrangement would have been poverty-stricken enough anywhere else, but here it was ample for their needs, and the dusty travelers proceeded to unpack and arrange their limited personal effects, while Kate, capturing Fred for an escort, ran out, as she said, "to set the tide towards them" the tide of needful supplies milkman, baker, butcher, fish vender, and last but not least, the delicious cool soft water from Carmel River had to be turned on so as to reach their special pipe and faucet.*⁵⁹

Summer excursions, as an opportunity to spend time in communion with nature, were not unique to the Pacific Grove Retreat. Across America, beginning in the middle and into the late 19th century, with the advent of the railroads providing inexpensive travel, vacation time spent at Methodist camp meeting grounds became a popular form of leisure for congregations seeking nature and nurture.⁶⁰ As predecessors to establishment of a system of National Parks, many of which also became coupled with

railroad companies, these Methodist Retreats began to service the general public's growing desire to spend vacation time close to nature.

Like the Pacific Coast Assembly of the CLSC, virtually every independent daughter Chautauqua established across America associated itself with a railroad company. From the railroad companies' viewpoint, financing resort hotels and supporting the development of daughter Chautauquas was considered a good economic investment, as it opened the opportunity to increase the number of passengers traveling on their newly established train routes.⁶¹ The arrival of the Southern Pacific Railroad to the Monterey Peninsula, followed by the opening of the luxurious Hotel Del Monte, quickly lent to the advertising of the Pacific Grove Methodist Retreat as one of the safest and most popular summer destinations on the California coast for Christian families.



Pacific Grove Methodist Retreat.

Photograph courtesy of the Pacific Grove Natural History Museum.

THE PACIFIC COAST BRANCH OF THE CHAUTAUQUA LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC CIRCLE

*It was pleasant to meet so many teachers at the [Pacific Grove] assembly. Indeed, both the summer school and the regular home reading of the C. L. S. C. appeal especially to the scattered teachers of our State.*⁶²

The following notice, written by Professor HB Norton, Vice Principal of the California State Normal School at San Jose, and published in *The Pacific School Journal* (1879), is one of the earliest invitations to readers, for an opportunity to further their education by becoming members of the Pacific Coast Branch of the CLSC. In addition, the notice announces the organizing of a Chautauqua Assembly, to be held in Monterey (Pacific Grove's Methodist Retreat) in July 1880, with the allowance of the necessary conveniences to accommodate a course of study in Natural History.⁶³

CHAUTAUQUA LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC CIRCLE

Are there not many readers of the School and Home Journal who would like to pursue a systematic course of useful study at home, and win some recognition of their work in the form of a diploma? Thousands of men and women in California, especially those living in rural homes, feel discontented with life, on account of the small opportunity for culture, which it has brought to them thus far. They look back at an experience of hard work, incessant longing for more knowledge, for communion with cultured minds, and a wearisome succession of disappointments.

The Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle was organized for the especial benefit of this class. It proposes to furnish at a nominal expense, the means for an extended course of study at home, such as shall consume not more than forty-five minutes per day; to hold annual examinations; and, finally, to

grant honorary diplomas to all members found worthy. It is hoped that, in many neighborhoods of this State, local circles will be organized, the members frequently meeting to pursue their studies in concert.

The California branch of the Circle was organized at the session of the Monterey Sabbath-school Assembly last July [1879]. Some hundreds of persons have enrolled as members. It is proposed that a session of some weeks shall be held in Monterey next July [1880], at which time facilities will be furnished for a course of study in Natural History, with abundance of the living material at hand. I trust that such arrangements may be made, as shall enable each teacher to carry home a small but well assorted collection of prepared specimens of the forms of marine life. A scientific camp-meeting! Why should not California do such a thing, in her little way, as well as California in her grand way.

Communications and notes (If inquiry should be addressed to Miss L. M. Washburn, Secretary), San Jose. H. B. N. [Henry Brace Norton].⁶⁴

AN EMPHASIS ON THE STUDY OF NATURAL HISTORY

*The well-known facilities for studying Natural History at Pacific Grove have made that one of the important topics of study, and much enthusiasm has been aroused on the coast by the work of the C. L. S. C. in this department.*⁶⁵

Those who traveled to the Pacific Grove Methodist Retreat, to participate in the Chautauqua Assembly, arrived to find a summer haven for Christians, safely tucked away from the vices of the crowded cities, the dreariness of rural living and *a programme of work that included daily lectures upon Scientific, Literary and Biblical subjects, with special opportunities for the study of Natural History.*⁶⁶ This extended emphasis, by the Pacific Coast Assembly, directed toward the instruction of natural history, until now, has been relatively unexplored by historians and scholars. The question arises as to why, at this particular daughter Chautauqua, the second to be established west of the Mississippi, and the first established within the state of California, was there such an emphasis directed toward the study of nature?

One reason for the chosen emphasis on nature study was the influence of Louis Agassiz's teachings on several of the founders of the Pacific Coast Assembly. It would be these instructors who were responsible for, and devotedly committed to, the teaching of the Assembly program's core courses of natural history. Through the efforts of the following founding instructors of the Pacific Coast Assembly, Agassiz's aspiration of popularizing the study of natural history, was put into motion:

- HB Norton, Vice Principal and Professor at California State Normal School at San Jose;
- Mary EB Norton, Teacher at the California State Normal School at San Jose;
- Lucy M. Washburn, Teacher at the California State Normal School at San Jose;

- Dr. Joseph H. Wythe, Professor at the Cooper Medical College in San Francisco;
- Dr. Charles L. Anderson, a prominent medical doctor from Santa Cruz; and
- Josiah Keep, Professor of Natural Sciences in Mills College in Oakland California.

Agassiz's introduction of inquiry-based observation and "hands-on" approach to learning, having traveled to the shores of the Monterey Bay, was purposely utilized by these instructors of natural history to introduce to schoolteachers, and other participants of the Pacific Coast Assembly, the proper method of the study of nature. Beyond these six core instructors, were numerous distinguished naturalists and academic professors, several of them former Agassiz students, who contributed as instructors to the Assembly's summer school of science.

A second reason for the chosen emphasis on natural history at the Pacific Coast Assembly stemmed from the sheer abundance of nature that blessed the southern tip of Monterey Bay at this time. In the 1880s, the Monterey Peninsula remained relatively untouched, a virtual paradise for naturalists, in terms of its natural environment.⁶⁷ The organizers of the Pacific Coast Assembly recognized the richness that the peninsula's shoreline had to offer and communicated such in the earliest of Pacific Coast Assembly programs and announcements. The following sentence, presented in the Pacific Coast Assembly program of 1883, makes note of the natural bounty the grounds provided for instruction: *The unexampled facilities at Pacific Grove for studying the animal and vegetable life of the sea coast have determined Natural History as an important topic.*⁶⁸ With an abundant supply of "objects of nature" at their disposal, not only would the Pacific Coast Assembly of the CLSC be able to furnish teaching material for courses in natural history, but the schoolteachers and other participants could, as suggested by Professor HB Norton, be provided with the opportunity to collect and *"to carry home a small but well assorted collection of prepared specimens of the forms of marine life."*⁶⁹

With the loss of the sea otter to the central coast of California, a plethora of marine invertebrates (e.g. abalones, limpets, mussels, sea stars, sea urchins and sponges)

could easily be collected in abundance from the many tide pools scattered among Pacific Grove's rocky coastline. Beyond the marine invertebrates available for instruction, was an abundance of marine plants associated with the rocky intertidal and subtidal habitats of southern Monterey Bay. Thus, for those natural history instructors of the Assembly teaching a marine biology related course, an early morning visit to the rocky coastline at low tide provided both instructor and participants with an opportunity to examine and collect a variety of marine animals and plants.

For a course in terrestrial botany, a variety of plants were readily accessible, among the yet undisturbed sand dunes that lined the gentle sloping bluffs of the southern Monterey Bay, and within the large-old growth forest that dominated large portions of the peninsula, to the point of stretching all the way down to the water's edge.⁷⁰

A description as to what it was to stroll in the forest and collect plant specimens for the Assembly's terrestrial botany course was presented in a newspaper article that appeared in the *Sacramento Daily Union*, July 5, 1884: *At 3 p.m. a large party was formed for a botanical excursion, and we strolled through Forest avenue gathering ferns, vines and flowers until we almost forgot the distance in the enchantment of the hour. The piney fragrance, strengthened by the royal sunshine, and the peculiar soilness of the atmosphere, was delightful, and ought to be a sufficient cure for at least half the ills of humanity. Nature has donned both brightness and beauty this season for the visitors at the Grove, for there are many gardens blooming with a profusion of lovely flowers...*⁷¹

A third reason for the chosen emphasis on the instruction of natural history, at the Pacific Coast Assembly, was related to the spiritual reverence that Methodism associated with nature. This veneration for nature, encouraged within the religious ideals of Methodism itself, would be extended to the study of natural history, and the embracing of America's nature study movement; a movement that promised to reconcile the scientific understanding of the day with the personal and spiritual experiences one realized through an interaction with the natural world.⁷² How it is that the Methodist movement came to embrace as one of its principal ideals, this awakening toward a reverence for nature, can be found within the history of Methodism in America.



METHODISM IN AMERICA

Have you never beheld, reader, such a scene as the following, at a Methodist camp meeting in “God’s first temple,” the solemn forest? We have, and have felt the influence of the place itself to become almost religion:

‘Hail sacred grove! Hail, sylvan-mercy seat

With cherubim of beech and oak o’er hung:

From barky pillars springs aloft a roof

Of broidered azure; here is sumptuousness

Of furniture, an altar cloth of ferns

And berried vines, a downy couch of moss:

In cloven trunks of those old chestnuts stand

The effigies of ages dead and gone.

Curtains of living foliage conceal

Our feathered choir.

There falls a light,

Dim, soft, like sheen of Hesperus on banks of snow.

In this same temple of the winds and trees

He chiefly prayed - He who our sins did bear.’¹

As a religion, Methodism represents a branch of Protestant Christianity that was founded by John Wesley and his efforts to bring revival to the Church of England in the early 18th century. Under Wesley's direction, the Methodist religion became a popular Evangelical Protestant movement that encouraged individuals to experience Jesus Christ on a personal level, while emphasizing the ideals of conversion (i.e. one having been 'born again'), the importance of living a Christian life, and the preaching of the gospel.²

In America, the arrival of Methodism overlapped closely with the founding of the nation, and since this time, the faith has played a noticeable role in the religious development of this country.³ In terms of gathering followers to a faith, no other religion in the history of America collected churchgoers to a congregation more quickly, or in greater numbers, than Methodism. In 1776, Methodists in America were composed of a small religious society, loosely associated to the Church of England, that had only 65 congregations and an enrollment of 15,000 members disseminated through the colonies. Seventy years later, the Methodist society dominated over the nation, with 13,302 congregations that counted among their parishioners, more than 1.6 million registered members.⁴ By 1860, Evangelicals made up at least 85 percent of the American church-going population.⁵ In this relatively short period of time, Methodism had become the leading single religious denomination in America.⁶

Within the earliest beginning of this nation's Evangelical Protestant community, even prior to the signing of the declaration of independence, there is presented this idea that America is to be a special place, and one element that makes it special, was that its citizens had a unique relationship with God. There exists this idea amongst the early Puritan colonies of New England, initially suggested by John Winthrop, first governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, in his 1630 sermon "*A Model of Christian Charity*" that, as a people, the citizen's of this country are to be God's chosen, and that God has a unique destiny for America, and its people. During this period in our nation's his-

tory, as described by Cynthia Lynn Lyerly, Associate Professor of History, Boston College: *You'd be hard pressed to find a white American who do not believe that the Lord had a special destiny for America and that the Lord wanted America to be an example to the world.*⁷

But first, as a nation of European immigrants, these people God had specifically selected to inherit America, had to be brought to this religious faith, and the Methodist revival camps would service this introduction of the Evangelical Protestant faith. As locations for which to establish these revival camps, the organizers of these religious gatherings chose to position them somewhere increasingly considered to be a special gift from God to the chosen who had immigrated to America, in its wilderness.

As a faith, Methodism began as a profoundly personal, and deeply emotional religion of the heart that, in America, found expression in the form of mass spiritual “born again” wilderness revivals. Formative in the development of the wave of religious revivals were two charismatic preachers of the 18th century, the Reverends Jonathan Edwards and George Whitefield.

Jonathan Edwards, though coming from Puritan, Calvinist roots, emphasized the power and importance of a personal and immediate religious experience.⁸ In 1733, at his church in Northampton, Massachusetts, Jonathan Edwards inspired some of this nation's earliest revivals as members of his congregation expressed their individual religious experiences in response to his fire and brimstone preaching.⁹ Beyond his delivery of sermons describing the punishment of hell, Edwards often spoke of the ability to “*derive spiritual joy from, and even perceive beauty in, natural objects such as clouds, flowers, and fields.*”¹⁰ For Jonathan Edwards, the world of nature presented evidence of God as the masterful creator. Holding this belief, Reverend Edwards would, during much of his life, venture into the forest to worship and pray in the solace and beauty of nature.¹¹

George Whitefield, as one of the founders of Methodism and the Evangelical Revival Movement, became possibly the most well known preacher in both America and Britain during the 18th century. Traveling through the American colonies, Whitefield drew large crowds as he preached from outdoor pulpits with the use of the natural

world as an inspiring backdrop.¹² Reverend Whitefield's extended tour of religious preaching through the American colonies, during the 1730s and 1740s, served to ignite a wave of religious revivals, a period commonly referred to today as the First Great Awakening. In the decades to come, between 1780 and 1840, a second wave of religious revivals swept through the nation. Recognized as the Second Great Awakening, this religious movement served to further introduce the morals, ethics and values of Protestantism into the American character.¹³

During this period in the nation's history, to accommodate the rapid expansion of Methodism, and the associated organizing of mass revivals, was the establishing of hundreds of rural Methodist camp meeting grounds, throughout the wilds of the Eastern United States. Literally thousands of these large outdoor religious gatherings were held as the enthusiasm for attending organized high spirited Methodist revivals swept through Atlantic States.¹⁴ From the beginning of the organizing of these wilderness revivals, even before the American poet William Cullen Bryant had penned the opening verse in 1824, Methodism had embraced the idea expressed in the first line of his poem, *A Forest Hymn*, which reads, *The Groves were God's first temples*.¹⁵



Engraving of a Methodist Camp Meeting, March 1, 1819.

Photograph courtesy of the Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

Creator: M. Dubourg, engraver. Number LC-USZC4-772

As these revival gatherings were meant to provide America's new - found Methodist community with the opportunity to visit God in nature, an inspiring landscape setting was often an important consideration when selecting a location to establish a camp meeting.¹⁶ Beyond selecting an awe-inspiring location to hold a religious gathering, a revival camps' open-air temple, which consisted of a simple wooden podium and associated benches, was selectively positioned in a forest clearings, surrounded by a dense grove of trees. This positioning of the open-air amphitheater in such a way, allowed the beauty of the natural surroundings to energize the inspiration for worship during these religious wilderness gatherings.¹⁷ Serving as centers for religious revivals, these Methodist camp meeting grounds, located in outdoor wilderness settings, far away from the industrialized immigrant crowded cities of the Atlantic States, allowed for hundreds, sometimes thousands of people to arrive, commune with God and nature, and find a charismatic preacher to save their soul.

What followed next was a period in American history known as the Third Great Awakening (1850 - 1900s), which saw an increased emphasis on social activism by the Protestant community. Beginning in the mid -19th century, accompanying the resulting large increase in the number of churchgoers, was a push from the Protestant Christianity, to change American society.¹⁸ The change in society that Protestant Christianity was pushing forward, was not so much about converting people to Christianity; it was more about changing America to look like the Kingdom of God. No longer was Evangelical Christianity just about going to church on Sunday or individuals attending revival meetings to be born again; Evangelical Christianity had turned its attention toward constructing a moralized America.¹⁹ In an effort to change the American society in such a way as to mirror the Kingdom of God, came the development of Methodist reform movements directed toward improving society. As Methodism expanded through the nation's frontier, it brought with it a wave of Bible societies, temperance groups, and other organizations whose aim was to reform society, and educate the masses, living on the fringes of America.²⁰ Established by Evangelical Protestants were the associations and organizations that built and staffed schools, hospitals, orphanages,

relief efforts for the poor; and societies that supported abolition, fought for women's rights and alcohol prohibition. Woman's clubs were established with efforts directed toward educational, social, philanthropic, beautification and environmental conservation. It would be these Protestant faith-based efforts directed toward tackling the society's ills that eventually became the pillars of American life.²¹ Throughout the 19th and into the 20th century, the Methodism reform movement continued to bring education and relief to the less fortunate and address what it regarded as the immorality of American society (e. g. gambling, prostitution, use of intoxicating beverages, desecration of the Sabbath and the social problems associated with industrialization).²²

Accompanying this moralizing of American society in the image of the Kingdom of God, was the envisioning of the nation's wilderness as the new-found Garden of Eden. With this shift from attending wilderness revivals to be born-again, to efforts directed toward educating and moralizing the American society, the Methodist reform movement came to establish and utilize the Methodist campgrounds for something other than that of saving souls. The camp meeting grounds, like the revival camps before, continued to be located in rural settings, close to nature, and far away from the industrialized immigrant crowded cities of the nation. Now referred to as Methodist retreats, rather than revival camps, these camp meeting grounds, positioned under a well foliated grove of trees, a picturesque countryside lake, or a high mountain vista, provided members of congregations with the opportunity to spend their leisure time vacationing in God's natural cathedral. Those who visited the Methodist camp retreats found available opportunities to partake in religion services, education programs, and recreation activities. Leisure time spent walking within the a forested grove of trees, or along a high mountain top ridge, allowed one to reflect upon the divine presence of God in nature, and offered an occasion to replenish one's spiritual, physical and psychological well-being.²³

Quoting the historian William Cronon - discussing Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau and the belief that God is most accessible through nature -

From Ken Burns: *National Parks: America's Best Idea* (Episode 1): *What emerges in the middle of the 19th century is this idea that going back to wild nature is restorative, it's a way of escaping the corruptions of urban civilized life, finding a more innocent self, returning to who you really are, returning to a kind of authenticity, and if you want to know God at firsthand, the way to do that is not to enter a cathedral, not to open a book, but to go to the mountaintop, and on the mountaintop, there you will see God as God truly is in the world.*²⁴

The nature study movement was an extension of this idea - that the Creator presented his thoughts in the most lucid form to the individual through Nature; thereby through the study of objects of nature one drew closer to understanding the thoughts of God. Agassiz, himself a son of a Protestant clergyman, ultimately associated his scientific findings to simply being the hierarchical expression of the thoughts of God. In an effort to square the recent scientific findings of the day with the literal interpretation of two thousand year old scripture, the clergy of every religious denomination, many of whom were also the grammar school teachers of the mid-nineteenth century, presented the idea of the harmonious understanding of the thoughts of the creator could be realized through the study of nature.

The Chautauqua Institution, established by Reverend JH Vincent and Lewis Miller was, at its core, deeply rooted in this Methodist reform movement. Reverend Vincent's effort to extend the Chautauqua program, beyond the shores of Chautauqua Lake, involved establishing branches of the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle throughout the United States. To accommodate this effort of extending the Chautauqua program, a number of the Methodist camp meeting grounds were selected as locations for daughter Chautauqua Assemblies.²⁵ Participants who traveled to these daughter Chautauquas, established in remote natural settings, safely away from the large industrialized, corrupt and overpopulated cities, were, once again, provided with an opportunity to enjoy the curative, inspirational and spiritual powers that nature possessed, while participating in a program of instruction, in all subjects of study, both secular and religious.²⁶ The Pacific Grove Methodist Camp Retreat, located within a forest of

Monterey pine trees, on the southern tip of Monterey Bay, where the tonic of pine balsam blended with the fresh breezes of the ocean, would itself, offer participants of the Pacific Coast Assembly a vacation in nature's abode.



Gate to the Pacific Grove Methodist Camp Retreat, (circa 1881).

Joseph Oscar Johnson, superintendent of the Grove Retreat in foreground.

Photograph courtesy of California State Library, Sacramento, California.

PACIFIC GROVE METHODIST RETREAT

On the westerly shore of the beautiful bay of Monterey, in a grove of pines, surrounded by scenery of the most diversified character, quietly nestled beside the restless, surging sea, musical with the swaying of wide-branching trees, and the songs of woodland warblers, lies the pleasant watering-place known as Pacific Grove Retreat.²⁷

As a location for establishing a daughter Chautauqua Assembly, the Pacific Grove Methodist Camp Retreat offered a perfectly awe-inspiring natural setting from which to advance the ideals born of the mother Chautauqua Assembly in upstate New York; lifelong learning, voluntary simplicity, love of nature, science, literature, music, oration and the arts. In addition, the Pacific Grove Methodist Retreat served as a location from which to advance the ideals associated with the Methodist movement; civil rights, access to education, missionary efforts, respect for the Sabbath, temperance and women's suffrage; Ideals that were beginning to extend outside the cultural society of the Protestant Christian community and becoming accepted as the ethical and social ideals of Anglo-Saxon America. Beyond functioning as the meeting place for the Pacific Coast Chautauqua Assembly, the Methodist Camp Retreat served as conference facility for other Methodist religious and reform organizations whose efforts were directed at Christianizing and moralizing the citizens of California. Counted among these Methodist organizations, who gathered annually in Pacific Grove, were the Summer Encampment and Assembly of Christian Workers, the Summer School of Theology, the Camp Meeting and School of the Prophets, the California Annual Conference of Methodist Episcopal Church, the Women's Christian Temperance Movement (WCTU) of California - working for the prohibition of alcohol and for women's voting rights; and the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) - an organization the famous naturalist John Muir, himself, for a short time in 1863, had served as president of the local chapter during his college years in Madison, Wisconsin.²⁸

And so it was that, during the last quarter of the 19th century, projected from the podium of the outdoor amphitheater of the Pacific Grove Methodist Retreat, positioned under a grove of Monterey pines, were lessons in, and discussions of pedagogy, religion, science, literature, art, temperance and women's suffrage. Here would begin to gather together Protestants, Presbyterians, Unitarians, Methodists, Episcopalians and Congregationalists of all classes, to study and learn. In addition to providing a platform to introduce the values of Methodism to the social order of California, the Pacific Grove Methodist Retreat served as a Puritan sanctuary safely tucked away from the ills of society, where gambling, the sale of spirituous liquor of any kind, a desecration of the Sabbath was strictly prohibited; and the character of order and morality stringently enforced.



Spectroscope photograph of campers at the Methodist Retreat in Pacific Grove, California (circa 1875). Photographer: Romanzo E. Wood. Photograph courtesy of California State University, Chico. Meriam Library, Special Collections.

In the May issue of the *Del Monte Wave* of 1886, the Superintendent of Pacific Grove Retreat, J. O. Johnson, presented in writing, his personal assurance to families considering a vacation at the grounds, as to the level of morality, safety and security to be found associated with the camp.

*I want to say to parents and all interested, that out of all the resorts on the coast, Pacific Grove is the only place where you can say as a fact that you are entirely clear of all the objectionable things that are usually found where large crowds of people congregate. No whisky, wines or cider are sold; no dancing or carousing, or roughness of any description is allowed; all places of public assemblies and public parlors close at 10 P. M.; persons are not permitted to go carousing and strolling through the grounds at all hours of the night to the discomfort of others. We have a night watchman whose duty is to see that all is quiet and safe during the night. During my residence of eight years here we have never had to make an arrest. Ladies and children come here unattended by husband or father, and occupy tents with as much safety as if they were in their own homes...*²⁹

Beyond Superintendent Johnson's reassuring comments related to the security of the grounds for visiting families, advertisements appearing in numerous periodicals of the day, described the Pacific Grove Methodist Retreat to potential visitors as the most idyllic of vacation resorts. As presented in the *Bentley's Hand-Book Of The Pacific Coast*, the Pacific Grove Retreat was increasingly depicted as a highly moralistic and idealist community, as one might associate with Kingdom of God; nestled within an awe-inspiring natural environment, as one might liken to the Garden of Eden.

Pacific Grove Retreat. - It is delightfully situated nearly two miles from the town of Monterey, along the shore of the bay. Its groves of pines extend down to the water's edge, and is undoubtedly one of the most desirable and healthful resorts in the world. The balsamic influence of the pine has long been recognized, especially to all those suffering from throat or bronchial affections. This resort is free from all objections, and must remain the central, summer rallying place, for all Christian people, for many years. At Pacific Grove Retreat the Chautauqua Literary Society, of California, meets annually, and religious gatherings are encouraged. No purer, sweeter thoughts can pervade the human soul than those that swell into being when standing upon the shores of the beautiful Bay of Monterey. No holier

hour than when man bows before his Creator upon the rocky shore, where loving waves ripple and kiss its glistening sands beneath him, and the soft light of the moon glows upon the peaceful ocean, when the anthem of praise thrills through forest, and distant lights, like fire-flies, glow and glow. Pacific Grove is a large, interesting, and permanent settlement. You will find elegant structures where you are sure to receive a Christian welcome, and there are tents that may disappear at a moment's notice, whose transient occupants have caught the enthusiasm that pervades the place, yet peace and good-will prevail. The absence of liquors, gambling, and all other objectionable occupations makes it the paradise of the coast.³⁰

Within the campground of the Pacific Grove Retreat, the nature study movement that was about to arrive, in the program of a daughter Chautauqua Assembly, would service both the spiritual longings and scientific aspirations of the earliest beginnings of California's middle and upper class Protestant society. The open-air temple nestled among tall pines would provide a pulpit to preach the conceptual idea that an interaction with the natural environment was essential; not only for the professional and popular understanding of science, but for the moral development of society that was threatened with displacement from an ever increasing industrialized country.³¹ The Pacific Grove Camp Retreat, positioned along southern edge of Monterey Bay, far away from the vices of the city and the dreariness of the rural community, served as a form of sanctuary where, as described in the program announcement for the Pacific Coast Assembly of 1881: "*...families may come for the delights of free camp-life, united with pleasant society, and all the advantages of the Summer Science School.*"³²



Pacific Grove Methodist Camp Retreat. Group portrait of men, women and children posed in front of tents, house in the background. Chinese man at the right of the group. Photograph courtesy of California State Library, Sacramento, California.

A SUMMER SCHOOL OF SCIENCE

A popular feature of several days was the science excursion; the teachers conducted their pupils to the beach and hills to study nature in her own abodes.

(The Chautauquan: Volume 10, 1890).³³

Appearing in a printing of *The Pacific School Journal*, several paragraphs announce the program for the first annual Assembly of the California Branch of the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle, to be held in July 1880 in Pacific Grove, California.³⁴ From the very title of the announcement, “Summer School of Science,” along with the outline of courses to be offered, and the divines being encouraged to participate, it is clear to the reader that, during the course of this two week assembly, an extended emphasis would be directed toward the instruction of natural history.

SUMMER SCHOOL OF SCIENCE

THE first annual meeting, of the California Branch of the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle will be held at Pacific Grove, Monterey, commencing on the Fourth of July, 1880. Rev. Dr. Dwinell, of Sacramento, will open the exercises with an appropriate address. The session will continue two weeks. Courses of lectures will be given, as follows: Marine Botany, Dr. Anderson of Monterey; Marine Zoology, Dr. Wythe of Oakland; Pedagogy, Prof. C. H. Allen; Economical Botany, Prof. Sanders of Fresno; Astronomy, Prof. More of San Jose; Greek Language, especiall as related to Biblical Literature, Prof. Martin of the University of the Pacific; Chemistry in the Household, Prof. Norton of San Jose; General Botany, Miss Mary E. B. Norton. Almost all the leading divines of the State have a place on the programme. It is hoped that extensive collections of material for museums may be made. Negotiations are in progress with John Muir, Prof. Joseph Le Conte, and Prof. Hilgard, for some extraordinary attractions.

*The railroads have made very satisfactory arrangements. Fare from San Francisco to Monterey and return, will be but \$6.00; tickets good for some three months. There will also be special excursions at much lower rates. The cost of the entire programme of lectures will be covered by a ticket sold at \$2.50. A magnificent hotel has lately been erected at Monterey, and there are extensive accommodations at low rates, at Pacific Grove. Descriptive circulars may be obtained of Miss Lucy M. Washburn, San Jose, secretary of the C. L. S. C. The object of the Circle is to furnish a high grade of instruction at the lowest possible rate, to the general public. The gates are open to everybody.*³⁵

From this announcement for the first annual gathering of the Pacific Coast Assembly of the CLSC, one is left wondering what took place during those two weeks in July of 1880, when the Chautauquans gathered for the first time in Pacific Grove, California. Did John Muir attend this first summer Chautauqua Assembly in Pacific Grove? From the correspondence section of *The Chautauquan* Volume 1, 1881, written by the first secretary of the Pacific Coast Branch of the CLSC, Lucy M. Washburn, we are provided a descriptive account of the happenings of that first Pacific Coast Assembly.

CORRESPONDENCE: ASSEMBLY OF THE CALIFORNIA C. L. S. C.

The first Summer Assembly of the California Branch, C. L. S. C. is over. We draw a long breath after the pleasantly crowded fortnight, and have time to sum up the work accomplished, and to look forward to the future.

The committee that laid the plans for this gathering worked quite in the dark, uncertain how much of the spirit of the National Assembly at Chautauqua could be developed on the Pacific coast. It is with satisfaction and gratitude that they look back on a session which has more than realized their hopes.

The beautiful bay of Monterey was never more attractive. The white tents clustered thickly under the old pines of Pacific Grove, overlooking the cliffs, spoke of vacation and the leisurely charm of camp

life. Yet day after day an eager audience gathered in the large tent to listen to three lectures each morning, and again another lecture in the evening. Afternoons were to be left for the excursions and scientific collections; but during the second week, with so much rich material on hand, a fifth lecture was given each afternoon. The main session, three hours in the freshness of morning, was devoted to science, especially to study of the animal and vegetable life of the coast, for which the cliffs and beaches give us such rare opportunities. Specialists in each of these departments were there to teach us. Dr. J. H. Wythe, of Oakland, was the life of the Assembly, with his fascinating subject - Marine Zoology - his happy faculty of presenting it with clearness and force, and his fine microscope, which he was never tired of adjusting, to give us glimpses into a new world.

Dr. C. L. Anderson, of Santa Cruz, who is possibly more familiar than anyone else with the Marine Botany of the coast, gave us a course of four lectures on Alga, illustrated with fresh specimens, and others from his extensive collection; besides guiding parties on beach excursions, from which they came back with their hands laden. General botany, with study of the land plants growing in the vicinity, had a like able teacher in Miss M. E. B. Norton, of the State Normal School; while the application of botany to agriculture was brought out delightfully in a course of lectures by Mr. W. A. Saunders, of Fresno, who is doing so much on his own experimental farm, and through the press, to introduce into California the leading food-plants of the world. Professor Norton told us how to keep off the plague of insects that seems ready for our land as for Egypt. In other addresses he plead earnestly for more homes far from the demoralization of cities, and in his talks on chemistry in the household, showed us how to protect these homes from the germs of disease.

Professor More, also of the State Normal School, took us from the earth to the skies. His clear lectures on astronomy were just the help needed by our C. L. S. C. students, who have been pursuing that study without the help of such a life long student of the science. At night, too, dim companies might have been seen on the rocky headlands tracing out constellations under Professor More's guidance, or trying to catch a glimpse of the shy planet Mercury.

I have tried to sketch out for you these courses of from four to six lectures each, which filled our mornings and afternoons with science. I can only name the subjects of our evening lectures, to show you that the historical, literary and biblical studies of the society during the past year were not forgotten.

Rev. Dr. Dwinell, of Sacramento, struck the keynote for the whole work of the Assembly in his fine opening address on "Skepticism as a Judgment for the Rejection of Truth." The address by Rev. C. V. Anthony, of San Francisco, on "The Three Books: Science, Experience, Revelation;" that by Rev. G. S. Abbott, of Oakland, on "Paul's Casuistry, or His Method of Dealing with Difficult cases of Conscience;" and the two by the president of the society, Rev. Dr. C. C. Stratton, of the University of the Pacific, on "The Testimony of Contemporaneous History to the Truth of the Bible Records." All these show the spirit in which the Assembly welcomed the combined work of faith and thought. Our studies in English history and literature were represented by two lectures by Rev. H. H. Rice of Sacramento, on John Wycliffe and Wm. Tyndale, and by Dr. M. C. Briggs of San Francisco, on Oliver Cromwell. Professor Martin, of the University of the Pacific, in two lectures on the Greek language and literature, treated of another of the subjects of our last year's course of reading. A lecture on Crystallization, by Dr. Crary, editor of the "Christian Advocate" should rather have been mentioned among those on science. The morning and Sabbath Bible readings were led by the venerable Dr. Burroughs. During the session, the Assembly had also the rare pleasure of hearing a noble sermon by Bishop Simpson.

"So many lectures and not one dull one!" was the comment I overheard. Indeed, this catalogue like rehearsal of the programme can give you no idea of the peculiar charm of the session. The lecturers from such different fields of work were happy to meet each other. The addresses were of the kind Gail Hamilton sighs for: "Where the congregation can talk back:" questions as to knotty points were freely put; eliciting fuller explanations of just what we care most to hear: while a sly quiz here and there brought the quick repartee, and dissolved the eager attention of the audience into laughter. There was an out-door freshness in the whole session; a mingling of instruction, cordial intercourse, and informal camp life.

After this satisfactory beginning, the committee feels that their way is clear for more definite plans as to next year's Assembly. Already an outline has shaped itself. It will be a good work, indeed, if such an annual Assembly can become a force upon this coast, stimulating to intellectual life, and uniting Christian faith with scientific study. The C. L. S. C. hopes to thus give a fresh impulse every summer to the quiet course of home reading; that is its main work. Many a lonely student, almost disheartened as to self-culture, has been encouraged to systematic reading by the thought that he is one of the thousands of

comrades pursuing the same studies. As he fills out his memoranda of work done, and sends it to the central office of the society, there to be filed till four years of faithful reading shall be recognized by a diploma, he has the college student's feeling of pursuing a worthy course, under careful guidance, and climbing step by step an ascent from which he has a broader outlook on the world. Those C. L. S. C. members who live near each other gain the additional advantage of mental help in their "local circles," associations of two or three reading aloud to each other, or of a dozen meeting weekly to discuss their studies, or in large towns, of a hundred or more gathering monthly for essays, lectures, illustrations by apparatus, and other helps. Already, within a year of its formation, the California Branch of the C. L. S. C. numbers between six and seven hundred members; the parent society at the East counting more than twice as many thousand. Applications for new members are already coming in from those who wisely wish to get a start before the first of October, when the regular reading begins. Letters of inquiry and applications for membership should be sent to the secretary, Miss L. M. Washburn, San Jose, Cal. During the Assembly, the original members of the executive committee were re-elected for the ensuing year.

The course of reading for the next year embraces Roman History, Biblical studies, early English History, Physiology and Hygiene, American History, and Biology, or the Science of Life, both animal and vegetable. Of course, so many subjects are not mastered; but the books to be read are chosen with care, and students who become specially interested in any line receive hints for more extended reading.
- *Occident (The Chautauquan: Volume 1, 1881).* ³⁶

The above description of the Pacific Coast Assembly of 1880 provides a beginning to our introduction to the activities that were associated with the annual Chautauqua gatherings for the next 35 years. As for John Muir traveling to Pacific Grove and participating in the Pacific Coast Assembly, such an occasion had a high probability of never happening, as the celebrated naturalist held an unending fear of formal presentations in front of large audiences.

A SUMMER SCHOOL FOR TEACHERS

As described by Roy Walter Cloud in his book *Education in California: Leaders, Organizations, and Accomplishments of the First Hundred Years*, in the summer of 1880, on the occasion of this first annual gathering of the Pacific Coast Assembly of the CLSC, California held its first summer school for teachers.³⁷

*The California branch of the Chautauqua Literary and Science Circle gathered together a group of teachers from many California counties and conducted a regular summer school. Every morning, Monday through Friday, lecturers of prominence talked to the teachers. Field trips were held every afternoon, and seashells and other beauties of nature were collected and studied. During the evenings lectures were delivered on literary, historical, and religious subjects. All who attended were thrilled by the great amount of instruction and entertainment they received.*³⁸

This summer gathering of teachers, amongst the larger group of Chautauqua participants, amounted to what was, in effect, the state of California's first summer school of science, held at what one could consider, California's first seaside laboratory. A seaside laboratory, that would only be in existence for a two week period each summer, and whose emphasis was not directed toward the advancement of scientific research, but the training of schoolteachers, and other assembly participants, in the proper method of the study of nature.

COURSES OF MARINE BOTANY AND MARINE ZOOLOGY

Without exception, the first two courses of instruction to be offered at any of America's first seaside laboratories, beginning with Anderson School of Natural History established by Louis Agassiz, followed by those early seaside laboratories established by the students who attended Penikese, were marine botany and marine zoology. These two courses, scarcely observed on the educational landscape before the end of the 19th century, were designed to allow the student to experience a combination of field and a laboratory science.³⁹ Of all the daughter Chautauqua Assemblies that were established within the United States, the Pacific Coast Assembly was unique as the summer program offered both marine botany and marine zoology, as primary courses of instruction. The offering of these marine related courses provided participants of this first Pacific Coast Assembly of the CLSC (1880) with the opportunity to attend lectures, collect specimens along the seashore, and be introduced, through the use of tangible objects of nature, to the study of natural history under the direction and guidance of gifted instructors. Available for the instruction of these marine biology courses, during the Pacific Coast Assembly of 1880, were the experts in their fields, Dr. CL Anderson for Marine Botany and Dr. JH Wythe for Marine Zoology with the Use of the Microscope. In terms of its historical significance, it is important to remember, that at this time in the history of America, only three seaside laboratories had been established within the United States; Anderson School of Natural History on Penikese Island (1873-1874); Alpheus Packard's Summer School of Biology at the Peabody Academy of Science (1876-1881) in Salem, Massachusetts; and the Chesapeake Zoological Laboratory of Johns Hopkins University (1878-1906).⁴⁰

A VARIETY OF NATURAL HISTORY COURSES

*Much interest has always been fostered at this assembly in the study of natural science, as the facilities at Pacific Grove for the careful study of this subject are very unusual.*⁴¹

Building upon the success of the first assembly, the founders of the Pacific Coast Branch of the CLSC continued to advance the natural science curriculum offered each summer. During the second Pacific Coast Assembly of 1881, an additional marine related course of instruction, conchology (i.e. the scientific study or collection of mollusk shells), taught by Professor Josiah Keep, Head of the Department of Science at Mills College, was added to the list of natural history courses to be offered.⁴² Beyond these three marine related courses was, again offered, a course in terrestrial (i.e. general) botany by Miss Mary E. B. Norton. These four courses - marine botany, marine zoology, conchology and general botany - would form the core courses of scientific instruction offered at the Pacific Coast Assembly for more than twenty years to come. In addition to these four courses of instruction, a variety of natural history talks on subjects of archeology, astronomy, economic botany, economic entomology, household chemistry and geology would be presented at Pacific Coast Assembly of the CLSC.

This emphasis on the instruction of natural history at the Pacific Coast Assembly provided students with an introduction to the proper method of the study of nature, under the direction of gifted teachers, similar to the experience tendered to those students who had attended America's first summer school of science on Penikese Island. This guided instruction of the study of nature, offered to students attending the Pacific Coast Assembly, was described in the State Educational News: *Monterey County* (1887) as follows: *Every person in attendance at the convention can select one or more studies which he would like to pursue, and be under the guidance of distinguished teachers.*⁴³



FIVE COLLEGE INSTITUTIONS LOCATED IN THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA

Pacific Grove is to be indeed a center of educational interest; the home of a summer school with a faculty of teachers such as our best schools and colleges can furnish, and a gathering place for students from all over the Golden State.¹

Drawing on the academic talent positioned in five college institutions, located in the San Francisco Bay area, the Pacific Coast Assembly gathered together a patchwork of departments of instruction directed toward the following: Natural History, Literature (both secular and religious), Languages (both classical and modern), Music, Art, a Teachers School of Methods (i.e. pedagogy), and Sunday School Normal Work. A brief description of the early history of these academic institutions, 1) California State Normal School at San Jose, 2) University of the Pacific in San Jose, 3) Mills College in Oakland, 4) University of California, Berkeley, and 5) Leland Stanford Junior University in Palo Alto, and the instructors from each of these institutions who contributed to the Pacific Coast Assembly, lends to further our understanding of the educational efforts associated with the Pacific Coast Branch of the CLSC in Pacific Grove, California. Within these paragraphs is presented the Assembly or Assemblies each instructor contributed to, based upon information gathered from Pacific Coast Assembly programs, newspaper articles, and popular periodicals of the day. That being stated, there exists more than a strong probability that a number of these instructors contributed to more gatherings of the Pacific Coast Assembly than are identified here. As well, there exist a significant number of other instructors that participated in the Assembly yet to be identified and their contributions recognized.

CALIFORNIA STATE NORMAL SCHOOL

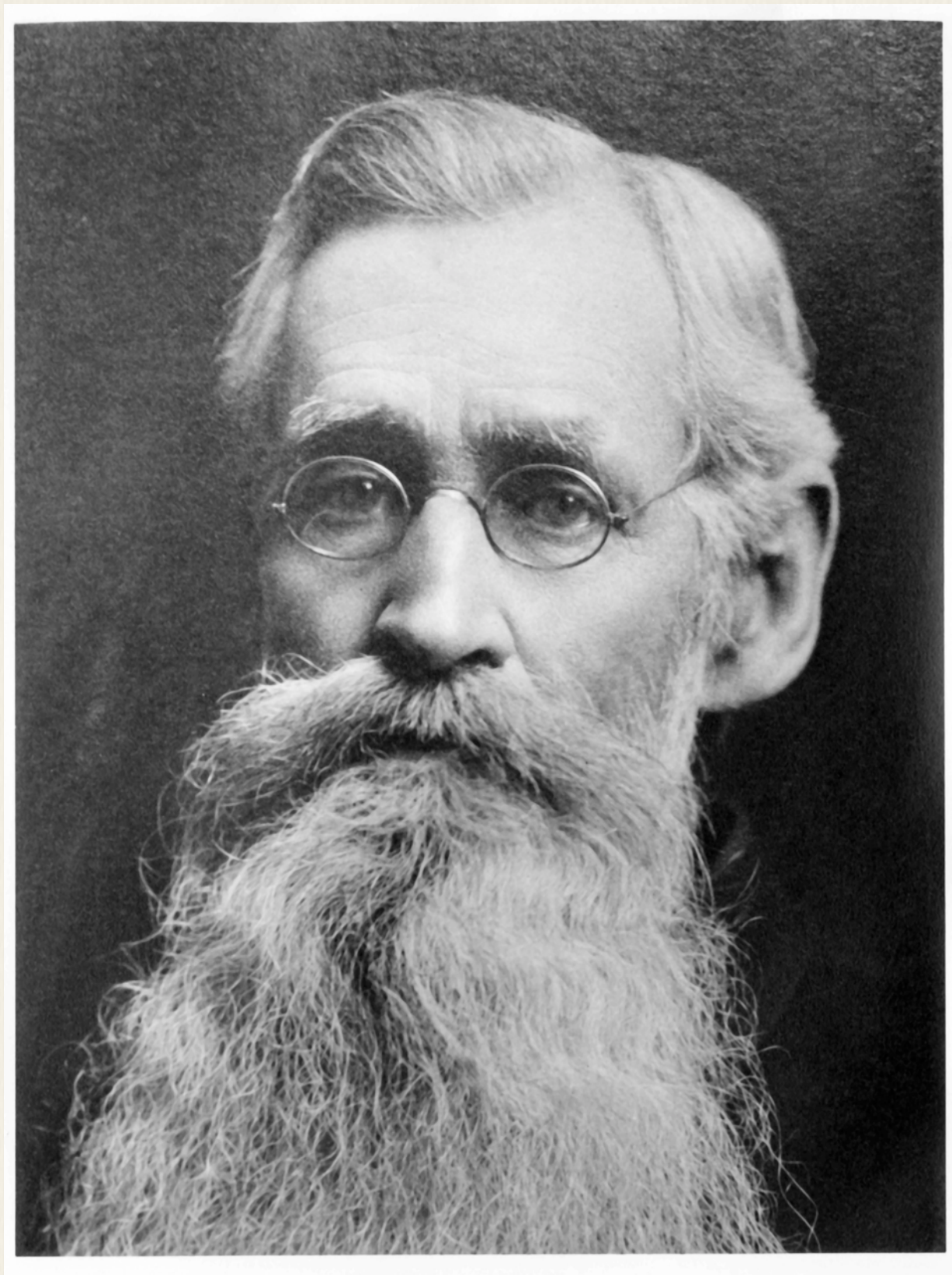


California State Normal School of San Jose, California. Photograph courtesy of the San Jose State University Library Special Collections and Archives.

The California State Normal School had its beginnings in San Francisco in 1857, as Minns' Evening Normal School, with George W. Minns, then a teacher of the natural science at San Francisco Girls High School, serving as principal, and John L. Swett, in the position of assistant principal.² As the first normal school in California, and the predecessor to California State Normal School at San Jose, the Minns' Evening Normal School had the responsibility of preparing students, primarily women, to become some of the first elementary schoolteachers of California.

As fate might have it, from its earliest beginnings, and for years to come, the California State Normal School would have, as several of its first principals, instructors whose chosen emphasis and personal interest was natural history, namely George W. Minns, Henry P. Carleton, and Charles H. Allen. As such, the leadership of these principals served to influence the establishing of a normal school course curriculum that emphasized the study of the natural sciences and the pedagogical method of “object-teaching.” This emphasis of the study of nature began with Principal George W. Minns, who described, during the California State Teachers' Institute and Educational Convention of 1861, the method of teaching natural history he felt most strongly about: *If I had a school in the country, particularly if it was one for small children, I would, in the proper season, have many of the exercises conducted in the open air, in a grove, or any shady place, nearby. Every lesson relating to nature should be studied, or read, in the face of nature, with flowers scattered all around, and under the living trees, instead of hanging over the “desk's dead wood.” Why should a class read Bryant's glorious poem “The groves were God's first temples,” in a wooden box lined with Lowell sheeting, when at a short distance may be nature's temple itself, with its lofty pillars, its green arches, its majestic roof, and its sweet songsters? Then, still carrying out this principle of object-teaching, I would avail myself of it wherever I could.*³

The Minns' Evening Normal School of San Francisco offered classes every Monday night, on a weekly basis, with attendance being mandatory for the teachers of the city schools. In 1862, having graduated fifty-four students, the Minns' Evening Normal School, by an act of the California legislature, became the California's State Normal School. Over the course of the next decade, this California State Normal School would organize at a number of temporary locations in the city of San Francisco, and rotate through four Normal School principals, George W. Minns, Henry P. Carleton, George Tait, and Dr. William T. Lucky, respectively. Finally, in 1871, California legislature voted to relocate the California State Normal School to Washington Square Park, at Fourth and San Carlos Streets in San Jose, where San Jose State University stands today.⁴ Shortly after this relocation, the institution would select a principal and professor of more lasting permanence.



Principal and Professor Charles Herman Allen.

Photograph courtesy of the San Jose State University Library Special
Collections and Archives.

PRINCIPAL AND PROFESSOR CHARLES HERMAN ALLEN

One year after the relocation to San Jose, Charles Herman Allen, a Principal and Professor from the Normal School at the University of Wisconsin - Madison (1864-1868) joined the faculty of the California State Normal School as a teacher of the natural sciences. The following year, Professor CH Allen was elected to serve as the institutions next principal, a position he would hold for sixteen years (1873-1889).⁵ It is of importance to note that, during his time as a principal of the Normal School at the University of Wisconsin, in 1864, efforts by CH Allen opened the door and enabled women, for the first time, to attend.⁶ This effort by Professor Allen is indelibly described in a paragraph that appeared at the Wisconsin Alumni Magazine (1904) and reads as follows:

*Although it was the intention of the [University of Wisconsin's] board of regents to admit the women to the state university as soon as Main hall should be completed, several years elapsed with little interest manifested in the rights of the women to a university education. Prof. C. H. Allen was the first to knock at the door of state to request the admission of women to the halls of learning, and to that beginning the women of today owe all the privileges they enjoy at the University of Wisconsin.*⁷

Charles H. Allen's efforts to advance the acceptance of women to positions in higher education would be reflected in the number of female instructors, above seventy percent, who made up the faculty at the California State Normal School at San Jose during the time he served as principal.⁸

As a teacher of science, and naturalist at heart, Professor Charles H. Allen counted among his good friends, the famous California naturalist John Muir, whom Allen was an instructor of, during the time these two men shared at the University of Wisconsin in Madison.⁹ The rekindling of their friendship, here in California, is described as follows by Lucy M. Washburn: *President Charles H. Allen, who built up our great normal school,*

had been his [John Muir's] teacher in Wisconsin. Himself an ardent lover of nature, in the course of his endless stage journeys to the institutes held for distant California teachers, President Allen came upon his former pupil and joined him on some of his mountain trails.¹⁰ Beyond these two men hiking the high mountain trails together, Muir was a frequent visitor to CH Allen's home in San Jose and lectured several times at the California State Normal School at San Jose.¹¹ This rekindled friendship, in California, between John Muir and Charles H. Allen, would extend to Muir, friendships with CH Allen's family, Vice Principal Henry Brace Norton, and the women instructors of the Normal School, whom Muir refers to, in a letter to Jeanne C. Carr, [1877] Sep 3, as the "lady professors."¹²



Faculty of California State Normal School of San Jose (1892) seventy percent of whom were women. Photograph courtesy of the San Jose State University Library Special Collections and Archives.

Among the John Muir collection of letters, held at the University of the Pacific, are found a number of correspondences between Muir and Charles H. Allen, his wife, Mrs. Abigail Allen, their three daughters, Jessica, Harriet, and Dora, and several of the “*lady professors*” of the Normal School, namely Mary EB Norton, Lucy M. Washburn, Helen S. Wright and Mary J. Titus. Also found among the collection of Muir correspondences, are references by John Muir and others, mentioning CH Allen, HB Norton and Mary EB Norton. These letters of correspondences, placed within the context of the findings presented in this book, offer a broader view of the connection between John Muir to Principal CH Allen and his family, Vice Principal HB Norton and the women instructors of the California State Normal School at San Jose.

Beyond John Muir, other close friends of Professor CH Allen’s included Henry B. Norton, Vice-Principal of California State Normal School, David Starr Jordan, president of Stanford University and John L. Swett, Superintendent of California Schools, who laid the groundwork for a statewide public school system in California.¹³ John L. Swett, for many years John Muir’s good friend and neighbor in the Alhambra Valley of Martinez, California, had long been familiar with, and a proponent of, the use of Louis Agassiz’s method of study of nature as a process of instruction in the classroom.^{14, 15, 16}

The initial emphasis that the California State Normal School at San Jose placed on the instruction of natural science would be extended further by Principal Charles H. Allen and the accomplished instructors he selected to be members of the faculty. The important role Principal CH Allen played in advancing the development of the California State Normal School was fittingly described by John L. Swett: *The second period, the period of growth and expansion, commences with the principalship of Charles H. Allen. He straightway began to gather about him a strong corps of teachers, men and women of strong personality and in thorough sympathy with normal school work. Among those who, during this second period, devoted the best part of their lives to the training of teachers for the California schools were: Mary J. Titus, Cornelia Walker, Lucy M. Washburn, J. H. Braly, Helen S. Wright, Ira More, Mary Wilson (now Mrs.*

*Mary W. George), Mary E. B. Norton, Lizzie P. Sargent, C. W. Childs, George R. Kleeberger, A. H. Randall, and, standing next to the principal himself, who worked as a veritable steam engine, the magnetic Henry B. Norton.*¹⁷



Vice Principal and Professor Henry Brace Norton.

Photograph courtesy of the San Jose State University Library Special
Collections and Archives.

VICE PRINCIPAL AND PROFESSOR HENRY BRACE NORTON

Another step toward the California State Normal Schools' emphasis on the instruction of natural science occurred in 1875, when Vice Principal and Professor Henry Brace Norton joined the faculty. HB Norton led an extra-ordinary life, one that, in many ways, mirrored the mythologizing of the American West. Born in Elba, New York on February 22, 1836, to parents who were both of New England Puritan ancestry, Henry Brace Norton was ten years old when his family migrated west, initially to Wisconsin, followed two years later to Ogle County, Illinois.¹⁸ Norton first attended a classical school for boys in Rockford Illinois, followed by Beloit College in Beloit Wisconsin. In 1858, he entered the Illinois Normal University in Bloomington, where, with his comprehensive and exact knowledge, won for Norton, the honorary nickname "The Sage." HB Norton's gifted literary abilities and rare personal qualities marked his impressive record as a student, and enabled him to graduate from Illinois Normal University, in 1861, with high honors.¹⁹

In 1865, HB Norton was selected as vice principal of the recently established Kansas Normal School in Emporia Kansas, today's Emporia State University. During his first five years at the Kansas State Normal School, HB Norton was positioned in the department of natural science, where he instructed courses of anatomy, botany, physiology and zoology.²⁰ It was during these five years that an over excessive amount of active labor resulted in Norton experiencing a debilitating level of intellectual and physical depression. Resigning from his position at the Kansas State Normal School in 1870, Norton sought renewal of health in the activities of frontier life. As part of this effort of renewal, HB Norton accompanied his brother, Captain Gould Hyde Norton, in becoming one of the founding pioneers of Arkansas City, a western Kansas frontier settlement located approximately 120 miles southwest of Emporia, Kansas. Here in Arkansas City, Kansas, the brothers, Henry B. Norton and Gould H. Norton, established

the exchange store “Norton & Brothers” that traded extensively with the Plains Indian tribes of the region.²¹

It would be this period in Norton’s life, that he embraced an idea, then popular in 19th century American literature, that idealized the American Indian as a “Noble Savage,” and romanticized the life of the native people as simple, uncivilized, close to nature and practicing a religion that celebrated the natural environment.²¹ Remarks by HB Norton, himself, in the Emporia News, June 24, 1870, makes reference to the phrase “noble savage” and dates to the beginning of a time he would spend among the Native American tribes.

Should it be so ordered by Providence that a number of these Eastern philanthropists be compelled to come to the frontier and pass four or five years where every day they could behold the noble savage and witness his praiseworthy mode of life and become victims of his pleasant treachery, they would find it easy to discover a more deserving subject for whose benefit to propagate their Ahumane theories.²²

Through the establishing of the trading post in Arkansas City, Kansas, HB Norton was provided with the opportunity to spend three years among the native tribes of the Territory.²³ During this time, Professor Norton learned the languages of seven tribes and participated in buffalo hunts with the Apaches, Comanche, Pawnees, Osages, and other tribes of the region.²⁴ Norton often spoke of his three years spent among the Plains Indians to the general public with a lecture titled “*Three Years in a Wigwam.*”²⁵

In 1873, Henry B. Norton returned to Emporia to resume his position at the Kansas State Normal School as professor of natural sciences.²⁶ In 1874, prior to his departure from the position of vice principal of the Kansas State Normal School, for his new position at California State Normal School at San Jose, HB Norton reported to the president of the Kansas Normal School, the needs for that schools’ department of natural sciences.

In the teaching of zoology and geology, our greatest need is a better museum. In order to promote the work of collection, we have organized an association called “The Agassiz Club,” whose members

*have undertaken to do the work of amateur collectors. The room set apart for a museum needs a small equipment of shelves and cases, and I trust that this need will be increased by the accumulations of the coming year.*²⁷

Henry B. Norton's arrival to the California State Normal School in 1875, and his influence on efforts directed toward the instruction of the natural sciences is vividly described in the publication, *Historical Sketch of the State Normal School at San José, California* (1889).

*Beginning, perhaps, with the advent into the school of Professor Norton, more prominence was given to work in Science. The contagion of his enthusiastic love for all scientific study, coming as it did at a time when the study of the sciences was making rapid growth in popularity in the common schools, gave a new interest to observation studies, which the work of the later professors in science has fostered and increased.*²⁸ In the role of a teacher of science in the California State Normal School, Professor Norton's specialties included chemistry, zoology and physical geography.²⁹

In July of 1879, just four short years after his arrival to California, HB Norton participated in the gathering of the California Sunday School Assembly in Pacific Grove, where he addressed the convention and assisted Dr. John Heyl Vincent, and President CC Stratton of the University of the Pacific, in the work of organizing the Pacific Coast Branch of the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle. For the first five years of summer gatherings (1880-1884), Professor Norton shared with President Stratton and the Secretaries, the cares and toils of the Pacific Coast Assembly, as he contributed to the program with lectures on the subjects of Household Chemistry, Economic Entomology, The New Germ Theory and Geology.³⁰

During this time, HB Norton became a favorite instructor of the participants attending the Chautauqua gathering, delighting students with lectures of natural history and readings of poetry. One such occasion, a remembrance by Professor Frank Blackmar of the University of the Pacific, was described as follows: *I remember one morning in the summer of 1882, his discourse on a species of the octopus, on the beach at Pacific Grove, in the presence of*

*a large number of students, teachers and friends. With patient industry he explained the form and parts, external and internal, and gave a graphic description of the functions, life, habits, and history of this wonderful creature. At the close of the lesson, he recited in a mournful, almost pathetic tone, that rare poem of Oliver Wendell Holmes, the "Chambered Nautilus."*³¹

In December of 1879, in addition to serving as vice principal of California State Normal School, during a meeting of the California Teachers Association, HB Norton was elected to serve the one-year term as president of the organization.³² A few years later, in December of 1884, Norton was again elected to serve another one-year term as president of the California Teachers Association.³³ Unfortunately, Vice Principal HB Norton would not live to see the advances to come to the California educational system into the turn of the 20th century. In late June of 1885, after a surveying in the mountains of Santa Cruz with Principal CH Allen, Norton was taken with a bout of pleurisy, fell deeply sick and, just a few days later, passed away.³⁴

For a memorial volume written to commemorate the life of Henry Brace Norton, his sister Mary EB Norton wrote to John Muir inquiring if he might have in his possession any letters from her late brother.

306 South Second St. San Jose. Sept. 14./85.

Dear Mr. Muir:

The enclosed circular will explain to you the character of the memorial volume about to be issued. We desire to include my brothers autograph with his portrait, and while we have his autograph in many family letters, the closing address is less suitable for publication than that which he would use in writing other friends. If you chance to have preserved any of his letters and would kindly send me the autographs, I should deem it a great favor.

With kindest remembrances to Mrs. Muir,

I remain with high esteem.

Very Truly Yours. Mary E. B. Norton.

[Letter from Mary E. B. Norton to John Muir, 1885 Sep 14.]³⁵



California State Normal School at San Jose State graduate class of 1885.

Professor Henry Brace Norton is featured on mid-left and Principal Charles H. Allen is on mid-right. Photograph courtesy of the San Jose State University Library Special Collections and Archives.

OTHER PIONEER INSTRUCTORS FROM THE CALIFORNIA STATE NORMAL SCHOOL AT SAN JOSE

Beyond Principal Charles H. Allen and Vice Principal Henry B. Norton, two pioneer instructors from the California State Normal School at San Jose, who were among the original founders of the Pacific Coast Branch of the CLSC, were Lucy M. Washburn and Mary EB Norton, the elder sister of HB Norton. These two women instructors, for years, contributed significantly to the educational efforts associated with the Pacific Coast Assembly.

Miss Lucy M. Washburn, contributions not only included her serving as the first secretary of the Pacific Coast Branch (1879-1881), but her involvement in the Pacific Grove Assemblies as instructor of Hygiene (1880) and instructor of the Sunday School Normal Department (1884-1895).

Miss Mary EB Norton contributions included her serving as the second secretary of the Pacific Coast Branch (1882-1883), her enduring involvement in the Pacific Grove Assemblies as the instructor of Terrestrial Botany for more than twenty years (1880-1905) and as curator of the city of Pacific Grove's museum collection for thirty years (1880-1909). In addition to these contributions, both Lucy M. Washburn and Mary EB Norton, for many years, served as members of the Executive Committee of the Pacific Coast Branch of the CLSC.

Natural History Instruction

Other instructors from the California State Normal School at San Jose, who contributed to the natural history instruction offered at the Chautauqua Assembly, include the following: Ira More, Professor of Mathematics and Physical Geography, who provided

lectures on astronomical studies at the Assemblies of 1880 through 1883. Titles of Professor More's lectures included "Astronomy" (1880) and "*The Great Telescope of Mt. Hamilton, with methods of Astronomical Work*" (1882). George Kleeberger, Professor of Chemistry, who provided lectures on chemistry, geology and zoology at the Assemblies of 1882, 1883 and 1887. Professor Kleeberger's talk during the Assembly of 1887 was titled "*Pacific Coast Geology*."

Literary Instruction

Among the instructors from the California State Normal School at San Jose who contributed to the literary instruction offered at the Pacific Coast Assembly were Charles W. Childs, Professor of Pedagogy, who lectured on American History during the Assembly of 1881; Professor Ira More, who provided a lecture titled "*the Aryan and the Semite, and Hannibal*" for the Assembly of 1881; Miss Cornelia Walker, Instructor of Grammar, Literature, and Pedagogy, who contributed to the Assembly of 1883, presenting a lecture titled "*The Growth of the English Parliament*";³⁶ Miss Jessica B. Thompson, Instructor of Literature and Language, who contributed to the Assemblies of 1884 and 1885. A newspaper article in the *Sacramento Daily Union* describing the happenings of the Assembly of 1884, penned the following regarding her presentation: *Miss Thompson addressed the Assembly with the subjects of two literary papers, Shakespeare's "As You Like It," and Tennyson's "Princess" ... The paper closed with a careful resume of the whole, showing its artistic value in contrasting city and country life, and noticing the cheerfulness of the great poet that shines throughout.*³⁷ Several days later, a second article in the *Sacramento Daily Union*, provided the following description of her presentation: *Miss Jessica Thompson's reading of her well prepared essay on Tennyson's "Princess" was described as "Gems of quotations from the poem sparkled throughout like dewdrops on the blossoms of the garden."*³⁸ For the Assembly of 1885, Miss Thompson's presentation was titled "*A Shakespearean Study*."³⁹

Helen S. Wright, Instructor of English Language and Literature and Preceptress at the California State Normal School at San Jose, contributed to the Assembly of 1890, addressing the audience with a lecture titled "*Some Modern Roman Churches and Ceremoni-*

als.”⁴⁰ According to an article titled “*The California Branch of the C.L.S.C.*” that appeared in the *Sunday School Journal*, Miss Helen Wright also served as a member of the Pacific Coast Branches Executive Committee during the first years of the institution's establishment.⁴¹

Missionary Symposium

Mrs. Myrtle C. Hudson Wagner, Instructor of Composition and History, at the California State Normal School at San Jose, contributed to a number of the Pacific Coast Assemblies. Born in Strongsville, Ohio, Mrs. Wagner was educated in public schools. She graduated from California State Normal School (class of 1878), and attended the California Sunday School Assembly in Pacific Grove, in 1879. She was the first graduate of the Pacific Coast Branch of CLSC, class of 1882, and finished her education, earning a Bachelors degree from University of Michigan, class of 1885. Myrtle Wagner taught in public schools of California for six and a half years, taught at the California State Normal School for four years, and served as a Missionary teacher in the Lintsingcho Shantung Province of China for ten years.⁴² For the Assembly of 1900, Mrs. Wagner informed the audience of her missionary efforts within China, as described in an article published in *The Chautauquan* (1901). *The symposium upon China, conducted by Mrs. Myrtie Hudson Wagner and other missionaries returned from that country, was one of the most impressive features of the assembly. Mrs. Wagner was the only graduate in the first Chautauqua class resident on the Pacific Coast. She has been a most loyal child of her alma mater, and has carried the C. L. S. C. into the Chinese empire.*⁴³

Normal School Instruction

Among the instructors from the California State Normal School at San Jose who contributed to the normal school instruction, offered at the Pacific Coast Assembly, included Principal and Professor Charles H. Allen, who lectured on pedagogy at the first three Assemblies (1880 - 1882). Lucy M. Washburn and Mrs. Myrtie Hudson Wagner,

who for years were in charge of the Sunday School Normal Department with a rotation of supporting Reverends, which included, among others, the Reverend H. H. Rice, of Oakland, Reverend J. E. Gilbert, D. D., of Indianapolis, then General Superintendent of the Interdenominational Sunday School Institute, and Reverend F. H. Foster, D. D., Professor of Systemic Theology in Pacific Theology in the Theological Seminary, Oakland.

The program for the Pacific Coast Assembly of the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle of 1888 provided the following description of the instruction offered by the Sunday School Normal Department: *At the last Monterey Assembly the Sunday School Normal class met daily and followed the regular Chautauqua Normal Course for the study of the Bible and the best methods of teaching it...*⁴⁴

Miss Margaret E. Schallenberger, Instructor of the Training Department of the State Normal School, San Jose, contributed to the Teachers School of Methods program offered during the Assemblies of 1891 and 1892. Margaret Schallenberger, who went on to complete a B. A. from Stanford University and a Ph.D. from Cornell University, became the first commissioner of elementary education in California, and played an important role in determining the course of instruction in the rural schools of the State.⁴⁵

UNIVERSITY OF THE PACIFIC



University of the Pacific in San Jose. Photographer: John C. Gordan
Photograph courtesy of the San Jose State University Library Special
Collections and Archives.

The University of the Pacific, founded by Methodist ministers in 1851, in Santa Clara, was California's first chartered institution of higher education. Initially named California Wesleyan College, the school petitioned the State for a change in name to the University of the Pacific, one month after being chartered. In 1858, the West Coast's first medical school was opened by the college; later becoming a part of Stanford University and exists to this day as the California Pacific Medical Center.⁴⁶ In 1871, the campus of the University of the Pacific relocated to San Jose and the college opened its doors to women, becoming the first independent co-educational campus in

California. In 1878, the Conservatory of Music was established at the University, making it the first of its kind west of the Mississippi River.⁴⁷ In terms of contributing to the efforts associated with the Pacific Coast Branch of the CLSC, three of the acting presidents of the University of the Pacific served as presidents of the Pacific Coast Assembly. The first, Reverend Dr. CC Stratton, D. D., served nine years as president of the Assembly (1880-1888), followed by Reverend Dr. AC Hirst, D. D., LL.D., who served for seven years as president of the Assembly (1889-1895), followed by Reverend Dr. Eli McClish D. D., who served for ten years as president of the Assembly (1896-1906).

Natural History Instruction

Beyond those serving as presidents of the Pacific Coast Assembly, several faculty members from the University of the Pacific supported the instruction of natural history during the summer gatherings. These instructors of natural science included the following:

Dr. TC George, Professor of Physics and Astronomy, who presented on the use of the spectroscope for viewing stars at the Assemblies of 1880, 1881, 1882 and 1884. According to an article in the Sacramento Daily Union, for the Assembly of 1884 Prof. T.C. George lectured upon the *Liberty of Modern Science*. A native of Ohio, Professor TC George brought with him to the California Coast, his love and respect for learning. His studies of the natural sciences included an emphasis in astronomy, which led him to visit the great observatories of both Europe and the United States. Professor George's first-hand knowledge of observatories and their research advanced his success as instructor of the department of astronomy at the University of the Pacific.⁴⁸

Dr. Wilbur Wilson Thoburn, Professor of Zoology, who contributed to the Assemblies of 1889, 1890 and 1891. Wilbur Wilson Thoburn attended Allegheny College in Meadville, Pennsylvania where he completed the following degrees, A. B., 1881; A.M., 1884; Ph. D., 1888. Thoburn then served as a teacher of Natural Science, Pennsylvania State Normal School, 1881-84; Professor of Geology and Botany, Illinois Wesleyan

University, 1884-88; and Professor of Geology and Biology, University of the Pacific, 1888-91. He was then recruited to Stanford University to serve as Associate Professor of Ethics, Instructor in Zoology and Acting Curator of the Zoological Museum of Stanford University⁴⁹ and pastor for the Methodist Church in Mayfield.⁵⁰

The *San Francisco Morning Call* printed the following description of Professor Thoburn conducting his course in zoology during the Pacific Coast Assembly of 1891: *Pacific Grove offers unusual opportunities for biological study. Sea life of all kinds is very abundant and easily collected, and the student is never driven to the books because of lack of nature. The class in zoology have studied the marine forms, under the direction of Professor W. W. Thoburn, and have also had their first lesson in independent research. They have watched the motions of the animals. In the pools which are so numerous at low tide, they have collected and handled them, and finally they have brought their "innermost parts" to light by aid of the dissecting knife and microscope. Much enthusiasm has been shown in the work and many have found an open door leading to a store of almost undreamed of knowledge.*⁵¹ Beyond the course in zoology, Professor Thoburn contributed to the Chautauqua program by offering a course titled "*Walks and Talks in Geology*" during the Assemblies of 1890 and 1891.⁵²

Literary Instruction

Among the instructors from the University of the Pacific contributing to the literary courses offered at the Pacific Coast Assembly included Dr. James N. Martin and JW Reidemann. Reverend Dr. James N. Martin received an AB, Wesleyan College, 1847 and a Doctor of Divinity, University of the Pacific in 1889. As Professor of the Ancient Languages, he provided courses in Greek and Latin Literature for the Assemblies of 1880 and 1881.

JW Reidemann, Professor of Modern Languages conducted the School of Modern Languages, with the instruction of German, during the Assemblies of 1890 through 1895, and 1898. For those students who wished further training in the modern languages of French or German, Professor Reidemann extended the course several weeks after the Chautauqua Assembly, offering advanced instruction to those who might wish to partake.⁵³

MILLS COLLEGE OF OAKLAND



Mills College (circa 1871). Photographer: Eadweard Muybridge.

Photograph courtesy of the Special Collections, F. W. Olin Library, Mills College.

Mills College of Oakland, the first women's college established west of the Rockies and the first college to grant women the opportunity to receive a Bachelor of Arts degree west of the Mississippi, was originally founded in 1852 as the Young Ladies Seminary in Benicia, California.⁵⁴ It was at this Young Ladies Seminary, where the future wife of John Muir, Miss Louisa Wanda Strentzel, received her formal education. Dur-

ing her attendance at the Seminary (1859-1864), Miss Strentzel studied everything from Entomology to English, eventually becoming a music scholar of the piano.⁵⁵

In 1865, Susan Tolman Mills, a graduate of Mount Holyoke Female Seminary, and her husband, the Reverend Cyrus Taggart Mills, D.D., bought the Young Ladies Seminary of Benicia and renamed it Mills Seminary. In 1871, the school was moved to Oakland, California, being incorporated in 1877 and renamed Mills College in 1885. The following paragraph penned for the Catalogue of Mills College (1912-1913) describes the intentions behind Cyrus and Susan Mills establishing the school: *Dr. and Mrs. Mills purposed from the beginning to lay the foundation of a permanent institution of the highest order, believing that in no way could more be accomplished for the good of this Coast and for the cause of Christ than by the proper education of young women. It was their fervent wish to establish a school that should, like Mount Holyoke College and kindred institutions in the East, be conducted on Christian principles and characterized by earnest Christian influences. They believed that a thorough education should include religious training, and that young women should become not only intelligent and cultivated but truly Christian if they were to be prepared for the duties of life.*⁵⁶

Those faculty members of Mills College who contributed to the Pacific Coast Assembly, either as course instructors or speakers, included Professor Josiah Keep, his daughter, Miss Rosalind Keep, Principal Susan Lincoln Tolman Mills (i.e. Mrs. CT Mills) and Colonel Homer B. Sprague.

Natural History Instruction

Josiah Keep - born May 11, 1849, in Paxton, Massachusetts - was a graduate of Leicester Academy and Amherst College, first accomplishing a Bachelors of Science 1874, and then taking his Master's degree (MA) from the same institution in 1877. During that year, Josiah Keep married and moved to the Northern Bay area of California, where he taught natural history in the Golden Gate Academy for one year and the Alameda High School for seven years, serving as principal of the latter from 1881 to 1885.⁵⁷ In 1885, Josiah Keep became Professor of the Natural Sciences in Mills Col-

lege in Oakland California. At Mills College, Professor Josiah Keep served thirty-six years as Chair of the Department of Science with his primary teaching subjects being that of geology and astronomy.⁵⁸ Along with his teaching efforts, Professor Josiah Keep served as the President of the Isaac Lea Conchological Chapter of the Agassiz Association and as an Executive Committee Member of the Agassiz Association. As an author, Josiah Keep organized and published several editions of his conchology primer, *Handbook on West-Coast Shells*, complete with illustrated figures. These handbooks allowed the novice to acquire a basic introduction to the shells of the Pacific coast.⁵⁹

Like Louis Agassiz, Professor Josiah Keep believed that by studying objects of nature, one drew closer to understanding the thoughts of God. Professor Keep expressed this idea in a poem titled *The Sea-Shell's Answer* presented in his book *Shells and Sea-life* (1901) published by the Whitaker and Ray Company.

The Shell-Shell's Answer. Verse VII

And this Power divine, this Heart wondrous kind,

Bids us work out a message to each human mind.

So we build as He guides us; and happy is he

Who can read God's great thoughts in the shells of the sea

For thirty consecutive years (1881-1910), Josiah Keep traveled to the Pacific Coast Assembly of the CLSC and instructed his course on conchology (i.e. the study of marine molluscs). After his untimely death in 1910, Josiah Keep's daughter, Miss Rosalind Keep, who herself held the positions of Instructor in English, and Director of Bureau Publication at Mills College, took up the instruction of the conchology course for the Pacific Coast Assemblies of 1914 and 1915. An article that appeared in the *San Jose Mercury Herald* (1915) mentions Rosalind Keep's class in conchology having a sizable number of students: *Miss Rosalind Keep's class in shells has been well attended, from 30 to 40 having been present every day.*⁶⁰



Photograph of biology class at Mills College, circa 1900.

Professor Josiah Keep standing in the upper right hand corner.

Photograph courtesy of the Special Collections, F. W. Olin Library, Mills College.



Biology Class at Mills College, circa 1900.

Professor Josiah Keep standing in the right hand corner

Photograph courtesy of the Special Collections, F. W. Olin Library, Mills College.

Literary Instruction

Two professors from the Mills College contributed to the literary instruction offered at the Pacific Coast Assembly, Mrs. CT Mills and Homer B. Sprague.

Mrs. CT Mills, Principal of the Mills Seminary, addressed the audiences of the Assemblies of 1882 and 1883. For the Assembly of 1882, Mrs. Mills presented a paper titled the “*Hieroglyphics, with a cast of the Rosetta Stone.*”⁶¹ In 1890, Mrs. Mills, who was then sixty-four years old, after serving for decades as principal, became the president of the Mills College. During the next nineteen years, with Mrs. Mills serving as president, the campus added a science building, auditorium, library and gymnasium. In 1904, Mrs. Mills commissioned California’s first female architect, Julia Morgan, at the start of her career, to design six new buildings for the campus.⁶²

Homer Baxter Sprague, upon receiving a Bachelors of Arts from Yale University in 1852, held the position of principal of the high school of Worcester, Massachusetts. In 1861, Sprague entered the Civil War as a captain in the 13th Connecticut, rising to the rank of lieutenant colonel. He was wounded at the Battle of Irish Bend in Louisiana in 1863. After the war, he became head of several high schools. In 1866, he became Principal of the State Normal School at New Britain, Connecticut. In 1868, Sprague accepted the Professorship of Rhetoric and English Literature in Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.

Among the publications of Mr. Sprague are carefully annotated editions of some of the masterpieces in English literature, including select works of Geoffrey Chaucer, Edmund Spenser, Francis Bacon, John Bunyan; John Milton’s “*Lycidas, Comus, Hymn on the Nativity,*” and the first two books of “*Paradise Lost*”; William Shakespeare’s “*Hamlet*”, “*Macbeth*” and “*Merchant of Venice*”; selections from Washington Irving’s Sketch Book; “*History of the Thirteenth Connecticut*” and many lectures, essays and addresses, most of which were either educational or patriotic. Having a well-established academic background and being famous for his lectures on Milton and Shakespeare, Sprague was offered the position of President of Mills College in 1884.⁶³ Unfortunately, Homer B.

Sprague and Mrs. CT Mills had disagreements on how to improve the behavior and curriculum at Mills College, resulting in board declaring his position vacant, and Sprague no longer employed by the school in the fall of 1886.⁶⁴

Dr. Homer B. Sprague contributed to the Pacific Coast Assemblies of 1886 and 1891. For the Assembly of 1886, Sprague presented four lectures, two relating to the works of Shakespeare and two relating to the works of Milton. These lectures, Sprague had delivered the previous year to the mother Chautauqua in upstate New York, where he received warm praise from Dr. John H. Vincent and the attending Chautauquans.⁶⁵ According to the program of the mother Chautauqua for 1885, Colonel Homer B. Sprague presented a lecture titled “*Shakespeare’s Youth*” and a lecture titled “*Milton’s Paradise Lost.*”⁶⁶ Homer B. Sprague returned for the Pacific Coast Assembly of 1891, presenting over the course of several days, two lectures related to William Shakespeare titled “*Shakespeare’s Heart*” and “*Shakespeare’s Brain.*”⁶⁷

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA



University of California, Berkeley. North and South Hall (circa 1875)

Photographer: Carleton E. Watkins. Photograph courtesy of California State Library, Sacramento, California.

In 1855, a handful of college educated New England Presbyterians and Congregationalists founded the College of California in Oakland. Thirteen years later, in 1868, the college was acquired by the State and soon became the University of California. As the first full-curriculum public university in the State, the school opened in September of 1869 in Oakland, with just ten faculty members and less than forty male students enrolled. The following year, women students were admitted to the university.⁶⁸

The University of California moved to its Berkeley location in 1873, holding the first classes at the new site that fall with an enrollment of 167 male and 222 female stu-

dents, within the recently constructed North and South Halls. The North Hall was a large building of wood containing most of the classrooms for the various colleges. The South Hall, a lasting structure of brick and iron, was filled with the museum exhibit cases filled with objects of economic botany, ethnology, geology and mineralogy.⁶⁹ With the establishing of these exhibits, it is clear from its early beginning, at the University of California at Berkeley, a special emphasis was placed on the instruction of natural history and the collection of objects of nature.

Over the years, a number of notable faculty members from the UC Berkeley participated as speakers and instructors at the Pacific Coast Assembly. These faculty members included Dr. Joseph Le Conte, Dr. Cornelius B. Bradley, Dr. William E. Ritter, Dr. Charles W. Woodworth, Jacques Loeb, Dr. Bernard Moses, Thomas Rutherford Bacon, and Benjamin Ide Wheeler.

Natural History Lectures

Joseph Le Conte, University of California, Berkeley's famed Professor of Geology, Natural History and Botany, a close friend of John Muir, and one of the founding members of the Sierra Club, contributed to the Assemblies of 1881, 1882 and 1886. Having studied under Louis Agassiz at Harvard, Le Conte was one of the foremost proponents of Agassiz's glacier theory, and convinced of its validity.⁷⁰ At the Pacific Coast Assembly of 1886, Le Conte addressed the Assembly with a lecture titled "*Evolution in Relation to Materialism*" after which he encouraged a discussion on this sensitive topic.⁷¹ According to the Pacific Rural Press *Prof. Joseph Le Conte, of Berkeley University, talked eloquently of evolution, which he regards as the true theory of creation and not at all inconsistent with a reverent belief in the great Creator.*⁷²

Cornelius Beach Bradley, University of California, Berkeley's Professor of Rhetoric, and Head of the Department of the English Language and Literature, who was also an avid botanist, contributed to the Assembly of 1887 with a lecture on the subject of botany titled "*Layers of Vegetable Growth.*"⁷³ A close friend of John Muir's, CB Bradley was also among the founding members of the Sierra Club, later serving as the editor

of Sierra Club Bulletin from 1895-1898,⁷⁴ and on the Sierra Club's Board of Directors from 1894 -1902.⁷⁵

William Emerson Ritter, University of California, Berkeley's Professor of Zoology, who would become the founder and director of the Marine Biological Association of San Diego, (today's Scripps Institution of Oceanography of the University of California, San Diego), contributed to the Assembly of 1892 with a course in marine biology. In that year, William E. Ritter, acting Head of the UC Berkeley newly formed Department of Zoology, and a small group of students erected a tent laboratory for the summer in Pacific Grove, California. The Annual Report of the Secretary to The Board of Regents of the University Of California of 1892 commented on Ritter's summer course as follows: *...the course of lectures delivered by the instructor, Mr. Ritter, to the class was announced to be open to all and was largely attended, particularly while the Chautauqua Circle was in session at Pacific Grove. Besides this, several teachers from various schools of the State were given special privileges and assistance.*⁷⁶

Charles W. Woodworth, founder and Professor of the Department of Entomology at the University of California, Berkeley, contributed to the Pacific Coast Assemblies of 1892, 1893, 1894, 1895, 1897, 1898. Charles W. Woodworth graduated from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign with a Bachelor of Science in 1885 and a Masters of Science in 1886. From 1886 to 1888, he studied under Hermann August Hagen at Harvard University, who was then considered the leading entomologist in the United States. In 1891, Charles W. Woodworth became Assistant Professor in Entomology at the University of California, where he established the Division of Entomology.

The Pacific Coast Assembly's Department of Entomology, instructed by Woodworth, was described in the program of 1898 as follows: *Entomology: Prof. C. W. Woodworth, of the University of California, long connected with this department, will also conduct the work of this season. The course will consist of the practical study of the methods of collecting, mounting and preserving insects, and in the classification of insects into orders and families. Each one taking the*

*course will be expected to make a collection of insects and classify them. Those already having collections will find it advantageous to bring them to work upon.*⁷⁷

Jacques Loeb, a German-born American physiologist and biologist joined the faculty of the University of Chicago in 1892, upon accepting the position of Assistant Professor of Physiology and Experimental Biology. During his time at the University of Chicago, Loeb advanced to an Associate Professor in 1895, and Professor of Physiology in 1899. In 1902, Jacques Loeb was recruited to fill a similar chair at the University of California, Berkeley.⁷⁸ As Loeb had found his previous visit in 1899 to the Hopkins Seaside Laboratory in Pacific Grove scientifically rewarding, and determining the water quality of San Francisco Bay unsatisfactory to support his research, a rudimentary lab was quickly established for his use along the shores of Monterey. This small lab, being a gift to the University of California's Department of Physiology by Dr. Morris Herzstein, was established specifically for Loeb and the furthering of his research.⁷⁹ Positioned just east of the Chinese fishing village, where is today the main entrance to the Monterey Bay Aquarium, was located the Herzstein Laboratory, a plain, one-story wooden building where Loeb would spend a significant amount of time from 1903 through 1910, while professor at the University of California.⁸⁰ For the Pacific Coast Assembly of 1903, Jacques Loeb contributed a lecture related to the recent results of his remarkable scientific experiments with sea urchin eggs.⁸¹

Literary Instruction

Those professors from the University of California, Berkeley that contributed to the literary instruction offered at the Pacific Coast Assembly included Bernard Moses, Thomas Rutherford Bacon and President Benjamin Ide Wheeler.

Bernard Moses, UC Berkeley's first historian and the founder of Berkeley's Political Science Department, contributed to the Assemblies of 1881, 1884 and 1888. In 1876, Bernard Moses, who had received Bachelors of Philosophy from the University of Michigan (1870) and a Doctors of Philosophy from the University of Heidelberg

(1873), took the position of Professor of History and Political Science at the University of California.⁸² During the Pacific Coast Assembly of 1884, Professor Moses presented three historical lectures that discussed the period of Roman history during which Christianity became the religion of the empire.⁸³

Thomas Rutherford Bacon, Professor of European History at the University of California addressed the audience during the Chautauqua Assembly of 1893.⁸⁴ Thomas Rutherford Bacon was Congregational clergyman who graduated from Yale Divinity School in 1877. From 1887 through 1890, Thomas R. Bacon served as the Minister of the First Congregational Church in Berkeley. In 1888, he became an instructor in the history department at the University of California, and from 1890 to 1895 was a professor in European history. In 1895, he was promoted to full professor in Modern European History, a position he held until his death in 1913.⁸⁵

Professor Benjamin Ide Wheeler, then president of the University of California, Berkeley addressed the Assembly of 1900.⁸⁶ Professor Wheeler, a friend of Theodore Roosevelt, would accompany the President and John Muir to Yosemite Valley and the Mariposa Groves in 1903. Some ten years later, on May 14, 1913, Benjamin Ide Wheeler, on behalf of the University of California, awarded John Muir with the honorary degree of Doctorate of Law.

LELAND STANFORD JUNIOR UNIVERSITY



Original Stanford Memorial Church, 1903

Davey, Frank (1906) "Memorial Church Before" In *Frank Davey's Photographic Souvenir: Leland Stanford Jr. University, Palo Alto, California, Before and After the Earthquake of April 18, 1906*. Melvin, Hillis & Black. San Jose, California.

Leland Stanford, Governor and Senator of California and leading railroad tycoon, and his wife Jane Lathrop Stanford founded the Leland Stanford Junior University in honor of their son, Leland Stanford, Jr., who died of typhoid two months before his sixteenth birthday. After planning and building for six years, Stanford University opened its doors on October 1, 1891, with 15 faculty members and a student body that consisted of 555 men and women, with David Starr Jordan, former student of Louis Agassiz, standing as its first president.⁸⁷

In the spring of 1891, David Starr Jordan was recruited by the former California Senator, Leland Stanford, to be the first president of a newly formed co-educational and non-denominational institution.⁸⁸ Having just arrived in Menlo Park for his position as President of Stanford University in June 1891, David Starr Jordan traveled to Pacific Grove the following month to participate in the twelfth annual Pacific Coast Assembly of the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle. For the Assembly of 1891, Jordan told the story of his climbing the Matterhorn and spoke to the Assembly's School of Methods on the subject of pedagogy.

A *San Francisco Call* (1891) newspaper article relaying the ongoing activities of the Chautauqua Assembly describes Matterhorn lecture as follows: *This afternoon President Jordan of Stanford University arrived, and this evening he delivered a lecture before a large audience, his subject being "The Ascent of the Matterhorn," giving a graphic description of his experience. It was the first time he has addressed a public gathering in California, and it was a feature of the assembly. President Jordan is a great lover of nature, and for years has spent the summers in investigations of the mountains in this country and abroad.*⁹⁰ Jordan departed Pacific Grove and his participation in the Chautauqua Assembly deeply impressed by the educational opportunities available to the participants as well as the favorable setting of the Monterey Bay for marine studies.⁹¹

David Starr Jordan returned many times in the position of noted speaker appearing at the Pacific Coast Assemblies of 1893, 1894, 1895, 1897 and 1898. During the Assembly of 1892, Jordan entertained the crowd with a lecture titled "*The Passion Play at*

Oberammergau” complete with stereopticon illustrations.⁹² For the Assembly of 1895, Jordan addressed the crowd with a lecture titled “*Altruism and Altruria*” *The San Francisco Call* commented about this talk by David Starr Jordan as follows: *In many instances Professor Jordan aroused the enthusiasm of his large audience to such a pitch that it gave vent to its feelings with hearty applause. The lecture was sprinkled here and there with wit as well as wisdom, which was expressed in that dry way with which the speaker is so gifted.*⁹³

A few days prior to his participating in the Pacific Coast Assembly of 1892, David Starr Jordan had the occasion on June 27, 1892, to oversee the opening ceremony of Stanford University’s Hopkins Seaside Laboratory of Natural History in Pacific Grove, California. Financial support for the marine biological laboratory came from the city of Pacific Grove, the Pacific Improvement Company, and generous contributions from Timothy Hopkins, the adopted son of Mrs. Mark Hopkins. With Timothy Hopkins being a partner in the Pacific Improvement Company, through his influence, the holding company increased the acreage of land offered and provided the property as a gift as opposed to a lease.⁹⁴ The chosen location for the seaside laboratory was the small treeless plateau named Point Aulon, located just three short blocks from Chautauqua Hall. The plateau itself had been recently coined the name “Lovers’ Point” in the romantic novel titled *Kate Thurston's Chautauqua Circles* (c1891), written by Mary HB Field, then secretary of the Pacific Coast Branch of the CLSC.⁹⁵ There exists the strong probability that it was due to the popularity of this book amongst Chautauquans, and the local community of Pacific Grove, that the plateau permanently adopted as a place of reference, the knick-name “Lovers’ Point.”



Summer class of 1892 standing in front of the Hopkins Seaside Laboratory, Stanford University, Pacific Grove, California.

Photograph Courtesy of Stanford University Archives.

The Hopkins Seaside Laboratory, while carried on under the auspices of the University, was by no means to be regarded as simply a provision for members of the institution. The organization of the facility provided for three classes of participants, the undergraduate and graduate students of Stanford University, scientific investigators, and the schoolteachers and students of the Pacific Slope.⁹⁶ As such, the Hopkins Seaside Laboratory and Stanford faculty, within the three days after its opening ceremony, were available to support the instruction of students of the Chautauqua program attending the thirteenth Pacific Coast Assembly, which began on June 30, 1892.

For many years, the professors of Stanford University's Department of Zoology and Department of Physiology, who taught the summer sessions offered at Hopkins Seaside Laboratory, contributed as instructors to Chautauquans attending the Pacific Coast Assembly. Counted among these instructors of marine science were Dr. Charles Henry Gilbert, Dr. Oliver P. Jenkins, Dr. Harold Heath, and a Stanford graduate student named Newton Cleveland.

Natural History Instruction

Dr. Charles Henry Gilbert and Dr. Oliver P. Jenkins, two faculty members who had received Ph. D.'s under David Starr Jordan's direction during his time at the University of Indiana, were chosen to serve as the directors of Hopkins Seaside Laboratory. Professor CH Gilbert, whose efforts were primarily directed toward ichthyology research, contributed to the Assembly of 1892, while OP Jenkins contributed to the Assemblies of 1892, 1893 and 1898. Incidentally, in his position at Stanford University, one of Professor OP Jenkins primary efforts was directed toward the advancement of nature study into the curriculum of the California school system. During the 1890s, Jenkins worked with more than one hundred Oakland area grammar schoolteachers in a program directed at nature study.⁹⁷ Oliver P. Jenkins furthered his efforts with the help of Stanford entomologist, Vernon Kellogg, as the two professors co-instructed courses of nature study at the Stanford University from 1899 through 1906.⁹⁸

Harold Heath graduated from Ohio Wesleyan University of Delaware Ohio in 1893. The following year he joined Stanford University's Department of Zoology as an instructor. Practically his entire scientific career was spent at either Hopkins Marine Station in Pacific Grove or Stanford University's main campus in Palo Alto. Heath was instructor in the summer course the Hopkins Seaside Laboratory from 1895 to 1900.⁹⁹ Harold Heath is identified as having contributed to the Pacific Coast Assemblies of 1894, 1895 and 1898. During this period, Harold Heath was enrolled in the graduate studies program at the University of Pennsylvania, being awarded a Ph.D. in 1898.¹⁰⁰ Within a *San Francisco Call* (1895) newspaper article describing the ongoing activities of

the Chautauqua gatherings is the mention that Professor Harold Heath will be conducting a course in Zoology for participants of the Pacific Coast Assembly: *A course in zoology under the direction of Professor Heath of Stanford University, to consist of a course of lectures on the structure, habits and physiology of typical forms of the marine animals which abound along the coast of Pacific Grove.*¹⁰¹

Newton Cleveland, a graduate student of Stanford University's Physiology Department, conducted the course in zoology offered to the participants of the Pacific Coast Assembly of 1897. Within a newspaper article published in *The San Francisco Call* (1897) titled "*Chautauquans At Pacific Grove*" is a description of the activities to be associated with this course: *The class in zoology, under Newton Cleveland of Stanford University, spent its period for study to-day in collecting specimens from the rocks and water near by, which will be used as material for investigation. This class will be allowed the use of apparatus and space in the Hopkins Seaside laboratory, and upon occasions the instruction in this, as well as in marine botany, will be given by the laboratory instructors.*¹⁰²

OTHER DISTINGUISHED TEACHERS

Some of the most eminent educators on this coast, as well as younger teachers, contributed Lectures and Essays to the Assembly.¹⁰³

Over the years, other distinguished pioneers of natural history traveled to Pacific Grove and lent their support as speakers and instructors of the Pacific Coast Assembly. The following paragraphs recognize a number of these instructors who contributed their expertise to the teaching the natural sciences at the Chautauqua Assembly, and a best attempt is made to identify the years in which they participated. These notable instructors who contributed to the Assembly include John Gill Lemmon and his wife, Sarah Allen Lemmon, Charles Christopher Parry, Volney Rattan, Jennie H. Hughes, John Dickinson, Reverend John Knox McLean and Reverend Israel Edson Dwinell.

JOHN GILL LEMMON AND SARAH ALLEN PLUMMER LEMMON

John Gill Lemmon, born January 2, 1832, in Lima, Michigan, was a graduate of the Michigan State Normal School. In 1862, while attending the University of Michigan, the civil war began, and Lemmon enlisted in the Union army. Serving as a Private in Company E of the 4th Michigan Cavalry, John G. Lemmon fought in 36 engagements that took place within the States of Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky and Tennessee. In August 1864, he was taken prisoner and sent to Andersonville prison where he stayed until his release in 1865.¹⁰⁴ Upon his release from Confederate prison, John Gill Lemmon relocated to California, where he became interested in botany and began a successful career during which he discovered hundreds of previously unknown plants. As a botanical explorer, collector and writer Lemmon made a specialty of forestry, which resulted in his appointment as the botanist of the California State Board of Forestry in 1887, a position he held until 1892.¹⁰⁵

His wife, Sara Allen Plummer, a native of Maine, was for a number of years, an artist and teacher in New York City. In 1869, she came to California and settled in Santa Barbara. It was there, in 1876, that Sarah Plummer met and later married the self-taught botanist John Gill Lemmon. During the time Professor Lemmon served as botanist of the California State Board of Forestry, Sarah Lemmon served as artist. Among the many who contributed to John and Sarah Lemmon's efforts associated with the California State Board of Forestry was their friend John Muir, and fellow contributors of the Pacific Coast Assembly, Dr. CL Anderson, Dr. CC Parry, Mrs. Jennie Hughes, and Mrs. Mary H. Field. A result of the couple's early botanizing efforts is that both the Lemmon and Plummer surnames are used in the scientific names of many Arizona plants discovered by this husband and wife team.¹⁰⁶

Sara Allen Plummer was a writer of more than ordinary ability, having published *The Ferns of the Pacific Slope* (1882), *Marine Algae of the West*, (1886), and *Some Hints Upon Forestry for the California Federation of Women's Clubs* (1900).¹⁰⁷ Within the combined publication, authored by the husband and wife, titled *How to tell the trees and Forest Endowment of Pacific Slope, by John Gill Lemmon ... and also some elements of forestry with suggestions by Mrs. Lemmon* (1902), Sarah Plummer Lemmon penned the following paragraph: *America's lesson in economics should be that it is far better to save forests, especially at the headwaters, far up on the mountains, on middle slopes, and lower levels; to judiciously regulate the removal wherever necessary, than for the government at length to set about the task of reforesting. Where our government has, in times past, sold and almost given away thousands of acres of forest lands, it should condemn and repurchase, and what she still holds she should zealously guard as a sacred trust for her future well-being.*¹⁰⁸

Beyond these published works, Sara Allen Plummer Lemmon was author of the bill for the adoption of the golden poppy as the California State emblem.¹⁰⁹ In addition, Mrs. Lemmon served for three years (1900-1903) as a chairperson of the committee on forestry for the California Federation of Women's Clubs, and was an active member of the Women's Christian Temperance Union and Woman's Suffrage League.

John Gill Lemmon and his wife, Sara Allen Plummer Lemmon are identified as having contributed to the Pacific Coast Assemblies of 1881, 1886, 1888 and 1889. During the Assembly of 1888, Professor John G. Lemmon presented a talk titled "*California Grasses*" and Sara Allen Lemmon presented a talk titled, "*A Botanical Study: Consider the Lilies*" and a paper on ethnology titled, "*The Indians of the Colorado River.*"¹¹⁰ This ethnology talk by Sara Allen Lemmon was briefly described by the *Evening Post* as follows: *It was comprehensive, and gracefully delivered in a conversational manner. She resumed the subject at the Round Table in the afternoon, and the large number present betokened the interest.*¹¹¹ During the Assembly of 1889, Professor John G. Lemmon presented a talk titled "*The Pines of California*" and Sara Allen Lemmon presented again, her talk titled, "*A Botanical Study: Consider the Lilies.*"¹¹²

DR. CHARLES CHRISTOPHER PARRY

Dr. Charles Christopher Parry, a native of Gloucestershire, England, was a British-American botanist and mountaineer who received his botanical training under George Engelmann, Asa Gray and John Torrey; today considered the three leaders of mid-19th century U.S. botanical studies. Dr. CC Parry contributed to the Pacific Coast Assemblies of 1883, 1887 and 1889. For the Assembly of 1883, Parry's lecture was titled "*The Early Botanical Explorers of California*"¹¹³ and for the Assembly of 1887, his lectures were titled "*What a Botanist Saw in Europe*" and "*Manzanita's of California.*"¹¹⁴ Included among Dr. Parry's good friends were John and Sarah Lemmon, Volney Rattan and John Muir. During the summer of 1888, his friend of John Muir accompanied Charles Christopher Parry on a week-long camping trip to Lake Tahoe.¹¹⁵

VOLNEY RATTAN

Volney Rattan, one of the most prominent and best-known educators of California, was a scientist, naturalist, a close friend to John Muir, John Swett and Joaquin Miller.¹¹⁶ A native of Wisconsin, Rattan was educated in public schools and the State University of Wisconsin. Arriving in California in 1862, he first taught country schools in California for five years; Oakland Military Academy for three years; Principal of Santa Cruz schools, one and a half years; Teacher of natural science in Girls' High School, San Francisco, fourteen years and instructor of botany at the California State Normal School at San Jose for many years, beginning in 1899.¹¹⁷ While at the California State Normal School, Volney Rattan lent his voice to support the preservation of redwoods of Big Basin.^{118, 119}

Rattan was author of *A Popular California Flora* published in 1879, a book that was used for instruction in Mary EB Norton's General Botany class and available for purchase at the Retreat campground. Volney Rattan also authored the book, *West Coast Botany: an analytical key to the flora of the Pacific Coast* published in 1882. Volney Rattan helped with the instruction of botany at the Pacific Coast Assemblies of 1882 and 1902.

MRS. JENNIE N. HUGHES

Mrs. Jennie N. Hughes of Auburn, California, was a graduate of the Massachusetts State Normal School and former teacher of the Grammar Schools of Cambridge, Massachusetts. While in Massachusetts, Jennie Hughes became deeply interested in Botany and for four years studied under the instruction of the world-famed Professor Asa Gray, in his scientific classes at Harvard College, and participated in laboratory work at the Botanical Gardens at Cambridge.¹²⁰ Mrs. Jennie N. Hughes was a speaker and instructor at the Pacific Coast Assemblies of 1885, 1886, 1888 and 1889. During the Assembly of 1888, Jennie Hughes presented a lecture titled "*Foothill Vegetation.*"¹²¹ and the Assembly of 1889 a lecture titled "*A Botanical Study: Nothing But Leaves.*"¹²² Mrs. Jennie N. Hughes served as instructor of botany and history at the California State Normal School at San Jose beginning in 1889.

JOHN DICKINSON

For the teaching of natural science and geology, another notable instructor who contributed to the Pacific Coast Assembly was John Dickinson, who came to California as a teenager in 1860. Dickinson became a member of the Santa Clara Valley Methodist Community where he served as a minister for four years and instructed for two years at Santa Clara College. He traveled east and received a Masters of Science from the Sheffield Scientific School of Yale University. John Dickinson held the position of Professor of Natural Science and Mathematics at the University of Southern California, Los Angeles from 1886 - 1889 and later became one of the first faculty members of Throop Polytechnic Institute in Pasadena, California.¹²³

John Dickinson participated in the Pacific Coast Assembly of 1891, presenting several lectures that were described in the *San Francisco Call* article titled *Mother Earth* and reads as follows: *The lecture yesterday, at 3 o'clock, was given by Professor John Dickinson of Los Angeles; lately professor of natural science in the University of Southern California, and was entitled "A Hurried Glance at Mother Earth." The lecture was an attempt to crowd into the compass of an hour an accurate and comprehensive statement of what is known of this old earth - the common mother of us all - her dimensions, her figure, her motions, age, internal condition, external features, history and the varied activities of wind and wave and vegetable and animal life that play upon her surface. While the speaker thus presented the conclusions on the above subjects, which scientific men hold, he gave a clear and interesting statement of the methods and processes by which these conclusions have been arrived at. The lecture, while popular in style, was strictly in harmony with the best authorities of the time and did not sacrifice popularity to accuracy. It was listened to with great interest and attention, and will be followed by one on Friday afternoon on "The Geology of the Stars." Professor Dickinson is conducting daily a series of "Geological Walks and Talks," which are greatly enjoyed by the class of about twenty students. He sustains the reputation with which he comes from the south, of an unusually clear, interesting and successful teacher in the field of natural science.*¹²⁴

DR. JOHN KNOX MCLEAN, D. D.

Reverend John Knox McLean (March 31, 1834 - February 16, 1914) served as pastor of the First Congregational Church in Oakland, California for twenty-three years (1872 - 1895). Under his exceptional leadership, the congregation became one of the leading church organizations in California. McLean's years of service with the First Congregational Church in Oakland were followed by his serving as President of Pacific Theological Seminary for seventeen years (1894 - 1910).¹²⁵

Reverend John Knox McLean connections to various components of this story, which have been identified to date, are many, and include the following: In the spring of 1878, Rev. JK McLean and others, representing an association known as the Sunday School Union, presented an application to the California State Commissioners of the Yosemite Grant for permission to erect in the Yosemite Valley a chapel, to be used for nondenominational purposes.¹²⁶ The end result of this application was the construction of the Yosemite Chapel during the Sunday School Assembly of 1879, which served as part of the Pacific Institute Excursion, chaired by John Heyl Vincent.

During the Pacific Theological Seminary Conference of 1916, held in Yosemite Valley, Professor John Wright Buckham presented a paper titled "*Dr. McLean - Nature Lover*" which included the following mention of Reverend JK McLean and the Yosemite Chapel: *But this Valley Wonderful was far more than a playground to him. It was a place to worship. He it was if I am not misinformed who was mainly responsible for the erection of the modest little mountain chapel which so fittingly calls the soul to lift its eyes to the eternal mountains of which those noble heights are but symbols whence cometh help. It was his plan that the Sunday School children of the State should erect the chapel and he himself did much in raising the funds for it...*¹²⁷

Beyond his efforts related to construction of the Yosemite Chapel, it was Reverend John Knox McLean who wrote to John Muir, in a letter dated March 14, 1879, inquiring if he might consider presenting several talks during a Sunday School Assembly to be held in Yosemite Valley.¹²⁸

In relation to the Pacific Coast Branch of the CSLC, in July of 1884, Rev. J. K. McLean spoke to participants of the fifth annual Chautauqua Assembly in Pacific Grove of his perilous descent into one of the craters of Mauna Loa volcano.¹²⁹ In July of 1887, Reverend John Knox McLean shared his love for nature and the high mountain country in a talk he presented during the Chautauqua Assembly in Pacific Grove titled "*Up and Down Mt. Blanc,*" a peak that represents the highest mountain in the Alps, which JK McLean had summited the previous year.¹³⁰

In June of 1892, the Reverend's reverence for the natural environment was expressed through his participation in the Sierra Club, as the name, John Knox McLean, stood among the 64 charter members on the day the organization was founded. Within a memorial for JK McLean, written by William Frederick Badè, is mention of the Reverend's deep appreciation for the wilderness regions of Shasta and the Sierra's:

*On the fifth of November [1892] in the same year he [John Knox McLean] read a paper on "The Upper Sacramento in October" before a numerous gathering of Club members in the old Academy of Sciences Building. This paper was published in the second Bulletin issued by the Club. It was he who was chiefly instrumental in calling public attention to the wonderful scenic features of the Shasta region, and the Upper McCloud River. But he also did much camping and climbing in the High Sierra and accompanied the Club on two of its annual Outings.*¹³¹

At least three times, Reverend John K. McLean hiked to the summit of Mount Shasta.¹³² On the occasion of one particular summit, Rev. McLean placed a bible in the iron box that held the register book of signatures of those individuals who had climbed the mountain.¹³³

Lastly, it is of interest to note that on May 14, 1913, Commencement Day at the University of California, Berkeley, Rev. John Knox McLean stood along John Muir and John Swett to be presented with an honorary Doctorate of Law degree (L. L. D.).¹³⁴

DR. ISRAEL EDSON DWINELL, D.D.

Born at East Calais, Vermont on October 24, 1820, to Christian parents of the "old Puritan stamp,"¹³⁶ Reverend Dr. IE Dwinell graduated from the State University of Vermont in 1843, and from the Union Theological Seminary of New York City in 1848. He was ordained as associate pastor of South Church, Salem, Massachusetts, in 1849, and remained in that pastorate until he came to Sacramento California, in the early spring of 1863. There he remained as pastor of the First Congregational Church for the next twenty years.¹³⁶

During his time in Sacramento, Dr. IE Dwinell helped establish and organize both the local Literary Institute and an Agassiz Institute. The Sacramento Literary Institute, established in July of 1868 with IE Dwinell as president, was designed to promote literary culture by means of presenting annually a course of five lectures, with the basement of First Congregational Church serving as the venue.¹³⁷ As pastor at the First Congregational Church and President of the Sacramento Literary Institute, Dr. IE Dwinell attended the lectures and often introduced each evening presenter. Through the years, the Literary Institute hosted many prominent lecturers, including Professor Louis Agassiz of Harvard University, who, in the fall of 1872, was visiting San Francisco with the Hassler oceanographic expedition. During this visit to the Northern Bay Area, Agassiz first delivered a lecture before the California Academy of Sciences in San Francisco on September 25, 1872, followed by a lecture to the Sacramento Literary Institute on October 4, 1872.

In November 1872, shortly after Louis Agassiz's lecture, the Agassiz Institute of Sacramento was formed, with Dr. Thomas M. Logan serving as president and Dr. IE Dwinell serving as vice president.¹³⁸ Efforts were immediately directed toward organizing and displaying a collection of minerals and objects of nature.¹³⁹ As of 1890, the valuable collection of curiosities, natural history items, and miner-

als that had been gathered together by the Agassiz Institute, were in the possession of the California Museum Association, and on display in the E. B. Crocker Art Gallery of Sacramento.¹⁴⁰

Other prominent speakers who lectured from the podium of the Sacramento Literary Institute, during the course of its existence, included faculty from the University of California at Berkeley, (the President and Professor Daniel C. Gilman, Professor Joseph Le Conte, Professor George Davidson, each of whom were members of the California Academy of Science), Professor HB Norton of the California State Normal School at San Jose, Dr. JH Wythe of the Cooper Medical School of San Francisco, the renowned English astronomer Professor Richard A. Proctor, and the young naturalist John Muir.

It was through the course of several lectures presented by John Muir at the Sacramento Literary Institute, that he and Reverend Dwinell became friends. At Muir's invitation, Reverend Dr. IE Dwinell had the pleasure of officiating the marriage of the eminent naturalist to Louie Strentzel, on April 14, 1880. Three months later, Reverend Dr. Dwinell of Sacramento provided the keynote address at the first Pacific Coast Assembly of the CLSC with his talk "*Skepticism as a Judgment for the Rejection of Truth*."¹⁴² Dwinell would return to Pacific Grove and participate in the next three consecutive Pacific Coast Assemblies (1881-1883). After leaving the First Congregational Church of Sacramento in 1883, Dr. IE Dwinell went on to serve, at the request of Cyrus and Susan Mills, as the second president of the Board of Trustees at Mills College of Oakland.¹⁴³

With that bit of history on the interesting connections of Reverend Dwinell to both Louis Agassiz and John Muir, and several other prominent scientists, we are now led to a review of John Muir and his connections to the Chautauqua Assembly in Pacific Grove, California. The question often arises whether John Muir was among the distinguished professors who contributed to the Pacific Coast Assembly, as his name appears in the program announcing the Assembly of 1880. Beyond the question of his participating in a Chautauqua Assembly, a review of

John Muir's early lectures, and his friendships with many of the contributing instructors of the Pacific Coast Assembly provides new insight and broadens our understanding of Muir himself.



THE EARLY LECTURES BY JOHN MUIR

In terms of public lectures by John Muir, there were not all that many, apparently the result of his discomfort in front of large audiences. As described by Lucy M. Washburn of the California State Normal School at San Jose, in an article she wrote for the *San Jose Mercury Herald* (1914): *Once or twice from the normal school platform the school heard his vivid story, but John Muir was as hard to trap as a lecturer as one of his wild deer; he had an aversion, never overcome, to speaking to a large audience. It was only in some smaller classroom, with a sympathetic group of the teachers, or around President [Charles Herman] Allen's fireside, with a child on his knee, or in the never-to-be-forgotten rides to Mt. Hamilton that the story of his mountain life came forth freely.*¹

The following chronological list of the early lectures by John Muir allows one to further recognize his friendships with, not only Reverend IE Dwinell, but a number of the faculty of the California State Normal School at San Jose. It is of interest to note that Muir's early public presentations are limited to two congregational churches, one temperance hall and one academic institution of the San Francisco Bay area, a Sunday School Assembly in Yosemite Valley. In addition to these early lectures based in California, John Muir delivered several lectures in Portland, Oregon and one lecture in Vancouver, Washington.

As previously mentioned, one location where Muir presented several lectures was the Sacramento Literary Institute, founded by Reverend IE Dwinell. In fact, it was at the Literary Institute on Tuesday, January 25, 1876, that a nervous John Muir presented his first public lecture titled "*The Glaciers of California.*" A description of Muir's first lecture was penned for the *Sacramento Daily Union* and reads as follows: *The fifth lecture of the Literary Institute course was delivered at the Congregational Church last evening by John Muir. To our surprise, we found a large audience present despite the inclement weather and the bad condition of footways.*

Those who came out were more than repaid for the trouble of attending - they reaped, indeed, a rich reward - hearing one of California's best geologists and most adventurous of scientific explorers of the high Sierra ranges. Mr. Muir is an ardent devotee of geological science, and comes fresh from six summers' wanderings and studies in the higher ranges of the Sierra Nevada mountains with a portfolio titled with valuable notes, a cabinet of proof curiosities and a perfectly clear and invincibly established theory of the formation of the wonder valleys of California, the growth of climate and the degradation of our mountain ranges. He is a young man of Scotch birth, bearing the accent strongly on his tongue, wedded to his favorite science, and possessed of remarkably simple but conclusive reasoning powers. The lecture was his first attempt, although he has shown brilliantly in magazines here and at the East, upon his favorite subjects, his last being an illustrated contribution to Harper on the subject of California's ancient and present glaciers. He said he ventured upon the lecture with trepidation, he had never lectured, was not gifted in delivery, and was not certain that he should not utterly fail. Such an introduction fell dismally upon the audience; but the moment he entered upon his subject all doubt of his success vanished. He forgot himself and his audience, only remembering that he was to make clear some wondrous-mysteries, and to unfold to those who listened the story of the six years he has spent in the mountains, reading their lives and tracing alike their growth and destruction. His positiveness was so simple, fresh and artless that it scarcely needed the proof with which he fortified every position. His manner was so easy and so social, his style so severely plain and so homely his language and logic as often to provoke a smile, while the judgment gave hearty approval to the points he made. Indeed, Mr. Muir was at one the most, unartistic and refreshing, the most unconventional and positive lecturer we have yet had in Sacramento. He was profoundly entertaining, and showed convincingly that while a devotee of science, he was no mere enthusiast; while plain and unartificial, that yet he found beauty, grandeur, God, in all nature, and was at once a student, a thinker, and a practical searcher in the archives of the rocks, whose labors will bring forth benefits to his adopted State. He illustrated his lecture with diagrams on blackboards, and by Keith's superb painting of the headwaters of the Merced river, which he pronounced as topographically correct as it is beautiful and artistic.

He defined a glacier - a current of ice derived from snow, flowing down mountain sides exactly as streams descend to the valleys. He sketched the growth of glaciers from the birth of the vapor of the sea, to its congealing on the mountain tops, its descent in fleecy clouds, the fall of the avalanche, the pressure

in the canyons, the melting and freezing and impacting, until solid glacial ice is formed, hard as cast iron, hundreds of feet in depth, miles in extent, and yet flowing downward as surely as a river moves to its mouth, but so slowly as to be unnoticed except after accurate measurement.

He was the discoverer of the existing glaciers of California, and these he sketched, they being 65 in number. He described their location, peculiarities and movement. One, the largest, he had under observation 47 days, and by stakes placed in lines marked its progress, and found it moved 46 inches in that time. That was the slowest ride he ever had, but by way of contrast, he told how he was once shot through space upon the nose of an avalanche at the rate of a mile a minute, and declared the old-fashioned flight on angel's wings could be nothing compared to this ride upon the verge of a Mount Whitney avalanche. He took up the question of ancient glaciers in the Sierras, marked out their paths, aligned the lateral moraines which marked the glacial current, produced the evidences of the grinding forces of the glaciers which one day covered the Sierras from the highest points to the valleys of the rivers like a vast sheet, dilated upon the glacial pavements of the Merced mountains, and finally entered upon an elaborate but perfectly clear description of the formation of the Yosemite and similar valleys, showing them to be the direct result of glacial action, and not, as has been alleged, due to cataclysmal effects. This branch of the lecture was deeply interesting, and though intricate, was made so plain that scarce the dullest intelligence could fail to comprehend it. An hour and a half having elapsed he closed, but the audience demanding that he should continue, he said he would "talk" a little about the degradation of the mountains, which he proceeded to do in a manner at once profound and beautiful. His sketch of glacial action, and the comparison of the wearing down of the mountains by the great agencies of God - who is molding the earth daily to greater beauty - to the work of the skilled mechanic, who cuts and carves and fashions and finishes, rose to the poetical in its figurative purity.

At the close of the lecture large numbers of citizens seized the occasion to go forward and congratulate Mr. Muir, and thank him heartily for the pleasure and instruction he had given them.²



First Congregational Church of Sacramento. Photograph courtesy of the
First Congregational Church of Sacramento, California.

Beyond this first presentation at the Sacramento Literary Institute, the remaining early lectures by John Muir extend over a six-year period (1876 - 1881) and are outlined in chronological order as follows:

On Friday, February 25, 1876, John Muir presented a lecture on “Mountain Building” at the California State Normal School at San Jose. As described in the *San Jose Patriot*: *The lecturer, by numerous diagrams, illustrated the structure and progress of glaciers, especially those which eroded the Yosemite Valley.*³

On Tuesday, March 28, 1876, John Muir presented a lecture to the public at the First Congregational Church of Oakland, where John Knox McLean served as Pastor. A brief description of this lecture was published in the *Daily Alta California* and reads as follows: *The first of the popular course of lectures, under the auspices of the Oakland Library Association, was delivered last evening, by John Muir, Esq., at the First Congregational Church. The subject was “The Glaciers of California,” of which the highly interesting lecturer said there are sixty-five in active life, the most beautiful, a group of five, being on Mount Ritter. The audience was large and well pleased.*⁴

John Muir briefly mentions his lectures at the California State Normal School in San Jose and the First Congregational Church in Oakland in a letter to his sister, Sarah, grumbling of his discontent for an upcoming lecture tour to support his first book.

To Sarah Muir Galloway

1419 Taylor St., San Francisco April 17th, 1876

My first book is taking shape now, and is mostly written, but still far from complete. I hope to see it in print, rubbed, and scrubbed, and elaborated, some time next year.

Among the unlooked-for burdens fate is loading upon my toil-doomed shoulders, is this literature and lecture tour. I suppose I will be called upon for two more addresses in San Francisco ere I make my annual hegira to the woods. A few weeks ago I lectured at San Jose and Oakland.

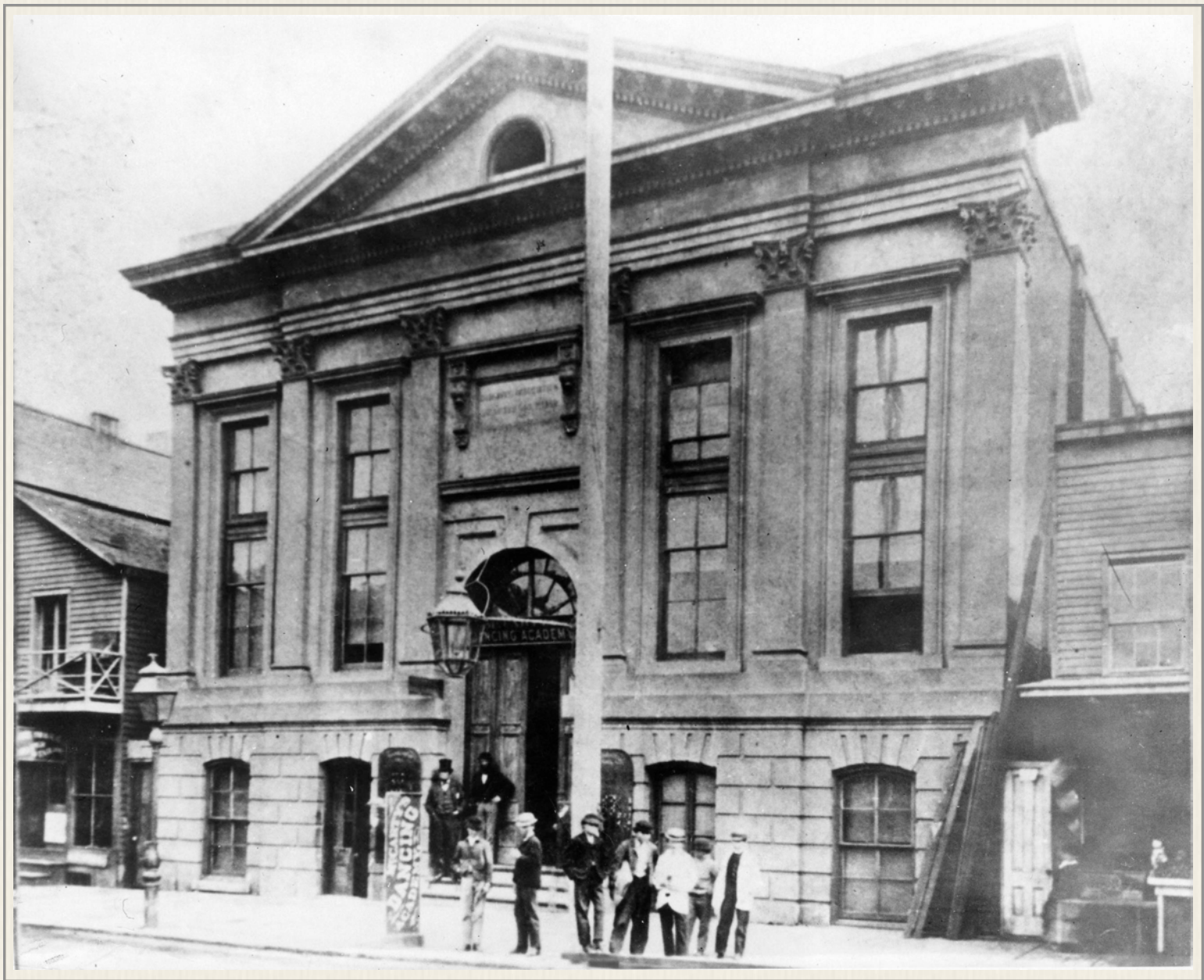
Letter from John Muir to Sarah Muir Galloway, 1876 Apr 17.⁵



First Congregational Church of Oakland (Circa 1870).

Positioned on the northeast corner of Washington and Tenth streets. Photograph courtesy of the First Congregational Church of Oakland.

On Monday, May 15, 1876, John Muir presented to the public at the Dashaway Temperance Hall in San Francisco, California. A brief description of this lecture was published in the *Daily Alta California* and reads as follows: *The Glaciers of California - John Muir delivered a lecture on the Glaciers of California last evening at Dashaway Hall, beginning with a description of a glacier as a river of ice which is fed every Winter by snow, and slowly moves down the mountain side till it melts. There was a time when the western slope of the Sierra Nevada was covered by a vast sheet of ice, one immense glacier, and as the quantity of snow decreased, or the climate became warmer, the ridges of rock came through, dividing the original one large glacier into a multitude of small ones, each confined to a canon. There are now fifty - five glaciers in California, most of them small. One in Shasta has its lower end at an elevation of 9500 feet above the sea, but most of them do not come lower than 11,000 feet, and the average speed of their movements probably does not exceed a mile in three hundred years, though in Switzerland some move at the rate of a mile in fifteen years. That country has 1100 glaciers with an average area of a square mile each. Here the average area, as well as the number, is considerably less. The glaciers carrying large boulders, which, under the pressure of immense weight grind deep into the rocks over which they pass, have done much to give shape to the mountains, and canons, the domes, cliffs and chasms of the Sierras The lecture was received with much favor by the audience.*⁶



Dashaway Hall on Post Street in San Francisco, California. (circa 1867). Photograph courtesy of the San Jose State University Library Special Collections and Archives.

The Dashaway Hall, was constructed by Dashaway Temperance Society of San Francisco in the 1860s, and served for many years as lyceum, musical hall, theater, ballroom and the local meeting space for the city's temperance and women's suffrage movement.⁷

During the summer of 1877, John Muir presented a lecture on the "*Method of Study*" to the faculty of the California State Normal School. In a letter Muir wrote to Jeanne C. Carr, on Sep 3, 1877, he briefly mentions this visit: *I made an excursion to the summit of Mt Hamilton in extraordinary style accompanied by Allen, Norton, Braly &, all the lady*

*professors & their friends... Spent a week at San Jose, enjoyed my visit with Allen very much. Lectured to the faculty on Methods of study without undergoing any very great scare.*⁸

On Tuesday, January 14, 1879, John Muir returned to the First Congregational Church of Sacramento, presenting a lecture for the Sacramento Literary Institute titled "*The Great Basin - Its Glaciers, Lakes, Valleys and Mountain Ranges.*"⁹ An extended description of this lecture was printed in the *Sacramento Daily Union*, a portion of which reads as follows: *John Muir, the distinguished geologist and naturalist who has been termed the Thoreau of the Sierra, lectured before the Sacramento Literary Institute at the Congregational Church last evening, on "The Great Basin."* He was received by a large and very superior audience. He spoke for nearly two hours and kept the close attention of his audience throughout. Mr. Muir is not a lecturer; he is a simple unskilled talker, a man who lites in the free air of the mountains, and whose highest ambition is to delve into the wondrous mysteries of nature. He talks to his audience simply, as if speaking to a small circle of friends. Graced by the arts of oratory his lectures would be wonderful productions. He said his subject was too great for one evening's talk; he could, therefore, only sketch its outlines, skim over the surface of what should form a whole course of lectures. Mr. Muir said that he made his maiden speech in Sacramento two years ago, and was so kindly received that in returning he felt like coming among old friends. He had brothers and sisters in number, in society and in business, and so he thought it didn't make much difference if he for one wandered off to commune with the mountains and the forests. About fifteen years ago he went to take a walk in the woods, and he had been in the woods ever since. Perhaps some day he might come out and mingle with men, but just now his loves and friends were all with mountains and the trees, the birds and the fishes, the rocks and streams of this beautiful Pacific coast. The great basin is bounded on the one side by the Wasatch and on the other by the Sierra Nevada mountains, and is some 500 miles in width. On the blackboard he exhibited a cross section of the basin...¹⁰

In a letter to his close friend Annie Kennedy Bidwell on May 3, 1879, John Muir mentions a bit of hesitation for his upcoming lectures to the Sunday School Assembly in Yosemite Valley that was scheduled for June 7-15, 1879.

920 Valencia St. San Francisco, May 3 1879.

Dear Mrs Bidwell.

Your bonnie telling bunch of bloom is here, & how gladly I would seek the fields where it came you must know, But alack!! work, work, work, holds me here... The Sunday School people from the east want me to lecture for them; but this is a business that I know little about. Am hard at work with my pen..., I am cordially yrs, John Muir

Letter from John Muir to [Annie Kennedy] Bidwell, 1879 May 3.¹¹

In the second week of June 1879, Muir presented four lectures to the Sunday School Assembly in Yosemite Valley, this congregation being part of the Pacific Coast Excursion, led under the direction of Reverend John Heyl Vincent. Over the course of three days, June 9 - June 11, 1879, Muir treated the Assembly participants to lectures of the following titles: “*The Geological Records of Yosemite*,” “*Mountain Sculpture*,” “*Big Trees*” and “*Sequoia*.”¹² A brief description of his lecture “*The Geological Records of Yosemite*” was printed in the Los Angeles Herald and reads as follows: *John Muir took the platform at 11 o'clock and fortified with a background of diagrams, proceeded to unfold the geological records of the Yosemite Valley glaciers. He said he made the Yosemite glacier one hundred tons to the square foot, enough to crush to any depth, dissenting from the Whitney theory of local subsidence. He humorously inquired where the little granite plug went to that fell out. There are five well defined Yosemites among the Sierra, all plowed out by glaciers, of which he has found sixty-five between thirty-six and thirty-seven degrees. He inspired the crowded house with such enthusiasm that more than a hundred climbed the trail to the Upper Yosemite Falls with the lecturer.*¹³

Just a few days after the Sunday School Assembly in Yosemite Valley had ended, Muir wrote to John and Annie Bidwell, updating them of his activities, while at the same time, expressing his unending anxiety toward his lecturing to an audience.

920 Valencia St. San Francisco, June 19th 1879.

Dear friends, Mrs & Mr Bidwell.

Goodbye, I am going home. Going to the mountains, to the ice & forests & flowers. I have just returned from Yosemite Valley where I enjoyed a delicious bath in fresh beauty notwithstanding the uneasy scare I had to suffer in being compelled to lecture... Tomorrow I sail on the Dakota to the ice of the Upper Coast. First to Victoria & about the Sound thence inland here & there to learn what I may: Will probably visit Alaska ere I return in the fall... Goodbye with very cordial regards John Muir.

Letter from John Muir to [Mr. & Mrs. John] Bidwell, 1879 Jun 19.¹⁴

In January of 1880, as he was returning to California after six months in Alaska, Muir visited Dr. Lindley, Pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Portland, who he had known in Fort Wrangell the previous summer. During his visit Reverend Dr. Lindley persuaded John Muir to present a series of public lectures describing his exploration of Alaska.¹⁵ In the letter to his wife, Louie Strentzel, John Muir writes of his discontent of being cornered into the business of lecturing.

Portland, January 6th, 1880.

Dear Louie, I have allowed myself to be entangled in a snarl of lectures while trying to keep free, & make haste to home. I had promised to call on Dr. Lindley, & wanted to gain one small look at the canon of the Columbia for a hundred miles above here, & then away to Martinez. But no sooner had I landed there I was pounced upon & kuffed into the lecture business. The science association, Young Mens Christian Assoc. & some college or other at Forest Grove. All want lectures, I'm fairly in for the two first, but hope to escape the last. Will go to the Dalles tomorrow. First speech on Monday next. Will be back on the Elder which leaves this port about the 15th I think. I wrote you from Sitka. Had a stormy time all the way down from Port Townsend. I have a big lot of snowy sketches & snowy facts for you — sermons in stone & sermons in ice, & ice in everything.

Letter from [John Muir] to Louie [Strentzel], 1880 Jan 6.¹⁶

A final result of Muir keeping his promise to visit Dr. Lindley were four lectures presented during the month of January 1880 in the Northwest States of Oregon and Washington.

On Monday, January 12, 1880, John Muir presented a lecture titled “*The Glacier of Alaska and California*” at Turn Halle in Portland Oregon.¹⁷

On Saturday, January 17, 1880, John Muir presented a lecture titled “*Earth Sculpture: The Formation of Glaciers in the Development of Mines*” at Turn Halle in Portland Oregon.¹⁸

On Thursday, January 22, 1880, John Muir presented a lecture titled “*The Glacier of Alaska*” at Oak Grove Theater, Vancouver, Washington.¹⁹ An extended description of this lecture was penned by General Oliver O. Howard for the Oregonian, a small excerpt of which reads as follows: *The lecture on glaciers and glacial action was of exceeding interest holding the attention of the audience without interruption of upwards of two hours...He showed incidentally that Switzerland, where Agassiz and Forbes and others studied, the grand forces of a glacial to be far inferior to our own dreaded Alaska, Switzerland has 1100 glaciers – Alaska nearly ten thousand.*²⁰

On Friday, January 23, 1880, John Muir presented a lecture titled “*Alaska, It's Mines and Resources*” at Handel and Haydn Hall in Portland Oregon.²¹

A month following his lectures in Portland, Oregon and Vancouver, Washington, on Tuesday, February 24, 1880, John Muir returned a third time to the Congregational Church in Sacramento, California to present a lecture for the Literary Institute titled “*Alaska; its Glaciers, Forests, Gold Fields, etc.*” A lengthy description of the talk was printed in the *Sacramento Daily Union*, a portion of which reads as follows: *There was a fair attendance, and the attention paid evinced a desire on the part of his hearers to know something of that country. The speaker adopted the conversational tone, and his narration was straightforward and unstudied,*

*the pictures of what he had seen seeming to have been vividly impressed upon his mind. The speaker adopted the conversational tone, and his narration was straightforward and unstudied, the pictures of what he had seen seeming to have been vividly impressed upon his mind.*²²

On Thursday, December 30, 1880, John Muir presented to the California Teachers Association in San Francisco's Dashaway Hall, a lecture titled "*Alaska and its Glaciers.*" The following mention of the gathering was printed in the Report of the Commissioner of Education, Educational Convention, California State Association (1880): *In June 1875, a State Teachers Association was formed at San Jose. This body continues to hold annual sessions, the one for 1880, which met December 28-30 at San Francisco, being unusually successful. The attendance, while not particularly large included many representative teachers. The president, Professor Norton, addressed the audience on "Joints in our armor;" Rev. C.C. Stratton, of the University of the Pacific, lectured on "Christian higher education" pleading for moral, as well as intellectual culture...and a lecture was given by Mr. John Muir on Alaska and its glaciers.*²³

Among the members of the California Teachers Association, listed as having been present at the session of 1880, were the following familiar names: CH Allen, CW Childs, Josiah Keep, George W. Minns, HB Norton, Mary EB Norton, Reverend CC Stratton, John Swett, Miss MJ Titus, Lucy M. Washburn and Miss Helen Wright.²⁴

On Tuesday, January 18, 1881, John Muir returned a fourth time to Reverend Dr. IE Dwinell's Sacramento Literary Institute to present a lecture titled "*The Resources of Alaska.*" A description of the presentation was penned for the *Sacramento Daily Union* and reads as follows: *There was a good audience, and the lecture, which was replete with interest throughout, was listened to with most marked attention. The mountains, streams and general features of the Territory were described with a familiarity and clearness which indicated a close study and intimate*

*knowledge of the subject, and which, with the aid of maps and diagrams, was brought to the view of his hearers in a very pleasing and instructive manner.*²⁵

These public lectures provided John Muir with an opportunity to present to an audience who accepted the idea, similar to his and numerous other naturalists of the nineteenth century, that the natural world was to be interpreted as the handiwork of God's divine glory placed upon the earth. As previously suggested, this idea was not a new idea, as the Puritan preacher, philosopher, and theologian Jonathan Edwards, had understood the natural world as an expression of the God's masterful creation, and who during his life, ventured into the wilderness to worship in the solitude of nature.

Whether it be a presentation at the First Congregational Church of Sacramento, the First Congregational Church of Oakland, the Hall of the Dashaway Temperance Society in San Francisco, the California State Normal School at San Jose, or the Sunday School Convention in Yosemite Valley, each of these audiences were primarily the congregates of one Anglo-Protestant denomination or another, who celebrated a mythos set in motion long ago by the Puritans of the New England colonies.

As such, the audience that listened to John Muir's earliest lectures was one whose idea of the natural world mirrored closely that of the participants attending the annual Pacific Coast Assembly of the CLSC in Pacific Grove, California; an idea that nature, particularly here in America, was to be recognized as a magnificent reflection of God's creation, and science as the reasoned interpretation of God's grand design. This idea that the natural world was sculptured as part of God's creative expression was one that both Louis Agassiz and John Muir embraced throughout their lives.²⁶

Like his friends Joseph Le Conte and Asa Gray, for John Muir the acceptance of Charles Darwin's theory of evolution was not a denial of the existence of God. Muir's view toward evolution, captured in his own words, incorporates the idea that a Creator's handiwork was somehow associated with the process: *Somewhere, before evolution was,*

was an Intelligence that laid out the plan, and evolution is the process, not the origin, of the harmony. You may call that Intelligence what you please: I cannot see why so many people object to call it God.²⁷



87- Camp- at Pacific Grove- Cal.

Campground with tent, buckboard and wagon. Two men, one of them being John Muir, and two women in front of tent at the Pacific Grove Methodist Retreat, June 18, 1900. The above image is one of several that capture a journey made by John Muir and friends to Yosemite and Pacific Grove in 1900. Photograph courtesy of California State Library, Sacramento, California.

CONNECTIONS TO JOHN MUIR

The influence of Louis Agassiz arrived to California much earlier than with the observational, inquiry based, “hands-on” method of teaching natural sciences used by the instructors of the Pacific Coast Assembly of the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle. One such arrival was through John Muir, who had become an avid proponent of Agassiz position on glaciation. Muir’s transcripts from the University of Wisconsin show he studied geology with Professor Ezra Slocum Carr, who was familiar with the methods of study of Louis Agassiz. For Ezra Carr’s course in geology, classes were conducted outdoors, allowing students to observe the terrain and develop the observational and deductive reasoning skills necessary to properly interpret the geological processes associated with the lands formation.²⁸ Applying the glacial theory hypothesized by Louis Agassiz, and the deductive reasoning skills he learned from Ezra Carr, John Muir proposed that glaciers were instrumental in carving out Yosemite Valley.²⁹

In a letter to Mrs. Ezra S. [Jeannie] Carr, John Muir made reference to the method of study he used to understand the process of glaciation as it occurred in the high Sierra's.

I can do much of this ice work in the quiet, and the whole I subject is purely physical, so that I can get but little from books. All depends upon the goodness of one's eyes. No scientific book in the world can tell me how this Yosemite granite is put together, or how it has been taken down. Patient observation and constant brooding above the rocks, lying upon them for years as the ice did, is the way to arrive at the truths which are graven so lavishly upon them.

Letter from John Muir to Mrs. [Jeanne C.] Carr, 1871 Sep or Oct.³⁰

Professor Joseph Le Conte, the distinguished geologist positioned at the University of California, Berkeley, who had studied under Agassiz at Harvard, was one of the first

men with the scientific understanding to acknowledge the accuracy of Muir's theoretical observations.

Joseph Le Conte first befriended the famed naturalist as he and a team of eight students traveled to Yosemite in July of 1870 to study glaciers, inadvertently meeting Muir during the first days of the trip in Yosemite Valley. With a small amount of persuasion, Muir was persuaded to join the group for the remaining ten days of the expedition.³¹ According to Joseph Le Conte's journal, during the expedition, the two men had extensive discussions regarding the geology and the process of glaciation in relation to Yosemite.³²

In August of 1872, Louis and Mrs. Agassiz visited San Francisco with the Hassler oceanographic expedition. During his stay, Agassiz received a letter from John Muir, to which Mrs. Agassiz kindly wrote a reply. Muir himself, in his letter to Robert Underwood Johnson, described the context of this exchange of communication between the two men:

Yosemite was my home when Agassiz was in San Francisco, I never saw him. When he was there I wrote him a long icy letter telling what glorious things I had to show him urging him to come to the mountains. The reply to this letter was written by Mrs. Agassiz in which she told me that when Agassiz read my letter he said excitedly "Here is the first man I have ever found who has any adequate conception of glacial action."

[Letter from John Muir to [Robert Underwood] Johnson, 1895 May 3.]³³

Joseph Le Conte, during his former professor's visit to San Francisco in August of 1872, conversed with Louis Agassiz. At one point Le Conte mentioned John Muir as knowing "more about the glaciation of the Sierra than anyone else" to which Agassiz responded emphatically, with his hand slapping the table, "He knows all about it."³⁴

The connections of John Muir to the Pacific Coast Assembly, and the nature study movement that was afoot in California, is further recognized through Muir's friendships with a number of contributors to the Assembly. Among the names of instructors and naturalist who contributed to the Pacific Coast Assembly of the CLSC, and who were friends with John Muir, were a number of the faculty of the California State Normal School including CH Allen, HB Norton, Mary EB Norton, CW Childs, Volney Rattan, Lucy M. Washburn and Helen S. Wright. Beyond these instructors of the California State Normal School, John Muir was friends with Charles Christopher Parry, John G. Lemmon, his wife, Sara Allen Lemmon, William C. Bartlett, William Emerson Ritter, Cornelius B. Bradley, Joseph Le Conte and David Starr Jordan. As well, Cornelius B. Bradley, Joseph Le Conte and David Starr Jordan worked with John Muir and others, namely University of California Professor Henry Senger, Mills College trustee and attorney Warren Olney, and the California landscape painter, William Keith, to establish the Sierra Club in May 1892.³⁵

From the start, one finds a number of faculty members from Mills College, the University of California and Stanford University, either serving as board members or charter members of the Sierra Club. Listed among the sixty-four charter members of the Sierra Club, at the date of the adoption of the By Laws in 1892 were Mrs. CT Mills and Josiah Keep of Mills College; Professors CB Bradley, E. L. Green, Joseph Le Conte, John Gill Lemmon, RH Loughridge, JH Senger and E. C. Van Dyke of the University of California; Professors MB Anderson, John C. Branner, James O. Griffin, David Starr Jordan, Charles D. Marx, Fernando Sanford of Stanford University and Stanford Trustee Timothy Hopkins for whom Hopkins Seaside Laboratory was named.³⁶ As well, among those listed as witnesses to the signing of the Sierra Clubs' articles of incorporation, on June 4, 1892, is Professor Josiah Keep, longtime instructor of conchology at the Pacific Coast Assembly.³⁷ For many years after the founding of the Sierra Club much of the strength and initiative of the organization came from the faculty and student bodies of both the UC Berkeley and Stanford.³⁸

Pressing further to recognize these connections with John Muir to those instructors who contributed to the Pacific Coast Assembly leads one to find the article “*The Grand Circuit of the Yosemite National Park*” written by Sierra Club member Lucy M. Washburn and published in the Sierra Club Bulletin, Volume 7, 1909.³⁹

THE MUIR CLAN IN PACIFIC GROVE

In February 1891, Margaret Muir Reid, John Muir's elder sister, and her husband John Reid, relocated to the Muir-Strentzel properties of the Alhambra Valley in Martinez, California. John Reid quickly assumed many of the duties associated with managing Martinez ranch properties, thereby relieving John Muir of a bit of this arduous burden. During the summer of 1893, several letters from his daughters Helen and Wanda, and wife Louisa Strentzel, sent to Muir during his visit Europe to study the glaciers of Norway and Switzerland, make reference to Pacific Grove. The letters from his daughters mention the family considering a vacation to the seaside community with aunt Margaret Muir Reid in the coming weeks. A letter from Muir's wife, a few days later, explains that the family's plan to visit Pacific Grove were cancelled after a conversation with friends, who had just returned from seaside retreat, found the conditions excessively cool and foggy. Beyond these letters of correspondence, referencing the seaside community, it is of interest to note that John Muir's younger brother David Muir, and older sister Sarah Muir Galloway, became the residents of, and spent their final years, in Pacific Grove.



Mayflower Congregational Church at the corner of Central Avenue and
14th Street in Pacific Grove, California.

Photograph courtesy of Pacific Grove Natural
History Museum.

DAVID MUIR

In 1892, David Muir and his wife Juliaette, moved from Portage, Wisconsin to Martinez, California to assist in the management of the Muir-Strentzel properties.⁴⁰ With John Reid and David Muir's handling the day-to-day operations of the Martinez Valley properties, John Muir was released from his time consumed by managing of the ranch. The lessening burden of the ranch responsibilities enabled John Muir to start the Sierra Club, lead hiking trips in the Sierra's, and, through his writings, advocate for the preservation of wilderness.⁴¹ During their time in the Alhambra Valley, David Muir and his wife attended services at the Congregational Church in Martinez, California. In fact, when the First Congregational Church of Martinez filed the Articles of Incorporation with the state of California on March 2, 1904, David Muir was among the names listed.⁴²

In 1905, David Muir, at age sixty-five, having grown tired of the labor intensive ranch work, sold his ranch in Martinez, and he and his wife moved to Pacific Grove, buying two lots next to the home of his sister, Sarah Muir Galloway. John Muir, in a letter to his daughters Helen and Wanda, provides a brief mention of his brother's purchasing of the property: *David has bought 2 lots in Pacific Grove though he complained he was broke when settling with me begged a few hundreds for sweet charity's sake. A queer poor Deacon, also cunning.*

Letter from John Muir to [Helen & Wanda Muir], 1906 Jan 3.⁴³

In a letter from Sarah Muir Galloway to her sister Emma Muir, she mentions the following: *David has built his new house just a few steps from ours. They are much better in health since coming to the grove, and enjoy living here.*

Letter from Sarah Muir Galloway to Emma Muir, 1906 Dec 21.⁴⁴

In Pacific Grove, David Muir served as a deacon of the Mayflower Congregational Church, where he attended meetings, participated in the choir, and was a man whose Christian morality influenced numerous men of his church and the community.⁴⁵ After a short illness, at the age of seventy-six, David Muir passed away in his home in Pacific Grove in 1916.

A brief mention of David Muir in the Church News Notes section of the weekly publication, *The Pacific: Representative Of The Congregational Churches Of The Pacific Coast of 1916* reads as follows: *The brother was more famous; but the churches in Pacific Grove and Martinez, as well as some in Wisconsin, know that for the fine integrity and Christian grace and royal keeping of the faith, David Muir was surpassed by few.*⁴⁶

SARAH MUIR GALLOWAY

Shortly after the death of their mother, Ann Gilrye Muir, in 1896, Sarah Muir Galloway moved to Martinez, California to be close to her younger brothers John and David Muir, and other family members who had already relocated to California. Her move to Pacific Grove was precipitated by Sarah's oldest daughter Anna, who had been living in Oregon with her husband Hiram Eastman, where upon Hiram's death in 1904, Anna relocated to the small coastal community on the southern end of Monterey Bay.⁴⁷ Several months later, Sarah joined her daughter to help care for Anna's two children, Marjorie and Kenneth Eastman. Sarah Muir Galloway, who lived to the age of ninety-six, passing away in 1936 in her home in Pacific Grove, held the closest and longest memories of her famous brother.⁴⁸ Her advice and help were solicited by a number of Muir biographers including William Frederick Badè who penned the following tribute to Sarah in the copy of his book given to her: *To Sarah Muir Galloway whose sisterly sympathy was a noble part of the greatness of John Muir and who will live in his fame beside him for generations to come.*⁴⁹

Sarah Muir Galloway, and her daughter Anna Eastman, lived on 9th Street in Pacific Grove, with her brother David Muir's residence located just a few doors up the street. As such, both homes were located less than a block from the ocean and easy walking distance to the Pacific Grove Museum, Chautauqua Hall, the Mayflower Congregational Church and the center of town.



THE HUMANITIES

The Managers of the Chautauqua Assembly are re-doubling their efforts to make their classes and lectures popular and pleasing. The blending of the intellectual with the entertaining, the moral with the inspiring, and all brightened with the genial comradery of an organized society, combine to make a Chautauqua Assembly a unique and brilliant affair.¹

The aim of the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle program, that John Heyl Vincent had established, was to promote a practice of reading of secular and religious literature, the arts and sciences, in association with one's routine of daily life.² The recurring four-year reading plan - followed by the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circles - encompassed four broad themes of liberal studies that included the Classical, Continental European, English, and American civilizations.³ In coordination with the Chautauqua Circles reading plan, the two week program of the Pacific Coast Assembly, beyond the instruction of natural history, offered daily lectures and courses of instruction, directed toward the humanities. The subject matter of these lectures and courses of instruction included the Ancient Languages (Greek and Latin) Literature and History; Sanscrit Language and Literature; the New Languages (French and German) Literature and History; Anglo-Saxon Language, Literature and History; English Literature and History; American Literature and History; and Biblical History.

Lectures pertaining to literary subjects presented to audiences during the first decade of the Chautauqua gatherings in Pacific Grove, as outlined in the Pacific Coast Assembly programs, provided the audience with an introduction to following prominent figures: the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, Oliver Cromwell (1880), the English scholar and leading figure in Protestant reform, William Tydell (1880), the English Romantic poet, Edmund Spenser (1883), English scholastic philoso-

pher, theologian, and university teacher at Oxford in England, John Wycliffe (1885), the American Romantic poet, critic, editor, and diplomat, James Russell Lowell (1886 and 1888), the English Romantic poet and playwright, Robert Browning (1888), and the English Romantic poet, William Wordsworth (1889).

THE ROMANTICS

Antecedent to the Chautauqua movement, the Romantic period, itself, was an intellectual, literary and artistic movement that originated in Europe in response to philosophies put forth during the late 18th century. The philosophies the European Romantics embraced were the ideas put forth by theorist and philosopher Jean Jacques Rousseau of France, who suggested incorporating the study of nature in a child's education, and advocated a return to nature as a response to the complexities of modern life. His ideas of the freedom of the individual and the importance of openly expressing ones feelings and emotions proved to be widely influential. Rousseau's philosophies helped to inspire the literature and arts movement in Germany, the Evangelical Revival of Christianity in Britain - advanced by the Anglican preacher George Whitefield, and the Methodist movement - begun by Anglican cleric and Christian theologian John Wesley. It was, in turn, this spirited emotionalism associated with the Evangelical Revival of Christianity and Wesleyan Methodism that found expression in the form of individualism, passion, and feeling, among the European Romantic philosophers, poets and artists.⁴

The enthusiasm and imaginative energy inspired by the European Romantic Movement reached the U.S. in the early 19th century, with the crowning moment of creativity in America's Romantic Period springing forth between 1830 and 1860; a period of time that coincided with the Protestant religious revival movement known as the Second Great Awakening. Accompanying this period of American Romanticism was an urge toward social reform, the celebration of individualism, and a growing concern of the impact of industrialization on society and the individual. As with its European

counterpart, the creative expression of the American Romantics embraced a reverence for nature and emphasized the expression of emotions, imagination and individual freedom. This expression would find its voice amongst the American transcendentalists, William Cullen Bryant, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Walt Whitman, and many others. In 19th century America, with literature being the primary cultural outlet, the poetry of these transcendentalists was embraced as the most important and respected literary form of the time.⁵

During the annual two-week gathering of the Pacific Coast Assembly, readings, lectures and courses of instruction celebrating the works the Romantics served to support an idealized education in the humanities and the arts. Whether it be lectures discussing the writings of the European Romantics - William Shakespeare, Lord Alfred Tennyson, Robert Browning, William Wordsworth and John Milton; or the American Romantics - William Cullen Bryant, Robert Browning, Ralph Waldo Emerson, James Russell Lowell, Henry David Thoreau and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, the works of the Romantics were an important literary component of the summer assembly of the CSLC. The reading of the works of the Romantics during the Pacific Coast Assembly permeated the campgrounds of the Pacific Grove Methodist Retreat, and served to advance the ideals associated with establishing a reverence for nature.

One such reading includes a Memorial Day gathering, during the Assembly of 1882, which was described in *The Chautauquan* and reads as follows: *We had two Round-Table gatherings, with mutual interchange of ideas and experiences, and a pleasant Memorial Day devoted to Longfellow, Emerson, and Darwin. Mrs. Field, of San Jose, spoke briefly but feelingly of Longfellow, reciting some of his own beautiful poems as his most fitting eulogy. Mrs. McKee, of San Jose, responded to the name of Emerson with eloquent words of appreciation and personal reminiscence. Dr. Sprecher, of Oakland, warmly defended Darwin, insisting that he was not a theorist, but a patient investigator, not an atheist, but a Christian, and urging his claims to just and generous regard.*⁶

Other readings that celebrated the literature of the American transcendentalists, during the summer gatherings of the Pacific Coast Assembly of the CLSC held at Pacific Grove's Methodist Camp Retreat include the following:

EDWARD BERWICK

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL

During the Assembly of 1886, a lecture was presented by early Carmel Valley pioneer Edward Berwick, titled "*James Russell Lowell.*" Several months later, this talk was published in full in *Pacific Rural Press*. The following are several excerpts of Mr. Berwick's extended lecture: *I can give you no more concise epitome of the career of J. R. Lowell than that furnished by your motto, "For God and Home and Native Land." Prouder record than that of the Roman Caesar, whose "Veni, vidi, vici," represented the victory of brute force and personal ambition; always necessarily accompanied by a correlative of cruel suffering and personal degradation. Lowell's three-score years and ten spent for God and Home and Country represent the triumph of spirituality and self-sacrifice, and justify the universal record of that highest title in earth's hierarchy—the title of poet-patriot. A nobility that implies, not the vassaldom and degradation of others, but their co-exaltation; the truly Christian nobility, not of being ministered unto, but of ministering.... I regard Jas. R. Lowell as their equal and something more. The rising generation will find in him the American Shakespeare, Burns, Milton, Butler and Hood. To him belong the human insight of Shakespeare, Burns' sympathy with the poor, the pathos and humor of Hood, the causticity of Butler, and the sublimity of Milton...⁷*

Edward Berwick's life-long pursuit for a learned education was portrayed in the book "*Monterey County: The Dramatic Story of Its Past: Monterey Bay, Big Sur, Carmel, Salinas Valley*" with the following mention: *The tall, blue-eyed Mr. Berwick also developed quite a local reputation as a scholar. He was seldom seen without a book of philosophy or poetry, and he was often observed stopping at the end of a long furrow to sit down and read.*⁸

WILLIAM CHAUNCEY BARTLETT
*THOREAU IN BOOKS AND IN THE WOODS &
SOME CONDITIONS OF INTELLECTUAL LIFE*

A lecture presented by William Chauncey Bartlett during the Assembly of 1887 titled “*Thoreau in Books and in the Woods.*” As contributor to popular periodicals of the day, Bartlett had previously published a seven-page article of this title in the second volume of *The Californian*.⁹ The following year, during the Assembly of 1888, WC Bartlett presented a lecture titled “*Some Conditions of Intellectual Life.*”¹⁰ A portion of this talk, delivered to the Starr King Fraternity of Oakland on December 7, 1888 was penned for the *Oakland Tribune* reads as follows: *He commenced by saying that Matthew Arnold recently made the criticism on American civilization that it lacked cultivation of the beautiful. That is an incident of all new States. The great artists and poets, the singers and savers come when the commonwealth is ripe for them. There must first be the cultivation of the esthetic sense a love of all beautiful forms, colors, tones, and sounds all the sweetness, breath, and harmony that is in this great panorama which the divine unrolls in nature... The great English critic was not won by the landscape that he saw in the Atlantic States, and there were no castles and ancient cathedrals to inspire reverence and elevate the soul. But the things which speak to the soul in this land are grander and more inspiring than any castles or cathedrals which have been builded by men's hands. They are the mountains eternally clad in purple and white... There are the blue seas, which break and sigh and sing along a thousand miles of shore. There are the giant forests, older than any cathedral, waving their plumes on tree tops and singing their hymns for a thousand years...*¹¹

WC Bartlett came to California in 1860, entered the ministry, and ordained into the Congregational church. He occupied pulpits in Nevada City, Grass Valley and Santa Cruz, California. Bartlett later served as managing editor of the *Overland Monthly* at the dawn of its popularity. In August of 1898, the forestry department of the United States government asked WC Bartlett to accept the appointment of the office of Forest Supervisor of the Southern Sierra Forest Reservation. A little over a year later, Bartlett

published in the *Overland Monthly* an article titled “*A Year in Forest Reservations*” in which he presented strong evidence of the destructive consequences of allowing the herding of sheep in the Sierra Mountains and of the critical need for California to implement forestry management practices based on science.¹² In relation to the matter of sheep grazing in the Sierra Mountains, a letter written from his position at the Department of the Interior, General Land Office, Washington, D.C., on January 7, 1899, William C. Bartlett shared his concerns with John Muir:

My Dear Mr. Muir - I am moved to write to you about a matter which seems to me of great public importance. I came here last August - with a commission as Federal Forest Supervisor of the Southern Sierra Reservation (4000,000 acres or more). Last season 200,000 sheep invaded the reservation by virtue of a temporary concession made by the Secretary of the Interior. I need not relate to you the damage and desolation which these sheep have wrought? You know all about such results from personal observation...

Letter from William C. Bartlett to John Muir, 1899 Jan 7.¹³

It was also during this period in time that WC Bartlett contributed to the book, *Picturesque California and the Region West of the Rocky Mountains, from Alaska to Mexico (1888-1890)*, with the writing of chapter seven titled: *About the Bay in San Francisco*.¹⁴

DR. CHARLES L. ANDERSON

THE AIR OF CONCORD

A few years following WC Bartlett's talk on Thoreau was a lecture presented by Dr. CL Anderson to the Assembly of 1889 titled "*The Air of Concord.*"¹⁵ At the time, "The Air of Concord" was a common reference to the American transcendentalists, as Concord, Massachusetts was the home of Amos Bronson Alcott, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau and Nathaniel Hawthorne. What may have been some of the context of Charles L. Anderson's titled talk is suggested within his lecture delivered during the Assembly of the Pacific Grove Retreat California 1883, titled "*The Sea As An Aquarium*"

It has been a favorite theory with Henry D. Thoreau and John Burroughs, those genial and poetical lovers and observers of nature, that we need not rove all over the earth, as is the custom of many, to see this curiosity or that, or to observe nature in her secret recesses, but that we only have to sit down in the woods or by the sea-shore and everything of interest will come round to us. The little town of Concord was a whole world in miniature to Thoreau. Everything worth finding could be found there. And so to John Burroughs, is the juniper forest of the Hudson, a showcase, with the whole world inside. "Nature," he says, "comes home to one most when he is at home says; the stranger and traveler finds her a stranger and a traveler also.

*I think we may infer from this theory of our charming philosophers rather a poetical interpretation. They would urge a careful observation and study of phenomena in and near the places where we live, rather than gadding up and down the earth in search of novelties. If we familiarize ourselves with every day common objects and events of plants, animals, and other operations in nature, we shall then always be at home when nature calls, whether on one side or the other of the world...*¹⁶

Beyond being familiar with the writings of the transcendentalist poets, Dr. CL Anderson, was a personal friend to Henry David Thoreau. An early resident of St. Anthony Falls of Minnesota, before coming west to California, Dr. Anderson had spent a summer month, in 1861, guiding Henry David Thoreau and naturalist Horace Mann Jr. about Lake Harriet in Minneapolis and St. Anthony Falls.¹⁷ The circumstances surrounding Thoreau's visit to Minnesota is described in the book, *Westward I Go Free: Tracing Thoreau's Last Journey*, as follows: *In the spring of 1861, Henry Thoreau was in poor health. He had been suffering from a severe cold since winter but by May it had developed into bronchitis. Then it became a case of acute tuberculosis. Doctors feared for Thoreau's life and it was decided that a change of climate was needed if Thoreau was to have any chance for a full recovery. Because Thoreau had never been that far west, and he decided that Minnesota's climate would be good for him. Besides, the trip would also give Thoreau an opportunity to study the flora, fauna and Indians of the rapidly vanishing frontier. Thoreau and Mann would stay in the Twin City area for nearly a month, exploring not only the prairie and forests of the mid-west but also its libraries. In Minneapolis, Thoreau met the State Geologist, Dr. Charles L. Anderson, and they spent many hours together.*¹⁸

This month spent with Henry David Thoreau and Horace Mann Jr., among the lakes and libraries of Minneapolis, was spoken of numerous times by Dr. CL Anderson, during his many summers in Pacific Grove, contributing to the Pacific Coast Assembly.^{19, 20} Anderson's reminiscence of his time spent with Thoreau was so well known that a newspaper article in the *San Francisco Bulletin* referred to Dr. CL Anderson as - "*our gentle seaside Thoreau.*"²¹

PROFESSOR LYSANDER WILLIAM CUSHMAN

AMERICAN ROMANTIC LITERATURE

For the Pacific Coast Assembly of 1892, Professor Lysander William Cushman, who was a graduate of Pierce Christian College (1883), Harvard University (1886), former Professor of History and Anglo-Saxon at Drake University,²² and, at the time, Principal of the Watsonville High School (1892-1896),²³ offered a course covering the first fifty years of American Romantic Literature. Emphasis during the course was directed toward the study of William Cullen Bryant, James Fenimore Cooper, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Washington Irving, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow and James Russell Lowell and other authors of the period.²⁴

MARY H. FIELD

UNDER THE PINES AT MONTEREY

With a similar element of style to the writings of the American Transcendentalists, the descriptive poetic vocabulary presented by instructors and students attending the CLSC Assembly expressed a heart-felt and sincere love and concern for nature. One such example of this writing is a contribution to the Biennial Report of the California State Board of Forestry (1885-86) titled *Under the Pines at Monterey* by Mary H. Field, then Secretary of the Pacific Coast Branch of the CLSC. An excerpt of Mrs. Field's contribution to the Biennial Report, which presents a description of the grove of trees that once welcomed those visitors who traveled to the Pacific Grove Retreat, reads as follows:

...The beauty and the inspiration of Gothic architecture lie in its close resemblance to the upspringing arches of a great forest, and are felt by every human heart. A tree with its uplifted arms and sun-crowned head seems an embodied prayer, and we can scarcely stand beneath one unsolemnized. The

trees preached better than the preachers in the camp meetings of the last century, and it is a pity our roofs so shut them out. Every primitive community has been swayed powerfully by these great outdoor meetings, and that grand pioneer church, the Methodist, has always wisely laid hold of this element of strength. Thus it came about that the early fathers of Methodism on this coast, where outdoor meetings are so smiled upon by nature, made the camp meeting a prominent feature of their work. They were not long in finding out that the south side of Monterey Bay had a rare natural adaptation for this use. Here was the wide forest; here was the solemn sea; here was the rainless sky. Like Abram of old, the preacher "pitched his tent there, and there he builded an altar unto the Lord, and called upon the name of the Lord." It has remained there ever since, and the atmosphere still has an element of consecration as perceptible as the salt breath of the sea, or the fragrance of the forest...²⁵

This veneration for nature expressed within the literature of America's transcendental poets and philosophers was not a passion limited to the Chautauquans' of the Pacific Coast Assembly, but was a view increasingly being presented from the podium of many of California's religious congregations, temperance societies and educational institutions, during the later half of the 19th century.

In addition to these societal organizations, many of the popular periodicals of the day, *The Chautauquan*, *The Californian*, *Overland Monthly*, *The Sunset* and *The Cosmopolitan*, were advancing the ideology of a reverence for nature, calling on the writing talents of numerous authors and artists, many of whom had contributed to the course of instruction at the Pacific Coast Assembly of the CLSC. Those instructors of the Pacific Coast Assembly who penned articles for these popular periodicals included William C. Bartlett, Cornelius Beech Bradley, David Starr Jordan, Joseph Le Conte, John G. Lemmon, Bernard Moses, Lucy M. Washburn and Mary H. Field.

THE DEPARTMENT OF ART

The American Romantic Movement of the nineteenth century was not limited to the eminent literary figures conveying ideas, in prose, of pantheism, transcendentalism and the sublime. Accompanying the early American writers in the pronouncement of these philosophies were many of the nation's most prominent landscape painters, including Thomas Cole, Asher Durand and George Inness, Thomas Moran and Jules Tavernier.

These American landscape artists believed their art should be true to nature by emphasizing the glory of God's creations. As such, their works depicted breathtaking views of American scenery which the artists, and the culture at large, embraced as a divine gift from God.²⁶

The public's longing to behold America's awe-inspiring beauty, sublimely rendered by the nation's most eminent landscape painters, led to D. Appleton & Company to produce the work *Picturesque America; or, The Land We Live In;: A Delineation by Pen and Pencil of the Mountains, Rivers, Lakes, Forests, Water-falls, Shores, Cañons, Valleys, Cities, and Other Picturesque Features of Our Country*. Edited by the poet, William Cullen Bryant, this large two-volume set was first published in 1872 & 1874. Within these volumes were presented superb engravings based on the works of noted landscape artists, accompanied by detailed descriptions of some of the nation's most famous scenic vistas.

In 1888, the San Francisco-based publisher James Dewing began a project to provide the most complete visual imagery of the West yet available: *Picturesque California and the Region West of the Rocky Mountains, from Alaska to Mexico*. Edited by John Muir, and author of much of the work, this printing marked the first major illustrated publication of the West with contributions primarily by landscape artists positioned along the Pacific slope.²⁷

Beyond the Yosemite Valley of the high Sierra Mountains, few regions in the state of California rival the magnificent natural beauty of the Monterey Peninsula. With the arrival of the Southern Pacific Railroad to Monterey in 1880, the coastline quickly became a magnet for landscape painters from San Francisco, and beyond, wishing to express the awe-inspiring beauty of nature in the form of art. Just how magnificent of an attraction the Monterey Peninsula became for landscape artists, and their pupils, was presented in a newspaper article that appeared in the *San Francisco Call* in August of 1901: *Everywhere, scattered along the road from Del Monte to Pacific Grove, in the fields and along the shore, one can see easels, and under the huge umbrellas, sun-bonneted and airy-gowned figures sit oblivious to all except the particular rock or tree or patch of sky that is trying to evade their brush. Teachers with classes of ten or fifteen, some of the pupils being silver-crowned matrons, sit under the shade of the cypress, busy and happy, for there is nothing like communing with nature, even though she does refuse to look like some of the water colors or pastels of the first few lessons.*²⁸

Within the first decade of its founding, the Pacific Coast Assembly of the CLSC established as part of its program, a Department of Art, whose instructors captured on canvas the awe-inspiring glory of nature that embraced the Methodist Camp Retreat and the surrounding Monterey Peninsula. The following paragraphs provide an introduction to the instructors who contributed to the Pacific Coast Assembly's Department of Art; Marge Kennedy (1889-1890), John Joseph Ivey (1891-1907), Raymond Dabb Yelland (1897) and William Adam (1909 - 1915).



Photograph of John Joseph Ivey's landscape painting class during a Chautauqua Assembly in Pacific Grove, California. Photograph courtesy of the Farrington Historical Foundation (ca 1896).

MADGE KENNEDY

The Pacific Coast Assembly of 1899 was the first summer gathering to offer a Department of Art, with Miss Madge Kennedy, an accomplished teacher from the University of the Pacific, serving as instructor. As a graduate of the Cincinnati School of Design, Madge Kennedy was an artist of exceptional ability at sketching nature. Qualified to teach modeling, etching drawing, painting and woodcarving, Miss Kennedy conducted a life class once a week, and an outdoor sketching class and freehand talks three times a week, for both the Assembly of 1889 and 1890.^{29, 30}

An article published in the *San Francisco Call*, July 9, 1890 describes Miss Madge Kennedy's course in art, including a brief outline of the weeks' activities and the number of students enrolled in her class: *The art class, of which Miss Madge Kennedy is teacher, is continuing the work of last year, being taught by means of still life and life sketches in the indoor work. Every other day is devoted to outdoor sketching. The class has between twenty-five and thirty members, of whom all but five are beginners. During the course one or two talks will be given on the subject of freehand drawing. The teacher expresses herself as surprised and gratified at the progress which the pupils have already made.*³¹

Following Marge Kennedy's two years of instruction, the Pacific Coast Assembly continued to offer a Department of Art for the next seventeen years (1891-1907) under the instruction of the traditional landscape watercolorist, John J. Ivey.

JOHN JOSEPH IVEY



John Joseph Ivey. A View of Donner Lake. Signed 'J. Ivey' (lower left).

Watercolor on Paper 22 1/2 x 35 1/2 inches.

Photograph courtesy of Bonhams Auctioneers.

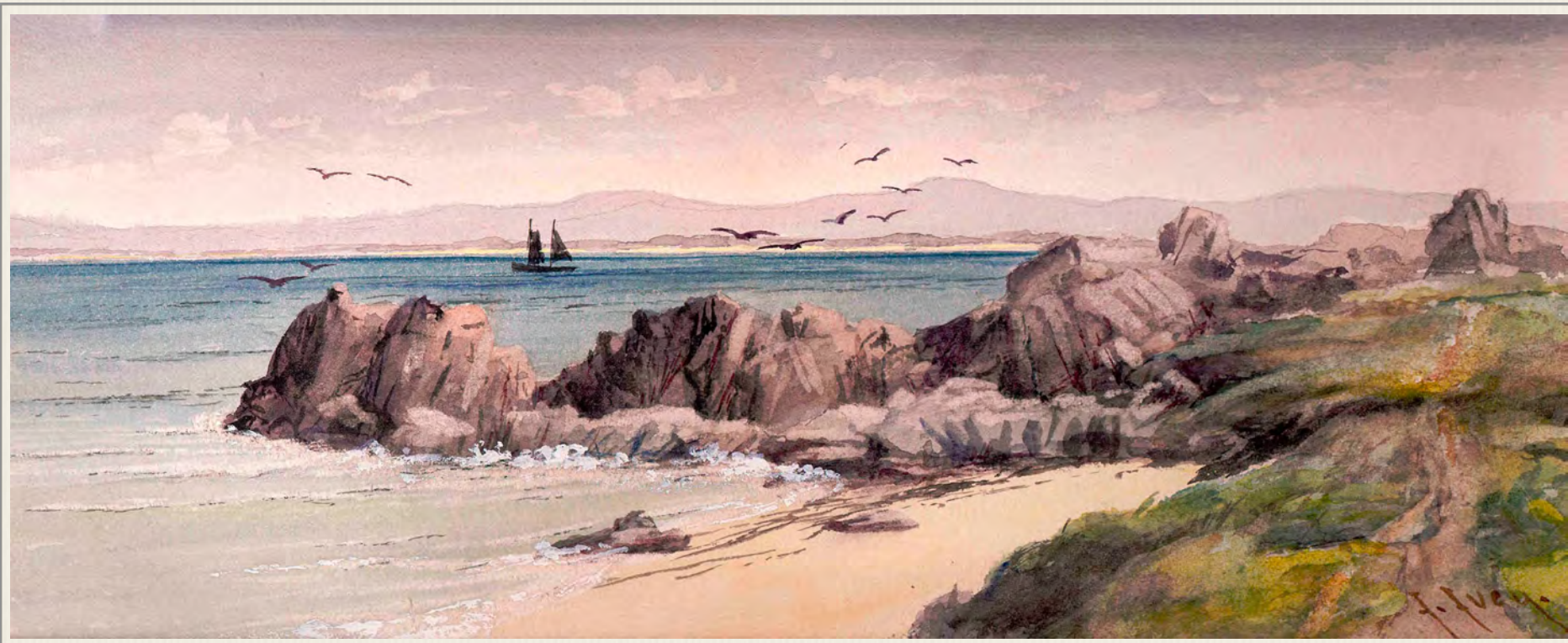
Born in England in 1842, John Joseph Ivey immigrated to Los Angeles in 1887 for a position as Professor of Art at the University of Southern California, Los Angeles.³² In terms of artistic talent, Professor Ivey's specialty was strictly watercolor landscape paintings, which, at the time, was considered as one of the most charming and highest mediums for representing nature's beautiful and delicate effects. His landscape paintings of the Golden Gate, Donner Lake, and other landmarks of California, Oregon, and Washington, were popular among collectors along the East Coast of the U. S. and England, where there was much interest for his art.³³ As a further testament to the high quality of artistic watercolors that John Ivey created, several of his paintings were se-

lected to be among the works presented in the epic publication, *Picturesque California and the Region West of the Rocky Mountains, from Alaska to Mexico (1888-1890)*, a book which was edited and partly written by John Muir.³⁴

Several newspaper articles, published during this time, provide a glimpse of John Ivey's popularity and practices at the Pacific Coast Assembly in Pacific Grove. According to the *San Francisco Call*, in the art class of 1891, under the direction of Professor Ivey, were twenty-seven students who aspired to paint beautiful scenes in watercolors.³⁵ As part of his instruction for the Chautauqua course, John Ivey often brought along a large collection of fine art works and presented them as part of his lectures and demonstrations.³⁶

A vivid description of Ivey's instruction during a Chautauqua gathering was penned for the *San Jose Herald* and reads as follows: *In the afternoon Professor John Ivey, who has delighted so many Chautauqua audiences with his walks and talks on art, spoke on "Seeing the Invisible in Nature."* *This time he seemed to captivate his audience even more than in the past. The same chaste diction and musical rhythm of his descriptions as have always been the charm of his lectures were exhibited in a marked degree in this talk. Professor Ivey's work in water-color painting is universally considered to be among the highest of the art.*³⁷

During the 1890s, John Ivey was a resident of San Francisco, where he maintained a studio at 131 Post Street. In 1901, John Ivey moved to the Monterey Peninsula at which time, according to the *San Francisco Call*, he established a studio in New Monterey: *The well-known water-colorist Mr. John Ivey has selected an odd place for his studio, no more nor less than one end of the old adobe church and here from the broad balcony which surrounds the building can be had a magnificent view of the bay and mountains beyond. Mr. Ivy has also a very pretty little home in Monterey, where he will make his permanent headquarters. This artist, who for four years occupied the chair of superintendent of art in the University of Southern California, Los Angeles, has met with unprecedented success in art circles, having sold during the month of June no less than twenty-two pictures, selected from the best in his portfolio.*³⁸



John Joseph Ivey. Seascape of Monterey Bay.

Signed 'J. Ivey.' (lower right).

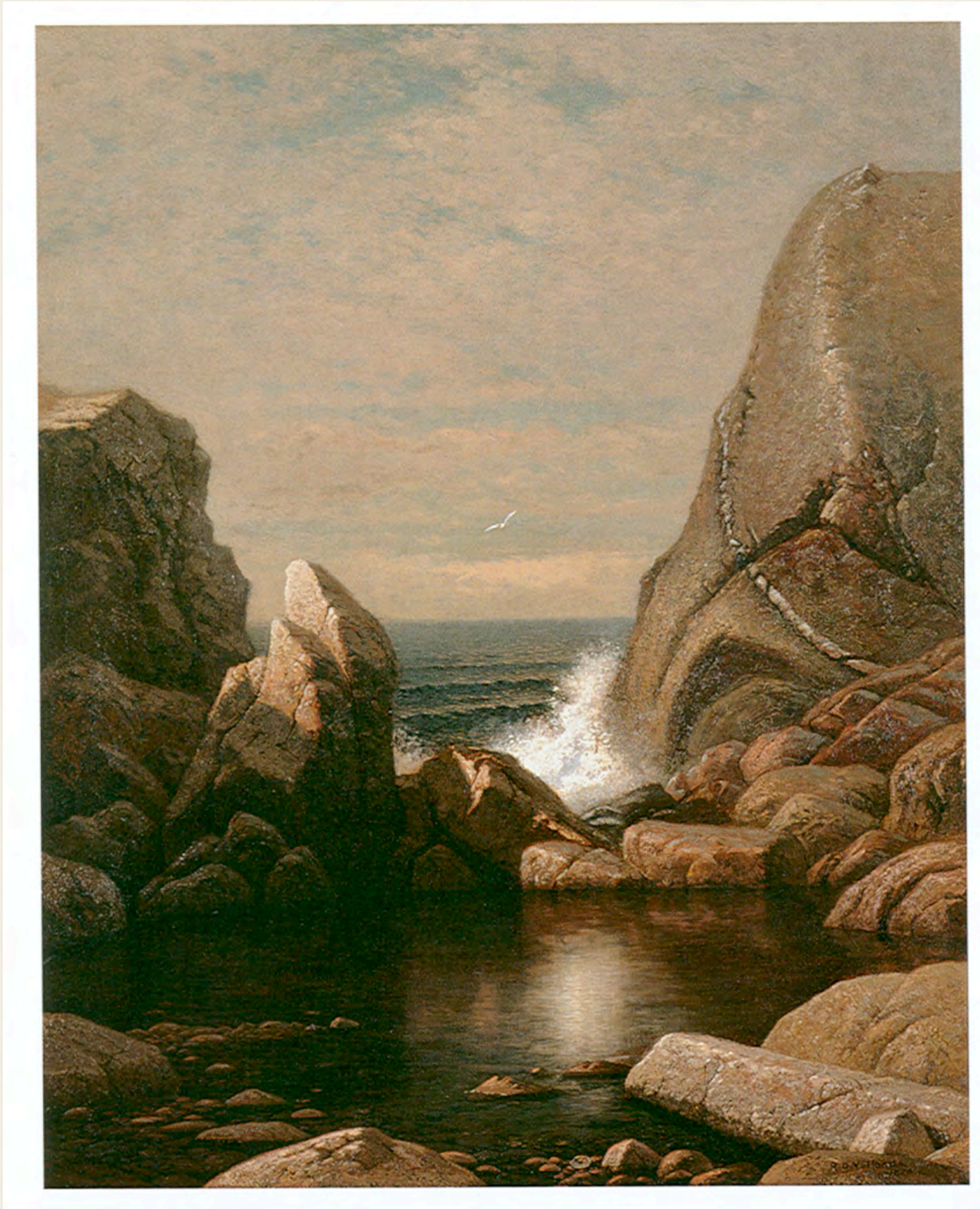
Photograph courtesy of the Farrington Historical Foundation

John Ivey's close connection with the Chautauqua Assembly eventually resulted in his relocating the studio to Pacific Grove. A brief announcement of his moving the studio appeared in the *Pacific Grove Review* on January 17, 1903 and penned as follows: *Prof. John Ivey is making arrangements to build a studio on the lots of the Museum Association on Grand Avenue.*³⁹ Six months later, the *San Francisco Call* reported that he had successfully relocated the studio to the Grove: *John Ivey, long connected with the assembly, has had a beautiful studio erected on the grounds and will maintain a fine exhibit.*⁴⁰ According to the Pacific Grove directory of 1907, John Ivey's studio was located at 168 Grand Avenue, an address located directly next to the Pacific Grove Museum.⁴¹

Beyond an accomplished artist and lecturer, John Ivey, was author of two books, *Plain Guide to Landscape-Painting in Water-Colors, With Helpful Hints for Viewing Nature and Art;*⁴² and *Talks In My Studio: The Art Of Seeing, Facts And Fancies About Art, Pictures; Together With A Plain Guide To Water-Color Painting And Sketching From Nature.*⁴³ Described by Ivey, within his book *Talks In My Studio*, is the idea that what had been reserved for the landscape painters of the 19th century, was the ability to reveal the glory of God in their works of art. *In all ages - everywhere - the love and cultivation of art has sweetened and uplifted the*

*generations of men; but it was reserved for the 19th century to prove and proved it has that landscape art reveals most of the glory of God, and has the noblest mission in the interpretation of the infinite message of creation.*⁴⁴ Also within this book, Ivey provides a visual description of California, referring to the countryside as the new Eden, visible to only those who have developed the skillful technique of observation, which enables one to see a greater glory. *Each day presents the sublime panorama of mountain peaks, and rolling foothills, and valleys garnished with the luscious fruitage of a second Eden; but to-day, yesterday, and to-morrow the unwatchful ones will see “only” the same face, the same glory, while he who is wise enough to “look” will see that face move and radiate with passion and pathos, smiles and tears.*⁴⁵

RAYMOND DABB YELLAND



Raymond Dabb Yelland. *A Pool among the Rocks (at Monterey, California)*, 1876, oil on canvas, 31.5 x 23.5 inches. Courtesy Monterey Museum of Art, bequest of Beth and Mellon (Bud) Baird, 2004.061.

In addition to Maggie Kennedy and John Ivey, as instructors of the Department of Art, during the Pacific Coast Assembly of 1897, a sketch class was offered under the direction of the notable landscape painter, Raymond Dabb Yelland, then of the Hopkins Institute of Art of San Francisco.⁴⁶ As with many of the landscape artists visiting the Monterey Peninsula during the last decades of the 19th century, the paintings by Raymond Dabb Yelland served to further idealize the landscape imagery of the Monterey peninsula as the new Eden.⁴⁷ Beyond his works depicting the Monterey coast, RD Yelland painted scenes of the Mendocino coast, Watsonville's Pajaro River, the redwoods of Santa Cruz and Yosemite Valley. His painting titled "*Sunset Mendocino Coast*" was selected to be among the works presented in the publication *Picturesque California and the Region West of the Rocky Mountains, from Alaska to Mexico (1888-1890)*, which was edited and partly written by John Muir.⁴⁸

WILLIAM CONSTABLE ADAM



Chinese Fishing Village. Monterey. [Watercolor by William Adam. 1890s.]

Photograph courtesy of Hopkins Marine Station, Stanford University.

At the beginning of the 20th century, one of the leading figures among the artists on the Monterey Peninsula was a Scottish-born painter named William Constable Adam. William Adam first settled in Sonoma, California in 1898, but was soon visiting the Monterey Peninsula on a regular basis. In 1902, having permanently relocated to Pacific Grove, William Adam established a studio on Willow Street, where each afternoon he offered art lessons. In 1906, Adam purchased a lot on Central Avenue in Pa-

cific Grove, and built a cottage positioned in such a way as to provide a picturesque view of Greenwood Park and the Monterey Bay.⁴⁹

According to information found to date, William Adam served as the instructor for the Pacific Coast Assembly's Department of Art from 1909 through 1915. Known as "Professor Adam," he often gave art lessons in his rose-covered cottage at 450 Central Avenue. Though he devoted a significant amount of time to the painting of portraits, his true joy was painting scenes of nature. Adam is best known for his intense illustrations of rolling sand dunes, the local flora, garden scenes and quaint cottage homes scattered about Pacific Grove. William Adam's paintings, beyond Pacific Grove, include Monterey's historic buildings, the Santa Cruz Mountains, and Yosemite Valley.⁵⁰ Mr. Adam was a member of the Boston Art Club; the Glasgow Art Club and exhibited at California State Fairs; the Del Monte Art Gallery (1907-12); and the Berkeley Art Association in 1908. Today his work is exhibited at the City of Monterey Collection, the Santa Cruz City Museum, the Silverado Museum at St Helena and the Shasta State Historical Monument. William Adam passed away in Pacific Grove in 1931.⁵¹

These aforementioned instructors of the Pacific Coast Assembly's Department of Art were among the many landscape artists who frequented the Monterey Peninsula during the late 19th and early 20th century. For these artists, portraying the beauty of nature went beyond simply aestheticism but was understood to be a presentation of God's glory. While Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau and John Muir wrote of America's unique connection to nature, the artists positioned along the Pacific slope, created paintings that glorified the nation's wildness.

PROGRESSIVE PEDAGOGICAL PHILOSOPHIES

The emphasis on academic instruction informed by Romantic philosophers, during the summer programs of the Pacific Coast Assembly, would not be limited to literary subjects and lessons in still life and landscape painting. At the center of the Chautauqua movement was the mission to educate Sunday school and grammar school teachers with the progressive pedagogical philosophies of the time. These philosophies of pedagogy were primarily the ideas of European philosophers and educators Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Johann Pestalozzi and Friedrich Froebel. The Swiss-born Pestalozzi and his German-born student Froebel, were arguably the most influential pedagogical philosophers of the nineteenth century, as each encouraged a first-hand observation of nature as opposed to the traditional methods of repetitive learning.

In 1879, the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle, under the direction of John Heyl Vincent, selected the natural methods of education practiced by Pestalozzi for the School of Language Program, methods that were in line with the Progressive Education Movement at the time.⁵²

It was elements of the pedagogical philosophies, put forth by these men, that serviced the methods of pedagogy instructed during the two week Pacific Coast Assembly of the CSLC. One such reference to their influence is the mention of the instruction of Froebel's methods during a summer Assembly penned in the Pacific Rural Press, June of 1886: *A kindergarten is to be in session every forenoon during the assembly, giving parents and teachers an opportunity to study the great Froebel's [sic] methods, and it is hoped that a large number of little ones will be made happy in this child-garden.*⁵³



CALIFORNIA'S CHAUTAUQUA READING CIRCLES

During the late 19th and into the 20th century, the Pacific Coast Branch of the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle provided the citizens of California the opportunity to acquire a college level education at a very minimal expense, through the Chautauqua correspondence reading program. Those who were members of the Chautauqua program could choose to either study the reading material on their own, or join with their local CLSC reading circles, many of which had been established in both rural and urban communities throughout the State.

Published in the *Werner's Directory of Elocutionists, Readers, Lecturers and other Public Instructors and Entertainers* (1887),¹ were the names and locations of sixty-seven known California Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circles that had been established within the first six years of the introduction of the Chautauqua program to the State. The authors who compiled this list of California's Chautauqua Circles provided the following qualifying statement: *It has been impossible to get a complete list of C. L. S. C's. Many of the Circles have no special names. When a place has more than one Circle, the names of the Circles are separated by a semicolon (;).*

<u>Post-Office & Name of Circle</u>	<u>Post-Office & Name of Circle</u>
<i>Auburn,</i>	<i>Nevada City, Hellas Circle</i>
<i>Austin, Prometheus Circle,</i>	<i>Oakland, Stratton Circle</i>
<i>Bakersfield</i>	<i>Orange, Live Oaks</i>
<i>Berkeley, Center Circle; N. T. L. Circle</i>	<i>Pacific Grove, Norton Circle</i>
<i>Calistoga, Grant Circle</i>	<i>Pasadena</i>
<i>Cedarville, Browning Circle</i>	<i>Penryn</i>
<i>Ceres</i>	<i>Petaluma</i>
<i>Colfax</i>	<i>Riverside, Vincent Circle; Ladies' Circle</i>
<i>Colton</i>	<i>Sacramento, Vincent Circle; Sacramento No. 1 Circle; Westminster Circle</i>
<i>Downey</i>	<i>St. Helena</i>
<i>East San Jose, Norton Circle</i>	<i>San Bernardino</i>
<i>El Cajon, Explorers Circle</i>	<i>San Francisco, Spiral Circle; Central Circle; Pierean Circle; J. Q. Adams Circle; Geneva Circle; Pacific Circle; Laurentian Circle; Attic Circle</i>
<i>Elk Grove</i>	<i>San Jose, Y. M. C. A. Circle; Norton Circle</i>
<i>Elsinore</i>	<i>San Juan</i>
<i>Grass Valley, Norton Circle</i>	<i>San Lorenzo</i>
<i>Hollister</i>	<i>Santa Ana</i>
<i>Kelseyville</i>	<i>Santa Barbara, Zenith City</i>
<i>Lakeport</i>	<i>Saratoga</i>
<i>Lincoln, Terra Cotta Circle</i>	<i>Selma</i>
<i>Live Oak</i>	<i>Tracy</i>
<i>Long Beach</i>	<i>Ukiah</i>
<i>Los Angeles, Flower Festival; Hill Top</i>	<i>Visalia</i>

According to Reverend Thomas Filben, then pastor of the Bush Street Methodist Episcopal Church of San Francisco, by the year 1890, there were fifteen Chautauqua Circles in San Francisco, with a total of 300 members.² Reverend Filben count of fifteen Circles in the city suggests that the number of reading groups had doubled in just three or four years, when compared to the list published in Werner's Directory of Elocutionists.

During the last decades of the 19th century, with a similar rapidity as that of San Francisco, an untold number of Circles were established throughout the state of California. These Chautauqua Circles were organized through their own initiative, with many being sponsored by the local churches, schools, or Young Men's Christian Associations (YMCA's), with each organization providing the individual Circles, meeting space in their church parlors, school rooms and conference halls.³

For example, the Central Chautauqua Circle of San Francisco met at Central Methodist Episcopal Church; the Chautauqua Circle of San Francisco held its meetings at the Calvary Presbyterian Church; the San Francisco's Westminster Circle met in the lecture-room of the Methodist Episcopal Church South; the Boulder Creek Circle met at the Presbyterian Church in Boulder Creek; the Sacramento members of the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle held meeting at the city's Presbyterian Church; and the Oakland Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle held meetings at the Young Men's Christian Association Hall.

In the greater Los Angeles area, the Epworth Chautauqua Circle held meetings at the home of their leader, Miss H. B. Freeman; the Union Chautauqua Circle held its meetings at the YMCA hall; the Delphi Chautauqua Circle was often hosted at Mrs. Stanton's residence, and the Marengo Avenue Chautauqua Circle met regularly at the home of Mr. and Mrs. W. N. Van Nuys.

These local Chautauqua Circle gatherings provided an opportunity to discuss and review the required literature each member was to have read privately. Beyond this directed activity associated with the required reading, these Circles developed and dis-

cussed additional interests related to literature, science and the arts. For example, many independent Chautauqua Circles explored further the humanities of higher literature with readings and discussions of the works of Bryant, Emerson, Longfellow, Lowell, Shakespeare, and Thoreau. As such, it became common practice amongst the Chautauqua Society, at large, to celebrate the birthdays of these Romantic poets with a program specifically directed toward exploring their works.

Such a celebration held at the Bush Street Methodist Episcopal Church was described by the *San Francisco Call* in 1891 as follows: *Henry W. Longfellow: Birthday Celebration by a Chautauqua Circle. Notwithstanding the forbidding weather, an interested audience assembled at the Bush-Street M. E. [Methodist Episcopal] Church last evening to celebrate, by an appropriate programme excellently rendered, the anniversary of the birth of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. The occasion was in pursuance of the custom of the Chautauqua Society, of which those present composed a chapter, of remembering the birth of all leading poets and literates at the recurrence of their anniversary.*⁴

For the Long Beach Chautauqua Circle, the members selected each week, one poet or other literary figure to be taken up and discussed as to his or her life and work.⁵ The program committee of the Long Beach Chautauqua Circle decided to enliven the exercises further by the introduction of novelties. For one such meeting, in February of 1894, the Long Beach Circles' roll call was answered by quotations from the works of American romantic poet, journalist, and longtime editor of the *New York Evening Post*, William Cullen Bryant, for which nearly all the members responded from memory.⁶

For the Marengo Avenue Chautauqua Circle, during the fall of 1896, subjects for discussion included, among other topics, "*Growth of the American Nation*," "*Growth of the French Nation*" and "*Catherine de Medici*," the Queen consort of France and wife of King Henry II of France.⁷ When the Marengo Avenue Chautauqua Circle met at the residence of Dr. J. S. White in the fall of 1900, as a part of the exercise, each member was asked to recite a quotation from the works of Fenelon, Pascal, Rousseau or Voltaire.⁸

ATTENDANCE AT THE PACIFIC COAST ASSEMBLY

Attendance at the summer program of the Pacific Coast Assembly grew in numbers in just a few years after its being established. The first Chautauqua Assembly of 1880 in Pacific Grove drew over 500 participants.⁹ As the number of Chautauqua Reading Circles established throughout California increased, so to did the number of participants attending the summer Assembly in Pacific Grove. By the fourth Chautauqua Assembly of 1883, attendance had grown fourfold, as approximately 2000 participants tested the capacity of the retreat campgrounds to the limit.¹⁰ During the tenth Chautauqua Assembly of 1889, it was noted that nearly 4000 people were visiting the Grove daily, while for the eleventh Chautauqua Assembly of 1890, there was reported to have been between 4000 to 6000 people visiting the Grove, each day.¹¹ By the year 1903, organizers of the twenty-fourth Chautauqua Assembly, planned for the reception of no less than 5000 daily participants.¹² While the number of visitors continued to increase, it is important to note that a sizable percentage of those attending the Assembly during these years, were not Chautauqua members, as many attendees were simply drawn to the Grove for the variety of attractions and entertainment offered as a part of the two week program.¹³



Pictured above is a large audience listening to the first Mayor of Pacific Grove,
Dr. Oliver Smith Trimmer (circa 1900). Photograph Courtesy of
Pacific Grove Natural History Museum.

MEMBERSHIP IN THE PACIFIC COAST BRANCH OF THE CSLC

At the end of its first year, membership in the Pacific Coast Branch of the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle, numbered about 700 students.¹⁴ Popularity of the Chautauqua program rapidly increased over the next six years and by the summer of 1886, it was reported that the Pacific Coast Branch of the CSLC had enrolled 3000 members, with the majority being residents of California.¹⁵ At the same time many more residents of the State participated as irregular members, enjoying the intellectual pleasure associated with attending the meetings of their local Chautauqua Circles. According to Andrew Rieser, author of book, *The Chautauqua Moment: Protestants, Progressives and the Culture of Modern Liberalism*, the state of California, with greater than 1.5 % of the population registered as members, was one of twelve States in the Union that had an exceptionally high rate of CLSC membership.¹⁶



Graduation Ceremony for the Altrurians held in the Methodist-Episcopal Church and Assembly Hall in Pacific Grove, California. Photograph courtesy of Pacific Grove Natural History Museum.

RECOGNITION DAY

The activities associated with what was referred to as the Chautauqua Assembly's "Recognition Day" revolved around an often ornate ceremony for those Chautauquans who had enrolled in their local reading circle, followed the four years course of home study, and were now to be recognized for their accomplishments. On this day, graduating Chautauquans would stand and receive their honorary diplomas.¹⁷ The first of many elaborate graduation ceremonies to be held over the years at the Pacific Coast Assembly took place in 1883; a year when a total of forty students from the state of California graduated from the CLSC; nineteen of whom traveled to the Assembly to receive their diplomas.

A description of this decorative graduation ceremony was published in *The Chautauquan*, Volume 4 and reads as follows: *The Pacific Grove Assembly, held near Monterey, California, devoted Friday, July 13, to the commencement exercises of the C. L. S. C. We give a full report of the celebration: Friday was a perfect Monterey day. The Chautauquans gathered according to program in the large public parlor of the railroad building and fell into line for a procession. The choir sang a cheerful Chautauqua song, in which many others joined, and then "processed." First came the president and officers of the society, then the graduates, then all members of the C. L. S. C. - then everybody. All members wore an oak leaf, which is the regulation badge, but members of the graduating class wore for a decoration a broad badge of dark garnet-colored ribbon, fringed with bullion, and with the unfailing "C. L. S. C." and the figures "1883" printed upon it in gold. They marched toward the Assembly Hall, passing under the motto inscribed and garlanded arches, and entering the building, proceeded to the front seats, which had been reserved. The hall, under the care of the decorative committee, had broken out into fresh verdure and bloom, while the letters "C. L. S. C." and the class dates, "1879-1883," had blossomed out in gold and scarlet upon the white wall behind the speakers' platform. The hall was full to overflowing. Everybody on the grounds had been invited to be present, and the greatest interest was manifested by all. The exercises began with an inspiring Chautauqua song. An earnest and appropriate prayer was offered by Rev. Dr. Heacock, of San Jose, and then a beautiful letter of greeting*

from Dr. Vincent, the founder of the society, was read. It was full of cordial friendliness, outlined briefly the benefits which he trusted all had received from pursuing the C. L. S. C. studies, and pointed out the catholicity and wide helpfulness of the Chautauqua Idea. It closed with words of stimulus and encouragement, as well as congratulation. Professor Norton now made a brief but admirable introductory address. He spoke of the Chautauqua enthusiasm and interest as an intellectual revival. It is a work for the masses, differing from that of the great universities of whose benefits only a few favored ones can avail themselves. It goes to homes of poverty, to workshops and kitchens as well as the libraries and parlors. It is food for the hungry wherever they may be. It comes to lives which have been arid and desolate through monotonous toil. He spoke of the great increase of insanity among our farming population, owing, no doubt, to the lack of healthful mental occupation. The C. L. S. C. course of reading and plans for neighborhood circles may help these lonely, overworked people to new and broader horizons of thought and life. Professor Norton closed with a pathetic and poetic comparison between our real lives and our temporary sojourn by the great sea which tosses and surges before us. Our footsteps on the shore here are washed away by every incoming tide, so with our "footsteps on the sands of time." The great sea of eternity will soon efface all our little earthly deeds. Let us live for eternal things. Let to-day be a commencement indeed—a beginning of grander and better living, of deeds which shall survive in the long years of God.

The quartet choir sang another beautiful song, and then three essays were read from the graduates.

A delicate little prose-poem called "Childhood in Literature," by Miss Myrtie Hudson, of San Jose (a post-graduate of our society), was read by Miss Lydia Bean. The diplomas were presented by Dr. Stratton, who remarked when giving them that these diplomas do not confer degrees, but something better than a degree, for they represent mature study, habits of fixed thought and life-long intellectual growth.

There were more than forty C. L. S. C. graduates in our State this year. The following were present: Mrs. Lydia A. French, Stockton; Mrs. H. J. Gardener, Rio Vista; Miss E. A. Wood, Riverside; Mrs. A. J. Bennett, San Jose; Mrs. M. E. McCowen, Ukiah; Mrs. E. M. Reynolds, San Jose; Miss M. McBride, Dixon; Mrs. C. C. Minard, Evergreen; Mrs. Estelle Greathead, San Jose; Mrs. Lucy N. Crane, San Lorenzo; Mrs. S. E. Walton, Yuba City; Miss Cornelia Walker, San Jose; Mrs. S. F. Gos-

bey, Santa Clara; Mrs. F. W. Pond, Los Angeles; Miss Alice M. Wells, Dixon; Mrs. M. H. McKee, San Jose; Miss Henrietta Stone, Mrs. Mira E. Miller, Santa Barbara; Dr. C. C. Stratton, San Jose.

After the commencement exercises the crowd dispersed, and the friends of the graduates gathered around them to congratulate and exchange friendly greetings. But it was late lunchtime, and the keen demands of appetite were never keener than here at Pacific Grove. So, with the understanding that all were to reassemble at 2 o'clock p. m., those who had lingered hastened away. The hour for meeting soon arrived, and the Chautauquans mustered in force at the beautiful cove near Prospect Park. After a lively social time, President Stratton called the meeting to order and pointed out a suggestive-looking traveling photographer, armed with the usual camera and other implements, who had been hovering about a neighboring cliff, and evidently had intentions of immortalizing the C. L. S. C. Assembly. Everybody was requested to assume a graceful attitude and a pleased expression, which they made haste to do. The beach was covered with people, standing, sitting, reclining. It was very hard work to be sober and proper, and look as dignified as future ages will demand. Our president reclined upon the sand, as befitted "the noblest Roman of us all;" the secretary sat upright and faced the music; the modest vice-president tried to get away, but was restrained by his numerous admiring friends; the small boys in front were entreated to keep still; the photographer removed the pall-like black cloth, and the deed was done. The result was quite successful, and the picture may yet hang in the "Hall in the Grove," that eastern Chautauquans may see how their transcontinental comrades look when disporting themselves by the sunset sea.

The photograph business being disposed of, the next thing in order was the Round-Table. There was no table to speak of, but a great deal of "round"—an informal all 'round talk in a pleasant, familiar fashion. Everybody was seated upon the shining white sand, a soft gray sky overhead, a mild, warm atmosphere enfolding all, and the illimitable sea stretching out before us and breaking in soft murmurs at our feet. Members from all over the State gave, in brief conversational style, cheering reports of their various circles, and the utmost interest was manifested by all in the common weal. The tone of the meeting was decidedly inspiring, and all seemed ready to promise improvement and renewed effort. The next evening was the mussel-bake. A blazing fire had been built upon the sand, but far from the assemblage, and much vigorous muscle was displayed in stirring the embers and piling on driftwood and resin-

ous pine cones, but as to the mussels, perhaps the less said about them the better. There were, indeed, mussels baked, and they were passed around upon a board in the most approved style, but it must be confessed the supply was not very abundant. The whole mussel bake was a little like Hamlet, with the part of Hamlet left out. The explanation lay in the fact that mussels can only be gathered in certain places and at very low tide, and there had been a little misunderstanding. Nevertheless, brethren, we had a grand time, an unlimited supply of apples and freshly-roasted peanuts, and we fully propose to have a mussel-bake every year!

At a business meeting held during the assembly, Rev. Dr. Stratton was re-elected to the presidency of the Pacific Coast C. L. S. C. Dr. C. L. Anderson, of Santa Cruz, was elected vice president; Mrs. M. H. Field, of San Jose, general secretary and treasurer; Miss Mary Bowman, of San Jose, secretary of the Assembly, and Mrs. Eloise Dawson, of San Jose, treasurer of the Assembly. Votes of thanks were given to many benefactors and to retiring officers, especially to Miss M. E. B. Norton, who has given our Branch the most faithful and untiring service. Our newly elected executive committee consists of Rev. C. C. Stratton, D.D., San Jose, president; C. L. Anderson, M.D., vice-president, Santa Cruz; Mrs. M. H. Field, general secretary, San Jose; Mrs. Eloise Dawson, San Jose, treasurer; Rev. J. H. Wythe, D.D., Oakland; Professor H. B. Norton, San Jose; Rev. I. E. Dwinelle, Sacramento; G. M. Ames, Oakland; Miss Lucy Washburn, San Jose; Professor Josiah Keep, Alameda; Mrs. L. J. Nusbbaum, Sacramento; Rev. C. D. Barrows, San Francisco; Mrs. S. E. Walton, Yuba City; Mrs. Julia Leal, Los Angeles; Mrs. E. M. McCowen, Ukiah; Clarke Whittier, M.D., Riverside; Mrs. E. A. Gibbs, Santa Rosa; Miss M. E. B. Norton, San Jose. ¹⁸



Chautauqua Mussel Bake at Moss Beach, Pacific Grove, California (1883).

Photograph courtesy of California State Library, Sacramento, California.



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Graduating class of Saratoga Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle. Pacific Grove, 1890. Left To Right Front Row: Mr. Daniel McPherson, Mrs. D. McPherson, Mrs. Krick, Frank Cunningham, Miss Jennie Maclay, Miss Martha McPherson, Luther Cunningham. Left To Right Back Row: Miss Mollie L. Cunningham, Miss Louise Dale, Mr. James Fablinger, Miss Jennie M. Farwell, Miss Sadie Cunningham, Harry Warren.

Photograph courtesy of the Saratoga Historical Foundation and
Saratoga History Museum.

A review of the list of students who participated in the graduating ceremonies of the Pacific Coast Assembly of the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle reveals that women accounted for an exceptionally large percentage of those receiving honorary diplomas. The dominance of women attending and graduating from the Pacific Coast Branch of the CLSC was not unique to this particular daughter Chautauqua Assembly. During the summer school classes on the grounds of the mother Chautauqua in upstate New York, it was not uncommon for women to comprise as much as ninety five percent of the students. The reason for this high percentage of participation by ladies in the Chautauqua program was the result of the importance the Methodism put on women receiving an education. The Methodist church believed that a woman's role was increasingly becoming one that established the educational and cultural values of the family. Thus, by providing women access to a college-level education, higher educational and cultural values would be extended to the family and the society as a whole.¹⁹ According to the Chautauqua records of membership, the principal constituency of the CLSC program was overwhelmingly American-born, Protestant, middle-class women of European descent; with membership in the program being ninety-nine percent Protestant and eighty-five percent female.²⁰

In the end, John Heyl Vincent's establishing of the CLSC correspondence program provided the opportunity to obtain a college-level liberal arts education, at a very minimal expense, to thousands of people, particularly women, who would otherwise never been given such an opportunity.²¹ To what measurable degree the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Program provided an education to women in the United States, is offered with the fact that between the years 1882 and 1893, a total of 27,141 women graduated from the CLSC, while only 32,684 women graduated from all the colleges within the United States combined.²²

In the autumn of 1895, more than 6000 students on the Pacific Coast had enrolled in the CLSC program and committed themselves to the required readings outlined by the Chautauqua Institute.²³ The opportunity to review as a group, the assigned home

reading material, was provided to these students through the established local Chautauqua reading circles throughout California. These Chautauqua reading circles organized in both rural and urban communities, prompted the formation of an untold number of California's women's clubs, whose members were well versed in the scientific literature of Louis Agassiz, Joseph Le Conte, David Starr Jordan and John Muir and the Romantic literature of William Cullen Bryant, Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau. The formation of California's numerous independent women's clubs quickly lent to the organizing of city, state and national "women's club" coalitions, whose powerful alliances selected as their first political initiative - campaigns directed towards protecting the natural environment.²⁴

FROM CHAUTAUQUA CIRCLES TO WOMEN'S CLUBS TO THE PROTECTION OF NATURE

It is the opinion of the writer [Jesse Lyman Hurlbut] that if one could ascertain the history of the woman's clubs that now cover the country, and ascertain their origin, it would be found that nearly all of the older woman's clubs arose out of Chautauqua Circles whose members, after completing the prescribed course, took up civics or politics, or literature. It would be an interesting study to ascertain how far the General of Women's Clubs of America was an outgrowth of the Chautauqua movement. (The Story of Chautauqua, by Jesse Lyman Hurlbut, 1921).²⁵

Echoing Jesse Lyman Hurlbut's comment relating to history of women's clubs, Andrew C. Rieser noted in his book, *The Chautauqua Moment: Protestants, Progressives and the Culture of Modern Liberalism*, that beginning in the last decade of the 19th and into the 20th century, many of the CLSC reading circles were absorbed into the recently established local, civic-minded women's clubs, a number of which were connected to their State affiliates, which, in turn were associated with the General Federation of Women's Clubs (GFWC).²⁶ Such was the case in San Jose, California, where the formation of numerous women's clubs had resulted from the influence that had radiated from the Chautauqua Institute.²⁷ The extent of the influence the Chautauqua Program had on the city is suggested by the fact that, during the 1890s, San Jose hosted as many women's clubs as any city of comparable size in the United States.

The San Jose Woman's Club (SJWC), the largest of the city's women's associations - had been established in 1894. As was the undertaking of many woman's clubs established in America, the mission of the SJWC was to promote cooperation, good fellowship and relationships among the ladies of the city, and provide a center where questions of importance to the community could be openly discussed, and acted upon, with the goal of supporting the interests and well-being of all.²⁸

The organizing of Chautauqua Circles throughout the state of California seeded, not only the establishing of the San Jose Woman's Club (SJWC) in 1894, but also the establishing of the California Federation of Women's Clubs (CFWC) in 1900. The CFWC having been founded by, and elected as its first president, Mrs. Clara Bradley Burdette, the woman who had initiated the Women's Exchange in Los Angeles in 1886 and was active in organizing the Long Beach Chautauqua Association in 1887.²⁹

Clara Bradley Burdette, was the wife of Robert J. Burdette, a pastor of the Pasadena Presbyterian Church and well known humorist speaker at lyceum gatherings. Mrs. Clara Burdette, herself, describes how she traveled to Northern California to support establishing of the Chautauqua Program as follows: *As early as 1887 I came from Los Angeles to San Francisco to help form the old time Chautauqua Circles and following that I was definitely interested and active in the formative years of California's organized womanhood under its various phases of church, educational, philanthropic, eleemosynary and political development.*³⁰

In 1897, three years after its being established, the San Jose Woman's Club (SJWC) joined the General Federation of Women's Clubs (GFWC), and entering into the California Federation of Women's Clubs (CFWC) in 1900. The first political campaigns for each of these three women's clubs, began in 1900, with efforts of both the CFWC and GFWC directed toward protecting the Calaveras Big Trees, near Yosemite Valley, followed by SJWC efforts directed at protecting the redwood trees of Big Basin, located in the Santa Cruz Mountains.³¹ The San Jose Woman's Club's initial involvement in protecting Big Basin quickly led to establishing of the Sempervirens Club, which in turn seeded, decades later, the establishing of the Save-The-Redwoods League.³²

These earliest of forest advocacy efforts, protecting the Calaveras Big Trees, near Yosemite Valley, and redwood trees of Big Basin, taken up by the CFWC, the GFWC and the SJWC, were the first of their kind directed at protecting the redwood trees of California. These efforts mark the beginning of a Progressive Reform Movement that served to initiate the involvement of the Women's Clubs throughout the State, lending their political support, for the protection of California's natural resources.³³

In February of 1902, the first convention of the California Federation of Women's Clubs was held in San Francisco. This convention provided yet another opportunity to gather the support of clubwomen for the promotion of forestry. Several paragraphs of a newspaper article, penned for *The San Francisco Call*, describe the meeting activities and give light to the emphasis placed on the topic of forest preservation during the convention:

Mrs. J. G. Lemmon of Oakland reported for the committee on forestry. Mrs. Lemmon stated that the efforts of the committee had been directed to the dissemination of literature looking to forest preservation. Many books and pamphlets were sent out and a large number of tree seeds were distributed. She urged the women of the clubs to commence with tree planting in their towns and gradually extend the work and take more interest in Arbor day.

"Forestry" was the subject of a paper read by Mrs. G. T. Greenleaf of Redlands. Mrs. Greenleaf favored governmental supervision over the forest question, tree planting and tree preservation. She likewise urged upon club women to use their best endeavors to get trees planted wherever and whenever, practicable. "Forests are the best irrigation enterprises that the State can know," she said. "The preservation of the trees is necessary to the preservation of the State." A special plea was made for the preservation of the big tree groves throughout the State.³⁴

In the coming years, the summer gatherings of the Pacific Coast Assembly of the CSLC supported communication among the California Women's Clubs. During the Assembly of 1907, a "Club Women's Roundtable" was organized to provide an opportunity for the different clubs from around the State, to discuss their particular efforts and report the result of their activities.³⁵ The following year, for the Pacific Coast Assembly of 1908, the organizers of the two-week program introduced, what were referred to as "Special Days." On these days, the Assembly featured activities around a particular cause or subject, with one day being designated as Anti-Saloon Day, another Civic Righteousness Day, another Woman's Clubs Day, and another Forestry Day.³⁶

During the Assembly of 1908, Mrs. G. T. Greenleaf, an active member of women's groups in Los Angeles, was the keynote speaker at Women's Club Day.³⁷ This speech

was followed by Mrs. Viola Price Franklin, President of the San Jose Woman's Club, who conducted a "*Club Woman's Roundtable*" devoted to the discussion of topics of interest to club women. Among the noted roundtable speakers that day were Mrs. James B. Hume, President of the California Federation of Women's Clubs and Mrs. Lovell [Laura] White,³⁸ who served as the President of the California Club of San Francisco (1898-1902 and 1910-1911), and President of the Sempervirens Club (1903-1906). It had been Mrs. Laura White who was instrumental in the establishing of the Sempervirens Club, the organization responsible for preventing the Calaveras Grove of Big Trees from being logged; accomplished by gathering over a million signatures and submitting them to President Roosevelt.³⁹

For the Assembly of 1909, the speakers for the Woman's Club Day included Mrs. James B. Hume, President and Mrs. J. W. Orr, Vice-President of California Federation of Women's Clubs, and Mrs. Katherine T. Bingham of the San Jose Woman's Club. The morning talks by these women speakers was then followed by a Women's Club Forum Hour.⁴⁰

Just two weeks prior to the Pacific Coast Assembly of 1909, Monterey's Hotel Del Monte hosted the annual meeting of the California Federation of Women's Clubs. A newspaper article that appeared in the Los Angeles Herald, on Sunday, May 23, 1909, provided the following information related to the meeting: *Mrs. Lovell White of San Francisco addressed the meeting on the national forests and Mrs. Emily Hoppin on the state forests.... John Muir, the naturalist and author, talked to the federation on the mountains of the state and highly praised the beauties of the Hetch-Hetchy valley... A resolution was adopted condemning San Francisco's attempt to take the water supply of Hetch-Hetchy on the ground that it would mar a place of great beauty, whereas there were other places where water could be obtained.*⁴¹

A second newspaper article that appeared in the Oakland Tribune, on May 23, 1909 provided additional commentary related to Muir's talk to the California Federation of Women's Clubs at the Hotel Del Monte: *The most interesting feature of the*

day was a talk by John Muir, the naturalist, who described, with word pictures of vivid power the scene beauties of California, the great glaciers and the southern tropics familiar to him.

"I am glad" said John Muir, "that I got to California soon enough to see the state in all its original untrameled beauty. I have walked five hundred miles through the San Joaquin and Sacramento Valleys when they were one unbroken mass of golden bloom. I made my bed among the wild flowers, where the march of commerce has obliterated God's handiwork. There is not much left to us of beauty because commerce seizes upon all that it can reach that is dollarable."⁴²

John Muir's visit to Monterey, and his presentation to the California Federation of Women's Clubs at the Hotel Del Monte, was mentioned in a letter Muir wrote to his daughter Helen just several days later.

Home May 26, 1909.

Darling Helen, Your letter of the 22d was received yesterday & I immediately drew a check for the sum Mr Van Dyke wants, feeling pleased that we have the privilege of obliging him after he has so kindly done so many good deeds in our anxious days of trouble .

I have been at Del Monte attending the meetings of the Women's Clubs, & much against my will had to address the whole formidable array! Think of it.

I saw all our Pacific Grove folk. They are well & comfortably situated.

I'm glad you are regaining your health so speedily & that you will write everyday, no matter how briefly.

Ever affectionately your father

John Muir

[Letter from John Muir to Helen [Muir], 1909 May 26.]⁴³

In his fight to save the Hetch-Hetchy Valley, Muir collected the endorsement of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the California Federation of Women's Clubs, and many other State Federations of Women's Clubs, all of whom supported resolutions protesting the proposed dam. By the end of 1910, a total of 150 women's clubs nationwide, were actively involved in Muir's effort to preserve of Hetch-Hetchy.⁴⁴

These early women's clubs campaigns, directed toward saving the Calaveras Big Trees, the redwoods of Big Basin, and Hetch-Hetchy Valley, seeded the beginning of what would become an unending wave of efforts by individual women's clubs, and women's club alliances throughout the West, dedicated to wildlife and wilderness preservation.⁴⁴



METHODIST RETREAT LOCATION AND DESIGN OF THE OPEN-AIR TEMPLE

The heart of Pacific Grove Methodist Retreat was located one block southeast, of what is today, the beach at Lovers' Point Park, in the area where now stands the Pacific Grove Public Library and city of Pacific Grove's Jewell Park. A newspaper article titled "*Down By The Sea. Shells From A Seaside Resort*" that appeared in the *Sacramento Daily Union* on June 17, 1878, provides a brief description of the retreat: *They cleared up all undergrowth, trimmed up the branches of the trees and converted the forest into a park, which, for sylvan beauty, would outrival the grandest old manor park in old England. In the shadiest place they erected an altar, a pulpit, and provided neat and comfortable sittings for 2,000 people.*¹

And there it stood, positioned within the center of this campground, nestled among a grove of tall Monterey pines, was the octagonal shaped outdoor amphitheater, consisting of a wooden pulpit surrounded by a 200-foot circle of wooden benches, with aisles varying from a width of four to twelve feet. Surrounding this seating area, in a ring like fashion, was located the tenting ground for campers.²

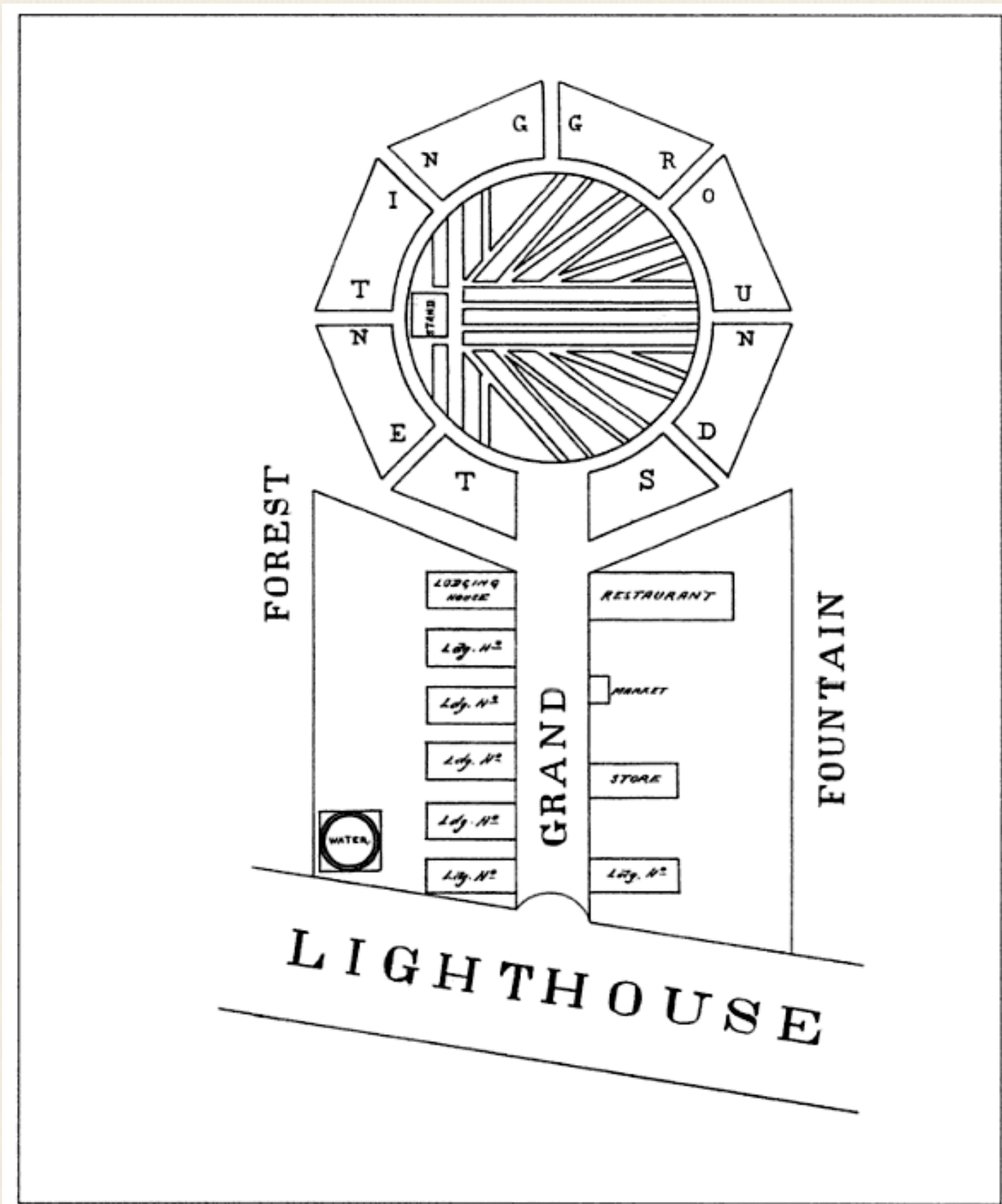
In November 1879, several months after participants of the California Sunday School Assembly had selected the Pacific Grove Methodist Retreat for the establishing of a daughter Chautauqua Assembly, Robert Louis Stevenson meandered into the empty meeting grounds: In Stevenson's writings "*The Old Pacific Capital: The Woods and the Pacific*" published in *The Eclectic Magazine of Foreign Literature, Science, and Art* (1881), is a description of Pacific Grove Retreat as it appeared to RL Stevenson in the autumn of 1879:

One day - I shall never forget it - I had taken a trail that was new to me. After a while the woods began to open, the sea to sound near at hand. I came upon a road, and, to my surprise, a stile. A step or two farther, and, without leaving the woods, I found myself among trim houses. I walked through street after street, parallel and at right angles, paved with sward and dotted with trees, but still undeniable streets, and each with its name posted at the corner, as in a real town. Facing down the main thoroughfare - "Central Avenue," as it was ticketed - I saw an open-air temple, with benches and sounding board, as though for an orchestra. The houses were all tightly shuttered; there was no smoke, no sound but the waves, no moving thing. I have never been in any place that seemed so dreamlike.³

The aforementioned elaborate open-air amphitheater served as a vital part of the facilities for hosting the annual Pacific Coast Assembly and other functions associated with the Methodist Camp Retreat from 1875 through early 1887.



Outdoor amphitheater at the Methodist Retreat in Pacific Grove, California (circa 1875). Photographer: Romanzo E. Wood. Photograph courtesy of California State University, Chico. Meriam Library, Special Collections.



Pacific Grove Retreat, 1875. Surveyor St. John Cox prepared the above map of the Methodist campground for landowner David Jacks and the Pacific Grove Retreat Association, which would operate the facility. The speaking platform for the open-air amphitheater, as described by Robert Louis Stevenson is positioned in the upper left with the tent campgrounds surrounding.⁴ Photograph courtesy Monterey Public Library, California History Room.

In terms of positioning of the grounds, on the south and east corners of the retreat, the unpaved avenues conformed to the octagonal design of the camp with the inclusion of a 45-degree angle. This conformity to the octagonal camp design remains visible to this day, as one approaches the now paved intersection of Fountain and Central Avenues of Pacific Grove.⁵

The Pacific Grove Methodist Camp Retreat served as the Monterey peninsula's first "gated" community with security for the campground provided by fencing on three sides of the property as one approached the camp from Monterey, and a padlocked gate located at, what is now, the intersection of Lighthouse and Grand Avenues. With the fence in place, this gated camp retreat insured vacationers an adequate and secure separation from the vices associated with the nearby township of Monterey. The security of a gated community came to an abrupt end in 1886 when State Senator Benjamin J. Langford, having grown tired of walking to the office on Grand Avenue to retrieve the key to open the gate, used an axe to chop down the entry. From that day forward, the gate remained in a state of disrepair, with most of fence having all but disappeared from view by 1890.⁶



Hall in the Grove (or Chautauqua Hall) in Pacific Grove, California. c2014.

Photographer: Donald Kohrs.

HALL IN THE GROVE

In 1879, the Mother Chautauqua in upstate New York built a white wooden open aired structure modeled after the Athenian Parthenon and named it the "Hall in the Grove." This open sided structure was designed in such a way that allowed the participants to look beyond the sculptures of Goethe, Shakespeare, Plato, Socrates, Homer and Goethe which lined the building, to the wonder of the wooded setting.⁷

Later named the Chautauqua "Hall of Philosophy," this building served as the location for hosting the annual "Recognition Day" ceremony, when those students who completed the four-year CLSC reading program were formally recognized and given their diplomas. In the years to come, a Hall in the Grove (or Hall of Philosophy) became a common building structure associated with many of the daughter Chautauquas scattered throughout the nation.

In 1881, the Pacific Improvement Company constructed for the Pacific Grove Methodist Camp Retreat a "Hall in the Grove," which later became known as Chautauqua Hall. This simple wood-framed structure of no-frills design, built of a gabled roof and board-and-batten siding, for many years, served as the location for hosting the annual Chautauqua Recognition Day ceremonies, while servicing a variety of other needs for the Methodist camp retreat. During the summer months, the large open hall provided an audience room for lectures, and a venue for Sunday school services, while during the winter months the building served as a storage facility for the campground tents. In 1884, a Miss Carrie Lloyd opened a summer school for children in the rear of the Hall in the Grove. The following year the Pacific Grove School District was formed and classes continued to be held in the Hall for several more years.⁸

Designated as California Historical Landmark #839, this building remains positioned in its original location, the southwest corner of 16th Street and Central Avenue. In conjunction with the outdoor amphitheater, which was located just a stones throw away, the Hall in the Grove served as a primary meeting venue for the retreat for seven

years (1881-1888), until construction was completed of the auspicious Methodist Episcopal Church and Assembly Hall. Yet, even prior to the construction of the elaborate church and meeting hall would come a request for museum to hold a collection of objects of nature.



Pacific Grove Museum.

Photograph courtesy of Pacific Grove Natural History Museum

THE PACIFIC GROVE MUSEUM

From the very beginning of the Pacific Coast Branch of the CLSC, efforts would be direct toward organizing a collection of objects of natural history for use during the summer Chautauqua Assembly. Within the early announcements for the first two week session of the Pacific Coast Assembly of 1880 there is mentioned the opportunity for *...each teacher to carry home a small but well assorted collection of prepared specimens of the forms of marine life* “*It is hoped that extensive collections of material for museums may be made.*”⁹

It would be just one year following the first Pacific Coast Assembly of the CLSC that the organizers directed their efforts toward establishing a museum, as the instructors found the need to have a storeroom and exhibition site for the specimens of nature being collected. In 1881, this effort to establish a museum, was advanced when the Pacific Improvement Company erected the “Hall in the Grove” which, at the time, was comprised of a lecture hall, and two classrooms fitted with shelves and other arrangements for the natural history collections, including a herbarium for California and Pacific Coast flora.¹⁰

In the program announcement for the second Pacific Coast Assembly (1881), a request was solicited to members of the CLSC to “*contribute dried plants, minerals, or geological specimens, and illustrations in all departments of zoology as the Assembly wished to gather a full representation of the life of the Pacific coast for the natural history collection.*”¹¹ From this request, during the second summer of the Pacific Coast Assembly of the CLSC, the organizers began to receive donations to their museum. Soon the herbarium contained two hundred plants that had been named and classified. As gifts to the museum, Dr. JH Wythe donated several biological charts, Mr. MW Woodward provided a valuable historical chart, and the famous botanists John Gill Lemmon contributed a collection of Sierra cones. At the close of the second summer’s gathering, the founders of the Pacific Coast Assembly of the CLSC felt confident that from these beginnings would grow a grand museum.¹²

In an effort to make their vision of a magnificent museum a reality, the next step for the founders of the Pacific Coast Assembly was to request a structure be built specifically for the holding of a natural history collection. In 1883, a petition signed by Professor HB Norton, Dr. JH Wyeth, Dr. CL Anderson, Miss Lucy M. Washburn, Miss Mary EB Norton, and Professor Josiah Keep, was sent to Frank S. Douty, then secretary of the Pacific Improvement Company, requesting the firm build a small structure to house the Assembly's growing collection of objects of natural history.¹³ The Pacific Improvement Company responded to this request with the construction of a small wooden octagonal building, positioned along Grand Avenue, on a plot of land, where is located today, the city of Pacific Grove's Jewell Park.

The Pacific Coast Assembly's unwavering interest in collecting objects of natural history, common to the Pacific Slope, is demonstrated by the fact that, some five years after the initial request, the organizers continued to ask members for contributions to further advance the museum collection. The following request appeared within an article published in the *Pacific Rural Press* on June 5, 1886 and penned as follows: *Members of the C. L. S. C. who cannot be present at the summer meeting are earnestly solicited to contribute to the collection of dried plants, minerals, or geological specimens, collected in this State.*¹⁴ This organized collection of objects of nature, held within the octagonal museum, served to strengthen the Pacific Coast Assembly's ability to provide schoolteachers with one of the earliest opportunities to participate in a summer program directed toward the study of natural history within the state of California.

In addition to the octagonal museum provided by the Pacific Improvement Company, Miss Mary EB Norton, continued to be given space in Hall in the Grove (i.e. Chautauqua Hall), to instruct her course in general botany offered during the summer Assembly. A newspaper article published in the *San Francisco Call*, July 3, 1891 describes the happenings of the Chautauqua botany course: *The class in botany is presided over by Miss Mary E. B. Norton, sister of the late, Professor Norton, and contains fourteen pupils. Miss Norton also takes her pupils out on long walks, but seeks the woods instead of the beach, where specimens*

*of the flowers and ferns of the locality are gathered. The lady has a room fitted up in the old Assembly Hall where two sessions are held daily, mornings and afternoons. Much interest is taken in the study, and the results are noticeable.*¹⁵

In July of 1900, the Pacific Coast Assembly of the CLSC donated the octagonal museum building and 2100 objects of natural history to a new organization named the Pacific Grove Museum Association. This organization took up the opportunity to build upon the museum collection that had been gathered together by the Pacific Coast Assembly. In addition to advancing the collection of natural objects, the Pacific Grove Museum Association organized a reference and scientific library, a small botanical garden to preserve the native flora, and established a scientific lecture series during winter months.¹⁶ Among the notable scientific lectures that were delivered during this early period of the museum's history are described in the paragraphs that follow.

On the evening of March 17, 1900, two lectures were presented; the entomologist Professor Vernon L. Kellogg of Stanford University, discussed the life history and habit of the monarch butterfly and Professor John Henry Comstock of Cornell University discussed the process of cross-pollination as it occurs in flowering plants.¹⁷ Vernon L. Kellogg, and good friend to John Muir, succeeded David Starr Jordan as a director of the Sierra Club. Jordan, who held the director position from 1892 to 1903, and continued to serve the Sierra Club as an honorary vice-president from 1905 through 1931. According to William E. Colby, as director of the Sierra Club, *Dr. Kellogg gave liberally of this time and counsel to the advancement of the best interest of the club but he helped it to attain its goals in many other ways. Like Muir he consistently preached the gospel of "going home to the mountains" and encouraged his friends to follow his own example of taking pioneer trips into the High Sierras...*¹⁸

On the evening of April 15, 1900 Miss Alice Eastwood, herbarium curator of the San Francisco Academy of Sciences, delivered a lecture about the botanical history of Monterey County.¹⁹ Miss Alice Eastwood, who was also a close friend of John Muir's, was one of America's leading botanists and conservation advocates, whose efforts

spanned from the early 1890s into the 1940s.²⁰ Following Miss Eastwood's talk, Professor J. B. Hickman, a well-known Monterey botanist and school teacher from the Carneros district of Monterey County, spoke briefly of the scientific need for preserving the flora of Monterey.²¹

On the evening of November 9, 1901, David Starr Jordan, President Stanford University presented a lecture titled "*Beasts and Fishes of Monterey Bay.*" A newspaper article penned for the San Francisco Call (1901) briefly mentioned the following of the famed ichthyologists lecture: *Dr. Jordan, who is probably the most eminent authority on fish in the world to-day, said that nowhere was there a more important body of water, at least from the scientist's point of view, than Monterey Bay, both for the number of varieties of fish and other sea animals found here and from the fact that there are many kinds found here that have never appeared in any other part of the world. The chief object of the Museum Association is to preserve specimens of the animal and plant life that has made this region so famous throughout the scientific world, and Dr. Jordan's lecture was, therefore, of especial interest to the members of the association.*²²

These names represent just a few of the notable scientists who, over the many years, presented lectures at the Pacific Grove Museum. In 1902, through the influence of a Miss Kate Coffin, the Pacific Improvement Company gifted the Pacific Grove Museum Association several existing buildings and the land beneath. These buildings were later modified to form one single large building that exists to this day as part of the Pacific Grove Museum of Natural History, located at the corner of Central Avenue and Grand Avenue.²³



Methodist-Episcopal Church and Assembly Hall.

Photograph Courtesy of Pacific Grove Natural History Museum.

METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH AND ASSEMBLY HALL

In the summer of 1888, construction of the Methodist Episcopal Church and Assembly Hall was completed. Located on Lighthouse Avenue between 17th and 18th Street, the structural design - based on Lewis Miller's Akron Plan for Sunday Schools - was of a Victorian Gothic style, that boasted two towers of equal height with pointed arches.²⁴ Within the walls of this Methodist Episcopal Church were two chapels, one on each side of a central auditorium, complete with galleries, while in the rear of the structure was positioned an organ gallery. Each chapel was separated from the auditorium by movable glazed partitions, which allowed for the whole assembly hall to be opened into one large lecture hall. With a seating capacity of two thousand, the structure provided ample meeting space for larger educational and religious organizations wishing to host their conferences in Pacific Grove.²⁵

Within the first fifteen years of completion, beyond serving as the meeting space for the Pacific Coast Assembly of the CLSC and Methodist reform organizations, three sitting presidents of the United States would speak from the podium of the Methodist Episcopal Church; Benjamin Harrison in 1891, William McKinley in 1901 and Theodore Roosevelt in 1903. In addition to the sitting presidents, the prominent American civil rights leader Susan B. Anthony, who played a pivotal role in the nation's 19th century women's rights movement, spoke from the podium of the Assembly Hall during her participation in the Pacific Coast Assembly of 1896.²⁶



Pacific Grove train depot just a few short blocks from the Hall in the Grove.

Photograph courtesy of Pacific Grove Natural History Museum.



THE PACIFIC GROVE RETREAT: A CONFERENCE HEADQUARTERS

Within less than a decade of its being established in 1875, the Pacific Grove Retreat became known as the primary conference headquarters for the hosting of religious, temperance and education meetings along the California coast. To accommodate the steady stream of conference participants and vacationers, a variety of lodging facilities became available to those traveling to the retreat. These lodging options included individual tents, cottages, or rooms in boarding houses that were available for rent. Also available to visitors were accommodations at the opulent Hotel Del Monte, located in Monterey, that had opened to guests in June 10, 1880; or the centrally located 114-room El Carmelo Hotel, situated in the heart of Pacific Grove, which opened to guests on May 20, 1887.

In June of 1889, traveling to the Methodist Retreat became more convenient to conference participants when the Southern Pacific Railroad's Monterey Express extended rail service to the Pacific Grove, allowing passengers to disembark at the newly constructed train depot just a few short blocks from Chautauqua Hall. Travel time from the train depot in San Francisco to the train depot in Pacific Grove amounted to an average of three and a half hours.

The attractiveness of Methodist Camp Retreat for hosting conferences quickly became apparent to organizers, as the list of summer meetings held in Pacific Grove expanded to the point of filling the calendar from the beginning of April to the end of September of each year. Throughout the summer months the Pacific Grove Retreat hosted a variety of conferences, summer encampments and assemblies of intellectual,

spiritual and societal organizations associated with the Methodist movement. In addition to the Pacific Coast Chautauqua Assembly, these gatherings included the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), the Summer Meeting of the California's Teachers' Association, the California Annual Conference of Methodist Episcopal Church, the California State Sunday School Convention, the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), the Midsummer Encampment for Political, Civil and Social Reforms, Summer Encampment and Assembly of Christian Workers, Summer School of Theology, Camp Meeting and School of the Prophets, and the Epworth League.¹

As such, the Pacific Grove Methodist Retreat provided a platform for these organizations to introduce and advance the moral, ethic and social values associated with the Methodist reform movement to residents that made up California's urban and rural communities; many of who had only recently arrived as part of the first wave of Anglo-Saxon settlers to the Golden State. One process by which these values were introduced to multitudes of summer vacationers, conference attendees, and the year-round residents of the retreat, was through the establishing and enforcement of the community's blue laws.



El Carmelo Hotel, centrally located in downtown Pacific Grove.

Photograph courtesy of Pacific Grove Natural History Museum.

PURITAN BLUE LAWS

Pacific Grove, selected by the Retreat Association when it was still a wilderness, was to be set aside as a location where Christians could gather with their families for recreation and health, and hold religious assemblies and conventions, for the promotion of educational and moral enterprises. In an effort to enforce the religious standards and encourage proper conduct within the Methodist Retreat, the organizers of the camp enacted what are referred to as “blue laws.”

First established by Puritan colonies of New England in the 17th century, blue laws were enacted to prohibit specific activities, both recreational and commercial, on Sunday or the Sabbath. In some cases the sale of specific kinds of merchandise was prohibited, and in other cases all retail and business activities were banned.² Serving as an outpost for the enforcement of Puritan ethics during the late 19th and early 20th century, Pacific Grove enacted blue laws which prohibited the following: Gambling, including any games of chance which might lend to wagering; The manufacturing, buying, selling or giving away of any and all intoxicants, cider, wine, beer or spirituous liquors within a one mile radius of the original survey of the retreat; The use of obscene and profane language was strictly prohibited, as was all boisterous talking, rude or coarse conduct not in harmony with propriety and good order. Swimming without proper bathing apparel or in immodest costume, or passing through the streets, to and from the beach, without proper covering was prohibited. All boating, fishing and bathing activity was prohibited on the Sabbath. And finally, any form of public or social dancing was strictly prohibited.³

Just how prohibited public dancing was in Pacific Grove is acknowledged in a newspaper article that appeared in *San Francisco Call*, July 7, 1891 and read as follows: *Prominent members of the Retreat Association are indignant at a statement made in a sensational San Francisco morning journal to the effect that the association, which has the moral and prudential management of Pacific Grove, has decided to remove a restriction which has always been enforced prohibiting public*

dances. The statement telegraphed is denounced as untrue and without foundation, and, moreover, there is no disposition to remove dancing from the list of diversions which come under the ban or any other rule contained in the deeds to property. There are many Christians who are not opposed to dancing, but the mass of people here are, and it is the intention to prohibit them. In future as in the past. An attempt was made to get up a dance the other evening, but the enterprise was conducted under the disguise of a "social" and in the name of a "club," the leaders in the movement not desiring that their names be made public (for prudential reasons), and the affair was attended by a very limited number of persons.⁴

What it was to spend time in the Grove, with its high moral, ethical and social values in place, is expressed in an article that appeared in the *Pacific Bank Handbook of California* (1888), written to entice visitors to the retreat:

...Life at the Pacific Grove is very enjoyable, there are so many agreeable amusements to be had for a trifling outlay in money. Gathering sea-mosses is a favorite pastime with many ladies; the walks and drives are beautiful, the surrounding country is so full of interest. There are several peaks near, commanding extensive views; Monterey Bay swarms with fish, and is suitable for yachting; there are three old missions in the vicinity, and the climate is favorable to a long sojourn, not shortened by inclement weather, as is the season at the great eastern temperance resort, Ocean Grove, New Jersey, on the bleaker Atlantic Coast.

Pacific Grove is in truth, more a winter than a summer resort, many wealthy and influential people living here the whole year round. It is a most entrancing spot, having no winter in the true sense of the word. Besides being one of the loveliest places on earth, on account of its temperance regulations, it is especially safe and pleasant for ladies who have no near male protector; it is, moreover, a most advantageous and healthful place in which to rear children.

There are few temptations to win children from the path of rectitude, and both climate and surroundings conduce to form a wholesome growth of body, and mind, while the grandeur of the scenery is favorable to lofty thoughts. Here are natural beauties to inspire the poet, and which must tend to elevate even the most matter-of-fact mind. And yet it is not a place in which to dream one's life away, the cli-

mate is not so warm as to be enervating, as is often the case where perpetual summer reigns, the nights being cool and comfortable, and the sea-breeze tempering the air with that delicious softness which gives energy of action as well as a keen sense of enjoyment of either labor or repose.⁵

During the Chautauqua Assembly, with a recognition and sanctioned enforcement of the blue laws, the Sabbath was a day reserved for organized sermons and Sunday school classes, which in turn provided for a devotional religious spirit to elevate the atmosphere of the Methodist Retreat. Beyond the opportunity to take home a collection of shells from the sea, participants of the Pacific Coast Assembly returned to their local communities, church congregations and individual Chautauqua Circles, having been introduced to the moral, ethical, spiritual and social values the Methodist movement wished to advance into the American society at large.

THE FINAL YEARS

As the years went by, the pioneer instructors who taught the core courses of natural history at the Pacific Coast Assembly grew old and passed away. First to cross the great divide was Professor HB Norton (1885), followed by Dr. JH Wythe (1901), Dr. CL Anderson (1910), Josiah Keep (1911), Miss Mary EB Norton (1917) and finally Miss Lucy M. Washburn (1939). As was the case with many of the Chautauqua's established throughout the United States, participation in the Pacific Coast Assembly of the CLSC slowed over time. The Assembly programs continued their popularity through the early 1900s, but enrollment in CLSC reading circles waned as the opportunity to attend summers schools at the University of California, Berkeley and the California State Normal School at San Jose became increasingly available to schoolteachers.⁶

After 1910 the quality of the program offered at the Pacific Coast Assembly declined, with fewer and fewer departments directed at scientific and literary subjects being offered. By 1913, the California Methodist Ministers had ceased holding their annual conference at the Methodist Church's Assembly Hall. The loss of the annual visit of the Methodist ministers became a point of transition for the Pacific Grove Retreat as a destination for advanced education and spiritual contemplation, to a location that attracted the common tourist in search of recreation and a seaside vacation.⁷

With the completion in 1913 of Pacific Grove's Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) conference facilities, (today's Asilomar Conference Center), a number of the societies began to hold their annual meetings at this spacious, and more accommodating facility. As time went on, the emphasis of Pacific Coast Assembly program became increasingly focused on entertainment, rather than education, with the performers recruited by the managers of the Ellison-White Circuit Chautauqua.⁸ Even so, tent Chautauqua's continued to be brought to Pacific Grove by the Ellison-White organiza-

tion for a number of years, with the final Chautauqua Assembly held in August of 1926.⁹

The transformation of the Pacific Grove Methodist Retreat, which had long provided many the opportunity of an educational and spiritual vacation, with availability of tents to rent at reasonable rates, had given way to the establishing of the small coastal township of Pacific Grove with cozy cottages for visitors to lease or purchase as a home of their own.



Yosemite Valley as seen from Discovery View, looking east.

Photograph courtesy of the Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

Photographer: Brian Grogan. Number: HAER CAL, 22-WAWO, 4--39 (CT)

THE SCHEDULED APPEARANCE OF JOHN MUIR AT THE YOSEMITE CHAUTAUQUA ASSEMBLY OF 1909

Yet one is left wondering if John Muir ever spoke to a Chautauqua Assembly during his lifetime. According to an article in the *San Francisco Call*, July 9, 1909, titled “*Roosevelt Will Speak at Chautauqua in Yosemite - Coming West on Return From Africa*” both Theodore Roosevelt and John Muir were just days away from delivering their presentations at a Yosemite Valley Chautauqua. John Muir was to speak during the Assembly’s “Sierra Day,” with a first talk titled “*California Glaciers*” and a second talk titled “*Big Trees.*” Also mentioned within the article was the fact that John Muir would speak, only if the eminent naturalist could be persuaded to return from his Lake Merced Sierra Club outing.¹⁰ Such was not the case according to an article that appeared several days later in the *San Francisco Call*, July 13, 1909 titled “*Honor Memory Of Prof. Le Conte*” which provided the following short account of the day:

*Le Conte' day named in honor of Prof. Joseph Le Conte, the scientist of the University of California, who died here in the summer of 1901, was celebrated, by the Yosemite Valley Chautauqua. Addresses on the life and work of the dead geologist and author were delivered by Chester Howell of Fresno and Prof. James Perrin Smith of the department of geology in Stanford University. John Muir, a lifelong friend of Professor Le Conte, was expected to deliver the principal address here today, but remained with the Sierra club, 30 miles away, in the heart of the high mountain region, being unable to make the trip into the valley, on account of his great age and feebleness.*¹¹

According to the book, *The History Of Woman Suffrage*, in addition to the Sierra Day and Le Conte Day, the special program days for this, the first Yosemite Valley Chautauqua Assembly, included a Woman’s Day, during which the entire day’s program was devoted to woman’s suffrage: *During the Chautauqua meeting in the Yosemite in July, through the*

*efforts of Assemblyman Drew of Fresno, an entire day and evening were granted for an excellent suffrage program of a strong political flavor with Mrs. Ray, Mrs. Coffin and Mrs. Gamage in charge.*¹²

And as for John Muir ever participating in a Chautauqua Assembly, it appears Muir received invitations to participate at the summer gatherings in Pacific Grove (1880)¹³ and (1883),¹⁴ Venice Beach (1908)¹⁵ and Yosemite Valley (1909),¹⁶ each of which he seems to have successfully avoided.



EPILOGUE

Increasingly discussed among environmental historians are the various events associated with this nation that have served to inspire America's exceptional reverence for nature. With the proper interpretation of these events, one is able to recognize the shaping of the American lore that related an individual, a society, and a nation, to its natural environment. The initial jeremiad which appears to have seeded this lore is an address by Puritan leader and governor of Massachusetts John Winthrop in 1630, titled "*A Model of Christian Charity*."¹ In his oration, Winthrop projects the idea that the New England colonies are to be viewed as "A City on the Hill" or a "New Jerusalem" whose Christian ethics will guide the values of the New World.² For John Winthrop and the New England Puritans, the colonies represented a Christian society standing as a beacon for the world, a model as how to organize and live under the religious ideals that they believed had been abandoned by a corrupted and crowded Europe.³

A second Puritan jeremiad that projected the American lore into the woodlands soon followed with Samuel Danforth's election address of 1670, "*A Brief Recognition of New England's Errand into the Wilderness*."⁴ Within this sermon, Danforth put forward the Puritan ideal that the wooded forests of America were a not an evil, dark and cursed land but a divine wilderness that provided one with a unique opportunity to commune with God. The following paragraph quotes a portion of Danforth's famous sermon: *Such as have sometime left their pleasant cities and habitations to enjoy the pure worship of God in a wilderness are apt in time to abate and cool in their affec-*

*tion thereunto; but then the Lord calls upon them seriously and thoroughly to examine themselves, what it was that drew them into the wilderness, and to consider that it was not the expectation of ludicrous levity nor of courtly pomp and delicacy, but the free and clear dispensation of the Gospel and Kingdom of God.*⁵

As a loosely organized system of beliefs, this developing lore co-mingled with the philosophies of the European Romantics and inspired a mythos that placed a strong emphasis on individuality, feelings, emotional expressions and nature. It would be these fabled beliefs that next served to inspire and energize the American intellectual movement known as Transcendentalism. At the core of this movement were America's first poets and philosophers who penned sentiments that defined the nation's spiritual connection to nature. Among the first of these writings was William Cullen Bryant's, 1825 poem "A Forest Hymn" suggesting God's handiwork was to be found within every forest grove of trees.⁶ Soon to follow, in 1836, was Ralph Waldo Emerson's published essay "Nature," in which he writes that every natural object held the potential to awaken spiritual reverence *-when the mind is open to their influence.*⁷

Scientific validation for the writings of Emerson and other transcendentalists of the time came from the respected words of Harvard Professor of Comparative Zoology, Louis Agassiz. In the article, titled "Methods of Study in the Natural History" that appeared in *The Atlantic Monthly* in January 1862, Agassiz suggests the ability to approach the thoughts of God through the study and classification of objects of nature:

*If these classifications are not mere inventions, if they are not an attempt to classify for our own convenience the objects we study, then they are thoughts which, whether we detect them or not, are expressed in Nature, - then Nature is the work of thought, the production of intelligence, carried out according to plan, therefore premeditated, - and in our study of natural objects we are approaching the thoughts of the Creator, reading his conceptions, interpreting a system that is his and not ours.*⁸

A further mythologizing of the nation's spiritual connection to nature was projected from the psyche of America's landscape painters who rendered on canvas the natural beauty of wilderness and interpreted this imagery as an expression of the glory of God.

This recognition of the natural world as the presentation of God's handiwork would extend beyond the transcendental poets, landscape painters and academic professors of natural history, to be accepted by the instructors of nature study, who also embraced the study of objects of nature to be a pathway that led one closer to the thoughts of God.

Running parallel with this evolving mythos that sanctified nature, was the emotional influence of America's Great Awakening, originally shaped by religious preaching of Jonathan Edwards, George Whitefield and John Wesley. From their enthusiastic sermons was inspired the organizing of religious camp revivals set in the wilderness. Born from this nation's extreme religious zeal, these distinctly American religious camp meetings, positioned in scenic rural locations and closely associated with the natural environment, serviced hundreds of thousands of parishioners who ventured into the wilds to be "born-again." This grand organizing of the wilderness camp meetings served as precursors for the establishing of an untold number of religious camp retreats, which continued to service the needs of parishioners by providing access to the curative, inspirational and spiritual assets of nature.

The establishing of the Methodist camp retreats in part, laid the foundation for John Heyl Vincent and Lewis Miller to establish, not only the mother Chautauqua in upstate New York, but numerous daughter Chautauquas throughout the nation. The Chautauqua Institute furthered the efforts associated with Methodist reform movement in America by providing to the masses, access to an intellectual and moral education. A portion of this intellectual and moral education offered through the Chautauqua Program, was derived from America's popularized interpretation of natural history (i.e. Nature Study). As presented in the Oshkosh Wis-

consin's State Normal School Bulletin of May 1906, one finds six purported positive elements provided to students engaged in the instruction of nature:

First, to provide discipline especially to the perceptive faculties leading to the cultivation of close and accurate observation.

Second, to develop the right moral spirit leading to sympathy, kind treatment, and right feeling toward life, especially animal life.

Third, the work should aim to develop the spiritual nature, leading to reverence, trust and belief.

Fourth, to cultivate the aesthetic sense, leading to an appreciation of nature's beauty, including recognition of the beautiful, training in the securing of beautiful effects, and appreciation of the beauty of adaptation to use.

Fifth, to arouse love of nature and desire for her acquaintance and companionship.

Sixth, the work should help to maintain interest in all school work and aid in the work of other studies, especially language, reading, and drawing.⁹

For much of last quarter of the 19th century and first quarter of the 20th century, such ideals lent to the scholarly and principled education of students engaged in the study of natural history, including those enrolled in the Chautauqua Institute.

With the establishing of Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Program came the organizing of Chautauqua reading circles throughout the nation, whose members became well versed in the literature of nature study and the transcendental writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau and John Muir. This organizing of Chautauqua reading circles throughout America quickly seeded the formation of an untold number of women's clubs, which in turn furthered the development of America's women's club movement.

In the first year of the 20th century, women's clubs initiated the work of organizing political campaigns, and the writing of legislation on both the state and national level, directed toward the legal protection of nature. The years to come

would see the California Federation of Women's Clubs campaign for the establishment of a system of state parks and the General Federation of Women's Clubs advocate for the establishment of a system of national parks.

Finally, in reference to the establishing of a system of national parks in this country, which is today proposed to have been "*America's Best Idea*,"¹⁰ we circle back to consider the influence of the Chautauqua Institution. The following paragraphs being passages from a talk titled "*Organized Popular Education*" by Arthur E. Bestor, President of the Chautauqua Institution (1907-1944), presented in Yellowstone National Park during The National Park Conference of 1911; this being the first conference of departmental officials and invited guests interested in the development and administration of the national parks.

Organized Popular Education

The National Parks Conference has no more important task than the organization of such machinery as will bring to the people of America the knowledge of their unsurpassed heritage in the national parks and an earnest desire to enjoy them as individuals. Speaking on behalf of Chautauqua Institution, for two generations one of the great centers for popular education and one of the first places where the parks as national playgrounds were brought to the attention of the American people on a large scale, I can assure you of our readiness to put at your disposal all of our facilities for publicity and all of our agencies for the influencing of public opinion.

Our problem, strange to say, has not been unlike the one in which we are interested in this conference. Chautauqua has had to induce people to leave their comfortable homes in all parts of the country; has had to provide for all their physical, as well as mental, spiritual and recreational needs; had had to maintain them in safety, health and comfort; had had to see that their environment was such that they could work out their social and intellectual salvation in comfort and happiness. We have succeeded in building up the unique center for popular education of the world, partly because we have successfully met the same needs that face you in connection with the national parks. We are still under the necessity of taking into account railroad rates and transporta-

tion problems, sustenance, and sanitary arrangements and of carrying on publicity on a national scale.

There are great interests involved in this conference which do not concern themselves with my particular topic - how the parks shall be administered, how influence shall be brought to bear on Congress for their maintenance and development, what advantage shall be taken of them by scientific and educational organizations, what shall be the relationship of the National Park Service and the National Parks Association to other organizations. But all those who are interested in any of these questions will do well to remember that all are equally concerned in the problem of the education of the mass of the people with reference to the parks... ¹¹

We close this story with one final reflection upon the source of inspiration for this nation's extended reverence for nature; a wonder that is expressed by the remarkable number of national and state parks established throughout the United States. Today, these parks are increasingly recognized as representing a form of landscape democracy, and a symbol of the Puritan values born of the colonies of New England, held up to the world as an inspiring result of John Winthrop's Model of Christian Charity.



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