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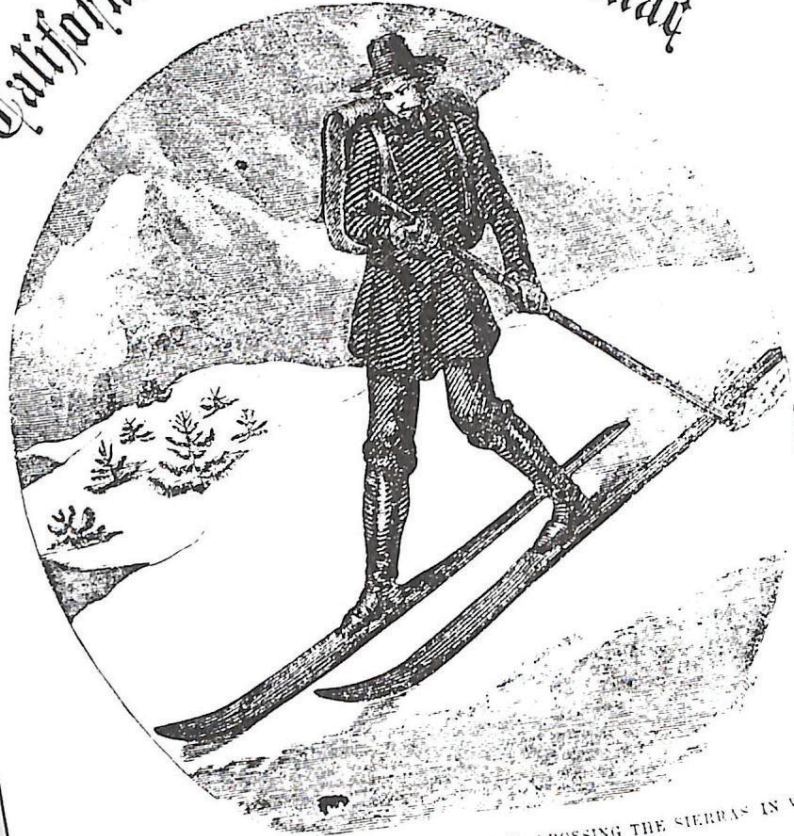
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Peer reviewed

THE
California *Pictorial* Almanac
FOR



THOMPSON, THE CARSON VALLEY EXPRESSMAN, CROSSING THE SIERRAS IN WINTER.

1861.

HUTCHINGS & ROSENFELD, PUBLISHERS,
No. 146 Montgomery Street, San Francisco.

The Almanacs of the San Francisco Bay Region, 1850-1861: A Neglected Historical Source

By Tanis Thorne

The value of almanacs has generally been underestimated, both with respect to the influence they had on the people who read them and their potential usefulness as documents for historical study. Although "no book has been more universally read, or more highly valued, or more serviceable to its day and generation"¹ as one student of the almanac has observed, this publication has received very little attention from scholars. The prominent nineteenth-century historian, Moses Coit Tyler, in his *History of American Literature*, commented:

No one who would penetrate to the core of early American literature, and would read in it the secret history of the people in whose minds it took root and from whose minds it grew, may by any means turn away, in lofty literary scorn, from the almanac [. . .] the very quack, clown, pack-horse, and pariah of modern literature, yet the one universal book of modern literature; the supreme and only literary necessity even in households where the Bible and the newspaper are still undesired or unattainable luxuries.²

Since before the turn of the century, scholars have called for a recognition of almanacs as historical sources.³ Secondary literature on almanacs, assessing their reliability and potentiality for different kinds of study, however, is still meager. Most of the work that has been done concerns those almanacs printed before 1800;⁴ yet the nineteenth-century almanac is a much more valuable reference work than its predecessors.⁵ By the nineteenth-century, the scope of the publication had widened to include an increasing amount of editorial material, overshadowing the ecclesiastical and astronomical chronologies that were traditionally the almanac's *raison d'être*. Among this new material are illustrations, a motley assortment of proverbs, recipes and jokes, advertising matter, statistical lists of election returns, names of state representatives and officers of civic organizations, annual agricultural production, and a diversity of other data; such addenda make the almanac of interest to a wide variety of scholars: literary and art historians, folklorists, and students of special topics such as printing history, nineteenth-century im-

migration, politics and urban and agricultural development.

The neglect of nineteenth-century almanacs has even extended to those published during one of the most studied periods in American history — gold-rush California. Of particular value are the almanacs published in the San Francisco Bay area between 1850 and 1861. An analysis of these almanacs confirms their potential usefulness for a wide range of scholarly pursuits, indicating they should be ranked with newspapers and magazines in their value as historical sources and in the insights they provide into the everyday life of a community.

Such an analysis has an important by-product: it contributes to an understanding of a period in San Francisco's printing history about which there is still much confusion. As Charles Shinn, among others, has observed, the numerous fires and the chaos of shifting investments and professions have left the records of early printing in an incomplete state⁶

The almanacs of San Francisco played a seminal role in the communication system of the city in the early years, when news from the isolated territory of California was at a premium in the nation, as well as in the world. With the completion of the transcontinental telegraph in 1861 and the shift in national concern to the Civil War, the character of this communication inevitably changed.

In an era of rapid growth marked by business speculation, the intermittent periods of optimism did little to alleviate the financial slump in California which lasted from 1853 to 1858 or 1859, a period labeled by the historian John Hittle as the "golden era of decline."⁷ With San Francisco's realization that the state could not rely on gold as its sole export came a passion for developing the interior and a drive for export and reexport markets.⁸ The campaign to attract immigrants was crippled by the dearth of reliable data on the state's geography and resources. The editor of the *California Farmer*, noting that grain continued to be imported though California produced more than enough to meet its need, urged in 1854 that careful statistics for each county immediately be gathered.⁹ In the ensuing efforts

of individuals in state government and private enterprise to collect and disseminate accurate information on resources, the California almanacs performed the dual function of presenting in cheap, summary form data useful to the resident farmers, miners, merchants, and legislators, as well as serving as an advertising brochure for prospective immigrants.

Though little remains of publishers' records from this time, one would surmise that steamer as well as local editions of almanacs would be highly marketable. In contrast to the San Francisco newspapers, the almanacs appealed to a wider readership; they were scrupulously non-partisan and contained more pages.¹⁰ The *California Register and Statistical Reporter for 1856* (San Francisco: Eureka Office, 1856) exemplifies the pervasive broad organizational principle behind almanac-making, listing such topics in its table of contents as "A description of Mountains, Hills, Valleys, Volcanoes, etc.; length of principal Rivers, their navigation, sources, etc.," "Manufactories, Flour and Saw Mills, and Improvements of all kinds," "Number of Indians, and description of Indian Reservations," "A description of Associations, Colleges, Schools, etc."

The topical, factual information in almanacs was rarely original. Nineteenth-century almanacs were characteristically editorial exercises, that is, compilations of second-hand materials derived from newspaper articles, works of literature, and, of course, other almanacs. J.P. Bogardus's *California State Almanac for 1856* (San Francisco: J.P. Bogardus, 1856), for example, cites the returns made by the assessors to the state surveyor-general as the source for "Live Stock in State in 1855" (p.69); and in *Carrie & Damon's California Almanac for 1856* (San Francisco: Carrie & Damon, 1856) the *Prices Current and Shipping List*, published by Johnson and Doyle, is quoted for their "Table of Exports" (p.27). Acknowledgements were the exception rather than the rule, however.

The fact that almanacs contain little that is original qualifies, but does not necessarily diminish, the value of these publications. For in some instances, the almanac provides a researcher a welcome alternative to sifting through mounds of newspapers or magazines in search of such data as annual agricultural production statistics. In other cases, although the pilfered source is not cited, the almanac may direct the seeker to other records; for example, in the 1858 edition of Hutchings and Rosenfield's *California Pictorial Almanac*, there is a lexicon: "The Vocabulary of the Kah-we'Yah and Kah-So Wah Indians" by J.H. Riley. This lexicon itself may be rare; the citation could lead to other work by J.H. Riley of interest to linguists or anthropologists.

At the very least, the almanac serves as a valuable cross-reference for the scholar, for the information (in California at least) is generally accurate. For one thing, the data in the *California Farmer*, the *Transactions of the State Agricultural Society*, the reports of the surveyor general, and the almanacs is highly interchange-

able. For example, the source for J.P. Bogardus's statistics on agricultural production in his *Illustrated California Almanac for 1857* (San Francisco: Bogardus and Buswell, 1857) indirectly or directly is the *Journal of the Fourth Session of the Legislature of the State of California* (San Francisco: George Kerr, 1853; pp.34-62); this is clear from the close correspondence of the content and organization of the materials. Another indication of the reliability of the data in almanacs is the agreement within .66 inches of the compilation of San Francisco rainfall given in the Bogardus almanac of 1857 and those recorded by the State Agricultural Society in 1874.¹¹

At best, almanacs preserve information for which the original source has been lost or destroyed. Hutchings and Rosenfield in their *California Almanac for 1860* (p. 24) present a note on "Chinese Companies in California" taken from the *Baptist Circular*, a periodical rare today. Hubert H. Bancroft considered these California almanacs an important source for his *History of California*, listing thirteen almanac series, printed between 1850 and 1870, in his references.¹²

The typographical import of almanacs has long been recognized, for throughout their long and complex history, there has been a constant demand for them as cheap literature. Promising regular sources of profit, almanacs were a staple of the printing industry.¹³ As Brigham notes,

No publication, excepting the newspaper, illustrates more clearly and consecutively the history of printing in any town, for nearly every printing firm issued an almanac and the time of its appearance was regular and certain.¹⁴

Not surprisingly, then, almanacs — along with state proclamations, newspaper sheets, notices of auctions, and other broadsides — were some of the first imprints in English to come off California presses.¹⁵ Robert Cowan, in his investigation of early San Francisco booksellers, used them as an important bibliographic source.¹⁶

Contrary to the popular supposition that miners, cowboys, and other frontiersmen were predominantly illiterate, the new residents of California constituted a sizable market for local and imported publications, especially novels and the cheaper forms of literature.¹⁷ As almanacs were utilitarian and inexpensive, they found a ready market. Between 1850 and 1861, fifty-five almanacs were published in the San Francisco Bay area,¹⁸ and many of these went into second editions. (The number of almanacs printed cannot be determined from the available records, but Robb Sagendorph, author of *America and Her Almanacs*, estimates that each almanac was printed in from three to five thousand copies.¹⁹) The peak periods in publication were 1856, when ten were printed, and 1859, when nine were printed.

Resembling a pamphlet in format and size (usually they were six by eight inches), the California almanacs



B. sends for wife—meets her on the wharf.



REFRAIN EVER LASTING
"Mr. B. is a bore—glad he is not present."



He becomes acclimated here—morally.



Health being delicate she travels with another gentleman.



They have a pleasant way of reasoning the matter.



The last of poor B. Desperate case of suicide.

of the fifties ranged in number of pages from sixteen to three or four hundred, the average being somewhere between fifty and a hundred. A publisher often sponsored an almanac for two to four years.²⁰ The wide variety of the materials included in almanacs, in California as elsewhere, was the key to their adaptability and continuing marketability: there is poetry, dialect jokes and literary anecdotes; recipes for everything from home cures for poison ivy to cleaning solutions, historical notes and essays, and tables of statistical information. Advertisements are a constant feature from the nineteenth-century onwards; ads for druggists, doctors, printers, engravers, stationers, and merchants are prevalent.

Somewhat surprisingly, the specialty almanacs, which enjoyed much popularity in other sections of America, do not manifest themselves in California during the fifties, except of course for the medical almanacs. There are no political almanacs, as such, serving the causes of abolitionism, temperance, or aspiring candidacy; neither are there religious, prognosticating or trade almanacs, and there is only one example of a comic almanac. The city was evidently absorbed in the controversies over vigilantism and city reform and was removed from the social and political issues shaking the rest of the country. Perhaps also, the social and political institutions in the new city had not had time to stabilize sufficiently to support interest group publications.

Many almanac titles do contain the names of occupational groups; for instance, there is the *California Merchant's and Miners' Almanac* and the *Farmers' and Miners' Almanac for California*. These titles, however, are less a reflection of the content than of an attempt to attract a certain buying public.

Fortunately, a great number of these publications of the fifties contain detailed tables of contents, and in not a few instances, extensive indices as well. Perusal of the contents of these eclectic publications suggest their usefulness for many different kinds of study. Their value for the investigation of California's early agriculture, medicine, commerce, art, and mining are immediately apparent. Emerging from the nature of the material themselves are categories of almanacs which roughly correspond to broad areas of research, for certain San Francisco almanacs contain more of one kind of information than another. A typology can, therefore, be constructed on the basis of the kind of data that predominates in each category. There is some overlapping among the almanacs (especially in the foreign language ones), but they can be categorized as follows: business, foreign, medical, cultural, and encyclopedic.

Perhaps the type of almanac most useful to the study of commercial development in San Francisco in the 1850s is the business almanac. Editorial matter of interest to merchants and consumers and a large amount of advertising characterizes this genre. Not uncommonly business directories are incorporated in these almanacs (or, if you will, almanacs are incorporated in

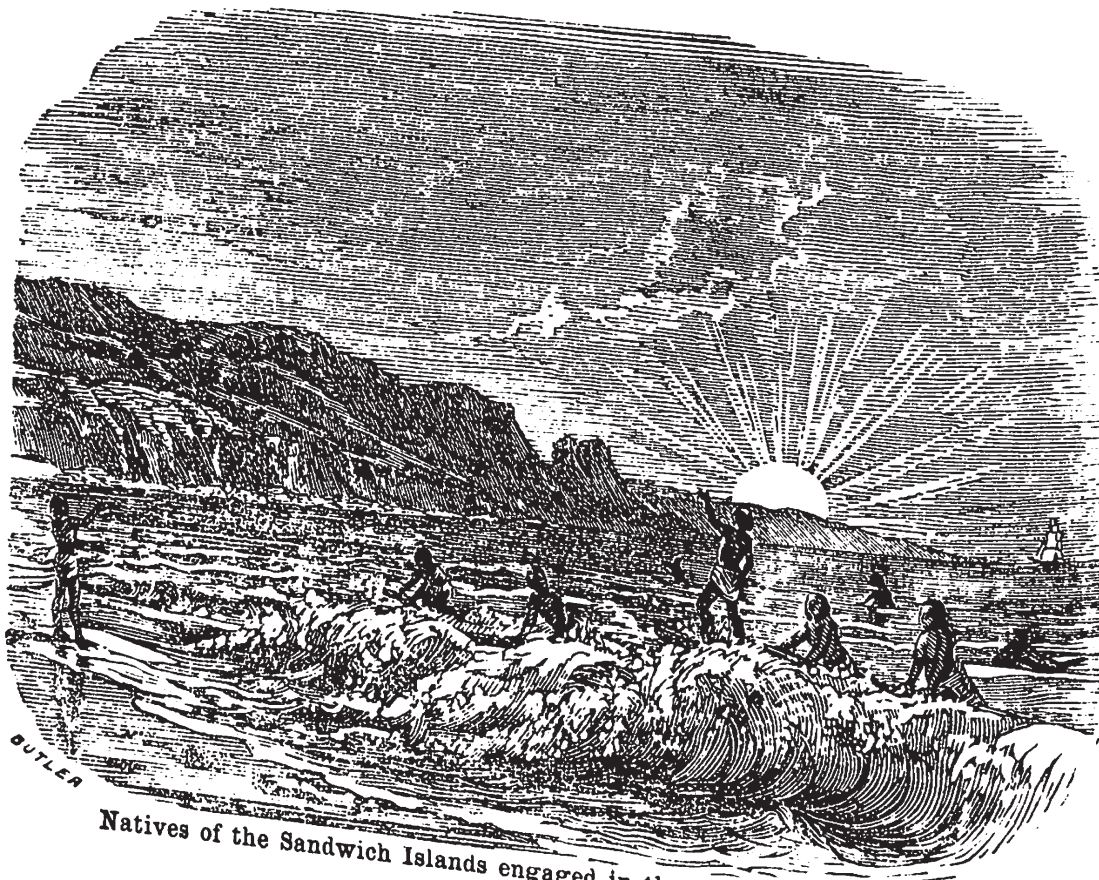
business directories); this may be a development unique to San Francisco, for I have not encountered this phenomenon elsewhere; continual updating of commercial directories were made imperative by the nature of the "instant" city's growth: the extensive and rapid commercial development, the destructive fires, and the numerous rebuildings. A special point is made of mentioning these almanac-directories here, although the usefulness of business directories has long been recognized by scholars (Roger Lotchin, for example, relies on four city directories for his conclusions about land use in his chapter "The Pattern and Chaos of Growth" in *San Francisco 1846-1856: From Hamlet to City*),²¹ for the title "almanac" may have obscured the directories from view. The J.P. Bogardus series (1854-1857) has a hundred to a hundred and fifty advertisers listed in the index of each volume.²²

A fund of information on the process of San Francisco's urban development can be found in the business almanacs. The aspirations of business people can be charted by surveying the advertisements; demographic studies on urban growth can be constructed from the lists of advertisers and the directories, and the careers of city pioneers can be traced. Henry Payot's *Almanach Francais pour 1859* (San Francisco: Henry Payot, 1859) and W. F. Herrick and Octavian Hoggs' *San Francisco Almanac for 1859* (San Francisco: Her-

rick and Hoogs, 1859) are examples of almanacs which have considerable information on commerce and urbanization. Not only do they contain extensive directories, a fact not generally known, but they include a special kind of material on urbanization which makes them worthy of note.

Written for the French population of San Francisco, the 146-page *Almanach Francais pour 1859* (which, incidentally, went into two editions in 1859) encloses a directory exclusively of French people in every conceivable trade. It is thus a remarkable document for the investigation of the French immigrant population in the city; Esther Jerabek admonished as long ago as 1934 that researchers doing work on immigrants could profitably avail themselves of foreign-language almanacs.²³

The *San Francisco Almanac for 1859* is important for its architectural engravings as well as for its exceptional directory. Included are business directories for San Francisco, Sacramento, Marysville, and Stockton, arranged by profession instead of alphabetically, thus facilitating research on special topics, such as bookselling, printing, or medicine. In addition, approximately thirty engravings by W.C. Butler of fire houses, churches, and other public buildings are included; they are accompanied by short, descriptive essays, telling of the construction of the structures and enumerating the officers of the group occupying the building. The lead-



Natives of the Sandwich Islands engaged in the sport of Surf-Riding.

ing historian on California architecture makes reference to this almanac.²⁴

Another area of investigation for which almanacs are potentially useful is the study of medical practices. There was a wide range in the methods of healing during the nineteenth century: vegetable and water cures rivaled patent medicine, prescription drugs and homeopathy. During the fifties, California had no regulations concerning who could practice and under what conditions, and there was no agreement as to what constituted professional standards.²⁵

No comprehensive study has yet been done on early medical practices in California, though certain aspects, such as the founding of hospitals and biographies of leading physicians, have been treated. The tendency has been to ignore almost entirely the "unorthodox" curing practices (by contemporary standards) and, therefore, give the erroneous impression that a few college-trained doctors touring the mines were the only practitioners in the fifties. This impression belies the historical facts, for not only was there no consensus about the superiority of one healing method over another, the pioneer Californian often had little choice in the matter. Health facilities of all kinds were inadequate,²⁶ the rates were exorbitant, and many of the pioneers were too isolated to take advantage of the more professional services even if they could afford

them. Many were forced to resort to self-prescription and to the services of medical quacks.²⁷

Any complete discussion of the medical practices in the fifties would include the apothecaries and their patent medicine wares and the water- and vegetable-cure physicians.²⁸ Almanacs are an obvious source for such a study, for druggists frequently advertised in otherwise sponsored these publications. A researcher could explore this advertising for clues to the contemporary practices, the kinds of ailments which fell into the domain of the apothecary,²⁹ and the relative prosperity of these unorthodox physicians. For example, one medical historian mentions a Dr. Young in passing, describing him as a "quack with a conscience," whose talents for promotion had brought him considerable prosperity in the city.³⁰ As Dr. J.C. Young was a major advertiser in the *Farmers' and Miners' Almanac* series, 1856-1859, additional information could have been gathered by consulting these almanacs.

C. Morril, E.S. Holden, Reddington and Company, and a firm called Park & White were almanac publishers in the fifties.³¹ Occasionally, these advertising organs contained a gratis piece of medical advice or a recipe for a remedy and could, therefore, be a potential source for a folklorist.³²

Almanacs are also valuable for another kind of research: literary history or the study of folk-speech.³³ Of



MEXICAN WOMEN GRINDING MAIZE ON THE *Metate*—MAKING TORTILLAS AND COOKING

particular note here are the *Farmers' and Miners' Almanac* series (1856-1859) printed by the Franklin Office, and its more enduring contemporary, the *California Merchants' and Miners' Almanac* series (1850-1859). Both sets of almanacs contain poetry, dialect jokes, and a large number of anecdotes of a humorous and semi-literary nature. Considerable information could be gathered from them on the perpetuation and oicotypification of themes and prototypes. These publications would be a fitting starting point for exploring the impact of the frontier on the Californian's imagination: do these publications reflect indigenous literary forms and social attitudes (such as racism towards the Chinese, anticolonialism or loneliness) or merely perpetuate traditional practices? Did the demographic characteristics of early California — the disproportionate sex ratio and the high proportion of foreign-born people — influence beliefs which can be found manifested in almanac jokes and proverbs?

Like the *Farmers' and Miners'* and the *Merchants' and Miners'* almanacs, the *California Pictorial Almanac* series; 1858-1861, sought to entertain as well as to instruct its readers. This little known but well-executed set, published by Hutchings and Rosenfield, is especially valuable to the art historian. Often there are two illustrations to the page in the *California Pictorials*, and the engravings represent a wide range of

California phenomena. The 1858 volume, for example, contains pictures of the "Shrine of Sonora de Guadalupe," "The Road Runner of California," "Miners Toming and Sluicing," and "Indian Fandango" among many others. Following close on the heels of the renaissance in American woodcutting in the 1840s, these almanacs contain examples of the work of the best local artist-engravers of the day: R.H. Vance, Charles Nahl, William Keith, Thomas Ayres, W.C. Butler, Eastman, Loomis, Armstrong (first names unknown), and many more. The peak period in almanac illustration in California was 1856 to 1865, and the finest pieces are to be found in J.M. Hutchings's pictorial almanacs.

Hutchings was a promoter of California, and his name is associated with the first photographic and illustrative representations of California's natural wonders. On his tourist trips of 1854 and 1855, he took a daguerrean with him whenever possible, and he was the first to take a photographer into the Yosemite Valley and to the top of Mount Whitney.³⁴ Hutchings climbed Whitney with California's first resident botanist, Dr. Albert Kellogg; and thus illustrations of native plants, accompanied by brief notes, find their way into the pages of these almanacs.

The *California Pictorial Almanacs* were largely abstracted from Hutchings's *California Illustrated*



THE MOUNTAIN MEADOW MASSACRE.

Magazine, a publication which was so popular in its day that, according to Robert E. Cowan, it "was read almost out of existence."³⁵ Hutchings' recurrent themes were the mining regions and the natural wonders of the state (especially the Sierra Nevada), and his almanacs reflect, in a much more substantive way than the *Farmers' and Miners'* and the *Merchants' and Miners'* almanacs, the cultural frontiers of California. As Roger Olmsted writes, Hutchings "give us a picture hard to find in any other source."³⁶

Thus, in addition to their value for the art historian, the *California Pictorial* may be found useful for research on the Sierra Nevada (such as the exploration and development of the Yosemite Valley) or on the advancement of science (the early documentation of native plants and animals). Roger Olmsted's observation that Hutchings's more technical articles were widely pirated suggests their significance and authority in their day.³⁷

The last category of almanacs to be discussed is the encyclopedic type, publications containing information on a wide variety of general knowledge. Examples of these fact-books are the *California State Almanac and Annual Register* (Sacramento: Democratic State Journal Office, 1855 and 1856), the *California Register and Statistical Reporter* (cited earlier), and the *State Register, and Year Book of Facts* (Sacramento and San Francisco [respectively]: James Queen, 1857 and 1859). In contrast to the other categories of almanacs, this type contains no fictional material, no illustrations, and little or no advertising. The encyclopedic almanacs are designed to be accurate compendiums of statistical data, useful to the merchants, agriculturalist, and mechanics of California. To the extent that the ency-

clopedic almanacs succeeded in their purpose and insofar as they are the only record of certain information, they are useful today as annual summaries of data on the development of the state's resources.

The *California State Almanac and Annual Register* was printed by the state printer. These two publications include statistics on the capital wealth and the agricultural production of the state for 1852, the election returns of 1853 and 1854, a count of livestock in the state by county, and assorted other data. That the utmost care was taken to assure that the information was accurate is indicated by the inclusion of errata pages and the editorial note at the end of the 1856 volume.³⁸ The same concern for accuracy is evident in the *State Register and Year Book of Facts*, compiled in 1857 and 1859 by Henry Langley. In the "Salutatory" for the 1857 volume, Langley writes that the object of the publication is "to present a volume of convenient size and price which contains a reliable and comprehensive description of the resources of the state of California, . . . a useful and convenient work of reference to all classes of the community." The information had been obtained, Langley said, from reliable sources: a thousand state and federal officers as well as private citizens engaged in developing the state's resources; over four thousand pages of responses were collated. For the 1859 volume, Langley claims that two thousand communications were mailed to reliable authorities; the second volume, according to the editor, is even more complete. Under "Statistics" and "Resources" there is extensive information on the status of the citrus industry, wagon roads, libraries, newspapers, manufactures, etc. Both a table of contents and an index are in each edition.

The encyclopedic almanacs should be utilized, along



INDIAN FANDANGO.

with John Hittell's well-known and widely respected *Resources of California* (San Francisco: A. Roman, 1863), as a guide to the state's economic development. For this purpose at least one scholar has found these fact-books useful: Joseph Ellison cites Langley's volumes as a source for his *California and the Nation, 1850-1869* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1927). Authors of histories of mining, fishing, lumbering, and agriculture³⁹ could utilize the fact-books, instead of relying on the 1850 and 1860 census figures as has heretofore been the general practice.

Other scholars besides Robert Cowan, Joseph Ellison, Harold Kirker, and Hubert Bancroft could have employed the San Francisco Bay area almanacs. Recorded in them is material for the study of urban development, art history, literary history, printing history, folklore, immigrant groups, biography, and the development of the state's resources. The almanac of the nineteenth-century was a flexible medium that adapted itself to the requirements of frontier California. Although a strong inheritance from East Coast traditions is to be acknowledged, the almanacs mirrored the local environment. Though designed to be expressly neutral in the area of politics, they nonetheless illustrate the pressing social and economic problems of the day. Their succinctness makes them valuable summaries for researchers who follow.

Dispelling the web of confusion surrounding business speculation was one of the most serious hurdles to city building during the decade, according to historians Gunther Barth, Gerald Nash, and Roger Lotchin.⁴⁰ With respect to this problem, the California almanacs performed an important service, transmitting accurate information on the human and material resources within the state to its residents and acting as propaganda literature to attract immigrants.

In San Francisco, there was a great deal of experimentation with the medium; many almanacs were printed and the range of their materials is surprisingly broad. Fortunately, the quality of these publications is high, for many able persons tried their hand at this idiosyncratic, eclectic medium. In other nineteenth-century frontier towns, almanacs may not have found a foothold because of the increasing accessibility of books, but where they did appear one would expect them to have adapted themselves to local needs and conditions as they did in San Francisco, varying in quality and content depending on the resources and aspirations of their editors. To the extent that other nineteenth-century almanacs demonstrate the contemporaneity and heterogeneity found in the San Francisco almanacs, historians ignore them at their peril.



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FOOTNOTES

1. Sam Briggs, "The Origin and Development of the Almanack," *Western Reserve and Northern Ohio Historical Society*, Tract no. 69 (Cleveland, Ohio: 1887), p. 437.
2. Moses Coit Tyler, *History of American Literature* (1878), Vol. 2, p. 120. As quoted in Clarence Brigham's "An Account of American Almanacs and Their Value for Historical Study," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* for October, 1925, (Worcester, Mass.: 1925), p. 16.
3. Brigham, *Ibid.*, ff.; Briggs, *op. cit.*, ff.; Amos Perry, "Some New England Almanacs," *Narragansett Historical Register*, (Providence: 1885), ff.; Esther Jerabek, "Almanacs as Historical Sources," *Minnesota Historical Quarterly*, 15 (1934), 444-449, ff.
4. Brigham, *op. cit.*, p. 3. Notable exceptions are the folklorists Richard Dorson and Wayland Hand. Dorson used almanacs for his *Davy Crockett, American Comic Legend* (New York: 1939) and Hand surveyed a large number for *The Frank C. Brown Collection of North Carolina Folklore*, volumes VI and VII, which he edited. Milton Drake's *Almanacs of the United States* (New York: 1962), a bibliography in two volumes, will hopefully stimulate, as well as facilitate, the systematic study of almanacs (and the study of history through almanacs). This work was the springboard for the present study.
5. Brigham, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-15.
6. Charles Shinn, "Early Books, Magazines, and Book-Making," *Overland Monthly*, Vol. XII (Second Series — Oct., 1888), p. 338.
7. Roger Lotchin, *San Francisco 1846-1856: From Hamlet to City* (New York: 1974), p. 48. Hittell's phrase is quoted from Roger Olmsted's *Scenes of Wonder & Curiosity* (Berkeley: 1962), p. 90.
8. Lotchin, *op. cit.*, p. 80.
9. Paul Gates, *California Ranchos and Farms 1846-1862* (Madison: 1967), p. 51. Cf. Gunther Barth, *Instant Cities* (New York: 1975), pp. 172-3 for immigrant campaign.
10. The *Evening Bulletin*, a successful newspaper of the 1850s, produced a daily, a weekly, and a steamer edition for circulation in the "interior", the Atlantic States, and Europe. Charles Homes and Isom Shepard, *Frontier Journalism*, in the WPA History of Journalism in San Francisco ed. Emerson Daggett (1939), Vol. VI, p. 25. Cf. John P. Young, *Journalism in California* (San Francisco: 1915), pp. 35-36 and Holmes and Shepard, *op. cit.*, p. 25 on early newspapers.
11. Calculated by Thomas Tennett in *Meteorology and Climatology of the Great Valleys and Foothills of California* (Sacramento: 1886), p. 34.
12. Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco: 1884-1890). In Vol. XVIII of *Works*, in the references for Volume I., pp. xxv-lxxxviii.
13. Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt, *The Book in America*, (New York: 1952), p. 34.
14. Brigham, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
15. The first almanac was printed in 1848 by Sam Brannan at the *California Star* newspaper office, and the second recorded to have been printed was the *California Merchants' and Miners' Almanac for 1850*. "calculations by Warren Mix... upon the

- earnest solicitation of many of the citizens of Sacramento City." Herbert Fahey, *Early Printing in California to September 9, 1850* (San Francisco: 1956), pp. 115, 122.
16. Robert Ernest Cowan, *Booksellers of Early San Francisco* (Los Angeles: 1953).
 17. On early printing ventures, see Shinn, *op. cit.*, pp. 337-352 ff. and William Cubery, *Fifty Years a Printer* (San Francisco: 1900), pp. 12, 14. Between 1847 and 1858, 132 printers operated in San Francisco and more than a thousand proprietors, editors and reporters worked on the numerous newspapers, which represented six languages, nine nationalities, eight religions, and seven political parties. Edward Kemble, "A history of California Newspapers," reprinted from the *Sacramento Daily Union* of December 25, 1858 (New York: 1927), pp. 123-124. Cf. H. H. Bancroft, *Literary Industries: A Memoir* (San Francisco: 1891), p. 173 and Frank Marryat, *Mountains and Molehills* (Stanford: 1952 — facsimile from the 1855 edition), p. 166.
 18. Drake, Vol. I, pp. 5-17. During the next decade, fifty to sixty almanacs were printed and some of these went into second and third editions. I have personally seen seventy-five percent of the almanacs of the period discussed in this paper. I am indebted to the Department of Special Collections, UCLA University Research Library and the Huntington Library — both of which have fine collections of almanacs — for letting me use their facilities. I would like to express also my gratitude to Dr. Norris Hundley for his encouragement and editorial advice. I have seen members of each major series, and the conclusions I draw are justified by the fact that once an almanac series was initiated, it seldom changed format: Robb Sagendorph *America and her Almanacs*, (Dublin, New Hampshire: 1970), pp. 18-19. 19. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
 19. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
 20. A small percentage of the fifty-five almanacs in the sample are foreign language publications (notably German), which will not be given full treatment in this paper because of the limits of time and space. Also among the fifty-five are a few which bear a non-San Francisco imprint alongside the name of a San Francisco publisher. E. S. Holden's *Free Almanacs for California* (1856-1858) were sponsored and printed by a druggist firm in Boston, for which Holden was the representative; J. J. LeCount and Strong, booksellers, published agricultural almanacs in 1854 and 1856, which were printed in New York.
 21. Lotchin, *op. cit.*, p. 353.
 22. These almanacs were published under slightly different titles; Bogardus was the compiler. As there is a three year lacunae between J. M. Parker's directory of 1853 and S. Colville's directory of 1856, Lotchin's sources, and as this was a time of high unemployment and social unrest, he may have found the Bogardus's series helpful.
 23. Jerabek, *op. cit.*, p. 445.
 24. Harold Kirker, *California's Architectural Frontier* (San Marino: 1960), p. 76. Although some of the architects he lists in his appendix of biographical information on San Francisco architects have only a single reference in another directory or source, he excluded Joseph Trench and Jos. Boardman, who were listed in both the *San Francisco Almanac*, p. 37, and *Parker's Directory of 1852-53*, p. 99.
 25. George Groh, *Gold Fever*, (New York: 1966), p. 6.
 26. Lotchin, *op. cit.*, p. 119; Frank Soule, *Annals of San Francisco* (San Francisco:), p. 591.
 27. Groh, *op. cit.*, p. 223.
 28. Two books on patent medicine almanacs of the nineteenth-century have been written: James Harvey Young, *The Toadstool Millionaires* (Princeton: 1961) and Gerald Carson, *One For a Man, Two for a Horse* (Garden City, N.Y.: 1961).
 29. Cf. E. M. Coulter, "California Copyrights, 1851-1856," in the *California Historical Society Quarterly*, Vol. 22 (1943), pp. 33, 36.
 30. Groh, *op. cit.*, p. 287.
 31. Reddington and Holden were both from East Boston. Lotchin, *op. cit.*, p. 127. See Checklist for titles.
 32. C. Grant Loomis in his "Indications of Miner's Medicine" in *Western Folklore*, Vol. VIII (1949), pp. 117-125, relied primarily on the *Golden Era* and cites only one, relatively late, almanac.
 33. Articles on Folk-speech by same author as above in *Western Folklore*, 1949-1950. Scattered articles on the subject (gold-rush period) appear in the journal up to 1960. Wayland Hand, as I mentioned in footnote 4, surveyed almanacs for items of folk-speech; he was slightly disappointed in the results, but found gleanings of proverbs, legends, weather lore, and medical lore. He asserts their main value for the folklorist is as an attestation of early material in oral tradition.
 34. Francis P. Farquhar, *History of the Sierra Nevada* (Berkeley: 1966), pp. 122, 179. Olmsted, *op. cit.*, p. vii.
 35. Cowan, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
 36. Olmsted, *op. cit.*, p. 2. There are articles on early institutions and entertainments — such as the Merchantile Library and the What Cheer House — and the 1858 *California Pictorial* includes a commentary on San Francisco social airs.
 37. In California, observes Olmsted, "so much was new that it was not overly difficult for an author or editor to tread the line between popularization and pedantry." *Ibid.*, p. 204. As Farquhar found Hutchings's *In the Heart of the Sierras* an important reference work, he might find the almanacs published by Hutchings significant too.
 38. Referring to the anecdotal, editorial matter featured on each page, such as "The Value of Leaves" and "To Make Ewes give Milk at Lambing Time" (copied from the LeCount and Strong almanacs), Mr. B. B. Redding says: "as the statistics of this work are its main features, the calendric pages were entrusted to another party, and neither the editor nor the undersigned wish to father the nonsense at the foot of them." p. 72. He also apologizes for the misspellings and omissions.
 39. According to Gerald Nash, reliable histories still needed to be done on these subjects in 1967. *State Government and Economic Development* (Berkeley: 1964), pp. 370-373.
 40. Nash, *op. cit.*, p. 67; Barth, *op. cit.*, p. 161; Lotchin writes: "...perhaps the greatest single difficulty in the city's merchantile activity arose from the lack of information... This defect was compounded by the almost total lack of statistics on what was being produced in California and on the Pacific Coast. This lack was especially evident in 1853 and 1854." *op. cit.*, p. 55.

CHECKLIST

Listed below are the major series of almanacs printed during the 1850's:

California Merchants' and Miners' Almanac. By Warren Mix. 1850-1859. Editions did not appear in 1852 and 1855. Did not exceed 24 leaves.

California (Illustrated) Almanacs. By John P. Bogardus. 1854-1857. One edition was 25 leaves, but others were 18 leaves or less.

California State Almanac and Annual Register. Democratic State Journal Office: Sacramento. 1855-1856. 1854 edition listed by Drake cannot be located. 36 leaves.

Carrie & Damon California Almanacs. Published by Carrie and Damon, booksellers. 1855-1856. 17-18 leaves.

LeCount and Strong's Agricultural Almanacs. 1854, 1856. LeCount and Strong, booksellers, publishers. 24 leaves.

Farmers' and Miners' Almanac for California. 1856-1859. A pocketbook series. Printed (and published?) by Franklin Office. 48 leaves.

E. S. Holend's Free Almanac for California. 1856-1858. Printed in Boston. 24 leaves.

Californischer (Illustrirter) Volkskalender. 1857-1858. 36-50 leaves.

State Register, and Year Book of Facts. By Henry G. Langley and Samuel A. Morrison (Mathews?). 1857, 1859, 194, 218 leaves.

C. Morrill's Medical Almanac. 1858-1860. 12 leaves.

California Pictorial Almanac. By J. M. Hutchings and Rosenfield. 1858-1861. 20-30 leaves.

California Illustrated Family Medical Almanac. Park and White, druggists, publishers. 1859-1860. 24 leaves.

California (Oregon — 1859) Almanac. 1858-1862, 1865. Reddington and Co., druggists. 13-24 leaves.