



Bulletin

California State Library Foundation

Spring/Summer 2003

Number 75

Editor

GARY F. KURUTZ

Associate Editor

VICKIE J. LOCKHART

Copy Editor

PATRICIA MORRIS

Board of Directors

GEORGE BASYE

President

SUE T. NOACK

Vice-President

KENNETH B. NOACK, JR.

Treasurer

BARBARA CAMPBELL

Secretary

ROBERT DICKOVER

ALLAN FORBES

LOIS GORDON

J.S. HOLLIDAY

HERBERT HUNN

MEAD B. KIBBEY

VIRGINIA LIVINGSTON

THOMAS MILLER

MARILYN SNIDER

SANDRA SWAFFORD



DR. KEVIN STARR

State Librarian

GARY E. STRONG, EMERITUS

GARY F. KURUTZ

Executive Director

JULIA SCHAW

Administrative Assistant

The *California State Library Foundation Bulletin* is published quarterly in Winter, Spring, Summer and Fall©2003.

Opinions of the authors are their own and do not necessarily reflect the opinions of their institutions, the California State Library, or the Foundation.

The *Bulletin* is included as a membership benefit to Foundation members and those individuals contributing \$40.00 or more annually to Foundation Programs. Membership rates are:

Associate:	\$40-99
Contributor:	\$100-249
Sponsor:	\$250-499
Patron:	\$500-999
Institutional:	\$500
Corporate:	\$750
Lifetime Member:	\$1,000
Pioneer:	\$5,000
Subscription to Libraries:	\$30.00 / year.

California State Library Foundation
1225 8th Street, Suite 345
Sacramento, CA 95814

Tel: 916 · 447 · 6331
Web: www.cslibdn.org
Email: cslib3@juno.com

TABLE of CONTENTS

ADOLPH SUTRO AS BOOK COLLECTOR: A NEW LOOK

By Russ Davidson 2

FOUNDATION NOTES

Foundation Board Meets in Clarksburg 26

Mead B. Kibbey Honored 26

Reproductions of CSL Images

Available for Purchase 26

Mexican War Publication

Finally Available 27

Yosemite Book Published 27

The Millennium Book 27



FRONT COVER: (Top) *The 1496 Augsburg pirated edition of the Nuremberg Chronicle by Hartmann Schedel.* (Middle) *Portrait of Adolph Sutro (1830–1898).* (Bottom, left) *Bookplate of Adolph Sutro depicting many of his accomplishments. It features the “Honest Miner” symbol with the Sutro Tunnel on the right and Sutro Heights and the Cliff House on the left. The bookplate is still in use by the Sutro Library.* (Bottom, right) *Early design used for Sutro Library stationery.*

BACK COVER: *Hand-colored stipple engraving from P. J. Redouté’s incomparable Les Roses (Paris, 1817-24). It is one of several great flower books acquired by Sutro.*

PHOTO CREDITS: *California History Section and Sutro Library the San Francisco branch of the California State Library: front and back covers, pages 2-6, 8, 10, 12, 15-16, 18, 21, 23 and 32. Images scanned by M. Anthony Martinez.*

Cornell University Library: pages 13-14. Mead B. Kibbey: page 28.

DESIGN: *Lisette McConnell, M²-Design*

The BULLETIN is indexed in LIBRARY LITERATURE.



Adolph Sutro strolling in his gardens at Sutro Heights, San Francisco. Sutro Heights is located near Seal Rocks and the Pacific Ocean.

Adolph Sutro as Book Collector: A New Look

By Russ Davidson

It is quite possible that in the annals of American book collecting and library history, there is no collector who has received less recognition—in relation to the value and importance of his library—than the San Francisco entrepreneur Adolph Sutro. Sutro (1830–1898), an emigré to the United States from Prussia, began his collecting in a serious, systematic way in the early 1880s; within the span of ten years—driven by the ambition to create and endow a great public research library—he had assembled what apparently was the largest private library in America. At its peak, Sutro’s library contained perhaps 250,000 volumes and as many as 300,000 titles.¹ It was unrivaled, however, not only for its size, but also for the strength and richness of many of its holdings. These comprised incunabula; a wealth of sixteenth-century books printed by all of the great European publishing houses; extensive runs of early scientific and technical treatises and periodicals; exhaustive collections of tracts, pamphlets, and periodicals documenting periods of English, Continental, and Mexican political, literary, and religious history; unique manuscript holdings pertaining to ancient Jewish history and to the history of eighteenth-century travel and discovery—the list runs on. In a word, Sutro had wanted to form a collection with sufficient range



The gateway to Sutro Heights, San Francisco. Sutro was dissuaded from placing his library at his ocean side estate.

and depth across different branches of human knowledge and periods of history that it might serve as the basis for a leading public research library on the Pacific Coast, and he was largely successful in meeting this objective.

Given this success and the magnificence of his library, it would seem to be a reasonable expectation to find Sutro listed among the ranks of America’s eminent book collectors. The reality, however, is otherwise. At the height of his book-buying ventures, when his library neared and then exceeded the 100,000-volume mark, Sutro did receive a measure of recognition, particularly in the local and regional press.² Yet in the main, the record is strangely silent concerning Sutro and his library. Few directories or collective biographies of notable collectors published in this country mention Adolph Sutro, and those that do generally

Russ Davidson is Curator of Latin American & Iberian Collections in the University of New Mexico Library. His research interests focus on Latin America, with an emphasis on the history of book collecting and private libraries in Mexico during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Currently, he is completing an essay on Mexico’s vanguard print-making cooperative, the Taller de Gráfica Popular, and is collaborating with the National Hispanic Cultural Center on a comprehensive exhibition of contemporary Latin American political posters. A native of San Francisco, he has long had an interest in the early history of the Sutro Library.



(Top) The famous wall map of the world by Pieter van den Keere, c. 1610. (Middle, left) The first leaf of Thomas Aquinas' Summa Theologiae (1478) is adorned with a striking illuminated initial and border decoration. Sutro purchased this copy in 1883 as a duplicate from the Royal State Library in Munich. (Middle) Adolph Sutro as the "Honest Miner." This staged photograph of Sutro was made in London in 1869. Photograph by London Portrait Company. (Bottom, right) Hand-colored plate of a flying fish from M. E. Bloch's spectacular Naturgeschichte der Fische (Berline, 1782-95).

limit their remarks to a sentence or two. For example, Carl Cannon's survey, *American Book Collectors and Collecting from Colonial Times to the Present*, makes no mention of Sutro, nor is he among the 359 "significant American book collectors," included in Donald Dickinson's more recent *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*.³ Typical of the treatment that Sutro receives, when he is mentioned, is that accorded him by Ruth Shepard Granniss in the landmark 1939 survey, *The Book in America...*,⁴ in which Sutro and his library are together given a total of three lines—

this in a book whose declared purpose was to correct the deficiencies of previous studies and do justice to the full range of book collecting in the United States.⁵

Thus the question inevitably arises, why would a man who figured so prominently in the history of book collecting in the United States receive so little recognition? How could accounts such as Ruth Granniss', which sought to document "the growth of libraries" and "the ownership of books by individuals," in this country either omit

or at best make scant reference to Adolf Sutro? The answer is multi-faceted but has two broad sources: first, the unfortunate fate which befell the library after its owner's death, consigning it to neglect, disuse, and partial destruction; and second, the belief—given credence in anecdotal and popular accounts but false to a great extent—that Sutro was not a collector or bookman in the more sophisticated sense of the term, but simply a parvenu and latecomer, who opened up his checkbook to buy vast quantities of books, operating without any underlying method or rationale. In the intertwined fate of Sutro's library on the one hand, and the distorted image of him as a collector on the other, lies the explanation for his puzzling absence from the pages of American book collecting history.

SUTRO AS COLLECTOR: FACT AND FANCY

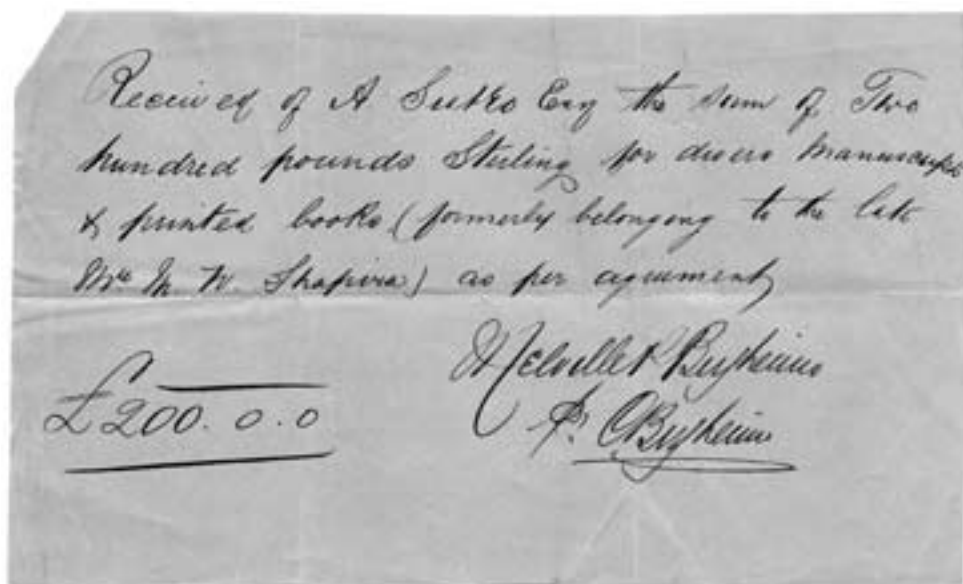
In January 1917, the Sutro Library was opened to the public as the San Francisco branch of the California State Library. By that time, Adolph Sutro had been dead for nearly two decades, and the Library had suffered greatly during the interval. Sutro had on many occasions publicly described his plans to donate his library to the city of San Francisco, after first constructing a building in which to house it and then providing an endowment for its growth and maintenance. He had devoted considerable time and energy to formulating these plans, but unfortunately—in one of the signal failures of his life—waited too long to implement them. When he died in 1898, the library was stored in two locations in downtown San Francisco. Approximately half was warehoused in a building on Battery Street, and the other half stored on shelves in a specially-renovated suite of offices that he rented in what was called the "Montgomery Block." During the conflagration which swept over the city in the wake of the 1906 earthquake, all of the books in the Battery Street warehouse—some 100,000 volumes or more—were destroyed. The fireproofed Montgomery Block survived. In a further misfortune, Sutro—distracted during his final years by multiple business and political interests—had neglected to write a new will. The old will had been drawn up in 1882, on the eve of Sutro's book-buying ventures, and thus made no stipulation about the disposition of the library. As



California antiquarian bookseller, Robert E. Cowan, June 15, 1890. Cowan knew Sutro personally and had visited his library in the Montgomery Block. Photograph by Charles Lainer, San Francisco.

a result, it was contested by Sutro's heirs along with the rest of the estate. In 1913, after years of protracted litigation, Sutro's children finally agreed to donate it to the California State Library.

Even in its diminished state, the Sutro Library remained an exceptional collection with several areas of unduplicated strength. Although announcements about the opening of the Sutro Branch in 1917 fell, unsurprisingly, upon a largely disinterested public, they did stir the imagination and memories of some. One such individual was Edward F. O'Day, a columnist for a San Francisco weekly entitled *Town Talk*. Curious to know more about the Library and its colorful founder, O'Day sought out the veteran San Francisco bookdealer and bibliophile Robert E. Cowan. As O'Day knew, Cowan was the perfect source. A man of wide erudition, Cowan had personally known Sutro, had inspected books housed in the Montgomery Block quarters several times, and had gotten second-hand descriptions of Sutro's book-hunting exploits and methods of acquisition from two of the individuals with the greatest



Receipt for Sutor's purchase of Hebrew manuscripts and rare books from the estate of Jerusalem antiquities dealer Moses W. Shapira.

knowledge of Sutor's Library, George Moss and Frederic Beecher Perkins.⁶ In the interview with O'Day, Cowan drew upon his rich store of information to leave the reader with a series of sharp images of Sutor and several of the eccentric personalities around him—Moss; Perkins; Moss's successor, Ella Weaver; Sutor's daughter Emma, the executrix of his estate and the only one of his six children who shared to a small degree his bibliophilic interests; and W. R. H. Adamson, co-executor of the estate and a close adviser to Sutor. Cowan, it is clear from his remarks, found much to admire in Sutor—his success as a pioneering California businessman, his knowledge of languages and refined European upbringing, his philanthropy and record of civic leadership—but he did harbor certain reservations about Sutor as a book collector, and more specifically, about Sutor's methods of acquiring material. In what would later become an oft-quoted passage, Cowan offered the following observation:

He had a queer way of buying which was particularly successful in Italy. He'd go into a book shop and see ten or fifteen thousand volumes, mostly in pigskin or parchment. He'd ask how much was wanted per volume for the whole collection. Perhaps the dealer would say, 'four lire.' He'd offer two lire, and get the whole stock. And usually it would be a bargain. Or he'd go to the old monasteries and ask the monks to sell their

old treasures. They'd refuse, whereupon he'd draw from his pockets handfuls of American gold, and the impoverished monks would yield. These methods of buying account for the enormous heterogeneous mass of books in the Sutor collection. He didn't live long enough to round the collection out.⁷

These comments of Cowan's require some analysis and qualification. First, they leave the impression that this approach was Sutor's principal, if not exclusive, method of acquiring books. To so characterize him, however, would be unfair. Without question, Sutor engaged in such practice and (as described below) gladly seized opportunities to buy significant parts of libraries or even, in one instance, a dealer's entire stock. But in this regard, Sutor was hardly unique; all of the great collectors of his day—Henry Huntington, or Sutor's San Francisco contemporary, Hubert Howe Bancroft, to cite two prominent examples—engaged in similar practices. That many, such as Huntington, may have done so in more genteel or discreet fashion is essentially beside the point. The differences are cosmetic; they, like Sutor, were on a mission and would let nothing stand in their way.

Cowan's remarks also leave the impression that Sutor's library had no particular shape or design,

that he simply grabbed at books and collected without any coherent underlying strategy. This characterization is equally unfair. It is true that Sutro's library extended into many areas and fields and had no single unifying theme, but the library's heterogeneity was consistent with Adolph Sutro's original plan for it. Unlike many bookmen, such as Henry Clay Folger, Sutro was not out to collect exhaustively on a particular author and period, nor was he out to concentrate, like a Pierpont Morgan, on collecting rare and precious books, manuscripts, and *objets d'art*.⁸ Sutro's purposes, as will be seen, were quite different, and both the structure and qualities of his library and the manner in which it was developed were fully consistent with them. Cowan's remarks, however, tended to get repeated and the impression that they left, both of Sutro as an over-eager and undisciplined collector and of his library as something of a giant shapeless mass, became solidified in the minds of those concerned with such matters. Consider, for example, the opinion expressed by Milton J. Ferguson, who, as assistant librarian of the California State Library, wrote about Sutro: "If the collector had any early ideas about the scope of his library, he soon forgot them in the excitement of gathering his treasures."⁹ Ferguson could not have been more wrong. Not only did Sutro have a clear sense, from the outset, of the kind of library he planned to assemble, but—as his correspondence with his own staff and with figures in the book trade make clear, he maintained this focus until his collecting energies gave out. The one claim of Cowan's that may be accepted at face value is that Sutro did not live long enough to round out his library.

Thus, if Cowan's impressions are only partially true, and in some respects not true at all, how, exactly, did Adolph Sutro operate? What were his guideposts, methods, and motives? Although Sutro's passion for books was long-standing, indeed dated back to his boyhood years in Aix-la-Chapelle, he was not in the position to undertake large-scale buying until the early 1880s. During the previous decade, however, Sutro had made a series of trips to London to raise capital for his project to construct a tunnel to drain the silver mines of the Comstock Lode near Virginia City, Nevada.¹⁰ He took advantage of these trips to visit bookshops and make minor purchases. Sutro's

struggle to get the tunnel project capitalized and completed was titanic, and it consumed his life for more than a decade. But in the end—working against powerful financial and mining interests—he was successful. After the tunnel was completed in 1879, Sutro sold out his interest, and by the end of 1880, had realized a profit of more than \$700,000. He then turned his attention to real estate, and within two years had significantly increased his fortune by purchasing valuable properties in downtown San Francisco as well as extensive tracts of land in outlying, undeveloped parts of the city. Now measuring his worth in the millions of dollars, Sutro set out in 1882 on a lengthy trip that took him to the Far East, South Asia, the Near East, and Europe.

Sutro spent almost two years in Europe, and his extended stay allowed him to lay the foundation for his library. The idea of the library, though, and of the purpose behind it had been taking shape in his mind for a number of years. Now it took solid form. "The wealth of man," Sutro stated, "can be enjoyed only a short portion of the immeasurable span of time... and I resolved to devote some portion of this wealth for the benefit of the people among whom I have so long labored. I first resolved to collect a library, a library for reference, not a library of various book curiosities, but a library which shall compare with any in the world."¹¹ Thus, in the classic late nineteenth-century gospel of wealth tradition, Sutro decided to use part of his fortune to enhance the cultural good of his adopted city, and in characteristic fashion, he set his sights high, taking as models some of the great libraries of Europe, or of the eastern United States. While this goal may have been overly ambitious, California in the early 1880s still lacked a single library of high stature. Even at the time of Sutro's death—some fifteen years in the future—the library of the Berkeley campus of the University of California numbered only 80,000 volumes.¹²

Sutro launched into the task of building a library with the same single-minded determination that he had previously brought to the tunnel project and by the time he was through, would spend nearly as many years assembling his library as he had in seeing the tunnel construction to completion. Initially, in late 1882–early 1883,

Sutro did all of his own buying, either directly from dealers and through occasional bidding at auctions, or by using dealers as his agents and scouts. He visited bookshops constantly and corresponded with dealers in Scotland and Germany. Among the London booksellers he worked with were J. Britnell, Wildy & Sons, William Ridler, Maggs, J. Westnell, E. W. Stibbs, and Bernard Quaritch.¹³ Since he began with only the rudiments of a collection, Sutro's orientation in building his library was extremely broad. In the beginning, there was little that he could not use, as long as it met the criteria—in his eyes—of having undisputed historical or literary worth and of documenting or reflecting the growth and development of European civilization from antiquity to modern times and the spread of that civilization in other lands. He did not restrict himself in terms of language, buying in French,



Opening leaf from the 1496 pirated edition of the Nuremberg Chronicle by Hartmann Schedel. It was printed in Augsburg.

German, Spanish, Italian, and Latin just as freely as in English, nor was he put off by the format of an item; his growing library soon included not only books but pamphlets, broadsides, prints, periodicals, and manuscripts.

Typical of Sutro's acquisitions from these London dealers were a series of purchases he made in spring 1883 from Bernard Quaritch. In March 1883 Quaritch sold him a large group of English Civil War tracts and newspapers, which had come on the market during the sale of the Sunderland Library.¹⁴ In the same month, Quaritch sold him, for the sum of £5.10, a run (1688–1726) of the "Monthly Mercuries."¹⁵ Then, a few weeks later, he bought from Quaritch a group of 1,005 parliamentary "occurrences," corresponding to the year 1641.¹⁶ Thus we find Sutro buying printed material of every type, individual imprints as well as collections and sets, that would enable a man of education to read widely and deeply in the history of European law, politics, religion, and letters. So active was Sutro in this period that within a year he had acquired close to 35,000 volumes, and it was apparently during this first whirlwind of buying that he became known in London book circles as the "California Book Man."¹⁷

It was also in this period that Sutro began to realize that, to continue at the same pace and sustain his endeavor, he would need to hire an associate. First, he could not remain abroad indefinitely. His family required his attention, as did his San Francisco business interests. Second, he had come to know enough about book collecting and the formation of a preeminent research library to grasp that he could no longer operate entirely on his own. Rather, he would increasingly need the specialized knowledge and services of a professional bookman. The person Sutro found for this position was Carl Friedrich Mayer, one of the many booksellers with whom Sutro had dealings during his visits to Germany.¹⁸ Mayer was a Munich dealer, well-versed in the antiquarian trade, with very good language abilities. Furthermore, he had compiled a catalogue of imprints in the Buxheim Library, out of which Sutro would acquire a great many of his *incunabula* and early sixteenth-century books. Mayer's circumstances coincided with Sutro's needs. He was also intrigued by Sutro's

plans to establish a free public research library, and in late 1883, the two reached an agreement. Mayer would move to London, act as Sutro's agent in purchasing books, and oversee their subsequent storage, cataloging, packing, and shipping. Mayer began his work full-time as Sutro's "Librarian" in May 1884 and continued in this capacity (receiving a monthly salary of £20) through November 1886. He then spent a further six months—from December 1886 through May 1887—working part-time for Sutro, helping to wind down the London operation.¹⁹

With Mayer in place, Sutro felt free to finish his travels and to return to California, which he did later in 1884. Although separated by several thousand miles, the two kept in close contact via frequent correspondence. During his first months of employment, Mayer wrote to Sutro more than once a week, gradually tapering off to a letter every two weeks. His letters indicate that he not only kept Sutro fully up to date on his buying but also that he followed, with very little deviation, Sutro's instructions about what to emphasize in his purchases.

Since Sutro wished above all to create a "reference" library, by which he meant a library that would have practical value, he decided that its strongest segment should be science and technology. While not abandoning his earlier focus on political and cultural history, he gave Mayer to understand that he should concentrate on acquiring scientific and technical literature. Mayer took this instruction to heart, although initially he found it to be a challenge, for it went against his antiquarian instincts. For example, reporting on purchases that he made at a Puttick & Simpson auction of early June 1884 (only weeks after he began his London assignment), Mayer wrote, in his typically off-key English: "For one of them I cannot ask your indemnity. This Dutch printing of 1489 completes a very gap in our collection, because we want a 'Delft' printing."²⁰ He soon curbed these impulses, however, and fell into line with Sutro's instructions, which Sutro continuously repeated were "to buy only useful books, no rareties."²¹ Mayer set about in very methodical fashion to fulfill that dictate. Although he sometimes bought directly from bookshops and would also receive special offers, Mayer—as one experienced in the book trade—devoted most

of his time to buying at auctions. His buying was principally done through three houses: Puttick & Simpson, H. H. Hodgson, and Sotheby. He would scrutinize their sale catalogs, inspect the lots in advance, and then execute his bids, always keeping a sharp eye out for works in the natural and physical sciences, as well as in medicine and engineering. In a sale at Hodgson's in January 1885, for example, he reported to Sutro that he had acquired "about 200 engineering books and papers or periodicals, among them very many privately printed reports on railways, water supplies (of various towns), harbours, sewage, etc. etc. I got about 620 volumes of them for one thousand and odd shillings. This is a very useful increase of the technical part of the library."²² Some months later, he wrote in a similar vein, informing Sutro that material purchased from the Osterley Park Sale had enabled "the completion of our collection of industrial arts."²³ In July 1885, he reported that he had bought "some good sets of scientific periodicals, and a complete... copy of Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society. London, altogether 76 vols."²⁴

Thus observant of Sutro's instructions, Mayer labored on—month after month—to fill gaps in holdings already obtained and to acquire essential new titles. From San Francisco, Sutro remained actively involved, exhorting Mayer to forge ahead and often recommending specific books and periodicals that he wanted. In certain instances, the time between the issuance of a catalog and the auction was sufficient to allow Sutro to receive the catalog, mark the items he wanted, and get it back to Mayer before bids were due. Generally, however, Sutro had to rely on his agent to anticipate his wants, and that—after all—was why he hired him. Moreover, Mayer brought all of his technical acumen and understanding of the book trade to bear on his work. He was alert to bargains and highly conscious of market values. For example, a copy of the magnificently illustrated botanical work, Bateman's *Orchidaceae of Mexico*, had sold in the Sunderland sale for £77. Mayer considered this overpriced, and later purchased a set at Puttick & Simpson's for only £17.²⁵ His ability to maneuver in this way and his grasp of the market was a sore point with certain bookdealers, who saw him and Sutro as



Receipt for rare books purchased by Sutro from the famous London firm of Bernard Quaritch.

interlopers. The competition with Quaritch was particularly intense and at times acrimonious. A telling illustration occurred in July 1885, when the two were bidding for a lengthy run of the *London Gazette*: “I went in having made up my mind to give up to 90. Quaritch was bidding against me very excited and going up to 125-. I could not get them. They were put down for Q. at 130-. Q. was very angry, but two days after he apologized solemnly in Sotheby’s, before the beginning of the sale.”²⁶ What Quaritch and other dealers resented was that Sutro, the “California Book Man,” was competing against them on their own terms. He was not a dealer himself, but by using Mayer as a full-time agent, he managed to buy at cut-rate prices. Mayer summed it up as follows:

Generally I must say he [Quaritch] is not very inclined to do business with you through me, looking at me as an intruder who takes the profit from the trade in an never heard of and in his eyes quite illegitimate way. The dealers know very well, that your and my way to collect your library is saving money, which would be to be paid to them, in a way I sometimes already explained and representing at least one-third of the usual costs.²⁷

While the dealers may have objected to Sutro’s tactics, there was little or nothing which they

could do to block them. Like a businessman returning maximum profit on a minimum investment, Sutro pursued his strategy, with Mayer finding bargains everywhere. Not that Sutro’s investment was trivial (his basic monthly allocation for purchases was £300²⁸), but Mayer generally strove to make every dollar count. Furthermore, consistent with Sutro’s overall plan, Mayer spent his funds almost exclusively on bulk purchases.²⁹ Occasionally, however, captivated by the prospect of some bibliographic gem, he would try to tempt Sutro to test the market and acquire it. In late 1884, for example, Mayer learned of the impending sale of a number of rare imprints, to include—as the *pièce de résistance*—a Mazarin Bible, “which will be sold . . . I fear not under £5000.”³⁰ Although Mayer’s estimate proved high, Sutro could have afforded this amount. Nevertheless, though he greatly admired the craft and beauty of early printed books, Sutro dismissed the idea out of hand, reminding Mayer that his principal interest lay in developing the technical and scientific side of his library. Acknowledging this fact, Mayer wrote back: “But I understand quite well and agree thoroughly with you, that we can buy for this sum of about £3,500 very many books of a much greater importance in the chief line of your library. . . .”³¹

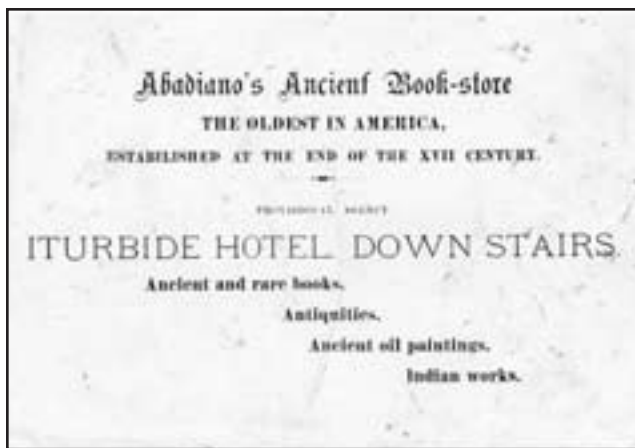
The policy that Sutro followed in this instance, and his refocusing attention to the core emphasis on scientific materials, guided his efforts throughout. He had conceived an overarching design and purpose for his library, and while its boundaries may have been rather loosely demarcated, they assumed more concrete form as time went on. Furthermore, Sutro never lost his focus or discipline. In his essay “Evolution of a Library,” Hubert Howe Bancroft provided a vivid image of the rabid, obsessive collector who must possess a particular object.³² Sutro was the antithesis of this type, once he had determined the direction of his library. He was rational, methodical, and farsighted, rarely driven in his pursuit of books by emotion or possessiveness.

Although Mayer spent the majority of his time scouting and buying books and periodicals, he had—as noted above—a number of other responsibilities. Sutro’s London operation became a small-scale business in itself. It was

headquartered at Brooks Wharf, on the Upper Thames, where Sutro rented office and warehouse space. When he was not busy at the auction houses, Mayer would spend time analyzing catalogs, cutting and pasting, in order to prepare himself for the next round of bids and purchases. Materials that he acquired were delivered to Brooks Wharf, where they were reconciled against the lists, catalogued, and later packed into crates (protected by oilcloth) for shipment to San Francisco. Materials in disrepair were sent off for patching and backing and—if Mayer judged it necessary—for rebinding. Substantial quantities of material received such treatment, as well as cleaning and fumigation. At the same time that Mayer settled into his London assignment, Sutro hired a London broker, Robert Warner, as his business agent. Warner rented him the Brooks Wharf offices and oversaw all of the financial transactions. He employed a clerk to check in the books purchased by Mayer. After verification by Mayer, Warner would approve invoices for payment. And like Mayer, he corresponded frequently with Sutro, sending him monthly statements of all expenditures and transactions. He took a very hands-on approach, and—whether in keeping with Sutro’s instructions to him or simply out of his own high-minded sense of duty—kept a close eye on both Mayer and on E. Hofstätter, another German bookseller who served as Mayer’s assistant. As Warner put it, “I generally call in the office where your books are daily.”³³ Warner also authorized payment of their monthly salaries to Mayer and Hofstätter. Sutro thus incurred a series of regular business expenses, including office rental, labor, cartage, preservation and binding, packing case construction, warehousing, postage, insurance, and shipping. Indeed, the records show that for every dollar that he spent on books, Sutro spent an additional thirty-three cents in England on these ancillary expenses. Funds to meet all of these outlays were drawn by Warner on an account that Sutro established in London and replenished on a monthly basis. After several months of service to Sutro, Warner wrote that the operation was consuming so much of his time that he would henceforth need to charge a commission of 1% on all purchases made.³⁴ Sutro does not appear to have raised any objections. Although the London operation appeared to function smoothly, Sutro

evidently decided, near the end of 1886, to wind it down. The letters from Mayer, so predictable until then, suddenly dried up, and while there is no indication that Sutro became disenchanted with his work, by late spring 1887, Mayer was off his payroll and presumably back in Munich. His association with Sutro had lasted nearly four years.

Sutro, however, was certainly not through with book buying; he had simply transferred his base to San Francisco and returned to being his own buyer. Furthermore, he continued (with one great exception) to acquire along the same broad lines, seeking out scientific and technical materials whenever possible, but also converting opportunities to enrich the historical and literary components of his library. An example of the latter is a collection that Sutro acquired in December 1887, belonging to a fellow San Franciscan, one Walter M. Leman. Leman was a retired actor who, during the course of a long career on the stage, had assembled an outstanding collection of early plays and dramatic works, as well as manuscripts and other publications bearing on the theme of the theatre. Sutro persuaded Leman, who had lost his sight and hence his ability to use the material, to sell him the collection, which contained some 600 titles.³⁵ Sutro also continued to expand his holdings in European history and letters, acquiring from various dealers in England and Scotland long runs of eighteenth and nineteenth-century British newspapers and journals as well as key titles that he lacked in the field of travel and discovery. From an American dealer, Charles Soule, he acquired in 1889 a group of 700 “Commonwealth pamphlets,” which Soule had located during a buying trip to London. Sutro’s approach also remained consistent—buy in bulk to obtain the best unit cost, and swallow the inevitable duplicates. As Soule wrote: “I can get the whole lot at a price which will allow me to offer them at \$210, or 30 cents for each pamphlet. I do not know that this is a very exorbitant price, except that many in the lot might be duplicates of what you already have. . . .”³⁶ During the post-Mayer period, some of Sutro’s strongest acquisitions were in the natural and physical sciences. Preeminent among these was Sutro’s purchase, in 1893, of the Woodward Library. Formed by a creative San



*Advertisement for "Abadiano's Ancient Book-store."
In 1889, Sutro acquired the entire stock of this distinguished Mexico City bookstore.*

Francisco entrepreneur, Robert Blum Woodward, this library focused on the natural sciences—ornithology, botany, and zoology—with some minor holdings in geography and travel literature. Though not a large collection—it numbered only several hundred volumes—it was remarkable for the depth and quality of its holdings, many of which contained superb hand-tinted plates.³⁷ Sutro's acquisition of this library was followed some three years later by his purchase of the Wells Chemical Library. When the Wells Library, which had been developed by the secretary of the London Chemical Society, arrived in 1896 by ship from London and was transported to the Montgomery Block quarters, its books and other publications filled twelve cases.

None of these acquisitions, however, valuable as they were, could begin to match the collection of Mexicana that Sutro had bought during a trip that he made in 1889 to Mexico and Cuba. At a single stroke, Sutro succeeded in acquiring the most important and complete collection of nineteenth-century Mexican political, religious and related imprints and ephemera to be found anywhere in the world. This collection, numbering in the tens of thousands, not only greatly increased the size of Sutro's Library, but it also broadened its focus as well. Yet apart from this single, but spectacular branching out, Sutro adhered to the design that he first mapped out for his library many years before. The fidelity to its emphasis on science and technology was reiterated in the mid-1890s by George Moss, then Sutro's principal librarian,

in some notes that Moss compiled about the current state and future needs of the library. "It is intended by Mr. Sutro," wrote Moss, "that the library shall be a free reference library, and that scientific and technical literature shall be made the most prominent department."³⁸ "Mr. Sutro," he went on to say, "fully realizes that he has a great deal of purchasing to do to fill in gaps in nearly every department and hopes soon to be able to give the library his full attention, and place it on an equal footing with any reference library in America."³⁹ This was an ambitious goal, but one that Sutro seemed well on his way to fulfilling. Unfortunately, however, his book collecting days were coming to an end. In the few years of life that remained to him, first political entanglements and then a failing mind would prevent Sutro from giving any further attention to the library.

SPECIAL STRENGTHS OF THE SUTRO LIBRARY AND KEY SOURCES OF MATERIAL

In 1883, before refining his thoughts on what his library should ultimately comprise, Sutro made a series of striking acquisitions which, collectively, not only doubled its size but placed it among the world's foremost collections for certain genres and fields. He first struck at the historic Sunderland Library sale, which took place in London in mid-1883. The Sunderland Library, formed originally in the 1690s and early 1700s by Charles Spencer, third Earl of Sunderland, was tremendously rich in material from the period of the English Civil Wars and also contained significant and unique political and social material from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Out of this library alone Sutro obtained some 30,000 imprints.⁴⁰ In addition to buying these at auction, he may also have purchased a portion of them from Quaritch, since Quaritch had managed to monopolize two-thirds of the Sunderland sales.⁴¹ Out of other benchmark sales, such as the Hamilton and Crossley, and through purchases made later by himself and by Mayer, Sutro amplified and deepened his holdings on English social, political, and religious history, with the result that he grew to hold one the richest such collections to be found in any library.

After this fruitful round of buying in England, Sutro travelled to the continent in the summer of 1883. There soon followed a memorable series

of acquisitions. The first came in September, when he bought a major part of the Buxheim Library. This library had originally belonged to the Carthusian Monastery in Buxheim, Bavaria, but after the secularization of the religious orders had passed into the hands of a nobleman. It was now up for auction, and Sutro acquired significant portions of it—several thousand volumes—including manuscripts, incunabula, and a great many books from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries notable for their woodcut and other illustrations. A month later, Sutro was in Augsburg to bid at the auction of the library of the Duke of Dalberg. He again bought extensively, acquiring as many as 8,000 volumes. Sutro's purchases from the Dalberg Library helped crystallize his emergent emphasis on scientific and technical literature, for many of the books he obtained were in the natural sciences and medicine, including the transactions and journals of a number of learned societies, and were rich in plates and illustrations.⁴² As remarkable as the Buxheim and Dalberg acquisitions were, they were nevertheless exceeded, in both quantity and quality, by Sutro's third German book-buying success—his purchase of duplicate imprints from the Royal State Library in Munich. The Kingdom of Bavaria, to which this library then belonged, was in dire need of money, and Sutro had secured permission from a high-level government official to purchase such duplicates as he wanted. Moreover, his opportunity to do so coincided with his blossoming relationship with Charles Mayer. Anxious to continue his travels and reach the Near East, Sutro engaged Mayer to work through the duplicates. Mayer took to the task energetically, and when he had finished, had increased the size of Sutro's library by some 13,000 volumes. When finally packed for shipment to San Francisco, it took 86 cases to hold all of the Munich State Library books acquired by Sutro.⁴³ Still more impressive, however, was that 33 of these cases held incunabula. Thirty-three cases of "cradle books"! It is a staggering statistic. It is not clear precisely how many incunables were once found in the Sutro Library, and the exact number is now of historical interest only. Sutro himself estimated that he owned over 4,000.⁴⁴ There were certainly at least 3,000, or approximately one-seventh of all such books known to be in existence at the time. The range and excellence of the Sutro incunabula



George Lincoln Burr, ca. 1910. Platinum print photograph. University Archives, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

were attested to by a Cornell University scholar, Professor George Lincoln Burr, who spent several days inspecting them during a visit to San Francisco in 1892. After returning to Cornell, Burr wrote to Sutro: "It is, I think, beyond all comparison the best collection in America, both as to numbers and as to quality of the books of the 15th century; and I gravely doubt if it has any rival this side of the Atlantic for its literature of the 16th century."⁴⁵ In addition to his purchases from these three major libraries, Sutro also acquired books of a similar nature, perhaps several thousand volumes in all, from dealers and bookshops in Munich, Heidelberg, Ellwangen, and other cities. His acquisitions in Germany thus consolidated the second pillar of his library—the incunabula and early printed books, focused in particular on the sixteenth-century struggles for religious and civil liberties in the German states, the study and development of cartography and the natural sciences, and European travel and discovery in the Age of Reconnaissance.



Andrew Dickson White, ca. 1885. Albumen print cabinet card photograph by E. D. Evans. No. 01-555, Archives Picture Collection. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

A third principal strength of the Sutro Library, as noted earlier, was its Mexican collection. Although Sutro made two book-buying trips to Mexico, it was the second of these, in 1889, that vaulted him onto the top rung of collectors of Mexicana. On that trip, he encountered for sale the entire stock of one Mexico's most distinguished bookshops, the Librería Abadiano and living up to Robert Cowan's image, he promptly bought all of it. The range of material that he acquired from the Abadiano was extraordinary. It included thousands of titles published in Mexico from the sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century, among them exemplars of the earliest printing presses in America, religious tracts and Church documents, colonial manuscripts, and early chronicles of the Spanish conquest and colonization. It also included rare and scarce periodicals and government publications, and—as its centerpiece—a collection of approximately 35,000 pamphlets, broadsides, and flyers produced during the first half of the nineteenth century, documenting the Mexican War of Independence and the country's subsequent political travail. As a documentary

and bibliographic source for nineteenth-century Mexican history, the material acquired by Sutro was unrivaled.⁴⁶ What exactly motivated Sutro to buy up the Abadiano stock and thus branch out into the field of Mexicana is not clear. He may simply have yielded to the impulse to acquire the collection. On the other hand, the strengths of the collection in the history of mining and civil-ecclesiastical conflict—dominant themes in Mexican history from colonial times to the Porfiriato—were areas that Sutro had consistently emphasized. Mexico, furthermore, was obviously integral to collecting on early California and the Southwest, which Sutro briefly considered developing as a special focus.

Sutro's library had many other areas of strength, almost all of which complemented the three major groupings described above. These included its Shakesperian materials;⁴⁷ its great collections of English parliamentary papers and proceedings (which Lord Macaulay had reputedly used in writing his *History of England...*) and of codified English laws, (from the library of Lord Cairn); its collection of the papers and manuscripts of Sir Joseph Banks (1743–1820);⁴⁸ and its collection of unique medieval Hebrew manuscripts.

Although forming one of the smaller segments within the Library, the Sutro's Yemenite Hebrew manuscripts (which number some 167) are among its most rare and priceless holdings. Ranging from scrolls of extraordinary length (80 to 90 feet), to individual leaves, codices and manuscript books, the collection focuses primarily on religious matters, providing commentaries on the Talmud, Torah, Mishnah, and other sacred and legal texts. It also includes a scroll of Jewish law dating from c.1299, purportedly written by the scholar Maimonides. Sutro had acquired the material from the estate of the Jerusalem antiquities dealer Moses W. Shapira.⁴⁹ From the moment of its arrival in San Francisco, Sutro's Hebraica—perhaps because of its antiquity and its importance for Biblical studies and exegesis (and also, no doubt, because of an earlier forgery perpetrated by Shapira)—attracted widespread interest, on both sides of the Atlantic. “The Directors of the British Museum,” reported one article, “will send out men to overhaul these manuscripts and definitely ascertain their character and value.”⁵⁰

While there is no record that this particular inspection actually took place, the manuscripts were nevertheless authenticated by various experts. In his reminiscences about Sutro and his Library, Robert Cowan drew special attention to the strengths of the Hebraica: "Dr. Roubin... had charge of the Hebrew books and manuscripts. The best thing he did was to discover the manuscript of Maimonides, presumed to be the only one in existence."⁵¹

A curious footnote to these exceptional holdings in Sutro's Library was its early Californiana. It held extremely little in this area. Sutro had contemplated building up this part of his library and, while in Spain in early 1884, had commissioned the copying of a number of documents bearing on sixteenth-century explorations of the California coast, found in the Archive of the Indies. His interest at this point was very keen and, to further the initiative, he enlisted the assistance of the chief of the United States legation in Madrid, John Foster. He then contracted with a Spanish scholar, José González Verger, to research the documents in Seville and produce translations. After some months, however, he wrote to González Verger, requesting that he discontinue the work. The latter tried to dissuade him, but to no avail. He was probably unaware that Sutro had been warned by another of his hired Spanish hands, Manuel Peralta, that the project was essentially a waste of time, because his fellow San Franciscan, H. H. Bancroft, had preceded him.⁵²

EARLY CARE, APPRECIATION, AND USE OF SUTRO'S LIBRARY

As has been seen, by the time he returned to San Francisco in 1884, Sutro had amassed a collection well in excess of 100,000 volumes. As these arrived in the city, they were brought first to the warehouse on Battery Street and then—when this facility ran out of room—were taken to the Montgomery Block offices. The books of course had to be stored, but that was only the beginning. Sutro was actively pondering the question of where to site his library and was familiarizing himself, through specialized publications that Mayer procured, with the latest European theories and opinions about library design and

organization. Meanwhile, he set up a full-scale administrative and technical operation based in the Montgomery Block offices. George Moss, a highly cultivated man with good organizational skills, was placed in charge and given the title of Librarian. He managed everything and soon became indispensable. Moss' chief assistant was the temperamental Frederic Perkins, who had recently been dismissed as head of the San Francisco Public Library. Perkins was the principal cataloger and also attended to a number of other duties. The library employed two other specialists, a bookbinder and a book-sewer, as well as a number of clerks. The operation was not inexpensive, but saving money was the last thing on Sutro's mind, since all of this activity was but the prelude to constructing his library and to endowing the city and its citizenry with a cultural and intellectual resource of permanent value. In addition to the rental of offices, there were expenses for building materials, such as furniture, shelving, and bookcases, and for preservation and office supplies. There were fees for janitorial services and a night watchman, and salaries for the professional staff.⁵³ There were also special construction projects that added to the expenses. In 1887, for example, a special room was built



Portrait of Sir Joseph Banks. Sutro acquired a substantial collection of the famed savant's papers.

for fumigating, and in 1892 Moss had a separate bindery room constructed. Sutro was often away, attending to other business, but Moss kept him fully informed of all activities within the library as well as any developments affecting it from without, such as inquiries from prospective users. Typical of such communication from Moss was a June 1893 letter to Sutro, concerning matters both internal and external:

Dear Sir: Col. Little handed me a copy of permit sent to Prof. Davidson.

You will remember that you have Mr. Hopkins' translation locked in your desk, so hope it won't be asked for before your return. Costansos' diary had better be bound and paged before going into other hands (I mean the translation). There will be less chance of loss & damage than in loose sheets. Mr. Perkins is cataloguing what we call the Reformation pamphlets, a great many do not contain Mr. Mayer's slip, and many slips written by him are incorrect; as so very many of them are rare & valuable it is better to have a compact record of them and well marked. There are a few days work in the bindery...⁵⁴

As Moss' letter implies, Sutro's library was attracting a growing body of interest. Initially, it will be recalled, much of the interest was founded on curiosity, stimulated by newspaper articles which reported on Sutro's library in much the same style as they would report on the discovery of a new comet or a heretofore unknown ancient city. That is, to the privileged few who had seen it, it was a wonder to behold. And indeed, an almost carnival-like atmosphere surrounded the unloading of the hundreds of cases of Sutro's books onto the San Francisco wharves. As word passed that another shipment was in, crowds would gather to witness the spectacle.

As the novelty wore off, however, the interest that was displayed increasingly came from people who either wanted to know more about the library as a potential source for future research or from those who wanted to consult it out of immediate need. The latter were primarily students and faculty from the University of California at Berkeley and Stanford. The librarians at both



Catalogue from Hodgson's Auction Room, Chancery Lane, London. July 1885. Sutro purchased 18 volumes at this auction.

institutions, J. C. Rowell and Edwin Woodruff, respectively, took an active interest in the Sutro Library and promoted its use. Word about the Library gradually spread to a wider audience, primarily through the descriptions of it given by visiting scholars who were able to view and use it. Mention has already been made of the Cornell scholar, George Burr, who considered the Sutro to be the leading repository in the country for Renaissance and Reformation studies. Burr's colleague and former Cornell University President Andrew Dickson White, provided perhaps the most glowing testimony, when he said about the library—following an 1892 visit: “With considerable acquaintance among the libraries of the United States, I should rank this one already among the first four in value, and it is rapidly increasing.”⁵⁵ Indeed, of all the library's early scholarly visitors, none took a keener interest in it than White. What most

impressed him about Sutro's commitment was the promise that it held, and the vision that Sutro commanded, for enriching learning and research. "All to whom I have spoken," he wrote to Sutro, "... joined me in my wonder at the foresight and depth of thought which has prompted you not to create [only] a popular public library, which any one can do, but one of the great libraries of the World for scholars..."⁵⁶ Since White knew that Sutro was still attempting to build his library and to fill in gaps, he made a point of informing him about collections that were about to come on the market. In January 1893, for example, on the heels of a visit to Paris, he wrote to inform Sutro that the library of the just-deceased French historian Ernst Renan was soon to be up for sale. Then six months later came another letter from White, to let Sutro know of the impending sale of "a large library in Vienna. . . . consisting of a 'choice collection of Jewish printed books and manuscripts,'" belonging to the chief Rabbi of the city.⁵⁷ Although Sutro displayed some interest in Renan's Library, he did not make a serious attempt to buy it, nor did he pursue the Rabbi's collection, either.

White was concerned that, even in California, Sutro's library was still little known. Yet testimonies such as his, appearing in the national press, were slowly changing the situation. Between January 1886 and March 1892, the library received 705 visitors, including many from other regions of the United States.⁵⁸ That the library was achieving some measure of recognition in these years is also evidenced in the many letters from librarians and curators, from both the United States and Europe, who wrote seeking employment in it, as well as in the continuing offers of material that Sutro regularly received.

Far from being mothballed, then, Sutro's library in the decade 1885–1895 was under the control and supervision of two highly qualified librarians. Progress was slowly being made to arrange, catalog, and preserve its more than 200,000 volumes, and systematic efforts were also underway to expand its holdings in selected areas. In addition, word was gradually filtering out about the library and sporadic use was being made of it by local students and scholars. These activities, all knit together by Sutro's larger aims

for the library, augured well for the future, yet they were no more than a down payment. Until Sutro devised a concrete plan of action and provided the funding needed to implement it, the dream of the library would remain unfulfilled. Perhaps because Sutro had spoken for so long about his plans for the library, the lack of specific action created a growing sense of unease among some of its enthusiasts. As Mary Barnes, of Stanford's Department of History and a frequent user of the library, expressed it in a letter that she wrote to Moss in September 1895: "I hope that we are about to see better days for the library, and that it will soon become as famous as it deserves to be."⁵⁹

Unfortunately, however, the better days that Barnes, Andrew White, and many others envisioned for the Sutro Library were foiled by a series of events. Sutro had simply waited too long to address and resolve the various questions surrounding the disposition of the library: where to locate it, what exact relationship—legal and otherwise—should it have to the city, what would be the nature of its internal operations, and how to structure its governance and administration. Time ran out on Sutro. In 1894, he agreed to stand for election as Mayor of San Francisco, persuaded to do so by a reformist group that opposed the power exerted over local business and civic affairs by the Southern Pacific Railway. Sutro was well-known and extremely popular, owing to his numerous philanthropic activities. He won the election by a clear majority. Yet he had none of the political skills needed to succeed in this position. His two years as Mayor were a complete disaster, and when he left office in January 1897, Sutro's health had been seriously undermined. Furthermore, his mind began to deteriorate rapidly. Within another year, in early 1898, his children intervened and sought the protection of the court. His eldest child, Emma Sutro Merritt, was appointed as guardian, to oversee all of his business affairs, including the Library. In August 1898, Sutro died. Emma Merritt did her best to hold the library operation together, but events were conspiring against her. Sutro's illness and withdrawal from any involvement in the library had necessarily brought significant new acquisitions to a halt. While efforts were still being made in early 1898 to maintain the inflow

of numerous technical and scientific publications received gratis from government agencies and learned societies, offers of material made by dealers and private collectors were politely turned down.⁶⁰ In addition to dealing with Sutro's absence, the library suffered a second major blow when, after a lengthy illness, George Moss died in early 1898.⁶¹ Moss had been the heart of the operation. Moreover, Frederic Perkins had recently left the employ of the library to return to the East Coast. Thus, by the time of Sutro's death, the library had lost its chief administrator and its main cataloger, the two individuals who formed the core of its professional staff. After Sutro's death, work in the library largely ground to a halt. The executors of Sutro's estate, Emma Merritt and W. R. H. Adamson, continued the policy of allowing inspection and use of the library by local and visiting scholars. Other activities, however, such as cataloging, cleaning, and binding, were suspended. Sutro had been involved in myriad business ventures, and until his finances were fully sorted out and his estate settled, library expenditures would need to be reduced considerably. When Emma Merritt warned her sister after Moss' death, that "our finances have not permitted us to hire another librarian,"⁶² it was clear that Sutro's plans were in jeopardy.

DEMISE OF THE LIBRARY: 1906 AND ITS AFTERMATH

In retrospect, of course, it is clear that Sutro's failure to either initiate construction of the library or to leave explicit instructions concerning the matter in his will foretold a painful history to come. Yet while Sutro still had his health, the future was full of promise. His first choice of a site for the library was a large piece of property at the extreme western edge of the city. On this land, which came to be known as Sutro Heights, he had laid out several acres of beautifully landscaped gardens, accompanied by statuary, pathways, and ponds, and a palatial building in which to house and display his collection of art and artifacts.⁶³ Sutro planned to construct the library on a protected point of this land, from which it would command an inspiring view of the Pacific Ocean. The library, in addition to housing his collection, would have "abundant room and conveniences for those who desire to pursue special studies and



The Montgomery Block, San Francisco. Sutro stored much of his library in this building. It survived the 1906 Earthquake and Fire. Photograph by Eadweard Muybridge.

investigations."⁶⁴ He invited various dignitaries to visit the property and to examine the preliminary design for the library. A particularly keen supporter of the plan was President Holden of the University of California, who toured the property with a large contingent of faculty, assuring Sutro that "the closest relations with his library would be courted, for it would be of inestimable value in many departments of University effort."⁶⁵

At this time, in the 1880s, Sutro Heights lay at some distance from the populated sections of San Francisco. Such isolation, Sutro initially thought, would work to the advantage of the library ("In ancient Greece, all places of learning and study were located far from the fret and worry of city life, . . .").⁶⁶ Later, he may have begun to have some doubts on this score. What fundamentally caused Sutro, however, to change his mind about locating the library on Sutro Heights was the advice that various "experts" gave him, and which he unfortunately accepted as scientific, that the fog and sea air of the Heights would be damaging to his books. Persuaded of the veracity of this claim, Sutro began to look elsewhere in the city. Within several years, he had decided upon a new location, a twenty-six acre tract that he owned near the geographical center of San Francisco. This property, on gently rising land just south of Golden Gate Park and below what

was then called Mount Parnassus (known today as Mt. Sutro), also afforded a striking view of the ocean, the headlands across the Golden Gate, and other scenic vistas. By the early 1890s, plans for the library had advanced considerably, with some of its actual design features made public:

It...was to be of brick and stone and 100 feet by 200 feet in size. The building was to end in a semicircular bow to form reading and newspaper rooms. The middle of the building, to a width of 60 feet, was to be open from the ground to the glass roof which covered the structure. Seven stories of stack were designed to open upon this middle space. The ranges were to be 20 feet in length and 7 feet in height. ...It was designed to provide space for half a million volumes and was to cost \$300,000.⁶⁷

Sutro's decision to locate the library on this parcel of land coincided with the efforts of the University of California to establish a new campus in San Francisco to house its schools of law, medicine, pharmacy, and dentistry (or what were then termed the "Affiliated Colleges"). Reasoning that both the professional schools and the library would benefit substantially from sitting next to each other and citing such examples as Harvard, Princeton, Yale, and the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Paris, and Berlin, Sutro offered to deed half of the acreage to the University of California. Berkeley's administrators were by now quite familiar with the magnitude of Sutro's Library, but to ensure that such understanding was shared by the Regents and members of the Affiliated College's site selection committee, Sutro prepared a formal proposal summarizing the history and strengths of the library and including parts of the testimonies furnished by Burr and White.⁶⁸ Although Sutro apparently encountered some opposition to his proposal, the Regents were delighted with it, and voted unanimously in October 1895 to accept the offer. In negotiating the conditions of the deed of gift, Sutro also restated his commitment to locate his library on the adjoining thirteen acres and to move toward its construction in the near future. According to one of his associates, W. C. Little, Sutro estimated that the building

would be completed within five years.⁶⁹ Sutro had persuaded the Regents of the value that his library would hold for the University, and their acceptance of his offer was now bound up with his assurance that the library would either be built or, were he to die before this took place, that a trust would be set up to accomplish the same.⁷⁰ In the discussion that occurred prior to the Regents' vote, some concern was expressed about whether—in the event that Sutro should die first—his executors could be compelled to carry out his stated wishes, in the absence of legal language to this effect. The Regents, not wanting to "crowd" Sutro, apparently took it on good faith that Sutro would soon "have everything in shape, so that his wishes regarding the library would be carried out to the letter."⁷¹ Their decision to omit this clause from the agreement was a fateful one, for in less than three years, Sutro was dead, having totally failed to get things "in shape" and leaving his heirs to entangle themselves in a web of litigation.

While he may have died without revising his 1882 will, there could be no doubt as to Sutro's own intentions for the library. He had stated repeatedly that it should be opened and maintained for free use by scholars and the public and that its location should be within the city of San Francisco. He had finally narrowed its location to the site adjoining the land that he had donated to the University of California.⁷² He had researched its design and organization extensively, had described the endowment that would fund its continued operations, and had jotted notes about its administration and board of trustees.⁷³ Yet, since none of the plan had been set down in a finished document, in the wake of his death doubts were immediately expressed about whether it would ever be executed.⁷⁴ Even if Sutro's heirs—his six children—had been united in wanting to honor their father's wishes (virtually all of which were a matter of public record), the complicated finances of Sutro's estate would have tied their hands initially. The heirs, however, were not united. On one side stood his daughter and eldest child, Emma Sutro Merritt, who believed firmly that the family ought to fulfill Sutro's aims for the library. On the other stood a majority of her five siblings, who opposed doing so and wanted to sell the library. In his 1882 will, Sutro had bequeathed

to his daughter Emma “all of my books, papers, scrapbooks, manuscripts, and pictures contained in my library.”⁷⁵ It was on the basis of this clause in the will that Emma claimed that the library was hers. Her five siblings challenged this interpretation, arguing that when their father wrote this in 1882, he had a private library of no more than five to six thousand volumes and that common sense dictated that the great library which he subsequently developed could not reasonably be covered by it.⁷⁶ In 1900, W. R. H. Adamson, executor of Sutro’s will, filed a petition to sell the library on behalf of the majority of the heirs. Emma S. Merritt filed a counter petition to block the sale and to obtain a ruling in favor of her interpretation.

The issue was bound up with litigation over other parts of Sutro’s estate and did not get settled for another thirteen years. The inability of Sutro’s children to resolve their dispute may have provided good copy for the newspapers, but it had tragic consequences for the library.

As noted above, an effort was made to provide some level of service in the library following Sutro’s death. But after a few years had past, the library was essentially shut down. In place of a librarian, a “custodian,” Ella Weaver, was hired, to watch over the collection and perhaps perform some minimal listing, sorting, and arranging. As Robert Cowan put it, “Mrs. Weaver did nothing at the library except keep the doors closed.”⁷⁷ While Sutro’s children contested ownership of the library, it remained in storage, locked up in the Battery Street warehouse and in the Montgomery Block offices. Had they managed to settle their dispute, the original library might still be intact. Fate, however, decreed otherwise.

The 1906 earthquake that struck San Francisco was followed by devastating fires that swept over major portions of the city. The Battery Street warehouse was consumed by flames. The fire destroyed approximately half of the Sutro Library, including more than ninety percent of the incunabula, thousands of bound volumes of manuscripts, and tens of thousands of other rare and unique imprints. It was an immense loss. The other half of the library, between 100,000 and 125,000 volumes housed in the Montgomery Block, was saved. The flames licked about the

building but did not destroy it. The bitter irony is that Sutro had long been preoccupied with the threat of fire destroying his library. Indeed, in presenting his 1895 proposal to the Regents, he had described the protection that the land beneath Mt. Parnassus afforded against this possibility as one of its chief virtues. Others, too, had urged Sutro to take all precaution to protect the library against the threat of fire. Andrew White, for example, had been very explicit on the matter: “There is only one point,” he told Sutro, “on which I am nervous regarding it. I am more and more anxious to hear that you are making haste to get it into a fireproof building. It has become far too precious to be risked much longer.”⁷⁸

Although the obliteration of 100,000 volumes was a grievous loss to scholarship and a terrible reminder of the fragility of the library, it did not induce Sutro’s children to settle their differences. Both Emma Sutro Merritt and a majority of her siblings continued to defend their positions, the former determined to dispose of the library (or what now remained of it) in a manner consonant with her father’s wishes, the latter equally determined to sell it. “. . . Unable,” as the *San Francisco Call* reported in July, 1909, “to harmonize their views,” the family and its lawyers were back in court.⁷⁹ The litigation dragged on for several more years, but was finally settled in 1913. Whether the other Sutro children had a change of heart, or whether they had simply lost the case, it was their sister who prevailed. Once Emma Merritt’s position was vindicated, the question for the family became: to whom should the library be given? There were several possibilities. The University of California expressed interest in having the library, as did the State Library in Sacramento, and a group of Adolph Sutro’s friends revived his oft-expressed wishes that the library be presented to the city of San Francisco. The question was soon answered. In May 1913, it was announced that the heirs of the Sutro Estate had donated the collection to the California State Library. Very few conditions were attached to the gift. It was stipulated that the collection must be called the Sutro Library, that the books must bear the Sutro bookplate, that exceptionally rare volumes must not circulate outside the library, and—in keeping with its founder’s wishes—that the library must remain permanently in San Francisco. It was also

provided that the books should be made available for public use not later than January 1, 1917.

It is not entirely clear why the family, and Emma Merritt in particular, for she played the key role, chose to donate the collection to the California State Library. The lobbying of the State Librarian, James Gillis, may well have been decisive.⁸⁰ Like Sutro, Gillis believed in the free public library as an instrument of progress and enlightenment and as a great social leveler. In any event, the Board of Trustees of the State Library accepted the donation and the several conditions attached to it. Although the California Legislature did not validate the trustees' action until 1915, when a bill was passed authorizing the Sutro Branch in San Francisco, all of the books and other materials stored in the Montgomery Block were moved in September 1913 to rented quarters in Stanford University's Lane Medical Library, where the new branch would be temporarily located.

Thus ended fifteen years of uncertainty about the disposition of Adolph Sutro's library, fifteen years of stubborn dispute punctuated by the calamitous disaster of 1906. While the library had finally found a home, it had not surmounted its difficulties. On the contrary, these were about to enter a new and in some respects more upsetting phase. In 1913, when the State Library trustees accepted the gift, the legislature also passed a bill appropriating monies to provide a building and operational funds for the Sutro Library. Obviously, the new branch library could not function properly without a budget. Governor Hiram Johnson, however, allowed the bill to die by pocket veto. Unforeseen at the time, this defeat inaugurated a forty-six year chain of subsequent defeats, during which the Sutro Library was made to live a hand-to-mouth existence, deprived of resources and of legislative support, its great holdings cast into a cramped basement, neglected and forgotten by all but its most dedicated supporters.

A brief chronology will serve to illustrate this penultimate chapter in its history. As noted above, the Sutro Branch Library had rented space in San Francisco's Lane Medical Library—part of Stanford University's Medical School. Here it opened to the public in January 1917 fulfilling one of the conditions of the donation. These



Comstock Lode miner gold-stamped on the front cover of volume containing Sutro's closing argument concerning his tunnel under Mt. Davidson, Virginia City (1872). Sutro used this symbol of the "Honest Miner" to decorate all the volumes he wrote on behalf of his tunnel project.

quarters, however, were meant to be temporary, and efforts continued on the part of some legislators to get funding for the Sutro Library. The need for funding was compounded by the crowded conditions facing the Lane Library. In 1923, a bill was introduced in the legislature calling for the state to appropriate money for the construction of the Sutro Library as a branch of the State Library in San Francisco's Civic Center on a site to be donated by the city.⁸¹ This effort, like those preceding it, went down to defeat. The bill's failure, however, obviously did nothing to alleviate the extreme crowding in the Lane Library. Since the Sutro could not continue to remain where it was and since the legislature was not prepared to fund a new building, the offer made by the Trustees of the San Francisco Public Library of free space in the main library was accepted, and there the Sutro moved in August 1923. Conditions in the San Francisco Public Library, however, would soon prove no more favorable to the Sutro Branch than they had been in the Lane Library.

As a branch of the State Library, the Sutro received a small appropriation annually from the legislature. The amount was negligible, some \$4,000 to pay the salaries of two librarians. Yet a faction in the state senate begrudged even this sum of money and in 1933 proposed, as a cost-saving measure, to eliminate the Sutro Branch and return the Library to the Sutro heirs. Their proposal was crass in the extreme and a group of prominent San Francisco citizens quickly mobilized against it. Included in this latter group was the noted printer John Henry Nash. In a piece that he wrote for *The San Francisco News*, Nash put his finger on the Sutro Library's underlying problem—it had no building, no real infrastructure, and no recognition. In Nash's words, "Instead of striving to save \$4,000 a year, San Franciscans should be urging the erection of a suitable building to house the Sutro Library, where it might be used for research, or pleasure, by thousands who are still in ignorance of its existence. It has never been given the proper publicity."⁸² Although the move to eliminate the Sutro Library went nowhere, the Sutro's defenders could not turn the publicity that it generated to any good effect. The library continued to languish in the San Francisco Public Library, where, in the early 1940s, under increasingly crowded conditions, much of it had to be relegated to the basement. From time to time, voices were raised in protest against the orphaned state of the Sutro Library and the damaging physical conditions under which it was forced to exist. In 1940, for example, Paul Radin (who would soon head up a WPA project to inventory and compile a bibliography of the Sutro's Mexican pamphlets) complained that "Time has sadly ravaged the Sutro collection. Dust, ... neglect, and the great catastrophe of 1906, have reduced it to a torso of what it once was."⁸³ Operating on a shoestring and largely hidden from public view, how could the Sutro Library hope to gain recognition and publicize its needs? In 1946, more than thirty years after the state accepted the donation of Adolph Sutro's library, it was still being written (as it could perhaps still be written even today) that "not many Californians know that they . . . own a unique library—the Sutro Branch of the California State Library."⁸⁴

The Sutro Library, however, could not stay in the basement forever. By the late 1950s, a series

of solutions, some conservative, some radical, were being proposed to address its problems. The library had never enjoyed more than minimal support in the halls of state government, and some legislators again saw an opportunity to pare down the costs of the State Library by giving the Sutro away. The question resurfaced of how to break the 1913 agreement with the Sutro heirs, so as to incorporate the library into the holdings of the University of California, or into the San Francisco Public Library, or to remove it to the state capital, Sacramento. Although several variants of these ideas were floated in 1957–59, and support for the U.C. Berkeley option initially extended into the governor's office, more sensible thinking managed to prevail. Proposals were also made to move the Sutro Branch to other locations in San Francisco, such as the quarters of the University of California Extension Service, or back to the Lane Medical Library, since Stanford University was moving its medical school to the Palo Alto campus. None of these proposals, however, was practical or enjoyed more than limited support. Still another proposal, which very nearly came to pass, was not to give the Sutro Library to the San Francisco Public Library, but rather, to keep it there as the Sutro Branch in a larger, remodeled space. Funds for this purpose were appropriated in early 1958 by the Ways and Means Committee of the California State Assembly, raising hopes that a solution to the Sutro's problems might be at hand. As an article in the *San Francisco News* put it: "The Sutro Library in San Francisco, probably the world's most neglected collection of rare manuscripts and early books, got some hope for the future today."⁸⁵ These hopes, however, were soon dashed, as the appropriation was quickly deleted by the Senate Finance Committee.

To the dismay and astonishment of many, the debate over what to do with the Sutro dragged on, the library falling victim to political posturing and infighting. In the 1959 legislative session, new proposals were made to close the doors of the Sutro, strike its funding from the state budget, and give it to the University of California.

Nevertheless, the wearying struggle over the library had brought renewed attention to it, and in the end, this attention saved it by solidifying its base of support and by demonstrating to a wider



San Francisco Examiner headline from 1913 announcing the gift of the Sutro Library to the California State Library.



Noted printer John Henry Nash, in this article in the San Francisco News (March 14, 1933), argued to save the Sutro Library.

audience how exceptionally rich its holdings were. It was now documented, for example, that a significant portion of the Sutro’s enormous collection of British pamphlets from the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries were not to be found in either the Huntington or the William Andrew Clark Libraries. To those in search of such fugitive material, a visit to the Sutro Library was unavoidable.⁸⁶ A coalition of interests—San Francisco legislators and other elected officials, the California library community, newspaper editors and columnists, and citizens at large—began to campaign for the library and to protest vigorously against its history of neglect by the state. The distress that was felt over the irresponsible mistreatment of a major cultural asset was summed up in these words from an editorial in *The San Francisco News*: “The state has made shameful use of this treasure house of knowledge.”⁸⁷ The gathering criticism and concern eventually reverberated in the national press, thus expanding the focus of attention.⁸⁸ A final source of support for the embattled library against efforts to dismantle it or to move it out of San Francisco came from within the Sutro itself. Beginning in the mid-

1950s, its staff began to publicize the library to a much wider audience by organizing traveling exhibitions to sites in Northern California and by writing articles about its holdings for publication in national journals.⁸⁹

The heightened desire to rescue the Sutro Library, improve its conditions, and place it in adequate quarters culminated in an offer made in late 1958 by the University of San Francisco to house the Sutro on the ground floor of its new Gleeson Library. Under the terms of a twenty-year lease, the Gleeson Library would make 14,000 square feet of space available to the Sutro—far more than the amount of a renovated area offered by the San Francisco Public Library—for the nominal fee of \$1.00 per year. In all other respects, the Sutro Library would stay unchanged, continuing to function as a branch of the California State Library, observant of all of the conditions of the 1913 agreement. This option was clearly superior to any other that the Sutro had before it. Short of having its own building (which would not occur until 1983), the Sutro Library could not realistically hope for a more generous offer. Yet, generous as it may have been, the offer was not

without its critics. Opposition to the prospective move came from two quarters: first, from an assemblage of civic leaders, elected officials, and members of boards and commissions, and second, from among members of the Sutro family.

When the proposal to transfer the Sutro to the Gleeson Library was first announced, it was perceived by some to violate the principle of church-state separation. The University of San Francisco was a Jesuit institution, and to these critics, the placement of a public library in a private religious institution—whatever the guarantees of free, public access—was fundamentally wrong. The issue stirred considerable controversy, and a significant protest against the transfer was expressed on these grounds.⁹⁰ Furthermore, a portion of the community, led by the San Francisco Public Library Commission, opposed the move on more general grounds as well, asserting that given the history and purposes of the Sutro Library, it was more appropriate that it remain in a public location. In light of the sharp divisions over the issue, California Governor Edmund G. Brown appointed a committee to analyze the University of San Francisco's offer. After conducting a brief study, the committee unanimously recommended that the offer be accepted. Governor Brown agreed with the recommendation, and the announcement was soon made (in May 1959) that the state would lease space in the Gleeson Library for the Sutro Branch. Although opposition continued to be expressed, it gradually died down, and in early January 1960, the San Francisco Public Library Commission withdrew its objection and agreed to the transfer. At this juncture, an *opéra bouffe* aspect was injected into the affair when two of Adolf Sutro's granddaughters, Alberta Morbio Pruett and Marguerite Morbio de Mailly, sought a legal injunction to block the move, alleging that the original donors expected the Sutro Library to be housed in a nonsectarian environment, and further threatening that, if the library move to the University of San Francisco went through, they would sue to repossess the library in its entirety.⁹¹ The granddaughters' case did not materialize. In early 1960, the Sutro Library was transferred to new quarters in the Gleeson Library. At long last, it could move forward.



Adolph Sutro in his library at his home in Sutro Heights, San Francisco.

FINAL THOUGHTS

Having considered the history of the Sutro Library from its beginnings down to 1960, one returns to the original question—how is it that the man who conceived and assembled a library of such remarkable proportions has earned so little recognition for his efforts as a collector? The answer is tied to a number of factors. Certainly, the fire that in 1906 reduced half of Sutro's library to ashes played a role. Gone in a few cruel hours were the books and manuscripts that had placed it at the pinnacle of collections in this country of both incunabula and sixteenth-century European imprints. Yet this loss, colossal as it was, hardly accounts for Adolf Sutro's lack of recognition. First, it happened after he had assembled the library and thus could not negate his collecting achievements. Second, even after the fire, the Sutro remained—both in size and quality—one of the finest private libraries in the country, containing areas of strength, such as its *Mexicana* and its pamphlets relating to the political, economic, and religious history of Great Britain, that set it apart from other collections. Ultimately, the major explanation for Sutro's obscurity as a book collector lay in his own indecisiveness and lack of action. What separated Adolf Sutro from Huntington, Morgan, Newberry, and others,

was his failure to either carry through with his plans to construct a building for his library and leave an endowment for its future operations, or to provide the means and instructions by which to accomplish these purposes after his death. That failure led directly to the sad train of events that subsequently befell the library. To take such action was imperative for Sutro, because unlike a number of other collectors, he could not count on his children (other than his eldest daughter) to remain faithful to his vision. The tragedy is that Sutro had been motivated by high ideals and a deep sense of civic purpose. For him, libraries were a sublime creation, touchstones of progress and of cultural and intellectual enlightenment. The donation of the Sutro Library in 1913 to the California State Library was made out of respect for Sutro's wishes and to fulfill his earlier vision for the library. For nearly half a century, the state's failure to support the Sutro Library subverted this intention. What is more, the disuse and neglect into which the library fell left its mark on Adolf Sutro's reputation as a book collector. Largely lost in the wreckage of the post-1913 years were the record and the memory of the library that he had planned and assembled. Equally lost (to the extent that it had ever existed) was the recognition of Sutro's importance within the ranks of American book collectors and of his stature, in Richard Dillon's phrase, as "San Francisco's pioneer bookman."⁹²



ENDNOTES

* Field research for this essay was supported by a grant from the University of New Mexico Research Allocations Committee, which the author gratefully acknowledges. Thanks are also due to W. Michael Mathes, Honorary Curator of Mexicana in the Sutro Library, for initially encouraging research on this topic; to Gary F. Kurutz, Curator of Special Collections, California State Library, Howard Karno, of Howard Karno Books, Valley Center, California, and Donald C. Farren, Scholar in Residence in the Folger Shakespeare Library, for their insights and advice; to Clyde Janes, retired Head Librarian of the Sutro Branch Library, for facilitating my use of documents pertaining to Adolf Sutro and his library; and to the staff of the Bancroft Library and of the California Historical Society for similar assistance.

- ¹ On the question of the size of Sutro's library, see Richard H. Dillon, "The Sutro Library," *News Notes of California Libraries*, 51, No. 2 (April 1956): 338–352. While there is no full-scale history of the Sutro Library (which has functioned since 1917 as a branch of the California State Library), the story of its formation and subsequent travails has been recounted in various articles and pamphlets. In addition to the aforementioned piece by Dillon (who served as Sutro Librarian from 1953 until 1980), see his booklet, *The Anatomy of a Library* [San Francisco: Sutro Library, 1957], and Peter Thomas Conmy, "The Sutro Library: Origin, Nature and Status," *California Librarian* 20, No. 2 (April 1959): 91–95 & 129.
- ² See, for example, "Notes on the Sutro Library," *Overland Monthly* (June 1885), n.p.; "Rare Old Works; An Appreciative Sketch of the Sutro Library," *San Francisco Daily Report* (Dec. 31, 1886), n.p.; and "The Colleges and the Big Library," *San Francisco Chronicle* (September 15, 1895). For testimonies appearing outside of San Francisco, see "A Real Benefactor," *The Augusta Chronicle* (September 16, 1885), and "San Francisco . . . Adolph Sutro's Great Library—Its Riches and His Methods," *The Daily Tribune* [Salt Lake City] (November 29, 1885).
- ³ Carl Cannon, *American Book Collectors and Collecting from Colonial Times to the Present*. (New York: The H.W. Wilson Company, 1941), and Donald C. Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*. (New York: & Westport: Greenwood Press, 1986). A third principal source that omits any mention of Sutro is Nicholas A. Basbanes' book, *A Gentle Madness: Bibliophiles, Bibliomanes, and the Eternal Passion for Books* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1995), which contains considerable material about the history and folklore of book collecting and private libraries in America during their so-called "golden age."
- ⁴ Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt, *The Book in America: A History of the Making, the Selling, and the Collecting of Books in the United States*. In Collaboration with Ruth Shepard Granniss and Lawrence Wroth. (New York: R.R. Bowker and Company, 1939), p. 346.
- ⁵ Granniss wrote and compiled Part III, entitled "American Book Collecting and the Growth of Libraries." Although, as mentioned above, the book was designed to fill out the historical record, it actually had less to say about Sutro and his library than did a 1915 study by George Watson Cole, *Book-Collectors as Benefactors of Public Libraries*. [reprinted for private distribution from papers of the Bibliographical Society of America, Volume IX, Nos 3–4] (Chicago: [University of Chicago Press], 1915).
- ⁶ Both Moss and Perkins were exceptionally capable. Moss, who served as Sutro's chief librarian for some ten years, was an English bookbinder, reputedly trained by Francis Bedford, as well as a scholar with a broad knowledge of languages. Perkins, a former head librarian of the San Francisco Free Public Library, worked for Sutro (under the supervision of Moss) for several years in the early 1890s, cataloging pamphlets located in the Montgomery Block building. Prior to coming to San Francisco, he had held important positions within the fledgling American library profession. On Moss, see Richard Dillon, "Adolph Sutro Finds a Librarian," *The Journal of Library History* 2 (1967): 225–234, and for further details on Perkins, see Martin J. Manning, "Perkins, Frederic Beecher," in *American National Biography*, Vol. 17: 341–343.
- ⁷ For this passage and the information preceding it, see O'Day's article, "Varied Types: 347—Robert E. Cowan," in *Town Talk: The Pacific and Bay Cities Weekly* 30, No. 1307 (Sept. 8, 1917): 5 & 17.
- ⁸ Even if he had been so motivated, Sutro would have found it difficult, if not impossible, to compete with Folger, Morgan, Huntington, et al., because his personal wealth was much less than theirs.
- ⁹ M. J. Ferguson, *The Sutro Branch of the California State Library*. [Sacramento: California State Library (?), n.d.] This slim pamphlet by Ferguson carries no publication date, but was probably written around 1920.
- ¹⁰ For these and related details about Sutro's life and travels in the 1870s–1880s, see Robert E. Stewart, Jr. and Mary Frances Stewart, *Adolph Sutro: A Biography*. (Berkeley: Howell-North, 1962): pp. 41–179. This is the only full-length biography of Sutro.

- ¹¹ As quoted in Conmy, pp. 93–94.
- ¹² This figure is given by Dillon in “The Sutro Library,” p. 338.
- ¹³ Among the materials in the Sutro Branch Library are receipts and correspondence pertaining to Adolph Sutro’s book purchases during this and later periods. For records documenting his 1883 London purchases, see Sutro Papers, Sutro Branch Library, Drawers 5 (Folder 2), 6 (Folder 1), 7 (Folders 1&2), and 9 (Folder 1). For simplicity’s sake, the Sutro Branch Library will be cited as “SBL.”
- ¹⁴ Sutro Papers, SBL, Drawer 5, Folder 2. For more on the Sunderland sale, see p. 12.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁶ The price for this batch was £3.10. *Ibid.*
- ¹⁷ Stewart, *Adolph Sutro*, p. 178
- ¹⁸ Other German booksellers from whom he bought included Ludwig Rosenthal, Carl Förster, J. Hess, and E. Hofstätter. Although Sutro travelled in 1883 (and after) to various European book centers—Basel, Antwerp, Paris, Madrid—Germany, after London, was his second major theatre of operations. Correspondence and receipts pertaining to Sutro’s purchases from German booksellers (including Mayer) is contained in the Sutro Papers, SBL, Drawer 5, Folders 2, 3, and 4; Drawer 6, Folder 1; and Drawer 9, Folder 1.
- ¹⁹ A complete tabulation of Mayer’s purchases, his month-by-month expenditures for books between May 1884 and October 1886, is found in the Sutro Library. See “Journal, Library, A. Sutro,” Sutro Papers, SBL, Drawer 32, Folder 1. (This is the account book for the London operation and includes all of its outlays.) Whether still in London or back in Munich, Mayer apparently did a limited amount of work during the winding-down period, since his salary for the entire six months was only £90.
- ²⁰ Carl F. Mayer to Adolf Sutro, June 9, 1884. Sutro Papers, SBL, Drawer 5, Folder 5.
- ²¹ Carl F. Mayer to Adolf Sutro, Dec. 2, 1884, *Ibid.*
- ²² Carl F. Mayer to Adolf Sutro, Jan. 23, 1885, *Ibid.*
- ²³ Carl F. Mayer to Adolf Sutro, May 19, 1885, *Ibid.*
- ²⁴ Carl F. Mayer to Adolf Sutro, July 7, 1885, *Ibid.*
- ²⁵ Carl F. Mayer to Adolf Sutro, May 19, 1885. *Ibid.*
- ²⁶ Carl F. Mayer to Adolf Sutro, July 7, 1885, *Ibid.*
- ²⁷ Carl F. Mayer to Adolf Sutro, Oct. 5, 1885, *Ibid.*
- ²⁸ See the account book cited in note 20 above. Each monthly entry records this sum as the allotment for books. Although the figure of \$2,000 has often been cited, this seems incorrect, since at this time a pound sterling was equal to \$5.00.
- ²⁹ As it happened, bulk purchases were unavoidable, as very few books were sold individually. Such treatment was given only to books of exceptional value or interest. Instead, almost all of the books disposed of at auctions were sold by lot, tied in bundles of 25 each, without separate bibliographic description. These were the conditions that Mayer (or any purchaser or agent) faced. To circumvent the problem of buying what he did not want, Mayer made every effort to inspect lots in advance. For a description of the sale-by-lot system, see Henry R. Wagner, *Sixty Years of Book Collecting*. Los Angeles, The Zamorano Club, 1952.
- ³⁰ Carl F. Mayer to Adolf Sutro, Oct. 28, 1884. Sutro Papers, SBL, Drawer 5, Folder 5.
- ³¹ Carl F. Mayer to Adolf Sutro, Dec. 2, 1884. *Ibid.* As it turned out, the Mazarin Bible fetched £3,900, “the highest price at any time paid for a book,” Mayer reported two weeks later to Sutro.
- ³² The essay forms chapter 17 of Bancroft’s autobiographical work, *Retrospection, Political and Personal*. (New York: The Bancroft Company, 1913). See pp. 314–315.
- ³³ Robert Warner to Adolf Sutro, n.d., Sutro Papers, SBL, Drawer 7, Folder 4.
- ³⁴ Robert Warner to Adolf Sutro, Nov. 4, 1884. Sutro Papers, SBL, *Ibid.*
- ³⁵ For these and other details about the collection, see “Leman’s Old Plays...,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 29, 1887.
- ³⁶ Charles C. Soule to Adolf Sutro, July 11, 1889. Sutro Papers, SBL, Drawer 5, Folder 1.
- ³⁷ For an excellent account of the formation and contents of the Woodward Library, see Gary F. Kurutz, “A Library of Libraries: The Formation of the Adolph Sutro Collection and the Library of Woodward’s Gardens,” *California State Library Foundation Bulletin*, No. 57 (October 1996): 9–14.
- ³⁸ These notes by Moss are unsigned, but are clearly written in his hand. They are also undated, but because of details that they contain regarding Sutro’s choice of a site for his library, must have been composed around the mid-1890s. Further evidence for this date is found in the fact that Moss gives the number of volumes in the library as 200,000, a figure which likely could not have been reached before this time. Sutro Papers, SBL, Drawer 22, Folder 1.
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁰ Richard Dillon, “Adolph Sutro Finds a Librarian,” *The Journal of Library History* 2 (1967): 227.
- ⁴¹ From “Americana: Early Collectors, Bibliographers and Bookdealers; Libraries and Research Centers,” a chapter in Vol. 1 of Justin Winsor’s *Aboriginal America*, as reproduced in *Review of National Literatures* [ed. Anne Paolucci and Henry Paolucci], Vol 19 (1995): 54.
- ⁴² Dillon, “Sutro Finds a Librarian,” p. 227.
- ⁴³ This number is included in an undated tabulation (probably done by Robert Warner), found among Mayer’s letters to Sutro. See Sutro Papers, SBL, Drawer 9, Folder 1.
- ⁴⁴ From Richard H. Dillon, “The Sutro Library,” *News Notes of California Libraries*, 51, No. 2 (April 1956): 342.
- ⁴⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁶ For more on this part of the Sutro Library and on Sutro’s book-buying ventures in Mexico, see W. Michael Mathes, “A Bibliophile’s Dream: Adolph Sutro in Mexico,” *Quarterly News Letter: The Book Club of California*, Vol. XLV, No. 3 (Summer 1980): 73–75, and Richard H. Dillon, “Sutro Library’s Resources in Latin Americana,” *Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 45, No. 2 (May 1965): 267–274.
- ⁴⁷ The four folios and the Halliwell-Phillips Collection of Shakespeare-Stratford documents.
- ⁴⁸ Banks was president of the Royal Society and had sailed with Captain Cook. The 100,000 pages of material (chiefly manuscripts) in his collection document and mirror the scientific spirit and achievements of his time.
- ⁴⁹ An invoice in the Sutro Library indicates that he paid £200 for them. Sutro Papers, SBL, Drawer 8, Folder 1. Shapira had taken his own life in March 1884, following the revelation that he had tried to sell a forged “manuscript of Deuteronomy” to the British Museum. This was not the first fraudulent sale for which Shapira had been the agent. For a brief note on his role in these affairs, see “Shapira Fragments,” in the *Encyclopedia Judaica*, Ed. Cecil Roth & Geoffrey Wigoder, Vol. 14: 1301–1302.
- ⁵⁰ “The Sutro Library,” in the *Pacific Churchman*, April 1, 1885, from the Sutro papers, SBL, Drawer 32, Folder 2.
- ⁵¹ O’Day, *Town Talk*, p. 5.
- ⁵² It is sometimes thought that Sutro’s Spanish “agents” led him to believe that they were uncovering heretofore unknown documents relating to the early Spanish colonization and evangelization of present-day California. On this point, see, e.g., Donald C. Cutter’s preface to his reedition of George B. Griffin’s 1891 compilation, *Documents from the Sutro Collection*. Donald C. Cutter, *The California Coast: A Bilingual Edition of Documents from the Sutro Collection*. . . . (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969):vii–xix. Peralta, however, was very direct with Sutro, informing him: “Only I must tell candidly, I believe that you came too late to find anything new. In Mexico as well as in San Francisco no document has been spared examination, copy and even printing. The infatigable Hubert Howe Bancroft has left you and

- everybody else quite behind in Californian documents and historical knowledge. He has copies of all documents of interest in the very Archives of the Missions on California, New Mexico, Arizona, Oregon, etc. etc.” Manuel Peralta to Adolf Sutro, March 2, 1884. Sutro Papers, SBL, Drawer 5, Folder 5.
- ⁵³ Moss’ monthly salary was \$125 and Perkins’ \$100. The principal bookbinder, Henry Marsden, was paid \$18 per week; the book-sewers earned less, around \$1.45 per day. See “Sutro Library Receipts,” Sutro Papers, SBL, Drawer 22, Folder 3.
- ⁵⁴ George Moss to Adolph Sutro, June 20, 1893. Bancroft Library, Sutro, A.H.J., Papers & Correspondence, Box 8, George Moss Folder.
- ⁵⁵ White wrote a quite complete description of the library to the editor of the *Christian Advocate*, J. M. Buckley, who printed it in the paper in 1892. Sutro included parts of White’s account in a pamphlet that he published in 1895, when he proposed a site for the library to the Regents of the University of California. See *Adolph Sutro’s Letter to the Regents of the University of California and to the Committee of Affiliated Colleges on the Selection of a Site for the Affiliated Colleges*. (San Francisco: 1895): pp. 4–5.
- ⁵⁶ Andrew White to Adolph Sutro, June 21, 1892. Bancroft Library, Sutro, A.H. J., Papers & Correspondence, Box 19, Andrew D. White Folder.
- ⁵⁷ Andrew D. White to Adolph Sutro, July 29, 1893. *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁸ See “Visitor’s Register: Sutro Library 1886–1994,” Sutro Papers, SBL, Drawer 35. Moreover, according to Perkins, a number of these visitors had specialized knowledge of libraries and were thus able to appreciate the remarkable strengths of the Sutro. “This library, imperfect as it is, has excited the astonishment of every book expert who has examined it.” See Bancroft Library, Sutro, A.H.J., Papers & Correspondence, Box 9: Perkins, Frederic Beecher Folder.
- ⁵⁹ Mary S. Barnes to George Moss, Sept. 10, 1895. Sutro Papers, SBL, Drawer 10, Folder 7.
- ⁶⁰ See, e.g., letter from P. W. Treat (private secretary to Sutro) to George Warner, a Minneapolis collector, in which Treat wrote: “Replying to yours of 6th we are not purchasing anything for the Sutro Library at present, but in the near future we would be pleased to hear from you again.” P. W. Treat to Warner, January 10, 1898. Sutro Papers, SBL, Drawer 33, Folder 2.
- ⁶¹ To scholars later researching this period in the library’s history, Moss’ fate was apparently something of a mystery. (See Richard Dillon, “Adolph Sutro Finds a Librarian,” *The Journal of Library History*, Vol. 2 [1967]: 225–234.) Yet it is clear from a letter that Emma Merritt wrote to her sister Katie that Moss had indeed passed away: “In regard to the library there is no complete catalog. Poor Mr. Moss . . . who was for so many years the Librarian, died on the 25th of March, after a lingering illness of nearly two years. Practically, there has been nobody in the library for about ten months. . . .” Emma Merritt to Mrs. Moritz Nussbaum, n.d. [but probably written in early April 1898]. Bancroft Library, Sutro, A.H.J. Papers & Correspondence, Box 41: Sutro Estate; Correspondence, Legal Documents, 1898–1915.
- ⁶² *Ibid.*
- ⁶³ Among Sutro’s artifacts were Egyptian mummies and a great many stuffed animals and birds.
- ⁶⁴ See “At Sutro Heights,” *Pacific Rural Press* (San Francisco), May 8, 1886.
- ⁶⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁶ Sutro went on to say, “and here, among these groves and gardens, by the side of the great Pacific, I shall place my books.” From remarks he addressed to a group of editorial writers in 1885, as quoted in “A Real Benefactor,” *The Augusta Chronicle*, September 16, 1885, p. 8.
- ⁶⁷ From an article on the proposed library published in *The San Francisco Call* on June 15, 1893, as paraphrased in Ferguson, *Sutro Branch*, p. 3.
- ⁶⁸ See note 56 above.
- ⁶⁹ W. C. Little quoting Adolf Sutro, as reported in “The Colleges and the Big Library, . . .” *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 15, 1895.
- ⁷⁰ Mention of such a trust and of Sutro’s assurances to the Regents was reported in Sutro’s College Site is Settled. Approval of the Deed of Gift. . . .” *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 9, 1895.
- ⁷¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁷² There is also some indication that Sutro may actually have decided to deed the library itself to the University. See Stewart & Stewart, *Adolf Sutro*, 207–208.
- ⁷³ As evidence that Sutro was serious about leaving an endowment for the library, Moss cites Sutro’s success in getting an amendment passed to the state constitution that exempted public libraries from taxation. According to Moss, Sutro had feared that the endowment might otherwise be eaten up in taxes. Mention of this initiative of Sutro’s is made in the surviving fragments of a biographical sketch about him, which, while lacking a specific date and author, was apparently written by Moss, as it bears notes and corrections in his handwriting. See Sutro Papers, SBL, Drawer 31, Folder 2. Furthermore, Sutro expected that the endowment, “to be used in the maintenance of the library and for the acquisition of additional books,” would yield a minimum income of \$2,000 per month. See Dillon, “The Sutro Library,” p. 340.
- ⁷⁴ The question was posed, for example, in an article published in the *San Francisco Chronicle* just a day after Sutro’s death, as quoted in Conmy, “The Sutro Library,” p. 92.
- ⁷⁵ See “Heirs Seek to Sell the Sutro Library,” *The San Francisco Call*, August 23, 1900, p. 11.
- ⁷⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁷ O’Day, *Town Talk*, p. 5.
- ⁷⁸ Andrew White to Adolf Sutro, June 21, 1892. Bancroft Library, Sutro, A.H.J. Papers & Correspondence, Box 19: Andrew D. White Folder.
- ⁷⁹ See “Sutro’s Heirs Are in Dispute over Library,” *The San Francisco Call*, July 29, 1909, p. 5.
- ⁸⁰ See Conmy, “The Sutro Library,” p. 94.
- ⁸¹ The bill was introduced by Assemblyman Albert Rosenshine. See *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 2, 1923.
- ⁸² John Henry Nash, “Save the Sutro Library!,” *The San Francisco News*, March 14, 1933.
- ⁸³ Paul Radin, “The Sutro Library,” *Women’s City Club Magazine of San Francisco* 14, No. 6 (July 1940): p. 15.
- ⁸⁴ William Parker, “Interesting Volume in Sutro Branch, Calif. State Library,” *The Western Journal of Education* (September 1946): 15.
- ⁸⁵ See “Sutro Library Gets Hope for Proper Home: Assembly Unit OK’s \$101,198,” *The San Francisco News*, February 17, 1958.
- ⁸⁶ This and other unique strengths of the Sutro Library were publicized in a report (the so-called “Henderson Report”) issued in 1957 by a special state committee formed to evaluate the Sutro Library and its needs.
- ⁸⁷ See “Buried Treasure,” *The San Francisco News*, September 20, 1957.
- ⁸⁸ See, e.g., “Sutro Library Issue Arouses California,” in *The Christian Science Monitor*, May 20, 1959.
- ⁸⁹ The principal person driving this publicity campaign was Richard Dillon, who had become the Head of the Sutro Branch in 1953.
- ⁹⁰ See, e.g., “Sutro Book Shift to USF Opposed,” *San Francisco Examiner*, May 20, 1959, Sec. 1, p. 9.
- ⁹¹ “San Francisco: Literary Orphan,” *San Francisco Chronicle* [This World section], January 24, 1960.
- ⁹² Richard Dillon, “Adolph Sutro’s Bibliographic Legacy,” in *Seven Pioneer San Francisco Libraries* (San Francisco: Roxburge Club of San Francisco, 1958): p. 29.





Foundation Notes

Foundation Board Meets in Clarksburg

California State Library Foundation Board Member Herbert Hunn graciously hosted a meeting of the Board of Directors at the Clarksburg Public Library. Mr. Hunn provided directors and Library staff with an interesting history of the Sacramento Delta and the historic river town of Clarksburg. Thereafter, the directors turned their attention to such issues as the O'Shaughnessy Trust, investments, and the deep reductions in the proposed Library budget due to the state's fiscal crisis and ways in which the Foundation could support the Library.

Following the meeting, the directors enjoyed lunch at the Clarksburg Community Church and were entertained by Gerry and Jayne Alchorn who, provided a living history re-enactment featuring two notable Sacramento River pioneers, Solomon and Adaline Runyon.



(From left to right) Jayne and Gerry Alchorn (living history actors); Foundation Executive Director, Gary F. Kurutz; and Board of Directors member and host for the day, Herbert "Pete" Hunn at Foundation Board meeting in Clarksburg.

Mead B. Kibbey Honored

The Foundation hosted a reception and dinner at the Sutter Club in Sacramento on January 10 to honor Board Member Mead Kibbey in gratitude for his many years of devoted service and generosity to the Foundation and State Library. Attended by well over one hundred Foundation members, family, and friends, the evening was highlighted by several sparkling and eloquent presentations. J.S. Holliday served as master of ceremonies and Foundation President George Basye welcomed everyone. Allison Kibbey, Mead's youngest daughter, gave a particularly memorable tribute to her father. The evening concluded with the presentation of a gift masterminded by Foundation Treasurer Kenneth Noack, Jr. and a California State Senate Resolution signed by Debra Ortiz.

Reproductions of CSL Images Available for Purchase

We are pleased to announce that a selected number of California State Library reproduction images may be purchased online through the following web site: <http://www.zazzle.com/collections/gallery/featured.asp> or by going to the Foundation's web site: www.csdfd.org. Click on Publications and the link to Zazzle will appear. Members may purchase note cards, greeting cards, and posters of varying sizes. This service will allow the Library and its Foundation the opportunity to raise funds while at the same time publicizing the richness of our collections to a new audience.

The site features reproductions of several of the Library's rarest and most attractive historical prints, posters, and maps. We plan to add several more images in the near future. Royalties from the sales of these materials will benefit the Library's California History Section. Funds derived from this source will be used for new acquisitions and preservation.

Zazzle's state-of-the-art reproduction techniques produce images printed on the highest-quality materials, resulting in reproductions that do not fade, crack, or weaken with age. Digital printing capabilities allow Zazzle to manufacture and ship any item within 24–48 hours of order.

placement; no product is printed until an order is placed, and Zazzle.com offers a full line of consumer merchandise, including fine art prints of rare and historic images.

We have been working with the company for many months, and as with any new venture, it took longer than expected. The results, however, are most pleasing. The Foundation is joined on the Zazzle.Com web site by Stanford University, The Bancroft Library, and Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco.

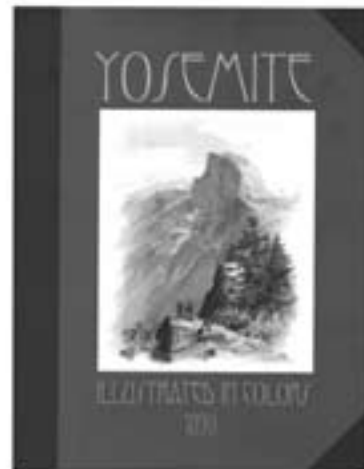
Mexican War Publication Finally Available

The Foundation is pleased to announce the availability of *The Forgotten War: The Conflict between Mexico and the United States 1846–1849*. The publication includes an extensive annotated bibliography by Dr. W. Michael Mathes of the Spanish language material held by the Sutro Library in San Francisco. Dr. Mathes is the Sutro Library's Honorary Curator of Mexicana and a highly acclaimed authority on the history of Mexico. His lucid descriptions of dozens of books, pamphlets, and broadsides represent the first detailed bibliography published in California to emphasize the Mexican side of this momentous conflict. The publication is supplemented by an annotated checklist of the Library's extensive collection of nineteenth century English language books, pamphlets, manuscripts, prints, and sheet music by Gary F. Kurutz, Curator of Special Collections. The latter, of course, emphasizes the American viewpoint and includes the conquest of California. Five hundred copies will be printed and will be sold at \$25.00 a copy plus sales tax and shipping.



Yosemite Book Published

Our friends at the Windgate Press in Sausalito produced from the Library's copy a beautiful facsimile edition of *Yosemite Illustrated in Colors*. H. S. Crocker Company of San Francisco originally published the volume in 1890 with twelve stunning chromolithographs based on watercolor and oil paintings. The Windgate Press edition reproduces the entire work and adds the text of the congressional acts that established the boundaries of the valley and additional contemporary illustrations. Copies may be purchased through the Foundation at \$45.00 a copy plus sales tax and shipping.



The Millennium Book

Last February 26, the Foundation sponsored a reception in the California History Room to celebrate the donation of *The Millennium Book*. Be Davison Herrera presented it in honor of the Library's first donor, Colonel Jonathan Drake Stevenson of the New York Volunteers. Mrs. Herrera is a direct descendant of Colonel Stevenson. Assembled as a portfolio format, *The Millennium Book* consists of 232 sheets of poetry, photographs, and prints in a variety of media by several Sacramento area writers and artists. The colophon explains in part this beautiful and creative work: "*The Millennium Book*, the triumph of laughter over dogma, was created in Sacramento, California USA, valleys, mountains and city by *Inclusionists* aged 13 to 72 to honor our community of literary, performing, and visual artists." Contributors to the project were Lawrence Washington-Brooks, Patricia Canterbury, Mary Lillington Davison, Ted Finn, Alice Fong, Deborah Goldstein, Be Davison Herrera, Teddy Kell, David Mana'ay, Juanishi Orosco, Peter VandenBerge, Carol Wagner, and Rachel Stonecipher. Only eighteen copies were printed for distribution, and Mrs. Herrera placed them in libraries in six continents including the new Bibliotheca Alexandrina in Egypt.





Recent Contributors

ASSOCIATE

Jane & Tom Apostol, Pasadena
 William J. Barger, Pasadena
 Louise & David Beesley, Nevada City
 Barbara Biebush, Santa Rosa
 Mr. & Mrs. Samuel B. Breck, Piedmont
 Richard E. Cohn, Sacramento
 Rosemary M. Corbin, Richmond
 Mr. & Mrs. James M. Day, Jr., Courtland
 Friends of Bellflower Library, Bellflower
 Friends of Beverly Hills Library,
 Beverly Hills
 Friends of Oakhurst Library, Oakhurst
 Mrs. William W. Fox, Kensington
 Marcia E. Goodman, Palo Alto
 Charlotte Harriss, Danville
 Graham H. Humphrey, Jr., Escondido
 Evelyn Huston, Claremont
 Charlotte Jean Jones, South Pasadena
 Dr. G. Fred Lee, El Macero
 JoAnn Levy, Sutter Creek
 Vincent J. Lozito, Sacramento
 Katherine F. Mawdsley, Davis
 M. Kay Mowery, Griffin, GA
 Bart Nadeau, San Francisco
 James G. Nourse, Half Moon Bay
 Beverly M. Pettyjohn, Grass Valley
 Salvador A. Ramirez, Carlsbad
 San Mateo Public Library, San Mateo
 Mary Eleanor Schell, Sacramento
 Mr. & Mrs. James Schuyler, San Carlos
 Richard Servetnick, Lafayette
 Glynn Shire, Sacramento
 Cy Silver, Berkeley
 Michael R. Smith, Elk Grove
 Martin E. Thomas, Sacramento
 Charles W. Tuttle, Jr., Colusa
 United Way of Fresno, Fresno
 United Way of San Diego, San Diego

United Way Bay Area, San Francisco
 Wells Fargo Community Support
 Campaign, San Francisco
 Dorothy M. Wheaton, Sacramento
 Linda M. Wood, Berkeley
 Gordon H. Yule, Sr., Auburn

In Honor of Dr. Kevin Starr

County Managers Affiliation, Oakland
 Linda M. Wood, Berkeley

CONTRIBUTORS

Warren J. Abbott, West Covina
 Mr. & Mrs. George Basye, Sacramento
 Gerald E. Benston, MD, Rancho Mirage
 Kathleen L. Bernath, Claremont
 Victoria Dailey, Los Angeles
 L. J. & Dan Dillon, Fair Oaks
 E. Clampus Vitus, Emperor
 Norton Brigade, San Francisco
 Chee Fat, Sacramento
 Clarence Fogelstrom, Washington, DC
 Allan E. Forbes, Chico
 George T. Gibson, Sacramento
 Alan Hensher, Merced
 Helen B. Hennig, Los Altos
 Susan H. Hildreth, Clayton
 Paula C. Hock, Lancaster
 Nora Beale Jacob, Orange
 John & Ruth Kallenberg, Fresno
 Ron Lerch, Sacramento
 Sheila J. Marsh, Sacramento
 Kevin & Anna Meehan, Valley Springs
 Pamela K. Milligan, Sacramento

Roy Minnick, Rancho Cordova
 Patricia Posten, Cameron Park
 William M. Roth, Princeton, NJ
 Sandy Schuckett, Los Angeles
 Charlene Simmons, Davis
 Sandra Swafford, Sacramento
 Robert & Mary Swisher, Sacramento
 P. K. Taylor, Sacramento
 Edward A. Veit, Antelope
 Margaret & Thomas E. Vinson, Piedmont

SPONSOR

Jay Cunningham, Kensington
 Roy Dean Hardy, Sacramento
 Warren Heckrotte, Oakland
 Virginia G. Livingston, Sacramento
 Shelia F. Thornton, Sacramento

In Memory of Eugene Black, Sr. In Memory of Eugene Black, Jr.

Mrs. Barbara Black, Sacramento

In Honor of Dr. Kevin Starr

San Francisco Chronicle, San Francisco
 California Association of Library Trustees
 & Commissioners, Rancho Palos Verdes

PATRON

Mimi & Burnett Miller, Sacramento
 Paul G. Smith, Sacramento
 Peter B. Wiley & Valerie Barth,
 San Francisco

In Honor of Dr. Kevin Starr

Chicago Tribune, Chicago, IL

Permanente Medical Group,
San Francisco

LIFETIME

United Way Sacramento, Sacramento

CORPORATE

**Matching Gift for Peter B. Wiley
& Valerie Barth**

John Wiley & Sons, Inc., New York, NY

In Honor of Dr. Kevin Starr

Southern California Association for
Philanthropy, Los Angeles

BRAILLE & TALKING
BOOK LIBRARY

Lucile Anderson, Alameda

Morton & Constance Besen,
Menlo Park

Nancy J. Broderick, Santa Rosa

Lee W. Champion, Orangevale

Robert C. Combs, MD, Santa Rosa

Carolyn & Steven Conner, La Mesa

Anne Correa, Concord

Fraternal Order of Eagles
Sacramento Auxiliary, Sacramento

John P. Flannery, Concord

Hannah Goldstein, Aptos

John D. Hynes, Modesto

Donna L. Kirtley, Rocklin

Jack & Tommie Lacy, San Jose

Margaret H. May, Monterey

Mrs. William H. Meyer, San Jose

William H. Montague, Hilmar

Christina L. Petteruti, San Mateo

George A. Saunders, Modesto

Mrs. Christine J. Scribner, San Mateo

Leona L. Trublood, Shasta Lake

Verena R. Walther, Modesto

In Memory of Gwen Clark

Helen Robbins, Sacramento

In Memory of David Estes

Bonnie Gratch Lindauer
Ruth Champagne

In Memory of Vera Harrop

Mignon L. Graham, Napa

In Memory of Erna & Graydon Milton

From the Milton Family Trust

In Memory of Harry Scott Smith

Judith O'Leary, Montara

In Memory of Alice Stuckey

From the Estate of Alice Stuckey

CALIFORNIA

Judith Auth, Riverside

John M. Baker, MD, Carmichael

Sharon & Robert Balmain, Woodland

Donna M. Bauerly, Dubuque, IA

Birdie N. Boyles, Sacramento

Canadian Art Deco Society,
Vancouver, Canada

Capitol Area Development Authority,
Sacramento

Robert J. Chandler, Lafayette

City of Independence, Independence, MO

City of Monterey, Monterey

Kathleen & Mark Correia-Cashatt,
Sacramento

John Crichton, San Francisco

Richard M. Davis, San Rafael

Robert M. Dickover, Citrus Heights

Digital Ranch, Sherman Oaks

Facing History & Ourselves
National Foundation, Brookline, MA

Fresh Air Media, Inc. Auburn

Globe Pequot Press, Guilford, CT

Gerrilee Hafvenstein, Cameron Park

Donald J. Hagerty, Davis

Susan J. Hanks, Sacramento

High Noon Productions, Littleton, CO

James M. Hotchkiss, Jr., Orinda

Indiana University, Bloomington, IN

Howard Karno, Valley Center

Nancy & Mead Kibbey, Sacramento

Kitimat Centennial Museum,
Kitimat, Canada

Lion Television Limited, London, England

McDougal Littel, Inc., Boston, MA

McGraw Hill Companies, Hightstown, NJ

Hazel Moffat, Doncaster, England

National Geographic Society,
Washington, DC

National Park Service, Harpers Ferry, WV

New York Public Library, New York, NY

Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., Los Angeles

Sarah C. O'Dowd, Barrington, RI

Pearson, Livonia, MI

Photosearch, Inc., New York, NY

Picture Research Consultants, Topsfield, MA

Wilma L. Plunkett, Bend, OR

Robert V. Schwemmer, Santa Clarita

Setzer Foundation, Sacramento

State of Nebraska, Lincoln, NE

Jeffrey Thomas, San Francisco

Thomson Learning, Mason, OH

University of California, Berkeley

Sharon Vandercook, Fresno

David Vaught, College Station, TX

David Von Aspern, Sacramento

Philip M. Wagner III, Annapolis, MD

Janice M. Wight, St. Helena

In Memory of Denis L. Kurutz

Staff Members of the California
History Section California
State Library, Sacramento

Cindy & Robin Dezember, Sacramento

KD & Gary Kurutz, Sacramento

Julia & William Schaw, Sacramento

In Honor of Gary F. Kurutz

California Geographical Society, Cypress
Kingsley Art Club, Woodland

Sacramento Book Collectors, Sacramento

In Memory of Glynn Shire

Sacramento Book Collectors, Sacramento

CALIFORNIA CIVIL
LIBERTIES PUBLIC
EDUCATION PROJECT
FUND

Japanese American National Network
of Community Services, San Francisco

E. I. Masuyama, Cerritos

State of California, Sacramento

CALIFORNIA RESEARCH
BUREAU GRANT

California HealthCare Foundation,
Oakland

GOVERNMENT
PUBLICATIONS
SECTION

Craig E. Crouch, Rocklin

GOVERNOR'S
BOOK FUND

A T & T Foundation, New York, NY

City National Bank, Los Angeles

Kaiser Permanente, Los Angeles

Eric L. Kruger, Jr., Long Beach

Alan W. Landsburg, Beverly Hills

Motorola Foundation, Schaumburg, IL

PacifiCare/Secure Horizons, Santa Ana

Pals Club, Carmichael

Scholastic Inc., New York, NY

Wal-Mart Foundation, Bentonville, AR

SUTRO
LIBRARY

Claudia E. Bell, Woodland

John Cormode, Mountain View

Dorothy H. Crowder, San Francisco

Dorothy Demange, Palo Alto

Paula R. Flagg, Watsonville

Mary S. Hunt, San Francisco

Laura Shaw Murra, Berkeley

Frank L. Myers, Watsonville

PipeVine Inc., San Francisco

Volney A. Plumb, Concord

Mrs. Winifred L. Swanson, Santa Rosa

Susan Swindell, Martinez

Paul Van Dyke, Livermore



Adolph Sutro built this spectacular French chateau-style Cliff House in 1896. This, the third and most beautiful Cliff House, burnt down in 1907. The photograph is taken from Sutro Heights.