SUBLIME VIEWS AND PICTURESQUE EMBELLISHMENTS: WESTWARD EXPANSION AND "PROGRESS" IN GILDED AGE GUIDEBOOK ILLUSTRATION

by

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A THESIS

Presented to the Department of the History of Art and Architecture
and the Graduate School of the University of Oregon
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Master of Arts

June 2019

THESIS APPROVAL PAGE

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Title: Sublime Views and Picturesque Embellishments: Westward Expansion and "Progress" in Gilded Age Guidebooks Illustration

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Degree awarded June 2019

THESIS ABSTRACT

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Date: June 2019

Title: Sublime Views and Picturesque Embellishments: Westward Expansion and "Progress" in Gilded Age Guidebooks Illustration

Abstract:

In this thesis I apply literary analysis to railroad guidebook illustration (1880-1890) to argue that the framing and decorative embellishments aided the nineteenth century reader in imagining an idealized version of the Western landscape. Although rail travel was quick and removed from the physical experience of the landscape, guidebook illustrations highlight the picturesque aspects of the Western environment and supplement the rail travel experience by guiding the viewer through a contemplative and romantic reading of the landscape. Guidebooks immersed the reader in the progressive narrative of the guidebooks. The authors utilize language that assumes the readers are riding along the transcontinental path as they read, and the imagery serves to engage the readers' imaginations and guide the viewers in viewing the picturesque and idealized version of the Western landscape.

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Marian Donnelly Student Award, Department of the History of Art and Architecture, University of Oregon, 2018.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my thesis advisor, Dr. Nina Amstutz, for continual encouragement and guidance in both my academic and professional pursuits at the University of Oregon and for directing my research toward beneficial sources on landscape, Romanticism, and the symbolism of the window in art. I am also indebted to my committee members, Dr. Derek Burdette and Dr. Keith Eggener, for providing valuable sources on the American West and Gilded Age print culture and to Dr. Steven Beda for encouraging me to consider environmental and labor histories of the Northwest and for providing critical sources specific to the region. Finally, I would also like to thank the subject librarians of the University of Oregon's Knight Library Special Collections, Jennifer O'Neal and Bruce Tabb, for their assistance in navigating the university's manuscript collection.

This thesis would not be possible without the support of the Department of the History of Art and Architecture, my graduate cohort, and the assistance of Tiffany Benefiel, Lydia Griffin, Shaun Haskins, and the many College of Design staff members who provided patient advice and friendly faces during my time at the University of Oregon. I would like to end by expressing my gratitude to the generous research travel grant provided by the Marian Donnelly Student Award to study the manuscript collection at the John Carter Brown Library in Providence, Rhode Island.

For family, friends, and faculty who lent their encouragement and guidance in this immensely enriching and challenging process.

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INTRODUCTION

The completion of the transcontinental railroad route in the 1870s established an entire genre of tourist literature to market the ease of overland travel to upper-class tourists.[1] Guidebook illustrations differ from the prints within previous travel literature in a few important ways. In the place of sweeping panoramic vistas and ethnographic and botanical studies, they have closely cropped, partial views of carefully-chosen portions of the landscape and a plethora of decorative borders and marginalia. The framing and embellishments on these images helped the nineteenth-century reader to imagine an idealized version of the landscape of the West. To demonstrate, my thesis focuses on the use and narrative context of three guidebooks—Henry T. Williams', *The Pacific Tourist…* (1881); George A. Crofutt's, *New Overland Tourist, and Pacific Coast Guide* (1884); and, Stanley Wood's, *Over the Range to Golden Gate…* (1889).

The guidebooks I have chosen are linked in their purpose and subject. Each of my cases were created to advise the transcontinental railroad traveler and provide detailed instruction with copious illustration. *The Pacific Tourist…* by Henry T. Williams is a 9.25" by 6.875" guidebook that provides instructions on traveling the Union and Central Railroad routes from East coast cities—New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Cincinnati, or Chicago—across the United States with stops in Nebraska, Montana, Nevada, Utah, Wyoming, California, Oregon, and Washington. *The Pacific Tourist* was published by Adams & Bishops, a New York-based publishing house that produced both

[1] This genre will be referred to as *guidebooks.*

maps and guidebooks for tourists.[2] *The Pacific Tourist* was available for purchase at "publisher's agencies" across the United States for the price of $2.00 for a hardback cover and $1.50 for a "flexible [paper] cover" meant to be light-weight, portable, and ideal for the railroad traveler.[3] The publication features illustrations by Thomas Moran, A. C. Warren, W. Snyder, F. Schell, H. W. Troy, A. Will., all engraved by the Meeder & Chubb. Engraving Company, and apart from a few illustrations, the individual images are not credited to any specific artist.[4]

George A. Crofutt's, *New Overland Tourist, and Pacific Coast Guide*, is a 7.5" by 5.25" guidebook also meant to advise transcontinental tourists on the Pacific Railroad.[5] Crofutt's guidebook was sold with a "flexible clothe" cover for $1.50 and could have been purchased at railroad agencies, newsstands, and book stores across the United States.[6] Unlike Williams's *The Pacific Tourist*, *New Overland Tourist*, was published by a company owned by Crofutt himself, The Overland Publishing Company of Chicago, Illinois, which published publications and an illustrated monthly on the topic of

[2] Henry T. Williams, *The Pacific Tourist* (1881), n.p.

[3] Ibid. The publisher's agency that sold *The Pacific Tourist* were in Omaha, Nebraska; Denver, Colorado; Sacramento, California; Chicago, Illinois; San Francisco, California.

[4] The exception being works that are attributed to Thomas Moran, which have include the source artist: "Williams' Canon, Colorado Springs," on page 74, "The Cliffs of Echo Canon, Utah" on page 123, "Wilhelmina Pass, Weber Canon," on page 130, "American Fork Canon," on page 144, "View of Great Salt Lake, From the Wahsotch Mountains" on page 154, "The Palisades on the Humboldt" on 183, "Winter Forest Scene in the Sierra Nevadas" on page 206, "Lake Tahoe" on page 215, "Summits of the Sierras" on page 221, "Donner Lake From Near Summit, Nevada" on page 229, "Giant's Gap, American River Canon" on page 236, "A Vision of the Golden Country" on page 242, "Vernal Falls, Yosemite" on page 256.

[5] George A. Crofutt, *New Overland Tourist, and Pacific Coast Guide*, n.p. Unlike Williams's, Crofutt's narrative also includes instructions for travelers riding the Southern route, but for the purpose of this thesis, I focus on my study on cross-continent travel.

[6] Ibid.

transcontinental travel.[7] Crofutt divides his illustrations into two categories: "large views," full-page illustrations inserted between pages of text, and "illustrations," smaller decorative details that are interjected within the textual narrative. Unlike Williams's guidebook, the original artists for Crofutt's images are not credited within the text, but the engraving company is mentioned on a few of the illustrations.[8]

Stanley Wood's, *Over the Range to Golden Gate*… is a 7.75" x 5" guidebook available in "paper" binding for $1.50.[9] The guidebook was published by the R. R. Donnelly & Sons Publishing Company of Chicago, which published a wide range of books on travel and the West, and additionally, the author, Wood was the editor of a monthly magazine dedicated to the "Wild West" called the *Great Divide.*[10] Like Crofutt's guidebook, Wood does not credit his individual artists.

These three case studies use illustration and text to curate the traveler's visual experience of the American West. At each junction, the authors tell the reader which tickets to purchase, and at times in the texts the authors point out key attractions as the train passes them by. The all-encompassing nature of tourist guidebooks caused them to function as a means for interpreting the lands travelled. Beyond instructive detail, however, the guidebooks engage the reader's imagination and function as a virtual picturesque travel experience which guides reader in interpreting scenic views from their rail window.

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[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid. 13, 20. The engravers that Crofutt cites include: Wes. Erneger Co. and Bond & Chandler

[9] Stanley Wood, *Over the Range to the Golden Gate…,* n.p.

[10] The Cosmopolitan, "20 Gemstones All Free With The Great Divide," October 1891, 11, 6, 44.

American travel writers' views of the picturesque tour were rooted in the European aesthetic tradition. Mary Louise Pratt marks this as the Humboldtian turn in travel writing as a genre in the early nineteenth century, inspired by Alexander von Humboldt's writings of South America published in the United States from the late eighteenth century and posthumously well into the 1880s.[11] Humboldt combined his scientific writing with personal narrative, balancing empiricism with the subjectivity of romanticism. This style became particularly popular in American travel writing and exploration narratives with the works of Washington Irving and George Catlin, who combined personal narrative with lavish environmental details and an emphasis on capturing the picturesque qualities of the landscape.[12]

Americans of the 1790-1860s were also well versed in the theories of the picturesque developed by British author William Gilpin and implemented ideas from his writings to depict American scenery as picturesque.[13] In this thesis, I refer to Gilpin's definition of the picturesque because his theories were still relevant to Gilded Age American writers. Within a year of its publication, Gilpin's essay, *Three essays: on*

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[11] Pratt. *Imperial Eyes,* 171. See chapter six: "Alexander von Humboldt and the reinventing of América," Pratt demonstrates the romantic styles of nineteenth-century exploration literature inspired by German explorer, Alexander von Humboldt's writings of South America.

[12] For more comprehensive readings of Romantic themes in nineteenth-century American literature see Mick Gidley et al., *Views of American Landscapes* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 53., John Dolis, *Transnational Na(rra)tion: Home and Homeland in Nineteenth-century American Literature* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2015), 44. Donald A. Ringe best summarizes Irving's position among the romantic authors of the nineteenth century on page 1: "…nineteenth century American literature from Washington Irving to Walt Whitman contains a strong emphasis on the visual—on 'seeing' the world described… [there is] a recurring strain of the pictorial, a stress on images of sight, and a deep concern with the need for close and accurate observation of the physical world." Additionally, John Dollis further demonstrates the romantic reading of Washington Irving's work, which he describes on page 42 as receiving criticism for its "adulation, if not idolization, of the English [aesthetic] tradition."

[13] Beth Lueck, *American Writers and the Picturesque Tour: The Search for National Identity, 1790-1860* (New York: Garland Pub., 1997), 6.

picturesque beauty; on picturesque travel; and on sketching landscape: to which is added a poem, On landscape painting (1792), was circulated in American literary magazines.[14] Gilpin's theory of picturesque travel establishes three aims of the picturesque traveler: "amusement," viewing beautiful scenery, and "the expectation of new scenes continually opening, and arising to his view."[15] Gilpin's theory relies on the leisurely, sometimes aimless, enjoyment of the landscape.

American conceptions of the sublime was, likewise, rooted in European aesthetic traditions.[16] Though there are two competing historically relevant definitions of the sublime—that of Edmund Burke and Immanuel Kant—in this thesis I refer to the Kantian sublime. Burke defines sublime as a phenomena where: "the state of the soul in which all its motions are suspended, with some degree of horror" in response to an object of observation that is sublime within itself.[17] In contrast, Kant defines the sublime as existing as a reaction within the viewer's mind, not as a quality that is inherent to the object of observation.[18]

Though the picturesque tour traditionally relied on a meandering pilgrimage taking in the landscape at one's own pace, railroad companies marketed their experience as picturesque. Contrary to many of the traditional tenets of picturesque travel, rail

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[14] William Gilpin, "An Essay on Picturesque Travel," *The New York Magazine, Or Literary Repository* 12 (1793), 736.

[15] William Gilpin, *Three Essays on Picturesque Beauty; on Picturesque Travel; and on Sketching Landscape: To Which Is Added a Poem, on Landscape Painting* (London: Printed for R. Blamire, 1792), 55-56.

[16] Mary Arensberg. *The American Sublime* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1986), 36

[17] Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (London, New York: Routledge and Paul; Columbia University Press, 1958), 95.

[18] Immanuel Kant, *The Critique of Judgement* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952), 55.

travelers were removed from the physical experience of the natural environment, not in control of their own pace or path, and viewed the landscape from the perspective provided by the rail window. Operating largely under the assumption that these guidebooks "augmented" and enhanced the experience of travel, the analysis in these chapters has sought to reveal that the images from my case studies provide a virtual picturesque tour of the American landscape specifically through the framing of the landscape prints.

Using these three case studies as representations of the guidebook genre, I focus my thesis around the framing of the innovative illustrative styles that are deserving of further art historical investigation and split my thesis into three sections. The first section will serve as an introduction and literature review to situate my case studies among the larger field of art historical studies of the American West and literary analysis of Victorian literature and print.

The second section will contextualize my chosen guidebooks within the "romantic" travel writing produced in the nineteenth century to demonstrate the affect rail and steam travel had on picturesque viewing experience. Then, by examining my case study images, I demonstrate how the engravers embellished their illustrations to highlight picturesque or painterly qualities of the landscape and allow the reader to study even the more minor aspects of the landscape.

The third section focuses on the use and experience of these guidebooks and applies the linguistic theory of deixis to demonstrate how overland guidebooks immersed the reader in the narrative. By deixis, I refer to Lynne E. Hewitt's study of deictic centering in fictional narratives, which situate the reader in relation to the story. Words

that require context, such as "here" and "you" establish where readers position themselves cognitively in relation to the narrative of the story.[19] Unlike travel narratives of the mid-nineteenth century, my case studies move from "I" statements and an exclusive "we" to referring to the reader directly. Second, I apply theories of the window in art to the illustrations within these guidebooks to demonstrate how they immerse the reader in the storyworld, or the imaginary mental space constructed when reading a text, as described by Laura Daniel Bucholz in her application of Lynne E. Hewitt's theory of deictic centering in Victorian narratives.[20]

Literature Review

I situate my research within previous study of nineteenth-century print materials and the American West. Depictions of the Western United States are not neutral, and previous post-colonial approaches to the study of travel literature have demonstrated the ideology of Westward expansion and manifest destiny that is present within these texts. *The West as America: Reinterpreting Images of the Frontier, 1820-1920,* provides the most complete reinterpretation of the imagery of the Western states and explains that the mythic West promoted in nineteenth-century print materials represents the Eastern states' ideas of progress, nationalism, and natural resource policy.[21] Additionally, Mary Louise

[19] Lynne E. Hewitt et al., *Deixis in Narrative: A Cognitive Science Perspective* (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1995), 129-159; Adam Sonstegard, *Artistic Liberties: American Literary Realism and Graphic Illustration, 1880-1905*, Studies in American Literary Realism and Naturalism (Tuscaloosa: University Alabama Press, 2014), 29. See chapter six of Hewitt's work for more information on the theory of deictic centering in fictional narrative. Additionally, Sonstegard's analysis demonstrates how fiction at the turn of the century used illustrations to symbolically immerse the viewer, with an emphasis on the work of Charles Dickens and Mark Twain.

[20] Laura Daniel Buchholz, "Illustrations and Text: Storyworld Space and the Multimodality of Serialized Narrative," *Style* 48, no. 4 (2014): 594; Lynne E. Hewitt, *Deixis in Narrative: A Cognitive Science Perspective* (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1995), 136.

[21] Nancy A. Anderson et al., *The West as America* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 22.

Pratt's study *Imperial Eyes* discusses how the imperial "gaze," inherent to travel literature published by non-autochthonous authors frames the landscape and indigenous peoples as subaltern.[22] These guidebooks largely erased evidence of indigenous groups.[23] There representations of indigenous peoples are present in only a fraction of the prints within my case studies; in these Gilded Age guidebooks, the imperial gaze takes the form of panoramic and bird's-eye views that allowed for an overhead, god-like perspective of nature.[24]

In George A. Crofutt's guidebook, *New Overland Tourist*, the author includes a detailed formal analysis of a reprinted copy of John Gast's painting, "American Progress" (Figure 1-1). In Gast's original composition, two trains charge into the great American plain from the right side of the composition. Gast painted the right side of the composition illuminated in a soft glow of light that gradually turns into dark shadows on the left of the composition which gives the impression that are set in suspended animation on the left of the composition are entering the dark unknown or unsettled land, or "terra incognita," colonizers frame the regions they explore as unknown peripheries of globe.[25]

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[22] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 2008), 35. Any study of travel literature must consider that these three guidebooks contain very little Indigenous representation, and the textual narrative contains many of the problems inherent to travel literature as pointed out in Pratt's *imperial gaze*—stereotyping, marginalizing, and justifying expansion or colonization. In the imperial gaze, the "eye" becomes a dominant subject that views the landscape and people encountered as objects.

[23] Coll-Peter Thrush, *Native Seattle: Histories from the Crossing-over Place* (Weyerhaeuser Environmental Book. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007), xv. As Coll Thrush expresses in the introduction to his Native History of Seattle, in the Western United States, history has written out Native American tribes but: "absence of evidence [of Native American presence] is not necessarily evidence of absence."

[24] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 59. As Pratt explains on page 59 using landscape viewing as an example, "the eye 'commands' what falls within its gaze; mountains and valleys 'show themselves,' 'present a picture'; the country 'opens up' before the visitors."

[25] Thrush, *Native Seattle*, 22. As historian Thrush describes in his study of the indigenous history of Seattle, Washington, what Euro-American explorers and settlers described as "terra incognita" was actually "terra

Crofutt invokes a similar rhetoric of manifest destiny and a pro-settlement stance in his visual analysis of Gast's painting and breaks the image down section by section in his analysis. The central woman serves as a symbol of "progress."[26] She is depicted laying telephone lines as she moves from the right of the composition to the left with a school book in her arms representing education. His analysis ends with:

> Fleeing from 'Progress,' and toward the blue waters of the Pacific… are the Indians, buffalo, wild horses, bears, and other game, moving westward—ever westward. …What American man, woman or child, does not feel a heart-throb of exultation as they think of the glorious achievements of PROGRESS since the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers, on staunch old Plymouth Rock! The picture was the design of the author of the TOURIST—is National, and illustrates, in the most artistic manner, all those gigantic results of American brains and hands, which have caused the mighty wilderness to blossom like the rose.[27]

In his description of Gast's image, Crofutt evokes the image of a non-specific Pan-Indian running from Westward expansion. In grouping the "Indians, buffalo, wild horses, bears, and other game" separately from the technological advancements and "progress" Crofutt perpetuates the myth of the "savage" and describes the American settlement of the West—and the laying of the railroad—as a civilizing tool.[28]

Most of the landscape prints within guidebooks do not express ideas of "progress" as obviously as the painting "American Progress" does, but in the three case studies I

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miscognita," or land misunderstood, because knowledge of places explored by Euro-Americans did exist within autochthonous groups.

[26] Crofutt, *New Overland Tourist, and Pacific Coast Guide*, 261.

[27] Crofutt, *New Overland Tourist, and Pacific Coast Guide*, 261. "Tourist" is a shortened term to refer to his own publication. The "American Progress" print is a full-page insert positioned between pages of text.

[28] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 127. Pratt argues that German explorer Alexander von Humboldt's eighteenth-century scientific writings of South America likewise equated indigenous populations with nature as a means of supporting the imperial enterprise.

have analyzed more than one-fifth of the illustrations depict the railroad.[29] The layout on pages 48-49 of *Over the Range of Golden Gate* presents a two-page view containing two landscape prints: "Currecanti Needle, Black Cañon," on the left, and "Trout Fishing on the Cimarron," on the first (Figure 1-2). On the left, a landscape of the Curecanti Needle Mountains in Western Colorado occupies most of a vertical full-page view, but in the background of the composition there are railroad tracks and telephone lines—two symbols of progress. On the right, a view of the Cimarron River—a portion of the Arkansas River basin that stretched from Missouri to New Mexico—is displayed between two paragraphs of text. The landscape view presents still waters with a small figure fishing. In the background, a horizon line is made by a bridge that stretches over the still waters and smoke billows off a railcar as it is displayed cross the river. In both images railroad tracks—as symbols of "progress"— occupy a large portion of the scenic landscape view.

Historian and professor of American studies Leo Marx describes in *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America*, starting with the creation of the New England railroad lines in the 1830s, the railroad became a symbol of modernity and progress, and the completion of the transcontinental route was seen as a means of securing and Americanizing the West.[30]

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[29] In Stanley Wood's *Over the Range to Golden Gate…,* there are 140 images in 313 pages of text and thirty-two depict the railroad. In Henry T. Williams', *The Pacific Tourist…* there are 136 images in 355 pages of text and thirty-four representations of the railroad. In George A. Crofutt's, *New Overland Tourist, and Pacific Coast Guide*, there are 100 images in 319 pages of text and twenty-six depict the railroad. This page count does not include perfunctory pages or appendices.

[30] Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* (Oxford University Press, 1967), 117. Leo Marx describes the railroad as tool for securing the West: "…it appears when needed most: when the great west finally is open to massive settlement, when democracy is triumphant and gold is discovered in California… comes a new power commensurate with the golden opportunity of all history..."

In an article published in the *New England Magazine* in 1832, shortly after the creation of the first railroad lines in the United States, physician and theorist Charles Caldwell wrote:

> No age has illustrated so strongly as the present the empire of mind over matter — and the ability of man to rise . . . above the obstacles with which nature has surrounded him. . . It is a happy privilege we enjoy of living in an age, which for its inventions and discoveries, its improvement in intelligence and virtue, stands without a rival in the history of the world. . .[31]

Caldwell's description of the power of man-made inventions over the environment parallels Crofutt's statement which described progress as causing the "wilderness to blossom like the rose" through expansion efforts and settlers on the Oregon Trail.[32]

These guidebooks were published just a few decades after immigration on the Oregon Trail began in the 1840s.[33] Though my case studies focus on tourism to the West, and not the Oregon Trail, they are still products of their time. My case studies are inherently associated with manifest destiny and "progress," but their audience—upper-class American tourists—is distinct from the Oregon Trail immigrant based upont two factors: the travelers' intent and socio-economic status. In the Oregon Trail, the traveler's goal was to settle in the West, but the railroad tourist booked a round trip ticket to enjoy the travel experience and return home. Additionally, my chosen case studies are written for an audience who would ride the "Pull-man car," a luxury sleeping car depicted in an

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[31] Charles Caldwell, "Thoughts on the Moral and Other Indirect Influences of Rail Roads," New England Magazine, II (April, 1832), 288– 300. As quoted in Marx, *The Machine in the Garden*, 112. Charles Caldwell studied phrenology and wrote theories about the mental effects of the railroad.

[32] Crofutt, *New Overland Tourist*, 261.

[33] Anderson, *The West as America*, 11. Though there were American settlers to the West before the 1840s, I use the same dates as Nancy K. Anderson et al. because of the peak in influx of settlers from 1843-1845.

illustrated advertisement in the perfunctory pages of Crofutt's *New Overland Tourist* (Figure 1-3).[34] In the image, the people represented enjoying a meal in the Pullman car and engaging in conversation, and on the bottom left of the composition, a figure is depicted raising his glass in a toast to the party across the aisle from him. The passengers each are wearing formal attire and are being waited on as they leisure take in the scenes that pass them through the rail window.

Conversely, a majority of those that traveled the Oregon Trail were lower class Americans seeking land through the Homestead Act and agricultural opportunity following droughts in the Southern states.[35]

In a study more specific to tourism, Martha Sandweiss's *Print the Legend: Photography and the American West* analyzes the role nineteenth-century American photographs and printed materials had in the Reconstruction and Progressive eras in the United States. Photographs—and other mechanically reproduced images—were used to establish a nationalist and unified American identity following the fragmentation following the American Civil War.[36] In a more recent study, Matthew N. Johnston's *Narrating the Landscape: Print Culture and American Expansion in the Nineteenth*

[34] The railroad was ridden by a wide range of economic classes and ethnicities. I am focusing my research on the audience of my guidebooks: passengers in the luxury sleeping cars, but in the late nineteenth century on other parts of the train, the railroad in Northwest was ridden by many workers—particularly lumber and mining. See: Carlos A. Schwantes, *Hard Traveling: A Portrait of Work Life in the New Northwest* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994).

[35] Williams G. Robbins, *Landscapes of Promise: The Oregon Story, 1800-1940* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997), 81. Philip J. Gruen, *Manifest Destinations: Cities and Tourists in the Nineteenth-century American West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014), 41-70. Williams G. Robbins provides a more focused and detailed history of the Oregon Trail, and J. Philip Gruen provides a history of tourism in Gilded Age America.

[36] Martha A. Sandweiss, *Print the Legend: Photography and the American West* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 4. Sandweiss's study presents beneficial background information; however, unlike this thesis, Sandweiss studied print culture in general without a focus on guidebooks or travel.

Century represents a study of travel literature most closely related to this thesis. Johnston argues that these Gilded Age texts represent the changing "lateral framework," defined as the way in which the work causes the reader to engage with time.[37] Though *Narrating the Landscape* closely looks at a few images from my case studies, Johnston emphasizes reading these images like narrative paintings, without a comprehensive analysis of the framing techniques or their interpretation.[38]

To address this gap in scholarship, I focus on the user's experience of my guidebooks while riding the transcontinental railroad route and draw on previous scholarship on the experience of rail travel in the nineteenth century. Wolfgang Schivelbusch's study, *The Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the Nineteenth Century,* emphasizes how mechanized travel impacted Victorian conceptions of space and time. He argues that with the speed of rail travel, the tourist experienced the landscape at a distance, ultimately creating a disembodied and anxious feeling for the passenger.[39] In response, the overland guides provided a groundedness and offered visual information that tourists may not have seen from their position within the rail car. Though Schivelbusch provides a wealth of historical context, his study does not compare this experience to guidebook prints or analyze deeply how the changes in

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[37] Matthew Johnston, *Narrating the Landscape: Print Culture and American Expansion in the Nineteenth Century* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016), 22. Matthew Johnston's second chapter, "Reading the Past Outside the Window" is the most relevant to this thesis topic.

[38] Ibid., 52. Johnston specifically mentions the *Pacific Tourist* on page 52, but he only references the frontispiece of the text, "America's Greatest Wonder!" The frontispiece provides view of a train passing a setting sun on the right of the composition, with in non-specific Native American figure on looking towards the setting sun on the left of the composition.

[39] Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the 19th Century* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1986), 28; Schivelbusch argues this "shock" of travel lead to the creation of overland guides and travel literature meant to offset the unsettling nature of travel.

conceptions of space and time would be represented visually. Alison Byerly's *Are We There Yet?: Virtual Travel and Victorian Realism* provides an in-depth study of the effect new image-making methods, such as photography and the panorama, had on the Victorian experience. Byerly argues that Victorian fiction created a "virtual travel" experience which is "an almost physical sense of presence within the fictional world—a sense of locatedness and embodiment," akin to modern augmented reality.[40] These studies, while routed in Victorian English experiences, set the groundwork for the simulated and virtual experience of traveling into the American West, which is the object of this thesis.

While scholars have explored the narrative of these texts, as well as how they supplemented the rail traveler's experience, few have conducted investigations into how the illustrations within guidebooks are *framed*.[41] Most scholarship on guidebooks focuses on the use of "Bird's-Eye Views" and "panoramic vision" as evidence of nineteenth-century expansionism and ideas of progress. My case studies present manipulated and embellished landscape scenes with decorative foliage in the margins. "Long's Peak From Estes Park," on page 61 of the *Pacific Tourist*, presents a mountainscape in a circle border (Figure 1-4). The defined border is broken at the bottom by trees and rocks entering the white space of the page.

[40] Alison Byerly, *Are We There Yet? Virtual Travel and Victorian Realism* (University of Michigan Press, 2012), 2-5.

[41] An exception is Anne Friedberg, *The Virtual Window: From Alberti to Microsoft* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2006). I use framing to describe the defined borders that outline the illustrations into unique shapes such as circles, diamonds, and combinations of multiple views. I base this defining on Anne Friedberg's study of the history of symbolic windows and screens in art.

Given the multidisciplinary nature of print culture, this thesis draws methodology from literary analysis and the study of Victorian and Gilded Age print culture. Lorraine Janzen Kooistra's theory of bitextuality, which she elaborates in *Artist as Critic: Bitextuality in Fin-de-Siècle Illustrated Books,* demonstrates the need to study text and image together in fin-de-siècle Victorian novels.[42] Kooistra's theory applies to Gilded Age American novels as well, and all image analysis in this thesis considers the relationship between the text and the narrative. More recently, Julia Thomas's study of illustrated texts in Victorian England, *Pictorial Victorians: The Inscription of Values in Word and Image,* calls for a similar simultaneous study of image and text and highlights the way the illustrated press borrowed from narrative painting. As Thomas wrote, "the construction of narratives is not just a textual activity…. Illustration requires the viewer to shift between words and images."[43]

The decorative nature of my case studies goes beyond attracting a tourist to the location and making the reading fun and engaging for the viewer. The framing of the images contributes to the nineteenth-century virtual experience of guidebooks. The illustrations within my case studies can be compared to Michael Baxandall's "the period eye," as described in his study of the social history of fifteenth century paintings.[44] In this

[42] Lorraine Janzen Kooistra. *The Artist as Critic: Bitextuality in Fin-de-siècle Illustrated Books* (Nineteenth Century Series. Aldershot, England: Brookfield, Vt., USA: Scholar Press ; Ashgate Pub., 1995), 4; Though Kooistra's study primarily focuses on the boom of Victorian era first edition, the sentiment stands that though historically the text narrative receives more attention than the visual narrative, but: "meaning is actively produced in the intercourse between picture and word and their shared subject matter and cultural context."

[43] Julia Thomas, *Pictorial Victorians: The Inscription of Values in Word and Image* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2004), 20.

[44] Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy; a Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 48.

theory, Baxandall states, “the best paintings often express their culture not just directly but complementarily…”[45] In guiding the viewer to imagine a picturesque and idealized version of the landscape of the West, my guidebooks serve as representations of the as visual representation of the changing conceptions of time and space at the end of the nineteenth century.

[45] Ibid.

CHAPTER II

"ANNIHILATION OF SPACE" AND PICTURESQUE TRAVEL

In 1844, American travel writer Henry T. Tuckerman published an article in the *Democratic Review* titled "The Philosophy of Travel" that criticized modern travel and mourned the loss of romantic first-person travel narratives. He attributed the change to the quick and impersonal nature of mechanized travel and stated:

> Steam is annihilating space…Traveling is changed from an isolated pilgrimage to a kind of triumphal procession…Peculiarities of costume, interesting observances, *all that is picturesque and striking in national character wear gradually away in the whirl of promiscuous intercourse*.[46]

Tuckerman's use of the term "picturesque" refers to the distinct and geographically-specific characteristics of a landscape that are emphasized in romantic travel narratives of the mid-nineteenth century.[47] Similarly, British critic John Ruskin said of the railroad: "…whether you have eyes or are asleep or blind, intelligent or dull, all that you can know, at best, of the country you pass is its geological structure and general clothing."[48] Like Tuckerman, Ruskin argues that the speed of travel makes it harder for the traveler to process the smaller and specific aspects of the landscape, and what they are left with are

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[46] Henry T. Tuckerman, "The Philosophy of Travel," *The United States Democratic Review* (May 1844): 527-528; Emphasis added. Henry T. Tuckerman's criticism was written in 1844—after the creation of the New England rail lines but thirty years before the completion of the transcontinental railroad—and, as the nineteenth century progressed, social criticisms of the railroad only progressed.

[47] Andrew Menard, *Sight Unseen: How Frémont's First Expedition Changed the American Landscape* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012), 40. Andrew Menard's research into overland exploration of the United States from roughly 1800-1850s demonstrates the impact that Charles Frémont's topographical study had on American travel writing. Frémont's focus on high level of description of the specific aspects of the Midwestern landscape (the ground, rocks, and foliage) inspired an aesthetic and nationalistic appreciation of the geographically-specific features of the American landscape in later nineteenth-century travel writers. By stating "all that is picturesque and striking in national character" Tuckerman references the stylistic precedent set by Frémont and narrative change in travel writing of the nineteenth century.

[48] John Ruskin, *The Complete Works*, vol. 1 (New York: Taylor & Bryan, 1894), 36, quoted in Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the 19th Century*, 65.

general impressions and observances of the larger landscape features such as mountains, valleys, and lakes. Curiously, while social critics like Tuckerman and Ruskin described the steam engine and the railroad as the sad end to picturesque travel, railroad companies specifically marketed their experience as a round-trip picturesque tour of the American landscape.

The illustrations within my case studies emphasize the aspects of picturesque viewing that are lost in railroad travel, and in doing this, the guidebook illustrations serve to instruct the reader in a picturesque reading of the landscape. To demonstrate my argument, I first examine the terms picturesque and romantic in the context of nineteenth-century travel narratives, and I analyze the physical experience of rail travel to demonstrate how it differed from many of the key tenets of picturesque travel and highlight how their embellishments and decorative details emphasize picturesque aspects of the landscape.

Contextualizing Picturesque and Romantic Travel

The physical experience of steam and rail travel often limited the key tenets of the traditional picturesque tour. As an 1854 travel narrative from a railroad tourist traveling from Virginia to Alabama published in *The Youth's Companion* described, the rail travelers could not deeply contemplate the elements of the natural scenery that they past:

> A long journey has only been productive of increasing remembrance. The speed of the Rail-roads is not the best assistance though, *when we want to recollect the scenes through which we pass*, and as the hissing engine flew and flew, and I caught tantalizing glimpses of the loveliest wild roses, woodbine, honeysuckle, and violets, *I could not help wishing it were possible to inhale the fragrance as well as enjoy the sight*.[49]

[49] *The Youth's Companion,* "A Journey From Virginia to Alabama," April 19, 1855, 10. Emphasis added.

The author presents two aspects of the railroad that go against picturesque travel: the rail tourist is not allowed to control their movement and stop to consider portions of the landscape that capture their attention, and they are removed from the sense experience (smelling, touching, and closely examining the flowers).

While the railroad traveler could sit and leisurely take in the landscapes that they passed, between depots and planned stops all encounters with the landscape were mitigated through the rail window. Small landscape details, like the roses and the honeysuckles, which the author was only able to gather a "glimpse" of, would be more difficult to fully appreciate from the rail car where most windows were curtained, and the traveler would have to lift the fabric to view the landscape.[50]

The rail cars themselves were uncomfortable and dirty, which would further the unpleasantness of rail travel. High speeds, loud noises, and an overall distracting environment would detract from the leisurely, picturesque viewing experience. For instance, the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad opened the first, complete commercial rail lines in the United States in the 1830. An article titled, "An early traveller by rail" in the February 16th, 1899 edition of *The Youth's Companion* reports on a first-person account from an anonymous reader of the magazine. The reader complains that:

> The speed is very terrifying and the clattering and jolting inconceivably unpleasant. The atmosphere is less oily than I expected; but on the other hand, there is much soot and grime upon everything, even shortly upon the faces and hands of the travellers. Then the appalling screeches proceeding from the locomotive engine, which it gives out on coming to a stop and at other times, are most distressing and discordant. It is a method of travel with but one advantage, a

[50] Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2014), 89.

> saving of time; and with more disadvantages than can be enumerated, beginning as they do with *Danger*, and concluding with *Dirt*.[51]

Though this quote presents an overall disagreeable traveling experience for the mid-nineteenth century traveler, the *Youth Companion*'s editor wrote in response to the anonymous author's complaints: "but what would she have said could she have lived to ride in a parlor car, dine at a flying buffet, or sleep away a journey of three or four hundred miles, secluded in a comfortable berth?"[52] The editor's response indicates a desire to promote rail experience as improved, pleasurable, and as will be demonstrated later in this chapter, picturesque.

This same sentiment is expressed in each of my case studies which were produced by railroad companies to advertise the experience of travel, and the authors of my three case studies strive to actively go against the past associations with grit and grime to frame the railroad as comfortable and luxurious. The frontispiece of *The Pacific Tourist*, presents an illustration of the interior of a rail car. In the image, "Palace-Car Life on the Pacific Railroad," a combination of views highlighting a leisurely and pleasant travel experience are artfully arranged (Figure 2-1). In the middle and bottom rows of the full-page view, the reader can see people chatting, a child being tucked into bed, two women sharing a novel, and people gathered around a piano as someone plays. The text meant to accompany the image states: "It is impossible to tell of the pleasures and joys of the palace ride you will have…"[53] In all accounts, this sells an idea of ease and refinement.

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[51] *The Youth's Companion*, "An early traveller by rail," February 16, 1899, 73. Though a magazine aimed at children and young adults, *The Youth's Companion* consistently published first-hand accounts of rail travel and reports on the railroad. This was published in the magazine's anonymous editorial section.

[52] Ibid.

[53] Williams, *The Pacific Tourist* (1881), n.p.

Picturesque Embellishments

Despite the conflict between railroad travel and picturesque tourism, railroad companies advertised their transcontinental routes as romantic tours. An 1897 advertisement for the Pennsylvania Railroad describes a Pull-man car tour starting from New York or Pennsylvania to the "picturesque" California landscape, which they compare to ancient Rome and Greece:

> In Southern California is found the realization of *a dream of the ancients*. Here are the 'Golden Apples of the Hesperides,' ripening beneath a sky more beautiful than that of Rome, and in a climate more perfect than that of Athens. Never in the wildest flights of his imagination did Homer or Hesiod ever conceive of a garden richer in verdant beauty, more productive of luscious fruit, or set amid more *picturesque and lovely surroundings*.[54]

By highlighting the lush gardens and fruit of the area, the Pennsylvania Railroad exoticizes California for their Eastern United States' audience through comparisons to the Mediterranean.[55] The illustrations within my case studies present decorative embellishments meant to emphasize the elements of picturesque travel and the advertised glamour of the West that were lost due to the physical experience of rail travel.

In my case studies, each author continually argues that their writing is truthful and objective.[56] But contextualized among nineteenth-century conceptions of "objectivity,"

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[54] "Advertisement 14 -- no Title." *The Independent ... Devoted to the Consideration of Politics, Social and Economic Tendencies, History, Literature, and the Arts (1848-1921)*, Mar 18, 1897, 29. Emphasis added.

[55] Richard V. Francaviglia, *Go East, Young Man: Imagining the American West as the Orient* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2011), 176. The roughly from 1810-1920 the descriptions of California and Oregon as "paradise garden[s]" was a popular motif. See Chapter: "Syria on the Pacific: California as the Near East/Middle East."

[56] Williams, The Pacific Tourist…: n.p., Crofutt, New Overland Tourist, and Pacific Coast Guide: n.p., Wood, Over the Range to Golden Gate…: n.p. On the title page of Williams's who includes the tagline "The Most Complete, Accurate and Reliable Continental Guide Ever Known." Crofutt wrote in his preface, "Special effort has been made to avoid generalizing; instead, to give facts, names, dates, distances, altitudes, where to go, how to go, where to stop, and what it costs, as near as possible…" Wood wrote in his preface, "this book is one written in the field and not the study," emphasizing that his travel account is based on empirical study.

my case studies employ a style of empiricism that follows Humboldt. In *Objectivity*, Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison describe a stylistic shift towards the end of the nineteenth century demonstrated in atlas illustrations of nature that sought to remove the observer's own subjective interpretation and "let nature speak for itself."[57] The interest in objectivity at the end of the nineteenth century was rooted in Victorian morality that glorified hard work and dedication to one's studies; subjectivity was viewed as evidence of the observer's lack of self-control.[58] Moralizing theorists praise the writings of Humboldt for his empiricism and commitment to his craft.[59]

In the introduction of one of my case studies, *Over the Range to Golden Gate*, Wood states:

> The descriptions of scenes given here are *reproductions of the feelings* inspired by those scenes. There has been no bias in any direction. On the contrary, every effort has been made to write judicially and, at the same time, retain the enthusiasm which the traveler naturally feels in beholding new sights and scenes.[60]

While emphasizing that his book is meant to represent the West accurately, Wood also demonstrates that his descriptions are based upon his own feelings and subjective responses to the landscape that he saw, and he combined empirical observations made "in

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[57] Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, *Objectivity* (New York: Zone Books, 2007), 69, 209. Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison demonstrated that the concept of "objectivity" does not have one singular, unified definition for the nineteenth-century public. I use the term to refer Daston and Galison's description of "mechanical objectivity," where atlas artists were sought to depict accurate representations that "[were] published warts and all; [with] texts so laconic that they threaten to disappear entirely…"

[58] Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, "The Image of Objectivity," (*Representations* 40, no. 1, 1992): 119. Daston and Galison refer to the impact Victorian morality had on scientific objectivity as the "moralizing of objectivity."

[59] Ibid., 119.

[60] Wood, *Over the Range to Golden Gate…* n.p. Emphasis added.

the field" with "the feelings inspired by [the landscape]."[61] This Humboldtian approach provides the groundwork for a picturesque and romantic reading of the narrative.

Guiding the Readers' Eyes to Picturesque Views

The illustration "Marshall Pass-Eastern Slope," on page 37 of *Over the Range to Golden Gate*, provides an analogy between the peaks of the Rocky Mountains and painting. The image has an artist's palette overlain over a panoramic photographic view of a train passing through the Rocky Mountains in Colorado (Figure 2-2). The painter's palette outlines the peaks of the Rockies, suggesting an association between painting and the mountains themselves. In Gilpin's writings of the picturesque, he established a clear distinction between that which is beautiful, or scenes "which please the eye in their *natural state*" and that which is picturesque, or scenes "which please from some quality of being *illustrated in painting*."[62] By placing the artist's palette over the mountain peaks, the illustration draws attention to an aspect of the picturesque, which Gilpin describes as the "roughness" of stone.[63] Through its rough texture, the mountain peaks would give the artist an avenue to explore the atmospheric effects of light and shadow on the stone. The placement here, therefore, guides the reader's eye to a feature of the picturesque beauty of the Rocky Mountains.

It could be argued that this is simply a decorative motif, but the rail traveler would need to rely on visual information given by the guidebook because of the limited landscape view possible from within the rail car. As the rail car moved in and out of the

[61] Ibid.

[62] Gilpin, *Three Essays on Picturesque Beauty; on Picturesque Travel; and on Sketching Landscape: To Which Is Added a Poem, on Landscape Painting,* 16.

[63] Ibid. 15.

mountainside, the rider would never capture an entire view of the scenery, but instead he or she would only see the mountainscape in parts. Further demonstrating this point, the textual narrative accompanying this image describes the landscape scene as sublime. Wood provides an account of the almost incomprehensible size of the mountains and then states: "Man becomes dwarfed and dumb in the sublime scene, and Nature exhibits the power she possesses."[64] Wood's description of the mountain's size in this quote is in line with Immanuel Kant's description of the mathematically sublime, caused by the inability to fully judge the scale of an object. As Kant wrote, "we can never arrive at a first or fundamental measure, and so cannot get any definite concept of a given magnitude."[65] Kant's conception of the sublime differ from previous theories because they emphasize that sublimity is a mental affect experienced by the viewer and not something that is inherent to the object of observation itself.[66] The experience recorded in the textual narrative is one of sublimity and the illustration of the Rockies serves to highlight picturesque qualities of the mountainscape. Though these are both distinct aesthetic traditions, they both relate to an overarching romantic reading of the landscape within guidebook narratives.

An illustration within *Harper's Weekly* of the interior of the Palace Car demonstrates the obstruction of the landscape from the rider's perspective (Figure 2-3). "Interior of a Palace Hotel Car Used On The Pacific Railroad" presents a similar

[64] Wood, *Over the Range to the Golden Gate…,* 37.

[65] Kant, *The Critique of Judgement* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952), 55.

[66] Immanuel Kant, *The Critique of Practical Reason* (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1998), 97. Immanuel Kant describes sublimity as a mental affect caused by the "inadequacy of the greatest faculty of sense" to perceive the massive size of the mountain leads to simultaneous feelings of awe and fear in the viewer.

representation of luxury and refinement as the frontispiece of *The Pacific Tourist* expressed, but from this composition we can also get a better sense of the positioning of the windows. The windows are relatively small, and with the distractions of food and conversation, the rider may not have gotten a full view of the landscape. For comparison, circa 1869, Carleton Watkins's produced a stereoview of the interior of the Pull-man sleeping car (Figure 2-4). The photograph showcases the same plush and ornate seating with elegant drapery across the windows. Like the two prints, the rider's view of the landscape is limited only to the window openings, which periodically provide a break in the wooden interior. Because the full view of the mountain is obstructed from the viewer's site, by providing a full view of the Rockies and highlighting their picturesque features, viewing "Marshall Pass-Eastern Slope" added picturesque qualities lacking in rail travel to the rider's experience.

Depicting Details: Picturing What Cannot be Seen

Due to the high speeds of rail travel, the smaller portions of the landscape, such as flowers and foliage, would blur into the background and be lost during rail travel. In the illustrated monthly magazine, *The Cosmopolitan*, American writer, Bander Matthews, published a six-page critique of the state of travel writing in 1891 titled, "About Books of Travel, Old and New." After expressing concerns of the proliferation of cheaply made and dull guidebooks on the market place, he concludes:

> …. there are others who can give us more than a bill of fare at the monotonous dinner and more than the timetable of the necessary railroad. There are those who can *lend charm even to the burr like nothings that cling needlessly to the traveller's memory*….[67]

[67] Bander Matthews, "About Cooks of Travel, Old and New," *The Cosmopolitan; a Monthly Illustrated Magazine (1886-1907*): 12. Emphasis added.

Matthews calls for authors to go beyond just necessary instructive detail and suggests that guidebooks should be beautiful for their viewers. He specifically mentions that guidebooks can illuminate even small or insignificant portions of the landscape that would have otherwise escaped the reader's attention. In my case studies, the decorative borders and creative framing from the guidebooks aim to do similarly, replacing the details that were lost to travelers due to the constraints of rail travel.

On page 242 of *The Pacific Tourist* an illustration titled, "A Vision of the Golden Country" by Thomas Moran, presents a circular picture window framing a pristine mountainscape as fruit, flowers, and insects spill into the foreground extending into the white plane of the page at the bottom (Figure 2-5). "A Vision of the Golden Country" presents the Sacramento Valley and the Californian countryside as more of a still life than a landscape. On the bottom half of the composition, pears, oranges, grapes, flowers, and insects are arranged out in a cornucopia for the viewer to see; the accompanying text describes the seemingly limitless orange trees that grow near the tracks of the train surrounding the Sacramento Valley that will capture the traveler's attention.[68]

The round composition of "A Vision of the Golden Country" equates it with theories of vision, and most importantly, to the tradition of picturesque viewing. In fifteen-century Florence, artists painted and sculpted tondos, circular compositions of often religious imagery. Scholars have described the round composition of the tondo as a metaphorical celestial "window," akin to Renaissance ceiling frescos which give the illusion of open air extending to the heavens.[69] An example of an illusionistic tondo is

[68] Wood, *The Pacific Tourist*, 243.

[69] Roberta J. W. Olson, *The Florentine Tondo* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 3.

Madonna and Sleeping Child with Angels created ca. 1490 by Filippino Lippi and Workshop (Figure 2-6). Mary is centered holding Jesus, and angels lean towards Mary on either side lending symmetry to the arrangement. In the bottom third of composition, Mary's shawl hangs over a painted wall she is seated on. The dangling is illusionist and gives the impression of extending towards the viewer. The round composition itself can be compared to the gaze, mimicking the round shape of the human eye, as the viewer is granted access to view this private familial scene. Previous scholars have likewise described the round camera lens as a symbol of vision.[70]

The associations between round or ovular compositions and viewing can be associated with picturesque viewing traditions. Brett Culbert's article "Natural Vision in Picturesque Travel Itineraries" examines the effect that railroad travel in New England had on the "American tour."[71] Culbert argues that the tension between Gilpin's picturesque travel and the railroad experience led to a dramatic shift in visual representation of the landscape.[72] Culbert uses an example of Gilpin's ovular landscape aquatints from *Observations on the River Wye* (1782) as a representation of picturesque viewing (Figure 2-7). The shape is similar to the Claude Glass—such as this example from the British Museum—, which an artist would use to study the tonal variations of the

[70] Suren Lalvani, *Photography, Vision, and the Production of Modern Bodies* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996), 174.

[71] Brett Culbert, "Natural Vision in Picturesque Travel Itineraries," (*Chicago Art Journal* 21, 2011): 79. I use "American tour" to refer to the practice of traveling through New England.

[72] Ibid., 76.

landscape (Figure 2-8).[73] Culbert points out, by using the ovular frame, Gilpin's aquatint rendering serves as a representation of the picturesque viewing traditions.[74]

Though the Claude Glass was an eighteen-century European invention, it was used by American artists in the nineteenth century, and American art periodicals refer to convex mirrors used to aid landscape painters. The *Art Amateur* in 1894, suggested learning artists should utilize the Claude Glass because it "subdues the effect of light when it is very strong, and brings down the landscape more to the tone that might be looked for in a picture."[75] Because of the Claude Glass was still in use in America in the nineteenth century, it is not unfounded to associate the round border in guidebook illustration with the often round or oval shaped Claude Glass as a representation of picturesque viewing traditions, and the "broken circles" can be partially interpreted as relating to picturesque illustrations created with the aid of the Claude Glass, and the round shape is almost instructive in guiding the reader's eye to the picturesque views.

The images within my case studies also differ from Gilpin's aquatint in their framing. Gilpin's has a fully defined border forming a complete oval, but the guidebook illustration style depicts portions of the landscape that extend beyond the defined border.

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[73] Arnaud Maillet, *The Claude Glass: Use and Meaning of the Black Mirror in Western Art* (New York: Zone Books, 2004), 32. The Claude Glass varied in material, size, and mirror shape and nineteenth-century sources refer to them as "black mirrors," "Claude Lorraine glasses," and "Claude black mirrors." For the purpose of this comparison I refer to them as "Claude Glass" and focus on their shared purpose (to capture a picturesque view in a mirrored surface) regardless of material or mirror shape.

[74] Ibid., 74. Ultimately my argument differs from Culpert's in that he sees rail travel as influencing an aesthetic turn away from picturesque representations of the landscape. He argues that Gilpin's sketch represents a pre-railroad travel appreciation of the landscape, and that the "mechanization of space and time" of rail travel lead to a choppier and fragmented landscape depiction, which he describes as exemplified by the photographs of Alfred Watkins in the 1920s, whereas in the specific case of overland guidebooks, the picturesque aesthetic is chosen to supplement mechanized travel.

[75] *The Art Amateur; A Monthly Journal Devoted to Art in the Household*, "Landscape Painting," May 1894, 172.

The framing the scene is reminiscent of Harry Fenn's illustrations for *Picturesque America* (1872), a table-top book written by William Cullen Bryant. An illustration within *Picturesque America* presents the same circular framing technique that frames a dramatic rock formation at its center, with stormy clouds behind it (Figure 2-9). Bryant makes it clear in the Preface of *Picturesque America* that he sets out to publish a series of views to demonstrate the beauty of the American landscape. He wrote:

> It is the purpose of the work to illustrate with greater fullness, and with superior excellence, so far as art is concerned, the places which attract curiosity by their interesting associations, and, at the same time, to challenge the admiration of the public for many of the glorious scenes which lie in the by-ways of travel.[76]

Bryant clearly sets his goal to highlight the picturesque beauty of the American landscape. In *Creating a World on Paper: Harry Fenn's Career in Art,* Sue Rainey describes Fenn's process in illustrating *Picturesque America*, and describes this style of illustration— "circle[s] broken at the bottom"—as unique to Fenn.[77] These images draw on ideas from painting to artificially bring nature towards the viewer. Bryant, when explaining why he chose to use illustrations instead of photographs as the source image for his illustrations, stated, "photographs, however accurate, lack the spirit and personal quality which the accomplished painter or draughtsman infuses into his work."[78]

By imitating the unique style of Fenn's imagery within Bryant's text, the authors of my case studies are similarly pointing out picturesque qualities in the Western

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[76] William Cullen Bryant, *Picturesque America, Or, The Land We Live in: A Delineation by Pen and Pencil of the Mountains, Rivers, Lakes, Forests, Water-falls, Shores, Cañons, Valleys, Cities, and Other Picturesque Features of Our Country* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1872), iii-iv.

[77] Sue Rainey. *Creating a World on Paper: Harry Fenn's Career in Art* (Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2013): 26. By describing these as "broken," Sue Rainey is referring to the elements of the illustration that disrupt the defined edge of the illustration.

[78] Bryant, *Picturesque America*, iv.

landscape. The illusionistic nature of Fenn's framing style used in these guidebooks invites the reader to consider even the minute aspects of the landscape they pass—in this case, flowers, fruit trees, and insects—in terms of the picturesque. Additionally, this would provide visual information that would be harder to see in the limited field of vision provided by the rail window.

For further evidence of the supplementary nature of these guidebooks, in the preface of his 1883 guidebook, Crofutt stated:

> To some 'correspondents' across the continent our books have proved an unusual 'God-send,' enabling them to minutely describe the wonders of the trip passed in the night, while sleeping soundly in a palace car, equally as well as though they were *awake* and in perpetual daylight.[79]

Crofutt expressed two key distinctions that separate the railroad guidebooks of the late nineteenth century from the rest of the travel genre. The authors of railroad guidebooks assume the reader is traveling to the places described as they read, and the quote suggests that the books supplement the traveler's experience and allows them to know intimately the sites they had not seen in person.

The expectation that the guidebook reader is physically riding the transcontinental route while reading the publication sets it apart from Bryant's *Picturesque America* and *Picturesque Palestine*. Bryant's work was a table top book meant to highlight the American tour of the East coast of the United States and not a publication meant to aid travelers. There is no expectation in Bryant's writing that the reader would be traveling along with him, and there is little relationship between the images and the text in Bryant's work.

On pages 26-27 of *Picturesque America*, we see the separation between image

[79] Crofutt, *New Overland Tourist, and Pacific Coast Guide,* n.p. Crofutt uses this term in his preface.

and text in Bryant's work (Figure 2-10). Though the illustrations are placed in the middle of the page, there is little connection between the textual narrative presented and the images themselves, and the author does not make direct references to the imagery, as the authors of the guidebooks do. For comparison, on pages 236-237 of *Over the Range*, the text describes the picturesque surroundings of the Columbia River Gorge, including descriptions of the trees (Figure 2-11). Accompanying this page, an illustration of large trees and a lumber mill cuts through the text, and the text falls around it, emphasizing the shape of the illustration. While *Picturesque America* and *Picturesque Palestine* encouraged nineteenth-century readers to consider the American landscape as picturesque *from the comfort of their own home*, my case studies employ this framing style to encourage readers to consider the American landscape as picturesque *while they are viewing it from the rail car.*

CHAPTER III

IMAGINATION AND IMMERSION IN THE STORYWORLD

In an 1837 article, "On Picturesque Descriptions in Books of Travel," Colonel Jackson calls on publishers to produce picturesque travel narratives with decorative borders because of their ability to engage the *mind* of the reader. Describing the effect of the marginalia he writes:

> This not only arouses our attention but keeps it awake. It is the flowery margin by the way-side, which invites us to the path, and lures us insensibly on till we arrive at the goal, which a dreary and desolate road would have diverted us from attempting to reach.[80]

Jackson describes the decorations included with the text as not only entertaining additions that captivate the mind of the reader, but he also describes the travel narrative as a mental journey, where the flowers on each page greet the reader just like actual flowers on a physical path. In this section, I employ Hewitt's theory of deixis and theories of the "window" in art to argue that my case study guidebooks engage the imagination of the reader through their unique framing styles.

Hewitt's theory uses the term "window" to refer to the point of perception the reader has mentally with the narrative and divides the window into two types: "objective windowing" and "perspective windowing" in his theory.[81] The narration style of my case studies followings "perspective windowing," which serves to further immerse the reader in the story world. In both objective and perspective windowing the narration presents a controlled vision of an artificial story world, but the key distinction that Hewitt makes

[80] Colonel Jackson, "On Picturesque Description In Books of Travels," *The Naval Magazine (1836-1837*), no. 9 (1837): 428.

[81] Hewitt et al., *Deixis in Narrative,* 132-133.

between objective and perspective windowing is where the reader is positioned mentally in relation to events that are unfolding in the story.[82] In objective windowing the events unfold in front of the reader in a controlled stationary window which can be compared to watching figures move across a television screen (Figure 3-1). In perspective windowing, the narration uses positioning words such as "I," "you," "here," and "now" to establish an "origin of perspective," or a place for readers to cognitively imagine themselves in story world (Figure 3-2).[83]

Though this theory is typically used to analyze how immersive fictional narratives function, Byerly argues that periodicals and travel narratives also adapted immersive qualities towards the end of the nineteenth century.[84] Unlike past travel narratives, the authors of my case studies used terms that assume the reader is in the railcar and refer directly to the reader.

Deictic Centering and the Overland Guidebook

In all three guidebooks, the narrative of the text follows the gradual and periodic progression of rail travel.[85] In *Over the Range to Golden Gate*, Wood punctuates his clear, direct language with large bolded headings that signpost common tourist destinations along the rail path and create a visual rhythm between short written

[82] Ibid.

[83] Ibid.

[84] Byerly, *Are We There Yet? Virtual Travel and Victorian Realism,* 106.

[85] Jennifer Raab, "Panoramic Vision, Telegraphic Language: Selling the American West, 1869-1884," (*Journal of American Studies*, no. 47, 2013): 495. Jennifer Raab points this out in Crofutt's work. It stands to reason that guidebooks that are meant to assist in rail travel would narratively follow the mandated railroad stops, but the language within the text is very "stop and go," and is punctuated by big bolded headings of various towns that the tourist can stop at along the way.

description and attention-grabbing headlines (Figure 3-3). As the reader's eye moves across the written page, the change in typeface and font size would easily catch their attention and move the reader mentally from destination to destination. These bolded headings could be explained by simply being a means to organize information, but Jennifer Raab's analysis of Crofutt's guidebook in "Panoramic Vision, Telegraphic Language: Selling the American West, 1869-1884" reveals that the repeating pattern of large bolded font and smaller long-form text creates a "stop and go" rhythm for the reader that parallels the physical experience of rail travel.[86]

Throughout *Over the Range to Golden Gate,* Wood refers to the reader directly and assumes readers are positioned on the train as they read the narrative. He details what the reader will see or do "here." On page 17, Wood wrote: "As the train rolls into the station the traveler sees to his left a beautiful little lake cradled in the hills."[87] By referring directly to "the traveler" and stating a specific direction for him or her to look, Wood is placing the reader within the storyworld. Another example comes from page 231 of the same book. Wood writes:

> For a stretch of over one hundred and fifty miles from Grant's Pass, the country presents a wonderful panorama of grand and beautiful scenery. Mountains are all *around us.* To the *right* the Cascade Range, to the *left* the Coast Range. Gorges *before us*!—cañons *behind us!* Little valleys of entrancing loveliness are crossed; sparkling streams abound, forests of oaks and pines, of hemlocks and madrones are threaded; in a word, the variety is infinite…[88]

Wood is guiding the reader's gaze in all directions—to the right, forward, to the left, and behind—as he points out the picturesque scenery of the Columbia River Gorge in

[86] Ibid.

[87] Wood, *Over the Range to Golden Gate*, 17.

[88] Ibid., 231. Emphasis added.

Oregon. However, these locating words lose their meaning if the reader is not on the railroad and able to look to each side and view what Wood points out. Additionally, Wood uses an inclusive "us" to refer to readers, so that each reader feels that he or she is part of the narrative being described. This narrative device differs from previous travel narratives, in which the writer uses "I" and an exclusive "we."

The Window, Vision, and Photography

In his journals, American romantic writer Ralph Waldo Emerson described the experience of train travel as "dreamlike," where individual towns are indistinct and the landscape encountered is "like pictures on a wall."[89] Emerson is not alone in comparing the view from the rail window to a photograph. One nineteenth-century railroad traveler expressed his or her surprise when he lifted the curtain of his rail compartment and mistook the view for a photographed winter-scape:

> I pulled up the blind and looked into the night. Ah the deceitfulness of this world! I beheld so many Post and Eickemeyer winter scenes that shivering I fell asleep. In the morning, I could hardly trust my eyes when I behold one 'Hand of Man' after another coming towards me down the track [as quoted in The Railroad in American Art: Representations of Technological Change].

By comparing the world outside the rail window to two-dimensional pictures, both quotes express the rail window's flattening effect on the view. In the previous section I demonstrated how the textual narrative engages the reader mentally.

The illustrations serve to further immerse the reader in the narrative. By its very nature, the window draws upon theories of vision and sight in representational art, and the two-dimensional picture has often been compared to a metaphorical window,

[89] Ralph Waldo Emerson and Bruce Rogers, *Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson: With Annotations* (Boston: Cambridge: Houghton Mifflin; Riverside Press, 1909), 7 February 1843, 300; Marx Danly and Wellesley College, *The Railroad in American Art: Representations of Technological Change* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1988), 32.

particularly in the case of photography.[90] Leon Battista Alberti's *On Painting,* for instance, describes a square picture plane as "a Window through which [the artist] aim[s] to view the Story which is to be painted."[91] In Anne Friedberg's survey of the "window" in art history, *The Virtual Window: From Alberti to Microsoft,* Friedberg makes the distinction between "windows," "screens," and "frames," where the "window" in art follows Descartes's philosophy of perception and the eye functions as a camera obscura.[92] In the nineteenth-century context, romantic genre scenes represent the window, usually with a figure standing in front of it, as a symbol for appreciating the natural landscape.[93]

This Western tradition carries over into American art production in the nineteenth century as well. American romantic artists, such as Winslow Homer, produced series of young female figures standing in front of windows in the 1870s and 1880s (Figure 3-4). As an influential artist of the nineteenth, many prints adapted from Homer's work were used in the illustrated press and popular literature. In "The Open Window and the Storm-Tossed Boat: An Essay in the Iconography of Romanticism," art historian Lorenz Eitner demonstrates how the common figure at the window trope in art history serves as a

[90] E. H. Gombrich et al., *Illusion in Nature and Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), 241. As quoted in John Hyman, "Pictorial Art and Visual Experience," *The British Journal of Aesthetics* 40, no. 1 (2000): 23; "What may make a painting like a distant view through a window', he writes, 'is not the fact that the two can be as indistinguishable as is a facsimile from the original: it is the similarity between the mental activities both can arouse.' 'The goal which the artist seeks . . . [is] a psychological effect.'"

[91] Leon Battista Alberti and John R. Spencer, *On Painting* (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1956), 248.

[92] René Descartes, *Philosophical Writings* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1971), 198.

[93] Francesca Bernasconi et al., *A window on the world: From Dürer to Mondrian and beyond: Looking through the window of art from the Renaissance to today* (Milano: Skira, 2012), 238, 248, 273; Francesca Bernasconi et al. argue that Alberti's interpretation of the window related to the idea of fooling the eye. Metaphoric interpretations of the photographic plane can compare to the screen (in landscape prints).

surrogate for the viewer.[94] The presence of a human figure in the scene provides a place for viewers to imagine themselves.

The illustrations within my case studies function as a symbolic window into the textual storyworld. They include small figures in the landscape meant to provide the viewer with a means for imagining oneself within the scene. In "Agnes Park—Black Hills" a circular frame is used to present a landscape of the Black Hill in South Dakota (Figure 3-5). Once again, this circular frame has a semi-defined bordered that is broken by the illusion of a tree on the right side and rock formations extending towards the viewer. On the rocks an anonymous figure stands looking over the landscape. The figure has one leg stepping towards the landscape and gives the impression that he or she is moving towards the scene. This gives a means for viewers to imagine themselves in the scene as well.

In their thematic catalog of "windows" in art, Francesca Bernasconi, Marco Franciolli, and Giovanni Iovane describe how illusionistic Dutch still lives serve as symbolic windows into the picture plane for two reasons: the trompe l'oeil effect created by the hyper-realistic compositions and the positioning of the elements on the canvas give the illusion that one could reach into pictorial space and grab the represented fruits themselves.[95] In the nineteenth century American context, Severin Roesen, Raphaelle Peale, William Michael Harnett, and others were creating still life scenes in a similarly

[94] Lorenz Eitner, "The Open Window and the Storm-Tossed Boat: An Essay in the Iconography of Romanticism," (*The Art Bulletin* 37, no. 4, 1955): 281-90.

[95] Bernasconi et al, *A Window on the World: From Dürer to Mondrian and beyond: Looking through the Window of Art from the Renaissance to Today*, 55.

realistic style. "Still Life With Strawberries in a Compote" by Severin Roesen depicts a table top fruit scene with fruit laid out before the viewer (Figure 3-6).

In his composition of "A Vision of the Golden Country," Thomas Moran has utilized some elements of still life. In comparing one of Severin Roesen's "Still Life with Strawberries in a Compote" to "A Vision of the Golden Country," both have a rounded border and realistically-depicted fruits extending towards the viewer. In Roesen's piece, grapes drape delicately off the edge of a table in a similar manner to the fruit in Moran's illustration that extend onto the white of the page.[96] By presenting the fruit life sprawled out upon the table, the still life is an illusionistic scene that appears as if viewers themselves could reach in and grab the grapes or oranges, the broken circles, in conjunction with the textual narrative serve to engage the reader's imagination with an idealized western landscape. As the previous chapter demonstrated, the guidebooks served to provide a picturesque experience for the viewer despite the unpleasant and disorienting nature of rail travel. The illusionistic nature of the imagery and the text in guidebooks served this goal by providing imagery of the idealized abundance advertised in railroad advertisements.

Eighteenth-century British theorist Samuel Johnson described the "fallacy of the imagination" in travel:

> The inn is crowded, his orders are neglected, and nothing remains but that he devour in haste what the cook has spoiled, and drive on in a quest of better entertainment…*the best is always worse than he expected*.[97]

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[96] Judith A. Barter et al., *Art and Appetite: American Painting, Culture, and Cuisine* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 2013), 68. This study demonstrates that many American still life painters— William Michael Harnett, Raphaelle Peale, and Severin Roesen—implemented European still life styles in the United States. I do not suggest that Moran was responding directly to Roesen's piece in his illustration design, but rather, the composition of the "broken circles" draws on the tradition of still life representation in Western art.

[97] Samuel Johnson et al., *Essays from the Rambler, Adventurer, and Idler* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), 325. Emphasis added. Samuel Johnson's work was originally published in May 26th, 1759,

Johnson describes his disappointment when the lived experience of travel failed to meet his expectations. Modern cultural anthropologist, Noel B. Salazar has applied Samuel Johnson's theory to modern travel. He argues that tourists' "imagined geographies" are born from a disconnect between expectation and reality.[98]

In the context of my guidebooks, something similar would have occurred. After reading advertisements of the beautiful views and luxurious experience of rail travel, the reality of railroad travel would not have compared to the advertised glamour. The "broken circles," therefore, are presented as an imagined geography of an abundant and fruitful West. As Anderson et al. have pointed out, the "myth of the West" promoted the region as an exploitable land ripe with opportunity for Americans in the Eastern States.[99] When expectations of a picturesque and viewing experience would not match the experience of travel, the "broken circle" images in conjunction with the textual narrative would engage the reader's imagination and help them to picture a West that more closely fit popular conceptions of the region at the end of the nineteenth century.

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and this citation is a later compilation of his oeuvre. Though Samuel Johnson is a British theorist from the eighteenth century, his sentiment can be applied to the nineteenth-century American context because the disconnect between expectation and reality that Johnson experienced happened to the rail traveler as well, as demonstrated in my second chapter.

[98] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 101. Noel B. Salazar, "Tourism Imaginaries: A Conceptual Approach," (*Annals of Tourism Research* 39, no., 2012): 863. Noel B. Salazar is drawing from Edward Said's original definition of "imagined geographies" as described in his book on orientalism.

[99] Anderson et al., *The West as America* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 22.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

Victorian fiction has often been compared to virtual reality in the way that the narrative constructs the storyworld within the mind of the reader.[100] In my case studies, context-based phrasing assumes that the reader is traveling the overland route while progressing through the book, continually describing what readers should be seeing around them. To the same effect, the scenic vistas, overhead views, and composite illustrations provide a complete vision of the places travelled, often not completely visible from their position within the rail compartment. These richly detailed illustrations then serve the purpose of providing visual information of the picturesque views on which the reader would miss out. This is done primarily through how the printmakers dynamically framed their landscape prints and provide lush landscape detail.

There is room for further study in the field of representation within overland guidebooks. The printing techniques are varied and each provide a unique representation of the landscape. Additionally, there is further room for studies that analyze the other stages of travel. Oregon, Washington, and California were stops on an American railroad tour West, where each stop along the way shaped the tourist's travel experience.

Decorative embellishments serve to guide the viewer through a picturesque and romantic reading of the landscape to highlight nature as picturesque and sublime. The imagery and text within my case studies encourages a subjective, romantic reading of the landscape despite the authors' emphasis on objectivity. The phrasing in the text and the illustrations serve to immerse the reader in the narrative, but they still present a very

[100] Byerly, *Are We There Yet? Virtual Travel and Victorian Realism*, 1.

controlled version of the Western states because rail travel was confined to time schedules.

APPENDIX

FIGURES

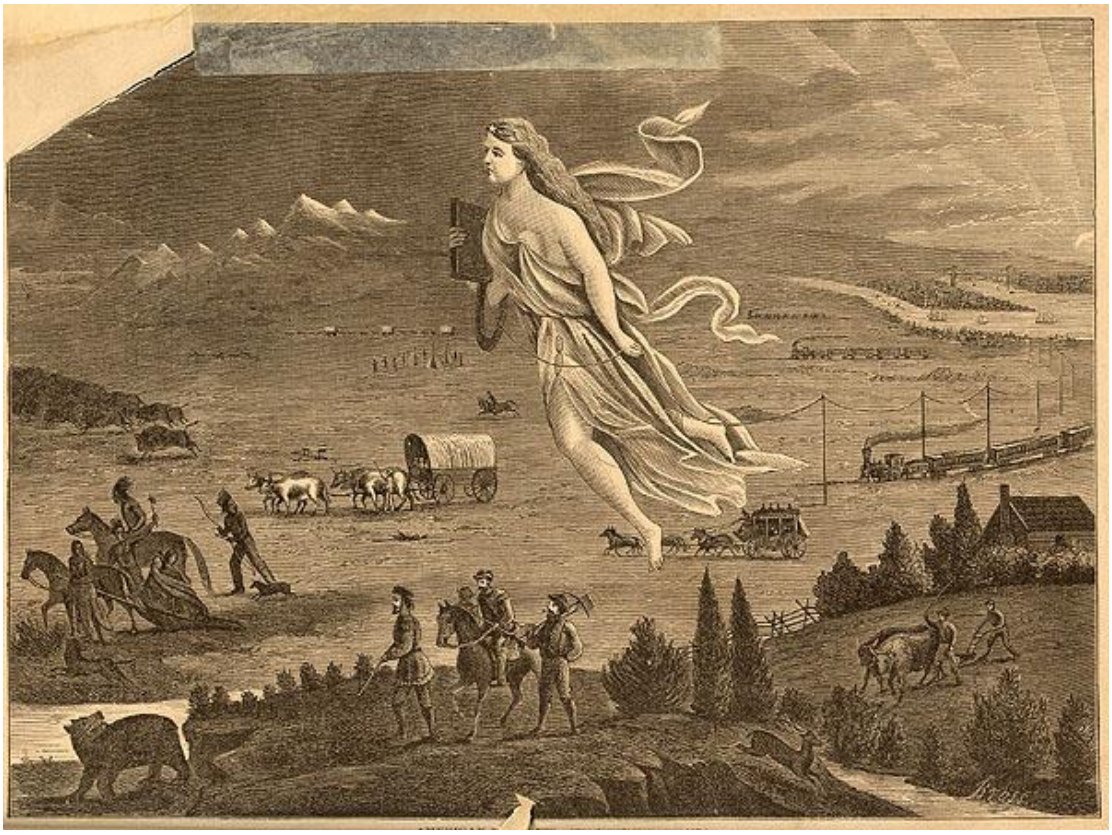
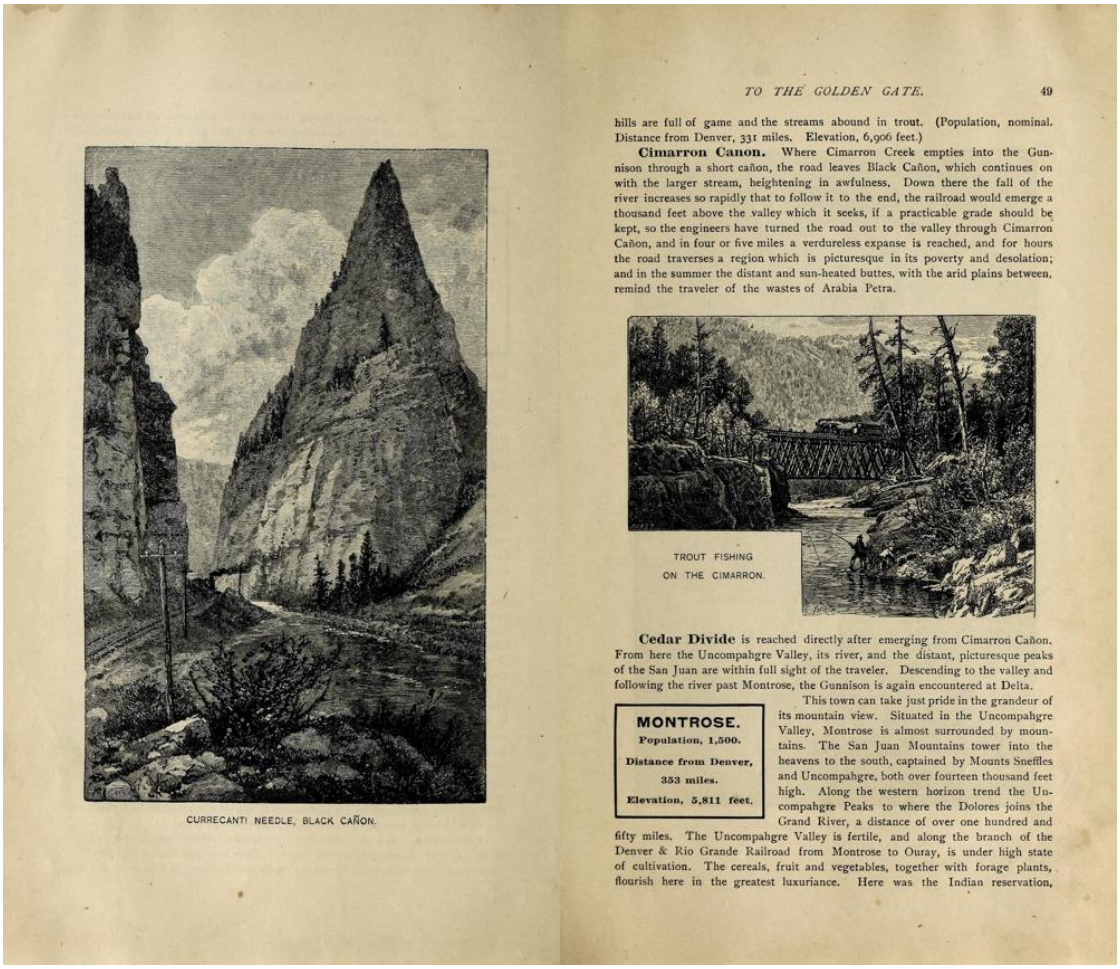


Figure 1-1: Unknown artist, after John Gast, “American Progress,” Illustration from page 23 of *New Overland* Tourist, 2nd ed.” (Chicago: The Overland Publishing Company, 1879). 1042975010. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.



CURRECANTI NEEDLE, BLACK CAÑON.

hills are full of game and the streams abound in trout. (Population, nominal. Distance from Denver, 331 miles. Elevation, 6,906 feet.)

Cimarron Canon. Where Cimarron Creek empties into the Gunnison through a short cañon, the road leaves Black Cañon, which continues on with the larger stream, heightening in awfulness. Down there the fall of the river increases so rapidly that to follow it to the end, the railroad would emerge a thousand feet above the valley which it seeks, if a practicable grade should be kept, so the engineers have turned the road out to the valley through Cimarron Cañon, and in four or five miles a verdureless expanse is reached, and for hours the road traverses a region which is picturesque in its poverty and desolation; and in the summer the distant and sun-heated buttes, with the arid plains between, remind the traveler of the wastes of Arabia Petra.

TROUT FISHING ON THE CIMARRON.

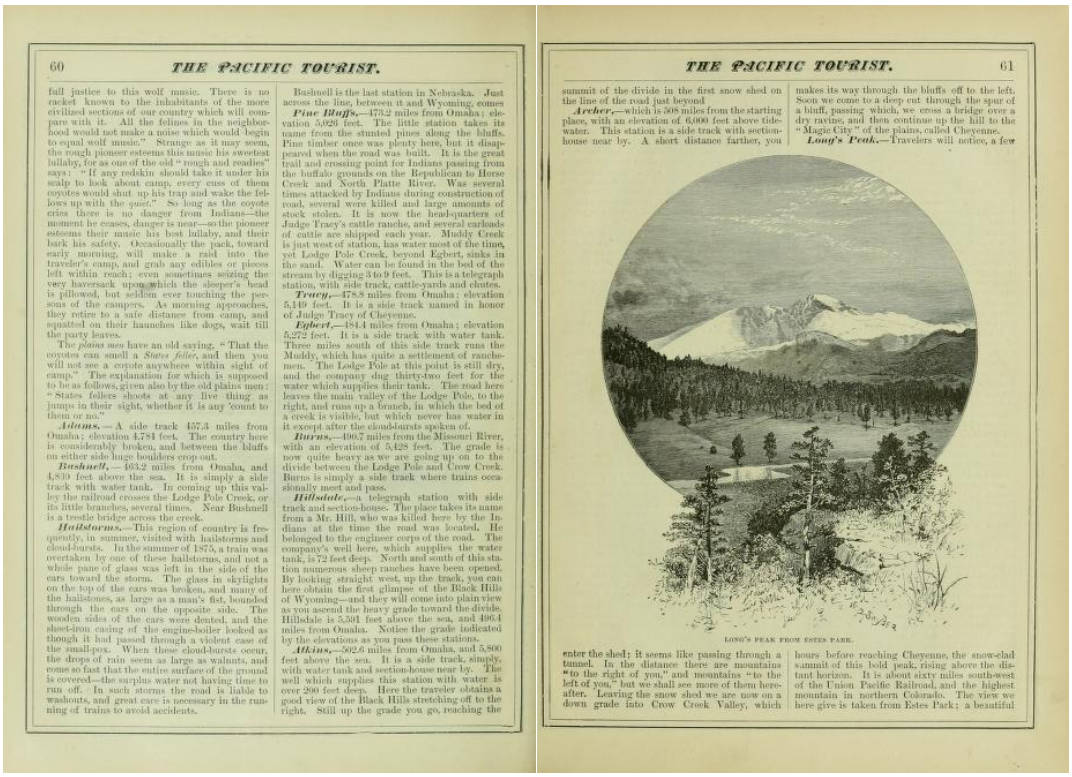
Cedar Divide is reached directly after emerging from Cimarron Cañon. From here the Uncompahgre Valley, its river, and the distant, picturesque peaks of the San Juan are within full sight of the traveler. Descending to the valley and following the river past Montrose, the Gunnison is again encountered at Delta.

MONTROSE.
Population, 1,500.
Distance from Denver, 353 miles.
Elevation, 5,811 feet.

This town can take just pride in the grandeur of its mountain view. Situated in the Uncompahgre Valley, Montrose is almost surrounded by mountains. The San Juan Mountains tower into the heavens to the south, captained by Mounts Sneffles and Uncompahgre, both over fourteen thousand feet high. Along the western horizon trend the Uncompahgre Peaks to where the Dolores joins the Grand River, a distance of over one hundred and fifty miles. The Uncompahgre Valley is fertile, and along the branch of the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad from Montrose to Ouray, is under high state of cultivation. The cereals, fruit and vegetables, together with forage plants, flourish here in the greatest luxuriance. Here was the Indian reservation,

Figure 1-2: Unknown artist, "Currecanti Needle, Black Cañon" and "Trout Fishing on the Cimarron" Illustration from pages 48-49 of *Over the Range to Golden Gate*, (Chicago: R. R. Donnelly & Sons, 1889). 1042975010. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Figure 1-3: Unknown artist, "These World-Renowned Pullman Hotel Dining Cars," Illustration from perfunctory pages of *New Overland Tourist,* 2nd ed. (Chicago: The Overland Publishing Company,1879). 1042975010. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.



60 THE PACIFIC TOURIST.

full justice to this wolf music. There is no racket known to the inhabitants of the more civilized sections of our country which will compare with it. All the felines in the neighborhood would not make a noise which would begin to equal wolf music." Strange as it may seem, the rough pioneer esteems this music his sweetest lullaby, for as one of the old "rough and readies" says: "If any redskin should take it under his scalp to look about camp, every cuss of them coyotes would shut up his trap and wake the fellows up with the *quest*." So long as the coyote cries there is no danger from Indians—the moment he ceases, danger is near—so the pioneer esteems their music his best lullaby, and their bark his safety. Occasionally the pack, toward early morning, will make a raid into the traveler's camp, and grab any edibles or pieces left within reach; even sometimes seizing the very haversack upon which the sleeper's head is pillowed, but seldom ever touching the persons of the campers. As morning approaches, they retire to a safe distance from camp, and squatted on their haunches like dogs, wait till the party leaves.

The *plains men* have an old saying, "That the coyotes can smell a *States feller*, and then you will not see a coyote anywhere within sight of camp." The explanation for which is supposed to be as follows, given also by the old plains men: "States fellers shoots at any live thing as jumps in their sight, whether it is any 'count to them or no."

Adams.—A side track 457.3 miles from Omaha; elevation 4,784 feet. The country here is considerably broken, and between the bluffs on either side huge boulders crop out.

Bushnell.—463.2 miles from Omaha, and 4,810 feet above the sea. It is simply a side track with water tank. In coming up this valley the railroad crosses the Lodge Pole Creek, or its little branches, several times. Near Bushnell is a trestle bridge across the creek.

Hailstorms.—This region of country is frequently, in summer, visited with hailstorms and cloud-bursts. In the summer of 1875, a train was overtaken by one of these hailstorms, and not a whole pane of glass was left in the side of the cars toward the storm. The glass in skylights on the top of the cars was broken, and many of the hailstones, as large as a man's fist, bounded through the cars on the opposite side. The wooden sides of the cars were dented, and the sheet-iron casing of the engine-boiler looked as though it had passed through a violent case of the small-pox. When these cloud-bursts occur, the drops of rain seem as large as walnuts, and come so fast that the entire surface of the ground is covered—the surplus water not having time to run off. In such storms the road is liable to washouts, and great care is necessary in the running of trains to avoid accidents.

Bushnell is the last station in Nebraska. Just across the line, between it and Wyoming, comes

Pine Bluffs.—473.2 miles from Omaha; elevation 5,020 feet. The little station takes its name from the stunted pines along the bluffs. Fine timber once was plenty here, but it disappeared when the road was built. It is the great trail and crossing point for Indians passing from the buffalo grounds on the Republican to Horse Creek and North Platte River. Was several times attacked by Indians during construction of road, several were killed and large amounts of stock stolen. It is now the headquarters of Judge Tracy's cattle ranche, and several carloads of cattle are shipped each year. Muddy Creek is just west of station, has water most of the time, yet Lodge Pole Creek, beyond Egbert, sinks in the sand. Water can be found in the bed of the stream by digging 3 to 9 feet. This is a telegraph station, with side track, cattle-yards and chutes.

Tracy.—478.8 miles from Omaha; elevation 5,149 feet. It is a side track named in honor of Judge Tracy of Cheyenne.

Egbert.—484.4 miles from Omaha; elevation 5,272 feet. It is a side track with water tank. Three miles south of this side track runs the Muddy, which has quite a settlement of ranchemen. The Lodge Pole at this point is still dry, and the company dug thirty-two feet for the water which supplies their tank. The road here leaves the main valley of the Lodge Pole, to the right, and runs up a branch, in which the bed of a creek is visible, but which never has water in it except after the cloud-bursts spoken of.

Burns.—490.7 miles from the Missouri River, with an elevation of 5,428 feet. The grade is now quite heavy as we are going up on to the divide between the Lodge Pole and Crow Creek. Burns is simply a side track where trains occasionally meet and pass.

Hillsdale.—A telegraph station with side track and section-house. The place takes its name from a Mr. Hill, who was killed here by the Indians at the time the road was located. He belonged to the engineer corps of the road. The company's well here, which supplies the water tank, is 72 feet deep. North and south of this station numerous sheep ranches have been opened. By looking straight west, up the track, you can here obtain the first glimpse of the Black Hills of Wyoming—and they will come into plain view as you ascend the heavy grade toward the divide. Hillsdale is 5,501 feet above the sea, and 496.4 miles from Omaha. Notice the grade indicated by the elevations as you pass these stations.

Atkins.—502.6 miles from Omaha, and 5,800 feet above the sea. It is a side track, simply, with water tank and section-house near by. The well which supplies this station with water is over 200 feet deep. Here the traveler obtains a good view of the Black Hills stretching off to the right. Still up the grade you go, reaching the

THE PACIFIC TOURIST. 61

summit of the divide in the first snow shed on the line of the road just beyond

Archer.—which is 508 miles from the starting place, with an elevation of 6,000 feet above tide-water. This station is a side track with section-house near by. A short distance farther, you

makes its way through the bluffs off to the left. Soon we come to a deep cut through the spur of a bluff, passing which, we cross a bridge over a dry ravine, and then continue up the hill to the "Magic City" of the plains, called Cheyenne.

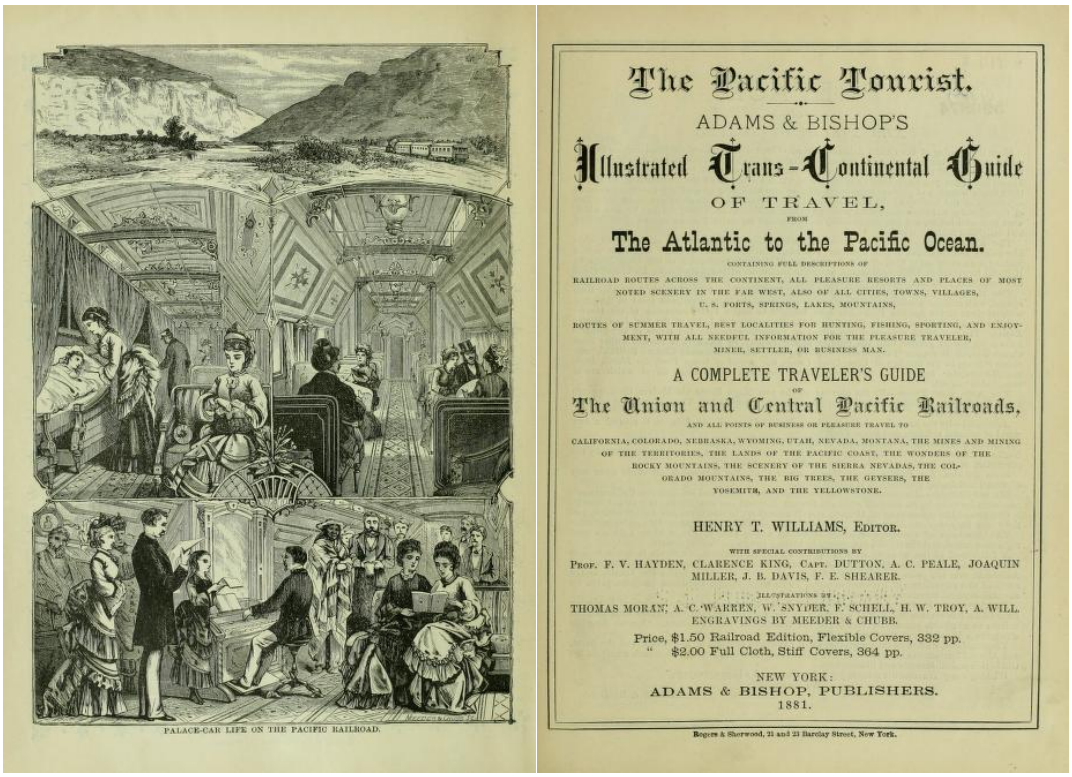
Long's Peak.—Travelers will notice, a few

LONG'S PEAK FROM ESTES PARK.

enter the shed; it seems like passing through a tunnel. In the distance there are mountains "to the right of you," and mountains "to the left of you," but we shall see more of them hereafter. Leaving the snow shed we are now on a down grade into Crow Creek Valley, which

hours before reaching Cheyenne, the snow-clad summit of this bold peak, rising above the distant horizon. It is about sixty miles south-west of the Union Pacific Railroad, and the highest mountain in northern Colorado. The view we here give is taken from Estes Park; a beautiful

Figure 1-4: Unknown artist, "Long's Peak From Estes Park," Illustration from page 61 of *The Pacific Tourist*, (New York: Williams, 1881). 1050264834. University of California Libraries, Berkeley, California.


PALACE-CAR LIFE ON THE PACIFIC RAILROAD.

The Pacific Tourist.

ADAMS & BISHOP'S

Illustrated Trans-Continental Guide

OF TRAVEL,

FROM

The Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean.

CONTAINING FULL DESCRIPTIONS OF

RAILROAD ROUTES ACROSS THE CONTINENT, ALL PLEASURE RESORTS AND PLACES OF MOST NOTED SCENERY IN THE FAR WEST, ALSO OF ALL CITIES, TOWNS, VILLAGES, U. S. FORTS, SPRINGS, LAKES, MOUNTAINS,

ROUTES OF SUMMER TRAVEL, BEST LOCALITIES FOR HUNTING, FISHING, SPORTING, AND ENJOYMENT, WITH ALL NEEDFUL INFORMATION FOR THE PLEASURE TRAVELER, MINER, SETTLER, OR BUSINESS MAN.

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The Union and Central Pacific Railroads,

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CALIFORNIA, COLORADO, NEBRASKA, WYOMING, UTAH, NEVADA, MONTANA, THE MINES AND MINING OF THE TERRITORIES, THE LANDS OF THE PACIFIC COAST, THE WONDERS OF THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS, THE SCENERY OF THE SIERRA NEVADAS, THE COLORADO MOUNTAINS, THE BIG TREES, THE GEYSERS, THE YOSEMITE, AND THE YELLOWSTONE.

HENRY T. WILLIAMS, Editor.

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Prof. F. V. HAYDEN, CLARENCE KING, Capt. DUTTON, A. C. PEALE, JOAQUIN MILLER, J. B. DAVIS, F. E. SHEARER.

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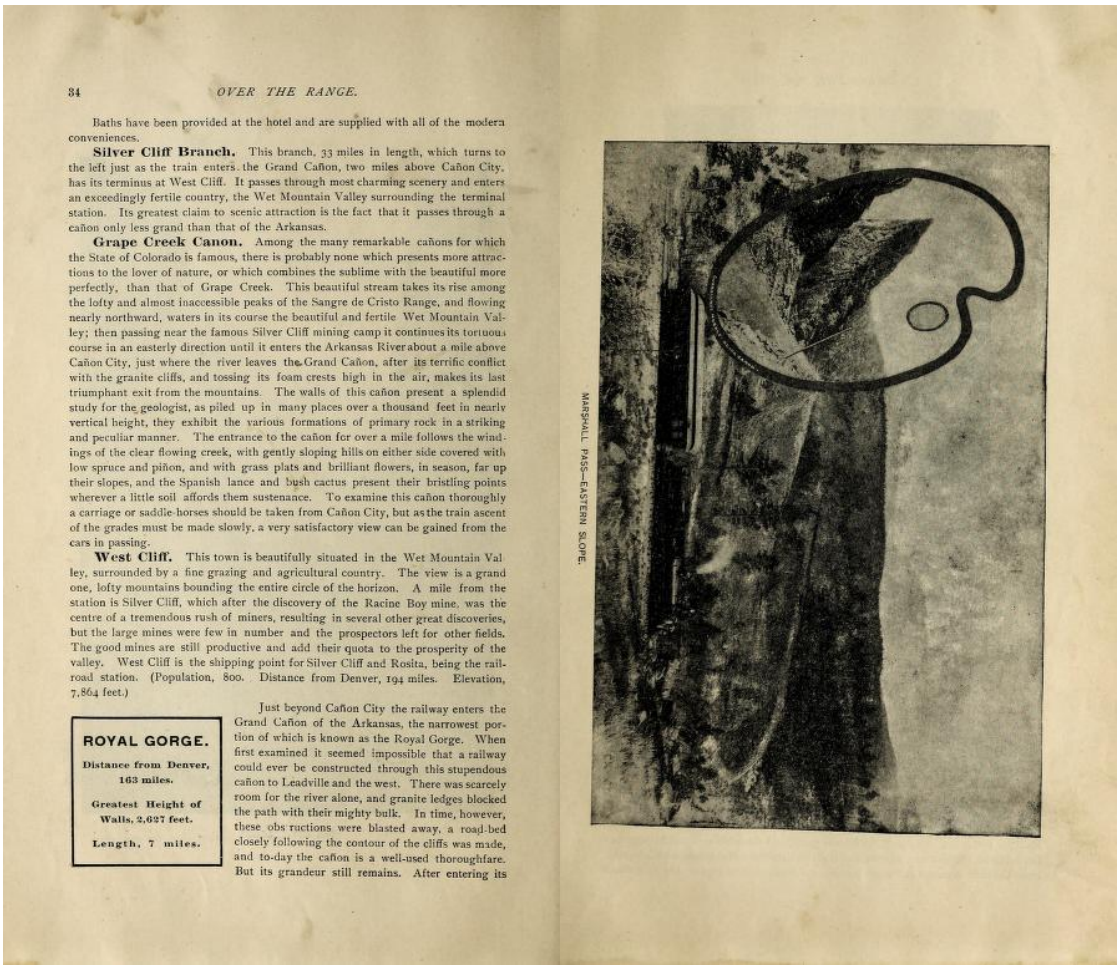
ENGRAVINGS BY MEEDER & CHUBB.

Price, $1.50 Railroad Edition, Flexible Covers, 332 pp.
" $2.00 Full Cloth, Stiff Covers, 364 pp.

NEW YORK:
ADAMS & BISHOP, PUBLISHERS.
1881.

Rogers & Sherwood, 21 and 23 Barclay Street, New York.

Figure 2-1: Unknown artist, "Palace-Car Life on the Pacific Railroad," Illustration from the title page of *The Pacific Tourist*, (New York: Williams, 1881). 1050264834. University of California Libraries, Berkeley, California.



34 OVER THE RANGE.

Baths have been provided at the hotel and are supplied with all of the modern conveniences.

Silver Cliff Branch. This branch, 33 miles in length, which turns to the left just as the train enters the Grand Cañon, two miles above Cañon City, has its terminus at West Cliff. It passes through most charming scenery and enters an exceedingly fertile country, the Wet Mountain Valley surrounding the terminal station. Its greatest claim to scenic attraction is the fact that it passes through a cañon only less grand than that of the Arkansas.

Grape Creek Canon. Among the many remarkable cañons for which the State of Colorado is famous, there is probably none which presents more attractions to the lover of nature, or which combines the sublime with the beautiful more perfectly, than that of Grape Creek. This beautiful stream takes its rise among the lofty and almost inaccessible peaks of the Sangre de Cristo Range, and flowing nearly northward, waters in its course the beautiful and fertile Wet Mountain Valley; then passing near the famous Silver Cliff mining camp it continues its tortuous course in an easterly direction until it enters the Arkansas River about a mile above Cañon City, just where the river leaves the Grand Cañon, after its terrific conflict with the granite cliffs, and tossing its foam crests high in the air, makes its last triumphant exit from the mountains. The walls of this cañon present a splendid study for the geologist, as piled up in many places over a thousand feet in nearly vertical height, they exhibit the various formations of primary rock in a striking and peculiar manner. The entrance to the cañon for over a mile follows the windings of the clear flowing creek, with gently sloping hills on either side covered with low spruce and piñon, and with grass plats and brilliant flowers, in season, far up their slopes, and the Spanish lance and bush cactus present their bristling points wherever a little soil affords them sustenance. To examine this cañon thoroughly a carriage or saddle-horses should be taken from Cañon City, but as the train ascent of the grades must be made slowly, a very satisfactory view can be gained from the cars in passing.

West Cliff. This town is beautifully situated in the Wet Mountain Valley, surrounded by a fine grazing and agricultural country. The view is a grand one, lofty mountains bounding the entire circle of the horizon. A mile from the station is Silver Cliff, which after the discovery of the Racine Boy mine, was the centre of a tremendous rush of miners, resulting in several other great discoveries, but the large mines were few in number and the prospectors left for other fields. The good mines are still productive and add their quota to the prosperity of the valley. West Cliff is the shipping point for Silver Cliff and Rosita, being the railroad station. (Population, 800. Distance from Denver, 194 miles. Elevation, 7,864 feet.)

ROYAL GORGE.

Distance from Denver, 163 miles.

Greatest Height of Walls, 2,627 feet.

Length, 7 miles.

Just beyond Cañon City the railway enters the Grand Cañon of the Arkansas, the narrowest portion of which is known as the Royal Gorge. When first examined it seemed impossible that a railway could ever be constructed through this stupendous cañon to Leadville and the west. There was scarcely room for the river alone, and granite ledges blocked the path with their mighty bulk. In time, however, these obstructions were blasted away, a road-bed closely following the contour of the cliffs was made, and to-day the cañon is a well-used thoroughfare. But its grandeur still remains. After entering its

MARSHALL PASS—EASTERN SLOPE.

Figure 2-2: Unknown artist, "Marshall Pass-Eastern Slope," Illustration from pages 34-35 of *Over the Range to Golden Gate*, (Chicago: R. R. Donnelly & Sons, 1889). 1042975010. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Figure 2-3: Alfred R. Waud, "Interior of a Palace Hotel Car Used On The Pacific Railroad," Illustration from *Harper's Weekly,* May 29th, 1869. LC-USZ62-110531. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

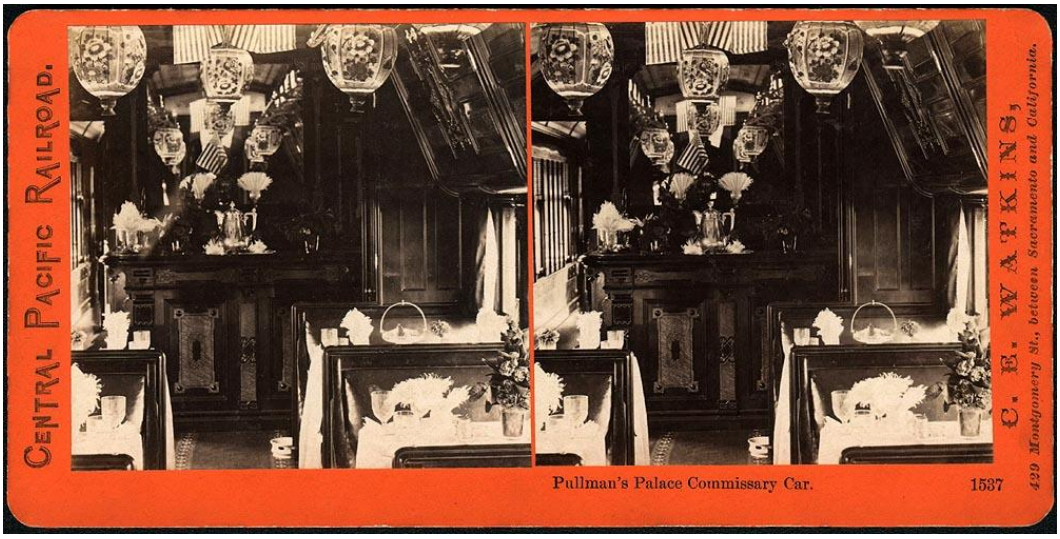


Figure 2-4: Carleton E. Watkins, “Pullman’s Palace Commissary Car,” Stereograph, Albumen print, ca. 1869, 1974:0163:0006, George Eastman House.

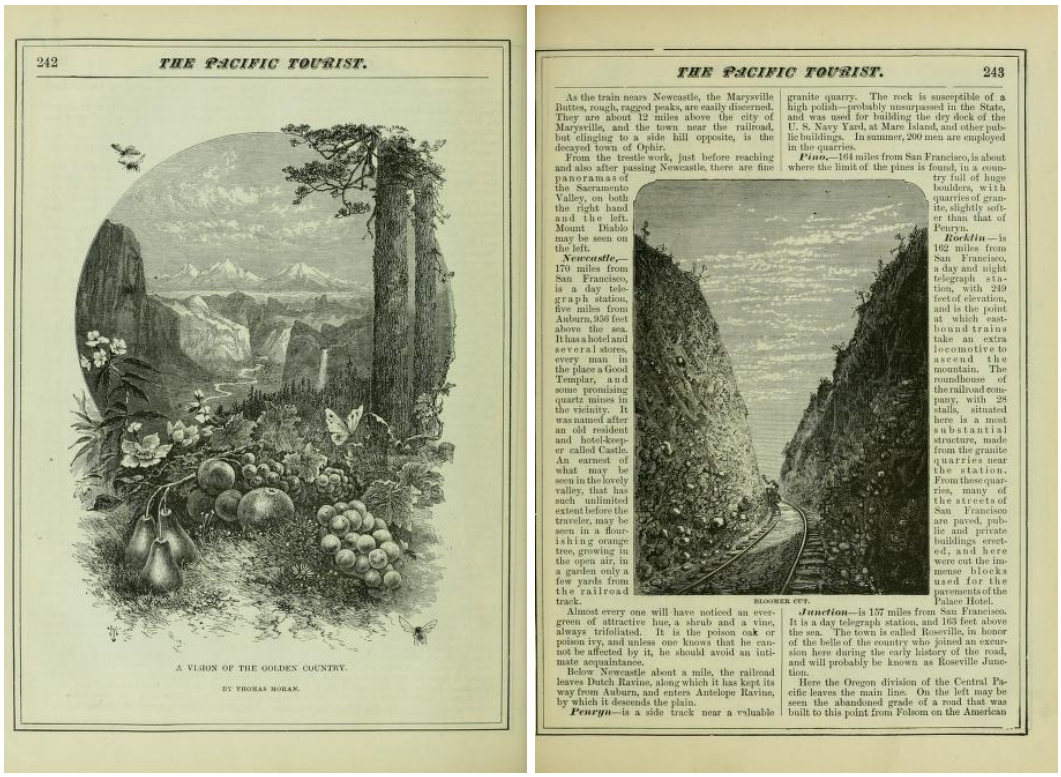


Figure 2-5: Thomas Moran, "A Vision of the Golden Country by Thomas Moran" (Left) and "Bloomer Cut" (Right)" Illustrations from pages 242-243 of *The Pacific Tourist*, (New York: Williams, 1881). 1050264834. University of California Libraries, Berkeley, California.

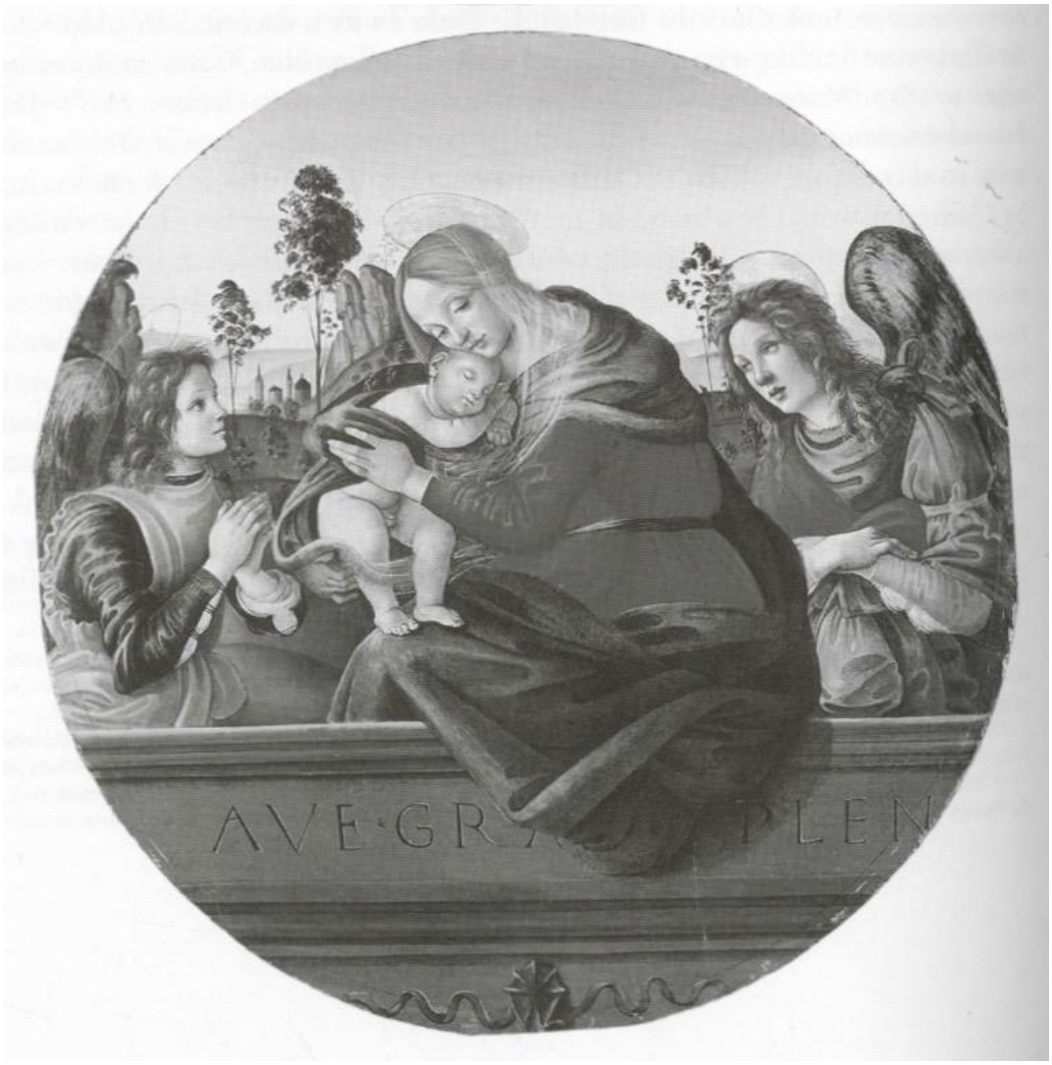


Figure 2-6: Filippino Lippi and Workshop, *Madonna and Sleeping Child with Angels,* oil on board, created ca. 1490, location unknown, in *The Florentine Tondo,* page 31, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

We met with nothing, for ſome time, during our voyage, but theſe grand woody banks, one riſing behind another; appearing, and vaniſhing, by turns, as we doubled their ſeveral capes. But though no particular objects marked and characterized theſe different ſcenes; yet they afforded great variety of beautiful perſpective views, as we wound round them; or ſtretched through the reaches, which they marked out along the river.

The channel of no river can be more deciſively marked, than that of the Wye. *Who hath divided a water-courſe for the flowing of rivers?* ſaith the Almighty in that grand apoſtrophe to Job on the works of creation. The idea is happily illuſtrated here. A nobler *water-courſe* was never *divided* for any river, than this. Rivers, in general, purſue a devious courſe along the countries, through which they flow; and form a channel for themſelves by conſtant fluxion. But, here and there, we ſee a channel marked out with ſuch preciſion; that it appears as if originally intended only for the bed of a river.

After ſailing four Miles from Roſs, we came to *Goodrich-caſtle*; where a very grand view preſented itſelf; and we reſted on our oars to examine it. A reach of the river, forming a noble bay, is ſpread

 before

Figure 2-7: William Gilpin, Untitled, Aquatint from *Observations on the River Wye* (London: B. Law and R. Faulder, 1782). DA620.G48 O12. Cornell University Library, Ithaca, New York.

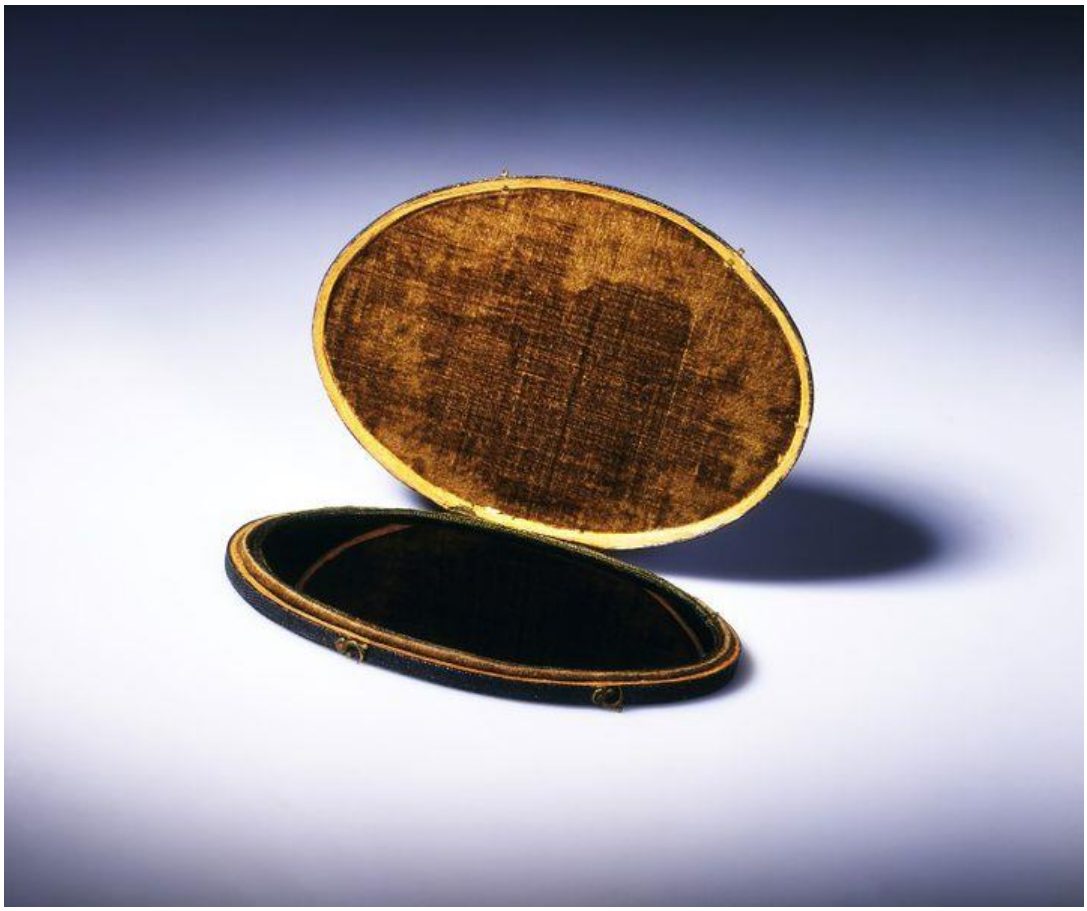
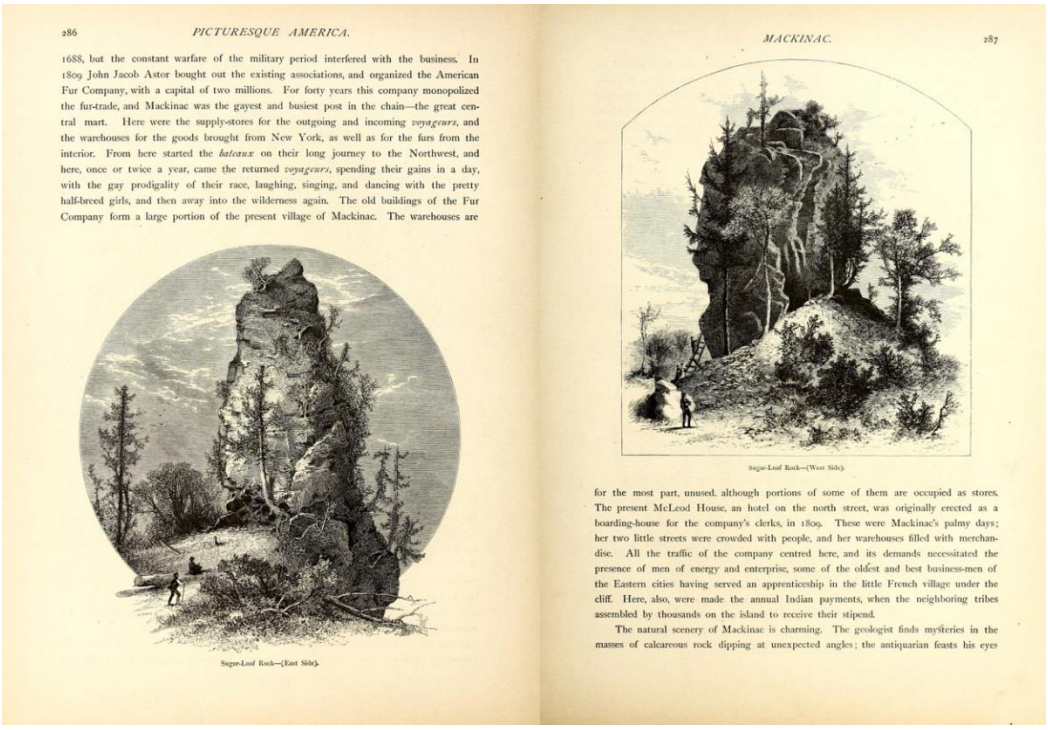


Figure 2-8: Claude glass, ca. 1775-1780, Blackened mirror glass, Victoria and Albert Museum, P.18-1972.



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1688, but the constant warfare of the military period interfered with the business. In 1809 John Jacob Astor bought out the existing associations, and organized the American Fur Company, with a capital of two millions. For forty years this company monopolized the fur-trade, and Mackinac was the gayest and busiest post in the chain—the great central mart. Here were the supply-stores for the outgoing and incoming *voyageurs*, and the warehouses for the goods brought from New York, as well as for the furs from the interior. From here started the *bateaux* on their long journey to the Northwest, and here, once or twice a year, came the returned *voyageurs*, spending their gains in a day, with the gay prodigality of their race, laughing, singing, and dancing with the pretty half-breed girls, and then away into the wilderness again. The old buildings of the Fur Company form a large portion of the present village of Mackinac. The warehouses are

Sugar-Loaf Rock—(East Side).

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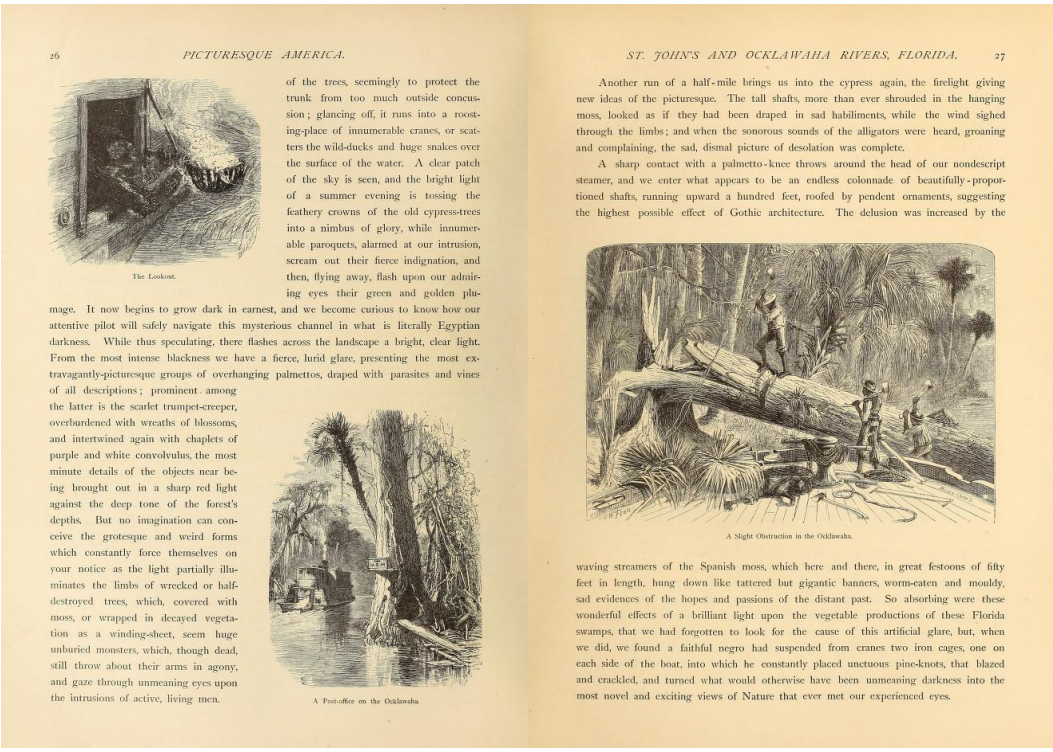
Sugar-Loaf Rock—(West Side).

for the most part, unused, although portions of some of them are occupied as stores. The present McLeod House, an hotel on the north street, was originally erected as a boarding-house for the company's clerks, in 1809. These were Mackinac's palmy days; her two little streets were crowded with people, and her warehouses filled with merchandise. All the traffic of the company centred here, and its demands necessitated the presence of men of energy and enterprise, some of the oldest and best business-men of the Eastern cities having served an apprenticeship in the little French village under the cliff. Here, also, were made the annual Indian payments, when the neighboring tribes assembled by thousands on the island to receive their stipend.

The natural scenery of Mackinac is charming. The geologist finds mysteries in the masses of calcareous rock dipping at unexpected angles; the antiquarian feasts his eyes

Figure 2-9: Harry Fenn, "Sugar-Loaf Rock — (East Side)" (Left) and "Sugar-Loaf Rock — (West Side)" (Right), Illustrations on pages 286-287 of *Picturesque America; or the Land We Live In*, Volume 1 (New York: D. Appleton Company). E168. P586 Pennell. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.



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The Lookout.

of the trees, seemingly to protect the trunk from too much outside concussion; glancing off, it runs into a roosting-place of innumerable cranes, or scatters the wild-ducks and huge snakes over the surface of the water. A clear patch of the sky is seen, and the bright light of a summer evening is tossing the feathery crowns of the old cypress-trees into a nimbus of glory, while innumerable paroquets, alarmed at our intrusion, scream out their fierce indignation, and then, flying away, flash upon our admiring eyes their green and golden plumage. It now begins to grow dark in earnest, and we become curious to know how our attentive pilot will safely navigate this mysterious channel in what is literally Egyptian darkness. While thus speculating, there flashes across the landscape a bright, clear light. From the most intense blackness we have a fierce, lurid glare, presenting the most extravagantly-picturesque groups of overhanging palmettos, draped with parasites and vines of all descriptions; prominent among the latter is the scarlet trumpet-creeper, overburdened with wreaths of blossoms, and intertwined again with chaplets of purple and white convolvulus, the most minute details of the objects near being brought out in a sharp red light against the deep tone of the forest's depths. But no imagination can conceive the grotesque and weird forms which constantly force themselves on your notice as the light partially illuminates the limbs of wrecked or half-destroyed trees, which, covered with moss, or wrapped in decayed vegetation as a winding-sheet, seem huge unburied monsters, which, though dead, still throw about their arms in agony, and gaze through unmeaning eyes upon the intrusions of active, living men.

A Post-office on the Ocklawaha.

ST. JOHN'S AND OCKLAWAHA RIVERS, FLORIDA. 27

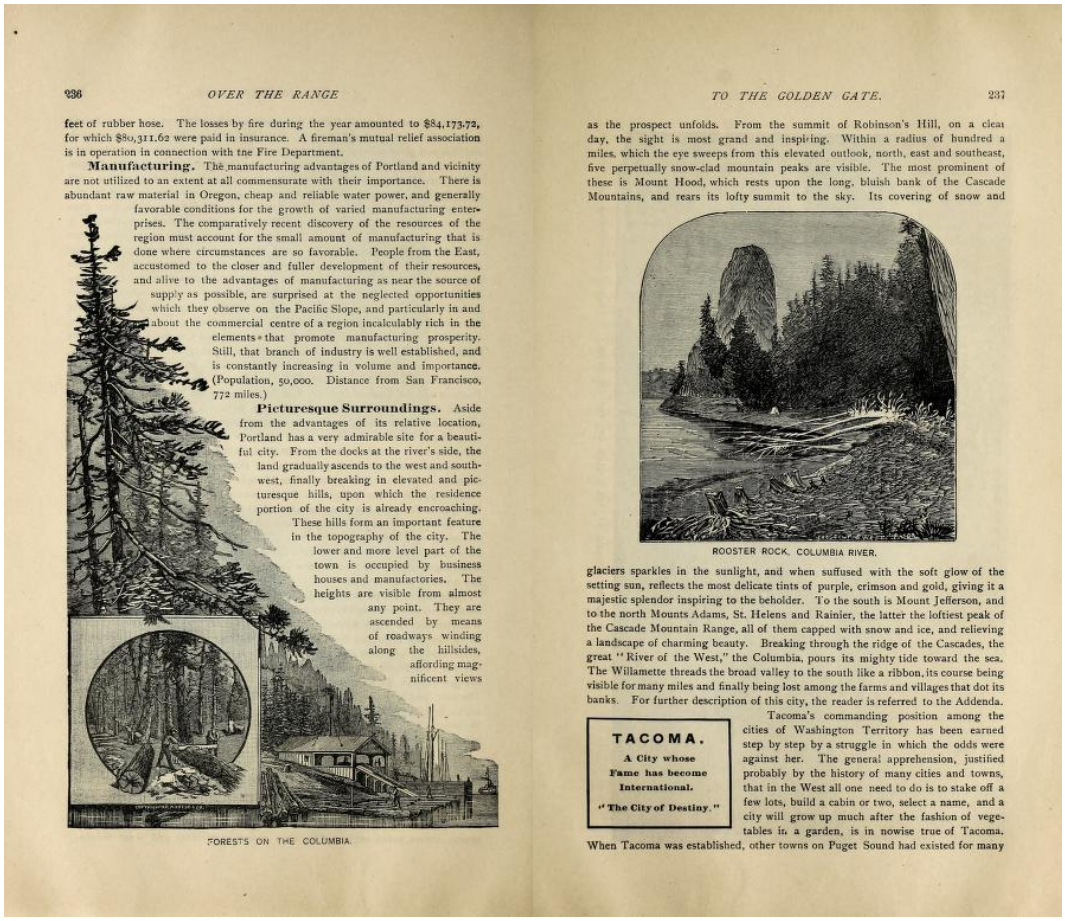
Another run of a half-mile brings us into the cypress again, the firelight giving new ideas of the picturesque. The tall shafts, more than ever shrouded in the hanging moss, looked as if they had been draped in sad habiliments, while the wind sighed through the limbs; and when the sonorous sounds of the alligators were heard, groaning and complaining, the sad, dismal picture of desolation was complete.

A sharp contact with a palmetto-knee throws around the head of our nondescript steamer, and we enter what appears to be an endless colonnade of beautifully-proportioned shafts, running upward a hundred feet, roofed by pendent ornaments, suggesting the highest possible effect of Gothic architecture. The delusion was increased by the

A Slight Obstruction in the Ocklawaha.

waving streamers of the Spanish moss, which here and there, in great festoons of fifty feet in length, hung down like tattered but gigantic banners, worm-eaten and mouldy, sad evidences of the hopes and passions of the distant past. So absorbing were these wonderful effects of a brilliant light upon the vegetable productions of these Florida swamps, that we had forgotten to look for the cause of this artificial glare, but, when we did, we found a faithful negro had suspended from cranes two iron cages, one on each side of the boat, into which he constantly placed unctuous pine-knots, that blazed and crackled, and turned what would otherwise have been unmeaning darkness into the most novel and exciting views of Nature that ever met our experienced eyes.

Figure 2-10: Harry Fenn, "The Lookout" (Upper Left), "A Post-office on the Ocklawaha" (Lower Left), and "A Slight Obstruction in the Ocklawaha" (Right), Illustrations on pages 26-27 of *Picturesque America; or the Land We Live In*, Volume 1 (New York: D. Appleton Company). E168. P586 Pennell. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.



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feet of rubber hose. The losses by fire during the year amounted to $84,173.72, for which $80,311.62 were paid in insurance. A fireman's mutual relief association is in operation in connection with the Fire Department.

Manufacturing. The manufacturing advantages of Portland and vicinity are not utilized to an extent at all commensurate with their importance. There is abundant raw material in Oregon, cheap and reliable water power, and generally favorable conditions for the growth of varied manufacturing enterprises. The comparatively recent discovery of the resources of the region must account for the small amount of manufacturing that is done where circumstances are so favorable. People from the East, accustomed to the closer and fuller development of their resources, and alive to the advantages of manufacturing as near the source of supply as possible, are surprised at the neglected opportunities which they observe on the Pacific Slope, and particularly in and about the commercial centre of a region incalculably rich in the elements that promote manufacturing prosperity. Still, that branch of industry is well established, and is constantly increasing in volume and importance. (Population, 50,000. Distance from San Francisco, 772 miles.)

Picturesque Surroundings. Aside from the advantages of its relative location, Portland has a very admirable site for a beautiful city. From the docks at the river's side, the land gradually ascends to the west and southwest, finally breaking in elevated and picturesque hills, upon which the residence portion of the city is already encroaching. These hills form an important feature in the topography of the city. The lower and more level part of the town is occupied by business houses and manufactories. The heights are visible from almost any point. They are ascended by means of roadways winding along the hillsides, affording magnificent views

FOREST ON THE COLUMBIA.

TO THE GOLDEN GATE. 237

as the prospect unfolds. From the summit of Robinson's Hill, on a clear day, the sight is most grand and inspiring. Within a radius of hundred a miles, which the eye sweeps from this elevated outlook, north, east and southeast, five perpetually snow-clad mountain peaks are visible. The most prominent of these is Mount Hood, which rests upon the long, bluish bank of the Cascade Mountains, and rears its lofty summit to the sky. Its covering of snow and

ROOSTER ROCK, COLUMBIA RIVER.

glaciers sparkles in the sunlight, and when suffused with the soft glow of the setting sun, reflects the most delicate tints of purple, crimson and gold, giving it a majestic splendor inspiring to the beholder. To the south is Mount Jefferson, and to the north Mounts Adams, St. Helens and Rainier, the latter the loftiest peak of the Cascade Mountain Range, all of them capped with snow and ice, and relieving a landscape of charming beauty. Breaking through the ridge of the Cascades, the great "River of the West," the Columbia, pours its mighty tide toward the sea. The Willamette threads the broad valley to the south like a ribbon, its course being visible for many miles and finally being lost among the farms and villages that dot its banks. For further description of this city, the reader is referred to the Addenda.

TACOMA.
A City whose Fame has become International.
"The City of Destiny."

Tacoma's commanding position among the cities of Washington Territory has been earned step by step by a struggle in which the odds were against her. The general apprehension, justified probably by the history of many cities and towns, that in the West all one need to do is to stake off a few lots, build a cabin or two, select a name, and a city will grow up much after the fashion of vegetables in a garden, is in nowise true of Tacoma. When Tacoma was established, other towns on Puget Sound had existed for many

Figure 2-11: Unknown artist, "Forest on the Columbia" (Left) and "Rooster Rock, Columbia River" (Right), Illustrations on pages 236-237 of *Over the Range to Golden Gate*, (Chicago: R. R. Donnelly & Sons, 1889). 1042975010. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

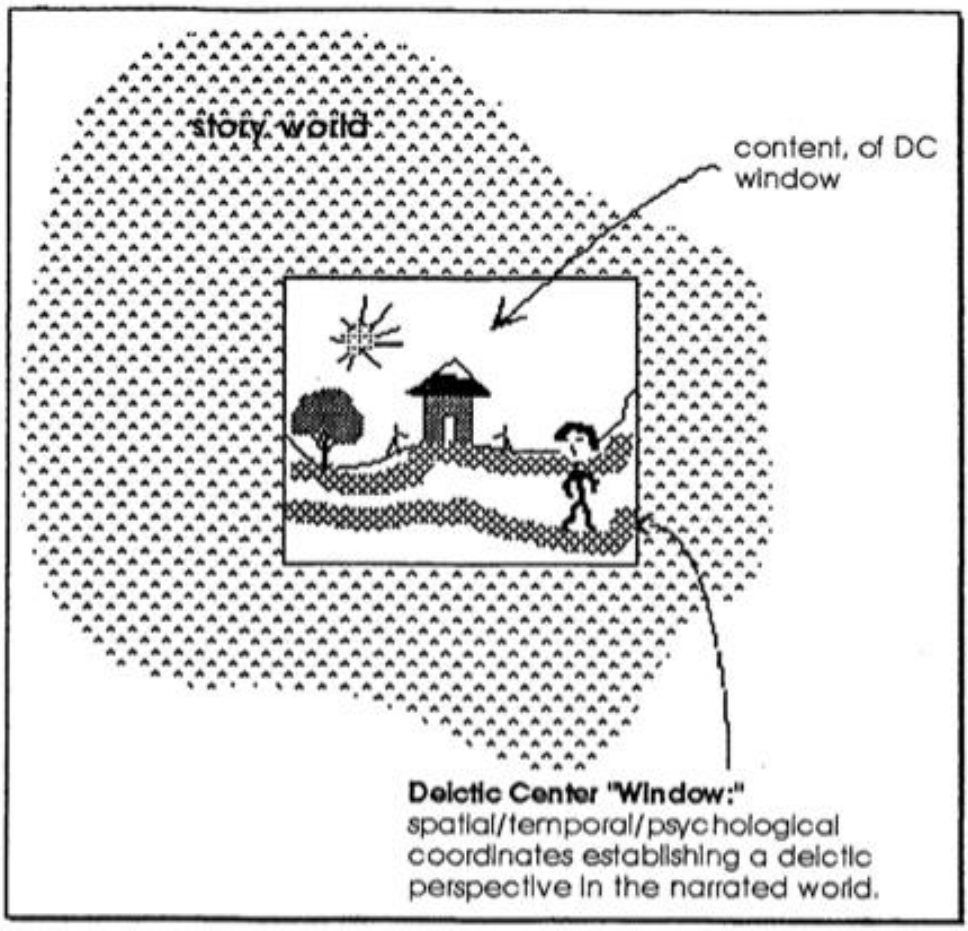


Figure 3-1: "Objective windowing of the Deictic Center," Figure from *Deixis in Narrative: A Cognitive Science Perspective,* page 132 (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1995).

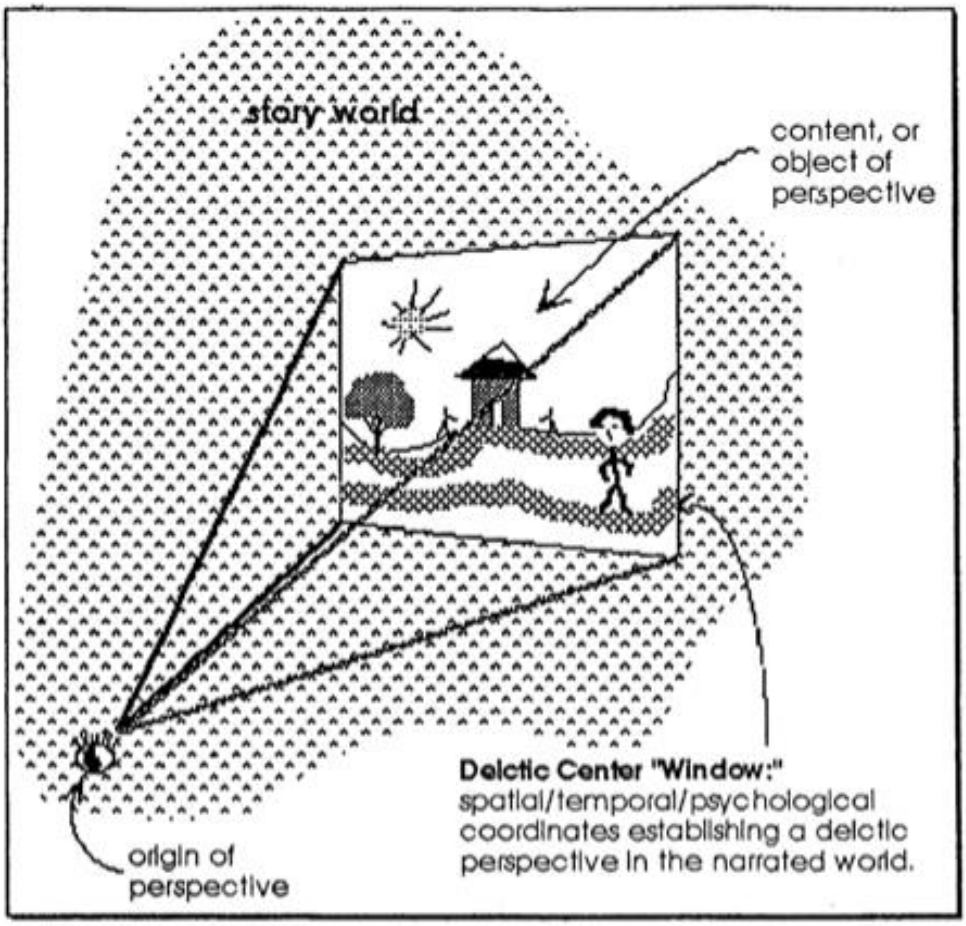


Figure 3-2: "Perspective windowing of the Deictic Center," Figure from *Deixis in Narrative: A Cognitive Science Perspective*, page 133 (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1995).

CLIMBING THE MOUNTAINS AT VETA PASS.

with smooth sides and splintered pinnacles to a height of 11,176 feet above the sea. The stupendous proportions of this mountain, the illimitable expanse of the plains, the symmetrical cones of the Spanish Peaks present a picture upon which it is a never-ceasing delight for the eye to dwell. The train rolls steadily forward on its winding course, and at last reaching the apex, glides into the timber and halts at the handsome stone station over 9,000 feet above the level of the distant sea. The downward journey is past Sierra Blanca and old Fort Garland and through that pastoral and picturesque valley known as San Luis Park.

Placer. At Placer, one can say that the descent of Veta Pass has been accomplished, although it is still down grade as far as Alamosa. This little town is situated on the eastern border of the San Luis Valley and at the western extremity of La Veta Pass. Good hunting and fishing can be found in the neighboring foothills. The tributary industries are agriculture and stock raising. (Population, 75. Distance from Denver, 212 miles. Elevation, 8,410 feet.)

Garland. This town was formerly known as Fort Garland, and was a United States military post. Sierra Blanca, elevation, 14,464 feet, the highest mountain in the United States with one exception, is seventeen miles distant. Good trout fishing and shooting can be found in the adjacent foothills. Garland's tributary industries are agriculture and stock raising. (Population, 200. Distance from Denver, 325 miles. Elevation, 8,945 feet.)

SIERRA BLANCA
Highest Mountain of The Rocky Range.
Elevation, 14,464 feet.

Sierra Blanca is the monarch of the Rocky Range, and is characterized by the peculiarity of a triple peak. The mountain rises directly from the plain to the stupendous height of 14,464 feet, over two miles and three-fifths of sheer ascent. A magnificent view of this mountain is obtained from the cars as soon as the descent from Veta Pass into the San Luis Valley has been made. Surely it is worth a journey across the continent to obtain a view of such a mountain! Although a part of the range, it stands at the head of the valley, like a monarch taking precedence of a lordly retinue. Two thirds of its height is above timber-line, bare and desolate, and except for a month or two of midsummer, dazzling white with snow, while in its abysmal gorges it holds eternal reservoirs of ice.

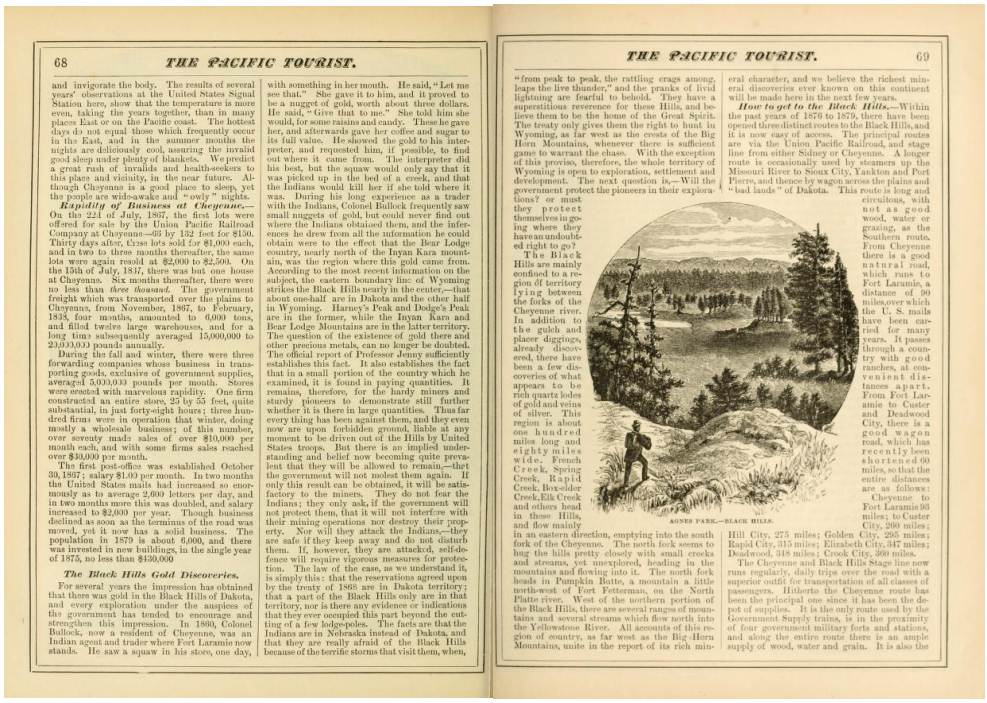
"Oh, sacred mount with kingly crest
Through tideless ether reaching,
The earth world kneels to hear the prayer
Thy dusky slopes are teaching.
With mystic glow on sunset eyes
All trembling lie thy blood-red leaves,
Their silken veins with gold inwrought.
Oh, glorious is thy world-wide thought!"

The lower slopes of the mountain are clad in vast forests of pine and hemlock, while its grand triad of gray granite peaks lift into the sky their sharp pyramidal pinnacles, splintered and furrowed by the storm-compelling and omnipotent hand of the Almighty. To the north and south, for a distance of nearly two hundred miles, it is flanked by the serrated crests of the Sangre de Cristo Range, the whole forming a panorama of unexampled grandeur and beauty.

San Luis Park. This great and fertile valley is located in Southern Colorado, bordering New Mexico, and is drained by the Rio Grande, one of the largest of Colorado's rivers, into which flows from the lofty mountain ranges surrounding the park, almost numberless little mountain streams. This park, which was once the bottom of a vast mountain lake, contains fully 10,000 square miles — equal to the entire area of Massachusetts. The soil is alluvial, from six to fifteen feet deep, and the surface is naturally well adapted for irrigation, which the rivers and streams in the park are abundantly capable of providing. The park, or valley, as it is frequently called, is from 7,000 to 7,300 feet above sea level. This elevation insures a light pure atmosphere, free from all malarial conditions, and especially favorable for those disposed to pulmonary affections. The climate is cool in the summer, and not severe in the winter — scarcely ever more than an occasional snowfall of two or three inches in the valley. Too much in praise of the attractions and beauty of the climate of the San Luis Valley cannot be said. The grand chains of mountains, which entirely surround the park, present scenery unsurpassed in the world. Spring wheat will yield from thirty to fifty bushels to the acre, oats from fifty to seventy-five bushels, peas from thirty to forty bushels, potatoes from

Figure 3-3: Unknown artist, "Big Trees of Calaveras," Illustration on page 236-237 of *Over the Range to Golden Gate*, (Chicago: R. R. Donnelly & Sons, 1889). 1042975010. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Figure 3-4*: Reverie,* Winslow Homer, oil on canvas, 1872, Sotheby's, Photo Courtesy of Bruce M. White; *An Open Window,* Winslow Homer, oil on canvas, *1872,* Portland Museum of Art, Portland, Maine*; She Turned Her Face To The Window*, Edward Sears, after Winslow Homer, Wood Engraving, 1868, 33.96.3, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York.



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and invigorate the body. The results of several years' observations at the United States Signal Station here, show that the temperature is more even, taking the years together, than in many places East or on the Pacific coast. The hottest days do not equal those which frequently occur in the East, and in the summer months the nights are deliciously cool, assuring the invalid good sleep under plenty of blankets. We predict a great rush of invalids and health-seekers to this place and vicinity, in the near future. Although Cheyenne is a good place to sleep, yet the people are wide-awake and "only" nights.

Rapidity of Business at Cheyenne.—On the 22d of July, 1867, the first lots were offered for sale by the Union Pacific Railroad Company at Cheyenne—69 by 132 feet for $100. Thirty days after, these lots sold for $1,000 each, and in two to three months thereafter, the same lots were again resold at $2,000 to $2,500. On the 15th of July, 1837, there was but one house at Cheyenne. Six months thereafter, there were no less than *three thousand*. The government freight which was transported over the plains to Cheyenne, from November, 1867, to February, 1868, four months, amounted to 6,000 tons, and filled twelve large warehouses, and for a long time subsequently averaged 15,000,000 to 20,000,000 pounds annually.

During the fall and winter, there were three forwarding companies whose business in transporting goods, exclusive of government supplies, averaged 5,000,000 pounds per month. Stores were erected with marvelous rapidity. One firm constructed an entire store, 25 by 55 feet, quite substantial, in just forty-eight hours; three hundred firms were in operation that winter, doing mostly a wholesale business; of this number, over seventy made sales of over $10,000 per month each, and with some firms sales reached over $30,000 per month.

The first post-office was established October 30, 1867; salary $1.00 per month. In two months the United States mails had increased so enormously as to average 2,000 letters per day, and in two months more this was doubled, and salary increased to $2,000 per year. Though business declined as soon as the terminus of the road was moved, yet it now has a solid business. The population in 1879 is about 6,000, and there was invested in new buildings, in the single year of 1875, no less than $450,000

The Black Hills Gold Discoveries.

For several years the impression has obtained that there was gold in the Black Hills of Dakota, and every exploration under the auspices of the government has tended to encourage and strengthen this impression. In 1800, Colonel Bullock, now a resident of Cheyenne, was an Indian agent and trader where Fort Laramie now stands. He saw a squaw in his store, one day, with something in her mouth. He said, "Let me see that." She gave it to him, and it proved to be a nugget of gold, worth about three dollars. He said, "Give that to me." She told him she would, for some raisins and candy. These he gave her, and afterwards gave her coffee and sugar to its full value. He showed the gold to his interpreter, and requested him, if possible, to find out where it came from. The interpreter did his best, but the squaw would only say that it was picked up in the bed of a creek, and that the Indians would kill her if she told where it was. During his long experience as a trader with the Indians, Colonel Bullock frequently saw small nuggets of gold, but could never find out where the Indians obtained them, and the inferences he drew from all the information he could obtain were to the effect that the Bear Lodge country, nearly north of the Inyan Kara mountain, was the region where this gold came from. According to the most recent information on the subject, the eastern boundary line of Wyoming strikes the Black Hills nearly in the center,—that about one-half are in Dakota and the other half in Wyoming. Harney's Peak and Dodge's Peak are in the former, while the Inyan Kara and Bear Lodge Mountains are in the latter territory. The question of the existence of gold there and other precious metals, can no longer be doubted. The official report of Professor Jenny sufficiently establishes this fact. It also establishes the fact that in a small portion of the country which he examined, it is found in paying quantities. It remains, therefore, for the hardy miners and sturdy pioneers to demonstrate still further whether it is there in large quantities. Thus far every thing has been against them, and they even now are upon forbidden ground, liable at any moment to be driven out of the Hills by United States troops. But there is an implied understanding and belief now becoming quite prevalent that they will be allowed to remain,—that the government will not molest them again. If only this result can be obtained, it will be satisfactory to the miners. They do not fear the Indians; they only ask, if the government will not protect them, that it will not interfere with their mining operations nor destroy their property. Nor will they attack the Indians,—they are safe if they keep away and do not disturb them. If, however, they are attacked, self-defence will require vigorous measures for protection. The law of the case, as we understand it, is simply this: that the reservations agreed upon by the treaty of 1868 are in Dakota territory; that a part of the Black Hills only are in that territory, nor is there any evidence or indications that they ever occupied this part beyond the cutting of a few lodge-poles. The facts are that the Indians are in Nebraska instead of Dakota, and that they are really afraid of the Black Hills because of the terrific storms that visit them, when,

THE PACIFIC TOURIST. 69

"from peak to peak, the rattling crags among, leaps the live thunder," and the pranks of livid lightning are fearful to behold. They have a superstitious reverence for these Hills, and believe them to be the home of the Great Spirit. The treaty only gives them the right to hunt in Wyoming, as far west as the creeks of the Big Horn Mountains, whenever there is sufficient game to warrant the chase. With the exception of this proviso, therefore, the whole territory of Wyoming is open to exploration, settlement and development. The next question is,—Will the government protect the pioneers in their explorations? or must they protect themselves in going where they have an undoubted right to go?

The Black Hills are mainly confined to a region of territory lying between the forks of the Cheyenne river. In addition to the gulch and placer diggings, already discovered, there have been a few discoveries of what appears to be rich quartz lodes of gold and veins of silver. This region is about one hundred miles long and eighty miles wide. French Creek, Spring Creek, Rapid Creek, Box-elder Creek, Elk Creek and others head in these Hills, and flow mainly in an eastern direction, emptying into the south fork of the Cheyenne. The north fork seems to hug the hills pretty closely with small creeks and streams, yet unexplored, heading in the mountains and flowing into it. The north fork heads in Pumpkin Butte, a mountain a little north-west of Fort Fetterman, on the North Platte river. West of the northern portion of the Black Hills, there are several ranges of mountains and several streams which flow north into the Yellowstone River. All accounts of this region of country, as far west as the Big-Horn Mountains, unite in the report of its rich mineral character, and we believe the richest mineral discoveries ever known on this continent will be made here in the next few years.

AGNES PARK.—BLACK HILLS.

How to get to the Black Hills.—Within the past years of 1876 to 1879, there have been opened three distinct routes to the Black Hills, and it is now easy of access. The principal routes are via the Union Pacific Railroad, and stage line from either Sidney or Cheyenne. A longer route is occasionally used by steamers up the Missouri River to Sioux City, Yankton and Port Pierre, and thence by wagon across the plains and "bad lands" of Dakota. This route is long and circuitous, with not as good wood, water or grazing, as the Southern route. From Cheyenne there is a good natural road, which runs to Fort Laramie, a distance of 90 miles, over which the U. S. mails have been carried for many years. It passes through a country with good ranches, at convenient distances apart. From Fort Laramie to Custer and Deadwood City, there is a good wagon road, which has recently been shortened 60 miles, so that the entire distances are as follows: Cheyenne to Fort Laramie 93 miles; to Custer City, 260 miles; Hill City, 275 miles; Golden City, 295 miles; Rapid City, 315 miles; Elizabeth City, 347 miles; Deadwood, 348 miles; Crook City, 360 miles.

The Cheyenne and Black Hills Stage line now runs regularly, daily trips over the road with a superior outfit for transportation of all classes of passengers. Hitherto the Cheyenne route has been the principal one since it has been the depot of supplies. It is the only route used by the Government Supply trains, is in the proximity of four government military forts and stations, and along the entire route there is an ample supply of wood, water and grain. It is also the

Figure 3-5: Unknown artist, "Agnes Park—Black Hills," Illustration from pages 68-69 of *The Pacific Tourist,* (New York: Williams, 1881). 1050264834. University of California Libraries, Berkeley, California.

Figure 3-6: Severin Roesen, *Still Life With Strawberries in a Compote*, 1865-70, 2004.541.2, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York.

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