

JOHN MUIR AND THE RIGHTS OF ANIMALS



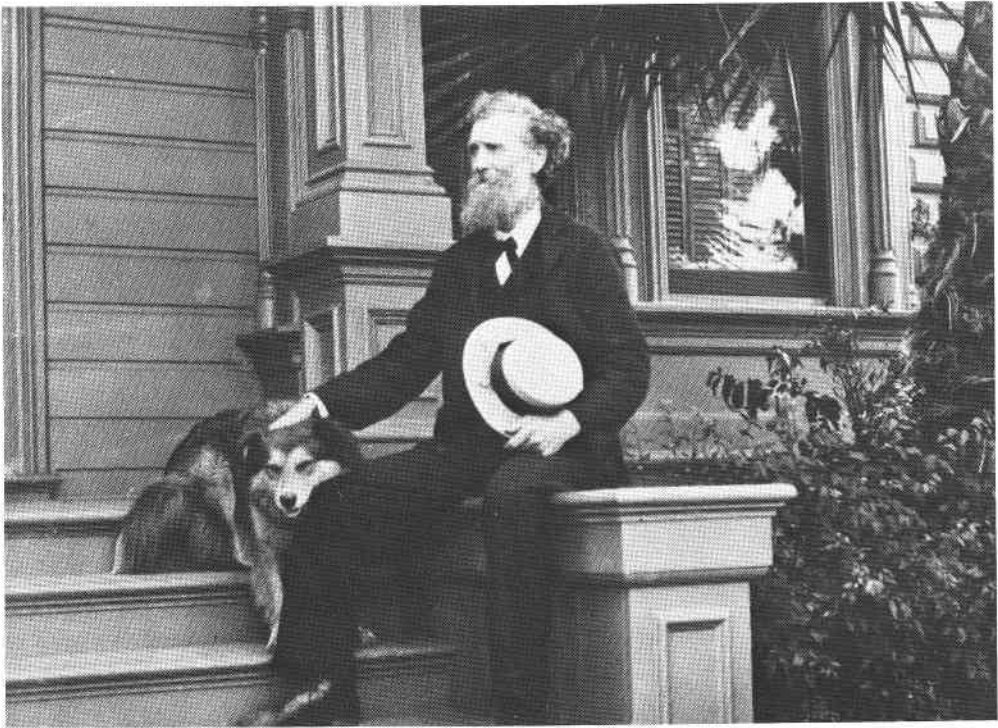
LISA MIGHETTO

No late nineteenth-century writer was a more eloquent observer of wildlife than John Muir. "Any glimpse into the life of an animal," he explained, "quickness our own and makes it so much the larger and better in every way."¹ Muir, whose name has long been associated with mountain scenery, recognized that wild creatures are an essential component of wilderness. His writing not only familiarized readers with the habits of animals but also encouraged them to consider the natural world from a new perspective.

Muir's appreciation for what he called his "horizontal brothers" went far beyond that of his contemporaries. Although concern for wildlife increased in his day, much of the impetus came from practical-minded sportsmen who desired the protection of game. Several historians have pointed out that this group comprised a large portion of the early conservation movement.² But rarely did Muir have a good word for hunters. Summing up their utilitarian rationale for preservation, he wryly noted that "the pleasure of killing is in danger of being lost from there being little or nothing left to kill." Muir, on the other hand, hoped for a "recognition of the rights of animals and their kinship to ourselves."³

While it is true that he shot wild creatures as a youth in Wisconsin and later accompanied hunting expeditions in the Sierra, Muir had no liking for the "murder business" and rarely carried firearms. Blood sports, he argued, are a debasing pastime, capable of transforming even "the decent gentleman or devout saint" into "a howling, bloodthirsty, demented savage." Neither did he approve of angling, which encouraged people to seek "pleasure in the pain of fishes struggling for their lives." Such activity, in Muir's estimation, was inappropriate in the "Yosemite temple," for it violated the "rights of animals." At times this aversion to blood sports took the form of subtle ridicule. Lacking regard for the character and intelligence of their prey, hunters, he claimed, remain

Lisa Mighetto holds degrees from the University of California at Santa Barbara and Arizona State University, and is currently completing a doctorate at the University of Washington. She has published articles on nineteenth-century American attitudes toward wildlife in the Pacific Historical Review, the Alaska Journal, and Sierra, and is compiling and editing an anthology of Muir's essays on animals to be published by Sierra Club Books in 1986.



John Muir and "California" Stickeen seated on the front porch of Muir's home in Martinez, California. "California" Stickeen had been named after the "wee doggie" with whom Muir had shared a dangerous glacial adventure and later wrote about in a short story. In addition to Stickeen, Muir and his daughters kept a variety of other pets on the ranch, including cats, dogs, horses and a screech owl who lived in the bell tower.

unaware that they "are themselves hunted by animals," who "in perfect safety follow them out of curiosity."⁴

Slaughtering for food also bothered him. Repulsed by the "depraved appetite" which craved meat, Muir, like Thoreau, preferred "bread without flesh" — at least while in the Sierra. Man, he lamented at several points in his journal, "seems to be the only animal whose food soils him"; ideally, "one ought to be trained and tempered to enjoy life . . . in full independence of any particular kind of nourishment."⁵ Such squeamishness, coming from a person who reveled in wildness, stemmed from more than a simple offense to a delicate sensibility: Muir's distaste was in keeping with his denial that the natural world is brutal. Unlike many conservationists, he was concerned with the protection of individual animals as well as species.

To be sure, Muir's sensitivity to the suffering of wild animals was not unique. During his lifetime, a "comparatively modern social manifestation" — labeled by one Victorian commentator as the "New Humanitarianism" — flourished on both sides of the Atlantic, giving rise to numerous animal welfare organizations. What distinguished the late nineteenth century in this regard from previous eras was an increasing awareness of pain.⁶

Accordingly, capacity for feeling became a basis for the protection of animals — wild as well as domestic. "Erase sentiency from the universe," suggested animal rights advocate J. Howard Moore, "and you erase the possibility of ethics."⁷ Unlike many turn-of-the-century preservationists, humanitarians objected to the killing of wild creatures not

because it was wasteful but because it inflicted suffering. Although concerned primarily with animals in urban areas, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals protested the wholesale slaughter of western wildlife and urged Congress to create a department for the protection of such animals as the buffalo. Henry Bergh, who established the group in this country, exemplified the link between humanitarians and preservationists by becoming the first vice-president of the Audubon Society.⁸

Similarly, Henry Salt — a leading English humanitarian whose works were read and debated in the United States — denounced cruelty to wild creatures. Entire chapters of his book *Animals' Rights* (1892) were devoted to "Amateur Butchery" and "Murderous Millenary" — Salt's terms for sport and fashion. He portrayed the liberation of animals as an inevitable extension of the same spirit which granted rights to slaves and women. To him, vegetarianism was an essential step in this progression: it is not possible, he argued, to assert the rights of an animal "on whom you propose to make a meal."⁹ Muir, too, wondered at the inconsistency of "preaching, praying men and women" who killed and ate animals "while eloquently discoursing on the coming of the blessed, peaceful, bloodless millennium."¹⁰

These views, which formed Salt's "Creed of Kinship," owed much to nineteenth-century science. The link between man and other animals being affirmed, Salt contended that nearly all creatures possess a sense of morality and an aesthetic sensibility, along with "a character, a mind, a career" of their own. They should enjoy a "restricted freedom," he concluded, allowing them "individual development." So bent was Salt on according liberty to animals that he opposed keeping them as pets or in zoos — a practice which implied subservience and smacked of condescension. Few people would delight in a captive animal, he claimed, "if they . . . fully considered how blighted and sterilized a life it must be." Moreover, to prevent the tendency to regard animals as "things," Salt suggested that we refrain from the pronoun "it" when referring to them. The term "vermin," when applied to "rabbits, rats, and other small animals" further offended him, for "the application of a contemptuous name" encourages cruelty.¹¹

Such ideas were not widely accepted in turn-of-the-century America, where the "New Humanitarianism" affected only a small portion of the population. Salt himself was derided as being a "compendium of the cranks."¹² Muir did not align himself with humanitarians or comment on Salt's works. Yet their attitudes toward the animal world were similar: throughout his writing, Muir emphasized the intelligence and individuality of wildlife.

This respect took years to develop. Upon first arriving in the Sierra, Muir in fact "lacked the right manners of the wilderness." His initial encounter with a bear, however, provided him with some animal etiquette. Sighting one of these animals in the Sierra was a rare opportunity, for they were especially elusive in the days before large numbers of visitors flocked to campgrounds, generating attractive garbage. Hence, he was eager to make the most of his "interview" with the "big cinnamon." After studying the bear from a distance, Muir, desiring to observe the animal's gait, rushed forward, shouting and waving his arms. The bear, though, not only refused to run but also indicated willingness to fight. His mistake thus made "monstrously plain," Muir "began to fear that on myself would fall the work of running." To his relief, the bear eventually withdrew into the forest. "I was glad to part with him," Muir confessed. His subsequent meetings with bears were marked by caution and humility: when he encountered a "formidable" grizzly, Muir hid behind a tree, hoping to escape notice. In any case, his fright did not keep him from observing the "fine dignity" of the animal.¹³

Muir later advised tourists in the Sierra to adopt a similar approach to wildlife. Answering frequent complaints about the scarcity of animals in the Yosemite Valley, he pointed out that large groups of boisterous people tend to alarm wild creatures. "Even the frightened pines would run away if they could," he explained. But if travelers "would go singly, without haste or noise, away from the region of trails and pack trains, they would speedily learn that these mountain mansions are not without inhabitants, many of whom, confiding and gentle, would be glad to make their acquaintance." In fact, Muir's animals often sought him out, displaying the "liveliest curiosity."¹⁴

Like Salt, Muir believed these wild creatures to possess unique characters. Our conceit, he argued, prevents us from perceiving their individuality. While his fellow nature writer John Burroughs maintained that animals are guided solely by instinct, Muir's writing emphasized their refinement and nobility. *The Story of My Boyhood and Youth* (1912), for instance, recalled the "wonderful sympathy" and "self-sacrificing devotion" of a wild goose who attacked Muir in defense of another bird he had shot. In this passage, which recounted one of Muir's "strangest hunting experiences," it was the goose who emerged as the admirable character.¹⁵

In his early years, though, Muir's esteem did not include animals brought into the mountains by man. Exasperating experiences from his shepherding days had convinced him of the stupidity of these creatures: "A [domestic] sheep," he concluded, "can hardly be called an animal," for "an entire flock is required to make one foolish individual." Moreover, Muir found tame sheep to be far less graceful than their wild cousins, whom he considered to be "the best mountaineers of all." This theme was developed in an essay entitled "Wild Wool" (1875), in which he argued the superiority of mountain animals to those of the lowlands.¹⁶

Not only did domestic sheep lack character as far as Muir was concerned, but these "hoofed locusts" also destroyed the vegetation of mountain meadows. In contrast, "nature's cattle and poultry" — deer, sheep, and flocks of grouse — left their "mountain gardens" unmarred. Writing in the 1870s, before predator elimination had created overpopulation of deer, Muir claimed that these "dainty feeders" did not crush the flowers and grass in the Sierra. Instead, they pruned the vegetation, "keeping it in order." All wild animals, from agile sheep to broad-footed bears, "beautify the ground on which they walk, picturing it with their awe-inspiring tracks."¹⁷

Later in his life, Muir revised his assessment of tame creatures. At his ranch in Martinez, he kept a variety of pets, including cats, dogs, and a screech owl. "I suppose that almost any wild animal may be made a pet," he wrote. His most celebrated animal essay featured the dog Stickeen, who accompanied him on a harrowing excursion across an Alaskan glacier. As night was falling, the two encountered an enormous crevasse, passable only by means of a precarious ice-sliver bridge. At first reluctant to follow Muir across, the terrified dog finally reached the opposite side of the chasm. Safe at last, he "ran and cried and barked and rolled about fairly hysterical in the sudden revulsion from the depths of despair to triumphant joy." This shared ordeal — which was to become Muir's "most memorable" experience in the wilderness — poignantly illustrates the appeal of his animal portrayals. Stickeen "enlarged my life," Muir wrote, for "through him as through a window I have ever since been looking with deeper sympathy into all my fellow mortals."¹⁸ His change in perspective was reflected throughout *The Story of My Boyhood and Youth*, one of his last literary efforts.

Written for boys, this work was designed to instill respect for all creatures. While the young Muir had delighted in tormenting cats, the book pointed out, he developed

an early appreciation of birds. Projecting his reverence for living things back to his childhood, Muir also offered sympathetic portraits of farm animals from Wisconsin days. These portrayals, which emphasized near-human qualities of animals, repudiated the "loveless doctrine" that they have "neither mind nor soul."¹⁹

Each animal in the book thus had an "individual character." The ox, Buck, for one, was a "notably sagacious fellow" who "seemed to reason sometimes almost like ourselves." Although at feeding time the other cattle had to have their pumpkins split open for them, this resourceful ox crushed them himself with his head. "He went to the pile," Muir explained, "picked out a good one, like a hog choosing an orange or apple, rolled it down on the the open ground, deliberately kneeled in front of it, placed his broad, flat brow on top of it, brought his weight hard down and crushed it, then quietly arose and went on with his meal in comfort." This action, Muir was careful to indicate, derived not from "blind instinct," but from intelligence. When hungry, another ox who lived by his wits was given to "opening all the fences that stood in his way to the corn-fields."²⁰

The Story of My Boyhood and Youth also had its share of dog stories. One of these was a variation of the tale of the "noble, faithful" canine who, after defending a child against a wild beast, was mistaken for the attacker and unjustly slain. Similarly, Watch, the family dog, was an admirable creature who "could not read books" but "could read faces," and "was a good judge of character." In fact, Muir's affection for dogs preceded his acceptance of other domestic animals: in his journal in the 1870s, he praised his canine companion Carlo for his "wonderful intelligence."²¹

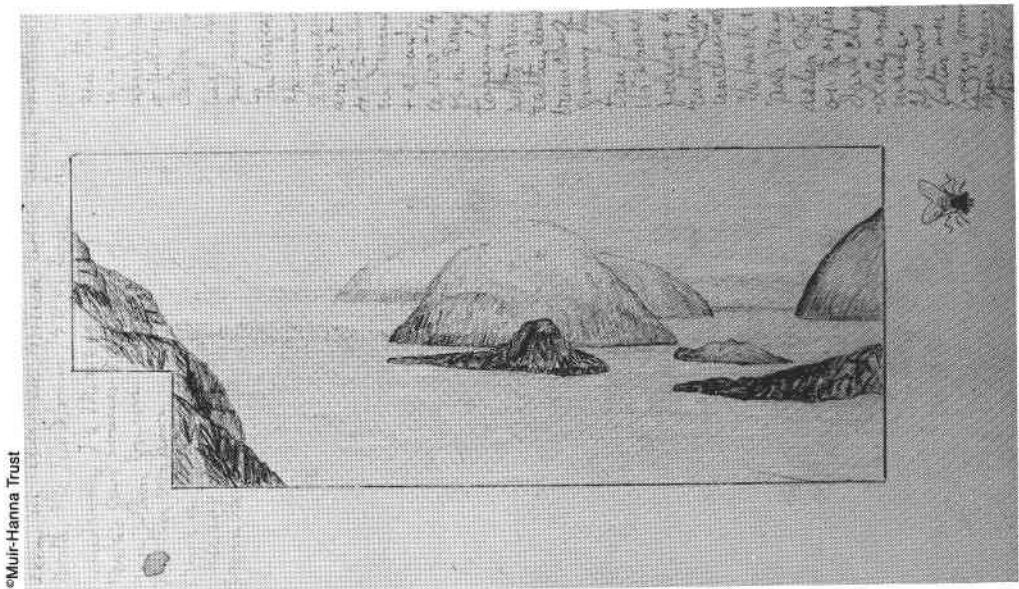
The message here was clear: Muir wanted to convince his young readers that animals should be treated respectfully. His book not only extolled the virtues of farm animals, but also deplored their abuse by humans. Muir looked forward to "a better time" when people would become "truly humane, and learn to put their animal fellow mortals in their hearts instead of on their backs or in their dinners." His aim, then, was comparable to that of the humanitarians, for he, too, believed that animals should be regarded as "fellow citizens."²²

When it came to predators, though, Muir parted company with the humanitarian movement. While its adherents were kind to "desirable" animals, they were intolerant of seemingly bloodthirsty creatures who were cruel to their fellows or posed a threat to man. Carnivores who did not live by humanitarian principles were deemed unworthy of protection. Henry Bergh, for instance, threatened P.T. Barnum with prosecution for feeding live rabbits to snakes. When the circus caretakers pointed out to the S.P.C.A. leader that these animals eat only live prey, Bergh suggested that the "hateful reptiles" be allowed to starve. So serious was this humanitarian that Barnum's employees were forced to convey the snakes in suitcases across the border to New Jersey — away from S.P.C.A. jurisdiction — for feeding.²³ Even Salt, the most radical and vocal of the animal rights advocates, did not extend his good will to "wolves, and other dangerous species."²⁴ Echoing Alfred, Lord Tennyson, yet another vegetarian who found meat-eating repugnant hoped to "let the wolf and tiger die."²⁵ Objections to carnivorous pets were also raised by humanitarians, who outlined vegetarian diets for dogs and cats.²⁶

Conservationists shared their dim view of predators. William T. Hornaday, Director of the New York Zoological Park, suggested in 1913 that "several species of birds," all hawks, be "at once put under sentence of death for their destructiveness of useful birds." Owls, although under "grave suspicion," were saved from "instant condemnation" by "the delightful amount of rats, mice, moles, gophers and noxious insects they annually consume." The Pilot Black-Snake — "long, thick and truculent" — seemed to Hornaday

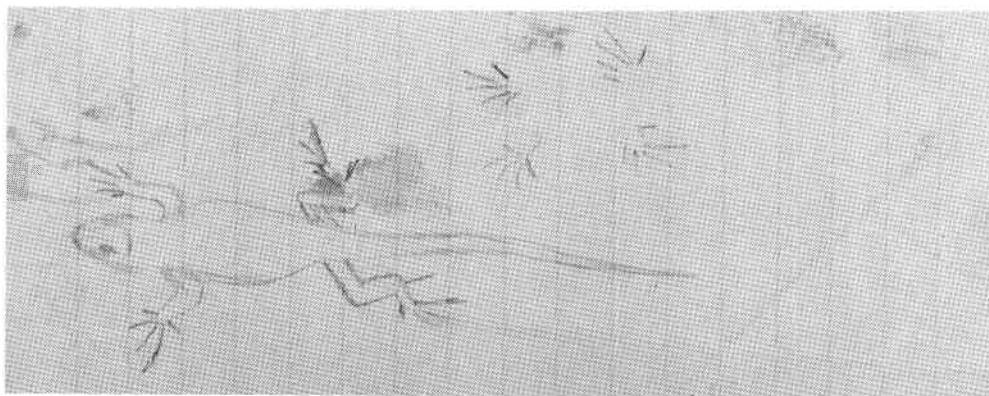
to be particularly “deserving of death.” Another “bad” animal, to his mind, was the domestic cat, who preyed on squirrels and birds in his zoo. Some grizzlies, too, belonged to “the pest class.”²⁷ Such statements, indicating Hornaday’s utilitarian bent as well as his hatred of predators, were not unusual: Theodore Roosevelt, the great conservationist president, similarly denounced the wolf as being “the arch type of raven, the beast of waste and desolation.”²⁸ The coyote, on the other hand, was sometimes characterized as a “scoundrel of much more imposing character.”²⁹ This disdain was translated into policy; even the National Park Service and the Audubon Society advocated the elimination of predators on their lands.³⁰ The war against wolves in present-day Alaska demonstrates the longevity of this attitude.

In contrast to humanitarians and conservationists, Muir presented all wild creatures favorably. Rattlesnakes — traditionally regarded as dangerous and repulsive — were in his estimation “downright bashful” and deserving of respect. Lizards, too, were “gentle and guileless” creatures with “beautiful eyes, expressing the clearest innocence, so that, in spite of the prejudices brought from cool, lizardless countries, one must soon learn to like them.” Moreover, Muir delighted in the company of a variety of insects, including flies.³¹



Journal page from Muir's 1879 trip to Alaska. The small fly drawn in the margin shows Muir's respect for insects as well as his sense of humor.

Neither did he condemn larger meat-eaters for their apparently cruel habits. In *Our National Parks* (1901), Muir marveled at the number of animals a bear can consume. “In this happy land no famine comes nigh him,” he observed. “What digestion! A sheep or wounded deer or a pig he eats warm, about as quickly as a boy eats a buttered muffin; or should the meat be a month old, it still is welcomed with tremendous relish.” Though Muir viewed this scene with a degree of squeamishness, there is no judgment reflected in his words. He in fact regretted that these “good-natured” animals were hunted.³²



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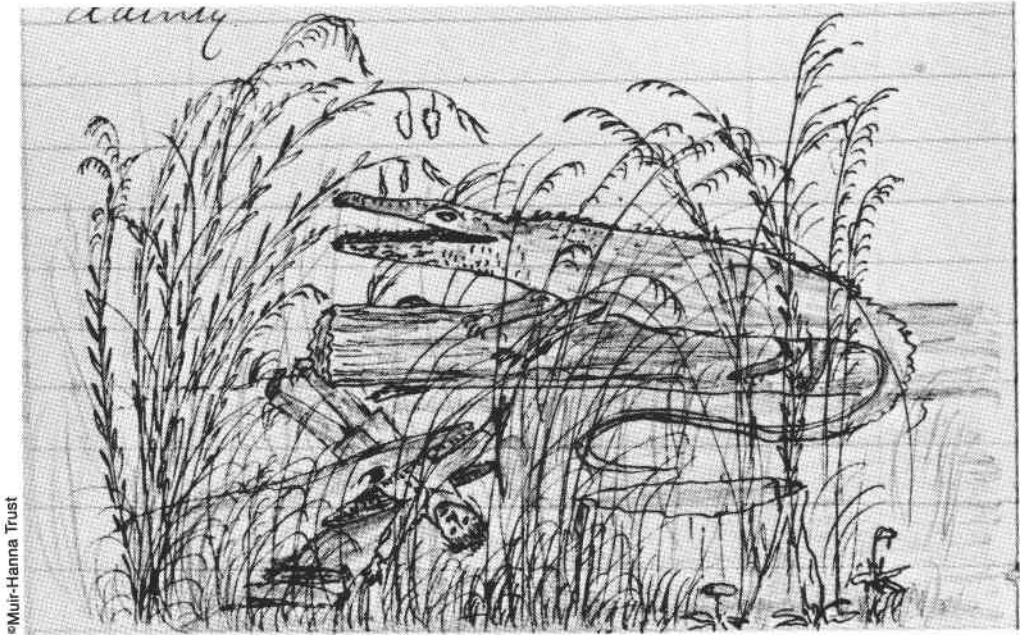
Drawing of a lizard by John Muir found on a loose scrap of paper.

This inclination appears stronger in a disconcerting passage from his *Thousand Mile Walk* (1916), which notes that alligators should be “blessed now and then with a mouthful of terror-stricken man by way of dainty.” In his original journal, these sentiments were reinforced by Muir’s drawing, which did not appear in the published version, of an alligator eating a man while another saurian looked on with approval. Also unpublished were his praises of the coyote, a “beautiful” and “graceful” animal who has been persecuted for his supposed taste for mutton.³³ Because many turn-of-the-century readers would not have approved of Muir’s position, his wildlife portrayals which appeared in print featured such “inoffensive” animals as deer, squirrels, and non-predatory birds.

Muir’s acceptance of carnivores was in part linked to his denial of their brutality. Lamenting the “dismal irreverence” with which humans viewed the animal world, he found their talk of “ferocious beasts” to be morbid. To him, all of nature was beneficent; the woods were full of “happy birds and beasts,” none of whom were “[f]ierce and cruel.” Alligators and snakes are not “mysterious evils,” he argued. Neither were Muir’s animals subject to the bloody teeth and claws envisioned by Darwinists: “I never saw one drop of blood,” he reported, “on all this wilderness.”³⁴

There is little animal suffering, then, described in Muir’s writing. His wild creatures experienced “[n]ot a headache or any other ache amongst them.” Young birds, he imagined, enjoyed an ideal home life, for they were “protected [by both father and mother] and fed and to some extent educated.” Muir’s ouzel — the subject of one of his best-known animal essays — died without “gloom,” vanishing “like a flower, or a foam-bell at the foot of a waterfall.” Another of his favorites, the Douglas squirrel, was depicted as being “as free from disease as a sunbeam.” Even his grasshopper was a “jolly fellow,” full of “glad, hilarious energy.” In the life of this insect, “every day is a holiday; and when at length his sun sets, . . . he will cuddle down on the forest floor and die like the leaves and the flowers, leaving no unsightly remains for burial.”³⁵

It would be a mistake, however, to label Muir’s view of the animal world “sentimental.” For all his observations of benevolence, he had come to recognize that wild creatures can be dangerous: throughout his travels, Muir recorded his fear of bears, wolves, and alligators. But unlike his contemporaries, he refused to evaluate animal behavior by man’s standards. “[I]t is right,” Muir claimed, that creatures “make use of one another”; what bothered him was the spirit in which most humans use other animals. The ego-



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Drawing of an alligator eating a man from John Muir's [1867-1868] journal which he carried on his thousand-mile walk to the Gulf.

centric assurance that the earth was made only for the pleasure and convenience of humans is "not supported by the facts," he argued in his journal. (In the published version, this passage was amended to read "by all the facts.") What about the carnivores, he asked, who "smack their lips over raw man?" Speculation concerning the purpose of these troublesome beasts irritated Muir, who could not see why man should "value himself as more than a small part of the one great unit of creation."³⁶

Such sentiments have earned Muir an association with modern-day biocentrism. Perceiving the interconnectedness of living things, he noted the importance of maintaining ecological balance. Like Aldo Leopold, Muir denounced predator control: in one unpublished essay describing a jack rabbit hunt in the San Joaquin Valley, he pointed out that ranchers would not be plagued by the overpopulation of rodents had they not destroyed the "snakes and hawks and coyotes." Yet Muir differed from biocentrists in his emphasis upon the singularity of animals. Leopold, for example, was more concerned in the 1930s and 40s with the health of the biotic community than with the welfare of individual creatures. In contrast, Muir was convinced that despite "universal union there is a division sufficient in degree for the purposes of the most intense individuality; no matter, therefore, what may be the note which any creature forms in the song of existence, it is made first for itself, then more and more remotely for all the world and worlds." Each animal, he concluded, has "rights that we are bound to respect."³⁷

Muir's "intense love of animals" was, according to his friend Henry Fairfield Osborn, one of his striking characteristics.³⁸ So strong was his interest that in 1910 he began writing another animal book, which was never completed. Certainly the uniqueness of Muir's subjects, which he believed to be essential to their "pure wildness," added to the charm of his writing.³⁹ The recent reissuing of the story of Stickeen in paperback attests to the growing appeal of his portrayals of animals.

NOTES:

1. Linnie Marsh Wolfe, editor, *John of the Mountains* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1915), p. 277. Neither Stephen Fox's *John Muir and His Legacy: The American Conservation Movement* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1981) nor Michael P. Cohen's *The Pathless Way: John Muir and American Wilderness* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984) devote much space to Muir's portrayal of animals.
2. John F. Reiger, *American Sportsmen and the Origin of Conservation* (New York: Winchester Press, 1975) and James B. Trefethen, *An American Crusade for Wildlife* (New York: Winchester Press, 1975).
3. Edwin Way Teale, editor, *The Wilderness World of John Muir* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1954), p. 314.
4. As early as 1872, Muir wrote about the rights of animals in an unpublished essay entitled "Bears," John Muir Papers, University of the Pacific, Stockton, California. See also William Frederic Badè, editor, *Steep Trails* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1918), pp. 45 and 50; John Muir, *My First Summer in the Sierra* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1916), p. 190; *The Wilderness World of John Muir*, p. 314.
5. *John of the Mountains*, p. 97; *My First Summer in the Sierra*, pp. 78-79.
6. Thomas Stanley, "The New Humanitarianism," *Westminster Review* 155 (April, 1901): 414-423. See also John Henry Barrows, "The Spirit of Humanity," *Independent* 51 (28 December 1899): 3, 468, and James Turner, *Reckoning with the Beast: Animals, Pain, and Humanity in the Victorian Mind* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980).
7. Howard Moore, *Better-World Philosophy: A Sociological Synthesis* (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr, 1899; 1906). See also Howard Moore, *The Universal Kinship* (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr, 1908).
8. Zulma Steele, *Angel in Top Hat* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1942), p. 278.
9. Henry Salt, *Animals' Rights* (New York: MacWillan, 1892), pp. 94 and 43. See also George Hendrick, *Henry Salt: Humanitarian Reformer and Man of Letters* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977).
10. John Muir, *The Story of My Boyhood and Youth* (1912; Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1965), p. 69.
11. *Animals' Rights*, pp. 22, 42, and 60.
12. Stephen Winsten, *Salt and His Circle* (New York: Hutchinson and Company, 1951), p. 67.
13. John Muir, *Our National Parks* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1901), pp. 174-178.
14. *Our National Parks*, pp. 213 and 222; Frederic R. Gunsby, editor, *South of Yosemite: Selected Writings of John Muir* (Garden City, New Jersey: Natural History Press, 1968), p. 182.
15. *The Story of My Boyhood and Youth*, p. 122.
16. *My First Summer in the Sierra*, p. 114; *South of Yosemite*, p. 131; *Steep Trails*, pp. 3-18.
17. *South of Yosemite*, p. 173.
18. Muir's pets were described in Sally Johnson Ketcham's interview with Helen Funk Muir, recounted in the Furnishing Plan (1971) for the John Muir National Historic Site, Martinez, California. See also *The Story of My Boyhood and Youth*, p. 149; *John of the Mountains*, p. 277; John Muir, *Travels in Alaska* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1915), p. 256.
19. *The Story of My Boyhood and Youth*, p. 89.
20. *The Story of My Boyhood and Youth*, pp. 74-75.
21. The story of Llewellyn's dog is recounted in far more detail in the Pelican Bay Manuscript — the original version of this work — at the University of the Pacific, Stockton, California. See also *The Story of My Boyhood and Youth*, pp. 6 and 66; *My First Summer in the Sierra*, p. 6.
22. *The Story of My Boyhood and Youth*, p. 145; *Travels in Alaska*, p. 256.
23. *Angel in Top Hat*, pp. 236-37.
24. *Animals' Rights*, p. 54.
25. Howard Williams, *The Ethics of Diet: A Biographical History of the Literature of Humane Dietetics, from the Earliest Period to the Present Day* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1896), title page.
26. Peter Singer, *Animal Liberation: A New Ethics for Our Treatment of Animals* (New York Review Book, 1975), p. 252. See also *Angel in Top Hat*, pp. 189-190.
27. William T. Hornaday, *Our Vanishing Wildlife: Its Extermination and Preservation* (New York Zoological Society, 1913), pp. 80-81; William T. Hornaday, *Wild Animal Round-Up: Stories and Pictures from the Passing Show* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925), p. 281.
28. As quoted in Stanley Paul Young, *The Wolf in North American History* (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, 1946).
29. *The Wolf in North American History*, p. 30.

30. Joseph Grinnell, "Animal Life as an Asset to National Parks," *Science* 44 (15 September 1916), p. 378. See also "The Value of a Varmint," in Donald Worster, *Nature's Economy: The Roots of Ecology* (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1977), pp. 258-290 and Thomas R. Dunlap, "Values for Varmints: Predator Control and Environmental Ideas, 1920-1939," *Pacific Historical Review* 53 (May, 1984), p. 145.
31. *Our National Parks*, pp. 208 and 204; *My First Summer in the Sierra*, p. 142.
32. *Our National Parks*, pp. 172-173; *South of Yosemite*, p. 119.
33. John Muir, Florida and Cuba Journal; coyote manuscript, John Muir Papers, University of the Pacific, Stockton, California.
34. John Muir *A Thousand-Mile Walk to the Gulf* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1916), p. 98; *John of the Mountains*, pp. 82 and 93. See also Lisa Mighetto, "Science, Sentiment, and Anxiety: American Nature Writing at the Turn of the Century," *Pacific Historical Review*, 54 (February, 1985), pp. 33-50 and *The Pathless Way: John Muir and American Wilderness*, pp. 179-181.
35. *My First Summer in the Sierra*, pp. 96, 68, and 139-141; *John of the Mountains*, p. 165.
36. *A Thousand-Mile Walk to the Gulf*, pp. 136-139.
37. "Animals," John Muir Papers, University of the Pacific, Stockton, California. *The Story of My Boyhood and Youth*, p. 89; *Steep Trails*, p. 12.
38. Henry Fairfield Osborn, "John Muir," *Sierra Club Bulletin* 10 (January, 1916), p. 31.
39. *Steep Trails*, p. 18.