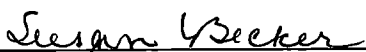


To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Erik Shane Loomis entitled "The Cultural Origins of Wildlife Conservation: A Crisis in Gender Roles, 1885-1915." I have examined the final copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment for the degree of Master of Arts, with a major in History.


Susan Becker, Major Professor

We have read this thesis
and recommend its acceptance:




Accepted for the Council:


Associate Vice Chancellor and
Dean of the Graduate School

**THE CULTURAL ORIGINS OF WILDLIFE CONSERVATION:
A CRISIS IN GENDER ROLES, 1885-1915**

A Thesis
Presented for the
Master of Arts
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Erik Shane Loomis
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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to explore why Progressive era men were interested in conservation and to show how ideas of gender have informed history. The research focused on Forest and Stream, a sportsmen's journal of the Progressive era, as well as the published writings of George Bird Grinnell and Theodore Roosevelt. These materials were analyzed to see if there was a connection between the Progressives' emphasis on conservation and a perceived crisis in masculinity during the period. For sportsmen hunters, at least, the evidence shows that there was.

The great changes of the late nineteenth century placed the status of middle and upper class men of the period in flux. Industrialization, urbanization, immigration, the nature of the corporate workplace, changes in the role of women in society, and the closing of the frontier created anxiety for middle and upper class men, who saw their place as the natural head of society as well as their masculinity threatened. These changes led these men to look for new ways to define themselves as men. Among the outlets for this anxiety were organized sports, imperialism, war, and hunting. However, at the same time as these men were embracing hunting, the great herds of buffalo and other animals were being wiped out. Progressives were greatly concerned by this depletion in wild animals because they considered hunting so vital to their manhood as well as the future of the nation. This led them to look to protect game in the wild. Protection of game would allow them to hunt, therefore defining themselves as men as well as teaching their children manly virtues that was considered necessary for survival in modern society.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction	1
Chapter One: Crisis: Changing Gender Roles, The Closing of the Frontier, and Sportsmen Hunters.....	10
Chapter Two: Renewing Health and Saving Boys Through Exposure to Nature and Manly Men.....	27
Chapter Three: True Manhood, the Savage Instinct, and War	50
Conclusion	79
Bibliography	82
Vita	89

INTRODUCTION

Theodore Roosevelt wrote of hunting that "the chase...cultivates that vigorous manliness for the lack of which in a nation, as in an individual, the possession of no other qualities can possibly atone."¹ The opportunity for the chase was disappearing in the late nineteenth century, however, as professional hunters, habitat loss, and the fashion markets decimated wildlife throughout the nation. If hunting were so important in defining the nation's character, what would happen when the opportunity to hunt was gone? Many late nineteenth century upper-middle and upper class men attempted to preserve these experiences for themselves and future generations through a program of conservation.

Historians have demonstrated that the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were a time of great change in the United States. Urbanization, large-scale industrialization, and massive immigration, especially from eastern and southern Europe, revolutionized American society. After the Civil War, urbanization increased rapidly until, by 1920, over half of the American people lived in cities. With the rise of large metropolises such as New York and Chicago came crime, disease, and overcrowded conditions. Thousands died in epidemics that swept the filthy and densely populated

¹ Theodore Roosevelt, The Wilderness Hunter: An Account of the Big Game of the United States and Its Chase with Horse, Hound, and Rifle. (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1893), 11.

areas of these cities. In addition, costly fires frequently destroyed large parts of cities.

Population often outgrew infrastructure and poverty was rampant.²

Another factor leading to the deteriorating conditions in cities was the rapid increase in immigration after 1880. Between 1870 and 1910, an unprecedented tide of twenty-one million people immigrated to the United States from Europe. Unlike most previous waves of immigration, the majority of immigrants were not Anglo-Saxon Protestants. These new immigrants came from eastern and southern Europe and were Catholics, Eastern Orthodox, or Jews. Many of these immigrants settled in large cities, overwhelming their infrastructure and leading to gross overcrowding and unsafe conditions. As concerned as Americans were about the conditions in the cities, they were equally concerned with the ethnic makeup of these people. Many Americans reacted against the new immigrants through fears about race suicide and about foreign political movements such as communism and anarchism.³

The third great social change of the late nineteenth century was large-scale industrialization. The period after the Civil War saw the rise of great industries such as steel, meatpacking, and railroads. The nearly non-existent business regulations of the Gilded Age allowed for these industries to become increasingly dominated by only a few companies. Such oligarchies proved deadly to many small businesses, which could not compete with the new technology and ability to mass-produce cheap goods. These

² John Whiteclay Chambers, The Tyranny of Change: America in the Progressive Era, 1890-1920. 2d ed. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992) 17-19.

³ Ibid. 11-17.

products were made in large factories, sometimes where thousands of workers were employed. Factories were often located in or around large cities and employed many of the new immigrants, thus exacerbating the problems of urban overcrowding and uncontrolled immigration in the minds of many Americans. The unsafe working conditions in these factories led to worker unrest and unionization attempts; industrialists intensely resisted unionization during this period. However, worker unrest led to increased fear among old-stock Americans of foreign political radicalism and threats to traditional American values.⁴

Among the varied responses to the great changes of urbanization, immigration, and industrialization were the movements known collectively as Progressivism. This movement spread among many middle and upper class Americans who saw the social order threatened. Historian Richard Hofstadter saw the key to understanding the Progressive movement as a "status revolution" where people reacted to the changes of the period because they believed their standing in society was threatened by the new, very wealthy industrialists. They also feared the very poor. Samuel Hays argues in his synthesis of the period that Americans living in this age were exposed to massive changes and organized to oppose or to moderate the effects of industrialization. Historian Robert Wiebe described the Progressive impulse as an attempt to produce modern bureaucratic values to organize a society in disorder due to the breakdown of the old values of the "island communities." Other historians have expanded upon this model, including John

⁴ An excellent description of the rise of industrialism is found in Ibid., 19-24.

W. Chambers, who argues that Progressives were fighting against a “tyranny of change.” They moved on an “interventionist impulse” that made them intervene in the workings of society in order to control it. This was a great change from previous laissez-faire notions of how society was meant to function.⁵

Progressives wished to reform society on all fronts: political, social, and, economic. While not unified in one single movement, Progressives shared the idea that a combination of government and private action should ensure that fair standards exist in society. Thus, while Progressivism was characterized by shifting reform alliances and disagreements over certain issues, Progressives generally believed in these values. Excess, both from the lower classes and from big business, should be restrained and the opportunity for individual achievement assured. They also generally believed in pragmatic solutions to the problems of society, eschewing utopian and radical ideas. Progressives also strongly believed in the idea that environment formed people. Thus, they tended to focus their reforms on changing the environment of people in order to uplift them. This ideology informed such Progressive reforms as settlement houses, Americanization programs, and the conservation movement.

Progressives tended to be middle and upper class. They also were usually white and Protestant. Thus, they were the decent, honorable people of America. This gave their

⁵ Richard Hofstadter, The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R. (New York: Vintage Books, 1955), 131-73; Samuel Hays, The Response to Industrialism, 1885-1914. 2d ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); Robert Wiebe, The Search for Order, 1877-1920. (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967); Chambers, The Tyranny of Change.

reform causes an era of respectability not given to earlier reform movements such as Populism.

The Progressive era saw the birth of many new social, political, and economic movements. Among the notable legislative achievements in social reform was the establishment of the Children's Bureau in 1912, the Keating-Owen Federal Child Labor Act in 1916, and Prohibition in 1919. Political reforms included women's suffrage, direct election of U.S. senators, and initiative, referendum, and recall. Major economic changes included the passage of the Sixteenth Amendment, allowing for a federal income tax, the Federal Reserve Act of 1913, and laws regulating the hours of workers.

Taken as a whole, the Progressive reforms attempted to bring order into a society perceived to be in disorder. Urbanization caused massive overcrowding and filthy conditions; thus social settlements and other urban programs such as the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) and the Boy Scouts developed in order to alleviate the conditions. Immigration allowed masses of people perceived to be of lower stock and poorly educated to enter American society. Anti-immigration legislation, literacy and Americanization programs, and Prohibition were intended to fight the threat of disorder these immigrants supposedly brought to society. Industrialization led to corporate dominance of society as well as potentially dangerous worker unrest. In response to this, Progressives tried to limit the amount of influence business could have over society through regulation, worker safety laws, legislation regulating work hours, and increased voter control over politics.

An important part of the Progressive emphasis on order was disdain for waste. Waste was to be avoided whether it was inefficiency in the workplace, exploitation of children, or government corruption. A particular emphasis for many Progressives in the fight against disorder and waste was in the natural world. Progressives saw economic resources being wasted and ruined for the sake of quick profits. Forests were inefficiently cut, miners were losing great amounts of the minerals due to poor extraction methods, and water was flowing freely when it could be used to irrigate crops. The movement in this time period to use America's natural resources efficiently became known as conservation.

Historian Samuel Hays, in his seminal history of the conservation movement, Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency, defines conservation as "a scientific movement...Its essence was rational planning to promote efficient development and use of all natural resources."⁶ This is to date the most accurate depiction of the conservation movement by a historian. The early conservationists were greatly concerned with science and finding out as much about the natural world as possible. As Hays repeatedly shows, they were also interested in the efficient use of natural resources in order to maximize profits without wasting the resources. This was a major step in the history of conservation and preservation because, for the first time, those in control of American political and financial institutions recognized that the country's resources were not endless and needed

⁶ Samuel Hays, Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency: The Progressive Conservation Movement, 1890-1920. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959). 2.

to be preserved for the use of future generations. This was done with the use of scientists who would best decide how to use resources. The conservationists wanted, although Hays claims they did not consciously realize it, "a political system guided by the ideal of efficiency and dominated by the technicians who could best determine how to achieve it."⁷

One of the strongest forces in the conservationist movement in these years were sportsmen hunters. For reasons that will be discussed later, hunting became a very popular activity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century among middle and upper class men. Sportsmen hunters actively pursued conservation measures during these years in order to preserve hunting for themselves and for future generations. While many sportsmen supported measures to use the land for economic gain, they also worked to preserve land and fight measures which would deplete wildlife or wildlife habitat. For sportsmen, the preservation of wildlife was the most important environmental issue. Sportsmen might support other aims of the conservation movement, but wildlife preservation was vital to the survival of the nation. Thus, any measure that would lead to the preservation of wildlife and wildlife habitat was supported during the Progressive era.

Despite the importance of Hays' thesis, he deals little with sportsmen hunters and few works have corrected this omission in the historical record. James B. Trefethen's An American Crusade for Wildlife is useful for general knowledge on the conservation movement and for specific information on the preservation of various species, but offers

⁷ Ibid., 3.

little in the way of original interpretation.⁸ Somewhat more useful is American Sportsmen and the Origins of Conservation, by John F. Reiger. Reiger argues that sportsmen hunters were vital to the conservation movement as they placed the full force of their money and very real influence behind measures to protect wildlife. While Reiger's work is damaged by his obvious pro-hunting bias, it is still useful to show how sportsmen worked for conservation measures in the Progressive era.⁹ Finally, one dissertation which is somewhat useful is George Baxter Ward's "Bloodbrothers in the Wilderness: The Sport Hunter and Buckskin Hunter in the Preservation of the American Wilderness Experience." Ward shows how sport hunters looked up to old-fashioned wilderness hunters and tried to preserve the wilderness in order to have the opportunity to emulate their heroes.¹⁰

What will be explored in this thesis is the relationship between sportsmen's support of wildlife conservation and a perceived crisis in masculinity during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Did such a relationship exist and, if it did, then how was sportsmen's support for conservation affected by it? Not only does this topic allow the historian to consider why these men were so interested in conservation, but also how they dealt with changing gender roles in the period. This topic will be explored through analyzing Forest and Stream, the most important sportsman's journal of the

⁸ James B. Trefethen, An American Crusade for Wildlife. (New York: Winchester Press, 1975).

⁹ John F. Reiger, American Sportsmen and the Origins of Conservation. (New York: Winchester Press, 1975).

¹⁰ George Baxter Ward III, "Bloodbrothers in the Wilderness: The Sport Hunter and Buckskin Hunter in the Preservation of the American Wilderness Experience." Ph.D. Diss., University of Texas, 1980.

period, as well as selected writings from two leading figures in the conservation movement of the period. The first is George Bird Grinnell, editor of Forest and Stream for much of the period discussed. He also wrote a series of children's books that explore the relationship between hunting, nature, and the manly ideal. Writings from Theodore Roosevelt will also be used. Roosevelt enacted a number of conservation measures in his time as President and was a lifelong supporter of conservation. He was the founder of the Boone and Crockett Club, a society of elite sportsmen, and published many volumes of writings that explore both conservation and manliness.

This thesis will argue that the conservation movement was largely a reaction by middle and upper class men to what they perceived as an increasingly feminized world. Men reacted to this in many different ways. One major way was through a renewed interest in hunting as a manly experience that was vital to preserving the nation's character and manhood.

Chapter 1 of the thesis focuses on the two major changes of the Progressive Era that had the greatest impact upon sportsmen hunters: changing gender roles and the closing of the frontier. Chapter 2 explores the use of the wilderness in rejuvenating health and the necessity of the wilderness and hunting to socialize young boys into men. Chapter 3 looks at adult men's need to be able to experience their more primitive, savage selves and develop the characteristics of warriors. One way that men could do this was through hunting in the wilderness.

CHAPTER 1: CRISIS: CHANGING GENDER ROLES, THE CLOSING OF THE FRONTIER, AND SPORTSMEN HUNTERS

Among the major changes in American society preceding the Progressive era were shifting gender roles. Historians have effectively argued that the Victorian era was a time of changing sexual mores in America. Early America was a masculine world where men dominated politics, business, culture, and society and the role of women was largely restricted to the home. The Victorian era witnessed the beginnings of increased possibilities and opportunities for women in many facets of American life.

Perhaps the most significant and successful area of women's advancement was in higher education. The late Victorian era witnessed the first generation of college educated women, although these women had few options in a male-dominated society. One common response of educated women to their restricted opportunities was to lapse into neurasthenia, a condition common to the late nineteenth century middle and upper classes which is best described as nervous prostration. People of this period, both men and women, were afflicted with neurasthenia as they suffered anxiety over their rapidly changing world.¹ Neurasthenia, historians John S. and Robin M. Haller have argued, can be seen as part of the efforts by urban women to break out of their traditional roles as guardians of the home and family.²

¹ John S. and Robin M. Haller. The Physician and Sexuality in Victorian America. (New York: Norton, 1974), xiv, 24-43. See also T.J. Jackson Lears, No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981).

² Haller and Haller, The Physician and Sexuality in Victorian America, 24.

Yet neurasthenia was by no means the only response of educated urban women to society's shackles. During the late Victorian and Progressive periods, women found new ways to exert power in society. Women were active in reform movements such as prohibition and urban reform. They became leaders in campaigns for improved schools and Americanization programs for immigrants. Perhaps most significantly, they also fought for voting rights throughout the period. Some women even went as far as to break into traditionally male-only workplaces and professions. More traditional women pursued self-education and moderate reform efforts through organizations such as the Women's Christian Temperance Union and other female organizations affiliated with the General Federation of Women's Clubs.³

The rapid changes in society during the late nineteenth century led to anxiety among middle and upper class men, for their place at the top of society was threatened. In addition to urbanization, immigration, and industrialization, these men also had to cope with changing gender roles. As women became more assertive of their rights and expectations, men became threatened. Men saw the decline of separate spheres as a threat to their masculinity. Under the perception that their status at the top of society was eroding and that their dominance at home and in the workplace was declining, many men began to wonder if they were not becoming feminized. Another aspect to this angst over encroaching feminization was the nature of work in the new industrial society. How was

³ E. Anthony Rotundo, American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era. (New York: Harper-Collins, 1993), 250; Robin Muncy, Creating a Female Dominion of Reform, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

one to act manly in a bureaucratic workplace? Opportunity for rugged individualism in the new conglomerates that dominated American economic life was diminishing. With individual worth so tied up in individual economic success, it was natural for these men to see the new workplace as a threat to their manhood.⁴

All of these changes and anxieties led men in the late nineteenth century to look for new ways to define their manhood. With the old ways disappearing, men were concerned over remaining masculine, assertive, and independent individuals. How could men redefine themselves as masculine in an increasingly feminized and stratified world? One increasingly common means of masculine identification was through organized sports.

Perhaps the most significant manly sport was boxing. Boxing has a long history in America but it was only in the late nineteenth century that it became accepted and encouraged among the middle and upper classes. Boxing metamorphosed from bare-knuckled matches lacking rigid rules to an accepted and "civilized" sport under the Marquis of Queensbury rules.⁵ Historian Elliott J. Gorn has directly linked the growing popularity of boxing to the crisis of masculinity in the upper and middle classes, arguing that the modern workplace and increased power of women threatened men with

⁴ Peter Filene, Him/Her/Self: Sex Roles in Modern America. 2d ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1986), 71-74.

⁵ Elliott J. Gorn, The Manly Art: Bare-Knuckle Prize Fighting in America. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), 194-206.

feminization.⁶ The led to the image of boxing changing from that of lower class savages beating each other senseless to the “manly art of self defense.”⁷

Other masculine sports also gained in popularity and respectability in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Football and baseball were seen as especially good for young men because they taught skills needed to survive in the new industrial world. Baseball particularly was seen as a positive building experience for boys and young men, historian Peter Filene argues. Baseball, he writes, “demanded qualities closely resembling the Victorian manly code: honesty, physical fitness, courage, initiative, self-control, teamwork.”⁸ Football, while too violent for some, also gained acceptance for much the same reasons. Organized sports provided boys and young men the opportunity and ability to prove their manliness in a society where this was difficult.

Organized sports also provided a simulation of war for men of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The threatened and defensive men of this period perceived war as another way to prove their masculinity. War was an area that heretofore had not been taken over by machines and where individual achievement and advancement was possible if courage and initiative were shown. It was also an arena where women could not participate. As the United States did not fight a large-scale war between 1865 and 1917, men did not have the opportunity to use war to prove their manliness. The Spanish-American War of 1898 only added to the romanticism of war, as is seen by the

⁶ Ibid., 192-93.

⁷ Harvey Green, Fit For America: Health, Fitness, Sport, and American Society. (New York: Pantheon Press, 1986), 208.

⁸ Filene, Him/Her/Self, 95.

fascination with Theodore Roosevelt's Rough Riders. Nor did contemporaries view the Filipino War as a large-scale war; rather it was a conflict against an insurgent rebellion of savage people. Thus, without the opportunity to fight a real war, the passion for battle among these men manifested itself in other activities designed to simulate the military experience. Organized sports, hunting, imperialism, and militarism were among these activities.⁹ Boxing, for example, was seen as a way for young men to harness their anger and turn it to good use, while football was a way to learn self-reliance, rapid thinking, self discipline and willpower. All these skills were useful in war.¹⁰

Some reformers of the period even analyzed the passion of boys for sports, and concluded that this passion was the result of primordial savage urges coming to the fore. Organized sports played by adolescent boys were described as a combination of the hunting instinct and the instinct for co-operation. Boys playing sports were compared to savages hunting in groups under the leadership of a chieftain.¹¹ These attitudes continued to reinforce the passion for warlike activities until the horrible realities of World War I shattered this romanticized view of war.

⁹ Rotundo, American Manhood, 232-40.

¹⁰ Peter N. Stearns, "Men, Boys, and Anger in American Society, 1860-1940," in J.A. Mangan and James Walvin, eds. Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), 84; Roberta J. Park, "Biological Thought, Athletics, and the Formation of a 'Man of Character,'" 1830-1900, in J.A. Mangan and James Walvin, eds. Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), 22-23, 27-28.

¹¹ Benjamin G. Rader, "The Recapitulation Theory of Play: Motor Behavior, Moral Reflexes, and Manly Attitudes in Urban America, 1880-1920," in J.A. Mangan and James Walvin, eds. Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987; 123-24.

Linked to the passion for such activities as sports, hunting, and war was racism.

Another way that white middle and upper class men of the Progressive period defined themselves as men was to denigrate and oppress other races and ethnic groups. Activities such as sports and hunting were largely ways to prove the Anglo-Saxon "race" to be superior to blacks and the new immigrants from eastern and southern Europe. Part of the fear that men had in the Progressive era was that the race was being subsumed by hordes of new immigrants, and that unless something was done quickly, the Anglo-Saxon race and the future of the country were in peril. The combination of all these fears and prejudices is perhaps best stated as the fear of "unmanly overcivilized racial decadence."¹² What was needed to overcome this failure was for men to throw off the effeminate shackles that society was placing upon them. The way to do this was to engage in masculine activities such as sports and hunting in order to rejuvenate the Anglo-Saxon race and restore themselves to their rightful place at the top of American society.¹³ In fact, men argued that it was morally right for them to engage in these activities because they needed to save the Anglo-Saxon race.

The Progressive period was the heyday of scientific racism. Eugenics, the science of race breeding, was very popular at this time. Eugenicists argued that people were

¹² Gail Bederman, Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 185-87.

¹³ John Higham, "The Origins of Modern Consciousness in the 1890s" in John Weiss, ed. The Origins of Modern Consciousness. (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1965), 28-29; Gorn, The Manly Art, 185-89; James C. Whorton, Crusaders for Fitness: The History of American Health Reformers. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982); Rotundo, American Manhood, 227-32, 241-42; Green, Fit For America.

biologically different, with Anglo-Saxon races at the top of the scale and darker-skinned races below. The intermixing of these races would pollute the Anglo-Saxon race and bring down the white world. The Immigration Restriction League, among others, used this "science" to argue that the United States needed to restrict immigration of lesser peoples in order to save itself. On a more positive note, eugenicists argued that Americans could improve their racial stock by encouraging immigration from Anglo-Saxon nations.¹⁴ Social Darwinism was also used to classify the new immigrants and peoples of other races. Social Darwinists argued that the poor and those at the bottom of society were there because they were lesser people than those at the top were. Social Darwinism was also used to justify anti-immigration legislation as well as the oppression of African-Americans and the poor. Progressives were quite fond of lists and charts rating the various "races" according to how evolved they were. Of course, Anglo-Saxons were invariably at the top of these rankings.¹⁵

One additional great change took place in the late nineteenth century that informed the conservation movement. This was the perceived closing of the frontier. The period following the Civil War saw great migrations to the last areas of the nation unpopulated by large numbers of whites, the Great Plains and the West. By 1890, enough people had moved to these regions that the United States Census Bureau declared the frontier closed. While there were still enormous areas of land unsettled and unclaimed by

¹⁴ John Higham, Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1955), 150-53.

¹⁵ Ibid. 135-36; Bederman, Manliness and Civilization.

whites for many years following 1890, the feeling was that a key experience in American history was lost. The closing of the frontier brought great anxiety to men of the period. This is personified in Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis, presented at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893.¹⁶ Historian Richard Slotkin argues that there were two basic reactions to the closing of the frontier among middle and upper class men. The first was a "populist" reaction, and Frederick Jackson Turner was the great spokesman for this view. Influenced by his Wisconsin upbringing, Turner believed the frontier was the repository of democratic and agrarian values. His was a gentle view of the frontier as a place where the wonderful aspects of America were born.

While historians today believe that the "Frontier Thesis" is very significant, Slotkin argues that, in the 1890s, Turner was in the minority. Others saw the closing of the frontier in an even darker light than Turner did. Theodore Roosevelt's view was the more common one. Roosevelt believed that the frontier was where America picked up its manly virtues of courage, self-sacrifice, independence, and assertiveness. The frontier was inhabited by manly pioneers whose militaristic traits cleared the frontier of savage Indians and allowed Americans, the supreme race, to inhabit the country. With the frontier disappearing, Roosevelt and many others were concerned about how America would continue on its road to supremacy. All of America's manly values came from the frontier, and with that gone, how could Americans be strong men? Roosevelt's view was

¹⁶ Frederick Jackson Turner, The Significance of the Frontier in American History. (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Inc., 1966).

charged with violence, warlike language and beliefs, and a heavily racialized view of history. His emphasis on the acquisition of manly virtues in the wilderness will be explored more thoroughly here through analysis of his published hunting writings.¹⁷

The closing of the frontier brought all the great changes of the late nineteenth century into focus for many American men. A widespread perception existed that the frontier was key to sustaining American democracy because the nation's malcontents had traditionally moved to unsettled, healthier, agrarian areas rather than stay in overcrowded, dirty, unsafe cities and cause problems. Without this safety valve, what would the nation do with its lower sorts? The frontier was also supposed to cure immigrants of their Old World ways and make them into hardy, democratic Americans. Without the frontier, how would immigrants become Americanized?

The closing of the frontier also caused habitat loss for wildlife. This was particularly important for middle and upper class American men whose world was rapidly changing in the late nineteenth century. These men looked at hunting as a new way to define themselves as masculine because so many of the old ways were undermined by the great changes of the period. But hunting was now being undermined as well by the settling of the frontier and the massacre of animals for the market. Hunting was seen as necessary for Americans to prove their manhood as well as to have an experience which was vital for America's development: the frontier life. Sportsmen,

¹⁷ Richard Slotkin, Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth-Century America. (New York: Harper-Collins, 1992), 29-62.

therefore, supported conservation in order to protect and preserve the hunting experience as one of the defining characteristics of the American male.

As is common among people of similar interests during this era, sportsmen organized and formed publications promoting their common activities. The leading publication for middle and upper class sportsmen of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was Forest and Stream, which began publication in 1873 with Charles W. Hallock as editor. While it has been difficult to discover circulation numbers for the journal during the period studied, 42,583 people subscribed to Forest and Stream in 1921.¹⁸ Thus, the magazine did have a sizeable following. Forest and Stream was seen as "high class," according to the historian of journalism, Frank L. Mott.¹⁹ The journal in its early years was primarily a genteel publication for gentlemen, focusing primarily on upper class sports such as yachting and hunting with hounds. While it was concerned to some extent with conservation, a significant fact in itself, this was not its major emphasis. In fact, in its early years Forest and Stream did not really reflect the issues and temper of the day as it would later. The turning point for Forest and Stream was in 1885 when George Bird Grinnell took over the editorship of the journal.

George Bird Grinnell was born in 1849 to a wealthy New York family. Grinnell's first exposure to conservation came as a child, at the home of the John James Audubon family, where he spent a great deal of time observing the specimens of the naturalist and

¹⁸ N.W. Ayer & Sons. Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals. (Philadelphia: N.W. Ayer & Sons, Inc, 1921), 669.

¹⁹ Frank Luther Mott, A History of American Magazines, Vol III, 1865-1885. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957), 210.

going on little nature expeditions. In 1870, Grinnell accompanied the paleontological expedition of Professor Othniel C. Marsh. This spurred the young man's interest in the West and conservation, particularly the protection of wildlife and Indian cultures. In 1885, Grinnell took over the editorship of Forest and Stream, and made it into one of the nation's leading advocates of wildlife conservation. Grinnell also founded the first Audubon Society in 1886. While this experiment was short-lived, it was soon followed up by another Audubon Society that, while not led by Grinnell, certainly had his support and that of Forest and Stream. Grinnell was also a founding member of the Boone and Crockett Club, an elite group of sportsmen hunters who formed to promote conservation and hunting in a sportsmanlike manner. After 1900, Grinnell's major focus, other than the editorship of Forest and Stream, was the formation of Glacier National Park, which was established in 1910, and the documentation of Plains Indian cultures. From the beginnings of his editorship at Forest and Stream in 1885 until the 1920s, George Bird Grinnell was a leader in conservation battles.²⁰

Under Grinnell's editorial lead, Forest and Stream consisted of travel stories under the rubric of "The Sportsmen Tourist," hunting stories, natural history, and coverage of canoeing, yachting, and shooting contests. Included in most of these sections were a great many letters to the editor detailing the hunting conditions in certain areas,

²⁰ Edward Day Harris, III. "Preserving a Vision of the American West: The Life of George Bird Grinnell." Ph.D. Diss., University of Texas-Austin, 1995.

commenting on the conservation movement, replying to previous articles or letters, and giving interesting insights or stories on some aspect of the hunting experience.

Under Grinnell, the journal soon became a leading advocate for conservation. In fact, nearly every week the editorials in the journal dealt with conservation issues of immediate importance, often in local areas where problems had developed. For Grinnell and other sportsmen, conservation meant primarily wildlife and habitat preservation.²¹ While other conservation issues such as efficient use of forests and mines or development of waterways were often of some interest to sportsmen, their primary interest was in how these developments would affect wildlife. Wildlife needed to be saved in order to preserve the hunting experience for future generations. The matter was of such vital importance to sportsmen that it subsumed other areas of the conservation movement for them.

It is not easy to gather specific information on who the people were who subscribed to and wrote for Forest and Stream. Many articles were written under pseudonyms; real names were rarely revealed. There were many signed letters to the editor printed in the journal, but the writers were obscure and difficult to identify. Attempts to search names of Forest and Stream correspondents and those who wrote letters into the journal through such sources as Who's Who in America and the New York Times Obituary Index have proven frustrating and nearly fruitless. Yet, certain general characteristics can be seen in the sportsmen hunters who subscribed and wrote for

²¹ Reiger, American Sportsmen and the Origins of Conservation, 52.

the journal. First of all, in order to be a sportsmen hunter, one needed the time to do so. This limited the possibility to those who are in the middle and upper classes. Often, the trips described in the journal took weeks. Only the elite few could afford this kind of time away from work, not to mention the expenses involved. Forest and Stream also attracted contributions from scientists and naturalists who were interested in animals for many reasons, including hunting and science. Subscribers to the journal were from around the country. While there was a concentration in the Northeast, letters to the editor came from across the nation. Finally, there was an emphasis on gentlemen in Forest and Stream that precludes many hunters from their ranks. None are professional hunters, as this was seen as bad and destructive to the purposes of conservation. All are literate, as the magazine certainly has a high brow tone to it. Finally, while the price of four dollars a year for a subscription in 1902 was not outrageous, it was certainly out of the price range of many lower class people who might have hunted for enjoyment or for necessity.

The other individual who will be considered in this thesis is Theodore Roosevelt. Like Grinnell and the contributors and subscribers to Forest and Stream, Roosevelt was very strongly in favor conservation. Like Grinnell, he came from an upper class New York background and developed an interest in conservation through nature trips as a child. In the 1880s, after the death of his first wife, Roosevelt moved to a ranch in Dakota Territory. There he oversaw the workings of his ranch, tried to work as a cowboy, and went on many hunting trips. He gave up the ranch after a few years and returned to life in the East, but never lost his passion for hunting nor his interest in conservation. He helped

found the Boone and Crockett Club in 1887 with George Bird Grinnell and supported conservation efforts across the country. After becoming President of the United States in 1901, Roosevelt used his power to push conservation on a national scale. Among his major efforts as President were the conservation of the national forests through the creation of a national forest system, the Newlands Reclamation Act, which aimed to irrigate desert land in order to make it arable, and the creation of numerous national parks and monuments. He frequently corresponded with George Bird Grinnell and worked with the conservation movement until his death in 1919.²²

Sportsmen hunters were key to the rise of the conservation movement in the late nineteenth century. This is particularly true for attempts to preserve wildlife. The preservation of wildlife was vital to sportsmen hunters for many reasons, not the least of which was that the eradication of species would end hunting. In fact, for Grinnell and other sportsmen, conservation primarily meant wildlife preservation.²³ Individuals such as Grinnell and Roosevelt as well as Forest and Stream worked very hard to see that wildlife and habitat protection passed. In fact, Forest and Stream concentrated solely on this issue while completely ignoring other conservation measures. For example, during the weeks before the passage of the Newlands Act, the journal did not devote one word to it. Rather, it was concentrating on such measures as the Appalachian National Forest Reserve, and changes in District of Columbia fishing laws to make them more conservation friendly.²⁴

²² William H. Harbaugh, The Life and Times of Theodore Roosevelt, Rev.ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1975).

²³ Reiger, American Sportsmen and the Origins of Conservation, 52.

²⁴ Forest and Stream, June 14, 1902.

Forest and Stream's support for conservation falls into two categories: game laws and habitat protection. Week after week, the journal lobbied for one game law after another in various states around the nation. In fact, it functioned as something of a forum for various wildlife conservation battles throughout the country. It supported the appointment of game wardens and the establishment and effective enforcement of game laws. It also fought for time limits on hunting seasons and the need for hunting and fishing licenses. Habitat protection was equally important to the sportsmen hunters. They supported efforts to protect wildlife habitat such as the protection of Yellowstone National Park, the establishment of other national parks including Mount Rainer in Washington and Glacier in Montana, and the protection of the Adirondack State Park in New York.

One group which Grinnell and Forest and Stream supported was the Audubon Society. Grinnell and the American Ornithologists Union, of which he was a member, had established the first Audubon Society in 1886. Growing quickly in popularity, it soon had over 200,000 members. It died out just as quickly, however, because, as one historian has described, it "basically existed solely in the pages of Forest and Stream," meaning that the organization did little of substance to keep its members interested.²⁵ When the second Audubon Society began in 1896, Forest and Stream, while no longer the sole organizer of the group, clearly supported it and occasionally reported on its activities.

²⁵ John J. Weil, "Death, Dearth, and Progressivism: A Study of the Policies of and Reactions to the National Audubon Society, 1896-1917," (M.A. Thesis, University of Tennessee, 1994), 8.

The relationship between the sportsmen hunters and the most famous environmental group of the Progressive era, the Sierra Club, was generally friendly but distant. The aims of the Sierra Club were preservationist while the sportsmen hunters wanted to use the land for their own purposes, i.e., hunting. Although the sportsmen hunters and John Muir and the Sierra Club were able to work together on many issues, they certainly did not always see eye-to-eye. An example of this was the controversy over the Hetch Hetchy reservoir in Yosemite National Park. Roosevelt and many other leading conservationists supported the creation of the reservoir, despite the damage it would do to nature. This is sharply contrasted with Muir's resistance to disturbing the Yosemite environment.²⁶

The Boone and Crockett Club was another sportsmen group to fight for wildlife protection. Part of its charter statement was to "work for the preservation of the large game of this country, and, so far as possible, to further legislation for that purpose, and to assist in enforcing the existing laws."²⁷ Throughout the Progressive years, Boone and Crockett clubs strove to enact laws in order to live up to its mission and worked on many of the same issues as Forest and Stream, including protection for the Adirondacks, game wardens, and stronger wildlife laws in Yellowstone National Park.²⁸

In the 1880s, Forest and Stream began to reflect the spirit of the times in its articles and letters. As middle and upper class men began to experience anxiety over the

²⁶ Thurman Wilkins, John Muir: Apostle of Nature, (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1995), 226-42.

²⁷ Reiger, American Sportsmen and the Origins of Conservation, 119.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 114-41.

changing world, their letters and writings in Forest and Stream reflected it, as well as the writings of individual sportsmen such as Grinnell and Roosevelt. This is especially true as hunting became an important way for men to define their masculinity. Sportsmen hunters reflected the crisis in masculinity experienced by late nineteenth and early twentieth century men both directly and indirectly in Forest and Stream and other writings. Two issues were especially of interest to readers of Forest and Stream during this era: the regenerative effects of nature itself and its importance in the socialization process for boys.

CHAPTER 2: RENEWING HEALTH AND SAVING BOYS THROUGH EXPOSURE TO NATURE AND MANLY MEN

A major theme reflected throughout the years in Forest and Stream, as well as in other nature and hunting writings of the era, including those of Theodore Roosevelt and George Bird Grinnell, was the idea of nature and hunting as a rejuvenating experience. For the man living an urban existence, it was necessary to enter the wilderness periodically in order to remain strong, healthy, and virile. The theme of health through contact with nature is reflected throughout the writings of the period. Good health was stressed in the Progressive period because a healthy "race" was a successful race. The fear that the race was deteriorating because of feminization and urbanization led to great interest in health.¹ The emphasis on sports during the Progressive period is directly related to this.

Experiencing nature became another way that Progressives could become healthy and rejuvenate the Anglo-Saxon race. According to historian John Higham, nature was virility itself. Higham argues that, for Progressives, nature represented "that masculine hardiness and power that suddenly seemed an absolutely indispensable remedy for the artificiality and effeteness of late nineteenth-century life."² Living the strenuous life through experiencing nature would lead to better health and therefore a better race.³ For Frederick Jackson Turner, nature itself meant rejuvenation of man and society. Nature

¹ Whorton, Crusaders for Fitness, 163.

² Higham, "The Reorientation of Modern Culture in the 1890s," 29.

³ Green, Fit For America, 237.

allowed man to experience an individual rebirth and regeneration. This rejuvenated man then went on to revitalize society.⁴ A disappearing natural world, therefore, placed this whole scheme in danger. Without nature, how would the individual man living in an urban environment and working a desk job where advancement was slow and inglorious regenerate himself and rejuvenate society? It was vital to save nature so that men could save society from the evils besieging it.

The theme of nature regenerating the health of weak, effeminate urban dwellers exists throughout the nature writings of the period. One story from Forest and Stream was about two men involved in business in San Francisco who went into the Sierras in order to hunt and get away from the city for a couple of weeks. The author writes of how they rapidly gained in health:

B. and the writer had been gaining rapidly that which we were most seeking, renewed health and vigor; the tallest peaks had no terrors for our toughened sinews. and the jaded look we had brought from the city was entirely gone. The change wrought in B. especially was wonderful. The first day's hunt, although an easy one compared to those we took later, had used him up completely; his stomach was also badly out of tune, and he had brought along a pot of beef extract and a package of a particular kind of tea, without which he believed life would be insupportable. These had been thrown to the winds some time before, and a big chunk of roasted venison with a tin pint cup of strong black coffee were now his usual beginnings of a 'square meal.' His vigorous constitution had quickly rallied under the fostering influence of this wild life, until Rippey [their guide] himself could not wear him out in a day's tramp among the hills.⁵

⁴ Henry Nash Smith, Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950), 253.

⁵ Forest and Stream, October 4, 1888, 204.

This is a prime example of how Progressives thought that time spent in nature would rejuvenate them and turn men who were run down from city life back into virile men of whom their families could be proud. Nature itself had a rejuvenating effect that could revive tired urban men who needed to escape the modern world.

The ability of nature to erase the problems of the city and make men healthy again recurs frequently in nature writings of the period. One correspondent reflected that experiencing nature was the best way to get away from the stress of city life. The writer contrasted the city with its "tumult of sounds, constant rumble of street cars...shrieks of peddlers or newsboys, or questionable music of street organ or street band" with the sounds of nature such as the "noiseless moose bird." The writer goes on to consider the relief one experiences when away from the city: "Your overtaxed brain is relieved from strain; worry has fled to the winds; you are out of reach of telegraph or telephone...you are a free man." Finally, he exclaims about how wonderful the body feels in nature. "Oh, the delights of freedom in this free country after such an evening of repose! How sweet the sleep! How fresh the awakening! How fit the physical frame after the morning bath and hardy breakfast."⁶

This theme of nature counteracting the evils of the city was frequent in Forest and Stream. It was rare for the editorials in the journal to concern themselves with any issue except immediate battles in the conservation movement. But they did once digress into a meditation about the need for outdoor recreation. Sportsmen's conventions, the editorial

⁶ Ibid., April 30, 1898, 342.

page reads, accomplish a "lasting benefit, in spreading the gospel of recreation, of which mankind, in the conditions prevailing in modern civilization, has constant need."⁷

Another example of city dwellers needing nature is found in a letter defending the right of preachers to engage in sportsmen's activities. The sarcastic letter reads "Let those who inveigh against clerical sportsmen reserve their choicest censure for these heretical doctors who preach the doctrine of red corpuscles and even advocate masculinity in preachers."⁸ This writer is clearly a supporter of the idea of Muscular Christianity, a theory popular in the Progressive Era which stressed that it was morally correct and desirable for people to engage in physical activities rather than live lives of rest and ease. This too is related to the crisis in masculinity, for Christians of the Progressive Era were concerned that religion was too feminized. Strong men were needed to lead the forces of Christianity into the future. Muscular Christians believed that women had taken over the churches, leading to a feminized and sentimental church. If churches would battle for Christianity and challenge young men of the day, men would reenter the church and take it over from the women and weak men. Physical activities such as sports and hunting were encouraged for they would train young men in the manly virtues necessary to revitalize the church and lead it into the battles of the twentieth century.⁹

Pity was shown those who could not understand the benefits nature gave to those who partook in it. One writer wrote that "my heart has always been stirred to its deepest

⁷ Ibid., April 7, 1900, 261.

⁸ Ibid., October 16, 1897, 304.

⁹ Clifford Putney, "Men and Religion: Aspects of the Church Brotherhood Movement, 1880-1920." Anglican and Episcopal History 63 (December 1994), 450-67.

depths when I have met a good fellow who was so insensible to his own happiness, so absorbed in this acquisition of wealth, and so inappreciative of the example of the holy apostles as to never have cultivated a taste for the angle.”¹⁰ Not only did this writer express compassion for those that refused to see the light, but even hinted that they were not good Christians because they ignored the lessons of the Bible. Another correspondent wrote sympathetically about an old man who did not understand why one would want to go into the country: “I wondered if the old man knew what a city man bred from a race of hunters found to enjoy in the woods.” If he only understood, “what he would give to be allowed to remain in the woods an indefinite period.”¹¹ Clearly, nature was a benefit to all who partook of it and those who did not deserved pity and sympathy, for they did not know what they were missing.

Rejuvenation of health through nature was not restricted to the young and middle-aged man. Orin Belknap, an elderly sportsman, wrote to Forest and Stream of a hunt he recently had with his sons. His children were reluctant to let him go with them, as they feared for the old man’s health. But go he did and, although he did not kill anything, he still felt years younger. He wrote that “a feeling of rejuvenation I had never before enjoyed assured me that...if I were blessed with the presence of the same companions for each coming October, ten years of life would be restored me from the vanished past.”¹²

¹⁰ Forest and Stream, August 7, 1897, 101.

¹¹ Ibid., April 20, 1901, 306.

¹² Ibid., October 14, 1911, 580.

Not only did nature restore the old man's health, it also gave him quality time with his grown children, a fact that played not a small part in the man's enjoyment of the hunt.

Even women could benefit from staying in a natural environment. One interesting case was reported in Forest and Stream of a Minnesota woman whose health was vastly improved by a camping excursion. The woman, likely suffering from neurasthenia although this is not explicitly stated, had been a semi-invalid for ten years. Her doctor warned her against taking a trip where she would be sleeping outdoors but she went anyway. The philosophy of the trip was "'Medicine might be thrown to the dogs.' Not a cold or symptom of cold followed, she came out of camp ruddy and brown, stronger and heavier than she had been for years."¹³ Considering the psychological nature of neurasthenia, it seems logical that a change in circumstances might cause a lessening of the condition.

Women appeared rarely in Forest and Stream. While they are not generally denigrated when mentioned, women are clearly not considered worthy of hunting. Even in this story, the woman is only camping while her husband is fishing and hunting. Other stories in the journal involving women usually have to do with excursions out to the country or the occasional hike with their husbands. Even these are few and far between. Forest and Stream was unquestionably a journal dedicated to men, and women were considered secondary.

¹³ Ibid., April 23, 1885, 247.

The health of children would also benefit from exposure to nature. One story in Forest and Stream told of an Indian teenager whose health began to fail. "[H]e developed a cough and other symptoms of consumption. The fathers realized the danger and determined upon a heroic remedy. They gave Plumadore a rifle and sent him off for a six weeks' hunt in the woods."¹⁴ The child recovered quickly. The health of a child was also the premise for George Bird Grinnell's first children's book, Jack, the Young Ranchman. Jack was a young sickly boy from New York whose uncle decided to take him out to his ranch in the west for the summer in order to improve his health. By the end of the summer, he had grown so tanned and strong that when he came back to New York in the fall, his parents did not even recognize him.¹⁵

Children were a major focus of concern for Progressives, who worried about how the conditions of modern society affected children of the period. This concern manifested itself in several ways: the campaign against child labor, tenement house reform, and the campaign against domestic violence.¹⁶ Progressives worked for such issues as organizing safe, orderly, supervised playgrounds for children¹⁷, providing pure milk to small children and infants, and practical education in order to give children usable skills for their adult

¹⁴ Ibid., October 6, 1900, 264.

¹⁵ George Bird Grinnell, Jack the Young Ranchman, or, A Boy's Adventures in the Rockies. (New York: Frederick A. Stokes, Co., 1899).

¹⁶ Walter I. Trattner, Crusade for the Children: A History of the National Child Labor Committee and Child Labor Reform in America. (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1970); Robert H. Bremner, From the Depths: The Discovery of Poverty in the United States, (New York: New York University Press, 1956), 204-29; Linda Gordon, Heroes of Their Own Lives: The Politics and History of Family Violence, (New York: Penguin Books, 1988).

¹⁷ See Dominick Cavallo, Muscles and Morals: Organized Playgrounds and Urban Reform, 1880-1920. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981).

years. The Progressive emphasis upon children is perhaps epitomized by President Theodore Roosevelt's proclamation declaring 1907 as the "year of the child." All of these movements intended to make the lives of children better through government and private intervention and regulation.

As discussed previously, sports also focused on the development of children in the period. Sports were intended for boys to develop warlike skills, channel their anger for the greatest good, and simulate savage hunting experiences.¹⁸ Historian E. Anthony Rotundo considers this emphasis on sports and hunting among children to be the result of elite men wanting to reject the modern world and become boys again, which led them to devote a great deal of time to their sons and other boys and promote masculine activities¹⁹

Other organizations developed in order to promote manly activities among boys. The most famous of these organizations is the Boy Scouts. The Boy Scouts began in 1907 under the leadership of Robert S.S. Baden-Powell, a British hero of the Boer War. The goals of the Boy Scouts were to provide boys with proper manly upbringing while encouraging them to have fun at all times. The Scouts spread from Britain to America in 1910 and rapidly grew in popularity. The Boy Scouts stressed character building, moral training, outdoor activities, and community service as a way to build boys into masculine American men. The Scouts also were closely tied to American militarism, both in their

¹⁸ Roberta J. Park, "Biological Thought, Athletics, and the Formation of a 'Man of Character': 1830-1900," in Mangan and Walvin, eds. Manliness and Morality, 7-34; Peter N. Stearns, "Men, Boys, and Anger in American Society, 1860-1940," in Mangan and Walvin, eds. Manliness and Morality, 84; Benjamin G. Rader, "The Recapitulation Theory of Play: Motor Behavior, Moral Reflexes, and Manly Attitudes in Urban America, 1880-1920," in Mangan and Walvin, eds. Manliness and Morality, 123-24.

¹⁹ Rotundo, American Manhood, 255-62.

uniforms and in ideology. Thus, they were strongly behind American involvement in World War I as well as the Red Scare and militarism after the war.²⁰

Boys were also a major focus for hunting and nature writers of the period. Historian Robert J. Higgs has shown that Progressive elites were torn between pessimism and optimism in their handling of the changes of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. He argues that the Progressives were deeply disturbed by their perception that their power was waning. Yet despite their pessimism, they looked to their sons to revive the race through the warrior ideal and were optimistic for their success.²¹ This spirit of optimism in a period of pessimism runs throughout the hunting writings of the period.

The optimistic view of sons of the period showed up commonly in Forest and Stream. Writers in the journal frequently exhorted others to take their sons on their hunting excursions in order to promote their manliness and make them into solid, democratic Americans. One letter to the magazine encouraged parents to teach their boys to shoot guns and get them to read Forest and Stream. According to the correspondent "Boys will have amusements; they, like men, will have a hobby; they naturally take to field sports or the range. They ordinarily prefer amusements of a robust character. Their disposition for such sports ought to be cultivated. Such a hobby will attract them from vicious pastimes: such sports will develop their physical and mental powers. To deprive them of vigorous amusements is to dwarf their energies, to make them simply 'hewers of wood and drawers of water'-underlings...In the field the mind of the boy is intensely concentrated, his energy untiring, his determination unyielding, his whole soul is absorbed in his work. By

²⁰ David I. MacLeod, Building Character in the American Boy: The Boy Scouts, the YMCA, and Their Forerunners, 1870-1920. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), 130-290.

²¹ Robert J. Higgs, "Yale and the Heroic Ideal, *Gotterdammerung*, and Palingenesis, 1865-1914," in Mangan and Walvin, eds. Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940, 162-63.

field sports the germ of these elements commence a healthy growth, and mature in a successful businessman.²²

Many themes concerning the reasons boys need to hunt are touched upon in this letter: the savage, active nature of boys' play; the need for boys to play in order to avoid vice; the need to make strong men out of boys in order for them to be successful in life; and the consequences of not teaching them to hunt. These themes frequently occur in hunting writings of the period.

Another example of the attitude toward boys and hunting is found in a story of a man who went hunting with a local guide. The guide, Pete, gave a lengthy talk, printed in dialect, on what his nephew needed to become a man. Pete was talking about how the boy's mother protected him; he appreciated this but said "he's got to take a man's place in the world an' he's got to have a man's tranin'[sic]." School is fine for a boy, the guide thought, but he emphasizes that there are things that schools can not teach. "He's goin' to learn to stan' on his own two feet an' look everyman square between the eyes...He's got to ride, throw a rope, swim, an' do everything that comes to a man's life in the open."

Perhaps most importantly, the boy needed to learn "when to turn his thumb knuckle in an' hit straight an' hard." Pete was sure that he knew the way to teach a boy how to do all of these things properly. "My idy is that if the right sort of a grown man makes a chum of his boy, that boy ain't a goin' fur wrong when it comes his time to take the man's place."²³

Again, the father, or acting father figure in this case, needs to take his boy into the woods

²² *Forest and Stream*, April 3, 1900, 207.

²³ *Ibid.*, April 27, 1912, 525-26.

and show him how to hunt and how to be a man in order for the boy to carry on in the father's footsteps as a proper man.

Hunting allowed boys to engage in manly activities and could serve as a rite of passage into manhood itself. One correspondent wrote that when his boy shot and killed his first bird, "the boy had become a man."²⁴ Another wrote of boxing, hunting, and other manly activities that "these things in my opinion, make a man of a boy."²⁵ Other writers directly pleaded with fathers to take their boys hunting. One writer encouraged fathers to go hunting with their sons in order to "make boy-men of them in the field and forest, on the water, in the camp...The boy will learn more readily to rely on himself, feel that he must act in a more manly way if he knows that his father feels toward him as an equal and confidential friend."²⁶

Even the editorial page of Forest and Stream once encouraged fathers to hunt with their sons. The editorial maintained that "There is no better sheet anchor for good morals, worthy adolescence and useful manhood than the fostering in a boy a love for outdoor life under the guidance and companionship of a father who is fond of shooting and fishing."²⁷ Again, it is plain that Progressive sportsmen writers believed that there was a direct relationship between hunting and good morals. Dan Beard, the Executive Commissioner of the Boy Scouts of America, directly made this association in a letter. He wrote to Forest and Stream that "An independent, manly, self-reliant, resourceful,

²⁴ Ibid., October 16, 1897, 304.

²⁵ Ibid., December 15, 1897, 485.

²⁶ Ibid., April 6, 1893, 293.

²⁷ Ibid., April 7, 1900, 261.

quick-witted boy must make the best and most useful type of man, while the anemic, pale, cigarette-smoking lad can but make a degenerate man."²⁸ Throughout the pages of Forest and Stream, a direct connection was repeatedly made that in order for young boys to grow up into good, useful, manly men that they needed to be exposed to outdoor activities, especially hunting and fishing. The "cigarette-smoking lad" was not going to lead the United States to power and glory; rather boys like this would send the nation and the race into permanent degeneracy. What was needed to save the nation and the race was strong, manly men and in order for these to be produced, fathers needed to take their sons hunting.

This theme is repeated in the children's books of George Bird Grinnell. These books revolve around the character of Jack, a rich boy from New York in poor health. His uncle, who owns a ranch in the West, decides one summer to take the boy to the ranch in order to improve his health, a remedy suggested by Jack's doctor. The doctor tells Jack's mother that "I can build your boy's system up from time to time with tonics, but I can do him no permanent good. My medicines are only palliatives; the real trouble is with his environment." The doctor says that the boy needed open air and exercise to improve his health: "Now he stays too much in the house and cares for nothing but books," the doctor notes. "This is not natural for a boy his age. He ought to be full of animal spirits and to be working them off by climbing trees, running races, and fighting."²⁹ Here was an example

²⁸ Ibid., November 19, 1910, 814.

²⁹ George Bird Grinnell, Jack, the Young Ranchman, 5.

for boys about what was wrong with a boy who was not active in outdoor life. He was weak and emaciated, exactly what a child should not be.

While at the ranch Jack befriends one of his uncle's hands, an old-timer named Hugh. Hugh has been in the West for some forty years and is an expert in all the manly things one needs to know to survive in the outdoors. Hugh takes Jack under his wing and teaches him how to be a self-reliant, courageous boy. Soon, the Western life changes Jack considerably. "His appetite increased enormously, his flesh began to harden, and his face, under exposure to the keen cool wind and the unshadowed rays of the sun, to take on a hue of brown that it had never shown before."³⁰ At the end of the summer, Jack's mother did not even recognize him because he had changed so much. Grinnell writes that when Jack left "he had been a little fellow; now he seemed to her a young man. Then, he was white, slender and listless; now he was brown, broad-shouldered, and boisterous."³¹ In only a short time on the plains, Jack had turned from a pale, emaciated city boy into a strapping young man.

Grinnell followed Jack, the Young Ranchman with a series of other books chronicling Jack's adventures in the West during the following summers. Jack and Hugh, who seems to have no better way to spend his time than to travel with a young boy, go to different parts of the West where they engage in adventures that show Hugh's manliness

³⁰ Ibid., 64.

³¹ Ibid., 302-03.

and Jack's increasing masculinity. In one of the series' later books, Jack's uncle describes the dramatic changes the boy has undergone:

See how he has grown, squared up—what a picture of health he is! He has developed mentally as much as he has physically. He has gained balance, self-reliance; is sensible beyond his years in all matters that pertain to the outdoor life, and is already, in many essentials, a man and a good companion, so far as his strength goes, in any situation where hard work, judgment, coolness, and discretion are required. All this means a great deal, more perhaps than any of us understand. If the boy had never gone west, he might have had a greater share of book learning, might have been further advanced toward entering college; but also, he might have been dead, and certainly he would have been very different in appearance from what he is now.³²

Thus, Jack is what every parent wanted their boy to be and what every boy should want to be: a strong, masculine, self-reliant young man. In addition, Jack avoided death by going west. Other parents with weak children should learn the same lesson. Children subjected to a feminized, urban lifestyle may very well die without the open-air, manly life of the West.

Jack went through a variety of adventures to become the great young man that his uncle described. Perhaps his bravest adventure was to save a drowning young Indian girl upon entering an Indian camp. Jack bravely led his horse through the water to rescue the girl, who happened to be the daughter of a major chief in the Piegan tribe. The chief was also a friend of Hugh's.³³ After saving the girl, Jack becomes a hero to the camp and was treated with all the respect that whites deserved from savage peoples. The girl's mother

³² George Bird Grinnell, Jack the Young Canoeeman: An Eastern Boy's Voyage in a Chinook Canoe. (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1906), 25.

³³ George Bird Grinnell, Jack Among the Indians, or, A Boy's Summer on the Buffalo Plains. (New York: Frederick A. Stokes, Co. 1900), 136-40.

thanked the boy profusely and promised that if he went to war he would have “good luck.”³⁴ Jack is also routinely seated with the elders of the tribe at meals and is something of a boy-hero to Indian children of his own age. Yet, Jack tops his previous exploit by killing a horse thief from another tribe while on watch. Hugh told Jack that “no man could have done better... You’ve counted coup on him, and that makes you a warrior right off. All these people here have been thinking of you as just a boy, but from now on they’ll they say that you’re a sure enough man.”³⁵ In doing this, Jack has accomplished an enormous step on the road to manhood: he killed a man. Through his adventures in the West, Jack was becoming a brave young man sure to succeed in the world. He was also only able to accomplish this in a world without white women. Away from the feminizing influence of his mother and other white women, Jack was able to kill, the ultimate manly experience, and be rewarded rather than reprimanded for it. This was something he probably could never tell his mother or many other people back home in New York. However, out on the Plains, where the ability to kill without flinching was a valuable asset, Jack is praised and rewarded. He has gone through a manly rite of passage impossible for boys in the East.

However, Jack was not able to become a man simply from breathing clean air and shooting a few animals. A boy needed guidance to become a proper man. Jack’s father and uncle were too busy to teach the boy how to become a man. His father ran his

³⁴ Ibid., 142.

³⁵ Ibid., 174-78.

business in the East and his uncle was engaged in running his farm, although he was responsible for getting the boy to come west. Hugh was responsible for Jack turning from a pale, sickly city boy into a strong, bronzed young man. Hugh taught Jack everything he knew about the self-reliant, adventurous lifestyle of the plainsman. From the beginning of Jack's first trip out west, Hugh worked to teach him every piece of relevant information he possessed, from how to rope cattle to how to properly use a gun. He was an expert hunter, angler, and cowboy and was respected by all who knew him. Now in his later years, he was happy to be a father figure to young Jack and teach him all the ways of a manly, self-reliant existence on the frontier.

In case any reader doubted the skills or manliness of Hugh, Grinnell sometimes provided dramatic proof. Hugh was always a good shot, but unlike Jack, would occasionally miss his prey. Hugh and Jack's Indian guide once began to doubt Hugh's abilities after he missed some easy shots at an animal. Jack encouraged his older friend to redeem himself, not because he doubted Hugh's ability, but to prove to the Indian that Hugh was, in fact, a good shot and skilled in the ways of the frontier. In order to prove his ability, Jack convinced Hugh to shoot down two blue grouse that the party had disturbed. Hugh initially resisted wasting bullets but Jack convinced him. Hugh then proceeded to shoot the two grouse right through the neck. The Indian guide was perplexed by this shooting after Hugh had just missed easy shots at two mountain sheep the day before, but was forced to admit that Hugh was a good shot for killing the

grouse.³⁶ What is especially significant about this passage is Jack's need to impress the Indian. Hugh does not particularly care what the Indian thinks about his miss. If anything, he is annoyed with himself for missing. However, Jack needs to impress the Indian. While he does not order Hugh to shoot down the grouse, he strongly encourages it. Hugh does it and the Indian is convinced of the white man's prowess with a rifle.

Two issues are evident in this passage. The first is the class relationship between Jack and Hugh. Jack is from an upper-class family while Hugh is a worker and would be lost in the high society of Jack's family. Hugh is also an employee of Jack's uncle. To disobey or displease Jack could jeopardize his position with Jack's uncle. This is related to the general class differences between the middle and upper class sportsmen hunters and the frontier figures they idealized. While the hunters romanticized the frontiersmen, they often did not see them as equals. Rather, there was a definite class separation whenever sportsmen hunters used local guides, whether Indian or white. The guide was definitely the employee of the of the sportsmen and was treated as such. One wonders what the reactions of frontiersmen and local guides to the sportsmen hunters were.

The second important issue that the incident brings up is the need for the white man to show his superiority to the Indian. Grinnell, and therefore Jack, cannot allow the Indian to think he is better than the white. This leads Jack to demand that Hugh show the guide what a great shot he is. Hugh would not be living up to the tenets of Social Darwinism if the Indian was the better shot. Jack needed Hugh to prove that the white

³⁶ Grinnell, Jack the Young Canoeeman, 260-62.

man was superior to the Indian in shooting in order to make consistent the racialized view of the world that he would have received in his education.

Another incident shows just what a great manly soul Hugh was. While traveling in the mountains of Montana, Jack, Hugh, and another companion run into some mountain men at a camp. The men got drunk and began to shoot their guns off, once nearly hitting our heroes. This enraged Hugh. The two men who knew Hugh would not argue with him, but the third man in the party challenged him with a gun. Hugh walked right up to the man and grabbed the hand with the gun. Despite Hugh's age, which is emphasized in the books' pictures by his long, gray beard, he overpowers the man and forces him to drop the gun. He then orders the men to break camp and leave his sight, which the men gladly do, not wanting to anger Hugh further. Hugh's actions cause great admiration for him with Jack and his Piegan friend who is accompanying them. They both agree that if he desired, Hugh could become a great leader among the whites in the East or an Indian chief in a tribe in the West. The lesson is that a man with characteristics like Hugh has the ability to do whatever he wants and has the whole world available, if he wants it.³⁷

The Grinnell books show effectively the Progressive emphasis on passing manly values down to sons. Although many believed that their world was collapsing around them, they also saw hope in their boys. If their sons learned manly values, they would

³⁷ George Bird Grinnell, Jack, the Young Explorer: A Boy's Experiences in the Unknown Northwest. (New York: Frederick A. Stokes, Co., 1908), 290-98.

develop the skills necessary to become self-reliant men and to lead the country back on its rightful course of democratic progress. A real life example of Grinnell's Jack was Theodore Roosevelt. A friend of Grinnell's, Roosevelt experienced a transformation similar to Jack, although there is no evidence that he was the inspiration for the character.

As Roosevelt presents himself in his autobiography, he was a weak, sickly child. Among other problems, he had poor eyesight that hampered him in his childhood and led him to be an awkward and clumsy boy as well as asthma that left him weak and out of breath. Yet, Roosevelt was exposed to many things in his childhood that set him on the right track in his life. He was encouraged to read by his parents and he became excited when reading adventure stories and tales about the outdoors. In addition, his father took him abroad for trips. These vacations included time for hunting as well as sightseeing. Roosevelt learned to shoot and became interested in the natural sciences. This spurred his desire to gain specimens for examination, and this was most easily done through shooting.³⁸

Desiring to overcome his ailments, Roosevelt convinced his father to teach him to box. Engaging in this manly sport excited the young Roosevelt and began his involvement in athletics and the active life. He began to wrestle, learned horseback riding, practiced rifle shooting, and took frequent hikes.³⁹ While he was not able to go to the great American West until he was an adult, and therefore did not have the advantages

³⁸ Theodore Roosevelt, An Autobiography, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913), 13-21.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 27-32.

Jack did as a child, his father did what he could to teach the young Theodore about the strenuous life and manly virtues. His father took him on his trips to Europe and Africa and encouraged him in his active exploits. Roosevelt described his father as "the best man I ever knew. He combined strength and courage with gentleness, tenderness, and great unselfishness. He would not tolerate in us children selfishness or cruelty, idleness, cowardice, or untruthfulness."⁴⁰ Thus, Roosevelt's father was the ideal for the son. He had the manly virtues of courage and strength while teaching gentlemanly virtues.

Roosevelt clearly tried to emulate his own father in his attitude toward raising his own children. His autobiography and especially his published letters to his own children show Roosevelt's attitudes toward raising children. Essentially, Roosevelt believed that boys needed to learn the value of hard work and discipline while having as much fun as possible in life.⁴¹ Roosevelt stressed to his sons that it was vital that they do well in school but that they should not spend all their time studying; rather they needed to engage in sports and other outdoor play when possible, for sports develop "true manliness of character".⁴² He wrote to his oldest son Ted, "I always believe in going hard at everything, whether it is Latin or mathematics, boxing or football, but at the same time I want to keep the sense of proportion."⁴³ Roosevelt certainly tried to set an example for his children in his own activities, even while he was President. Roosevelt's letters routinely

⁴⁰ Ibid., 7.

⁴¹ Ibid., 341.

⁴² Theodore Roosevelt, Letters to Kermit from Theodore Roosevelt, 1902-1908, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946), 42-43.

⁴³ Theodore Roosevelt, Letters to His Children, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1919), 25-26.

show that he mixed his rigorous workload as President with athletic activities such as boxing, wrestling, and rock climbing. He certainly believed that he was living up to his own high standards on what a man's behavior should be like, as well as the necessity for men and boys to find outdoor experiences, even in modern cities like Washington.

While Roosevelt and his sons were generally unable to hunt frequently during the years of his presidency, Roosevelt still attempted to instill manly values and the necessity for boys to engage in sports and outdoor activities. He was apparently pleased with the result of his work as a father, at least concerning his second son, Kermit. After the end of his presidency in 1909, Roosevelt embarked on a long-planned hunting trip to Africa with Kermit. Kermit was then a refined gentleman; a sportsman hunter, and his father was clearly proud. "Kermit killed a leopard yesterday," Roosevelt wrote, "He has really done so well! It is rare for a boy with his refined tastes and his genuine appreciation of literature--and of so much else--to be also an exceptionally bold and hardy sportsman...I think I shall get him out of Africa uninjured; and his keenness, cool nerve, horsemanship, hardihood, endurance, and good eyesight make him a really good wilderness hunter."⁴⁴ Thus, Roosevelt has succeeded. Through pushing his son in both school and outdoor activities, he has raised a boy who is refined and manly, intelligent and courageous. This is Roosevelt's ideal realized.

While nowhere in his writings does Roosevelt explicitly link health, outdoor activities, and conservation, clearly a connection exists. It was sports and the outdoor life

⁴⁴ Ibid., 236.

that saved Roosevelt from a life of sickness. Roosevelt stresses the necessity of playing sports and engaging in outdoor activities in his letters to his sons. Roosevelt himself engaged in strenuous outdoor sports, even while President. Finally, Roosevelt was a leader in the national conservation movement and a lifelong avid hunter, a value he passed on to his sons as well. Thus, there was a connection between conservation, health, and raising children. Nature was the best way for both children and adults to improve their health. It worked for Roosevelt, Jack's health was transformed in a single summer in the west, and many readers of Forest and Stream clearly expressed what exposure to nature had done to their health. In addition, multiple stories appeared in Forest and Stream about how exposure to nature and hunting had changed their sons and how important hunting and outdoor activities were to the proper raising of boys. Jack's transformation was not merely related to health; he was once a bookworm, now he was a man. Finally, Roosevelt clearly believed that hunting and outdoor activities were necessary for boys to become good men, as happened with himself and his son Kermit.

Without conservation, it would be impossible for people to escape modern society and restore their health. It would also be impossible to engage in many outdoor activities, especially the all-important hunting, if nature and wildlife were not saved from unregulated exploitation. Without conservation, people would be doomed to a life in the dirty, overcrowded cities. Sons could no longer learn manly virtues from manly men. Men could no longer teach their sons. If this happened, therefore, how would the race survive the perils of modern society. Conservation was necessary in order to save

America from collapse. Part of what Americans needed were escapes from modern, industrial society and a way to instill proper values in children. Without conservation, Americans would have neither.

CHAPTER 3: TRUE MANHOOD, THE SAVAGE INSTINCT, AND WAR

As vital as it was to expose boys to nature and manly men, it was equally important that men expose themselves to the same thing. Although these men were pessimistic about the rapid changes of the Progressive era, they were constantly trying to improve their lives. Men could save themselves from their effete, eastern existences through going into the wilderness with other manly men to hunt and fish. Men were not doomed to lives of neurasthenia and feminized culture. Any man could escape this by engaging in manly activities. Perhaps the manliest possible activity, other than war, was hunting, and this was possible for anyone with the resources to get to the wilderness.

Men also gained a great deal experiencing nature in other ways. Other than improved health, men benefited from bonding with other manly men, although this bond could not always be expressed in words. One man wrote: "There is a bond of sympathy between them that they do not understand themselves. They number members of all ages and nations, and even can be found among the animals."¹ Thus, to be a sportsman was a universal language shared not only by Americans but also by men around the globe. Another writer valued "the friendships formed with manly men." This same writer believed that those who did not hold the same values as sportsmen could not understand

¹ Forest and Stream, October 19, 1901, 304.

them: "the hold which hunting and fishing have upon manly men will not be understood, much less appreciated."²

In a letter entitled "Between Man and Man," "Juvenal" explained how nature benefited man by producing in him the roots of democratic values. This was far more important than the actual killing of animals. Social classes did not exist in the woods as "a man's a man if he be manly whether the opulent 'sport' or the poor but noble guide. Aristocracy can not long live in the woods. They are the natural home of democracy." The natural life was on the trail to "true brotherhood" and led to better relations between classes, in this case the sportsmen and the guides. It would be interesting to know if the guides thought the same.³ Theodore Roosevelt also made the connection between hunting and democracy, writing of the "healthy democracy of the round-up," and that "One of the chief attractions of the life of the wilderness is its rugged and stalwart democracy; there every man stands for what he actually is, and can show himself to be."⁴

These examples show the connection sportsmen hunters made between democracy and Darwinism. Democracy, in its truest form, would function according to the Darwinistic view of survival of the fittest. The wilderness was no place for the weak. No governmental assistance was to be had in the wilds of Montana or Idaho. Rather, only those who could shift for themselves in the wilderness would survive. These were the strongest men and these were the men who should run society. "Juvenal" and Roosevelt

² Ibid., October 16, 1897, 305.

³ Ibid., October 7, 1899, 284.

⁴ Theodore Roosevelt, The Wilderness Hunter, 119; 256.

clearly saw themselves as able to survive in the wilderness and, therefore, worthy to influence society.

Roosevelt made a direct connection between nature as the home of democracy and the need for conservation. He argued that America needed rigidly enforced game laws along with national forest reserves in order to protect game. This was not only to preserve game, but to preserve it in the wild, for "Shooting in a game preserve is but a dismal parody; the manliest and healthiest features of the sport are lost with the change of conditions." The chief attraction of the wilderness was "its rugged and stalwart democracy; there every man stands for what he actually is, and can show himself to be."⁵ Thus, without conservation this essential aspect of promoting and preserving democracy would be lost. Conservation would allow for controlled shooting in a wild country, thereby allowing those men who were the true leaders of society to prove their democratic worth and teach democratic values to their sons.

In fact, sportsmen were the natural conservationists because they were "represented in every community, in every city, village and hamlet. Many of them are among the most influential citizens in their respective localities....No men are better fitted to support the conservation idea than the sportsmen of the United States."⁶ This was because no one understood nature better than sportsmen hunters did and because sportsmen came from the upper echelon of society. Thus, they were rightful rulers of

⁵ Ibid., 256

⁶ Forest and Stream, April 24, 1909, 656.

society and understood what the nation needed to prosper. This included wilderness rather than private game parks because "game is the property of the people" and because of the belief that hunting should take place in as natural conditions as possible, as stated by Roosevelt above.⁷ Essentially, sportsmen hunters were the most qualified to lead the conservation movement because they knew what the nation needed, they were the natural leaders of society, and they were the most interested party in seeing that conservation succeeded.

Nature was also useful for men to prove their manliness. "Cohamet," a correspondent for Forest and Stream, wrote that "A sportsmen goes into the woods for pleasure, and if he shoots, to use his nerve and show his skill."⁸ True men wanted to show their nerve and skill. One way to do this was through hunting in a manly fashion. In order to understand the relationship between manliness and hunting, it is necessary to understand the Progressive mentality of fairness. In many facets of the Progressive movement, one senses the desire of Progressives to ensure a fair society. There is a difference as well between what many modern-day people consider fair and what Progressives considered fair. Progressives believed that modern society was eliminating the opportunity for individual achievement through the advancement of mass industrialization, rapid urbanization, and the lack of attention paid to those in need. Progressives tried to restore a sense of fairness to the world. This is evident in programs

⁷ Ibid., April 15, 1899.

⁸ Forest and Stream, October 10, 1889, 225.

like settlement houses, the Boy Scouts, and the drive for restrictions on female and child labor. Modern day people, especially women and children, did not have a fair chance to live a decent life in the new society of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Yet, modern day conceptions of fairness are far different from Progressive ideas. Progressive notions of fairness were influenced by their emphasis on science, which emphasized racial characteristics and other ways that both old-stock elites and new moneyed elites could validate their position at the top of society. Thus, "science" such as eugenics and social Darwinism was used to give a respectable basis for racism that justified social control over undesirable groups. This influenced what Progressives focused on in their reforms. Progressives saw African-Americans as a lesser race, nearly beyond help. Thus, they frequently ignored them in their reforms. Many Progressive social programs were also hampered by these notions of fairness, for Progressives only desired enough reform so as to give people the opportunity, if they strove mightily, to have a chance for success. Government involvement was kept to a minimum in order to ensure that the natural order was not disturbed.

These issues of fairness influenced sportsmen hunters of the period as well. There were certain norms and rules for a sport. For example, it was unmanly to kill animals for the market. Not only did this deplete the numbers of game, but also the methods used were designed for mass killing in an efficient manner. Despite the Progressive emphasis on efficiency, in hunting efficiency was not the goal. Hunters were to stalk their game and chase it down in a manly, courageous manner. Since this was not the goal of market

hunters, they were not true men. Writers to Forest and Stream believed that market hunters were often immigrants, especially new immigrants. Since these people were already less than equal to Anglo-Saxons, their engaging in hunting was suspect in the first place and their methods were used to condemn them further as lesser peoples.

For Progressive sportsmen, hunting needed to be humane and challenging. One writer thought that in killing woodchucks, "It is hardly necessary to say that they should be hunted only with the rifle. If they can be brought within the range of a shotgun, the hitting with such a weapon is too easy for a man's sport, while the killing is too uncertain for the humane sportsmen to attempt it."⁹ Theodore Roosevelt also considered the theme of fairness in his writings, lamenting the method often used to kill whitetail deer.

Whitetail deer usually lived in thickly wooded areas, thus "usually has to be killed by stealth and stratagem, and not by fair, manly hunting; being quite easily slain in any one of half a dozen unsportsmanlike ways. In consequence I care less for its chase than for the chase of any other kind of American big game." He goes on to describe unmanly forms of hunting, such as killing a deer while it is swimming, while the hunter is on snowshoes as the animal flounders in drifts, or while waiting for the deer at a salt lick. These methods are only acceptable in cases of hunger. Anyone else who uses these methods is "a butcher, pure and simple, and has no business in the company of true sportsmen."¹⁰ Moose are also killed by these methods which are condemned by Roosevelt

⁹ Ibid., April 20, 1901, 307.

¹⁰ Roosevelt, The Wilderness Hunter, 51-52.

as "mere butchery." However, to chase a moose in deep snow is only for "men of tried courage, hardihood, and skill."¹¹

For Roosevelt, there are types of sport that fall somewhere between true manliness and butchery. Fire hunting is unmanly, but is occasionally acceptable if only to see the phenomena of the woods by torchlight.¹² The most common method of killing whitetail was to chase them with hounds. This was considered legitimate sport, even though it the hunters themselves did relatively little work. According to Roosevelt, this is "a legitimate, but inferior, kind of sport," yet even this can be fun at certain times.¹³ It is also unmanly to ride along on your horse and letting others do all the work for you except for the shooting. A man who does this "is a hunter in name only."¹⁴

The theme of fairness, while not considered directly in the books of Grinnell, is implied. Jack only kills animals in a fair, manly manner. Female animals were killed only if necessary, and no shooting of excess numbers of animals took place. Jack's hunts are also conducted only by still-hunting, and not through the unmanly ways described by Roosevelt. In order to be a self-reliant and manly youth, Jack could only hunt in fair, manly ways. Because Hugh was a true man and Jack was an able and courageous youth, no violations of the manly code occurred.

Only certain animals, however, needed to be hunted in a manly manner. While it was preferable to hunt fairly, some animals needed to be eliminated in any way possible.

¹¹ Ibid., 249-50.

¹² Ibid., 52-53.

¹³ Ibid., 53.

¹⁴ Ibid., 199.

Woodchucks should be killed in large numbers "on account of their being troublesome vermin," Roosevelt wrote, and he believed that bears, cougars, and wolves should be killed because they were "dangerous" and "noxious."¹⁵ This again reflects Progressive ideas of fairness. Only animals considered harmless should be shot in a manly fashion. Animals that caused harm to humans or their property should be killed in any possible manner. These animals were valued less because they affected humans in a negative manner. Only certain animals deserved fair treatment; the rest were vermin.

One way to ensure manliness among men in hunting situations was to insult hunters' manhood. To be effeminate was the ultimate insult to many sportsmen hunters. This may not be particularly different from those involved in "manly" activities today, such as sports and hunting. In an epithet easily imagined today, one correspondent referred to men who complained about camp life as "old women."¹⁶ Another writer scoffed at some sportsmen who were against continuous firing of guns, writing that "he will go right on shooting...and shocking the delicate and highly organized nervous systems of those effete sportsmen."¹⁷ Theodore Roosevelt wrote that a hunter who relied on others to find their game for him was "a hunter in name only." A true hunter, he argues, "must be able at a pinch to shift for himself, to grapple with the difficulties and hardships of wilderness life unaided, and not only to hunt, but at times to travel for days, whether on foot or on horseback, alone."¹⁸ He also dismissed easy deer hunting in the

¹⁵ Forest and Stream, April 20, 1901, 307; Roosevelt, The Wilderness Hunter, 255.

¹⁶ Forest and Stream, October 1, 1898, 262.

¹⁷ Ibid., October 1, 1898, 267.

¹⁸ Roosevelt, The Wilderness Hunter, 199.

east as "so-called sport," and said that it did not compare to even the easiest hunting situations in the west.¹⁹ These are examples of how men insulted each other in order to denigrate those against their beliefs and, at the same time, prop up their own manhood. Denigrating other hunters who were not considered true hunters also served to separate those who did consider themselves to be manly, self-reliant hunters, from those who were only casual hunters or those who did not truly revel in the experience.

The fear of becoming effete ran through sportsmen's writings of the period, both in attacks on feminine values and in boasts about their own manliness. It was impossible for women to understand what men saw in hunting, according to Forest and Stream correspondent J.B. Burnham. Burnham wrote that when an old sportsman friend of his lost his sight, he had his daughter read Forest and Stream to him. She "plodded week after week through hunting stories, that must have had a sameness to a feminine ear."²⁰ Similar, if less direct, language is used to describe the reaction of a sportsman to a urban dweller who did not engage in hunting: "I wondered if the old man knew what a city man bred from a race of hunters found to enjoy in the woods."²¹ While not directly accusing the city dweller of being feminine, the writer is contrasting his own savage masculinity to the man who prefers to stay in the city.

Contrasts were also shown between the effeminate East and the manly West. The East had grown weak and soft through exposure to the evils of modern society. The West,

¹⁹ Theodore Roosevelt, Hunting Trips on the Prairie and in the Mountains, (New York: G.P. Putnam and Sons, 1900), 120

²⁰ Ibid., October 27, 1900, 322.

²¹ Ibid., April 20, 1901, 306.

on the other hand, is consistently revered as the place where men can rejuvenate themselves. Since wilderness conditions still existed in the West and the northern reaches of New England as well, it was in these places where men needed to go to engage in hunting and wilderness experiences. However, it was not easy for these men to adjust to conditions in the West. One writer complained that "men are expected to go from the effete east and find out all about beaver in a few days."²² Another Field and Stream correspondent wrote that, "It is to be feared that the West is losing some of its erstwhile woolly quality and becoming sadly effete."²³ While the writer was referring to Michigan, a rapidly urbanizing state in this period, this fear runs through hunting writings of the period. It is this fear of the disappearing West and its wildlife that influenced much of the conservation movement and the emphasis on hunting in the Progressive age. The need for hunters to prove their masculinity in the declining wilderness was strong.

Manly hunters had certain necessary characteristics. The seal shooter, who also was in control of the boat, had to be "hardy, brave, quick to discover and act—taking advantage of all conditions—keeping his head under all circumstances, setting an example of coolness and cheerfulness for his boat crew of two men."²⁴ These characteristics are valued throughout hunting writings of the Progressive period. The words "manly," "self-reliant," and "brave" appear again and again as the values which sportsmen cherished and strove to attain.

²² Ibid., April 13, 1901, 285.

²³ Ibid., October 6, 1900, 268.

²⁴ Ibid., October 3, 1908, 533.

Unusual manly exploits that true men could admire were a common way to spread the gospel of manliness. Men who hunted in difficult conditions were idealized and romanticized in hunting writings of the period. One story that particularly shows this point is of an one-armed man who killed three bears with an axe. The settler discovered a partially uprooted tree and in exploring the cavern under the tree, he discovered a bear that attacked him. He killed this bear with an axe blow to the skull. A second bear emerged from the cavern. It too was given a mortal wound by the one-armed settler. Then yet a third bear appeared, this of "gigantic proportions." Despite the grave nature of the situation, the hardy settler was "fully master of the situation." He dispatched the third bear as well. Perhaps more impressive than the killings themselves was the attitude the man took to his exploits. "[I]t never occurred to this one-armed slayer of three bears that he had done anything heroic. It was considered only a commonplace incident in the wilderness life of those days."²⁵ This settler was a man on whom modern men could base their actions and attitudes. He was a man of the old days who performed heroic actions without thinking twice and without bragging afterwards. The one-armed slayer of three bears was a true specimen of manhood.

True men hunted in difficult conditions. One example was the moose hunter of the northern woods. Moose hunters were manly because "None but the hardy moose hunter can enjoy life in this vast solitude, with its accompaniments of ice, sleet, and bitter cold. The sportsman must have the endurance of a Leather Stocking to follow the telltale

²⁵ Ibid., April 17, 1909. 608.

tracks in the snow all day and camp on the trail at night with the temperature close to zero." Theodore Roosevelt believed that elk hunting provided the manliest experience. "It yields more vigorous enjoyment" than does any other hunt because it provides the perfect combination of hard work, chance of success, and excitement of the chase, he wrote. Furthermore, the American elk, or wapiti, was "the chief of his race."²⁶ Finally, sportsmen also considered shark hunters to be true men. Sharks were not always easily stalked given that they lived underwater. But when they were found, the wait was certainly worth it. A writer for Forest and Stream wrote of a shark hunt that "At last the hope and wish of all those days was really gratified, and the men, grim, with pale set faces and blazing eyes braced back on that line to do or die." The hunters were true men as they were successful in their attempts to control the boat during the chase. "The sinewy arms held, and with horror, fear, glee, pluck and above all mad exultation on every grim face, I heard above the din, as in a dream, 'Shoot man!'"²⁷ Of course, the hunt was successful and the savage nature in the hunters was satisfied.

The qualities needed for shark hunting were the same qualities valued by sportsmen for men as a whole. The challenge to control the boat needed men who were quick decision-makers, strong, and confident. These men proved to be equal to the challenge of shark hunting and therefore were worthy of emulation by sportsmen as a whole. The same goes for killing three bears with one arm or hunting moose and elk.

²⁶ Roosevelt, The Wilderness Hunter, 224-25.

²⁷ Forest and Stream, November 12, 1910, 779-80.

Examples such as these were given in order to provide a model for hunters, both men and boys, to follow. The hunters chronicled had courage, self-reliance, and hardiness. They were true men.

Usually sportsmen writers of the period were relatively modest. In some ways, this is surprising because of the need to affirm their own manliness through hunting. Yet, most writers wrote freely of their hunting errors, and their lack of skill compared to the men around them, especially their guides. However, there are some examples of writers who glorified themselves as being manlier than their travelling companions. While there are not very many examples of this, they provide interesting insights into the mind of the Progressive sportsmen writer.

One example of this extreme *machismo* was a writer in Forest and Stream who reported on his adventures in Alaska. This man described how there were few who could brave the wilds of the still unexplored country. Of course, he was one of them. He wrote "there are a few men in that country who are not afraid to stem the fierce tides or cross the rugged mountains, and those are the men who will succeed." He then described his adventures stemming fierce tides and crossing rugged mountains. He was dreaming of killing a bighorn sheep but he was warned that the area was impenetrable. "[A]ccording to the miners and prospectors and even the Indians, no human being could ever ascend those rugged peaks or cross the deadly glaciers. I had come several thousand miles for this purpose, however, and to see the promised land and not get there was hardly my style of doing things." Despite the advice not to cross this land, the writer continued on, for he

would not be denied. He attempted to find some Indian guides but ran into difficulties because "they all said "Water too plenty; mountains no good walk;" or in other words, the rivers were too rapid and the mountains too hard to climb; and none of them cared to endanger their precious life." He eventually found someone to guide him, but ran into problems here as well because "it got so intensely cold and dangerous that my man could not endure it any longer and had to return to camp; yet he had been raised on the borders of northern Russia and was a fine specimen of sturdy manhood." He continued alone, describing how difficult and dangerous it was to cross precipices thousands of feet deep, glaciers, and tall snow-covered mountains. "I had to make good use of every moment," he wrote, "and had no time to reflect on danger past and danger ahead." Of course, he succeeded in his hunt, bagged many animals, and returned home safely.²⁸

The second example of bravado in hunting writings was a writer discussing the danger he was experiencing in running some rapids. The experience "was enough to make the strongest heart shudder." Perhaps intelligently, one of the writer's workers and his Indian guide refused to run the rapids. While it was probably to protect their own lives, the writer says they "seemed to weaken at this point, and it was only through a strong threat of using my rifle that I compelled them to continue."²⁹ Thus, the writer threatened his men with their lives rather than listen to reason and not run the rapids. Again, everyone survived the death-defying experience.

²⁸ Ibid., April 15, 1899, 282.

²⁹ Ibid., April 22, 1899, 306.

These two examples enlighten the modern reader a great deal on the attitudes of sportsmen hunters of the Progressive period. First, they were racist with respect to Indians. This was hardly unique to sportsmen in the Progressive Era. Yet, sportsmen hunters often had more contact with Indians than other people of the period because they were exploring and hunting on the Indians' land. Although they often respected the Indians' manliness in a romanticized way, they also denigrated the Indians. In both of these cases, the white man was manlier than the Indians were. The whites were willing to take risks the Indians were not, and were therefore more courageous. They also made fun of Indian speech. This was common in all writings of the period, whether the imitations were of Indians, blacks, or southern and eastern European immigrants. Again, this is not unique to sportsmen of the period, but racism clearly pervaded their values and influenced how they viewed other peoples.

More relevant to this topic, however, is the writers' own seething masculinity. In their headstrong rush toward danger, these writers show how the need to prove their own masculinity affected their actions. It is quite likely that the first writer was told not to go over those high mountains and glaciers because they were dangerous and many people had died there. The second writer's workers probably refused to run the rapids because they were dangerous. If the writers of these particular articles are similar in background to other writers in Forest and Stream, then they were upper class people who were not professional outdoorsmen like their guides. Rather, they were middle or upper class men who were tourist hunters. Therefore, they would not know as much about the area as their

guides. Yet they overrule the advice of their guides and proceed blindly into impending disaster. Through luck and the skill of their guides, they escape with their lives. The desire of these men to prove their own masculinity was so great that they set aside reason and wisdom in order to prove it. These men were the manliest of the manly. Their efforts to risk their lives and go where no one else dared showed that they were manly men and better than everyone else in society. Conservation was necessary in order that true men like these could develop to lead the nation. Manliness was needed to lead the nation out of its effeminate stupor. Without conservation, it would not be possible for men to become truly manly, because hunting was the only way, other than war, that men could prove themselves.

These attempts to get to the most isolated corners of nature and experience the natural life come from Progressive sportsmen's embrace of savagery. They frequently appealed to their savage nature in their writings to explain the joys of hunting. While part of their savage model was the romanticized "noble savage," more frequently sportsmen looked further back to their prehistoric ancestors for inspiration. They could not help the desire to hunt because it was an instinct from their ancestors in the days before civilization.

Sportsmen writings of the period repeatedly express the emphasis hunters placed on savagery. These writings shed a great deal of light on the mind of the Progressive hunter. Progressive sportsmen believed that the outdoor life tested the manhood of men through a return to the conditions experienced by their savage ancestors. As one

correspondent in Forest and Stream wrote, "The man in camp is a very different being from the man in society."³⁰ Another elaborated on this point further, writing, "One of the chief pleasures of camp life is that it tests a man's manhood and brings to him some of the prowess of his savage ancestors, whose stamina was as the hardy endurance of the oak, whose speed was as that of the antelope, and whose bravery and fearlessness were as those of the lion."³¹ This combination of the desire for the savage life and the apotheosis of their more primitive ancestors are repeated frequently in outdoor writings of the period.

Theodore Roosevelt argued strenuously that the Founding Fathers were hunters. At the end of The Wilderness Hunter, Roosevelt wrote, "it is worth noting how many of the leaders among our statesmen and soldiers have sought strength and pleasure in the chase, or in kindred vigorous exercises."³² He showed that Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Jackson were hunters in their youths on the frontier and that Daniel Webster and Henry Clay were great fans of horses, dogs, and guns, although these men were too busy with the affairs of the nation to hunt frequently.³³ However, Roosevelt's most prominent example of the hunter statesman was George Washington. Washington, he wrote, "could never have been what he was had he not taken delight in the feats of hardihood, of daring, and of bodily prowess. He was strongly drawn to those field sports which demand in their follower the exercise of manly virtues--courage, endurance, physical address." Roosevelt

³⁰ Ibid., August 21, 1897, 141.

³¹ Ibid., October 23, 1897, 323.

³² Roosevelt, The Wilderness Hunter, 263.

³³ Ibid., 263-65.

continued to talk specifically about references to hunting in Washington's diaries and relate them to the simple virtues of the man. Roosevelt concludes his book by writing on the relationship between Washington's love of hunting and his success on the battlefield:

The qualities of heart, mind, and body, which made him delight in the hunting field, and which he there exercised and developed, stood him in good stead in many a long campaign and on many a stricken field; they helped to build that stern capacity for leadership in war which he showed alike through the bitter woe of the winter at Valley Forge, on the night when he ferried his men across the half-frozen Delaware to the overthrow of the German mercenaries at Trenton, and in the brilliant feat of arms whereof the outcome was the decisive victory of Yorktown.³⁴

The lesson is that hunting taught Washington the manly, warlike virtues. These virtues allowed him to be courageous and self-reliant which showed in his leadership in defeating the British in the Revolutionary War. If men were to hunt and enjoy the strenuous outdoor life, they, too, could learn the lessons Washington learned and develop the skills he had. This would save the country in its next time of crisis, which might be very soon because of the massive changes of the new industrial society.

Other writers also made the connection between the American victory in the Revolutionary War and the warlike skills that hunting and the outdoor life taught its soldiers. Harry Chase, who wrote to Forest and Stream decrying gun control, conducted a study of how America defeated Britain in the Revolutionary War. This "has only served to convince me of a self-evident truth," he wrote, "and that is that the great majority of those uncouth, hardy, and untrained men who were a source of such terror to the British regular soldiers during the Revolutionary War, were hunters of game."

³⁴ Ibid., 272-73.

These hunters could endure long marches and many hardships. They understood the ways of feeding on the country as they marched, and could make themselves a camp and be comfortable anywhere. Finally, when they came within sight of the enemy, they knew how to seek cover and care for themselves individually. Being accurate judges of range, they waited quietly and patiently until the conspicuous red-coats approached sufficiently near for careful aim and then they fired. The result was sure death and disaster to every victim of their skill.³⁵

The characteristics which patriot soldiers used to defeat the British were the very characteristics which hunting taught young men. Without these skills, the British would have defeated the Americans. The British still had not learned their lesson for, according to Chase, their difficulties in the Boer War stemmed from the very same problem. The lesson was that regular soldiers could not defeat hunter-soldiers on their home turf. This was an argument for hunting as a way to ensure that an invading force could never defeat the United States. Conservation was then necessary so that Americans could follow the example and learn the values of the Founding Fathers and brave men who fought in the Revolution. Without conservation and the opportunity to hunt, Americans could neither learn the lessons from the wilderness that Washington did, nor learn the shooting skills that the Revolutionary War soldiers used to defeat the British. Without these skills, what would happen if the country was invaded again? How would the nation defend itself if its boys could not shoot? This is one reason conservation considered not only important, but also vital to the survival of the nation.

However, the type of men who fought the Revolutionary War were not completely gone by the time these men were writing. Rather, men still lived who had

³⁵ Forest and Stream, October 7, 1911, 551-52.

survived on the frontier through their individualistic natures and hunting skills. These men were revered by sportsmen writers of the era as models for the present. One example is Hugh in the Grinnell books. Hugh was an old man of the frontier from whom Jack could learn and after whom he could model himself. Despite the fact that the two people came from different classes, there were many virtues which Jack could learn from Hugh and take back to his upper class eastern home: self-reliance, independence, manliness, and courage.

It was not only in children's books, however, that men looked to pioneers for inspiration and democratic values. Men frequently looked to romanticized figures in the past in hunting writings of the period for inspiration. This was very common in Forest and Stream. While many examples of this would prove repetitive very quickly and few of these examples went deeply into issues of manliness, it is easy to show that sportsmen hunters of the period looked to the past for inspiration and democratic values. Frequent stories were printed about old-timers who had performed impressive feats of hunting as well as reminiscences of hunters looking back on the manly men they knew as youths. One example was the one-armed man who killed three bears with an axe. Another writer referred to the cowboy as "a man amongst men," and lamented his passing as well as the conditions that made him manly.³⁶ An editorial in the journal lamented the passing of a Captain Ogden who was a sportsman of the old school, "energetic, virile, hospitable--

³⁶ Ibid., November 6, 1897, 370.

himself a lover of pleasure and delighting to give pleasure to others."³⁷ Forest and Stream writers frequently used older and dead men as example of the values they wished to pass on to men and boys of the present.

In an article for Forest and Stream entitled "The Return to Savagery," "Indians" wrote that "Nothing is more attractive than to throw off for a little while the trammels of our daily life...We enjoy this because in doing these things we measurably return to natural conditions, and because the contrast between these occupations and that of our usual life is sharp...We are likely to imagine that it is only the civilized man who has this feeling, but this is scarcely true."³⁸ This explains a great deal of the reason for the emphasis on savagery. Men were so alienated from modern society and from the workplace conditions of the newly industrializing America that they wished to reject the modern values and embrace pre-modern beliefs. The need to experience "that savage rush" reflected the Progressive anxiety over the rapidly changing American society.³⁹

Hunters justified the need to hunt as the result of remnants of a savage past that remained in modern man. One frequent correspondent to Forest and Stream, T.G. Dabney of Clarksdale, Mississippi ("Coahoma" to readers of the journal), considers how men and dogs enter the chase with equal enthusiasm. He then goes on to show why this is the case: "In both cases it is a survival from a stage of existence wherein the pursuit and capture of game was for innumerable generations their sole or principal means of sustaining life.

³⁷ Ibid., October 20, 1900, 322.

³⁸ Ibid., July 17, 1897, 41.

³⁹ Ibid., July 10, 1897, 27.

Hence the impulse survives long after the conditions out of which it grew have ceased.”⁴⁰

Other writers expressed similar feelings toward hunting as a savage experience. One considered how “there is an immeasurable amount of the savage in the personality of the white man, subdued by the artificial life we call civilization.”⁴¹ Another could not wait until October because during that month “there is a spontaneous impulse to seek the woods or fields or waters in quest of fur, feather, or fish, as did man’s progenitors in the primordial days of life.”⁴² Yet another example of the stress upon savagery was a poem by Andrew Price printed in Forest and Stream that, in part, read

His friend from among the Up Above, who was city
born and bred
In whom the blood of his ancestry made him mad to
kill a deer⁴³

Another writer expressed similar feelings when he noticed that since he and his friends had left the city they “enjoyed the feeling that there was considerable of the wild Indian about us.” He then goes on to declare “It is wonderful how much of the aboriginal nature of man comes to the surface when he is thrown entirely on his own resources away off in the wild woods far from civilization, and if one is a gentleman and true to himself, it is not a bad nature that comes to the surface.”⁴⁴ It is particularly interesting how only gentlemen will prove true under conditions of hardship. Social class even exists in nature, despite the frequent democratic rhetoric of sportsmen hunters. Presumably, the writer

⁴⁰ Ibid., October 29, 1898, 347.

⁴¹ Ibid., October 19, 1901, 304.

⁴² Ibid., October 9, 1897, 281.

⁴³ Ibid., October 29, 1898, 348.

⁴⁴ Ibid., October 27, 1900, 323.

thinks that market hunters are not gentlemen and neither are the new immigrants. This is another way to prove that the upper classes who often engaged in hunting were in fact the leaders of society and not the new, alien people who were transforming America in such strange ways.

The sportsmen's emphasis on savagery frequently appeared in descriptions of hunts as well as general writings. People did not return to savagery just through going into nature, but through hunting and the primordial rush it brought. That "savage rush" of hunting was one of the true joys of life. As one writer wrote, "there are few more satisfying things than a perfect shot... after an exciting stalk."⁴⁵ Theodore Roosevelt agreed with these sentiments, writing that in the period just before taking a shot at a moose, "My veins were thrilling and my heart beating with that eager, fierce excitement, known only to the hunter of big game, and forming one of the keenest and strongest of the manly pleasures which with him go to make up 'the wild joy of living.'"⁴⁶ This energy affected how hunters hunted because hunters could not help feeling the savage rush at the sight of game. The difficulties of a hurried, rather than carefully planned kill, are described by one writer who describes a rushed stalk as "where a man is obliged to crawl, and climb and run, and perhaps at the last to fire his shot when he is out of breath and his blood is pumping through his veins at railroad speed."⁴⁷ The savage excitement of

⁴⁵ Ibid., October 5, 1912, 422.

⁴⁶ Roosevelt, The Wilderness Hunter, 232.

⁴⁷ Forest and Stream, April 25, 1909, 654.

the hunt affected the hunt because the hunter could not help the adrenaline rush that flowed through him during a stalk.

Another example of the savage rush of the hunt is in Joseph E. Jameson's description of a shark hunt in Forest and Stream. The excitement of the hunt caused Jameson's hands to shake when it was time to shoot. After he successfully killed the shark, "All that savage, fearful strength was gone; that wild ferocity gone in an instant with the pressure of a finger."⁴⁸ In a descriptive quality not unlike that sometimes used for sexual purposes, Jameson explained how all that energy, that savage rush, was spent with the successful kill. Men had a natural savage inside of them that was aggravated by exposure to nature. Only the successful kill could alleviate this aggravation and allow men to return to their normal lives.

This excitement and adrenaline resulting from the need to hunt could even overcome natural functions. As John A.M. Lethbridge wrote: "However tired you may be, during the time you are trying to get up to your game, excitement keeps you up and you do not realize your fatigue; but after it is over it comes on twenty times worse."⁴⁹ Again, men could go on adrenaline during the hunt, but after they finished, they were done for the time being. The pull of the trigger released the pent-up energies of modern life. Yet, after their release, natural functions suppressed by the adrenaline came back with force.

⁴⁸ Ibid., November 12, 1910, 779-80.

⁴⁹ Ibid., April 17, 1909, 608.

Hunting was also vital as a necessary training ground for war. Warlike men needed to be trained in order to protect American democracy from its enemies, including the new immigrants, communists, and anarchists. Many Progressive era men believed that war and warlike qualities were the backbone of American society and went to great lengths to show that the founders of the country shared these characteristics. War and life in the wilderness were closely related, as is noted in one Forest and Stream article which read: "All honor to real heroism, whether in war or in the wilderness."⁵⁰ Hunting and living in the wilderness produced the characteristics needed in war. One British writer in Forest and Stream wrote that "There can be no better training than that afforded by organized expeditions in pursuit of big game, combined with military exercises which could be carried out on the march." Among the traits which men would acquire on these hunts were "the habit of shifting for themselves,...all the expedients of camp life; while a genuine spirit of comradeship would be established in the evening to discuss the past day's adventures or the next day's prospects."⁵¹ If hunting parties could simulate a military expedition, they could be of great benefit for training future soldiers.

While the previous writer stressed individualism as a trait learned from hunting expeditions, the excursions that he was describing were organized trips into the jungle in a semi-military format. This was often not individual enough for American sportsmen. In any case, this type of organization was not necessary to produce warlike traits in young

⁵⁰ Ibid., October 1, 1898, 263.

⁵¹ Ibid., October 29, 1898, 350.

men. In the Grinnell tales, Jack went through a rite of passage in killing a man who was attempting to steal horses. This was his passage into manhood; he was prepared for this transition by hunting.⁵²

Describing the traits of men, one Forest and Stream writer said "the minds of men are as individual as their faces, their figures, and their stomachs, and if we go on eliminating cruelty from all sports, as has been done since the days when Rome was mistress of the world, we may, a few centuries hence, become so effeminate as to consider the capture of a fish on a hook as cruel." He then wrote, "Then there is the Peace Society, which would abolish war, which is the 'natural state of man.'" The writer continued, exclaiming the glory of war by writing, "The Old Testament is largely a history of wars, and the Supreme Ruler seems to have ordered and approved of them. I believe in the Malthusian theory, and think it time that this country had another war."⁵³

Writing in 1897, he did not have long to wait before that war came. When the United States defeated Spain in 1898, one writer chalked up the victory to the training in warlike activities young Americans had, writing that "the well-known rule that indulgence in field sports prepares men physically and spiritually to assume the responsibilities, perform the duties, endure the hardships and win the victories of a campaign." He then went on to say: "It is to the abiding credit of the sportsmanship of this country and this generation that it has been to the front in the Spanish war."⁵⁴ These

⁵² Grinnell, Jack Among the Indians, 174-78.

⁵³ Ibid., December 15, 1897, 485.

⁵⁴ Ibid., October 1, 1898, 261.

writers show well the connections made between field sports, such as hunting, fishing, and football, and victory on the battlefield. Savagery in sports was necessary to produce cruelty in men for war. War was the "natural state of man" and needed to be encouraged among brave young Anglo-Saxon man.

Harry Chase made the most direct link between hunting and war in response to a proposed gun control law in New York. This lengthy article directly contended that it was the qualities of hunting that made for successful soldiers. "The safety of this country lies in the fact that here every man seems fond of his rifle, his shotgun, and his revolver, " Chase wrote, "and that such men are proud to be considered clever marksmen." Chase then directly equated success in war with marksmen skills, and attacked those who opposed war.

Only after the bloody Boer War did England realize that her soldiers could not shoot straight and were at a great disadvantage against an enemy of big-game hunters who were excellent marksmen. Suppose a war should again call out our volunteers. Do we wish them to be a lot of mollycoddles and perfectly ignorant of handling guns and revolvers? It is of no consequence if these troops are ignorant of drilling regulations, precise marching, and military science; if they are skilled marksmen, they will be a formidable adversary for the finest trained soldiers of Europe. But if they cannot shoot accurately, they would be at the mercy of almost any enemy...Of what value is a well-trained militia, as advocated and safeguarded by our State and National constitutions, if the individuals of the same are not skilled in handling their arms, and how can that individual skill be so well acquired as in the pursuit of game.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ Ibid., October 7, 1911, 551-52.

Thus, hunting was necessary to gain skills in shooting and marksmanship that were necessary in war. War was the ultimate protector of democracy and hunting was the way to train for war. War was also the ultimate manly experience and hunting trained for that as well.

Chase also directly linked conservation with the necessity of preserving America's warlike values, writing that "All this—if nothing else—should impress upon us the necessity of saving our game, or rather conserving the supply, to encourage hunting, tramping in the open under hard conditions and acquiring skill in the use of firearms."⁵⁶ Chase was appealing to the public, hoping that if no other arguments for conservation convinced them, the need to protect America would. Conservation was necessary to preserve America's warlike values. The nation was built upon hunting and without the opportunity to hunt, the nation might well be doomed.

Conservation was, therefore, necessary to preserve manly values, the savage instinct, and war. Hunting was necessary for men to survive in modern society. The changing society of late nineteenth and early twentieth century America led men to embrace hunting as a way to escape modern life and embrace what they saw as their heritage. Experiences in nature, especially hunting in a savage nature, were desirable and necessary in order for men to obtain full manhood. Without these experiences, men would become effeminate and lose their manhood. If the manhood of Anglo-Saxon men was lost, the country would collapse into an effeminate stupor and other, more manly, nations would take prominence. Thus, hunting was necessary in order for the nation to

⁵⁶ Ibid.

survive. However, the hunting experience was imperiled due declining numbers of animals and habitat, as well as growing numbers of people in the nation. Conservation was necessary to preserve this experience. Without it, the nation would be in a crisis.

CONCLUSION

The necessity of conservation was repeated over and over again throughout hunting writings of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Hunting was needed for men to keep masculine in an increasingly feminized society. In this period, many factors were changing the society with which old-stock elite men were comfortable. The workplace was changing into a bureaucratic, stratified area with little room for individual achievement or rapid advancement. Immigrants from southern and eastern Europe were entering the United States in record numbers, causing fears of political disorder, race suicide, and cultural collapse. Finally, women were becoming more assertive in society and politics, and were increasingly demanding control over their own lives. All of this combined to threaten the manhood of middle and upper class men. This caused them to look for new ways to define their manhood, including sports, imperialism, and hunting.

Hunting was also necessary for boys to develop into manly adults. As the books of George Bird Grinnell and writings in Forest and Stream show, men of the period attempted to pass on manly virtues to their sons through hunting. It was believed that the new industrial society was changing boys by causing them to be weak and effeminate. Because there was little room for children to play in industrial cities, they became weak and unable to compete in a manly manner with country boys. Parents were worried what the modern cities were doing to their sons, and this resulted in the formation of organizations such as the Boy Scouts and the YMCA. It also spurred an emphasis on teaching boys the joys of the outdoors, especially fishing and hunting.

American men needed to hunt in order to develop their inner, savage selves. Savagery was seen as key to being masculine. Americans of the period wanted to emulate what they saw as their savage distant ancestors. They thought that the modern, civilized world had rejected the manly and self-reliant natures of prehistoric men. Since this savage state was considered natural, sportsmen hunters wanted to connect with their ancestors' savagery in order to reclaim their masculinity from the feminine world.

Similar to this is the tendency of sportsmen hunters to classify both the Founding Fathers and the frontiersmen who won the Revolutionary War and conquered the frontier as heroes. These men had become great through hunting and the self-reliant ways of the backcountry. Again, modern men had lost these characteristics in the new, modernized America. Sportsmen hunters turned to regain these values and teach them to their sons.

Closely related to the need for savagery was the emphasis sportsman hunters placed upon war. Sportsmen hunters looked at war as the key component of a successful civilization and thought that nations needed to have warlike values. Again, they feared that the nation was losing its warlike nature in the rapidly changing society of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. War was seen as the ultimate manly experience, while hunting was considered the most effective substitute for war. Hunting was a necessary training experience for war; in fact, the men who won the Revolutionary War and conquered the frontier did so because of their expertise in hunting. Therefore, hunting was considered absolutely necessary for a nation to succeed in war.

However, in the late nineteenth century the opportunity to hunt was diminishing rapidly. Market hunting, fashions that demanded animal products, and habitat depletion

led to the rapid decimation of wildlife during this period. With hunting playing such an important role in American culture, it is not surprising that sportsmen supported the conservation movement so strongly. Conservation was necessary in order to preserve all the values that made American strong. Hunting was not possible without conservation. And without hunting, there would be no way for men to emulate their ancestors on the frontier, no way to escape the feminized modern world, no way to teach manly values to their sons, no way to embrace their savage natures, and no way to prepare for war. Without hunting, not on game preserves, but in a wilderness setting, the entire foundation of what made America great was in peril. As Harry Chase pointed out, if for no other reason, game should be saved in order to prepare young American boys for war. The wildlife protection arm of the conservation movement, therefore, was connected to a fear that America would become feminized and then be vulnerable in war. Conservation was necessary to escape the feminized world, embrace manly values, teach those values to boys, and prepare for war. Nothing less than the survival of the nation was at stake in the battle for wildlife protection. America's democratic traditions and the possibility of masculine experiences were under attack from the great changes taking place in America during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Conservation was absolutely vital to preserve the possibility for hunting and, by proxy, democracy and manliness.

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VITA

Erik Loomis was born in Portland, Oregon on January 29, 1974. He attended schools in the public system of Springfield, Oregon, and graduated from Springfield High School in June 1992. He entered the University of Oregon in September 1992, graduating Phi Beta Kappa and Cum Laude in June 1996. He then went on to teach English as a Second Language in Suwon, South Korea for nine months before returning to the United States in order to enter graduate school at the University of Tennessee-Knoxville. He began his work there in August 1997. The master's degree was received in May 1999. He spends his spare time working for social and economic justice groups.