

American Recreation: Sportsmanship and the New Nationalism, 1900-1910

Introduction

In the decades around the turn of the twentieth century, the high-minded ideals of sportsmanship promoted by outdoors magazines such as *Forest and Stream*, *Outing*, and *Recreation* made a vital contribution to a larger cultural reimagining of American citizenship. These were years of far-reaching change for the republic. The western frontier vanished, new frontiers of imperialism opened in the Pacific and the Caribbean, and the old enterprise economy began to give way to corporate big business and consumerism.¹ A powerful nation was emerging, but for many Americans this was experienced as a time of crisis. An economic depression polarised wealth in the 1890s, for one thing, but there was a discernible cultural and political malaise too.² There were fears about new concentrations of interests: the corporate Trusts; machine politics; labour and farming unions.³ There were anxieties about the supposed enervating effects of consumerism and pen-pushing corporate careers.⁴ Even as imperialist rhetoric acclaimed American stewardship over colonised peoples there was a creeping national self-doubt. Some even questioned whether their fellow Americans were themselves fit, physically or morally, for self-government.⁵ Yet sportsmanship could cut through all of this. Nostalgically evoking the cultural authority of the northeastern patrician elite—the families whose wealth and status pre-dated the Civil War—sportsmanship became, by the latter nineteenth century, a central preoccupation of magazines appealing to the growing number of middle-class consumers engaged in outdoors pursuits. These magazines offered aspiring outdoorsmen guidance on where to visit, what to buy, and how to conduct themselves; how to become, more properly, sportsmen. They conjured a world of recreation and adventure that encompassed the disparate regions of the United States and its imperial territories, and they exhorted their readers to adopt a wholesome respect for rules and fair play and to temper self-reliance with a sense of fellowship and social responsibility. In short, they imposed ethical meaning on middle-class leisure and explained its relationship to the changing nation. And as this essay shows, in so doing, they shaped values that could be used to construct a new ideal of citizenship.

It is argued here, more specifically, that the growth of American interest in sportsmanship at the turn of the century shared a cultural impulse with the liberal nationalism that would shape the Progressive Era, and which found probably its best-known expression in the New Nationalism. These were the political ideas most closely

associated with Theodore Roosevelt. It was for example in Roosevelt's energetic, reformist presidency (1901-1909) that Herbert Croly had discerned a way of re-patterning liberalism around social priorities, and aligning individualism, the state, and corporate capitalism behind a vision of a democratic national community. In his landmark book, *The Promise of American Life* (1909), he made the case for a national government that could restrain self-interest, and offered up a new democratic principle of 'individual and social improvement' to replace the old individualism of the nineteenth century—which had produced undemocratic concentrations of wealth and power in the corporate Trusts.⁶ Roosevelt subsequently adopted a concept of New Nationalism that reflexively drew on those same principles, and which gave name and substance to his return to public life and his 1912 election campaign for the 'Bull Moose' Progressive Party. However, the principles out of which the New Nationalism was fused were bigger than even his commanding persona. Historians have noted, for example, that although Woodrow Wilson took the White House in 1912 by rhetorically opposing Roosevelt's New Nationalism, its core principles ultimately guided his priorities in office (1913-1920).⁷ These were the ideas that in effect reinvented liberal thinking for the new century. Yet it is not commonly acknowledged that even by the time Croly wrote *The Promise of American Life*, outdoors magazines had long been urging Americans to embrace a code of sportsmanship that had exerted a formative influence upon, among others, one Theodore Roosevelt, and which lent itself to thinking about the ethics of individualism, fellowship, and social responsibility, and questions of national identity.⁸ If the New Nationalism acquired cogency during the Progressive Era, it was in no small part because its core values were by then already a familiar part of American cultural life.

The cultural importance of sportsmanship has nonetheless been overlooked in the major narrative histories of this period. For example, writing in the 1950s-1960s, Hartz, Hofstadter, Sklar, Weinstein, Kolko, and Weibe dealt more strictly with matters of intellectual history and political economy.⁹ Where Hays (1957) mentioned Roosevelt's sportsmanship, he did so only in passing—acknowledging it only as far as it related to his support for forest conservation.¹⁰ And when scholars moved on to refocus on social and political history in the 1970s, and especially through the 1980s-1990s, in the work of Thelen, Buenker, Painter, Dawley, Diner, and others, they bypassed the significance of elite sportsmanship even as they valuably foregrounded the experiences of the new middle class, workers, women, and immigrant and minority communities.¹¹ But the significance of sportsmanship has gone overlooked more recently too, by cultural historians of popular magazines, advertising, and mass consumption.¹² Even where

Jackson Lears has come close, in discussing turn-of-the-century preoccupations with vitality and physical experience, he has not gone as far as to consider the relevance of the ideals of sportsmanship or their relationship to the emergence of the New Nationalism. This is true of his more recent narrative history as well as his particularly influential *No Place of Grace*.¹³

Actually, far from acknowledging the contribution of outdoors sportsmanship to the progressive tradition in America, cultural historians including Richard Slotkin, Gail Bederman, Kristin Hoganson, Sarah Watts, Matthew Frye Jacobson, Christine Bold, have in recent decades linked it to the most atavistic qualities of national life.¹⁴ Often refracted through Theodore Roosevelt's fascination with African big-game hunting, his musings on race theory, his bloodthirsty histories, and his bombastic public support for imperialism, outdoors recreation has been placed at the ideological nexus of militarism and white male supremacism. It is not simply that this has created an imbalanced image of a president whose ambivalent legacy also includes conservation policy and Square Deal welfare liberalism, and who famously outraged the Jim Crow South by formally inviting Booker T. Washington (the leading voice of black America at the time) to dine at the White House. By more or less reducing outdoors recreation to blood sports and safaris, primitivism, patriarchy, and imperialism, historians have left little room for consideration of sportsmanship outside of that essential ideological function. What is underplayed or absent in such interpretations is the strong thread of civic nationalism that ran through Roosevelt's thinking.¹⁵ And while historians have drawn connections between outdoors recreation and the construction of white manliness, they have not typically acknowledged that when sportsmanship was invoked, it also spoke of a concern for civic culture and the national community.¹⁶

Some other aspects of sporting culture have received more serious consideration in these terms. Mark Dyreson, for example, has shown the importance of the Olympic movement in the promotion of democratic republican values. And in a similar vein, S. W. Pope's work on competitive games has explained how sports brought diverse communities together in shared rituals.¹⁷ Work remains to be done, however, in order to address the wider political significance of sportsmanship in middle-class leisure and recreation, and for that matter there is a need to widen the scope of enquiry out from a narrow focus on athletics and games. As outdoors magazines record, hunting, fishing, and a whole constellation of other outdoors interests were just as important as athletics and games in the construction of sportsmanship, and by extension American national culture. So were the various consumption practices that were increasingly an intrinsic

part of outdoors recreation: the specialist clothing, equipment, and outfit; the specialist knowledge contained in books and magazines. For that matter, so was the pastime of reading about outdoors recreation. Outdoors magazines document how sportsmanship was held to apply to all of those pursuits, and how it operated as a moralistic exhortation for Americans to dedicate their consumption practices to the sort of individual and social improvement that was at the core of Herbert Croly's democracy.¹⁸

In making this argument, it is important to recognise that while progressivism of this sort has been described in one corner (accurately) as a social order of imperialism and patriarchy, it was at the same time a foundation of twentieth-century liberal thought: it flowed into the tradition of reform liberalism that Richard Rorty traced from Herbert Croly through John Dewey and down to the 1960s, to the New Frontier and the Great Society; a tradition of what Michael Lind called liberal nationalism.¹⁹ It was the political tradition that established a concept of common nationhood and an ideal of citizenship that provided the basis for subsequent struggles for democratic rights and social justice. Recognising this is not to dispute the validity of critical readings of Progressive Era culture, but it is to acknowledge that a vital democratic tradition of reform paradoxically developed out of what was on one level an elitist, white, male, corporate capitalist, and imperialist vision of American civic culture. What the study of sportsmanship brings to an understanding of that history is a recognition that the principles of good republican citizenship were being worked out not only in intellectual and political debates at this time but also more broadly in a culture of consumption. And it shows the potential of the market, of consumption, to democratise that culture—in this case by incorporating a growing middle class.

To demonstrate this point, the work below examines the ideal of sportsmanship described in the outdoors magazines of the Progressive Era. It tracks the development of that ideal through the years in which it branched out from elite culture and became more properly part of the emerging national mass culture of the middle-class. It looks across a range of publications before fixing upon *Outing* magazine during the years in which it was edited by Caspar Whitney (1900-1908), a journalist, hunter, adventurer, idealistic champion of the American Olympic movement, and—no accident here—associate of Theodore Roosevelt. Once celebrated, even if now largely forgotten (it ceased publication in 1923), *Outing* offered arguably the richest subject matter of any outdoors magazine of the time, as is shown in the next section. Published monthly, it was a substantial 100 pages long, was lavishly illustrated—notably by Frederic Remington and others—and its content ranged widely. But the significance of *Outing* lies not so

much in the quality of its content, although this was excellent; nor its breadth, although it defined the field of outdoors recreation in a comprehensive way; nor its circulation, although for an outdoors magazine it sold well. Nor did it lie in Whitney's undoubtedly engaging personality—for editors of outdoors magazines were often charismatic and respected sportsmen of that sort: compare with George Bird Grinnell of *Forest and Stream*, or George O. Shields ('Coquina'), of *Recreation*, for example.²⁰ Rather its significance lies in the clarity with which Whitney expressed the potential for sportsmanship to serve as a model for American citizenship, and in the way he used his compelling editorial voice to frame outdoors recreation in these terms. He understood what was implicit in other outdoors magazines and saw in sportsmanship a set of cultural values around which a new nation could be shaped.

Sportsmanship as National Culture

At the end of the nineteenth century, outdoors magazines turned the sporting pastimes of the American elite into a national culture, incorporating a growing middle class of consumers, and encompassing the lands of the old frontier and the new imperial territories that were even then being assimilated into the tourist economy. Essentially, those magazines took a tradition of writing that dated back to before the Civil War, which promoted the benefits of outdoors recreation and offered guidance to aspiring sportsmen, and updated it for the coming century. As the commerce associated with outdoors recreation developed, so magazines responded by assimilating a greater variety of middle-class pursuits. Eventually, they reached far beyond the scope of the earlier generation of outdoors books, but they nevertheless continued in a similar vein by invoking the ideals of sportsmanship and seeking to impose a larger set of ethical obligations upon outdoors recreation. Sportsmanship thus became embedded in consumption practices and became part of a national culture rather than remaining restricted to a specific elite class. As a consequence, as will become apparent later, Caspar Whitney was able to represent sportsmanship as the embodiment of shared American values, which in his view constituted the ethical basis of Theodore Roosevelt's politics, the nascent New Nationalism.

Back in the 1840s, outdoors recreation—then largely restricted to hunting and fishing, camping and canoeing—had been the preserve of artists, writers, and gentleman sportsmen.²¹ Around the time Francis Parkman was lighting out across the far West on the Oregon trail, for example, wealthy vacationers from the northeast were rediscovering in the Adirondacks, upstate New York, a romanticised and

sentimentalised landscape of mountains, forests, and lakes familiar from James Fenimore Cooper's *Last of the Mohicans*.²² When Joel T. Headley wrote *The Adirondack* in 1849, he could still describe an unspoilt retreat for determined gentlefolk drawn by the promise of a healthful, simple life and the forest's bounty of venison and trout.²³ However, things were changing, even by the time of the Civil War. In his second, 1864 edition, Headley observed that the Adirondacks had been transformed by an 'influx of travellers' in the intervening years: 'the white tents of their pleasant camps by the lake shore [now] tend to enliven very much the solitude of the wilderness', he wrote.²⁴ The subsequent completion of a railroad route made the region even more readily accessible, and when William H. H. 'Adirondack' Murray published *Adventures in the Wilderness* in 1869 it was said to have drawn a crush of tourists.²⁵

As the popularity of outdoors recreation grew, sportsmanship served as a mark of distinction.²⁶ 'Adirondack' Murray's book was partly a guide to correct consumption practices—a didactic function that would continue in later generations of sporting magazines. As important as knowing where and when to go was knowing what to take. 'Dry-goods clerks and students' over-pack, he wrote, and go 'supplied with [...] any amount of useless *impedimenta*' and inappropriate outfit. He recalled, for instance, seeing one student vacationer laughably sporting a pair of dandyish alligator boots.²⁷ If the unschooled tourist was said to bring too much, the follower of Murray would nevertheless need to hit the stores before leaving town because he was quite specific about what one would need: everything from woollen undergarments to buckskin gloves; which fly-fishing rod; which flies (not French); which rifle (Ballard or Maynard).²⁸ The trick was to know the appropriate things to bring—knowledge that Murray offered to pass on to the earnest novice.

Nevertheless, sportsmanship implied more than discerning consumer choices. For those who considered themselves the true heirs of James Fenimore Cooper's Hawkeye, the tourist who possessed the right outfit but lacked mastery was no true sportsman. That included mastery over the servant class. Learning how to choose the right guide was key, and Murray's book betrayed an imperious attitude: the 'talkative guide' who 'is always interrupting you', was to be avoided, he warned; still worse was the 'ignorant, lazy, low-bred guide'.²⁹ It was important to be able to adopt a commanding bearing, the reader might conclude, perhaps as one might take to servants or employees. An ability to demonstrate mastery of technique and of the environment was equally important. Charles Hallock, founding editor of *Forest and Stream*, took a wry look at this 'rush for the wilderness' in an 1870 article for *Harper's*. Documenting the exploits of

the fictional Raquette Club, inspired by ‘Adirondack’ Murray’s book, Hallock showed how the cheery expectations of these tenderfoot sportsmen were confounded by rustic accommodation, cynical locals, black fly, the difficulty of fly fishing, and the dustiness of outdoors cooking.³⁰ The message was clear: sportsmanship was about more than consumption, and the wilderness was best left to the class of sportsmen who knew what they were doing.

Nevertheless, there was a growing market for publications that offered to inculcate the new middle class in the ways of sportsmanship. When George W. Sears (‘Nessmuk’) wrote the enduringly popular *Woodcraft*—originally published by *Forest and Stream* in 1884—he represented the outdoors as a place of social levelling. Of humble origin, Sears was adopted as a writer by the patrician elite and stood as a social mediator in that respect. He explicitly addressed himself in down-to-earth terms to what he called America’s ‘Grand Army of “Outers”’, composed of the ‘hundreds of thousands of practical, useful men, many of them far from being rich; mechanics, artists, writers, merchants, clerks, business men’—all ‘workers, so to speak’.³¹ Actually, given the expenditure and time away from work involved, it was more accurate to assume that the growing ‘army’ of ‘outers’ was one of middle-class means. Indeed, although he recommended keeping camp outfit to a minimum, the first stops to be made on a camping trip, Nessmuk style, were (as in ‘Adirondack’ Murray’s time), to be expensive ones to the outfitter.³² Still, the importance of Nessmuk’s writing at a time of growing consumerism was that it explained how to master outdoors skills. His writing in this way demanded an acceptance of the standards of the patrician elite, but he encouraged the democratisation of that culture. Nessmuk offered to guide the aspiring new middle class into the patrician cultural world as much as into the wilderness.

By the latter decades of the nineteenth century, though, it was magazines that would play a key role in establishing sportsmanship as part of national culture. There had been magazines dealing with horse racing, boxing, or other sporting interests before the Civil War: *The Spirit of the Times* for example. But the format of the outdoors magazine was the product of the 1870s, when a number of new publications came onto the market. Of those, *Forest and Stream* (New York, 1873; it incorporated *Rod and Gun* in 1877) emerged as pre-eminent, focused on hunting and fishing and associated interests in the kennel, natural history, and canoeing and yachting.³³ The following decade saw the arrival, notably, of *Outing* (New York, 1882; it merged with *The Wheelman*, a Boston-based bicycle magazine (edited by Samuel S. McClure) in 1884 to become *Outing and the Wheelman*, before a change of ownership and a move to New

York saw it revert simply to *Outing* in 1885). Then, in the 1890s, came a clutch of new titles: *Recreation* (New York, 1894), *Field and Stream* (Minnesota, 1896; it absorbed *Forest and Stream* in 1930); *Outdoor Life* (Colorado, 1898); and *Outer's Book* (Wisconsin, 1901; it later merged with *Recreation* before being taken over by *Outdoor Life*).³⁴ Readerships did not reach the stratospheric heights of *Munsey's* (500,000 by 1895) or *Century* (200,000 in the 1880s).³⁵ But according to *Rowell's* directory, they were comparable with the likes of *The Outlook* (between 40,000 and 90,000 in the 1890s), *Country Life of America* (20,000), and *National Geographic* (under 5,000 by 1900).³⁶ *Forest and Stream*, for example, had an estimated readership of between 5,000-10,000 around the turn of the century, and likewise *Recreation*. *Field and Stream* had a readership half that size, while *Outdoor Life* managed 20,000. *Outing* was one of the more successful: it hit a peak of nearly 90,000 in the 1890s, and again under Caspar Whitney's editorship, although the more typical estimate was around 20,000.³⁷

Like the earlier writings of Headley and Murray, outdoors magazines were basically preoccupied with the question of what constituted good sportsmanship. At the most elementary level, they associated it with skill and dedication in hunting, fishing, and athletics.³⁸ And it continued to imply discerning consumption practices: *Forest and Stream*, *Recreation*, and *Outing* all carried pages of advertisements for firearms and fishing tackle, binoculars and cameras, camping supplies, clothing, as well as cruises and railroad journeys to the sorts of destinations presumably appropriate for the authentic sportsman.³⁹ But for what were at core hunting and fishing magazines, sportsmanship was increasingly inseparable from questions about the larger social implications of outdoors recreation, especially regarding conservation ethics. In order to enjoy the freedom of the forest, it was necessary that sportsmen should be able to exercise self-control, behave responsibly, and respect the law. Accordingly, sportsmanship implied restraint, respect for the closed season, but also a moral disapproval of what was interpreted as the selfishness and greed of excessive slaughter that might threaten stocks. By the 1890s, this was understood as a wise or decent concern for society at large and for future generations. And by that measure, sportsmanship came to imply a selfless stewardship of the landscape, and increasingly, national resources. As one correspondent with *Recreation* put it, the bad sport who breaks game restriction laws is a bad citizen.⁴⁰ To put in another way, it was possible to conceive sportsmanship as, among other things, responsible citizenship.

Importantly, those magazines promoted the values of sportsmanship as part of a national culture. It helped in this respect that *Forest and Stream* was, through Grinnell,

associated with the Boone and Crockett Club, and that *Recreation* was the magazine of the League of American Sportsmen.⁴¹ But the growing national market for recreational goods was also key in this, for common consumption practices together with the shared understanding of sportsmanship worked against a narrow social elitism. When expressed as ‘gentlemanly’ conduct, sportsmanship was still constructed in idealised class terms, but actually, outdoors magazines were clear that not every hunter of a supposed gentleman’s social standing was a sportsman. By the same token, in theory sportsmanship could be claimed by anyone who lived up to its stringent principles of personal conduct.⁴²

It was around this national culture of hunting and fishing sportsmanship that assorted faddish pastimes and an increasingly diverse outdoors culture gravitated. By the 1890s, for example, *Forest and Stream* was incorporating articles on bicycling, travel writing, and poetry.⁴³ *Recreation* covered hunting and fishing and also bicycling, photography, and poetry.⁴⁴ *Outing* was particularly varied. From its earliest days, its sections included athletics, tennis, and archery, as well as hunting, fishing, and canoeing. The merger with *The Wheelman* brought in bicycling, and it expanded further during the 1880s-1890s, incorporating photography, poetry, golf, bowling, shooting, football, wrestling and boxing, rowing and yachting, swimming and other aquatic sports, equestrian sports, walking and climbing, and so on. It featured reports on expeditions and travel writing covering Europe and Asia, Mexico, the West, and the northlands of Canada. It published nature writing, natural history, and ornithology (and there was a crossover with hunting in articles that described the habitats of game animals).⁴⁵ And it published fiction too: hunting stories, animal stories, and tales of romance and adventure—both Jack London’s *White Fang* and Clarence Mulford’s *Bar-20* stories appeared in *Outing*, for example.⁴⁶

This represented a vast field of middle-class leisure, brought under the auspices of sportsmanship. Not only did this mean that there were few significant areas of middle-class leisure that were untouched by sportsmanship, it also meant that sportsmanship would culturally seep into almost anywhere middle-class Americans had a stake. Consider, for example, that sportsmanship provided the lens through which Americans could look out upon lands that had recently been considered wild country but which were now being culturally reshaped by tourism: Washington, Colorado, Montana, Wyoming, South Dakota, the Cascades, the Rockies, the Black Hills, and the Badlands, all of which were presented as aspirational destinations for sportsmen.⁴⁷ In turn, that romanticised western landscape was brought together with the well-trodden hunting

grounds of the Adirondacks and the sentimentalised Southland. And at the same time, all of those American regions were placed alongside exoticised overseas territories, including recently annexed lands: Cuba ('a large immigration from the North is expected to come here with the snipe this winter', one correspondent wrote to *Forest and Stream* in 1899); Puerto Rico; Hawaii; the Philippines ('When the war [...] is over, we shall hear much of those islands as a field for sportsmen', in the view of one *Recreation* reader).⁴⁸ All of this was to be considered the dominion of sportsmanship.

By the turn of the century, then, there was already a well-established discourse about sportsmanship that served to channel ideas about consumption, personal moral conduct, and national identity. Outdoors magazines hence provide more than a record of American pastimes. The figure of the sportsman could be understood as the embodiment of an individualism that might impose moral leadership on the forces of the modern age. Instead of aimless power, sportsmanship offered ethical direction for a society being transformed by imperialism and corporate capitalism. Here was a basis of what Croly would present as a restless democracy of individual and social improvement dedicated to the national purpose. As the twentieth century began, this tendency of sportsmanship was nowhere more evident or explicitly stated than in the pages of *Outing*, during the years of Caspar Whitney's editorship. It is his vision of a national community, built upon the values of sportsmanship, which provides the focus for the next two sections.

Sportsmanship as Citizenship

There were few Americans better placed to take the helm at a magazine like *Outing* than Caspar Whitney. He had first made his name as a sports writer, but his career really took off in 1895 when he accepted an assignment at *Harper's Magazine* to journey to northern Canada—a real-life adventure that appeared first in the magazine, and then as a book the following year: *On Snow-Shoes to the Barren Grounds*.⁴⁹ In 1898, he travelled to Cuba as the magazine's war correspondent, documenting the exploits of Colonel Theodore Roosevelt and his volunteer Rough Riders, among other things.⁵⁰ The year after, he published a first-hand account of newly annexed Hawaii. By spring, 1900, he was editor of *Outing*.⁵¹

Still in his mid-30s by then, Whitney was associated with the same Boone and Crockett Club hunting set that included Theodore Roosevelt (naturally), Owen Wister (author of *The Virginian* and sometime contributor to *Outing*), and George Bird Grinnell (the Club's founder and editor of *Forest and Stream*).⁵² These were urbane men who lived in genteel circumstances in and around New York, Connecticut, and Rhode Island

but who professed to be most at home in the forests of the Adirondack Mountains or on the Great Plains of Wyoming. They were Republicans of the patrician sort, men of privilege who presumed their own values were the true embodiment of the nation. However, that being said, Whitney did not have quite the same pedigree. His family (if not his name) was obscure.⁵³ He claimed to have attended Harvard, but in reality graduated from a college in California.⁵⁴ He was, to be precise, a middle-class man on the make. He was of the generation for whom the idea of the wilderness had been shaped by earlier writers—the likes of Headley, Murray, and Nessmuk. And it was as an outsider who had entered the margins of patrician society that Whitney absorbed the lessons of that previous generation and produced an idealised vision of the sportsman as national symbol, just as the United States was embarking on a new phase in its history.

At the end of the nineteenth century, the United States extended its hold over the Caribbean and the Pacific, and for Whitney's generation, sportsmanship took on an additional inflection in this ambitious age of imperialism. To the extent that imperialism was (self-servingly) rationalised as a national responsibility to prepare colonised peoples for democratic self-government, it hinged on the belief that white men, particularly those of Colonel Roosevelt's elite class, would naturally provide the necessary leadership for those peoples.⁵⁵ On the imperial stage, the sportsman could be deemed to demonstrate not merely the supposed strength and power of white masculinity but also the virtues of republican democratic self-government, organised according to the idealised principles of patrician sportsmanship. To Whitney's mind, sportsmanship encapsulated the best ideals of the patrician elite, and he hoped it would provide the organising principle for a cross-class national community. In short, the sportsman was for Whitney a model of nationalist leadership. Thus, in Cuba, he wrote, Roosevelt ('dashing, energetic, determined') had successfully fused the Rough Riders out of the raw material of assorted outdoorsmen and frontiersmen: 'the man who hunted big-game, who was fond of out-of-door sport, the college athlete, the cow-puncher [i.e., cowboy], and the miner'.⁵⁶ As editor of *Outing*, Whitney turned the imperialist lens back upon the United States, which he believed was falling short of those ideals, and his conclusions would anticipate the emerging politics of progressive reform. He believed that the same ethical leadership that was supposedly to educate and mould colonised peoples into republican citizens was also needed at this time in the United States. And it was specifically through sportsmanship, Whitney believed, that Americans would construct a national community demonstrably fit for democratic self-government.

Outing was not quite as bully a pulpit as the presidency, but it was a bully one all the same. In his monthly editorial column, 'The Sportsman's View-Point', Whitney offered up opinions on sporting and political matters—for sporting matters were to him inherently political, and political matters were to be judged by the idealised ethical standards of sportsmanship. It was above all Theodore Roosevelt who, in Whitney's eyes, embodied those values. Roosevelt was already a totemic figure by the turn of the century, of course, and in fact the object of some fascination for the likes of *McClure's*, *Cosmopolitan*, *Century*, and *Scribner's*.⁵⁷ To his admirers, Roosevelt embodied a patrician independence of mind that was equated with a detached concern for the national and public good. Here was someone, it was said, who was able to transcend party or faction or class. Charles Eugene Banks wrote of Roosevelt's days as a New York assemblyman that 'he sat with bankers and bricklayers, with merchants and mechanics, with lawyers, farmers, day-laborers, saloon-keepers and prize-fighters'.⁵⁸ He was said to have had no special interest, was someone over whom the Trusts had no hold, and who was therefore able to stand 'for fair play', as Jacob Riis wrote.⁵⁹ He was committed to the cause of good government, and in keeping with that he opposed the spoils system and the self-interested machine politics of the party bosses.⁶⁰ Yet, just as he strove to avoid 'the despotism of the party machine', he scorned self-indulgent individualism, which could only result in 'windy anarchy'.⁶¹ And it was that disciplined individualism that was thought to define Roosevelt's attitude to nationalism as much as party loyalty. His was conceived as a purposeful individualism in the service of a national community defined by rules and laws rather than competing interests. As Jacob Riis put it, TR stood 'for an even chance to all who would use it for their own and their *country's* good'.⁶²

Whitney joined the growing chorus of Roosevelt supporters, but *his* Roosevelt was the figure of the sportsman, into which he packed those same qualities that others admired. Whitney's editorials accordingly framed TR's political qualities as aspects of sportsmanship. He praised his conservation agenda, for example, but it was as much what Roosevelt's approach said about his character as a sportsman that mattered: he was a man of 'habitual directness and vigor', in Whitney's words.⁶³ It was surely with Roosevelt in mind in June 1900—as the Republican convention was choosing a new running mate for McKinley—that he looked forward to the day when the United States might 'have a President who is more of a sportsman and less of a politician'.⁶⁴ Roosevelt was elected vice president that year, and then sooner than Whitney had imagined, and in the terrible circumstances of McKinley's assassination, he was thrust into the White House in September 1901. No matter how he got there, once in office, he did not

disappoint Whitney. Here was a man who lived up to his own creed, and Whitney felt moved to place Roosevelt's words at head of his August, 1902, editorial as a keynote for that month: 'The man who counts is the man who makes himself felt as a force for clean living, for civic righteousness.'⁶⁵ After Roosevelt secured a full term in the election of 1904, Whitney wrote approvingly of the victory. It was a vindication of his presidency, but above all of the man himself and the values he represented. By the same token, the election had somewhat vindicated Whitney's faith in the American people. Roosevelt had carried the support of a people who recognised a man who 'is honest, and courageous, and virile; hates lying and meanness and sham', Whitney opined.⁶⁶

Whitney was particularly starry eyed when it came to Theodore Roosevelt, but TR was of course to be distinguished from his other wealthy and patrician peers by his particularly earnest sportsmanship. In other words, it was not his class as such that made him a singular presence in American life for Whitney, but his commitment to the ethical code of sportsmanship. Or to put it another way, the measure of the man was not intrinsically his social status, even if Whitney tended to assume that the patrician class would naturally provide leadership. Sportsmanship was, rather, a code of ethics. Crucially, its key features would become recognisable in the politics of progressivism—and especially in New Nationalism's focus on republican citizenship. For example, the values of sportsmanship could be deemed by Whitney to be standards appropriate to City Hall or the Chamber of Commerce as much as to the sports field. Respect for rules could be equated with respect for the rule of law over self-interest; respect for one's opponent with social responsibility; a concern for conservation with the prudent management of national resources.

Thus, Whitney blamed the absence of a sporting sentiment that should have placed ethics above winning for low standards in public life. It was, he wrote, 'the pursuit of that modern grail, "success" at all costs that was to blame: the determination to 'Win—win somehow, but win; get the purse; everything goes so long as you are not caught with the "goods on"—to borrow Tammany's apt slang'. There was a connection between an absence of sportsmanship, he wrote, and a litany of public and private ills: 'scandals in business, adulteration of food, corruption in politics, disloyalty among friends, [and] social blackmailing'. It was clear to Whitney that 'whether your activities be at Caracas in the Venezuelan diplomatic service, or at Albany in the Supreme Court, or at Atlantic City playing "summer-nine" baseball', the root cause of dishonesty was the same: 'Write greed and graft and cant on the front door of modern endeavour, and then do not ask me why a man's play reflects the spirit of man's business and social

struggles'.⁶⁷ He was clear about what was unsporting: a means-justify-the-ends competitiveness; a corporate, business decision-making process driven by profit regardless of social responsibility; machine politics. Accordingly, we might infer what constituted sporting conduct: socially responsible business; a politics shorn of patronage and interests.

Here, Whitney's notion of a sporting society began to resemble elements of Theodore Roosevelt's emerging progressivism, and ultimately the New Nationalism: good government and a demand for corporate responsibility, which flowed into the Square Deal and business regulation. However, his vision was more strictly ethical rather than political. Whitney was more concerned with promoting a spirit of sportsmanship that might provide the basis of a national community rather than with the business of government itself. He believed patriotism should be personally invigorating and bring Americans together—a patriotism of the 'full-blooded, generous-hearted, kindly speaking, manly, womanly sort', which stood for 'charity (of action *and* speech), fresh air, cold water, sincerity, courage and sanity'. *Outing's* success, he wrote, was attributable precisely to the way in which its sportsmanship gave substance to national identity through its 'direct appeal to its readers to be wholesome, to be helpful, to be genuine, to be American'. Those qualities of sincerity, selflessness, and determination would be needed, he suggested, in order to confront the task of reforming a nation sullied by 'unclean politics, and the municipal and corporate corruption'. While 'foul spots' were inevitable in any society, he wrote, *Outing's* sportsmanship represented a countervailing tendency that was truer, he wrote, to 'the real heart of America'.⁶⁸ The heart of America in this sense, then, was a nationalism predicated on the ethics of sportsmanship. What turned Whitney's individualism into something more consistent with the emerging politics of the New Nationalism was precisely the way in which sportsmanship combined it with an ethical commitment to social responsibility and the fellowship of national community in this way.

Herbert Croly would make the case more emphatically for government to undertake the work of reform, but he also saw the individual citizen as the cornerstone of a strong national community. When he praised Theodore Roosevelt in *The Promise of American Life* as a source of inspiration, he was in effect lauding many of the personal qualities that Caspar Whitney had been describing in idealised terms as sportsmanship over the course of a decade as editor of *Outing* magazine. For Croly, the unifying principle of Roosevelt's career was 'the national idea', and it was this that gave 'a democratic meaning and purpose to the Hamiltonian tradition' of national political

action.⁶⁹ By democratic, Croly had in mind not the ‘democracy of suspicious discontent, of selfish claims, of factious agitation, and of individual class aggression’, which was to say the ‘democracy of individual rights’.⁷⁰ Rather, it imparted a responsibility. It required a commitment to ‘laborious, single-minded, clear-sighted, and fearless work’ towards a national purpose.⁷¹ Croly argued that it was in the national purpose that individualism would find its truest expression, through the development of ‘individual purpose and power’. And so, for Croly, ‘patriotism, instead of being something apart from [individual] special work, should be absolutely identified therewith’. As a consequence, the American patriot, ‘is to make his contribution to individual improvement primarily by making himself more of an individual’; in short he ‘needs to do what he has been doing, only more so, and with the conviction that thereby he is becoming not less but more of an American’.⁷² In an important respect, this was what Whitney looked to sportsmanship to do, to serve the function of establishing a shared ethical purpose aligned with the national community. The next section develops that theme and explains how Whitney brought hunting sportsmanship together with elite athletics and competitive sports to define a democratic nationalism in this vein.

Sportsmanship as Democratic Nationalism

Caspar Whitney demanded the most scrupulous observation of game laws and the highest standards of amateurism: sports for sport’s sake and the Corinthian spirit. And given his concern for amateurism, and his interest in college sports and the leisure pursuits of gentleman sportsmen, it would be reasonable to conclude that he assumed the nation’s sporting elite would be drawn exclusively from the social elite—the same patrician class that was supposed, according to such a calculus, to set a moral example and embody the national character in public life as in sports.⁷³ But things were more complicated than that. Having constructed an idealised patrician sportsman in the figure of Theodore Roosevelt, Caspar Whitney’s editorials were preoccupied with the failure of the patrician class to perform the function of moral leadership in reality. In matters of sporting ethics, his editorials took on the jeremiad quality recognisable in a strain of progressive writing: there is something rotten out there, and it falls to citizens of good will to redeem the republic. Ultimately, what Whitney described in *Outing* was a nation shaped in the image not of the actual patrician elite but of his idealised notion of that class: citizens whose sporting conduct was taken as a measure of their moral conduct in business and society, and whose sportsmanship was matched by wholesomeness and civic responsibility. It was an engaged citizenry in this mould,

inspired by hand-me-down patrician sportsmanship, striving Croly-like towards a shared ethical purpose, which constituted the heart of Whitney's ideal national community.

Sportsmanship had traditionally emphasised the importance of individual moral responsibility. Writers of an earlier generation had constructed sportsmanship as a code of personal ethics in outdoors recreation, and then in the latter nineteenth century, books and magazines cast middle-class leisure in like terms. Whitney took this a further step onward by presenting sportsmanship as the basis of republican values for the nation at large, but he retained that earlier emphasis upon personal ethics. Of course, one answer to the problems of bad sportsmanship (or bad business practice or political corruption for that matter) could have been to use the power of national government to regulate the commerce of sports and to use the law in effect to enforce sportsmanship. And Whitney did advocate state and federal game and fish protection, wishing to see this extended to the length of the season, the sale of game, and the licensing of firearms.⁷⁴ He went as far as to suggest that game wardens should be given the powers of U.S. Marshals under such a new regime, and be permitted to open suspect packages where violations of the law were suspected.⁷⁵ He urged reform of the penal code to bring criminal sanctions to bear on those who failed to behave responsibly, which would include those who needlessly slaughtered animals or killed rare species.⁷⁶ Partly, he had in his sights wealthy long islanders who failed to respect the closed season.⁷⁷ But the point Whitney was making in his editorials was more essentially didactic. He was largely concerned with establishing a basis for national action, and with promoting individual responsibility within that national context.

Much of Whitney's editorial writing can be understood in this light as an attempt to stimulate national leadership by promoting cooperation and competition between disparate athletic and sporting clubs and societies. He urged associations of hunting sportsmen to band together in order to lobby government.⁷⁸ And he wrote often of the need for amateur clubs to be established or strengthened, and for their rules and regulations to be harmonised. Editorial comments on this subject covered a broad range of sports, from athletics to baseball; tennis to polo; horse racing and driving; cycling and rowing and canoeing; golf; rifle shooting.⁷⁹ 'We need very badly an annual congress of sportsmen in sections where uniformity is feasible', he wrote in 1900.⁸⁰ On an elementary level, he encouraged national-level thinking about sporting endeavours of all sorts. National competitions were in that context important mechanisms for encouraging the development of a national consciousness among the middle class. He

concerned himself here in particular with college athletics, but also tennis and golf. And of course, international competitions provided opportunities to define specific *American* qualities. The America's Cup was key, and Whitney devoted many pages to discussing the ingenuity and superiority of U.S. yacht design.⁸¹ Then there were the Olympic Games. Whitney was a member of the American Olympic Committee during the 1900s, and saw the games as a test not simply of individual athletic prowess but of national character.⁸²

While Whitney encouraged national and international competition of this sort, and along with that the harmonisation of standards and regulations in sport, he insisted that the spirit of sportsmanship should be sufficient itself to maintain fair play. 'Already there are too many systems', he wrote in 1905. 'What we want is the building of the right spirit'.⁸³ That spirit should, he insisted, flow from amateurism. Yet professionalism seemed to be inexorably on the rise: there was money to be made from sports. The past season had been 'a reproach to American yachting,' he wrote in October, 1900, for example. Two seventy-footers, the *Mineola* and the *Rainbow*, had been captained and crewed by professionals—worse still, Englishmen: 'There is, perhaps, no professional in the world filled with so many dirty tricks as the English', he wrote; they 'resorted to tactics in racing which'—note his class snobbery here—'smack of the pit and the ale-house of East End London'.⁸⁴ In polo, he wrote the same month, there was a discernible 'lack of sportsmanship', and 'too many mug-hunters' [those who compete for prizes, i.e. trophy cups or 'mugs']. Other sports suffered the same problem. '[M]ug-hunters [...] infest sports', he wrote—although this time he had in mind people of means who 'are long in pocket', but invariably 'short on amateur spirit'.⁸⁵ And in horse racing, gambling was eating away at sportsmanship. 'The sportsman has been gradually giving ground to the dollar-seeking sporting man'; and of course, he wrote, 'betting is to be found incentive for all the dishonest running and riding, of which, alas! we have seen too much within the year (of 1900)'. Urgent action was needed if American stables were to avoid becoming as crooked as the English.⁸⁶

The bigger problem, though, was that the universities that were supposed to be the engines of American amateur sportsmanship—particularly Harvard and Yale—consistently failed to live up to Whitney's expectations.⁸⁷ His editorials returned again and again to the vexed question of college sporting ethics. There was a growing concern at the turn of the century that commercial incentives were turning amateur college athletes into, in effect, professionals or semi-professionals. There was enough of an air of scandal about it for *McClure's* to publish a two-part investigative article in 1905 by

Henry Beach Needham (another of the Teddy Roosevelt crowd), which cited Whitney and substantially shared his view on the matter. ‘The hope of college amateurism is in the awakening of the spirit of true sport—fair play, and sport for sport’s sake’, he wrote.⁸⁸ Whitney in turn enthusiastically endorsed the piece.⁸⁹

Whitney often made the point himself, that a lack of sporting spirit was giving rise to the ‘corrupting influence’ of professionalism and ‘unwholesome methods’.⁹⁰ There was a ‘win-at-all-costs’ mentality, constantly creeping in, he complained.⁹¹ This mentality encouraged colleges to bring professionals into the amateur game, or to make devious ‘semi-professional’ arrangements, which only caused ‘confusion’ and ‘corruption’. His concern: ‘it will never be possible to keep any game wholesome and prosperous unless competition for money is the fundamental line separating the amateur from the professional’.⁹² Cynicism followed the erosion of amateurism, giving rise to ‘muckerish tendencies’ (foul play), and the practices of ‘hoodlum coaching’.⁹³ He was to repeat the same lament about the ‘abominable modern spirit to beat the rules’ throughout his time at *Outing*.⁹⁴

Nor could sportsmanship alone stop commercial interests from profiting from unsustainable and closed-season hunting. Simply, some hunters measured the success of their day’s shooting by the number of birds bagged, while for others, hunting was an instrumental means of obtaining for food or profit, and manufacturers brought new technologies to market all the time to meet such demands. In the summer of 1900, Whitney bemoaned the introduction of a new ‘sure catch fish-hook and animal trap’. It was a ‘devilish device’, he wrote.⁹⁵ Later in the year, he denounced the arrival into the market of a new pump-action gun.⁹⁶ A few years later, the new ‘automatic shotgun’ provoked the same response.⁹⁷ And whereas Whitney’s idealised figure of Theodore Roosevelt perfectly embodied the qualities of sportsmanship, actual sportsmen inevitably fell short of the mark. Even one as well-known as former president Grover Cleveland found himself temporarily in disgrace when it was reported that he had shot seventy-five ducks in one day during the closed season, in April 1901. Butchery of this sort ‘is not the work of a sportsman in any season’, Whitney wrote, and ‘at this time of the year it is the work of a pot hunter’ (i.e. one who hunts for food rather than sport; it was about the lowest insult one sportsman could hurl at another).⁹⁸

There was a utopian quality to this vision, and so long as Whitney demanded impossibly high ideals he would find himself engaged constantly in a struggle to stimulate an ongoing striving for moral improvement—and through that to form the basis of a common national commitment to the values of sportsmanship. His exhortation

functioned in this cyclical way. Thus, in autumn, 1901, Whitney wrote there had been ‘great improvement recently in the ethics of college sport’ on the back of the ‘campaign for clean sport’, before bemoaning an outright ‘crisis in university athletics’ caused by an eligibility controversy at Yale just two months later.⁹⁹ In 1905 he declared that the situation was greatly improved since the 1890s, but at the same time warned of the growing threat of commercialism, professionalism, and an imperative to ‘Win, no matter how, but *win*’; only two months later he was decrying the ‘hypocrisy’ of ‘covert professionalism’ afflicting amateur college sports, even while professing to believe in the face of such evidence that ‘the spirit of sport is growing’ amid ‘the escaping noxious gases from the sewer poison’ of corruption.¹⁰⁰ Similarly, the spirit of sportsmanship among hunters was, Whitney insisted, growing and yet continued effort was needed. His view was that ‘the growth in sportsmanly conduct’ had been ‘very great’ over the past decade or so. The spring hunter ‘was formerly the rule, now he is the exception’.¹⁰¹ Yet the work of changing habits was an ongoing task: ‘it is the duty of every man who has a humane and economic instinct to not only himself stop spring shooting,’ he wrote in 1900, ‘but to urge similar action by such of his friends as also offend’; he was expressing much the same view four years later.¹⁰²

It mattered in this respect that sportsmanship was not a struggle for improved performance—and actually, Whitney’s rhetoric scorned the notion that winning was the purpose of sports, or that the number of animals bagged was the measure of the hunter. Rather, what was behind all of this was striving for individual moral improvement and for an understanding that the development of one’s moral character was also the development of the national character. The ceaseless striving towards sportsmanship that Whitney endlessly advocated was above all a way of signalling a commitment to the national community. This was the essence of Roosevelt-thinking: in the making of the American nation, ‘Nothing can take the place of the individual factor’, as TR told a crowd at the Minnesota State Fair in a speech on ‘National Duties’ on 2 September 1901. It was as a nation of individuals that ‘We gird up our loins [...] with the stern purpose to play our part manfully in winning the ultimate triumph’.¹⁰³ And of course this sort of thinking was what Croly so much admired, and which would constitute the core of the New Nationalism.

To be a good sportsman in Whitney’s terms was to assume a burden of personal responsibility, and to seek to live up to high ideals. Whitney constructed an idealised figure of the patrician sportsman, against which he judged all sporting endeavours. And here was the essential contradiction in his thinking, which he did not rhetorically

resolve, which he did not bring himself to state explicitly, but which was the logical implication of his writing. Whitney implied that the patrician elite were the true custodians of the values of sportsmanship, and hence American values. But he also insisted that sportsmanship was a matter of individual integrity and commitment to the national community. The tenor of his editorial writing was that it could not be considered a quality necessarily inherent in any class. At the same time, his editorial writing put an inflection on the various assorted leisure pursuits covered by *Outing*. All were by implication subject to his exacting standards: the often solitary pastime of angling could be considered in these terms a contribution to the national community; the notably non-athletic activity of automobile driving could be seen as a mode of sportsmanship; the distinctly indoors habit of reading was essential to the larger culture of outdoors recreation, as sportsmanship was about the ethics of doing as much as it was about the doing itself. And here was the democratic potential in Whitney's writing: if the patrician elite could not live up to the idealised standards that Whitney had ascribed to them, then *Outing* left open the possibility that any of its readers could embody those values in any number of pursuits. It was a matter of striving towards sportsmanship.

Conclusion

This essay has looked in particular at Caspar Whitney's role as editor of *Outing* in order to understand the larger cultural and political significance of sportsmanship at the turn of the twentieth-century. Even if it was not strictly typical, *Outing* can be regarded as representative or emblematic of American outdoors magazines. It encompassed the field of outdoors recreation more comprehensively than its rivals, for example, and in doing so it laid bare the full extent of that field. And while other magazines also promoted sportsmanship, it was under the editorship of Caspar Whitney that *Outing* made its political implications explicit. This is the value of *Outing*, then: it brought the larger significance of sportsmanship into sharp focus. Ultimately, as a specialist magazine, there was a limit to *Outing's* reach. General magazines reached more people and perhaps, given their circulations, a more diverse middle class readership. But Whitney demonstrated the potential for sportsmanship to channel debates about the changing republic. In doing so, Whitney's editorial writings also underline the political significance of the growth of consumption at the turn of the century. Outdoors recreation was if nothing else a set of consumption practices, and the ethics of sportsmanship shaped notions of progressive citizenship and consumerism at the same time here.

As has been shown, Whitney aligned the principles of sportsmanship with the emerging national profile of Theodore Roosevelt. In contrast to the Republican party boss Mark Hanna, who famously derided Roosevelt as ‘that damned cowboy’, Whitney’s Roosevelt was no frontier roughneck.¹⁰⁴ He saw him, rather, as a Boone-and-Crockett gentleman sportsman who had turned his energies to the service of the nation, demonstrated in his political career and on the new imperial frontier of Cuba. It was sportsmanship, in Whitney’s view, that had enabled Roosevelt to fuse a cross-class community of patriotic Rough Riders out of assorted outdoorsmen, athletes, and frontiersmen. And sportsmanship was the basis of his ethical leadership in political service too, marked by his example of individualism twinned with a commitment to a public good, to social priorities, and to a wholesome, disinterested respect for rules and the law. In these endeavours, Whitney believed, Roosevelt embodied a sportsmanship that was also the right spirit of nationalism. Or to put it another way, it was sportsmanship that turned Roosevelt’s nationalism into a morally purposeful use of power.

What this shows is that it was possible to construe sportsmanship as an ethical framework for a citizenship that could assimilate the new forces transforming the republic, which were creating in the process a national consumer economy and establishing the United States as a great power in a global system of imperialism and corporate capitalism. It made for a nationalism essentially democratic in spirit, one in which individual citizens, rather than the state, rather than corporations, would represent the national community. And crucially, it identified the nation as the level at which political organisation should take place. It should be unsurprising that this would find itself in tune with important elements of Herbert Croly’s thinking, for he was also inspired by the example of Theodore Roosevelt, the sportsman’s sportsman. The point, however, is not so much whether Caspar Whitney beat Croly to the punch in comprehending the meaning of Roosevelt’s presidency. Rather, both in different ways gave voice to emergent ideas at this time, at a point in history when Americans were reaching towards a way of reinventing republican citizenship. Similarly, the New Nationalism of Theodore Roosevelt should be thought of as just one expression of those sentiments, which flowed into a larger progressive tradition. By tuning into the place of sportsmanship in history, then, it is possible to gain an insight into the extent to which the values that informed the progressive politics of the New Nationalism were rooted in American cultural life.

¹ For the economic context, see, for example: Gabriel Kolko, *The Triumph of Conservatism: A Reinterpretation of American History, 1900-1916* (New York: Free Press, 1963); Robert H. Weibe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967), 1-43; Martin J. Sklar, *The Corporate Reconstruction of American Capitalism, 1890-1916* (Cambridge: CUP, 1988); Alan Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1990. Originally 1982); Steven J. Diner, *A Very Different Age: Americans of the Progressive Era* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1998), 30-49. For U.S. imperialism, see Nell Irvin Painter, *Standing at Armageddon: The United States, 1877-1919* (New York and London: W. W. Norton, 1987), 141-169. For U.S. imperialism, see Nell Irvin Painter, *Standing at Armageddon: The United States, 1877-1919* (New York and London: W. W. Norton, 1987), 141-169.

² For example: Painter, *Standing at Armageddon*, 110-140; Diner, *Very Different Age*, 14-29.

³ Samuel P. Hays, *The Response to Industrialism, 1885-1914* (Chicago, IL: U Chicago P, 1957), 48-93. Webster's dictionary tracks the usage of 'combine' in this sense tellingly to 1886. *Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*, 11th Edition (Springfield, MA: Merriam-Webster Inc., 2003).

⁴ See Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, esp. 84-88, 130-131. Related, see John F. Kasson, *Houdini, Tarzan, and the Perfect Man: The White Male Body and the Challenge of Modernity in America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2001). See also, more broadly, Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign People At Home and Abroad* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000). And again, see Painter, *Standing at Armageddon*, 141-169.

⁵ See, for example, T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (New York: Pantheon, 1981), esp. 4-58, and Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago and London: U Chicago P, 1995).

⁶ Herbert Croly, *The Promise of American Life* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1963. Originally 1909), esp. 4-6, 22, 173, 427-431.

⁷ This, Martin Sklar suggested, was because the New Freedom was only rhetorically in any meaningful way distinct from the New Nationalism's policy agenda for managing the corporate economy. See Sklar, 'Woodrow Wilson', 102-142; Arthur S. Link, *Wilson: The New Freedom* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1967. Originally 1956), 444; Arthur S.

Link, *Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era, 1910-1917* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954), 66-80.

⁸ See Croly's chapter on the significance of Roosevelt's presidency: Croly, *Promise*.

⁹ Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R.* (New York: Vintage Books, 1955), 249-251; Louis Hartz, *The Liberal Tradition in America: An Interpretation of American Political Thought Since the Revolution* (Orlando, FL: Harvest, 1991.

Originally 1955); Hays, *Response to Industrialism*; Martin J. Sklar, 'Woodrow Wilson and the Developmental Imperatives of Modern U.S. Liberalism', republished in Martin J. Sklar, *The United States as a Developing Country: Studies in U.S. History in the Progressive Era and the 1920s* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1992), 102-142 (originally published in *Studies on the Left* in 1960); Kolko, *Triumph*; Weibe, *Search for Order*, , 220-221; James Weinstein, *The Corporate Ideal in the Liberal State, 1900-1918* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968); Sklar, *Corporate Reconstruction*.

¹⁰ Specifically: Hays, *Response to Industrialism*, 83.

¹¹ See for example: David P. Thelen, *The New Citizenship: Origins of Progressivism in Wisconsin, 1885-1900* (Columbia, MO: U Missouri P, 1972); John D. Buenker, *Urban Liberalism and Progressive Reform* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973); Painter, *Standing at Armageddon*; Alan Dawley, *Struggles for Justice: Social Responsibility and the Liberal State* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap P, 1991); Diner, *Very Different Age*.

¹² For three works dealing with popular magazines in this period, see: Jan Cohn, *Creating America: George Horace Lorimer and the Saturday Evening Post* (Pittsburgh: U Pittsburgh P, 1989); Matthew Schneirov, *The Dream of a New Social Order: Popular Magazines in America, 1893-1914* (New York: Columbia UP, 1994), which deals mainly with *McClure's*, *Cosmopolitan*, and *Munsey's*, and makes brief mention of nature, health, and the outdoors in *Cosmopolitan*, 139-146; Richard M. Ohmann, *Selling Culture: Magazines, Markets and Class at the Turn of the Century* (London and New York: Verso, 1996). For advertising and consumer culture, see: Stuart Ewen, *The Captains of Consciousness: Advertising and the Social Roots of the Consumer Culture* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1976); Daniel Pope, *The Making of Modern Advertising* (New York: Basic Books, 1983); Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940* (Berkeley: U California P, 1985); Susan Strasser, *Satisfaction Guaranteed: The Making of the American Mass Market* (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution P, 1989); Jackson Lears, *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1994).

¹³ Lears, *No Place*; T. J. Jackson Lears, *Rebirth of a Nation: The Making of Modern America, 1877-1920* (New York: HarperCollins, 2009).

¹⁴ Bederman, *Manliness*, 170-215. See also, for example, Richard Slotkin's contrasting descriptions of Frederick Jackson Turner and Theodore Roosevelt in *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Atheneum, 1992). In addition, see Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues*, 105-121, which covers related ground. The following operate with a similar framework: Arnaldo Testi, 'The Gender of Reform Politics: Theodore Roosevelt and the Culture of Masculinity', *Journal of American History*, 81:4 (March 1995), 1509-1533; (to some extent) Kristin L. Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 1998); Peter L. Bayers, 'Frederick Cook, Mountaineering in the Alaskan Wilderness, and the Regeneration of Progressive Era Masculinity', *Western American Literature*, 38:2 (Summer 2003), 170-193; Sarah Watts, *Rough Rider in the White House: Theodore Roosevelt and the Politics of Desire* (Chicago: Chicago UP, 2003); Tara Kathleen Kelly, 'The Hunter Elite: Americans, Wilderness, and the Rise of the Big-Game Hunt'. PhD Dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 2006; Christine Bold, *The Frontier Club: Popular Westerns and Cultural Power, 1880-1924* (Oxford and New York: OUP, 2013).

¹⁵ Compare with Gary Gerstle, *American Crucible: Race and Nation in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton UP, 2017. Originally 2001), 15-16, 44-47.

¹⁶ Gerstle also sees Roosevelt's interest in hunting and ranching as part of his obsession with strenuous masculinity. See Gerstle, *Crucible*, 25-26.

¹⁷ For example, Mark Dyerson, *Making the American Team: Sport, Culture, and the Olympic Experience* (Urbana and Chicago: U Illinois P, 1998); S. W. Pope, *Patriotic Games: Sporting Traditions in the American Imagination, 1876-1926* (Oxford and New York: OUP, 1997); David C. Young, *The Modern Olympics: A Struggle for Revival* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins UP, 1996).

¹⁸ By implication, then, sportsmanship offers an alternative outlook on turn-of-the-century American culture to that found in the work of Jackson Lears. See, for example, Lears, *No Place of Grace*, 160. For Croly, see: Herbert Croly, *The Promise of American Life* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1963. Originally 1909), esp. 4-6, 22, 173, 427-431.

¹⁹ See Richard Rorty, *Achieving Our Country: Leftist Thought in Twentieth-Century America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1998), esp. 46-50, 82-92. For two studies of this political tradition, both mentioned by Rorty, see Eldon J. Eisenach, *The Lost Promise of Progressivism* (Lawrence, KS: UP Kansas, 1994) and Micahel Lind, *The Next American*

Nation: The New Nationalism and the Fourth American Revolution (New York and London: Free Press, 1995).

²⁰ A very select list of books by Grinnell includes, for example: George Bird Grinnell, *Pawnee Hero Stories and Folk-Tales, with Notes on the Origin, Custom and Character of the Pawnee People* (New York: Forest and Stream Publishing, 1889); George Bird Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales: The Story of a Prairie People* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1892); Theodore Roosevelt and George Bird Grinnell (eds), *American Big-Game Hunting: The Book of the Boone and Crockett Club* (New York: Forest and Stream Publishing, 1893); Theodore Roosevelt and George Bird Grinnell (eds), *Hunting in Many Lands: The Book of the Boone and Crockett Club* (New York: Forest and Stream Publishing, 1895). For Shields: George O. Shields ('Coquina'), *Rustlings in the Rockies: Hunting and Fishing by Mountain and Stream* (Chicago: Bedford, Clarke and Co, 1883); George O. Shields ('Coquina'), *Cruisings in the Cascades: A Narrative of Travel, Exploration, Amateur Photography, Hunting, and Fishing* (Chicago and New York: Rand, McNally and Co., 1889); George O. Shields ('Coquina'), *The Battle of the Big Hole: A History of General Gibbon's Engagement with Nez Percés Indians in the Big Hold Valley, Montana, August 9th 1877* (Chicago and New York: Rand, McNally and Co., 1889); George O. Shields ('Coquina') (ed.), *The Big Game of North America: Its Habits, Habitat, Haunts, and Characteristics; How, When, and Where to Hunt it* (Chicago and New York: Rand, McNally and Co., 1890).

²¹ In this phase, outdoors recreation shared something of the spirit of literary Transcendentalism: its emphasis upon the importance of self-reliance and individualism, worked out within a larger cultural reimagining of the natural world, echoed the writings of Emerson and Thoreau. See Emerson's essays, 'Nature' (1836) and 'Self-Reliance' (1841), reproduced in *Nature* (London: Penguin, 2008); Henry David Thoreau, *Walden and Other Writings* (New York: Bantam Dell, 2004. *Walden* originally published 1854).

²² Francis Parkman, Jr., *The Oregon Trail* (Oxford and New York: OUP, 2008. Originally 1849).

²³ J. T. Headley, *The Adirondack; or, Life in the Woods* (New York: Charles Scribner, 1864. Originally 1849), 418-419.

²⁴ Headley, *Adirondack*, Preface to the 1864 edition, no page.

²⁵ Warder H. Cadbury's introduction to William H. H. Murray, *Adventures in the Wilderness*, edited by William K. Verner, with introduction and notes by Warder H. Cadbury (Syracuse, NY: Adirondack Museum, 1970. Originally 1869), 40-49.

²⁶ This notion of distinction is of course loosely derived from: Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans Richard Nice (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1984. Originally *La Distinction: Critique Sociale du Jugement*, 1979).

²⁷ Murray, *Adventures*, 26-28.

²⁸ Murray, *Adventures*, 28-32.

²⁹ Murray, *Adventures*, 33-35.

³⁰ Charles Hallock, 'The Raquette Club', *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 41:243 (August, 1870), 321-338.

³¹ Nessmuk (George W. Sears), *Woodcraft* (New York: Forest and Stream, 1900. Originally 1884), vii, 3.

³² For Nessmuk's shopping list, see Sears, *Woodcraft*, 8-17; 29. Later are we reminded that some additional equipment might be needed: a compass; a rifle and ammunition; and for the tenderfoot unable to make an 'Indian camp' out of tree boughs and a birch canoe to Nessmuk's specification, tent-making materials and a canoe would also be needed. Hotel bills are not part of his estimated outlay, but he does assume that travellers will spend at least one night in a hotel before striking out into the woods. See Sears, *Woodcraft*, 19; 21-22; 29; 45; 84-85; 92-94; 99-103; 103-104, 111; 129-139. For comparison, see George O. Shields ('Coquina'), *Camping and Camp Outfits: A Manual of Instruction for Young and Old Sportsmen* (Chicago and New York: Rand, McNally and Co., 1890); Horace Kephart, *The Book of Camping and Woodcraft: A Guidebook for Those Who Travel in the Wilderness* (New York: Outing Publishing Co., 1906), which offer advice on outfit in similar terms.

³³ See Frank L. Mott, *A History of American Magazines, 1865-1885* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap P, 1966. Originally 1938), 210-211, 572. Mott identifies, in addition to those listed here, a number of short-lived publications including: *Fur, Fin, and Feather* (New York, 1868; ceased in 1891); *American Sportsman* (Connecticut, 1871; later *Rod and Gun* and absorbed by *Forest and Stream* in 1877); *Field and River* (Pennsylvania, 1872; ceased in 1882); *Game Fancier's Journal* (Michigan, 1879; ceased in 1910). *American Angler* (New York, 1881; ceased in 1900); and dealing with the related pursuit of canoeing, *American Canoeist* (New York, 1882; it ceased publication in 1891). *Chicago Field* (Illinois, 1874, later New York as *American Field*) survives. Mott also noted here *The Spirit of the Times*.

³⁴ *Rowell's American Newspaper Directory*, 33rd Edition (New York: Printer's Ink, 1901), 103-104, 781, 815, 1459, 1460. For *Outer's Book* specifically, see *Rowell's American Newspaper Directory*, 41st Edition (New York: Printer's Ink, 1909), 1217. For *Outing* and

Outing and the Wheelman, see Editorial, *Outing and the Wheelman*, 3 (January 1884), 301. Frank L. Mott noted that *Outing* ‘was founded by W. B. Howland at Albany in 1882’. Frank L. Mott, *A History of American Magazines, 1865-1885* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap P, 1966. Originally 1938), 210. For Mott’s full sketch of *Outing* see Frank L. Mott, *A History of American Magazines, 1885-1905* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap P, 1957), 633-638. For *Outing* and *The Wheelman* separately, see also *Rowell’s American Newspaper Directory*, 15th Edition (New York: George P. Rowell and Co., 1883), 259, and *Rowell’s American Newspaper Directory*, 16th Edition (New York: George P. Rowell and Co., 1884), 195. For ‘a sportsman’s magazine of the West’, see, for example, *Outdoor Life*, 31:5 (May 1913).

³⁵ Peterson, *Magazines*, 10, 148-150.

³⁶ For *The Outlook* (established in 1869) and *National Geographic* (1888), see *Rowell’s American Newspaper Directory*, 32nd Edition (New York: Printer’s Ink, 1900), 737 and 1199 respectively. The 25-cent *Country Life in America* (1901) had achieved a circulation of around 20,000 by 1905: *Rowell’s American Newspaper Directory*, 37th Edition (New York: Printer’s Ink, 1905), 723.

³⁷ Mott, *Magazines*, IV, 634-635. *Rowell’s* has *Outing* hitting a peak in 1896, of 88,148, and then falling back to something closer to the 20,000 mark. See *Rowell’s American Newspaper Directory* 37th Edition (New York: Printer’s Ink, 1905), 736. For *Forest and Stream* and *Recreation* in the 1890s, see *Rowell’s American Newspaper Directory*, 33rd Edition (New York: Printer’s Ink, 1901), 781, 815.

³⁸ For skill and dedication, see for example: *Forest and Stream*, 35:1 (3 July 1890), 474; 44:2 (19 January 1895), 49; 44:12 (23 March 1895), 233; *Recreation*, 10:3 (March 1899), 229; 11:6 (December 1899), 475

³⁹ For examples of the typical format, see: *Forest and Stream*, 50 (January-June 1898), i-xii; *Outing*, 32 (September 1898), xvi, xxxvii-lxv; *Outing*, 36 (September 1900), 715-742; *Recreation* 8 (January 1898), i-xvi and xvii-lx. Compare Ohmann, *Selling Culture*, 175-216.

⁴⁰ *Recreation*, 13:3 (September 1900), 221.

⁴¹ For indicative examples: *Forest and Stream*, 34:7 (6 March 1890), 134; 34:10 (27 March 1890), 197; 44:3 (19 January 1895), 49. Shields reported on the annual meetings of the League. See, for example, *Recreation* 12:4 (April 1900), 255-260 for such a report.

⁴² For sportsmanship as conduct, see indicative examples: *Forest and Stream*, 34:13 (17 April 1890), 249; 34:21 (12 June 1890), 409; 44:24 (23 June 1895), 516; 51:11 (10 September 1898), 1; 51:13 (24 September 1898), 1; 51:14 (1 October 1898), 1; 54:6 (11

August 1900), 107; *Recreation*, 4:3 (October 1895), 195; 7:2 (August 1897), 167; 7:3 (September 1897), 175; 10:5 (May 1899), 374; 12:4 (April 1900), 297. For unselfishness and conservation, see for example: *Forest and Stream*, 44:3 (19 January 1895), 47; 44:16 (13 April 1895), 285; 44:20 (11 May 1895), 1; 51:23 (3 December 1898), 1; 51:25 (17 December 1898), 1; *Recreation*, 8:4 (April 1898), 296; 8:6 (June 1898), 460; 9:1 (July 1898), 53; 11:2 (August 1899), 140; 11:3 (September 1899), 195; 11:6 (December 1899), 452; 13:2 (August 1900), 129.

⁴³ See, for example: *Forest and Stream*, 50:1 (1 January 1898), 2-5, 10.

⁴⁴ See, for example, the contents page of *Recreation* ('A Magazine Devoted to Everything that the Name Implies'), 3:1 (July 1895), i.

⁴⁵ See Editorial, *Outing and the Wheelman*, 3 (January 1884), 301. For breadth, see the indexes for *Outing*, 12 (April – September 1888); 13 (October 1888 – March 1889); 14 (April – September 1889); 15 (October 1889 – March 1890); 16 (April – September 1890); 17 (October 1890 – March 1891); 18 (April – September 1891); 19 (October 1891 – March 1892); 20 (April – September 1892); 21 (October 1892 – March 1893); 22 (April 1893 – September 1893); 23 (October 1893 – March 1894); 24 (April -- September 1894); 25 (October 1894 – March 1895); 26 (April – September 1895); 27 (October 1895 – March 1896); 28 (April – September 1896); 29 (October 1896 – March 1897); 30 (April – September 1897); 31 (October 1897 – March 1898); 32 (April – September 1898); 33 (October 1898 – March 1899); 34 (April – September 1899). Briefly, in 1897, it declared itself to be 'The World's magazine of Amateur Sport and Recreation': see cover of *Outing*, 31 (October 1897).

⁴⁶ Jack London, *White Fang*, in *Outing*, 48 (May – September 1906), 129-141; 305-323; 448-470; 589-604; 708-716; *Outing* 49 (October 1906), 65-81. Clarence E. Mulford, *The Fight at Buckskin*, in *Outing* 47 (November 1905), 259-267, and *Bar-20 Range Yarns* in *Outing* 48 (April – August 1906), 68-78; 200-205; 334-340; 419-428; 546-554; *Outing* 49 (December 1906), 329-340; *Outing* 50 (May 1907), 169-183.

⁴⁷ For example: L. A. Huffman, 'Salvation Army Bill's Coyote', *Recreation*, 5:5 (November 1896), 227-233 (Montana); Professor F. V. Yaeger, 'A Bear in Camp' (Pend d'Oreille, WA), *Recreation*, 2:2 (February 1895), 187-189; S. H. Greene, 'Trouting in the Cascades', *Forest and Stream*, 38:5 (4 February 1892), 103-104; R. W. Rock, 'Propagating Big Game', *Recreation*, 4:1 (January 1896), 3-5, and W. E. Carlin, 'As to Recreation's Rocky Mountain Exploring Expedition', *Recreation*, 6:1 (January 1897), 3-14 (The Rockies); W. A. Richards, 'My Best Shot' *Recreation*, 4:5 (May 1896), 213-218 (Yellowstone); N.A., 'The Fantail Deer Again', *Forest and Stream*, 44:23 (8 June 1895),

462-463 (Black Hills); N.A. 'After Antelope in the Bad Lands', *Forest and Stream*, 42:22 (2 June 1894), 467; Still further afield: Major John Brooke, 'Trouting in Alaska', *Recreation*, 2:2 (February 1895), 181-185.

⁴⁸ For example: Dr Erastus Wilson, 'Cuban Quail Fields', *Forest and Stream*, 53:17 (21 October 1899), 331; N.A. 'A Glimpse of Porto Rico', *Forest and Stream*, 53:19 (18 November 1899), 404; *Recreation*, 12:1 (January 1900), x ('The winter resorts are open now', an advertisement for the Queen and Crescent Route in *Recreation* declared in January 1900, and 'Many travellers will this year add a short sea voyage from Miami or Tampa for a visit to Cuba or Puerto Rico'); Richard C. McGregor, 'Game of the Hawaiian Islands', *Recreation*, 14:4 (April 1901), 285-286; J.D.S., Presido, California, letter, *Recreation*, 14:4 (April 1901), 289.

⁴⁹ Caspar Whitney, *On Snow-Shoes to the Barren Grounds: Twenty-Eight Hundred Miles After Musk-Oxen and Wood-Bison* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1896). *The New York Times* took an interest in this intrepid journey. See the report of his trip in (no author) 'The Illustrated Journal: Harper's Weekly and its New Editor, Mr. Henry Loomis Nelson', 23 December 1894; (no author), 'In the Barren Ground', *New York Times*, 22 June 1895, 8. Whitney went on to become an important and public figure in the Olympic movement in the United States and internationally. See Dyreson, *Making*. In addition: (no author), 'Fund for Athletes for Olympic Games', *New York Times*, 11 January 1906, 10; (no author) 'American Athletes for Olympic Games', *New York Times*, 9 June 1908, 10.

⁵⁰ Caspar Whitney, 'The Santiago Campaign', *Harper's Magazine*, 97:581 (October 1898), 795-818.

⁵¹ Caspar Whitney, *Hawaiian America: Something of its History, Resources, and Prospects* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1899).

⁵² Wister and Whitney are listed as members of the Boone and Crockett Club in Theodore Roosevelt and George Bird Grinnell, *American Big-Game Hunting: The Book of the Boone and Crockett Club* (New York: Forest and Stream Publishing, 1893), 340, 343 (respectively). In addition, for Roosevelt, Wister, and Grinnell, see Reiger, *American Sportsmen*, 120-121. Reiger did not mention Whitney, but see: (no author) 'Guests of the President', *New York Times*, June 30 1908, 1. Whitney published with both Wister and Grinnell. See Caspar Whitney, George Bird Grinnell, and Owen Wister, *Musk Ox, Bison, Sheep and Goat* (New York: MacMillan, 1904). See also Kelly, 'Hunter Elite'.

⁵³ Bold, *Frontier*, 33-35.

⁵⁴ Roosevelt evidently believed that they had been at Harvard at the same time—before Whitney left in search of adventure out West. See Theodore Roosevelt, *Hunting the Grisly and Other Sketches*, (New York: Review of Reviews Co. 1904), 129. However, Tara Kathleen Kelly checked Harvard's records and Whitney had not enrolled. Kelly, 'Hunter Elite', 142. See also Bold, *Frontier*, 33, where she cites Kelly's work.

⁵⁵ For context, see for example: Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues*, 221-259; for imperialism constructed as a virile, manly civilizing mission, see Bederman, *Manliness*, 187-190.

⁵⁶ Whitney, 'Santiago', 818. Or, for example, consider that Colonel Roosevelt, hero of the Spanish-American War, described his volunteer regiment, the Rough Riders, as men of 'the Southwestern ranch country', and hence 'skilled in the wild horsemanship of the Great Plains'. See Theodore Roosevelt, *An Autobiography* (New York: Da Capo P, 1985. Originally 1913), 223. For wider context, see Bederman, *Manliness*, 176-177.

⁵⁷ See, for example, frontispiece and J. Lincoln Steffens, 'Theodore Roosevelt, Governor', *McClure's*, 13:1 (May 1899), 57-64; Theodore Roosevelt, 'The Rough Riders', *Scribner's*, 25:1 (January 1899), 3-20; (documenting his travels with the then Police Commissioner Roosevelt, Jacob A. Riis, 'Feast-Days in Little Italy', *Century Magazine*, 58:3 (August 1899), 491-499; Samuel G. Blythe, 'Electing a Governor', *Cosmopolitan*, 26:3 (January 1899), 288-294; (no author), 'Men, Women, and Events', *Cosmopolitan*, 27:1 (May 1899), 105-106.

⁵⁸ Charles Eugene Banks and Leroy Armstrong, *Theodore Roosevelt: A Typical American* (Chicago: S. Stone, 1901), 76.

⁵⁹ Jacob Riis, *Theodore Roosevelt: The Man and the Citizen* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1904. Originally published by Outlook, 1903), 256. Riis toured the tenements of New York City with Roosevelt.

⁶⁰ Banks and Armstrong, *Roosevelt*, 90-108; Charles G. Washburn, *Theodore Roosevelt: The Logic of His Career* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1916), 9-10; Riis, *Roosevelt*, 54-56.

⁶¹ TR quoted in Banks and Armstrong, *Roosevelt*, 95.

⁶² Riis, *Roosevelt*, 256. Italics added.

⁶³ Caspar Whitney, 'The Month's Review', *Outing*, 36 (April 1900), 92.

⁶⁴ Caspar Whitney, 'The Month's Review', *Outing*, 36 (June 1900), 313.

⁶⁵ Theodore Roosevelt, quoted in Caspar Whitney, 'The Sportsman's View-Point', *Outing*, 40 (August 1902), 619.

⁶⁶ Caspar Whitney, 'The Sportsman's View-Point', *Outing* 45 (January 1905), 493.

⁶⁷ Caspar Whitney, 'The View-Point', *Outing*, 46 (September 1905), 755.

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- ⁶⁸ Caspar Whitney, 'The Sportsman's View-Point', *Outing*, 47 (November 1905), 229.
- ⁶⁹ Croly, *Promise*, 168-169.
- ⁷⁰ Croly, *Promise*, 173.
- ⁷¹ Croly, *Promise*, 4, 6.
- ⁷² Croly, *Promise*, 431.
- ⁷³ David C. Young, *The Olympic Myth of Greek Amateur Athletics* (Chicago: Ares Publishers, 1985), 15-22; David C. Young, *The Modern Olympics: A Struggle for Revival* (Baltimore, MD, and London: Johns Hopkins UP, 1996), esp. 191, n. 193; S. W. Pope, *Patriotic Games: Sporting Traditions in the American Imagination, 1876-1926* (New York and Oxford: OUP, 1997), 30.
- ⁷⁴ Caspar Whitney, 'The Sportsman's View-Point', *Outing*, 38 (May 1901), 217-218, and 45 (February 1905), 621-622. For concern about lack of enforcement in Wyoming, see 'The Sportsman's View-Point', *Outing*, 39 (October 1901), 110. For anticipated federal legislation, see 'The Sportsman's View-Point', *Outing*, 40 (August 1902), 632-633; 'The Sportsman's View-Point', *Outing*, 41 (January 1903), 508.
- ⁷⁵ Caspar Whitney, 'The Month's Review', *Outing*, 37 (November 1900), 477.
- ⁷⁶ Caspar Whitney, 'The Sportsman's View-Point', *Outing*, 38 (June 1901), 342-343. For more on this theme, see 'The Sportsman's View-Point', *Outing*, 40 (April 1902), 108; 'The Sportsman's View-Point', *Outing*, 43 (October 1903), 109-111.
- ⁷⁷ Caspar Whitney, 'The Month's Review', 36 (July 1900), 676. He opposed measures that threatened to restrict access to game reserves of wild places for people of modest means, or to prevent native peoples from living off their land. Caspar Whitney, 'The Month's Review', *Outing*, 36 (June 1900), 315; (cautious about expensive licensing) 'The Sportsman's View-Point', *Outing*, 40 (April 1902), 105. National debates around the regulation of the wilderness would become more pressing by the 1920s and 1930s as growing automobile ownership and improved road access increased the press of tourists. See Sutter, *Driven*, esp. 19-53.
- ⁷⁸ Caspar Whitney, 'The Month's Review', *Outing*, 36 (May 1900), 200. For more on this theme, see 'The Sportsman's View-Point', *Outing*, 39 (October 1901), 110; 'The Sportsman's View-Point', *Outing*, 40 (April 1902), 104. For the legislative achievements of such advocacy, see: Caspar Whitney, 'The Month's Review', *Outing*, 36 (July 1900), 675. For similar, see 'The Sportsman's View-Point', *Outing*, 40 (June 1902), 377; 'The Sportsman's View-Point', *Outing*, 41 (January 1903), 508.
- ⁷⁹ Athletics: Caspar Whitney, 'The Sportsman's View-Point', *Outing*, 40 (September 1902), 765; 43 (February 1903), 603-604. Baseball: Caspar Whitney, 'The Month's

Review', *Outing*, 36 (May 1900), 207-208; 'The Sportsman's View-Point', 40 (August 1902), 629. Canoe: 'The Sportsman's View-Point', *Outing*, 39 (October 1901), 103. Carriage driving: Caspar Whitney, 'The Sportsman's View-Point', *Outing*, 37 (January 1901), 478; 40 (August 1902), 626. Cycling: Caspar Whitney, 'The Sportsman's View-Point', *Outing*, 38, (April 1901), 102-103; 40 (September 1902), 762-763. Golf: Caspar Whitney, 'The Month's Review', *Outing*, 36 (June 1900), 325-326; 'The Sportsman's View-Point', *Outing*, 39 (January 1902), 612. Horse racing: Caspar Whitney, 'The Sportsman's View-Point', *Outing*, 39 (November 1901), 238; 41 (November 1902), 249-250. Polo: Caspar Whitney, 'The Month's Review', *Outing*, 36 (May 1900), 209; 39 (November 1901), 250. Rifle: Caspar Whitney, 'The Sportsman's View-Point', *Outing*, 37 (November 1900), 221; 39 (November 1901), 103-104; 40 (March 1903), 760-761. Rowing: Caspar Whitney, 'The Sportsman's View-Point', *Outing*, 36 (September 1900), 679; 40 (June and August 1902), 376, 628. Tennis: Caspar Whitney, 'The Sportsman's View-Point', *Outing*, 42 (April 1903), 122.

⁸⁰ Caspar Whitney, 'The Month's Review', *Outing*, 36 (May 1900), 200. For similar view, see for example, 'The Sportsman's View-Point', *Outing*, 40 (September 1902), 763 (bicycling and the League of American Wheelmen).

⁸¹ See, for example: Caspar Whitney, 'The Sportsman's View-Point', *Outing*, 38 (May, June, July, August, September), 225-226, 335-336, 461-462, 579-582, 728-729; 39 (October, November, December), 101-103, 229-233, 369.

⁸² This is well documented in Dyreson, *Making*.

⁸³ Caspar Whitney, 'The View-Point', *Outing*, 46 (July 1905), 487. He makes the same point in 'The View-Point', *Outing*, 52 (May 1908), 255-256.

⁸⁴ Caspar Whitney, 'The Sportsman's View-Point', *Outing*, 37 (October 1900), 215.

⁸⁵ Caspar Whitney, 'The Sportsman's View-Point', *Outing*, 37 (October 1900), 222, 227.

⁸⁶ Caspar Whitney, 'The Sportsman's View-Point', *Outing*, 37 (November 1900), 351, 353.

⁸⁷ See for example, Caspar Whitney, 'The Sportsman's View-Point', *Outing*, 38 (May and July 1901), 220-221 and 587.

⁸⁸ Henry Beach Needham, 'The College Athlete', I and II, *McClure's*, 25 (June and July 1905), 115-128 and 260-273. John Sayle Watterson notes that TR was already concerned about the state of college football, and the perception that coaches were adopting tactics that relied overly on physical strength to overcome opponents. Needham's article gave him an opportunity to make a public intervention in a speech about sportsmanship at

Harvard in the summer of 1905. See John Sayle Watterson, *College Football: History, Spectacle, Controversy* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins UP, 2000), 64-70.

⁸⁹ Caspar Whitney, 'The Sportsman's View-Point', *Outing*, 46 (July 1905), 485-487.

⁹⁰ Caspar Whitney, 'The Month's Review', *Outing*, 36 (April 1900), 95, 97. See also Caspar Whitney, 'The Month's Review', *Outing*, 36 (May 1900), 204.

⁹¹ Caspar Whitney, 'The Month's Review', *Outing*, 36 (April 1900), 95, 96, 97; 'The Sportsman's View-Point', *Outing*, 38, (August 1901), 716.

⁹² Caspar Whitney, 'The Month's Review', *Outing*, 37 (December 1900), 595-596. For more on this theme, see: 'The Sportsman's View-Point', *Outing*, 38, (August 1901), 717-718 (college baseball); 'The Sportsman's View-Point', *Outing*, 39 (November 1901), 234 (college athletics); 'The Sportsman's View-Point', *Outing*, 39 (December 1901), 363 (college football); 'The Sportsman's View-Point', *Outing*, 40 (July 1902), 497. Moreover, Whitney considered professional coaching no less effective: 'The Sportsman's View-Point', *Outing*, 42 (August 1903), 630 (college rowing); 'The Sportsman's View-Point', *Outing*, 43 (November 1903), 223-226 (college baseball); 'The View-Point', *Outing*, 50 (August 1907), 623 (college baseball).

⁹³ Caspar Whitney, 'The Month's Review', *Outing*, 36 (May 1900), 205-207. For more on 'muckerish' behaviour, see Caspar Whitney, 'The Month's Review', *Outing*, 36 (June 1900), 319. He saw muckerishness behind the fashion for 'brute force' and 'brutal play' in college football, which he predicted would ruin its popularity: 'The Sportsman's View-Point', *Outing*, 41 (January 1903), 499-500. Similarly, see 'The Sportsman's View-Point', *Outing*, 45 (December 1904), 362; 'The Sportsman's View-Point', *Outing*, 45 (January 1905), 498.

⁹⁴ Caspar Whitney, 'The Sportsman's View-Point', *Outing*, 44 (August 1904), 628. He makes a similar point in 'The View-Point', *Outing*, 52 (September 1908), 766. He took this view of the American Olympic effort—and stated in a speech in London after the 1908 Games that he was quite 'disgusted by the manner in which international sport has been conducted recently', and singled the American team out as a particular 'disgrace'. The problem as he saw it: 'a desire to win at all odds'. (No author), 'Whitney Scores American Athletes', *New York Times*, 17 July 1909, 3.

⁹⁵ Caspar Whitney, 'The Month's Review', *Outing*, 36 (May 1900), 200.

⁹⁶ Caspar Whitney, 'The Month's Review', *Outing*, 37 (September 1900), 91; (November 1900), 473.

⁹⁷ Caspar Whitney, 'The View-Point', *Outing*, 47, (March 1906) 788.

⁹⁸ Caspar Whitney, 'The Month's Review', *Outing*, 38 (April 1901), 97-98. Cleveland was somewhat rehabilitated in a 1903 article in *Outing*: C. W. Sanders, 'Grover Cleveland Goes Afishing', 42 (September 1903), 686-690. Note that Cleveland later felt moved to repudiate this allegation: see Grover Cleveland, *Fishing and Shooting Sketches* (Deposit, NY: Outing Press, 1906), 179-184. Renowned nature writer, Ernest Thompson Seton, was also accused, in 1902, but Whitney could not bring himself to believe it: Caspar Whitney, 'The Sportsman's View-Point', *Outing*, 40 (April 1902), 112.

⁹⁹ Caspar Whitney, 'The Sportsman's View-Point', *Outing*, 39 (October 1901), 113; 'The Sportsman's View-Point', *Outing*, 39 (December 1901), 363.

¹⁰⁰ Caspar Whitney, 'The View-Point', *Outing*, 46 (July 1905), 485-487; Caspar Whitney, 'The View-Point', *Outing*, 46 (September 1905), 754-759.

¹⁰¹ Caspar Whitney, 'The Month's Review', *Outing*, 36 (May 1900), 199.

¹⁰² Caspar Whitney, 'The Month's Review', *Outing*, 36 (June 1900), 314. For similar, see 'The Sportsman's View-Point', *Outing*, 45 (November 1904), 236.

¹⁰³ Theodore Roosevelt, 'National Duties', in Roosevelt, *The Strenuous Life: Essays and Addresses* (London and New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1919), 315-337; 337.

¹⁰⁴ For quote, see (for example), Doris Kearns Goodwin, *The Bully Pulpit: Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, and the Golden Age of Journalism* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2013), 292.