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Forest and Dream: Adventure, Nostalgia, and the Making of a Sporting-Tourist's America, 1873-1890

Malcolm McLaughlin

School of Art, Media, and American Studies, University of East Anglia, Norwich, United Kingdom

ABSTRACT

In the Gilded Age of the 1870s and 1880s, in the decades between the Civil War and the closing of the Western frontier, the pioneering, New York-based outdoor-sports magazine *Forest and Stream* made an essential contribution to a larger cultural reimagining of America. For its readers, the magazine was an important source of practical advice, but its accounts of outdoor pursuits in wild landscapes across the United States also encouraged fantasies of travel and adventure. By examining *Forest and Stream*, this article seeks to understand how nostalgia played into those fantasies, shaping an idea of the nation along the way. Rather than treating the West as a region with a discrete cultural history, this article seeks to place it in a larger national context. And accordingly, it suggests that outdoor-recreation magazines can provide a vital perspective on the way nostalgia and adventure fantasy combined in negotiating the relationship between the metropolitan Northeast, the West, and the South in the cultural remaking of the nation at what was a crucial historical juncture.

KEYWORDS

Outdoor recreation; tourism; consumerism; outdoor-sports magazines; adventure fiction; nostalgia; American West; nationalism

An epic tale of romance and adventure set in the 1840s, tracking settlers on the Oregon Trail, the 1923 Paramount Pictures adaptation of *Covered Wagon* brought Emerson Hough's nostalgic vision of the West to cinema audiences for the first time. Later, the film would be credited alongside John Ford's *Iron Horse* (1924) with reviving the fortunes of the Western genre, but as well as marking a milestone in film history, it had a meaningful place in Hough's own life story.[1] Born in 1857, Hough was himself just about old enough to remember the waning days of the overland trail. He had grown up in Iowa at a time when pioneer wagons still passed his family home, and he retained a fascination with the West throughout his life and career. He went on to write the nonfiction *Story of the Cowboy* (1897), a romantic take on a passing way of life that won the admiration of Theodore Roosevelt, and then collaborated with legendary lawman Pat Garrett in the sensationalist *Story of the Outlaw: A Study of the Western Desperado* (1907).[2] His historical writings, *The Way to the West* (1903) and *The Passing of the Frontier* (1918), ran unrestrainedly into heroic mythology. Meanwhile, his novels played with the past – whether retelling U.S. expansion as an adventure story in *54–40 or Fight* (1909), or writing the frontiersmen Kit Carson and Jim Bridger into

CONTACT Malcolm McLaughlin m.mclaughlin@uea.ac.uk School of Art, Media, and American Studies, University of East Anglia, Norwich NR4 7TJ, United Kingdom

Covered Wagon (1922).[3] By the time of his death in 1923, Hough was known for spinning tales from 'the essential facts of history' in this way, as *The New York Times* wrote.[4] It was poignant that his final project was then a film that extended Western mythology while nostalgically circling back to touch his earliest childhood memories.

That said, by the time he grew into adulthood in the Gilded Age of the 1870s and 1880s, the West Hough came to know was increasingly that of the tourist, not the pioneer, and tellingly, it was as a journalist with the New York-based outdoor-sports magazine *Forest and Stream* that he initially made his name.[5] Founded in 1873, *Forest and Stream* was the first of a new generation of outdoor-sports magazines to establish a sustained readership at this time. It eschewed the disreputable urban, working-class sports that had found a home in the earlier *Porter's Spirit of the Times*, and instead adopted a self-consciously wholesome image that made it acceptable in the polite society of the genteel class. Hough later described it in such terms as 'a gentleman's paper, owned by a gentleman, and offered to gentlemen'. [6] He should have noted, ladies too. Its writers did largely describe a masculine world of sport and leisure during the 1870s and 1880s, but positioned as a respectable journal, the magazine was able to appeal to the many women who were increasingly taking up outdoor pursuits. It explicitly dedicated itself to 'the inculcation in [both] men and women of a healthy interest in out-door recreation and study', in fact.[7] A succession of similar, rival titles emerged in the ensuing years to emulate its success.[8] Some of them, *Sports Afield* (1887), *Field and Stream* (1895), and *Outdoor Life* (1898), would outlast it (actually, *Field and Stream* bought it out in 1930). But *Forest and Stream* blazed the trail in creating a modern national culture of outdoor sport and recreation.[9]

Still, Hough did not see these two fields of literary endeavour as strictly separate. In fact, to his mind, fantasy was an essential part of the culture of outdoor recreation. As he wrote in his 1916 handbook, *Let Us Go Afield*, 'It does not make the slightest difference in the world' whether or not you actually go into the wilderness, for in his view, 'the keener delight' was in reading, planning, and 'dreaming of things we want to do'.[10] Indeed, while American outers (to use the gender-neutral term from the time to describe an outdoor enthusiast) professed the virtues of fresh-air and vigorous exercise, they inevitably spent far more time at home, reading about camping, hunting, and fishing, than in the woods. There was the close season to consider, not to mention off-putting inclement weather. Anyway, relatively few Americans could afford a lengthy vacation in the nineteenth century, while business typically prevented those who had the money from finding the time.[11] Housebound outers had to settle for the vicarious adventures they might find in books and magazines instead, much of the time. Doubtless, many readers of a more sedentary disposition preferred daydreams anyway. And *Forest and Stream* contained much to please such readers. In descriptions of hunting, fishing, and camping expeditions, the magazine often spoke of the sensory pleasures of life in the open air. Offering technical and consumer advice, it also crossed into travel and nature writing too. It described the landscapes and environments, plantlife and wildlife of America's diverse regions, suggesting what to take on a vacation and evoking the sights, sounds, and smells of the wilderness. In short, *Forest and Stream* provided everything readers needed to imagine themselves into the wilds.

Significantly, though, it was the outdoorsman in the very modern guise of the sporting tourist who took readers of *Forest and Stream* on these imagined adventures, a

companion in some respects quite unlike the Western hero of Hough's later literary work. Instead of pointing nostalgically backward to a romantic past, the sporting tourist could seem to anticipate America's future. Sporting tourism was after all inseparable from the commerce of the Gilded Age leisure economy and the metropolitan culture of industrial society. Consider, for example, how imagining oneself into the wilderness as such a tourist might involve contemplating all the paraphernalia needed on the journey, from clothing to camp outfit, rifles to fishing rods, or the travel and hospitality services used along the way. Outdoor recreation was at the same time a national, rather than a particular, regional culture. *Forest and Stream's* readers surveyed a broad vista of landscapes, from the established resorts of the North Woods to the aspirational, new destinations opening up in Florida or the Mountain West. All of which had particular importance at this time, as the settling of the West was moving apace, as the South was gradually making its way back into U.S. life after the Civil War, and as networks of rail and telegraph were bringing the nation's disparate regions closer together. *Forest and Stream* contributed to a larger cultural reimagining of America at a pivotal moment in history, and the figure of the sporting tourist could seem to represent the nation's emerging future.

Yet, nostalgia was never far away from that modern culture of sporting tourism. For one thing, for a generation of Americans born in the 1850s and after, Theodore Roosevelt prominently included, outdoor recreation was powerfully connected to a nostalgia for childhood, for adventure stories by the likes of R. M. Ballantyne or Mayne Reid, as Thomas R. Smith (2019) has noted. Such readers might turn to an adventure story in search of escape, or equally, *Forest and Stream* could take them away on imagined flights from humdrum life. The magazine's descriptions of wilderness excursions might evoke something of Ballantyne's *Young Fur Traders* (1856) or *Coral Island* (1858), for example, or older adventures, like Daniel Defoe's perennially popular *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), or James Fenimore Cooper's Leatherstocking stories. Not to mention the writings of the prolific Edward S. Ellis.[12] Nostalgia of this sort could cause reality and adventure fantasy to collapse together in descriptions of outdoor sport, for many readers. Meanwhile, *Forest and Stream* described a sporting culture that was itself essentially nostalgic in disposition. In the Gilded Age of commercialism, speculation, and new money, *Forest and Stream* instead recalled the genteel traditions of patrician old money, the hunting and fishing set that had made the Adirondacks in upstate New York their own in the years before the Civil War.[13] Sporting tourism, in *Forest and Stream's* terms, was to be understood as an expression of that tradition, assuming the cultural authority of the old elite of the metropolitan Northeast, and finding a reassuring sense of social continuity in nostalgia. In outdoor sports, then, Americans faced the future by inhabiting identities nostalgically recalling a seemingly simpler past, whether rooted in personal childhood fantasies or an idealised, seemingly stable, social order.

Nostalgically reimagined in *Forest and Stream*, sportsmanship stood as the reference point against which all else could be judged as the magazine's writers turned their attention to landscapes in the West and the South, and to local customs and regional peculiarities. In that respect, it can be said that *Forest and Stream's* distinctive perspective on the nation was shaped by nostalgia, as it implicitly invited readers to view America as one might imagine an old-time Adirondack sportsman would see it, so to speak. This meant that when writers periodically looked back sentimentally to the days of the Old

West or the *antebellum* South in articles for *Forest and Stream*, one kind of nostalgia for the past collided with another. But then, at other times, writers expressed a longing for a mythical past that was typically far more loosely attached to place. They might ignore social or even historical context, sometimes reimagining the landscape as a vacant or generic wilderness, ready for discovery by the sporting tourist. Here, such writing might at the same time readily play to a personal nostalgia for childhood adventure tales. The overall effect was to describe a sporting- tourist's vision of America in which regional difference tended to be compressed into a broader and simplified cultural idea of the wild outdoors. In these complex ways, nostalgia shaped a perspective on the changing nation, to be viewed from the seemingly secure vantage point of *Forest and Stream*.

All of which considerations move beyond the bounds of a better-known cultural history of the West. Of course, the contribution of popular fiction and performance to the making of Western mythology in the decades before the declared closing of 'the frontier' in 1890 has long been appreciated. From Henry Nash Smith's (1950) discussion of the Beadle dime novels or Pomeroy's (1957) account of tourism to Slotkin's (1992) treatment of Buffalo Bill's stage shows (to mention just three examples), this is ground that has been well trodden. Even so, long after Frederick Jackson Turner, studies have very often continued to approach the West as a region with its own discrete cultural dynamic, ascribing it an exceptional status in history. In contrast, the study of outdoor-sports culture here can place nostalgia for the Old West in national context, to be understood as part of a broader reimagining of America. It suggests that the idea of the West was itself filtered through another layer of nostalgia, for a different time and place, specifically the upper-class hunting culture of the Northeast. And meanwhile, it suggests, a parallel process was at work as Americans renegotiated the meaning of the South in the decades after the Civil War. Reading the back catalogue of *Forest and Stream*, it is possible to gain an understanding of how America's metropolitan cultural producers interpreted the process of nation building in the nineteenth century. The cultural function of Western nostalgia can be understood all the better when considered in the broader national context of outdoor recreation, refracted through *Forest and Stream*.

Note, the focus here is on a time before Theodore Roosevelt captured the nation's imagination, and the following should provide a helpful balance when read next to notable studies by Slotkin (1992), Bederman (1995), Hoganson (1998), Jacobson (2000), and others, which have viewed America through the prism of his outdoorsy machismo.[14] If he found a receptive audience in his time, it was in no small measure because of the work magazines like *Forest and Stream* had already done to cultivate a love of the Great Outdoors and to connect that to an idea of America. Equally, it is possible to discern the outline of what would later become the 'Rooseveltian nation' (as Gerstle (2017) called it) in the pages of *Forest and Stream*. The magazine opened the door to the twentieth century's culture of middle-class leisure and consumption and addressed a readership of both men and women, yet *Forest and Stream* remained a male-dominated, white cultural space, and its writers celebrated an idea of wilderness that rested on the conquest and dispossession of settler-colonialism. The dreams of outdoor recreation were structured in such terms, and the vision of the nation that emerged from its culture took on that aspect.

Nevertheless, outdoor recreation more generally has received surprisingly little prominence in historical studies of American leisure, tourism, and consumer culture in past decades, in works by scholars as diverse as Ewen (1976), Pope (1983), Marchand (1985), Strasser (1989), and Lears (1994), Shaffer (2001), or Lozano (2013). By the same token, where historians have occasionally focused on outdoor recreation, they have been more concerned with the meaning of active participation. This is true of work by Strauss (1987) or Coleman (2011), for example. Similarly, while Newcomb's (2016) discussion of sporting-goods manufacturer L. L. Bean made good use of woodcraft handbooks, it approached them primarily as works of practical instruction. And where sport historians have infrequently touched on outdoor recreation (rather than athletics and competitive sport), the emphasis has usually fallen on active participation rather than reading.[15] Some specific contributions, notably by Reiger (1975), Altherr (1978), Dunlap (1988), Herman (2003, 2005), or Smalley (2005), have linked hunting culture to the growth of environmental awareness, debates over conservation (refracted through class and gender) or elitism and democracy, for example. Still, the relationship between outdoor recreation's magazine culture and the broader reimagining of the United States in the Gilded Age is yet to be fully investigated.

There again, historians of magazine and literary culture have largely overlooked the reading habits of sporting Americans. There have been some outstanding studies of 'quality' and mass-circulation periodicals in the Gilded Age and Progressive Era – including important works by Cohn (1989), Brodhead (1993), Schneirov (1994, 2017), Ohmann (1996), or Ringel (2015)—but these have tended to examine general-interest magazines or children's publications.[16] Yet, outdoor-recreation magazines were part and parcel of the explosion in periodical publishing that shaped the literary scene of the latter nineteenth century. *Forest and Stream* occupied a relatively rarefied position within that larger magazine market. Initially advertised at $5.00 annually, its circulation was correspondingly modest, and by the time its founding editor, Charles Hallock (1834–1917), handed over to his successor, George Bird Grinnell (1850–1938), Ayer (1880) placed its circulation at around 10,000—far smaller than, say, *Century* or *Munsey's* at their peak. Upscale and specialist, *Forest and Stream* was in the bracket of a *National Geographic* or a *Country Life in America*, and it had a similar upper middle-class, genteel sensibility.[17] However, in its accounts of sporting travel, it expressed an interest in regional peculiarity and local colour that could, as Brodhead showed, also be found in *Harper's* or *Century* at this time.[18] There was a broad overlap in appeal.

There were nevertheless also crucial points of difference, meaning that specialist outdoor magazines can offer a distinctive perspective on the Gilded Age. *Forest and Stream* introduced an emphasis on outdoor adventure in contrast to the likes of *Harper's*, which had built its reputation on literary realism. *Forest and Stream* moved between those styles, so that while some articles offered simple, practical advice, its travel writing might at times give more play to a sense of adventure.[19] Although respectable journals for the genteel sort were not really supposed to trade in such material, often designated 'lowbrow', for a mass market of cheap entertainment, Roggenkamp (2007) found *Cosmopolitan* had struck a middle path during the 1890s with what she characterised as a style of 'dignified sensationalism', and *Forest and Stream* might be considered to have pushed the boundaries of taste in a comparable way in the 1870s and 1880s.[20] Put simply, *Forest and Stream* and its successors offered gentle thrills for a respectable readership.

Covering the period from *Forest and Stream's* first issue in 1873 (the year after Yellowstone park was created, as it happens) to 1890, the year it published two retrospective issues, the Western number and the Florida special (and the year Yosemite and Sequoia National Parks were created, incidentally), this article reconstructs the outer's view of America in a crucial historical period of the nation's becoming. It proceeds in three parts. The first describes the origins of *Forest and Stream* in the 1870s before explaining how its distinctive idea of sportsmanship emerged from a coming together of consumerism, outdoor-adventure fantasy, and nostalgia for the old Adirondack hunting and fishing culture. It then turns to the West and the South, in each case indicating how the magazine went about culturally reimagining those regions as recreational landscapes within a larger national context. To that extent, nostalgia can be said to have functioned as an important device of nation building. At the same time, the discussion below indicates a national story that Hough and other writers often disavowed as they developed narratives of Western exceptionalism in romantic adventure stories and sensational popular histories. In the Gilded Age of the 1870s and 1880s, it suggests, a nostalgic idea of the old upper-class sporting culture of the Adirondacks had an important role in shaping adventure fantasies of the West within a wider national culture. Or at least, it would have appeared in that way to the readers of what was at the time America's foremost outdoor-sports magazine.

The North Woods

Forest and Stream ultimately did much to seed a classless, national culture of outdoor recreation, but its origin in 1873 can be traced to a specific social context and geographical region: elite tourism in the woodlands, rivers, and mountain lakes at the southern reaches of the great Northern boreal forest, now the Adirondack Park in New York.[21] By the nineteenth century, white settlers had come to regard the Adirondacks with a certain romantic fascination – it was, for example, the landscape James Fenimore Cooper reimagined as a haunt of Hawkeye, the leatherstockinged scout of his 1826 novel, *The Last of the Mohicans*. And in time, it became a retreat for wealthy Northeasterners, offering an opportunity to reinterpret the upper-class European fashion for outdoor pursuits in the American context. The Europeans had the Scottish Highlands and the Swiss Alps, Joel T. Headley wrote in 1849, but Americans could look to the Adirondacks for a landscape equally magnificent and an environment equally restorative.[22] Thus, the Adirondacks acquired a reputation as a place to appreciate dramatic scenery and wholesome air while engaging in hunting and fishing, canoeing, mountain walking, and camping. While it was still said to be 'but little known' in the 1840s, it had 'become a great summer resort of tourists' by 1864, when Headley published his second edition.[23] And its reputation continued to grow. The railroad put it within a day's travel for cityfolk, and by the 1870s, *The New York Times* was quite regularly enthusing about the Adirondacks.[24] Charles Hallock founded *Forest and Stream* in that moment of growing public interest in outdoor pursuits in the Adirondacks and patterned it on the culture of the old-time hunting and fishing set. It was to be the kernel of America's culture of outdoor recreation.

Hallock intended *Forest and Stream* to promote what he regarded as the proper, artful approach to hunting and fishing – with rifle and fly – and an appreciation for the natural

world. As Reiger (1975) observed, these were sporting values Hallock associated with the old families who had laid claim to the Adirondacks as a favoured retreat, which is to say, people of his own sort. At least, it might be said, his vision of sportsmanship was based on a nostalgic ideal of the recreational culture of that class at a time when society was changing. The people who prospered in the new commercial economy of the Gilded Age had money to spend on leisure and tourism, and Hallock set about schooling them in the sporting ways of his genteel kindred.[25] Or in other words, at a time when the new elite of the Gilded Age began to embrace summer vacations in American resorts, as an alternative to European travel, *Forest and Stream* made its appeal by trading on cultural capital.

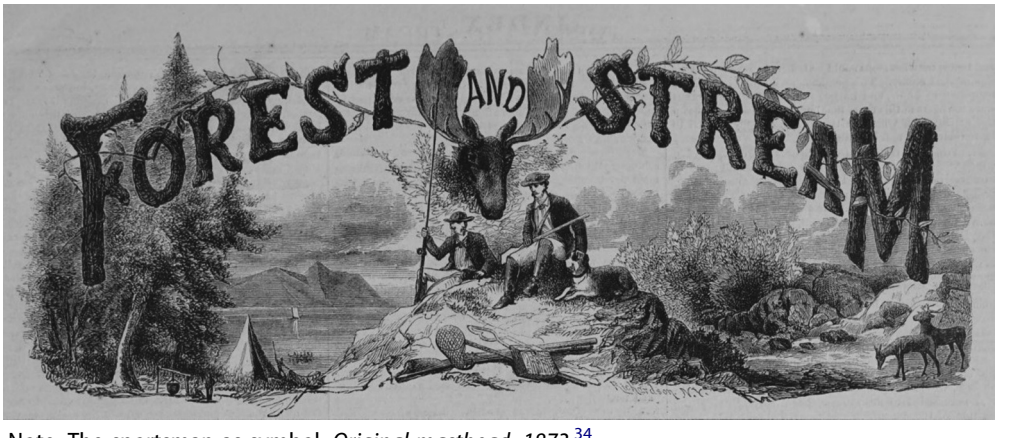
In fact, before he established *Forest and Stream*, Hallock had expressed a somewhat disdainful attitude toward tourists, poking fun at the enthusiasm that greeted the publication in 1869 of William H. H. 'Adirondack' Murray's guidebook to the region, *Adventures in the Wilderness*.[26] The book was a big success at the time—*The New York Times* declared it 'fresh, lively, and exhilarating', and sure 'to take a place among the choicest treasures of the true sportsman'.[27] Setting the pattern for future outdoor handbooks, it was both practical and evocative. It offered advice about when to visit the Adirondacks, where to go and what to take, and it recounted stories of camp life to stir the wilderness longings of housebound readers. But while it was said to have encouraged a generation of first-time outers, it was short on instruction, largely presuming that readers would rely on their paid guides, rather than make camp themselves. Neophyte tourists of this sort made easy targets for seasoned sportsmen like Hallock. He duly took aim in a playful short story for *Harper's* in 1870, relating the misadventures of a fictional club of 'incipient anglers', inspired by Murray's book. Joining 'the rush to the wilderness' with copies of Murray in hand, they quickly discover they are utterly unprepared for the rigours of actual outdoor life. After contending with rudimentary lodgings and profiteering locals, they suffer mishap after mishap, and endure dusty campfire cooking and the region's notorious biting flies, before disbanding the club and returning home with broken fishing rods.[28]

Still, Hallock's misgivings were as much about the limitations of Murray's book as a means of instruction as they were about the sudden popularity of outdoor pursuits, the tourists themselves, or even Murray's own intentions. He had some fun at the expense of Murray's tenderfooted acolytes, but Hallock was elsewhere more appreciative of the book for having 'presented the wilderness in new aspects and fascinating colors', and raising interest in outdoor sport among both men and women.[29] A book could achieve only so much. Where Murray had been unable to turn cityfolk into seasoned outers overnight, *Forest and Stream* would attempt to shape its readership in successive issues.

Partly, this would involve offering technical advice, but it implied an effort to shape the values of a sporting culture too. In years to come, the magazine would position itself as a cultural bulwark against the encroachment of Gilded Age commerce into the natural world. It went on to become a trenchant voice for conservation. It kept a particularly watchful eye on Yellowstone National Park, for example, decrying signs of commercial or industrial development.[30] In fact, one of its most celebrated interventions came in 1894 with Emerson Hough's investigative expedition to the park, credited with securing Congressional action to outlaw poaching.[31] Or its campaign against the use of bird

feathers in millinery would later be instrumental in the founding of the Audubon conservation society.[32]

Against self-interested commercial calculation, as implicitly embodied by the new business class of the Gilded Age, *Forest and Stream* presumed to express the voice of a tradition of selfless custodianship of the land, reaching back to that genteel sporting culture. Hallock explicitly dedicated the magazine in those terms to 'the inculcation' in its readers of what he considered an appropriate, healthy interest in outdoor life.[33] In that spirit, from the first issue, the cultural symbols of old-time hunting and fishing appeared in the lavishly illustrated masthead of *Forest and Stream*, presiding over the text below. Here were the talismans of classical upper-class sportsmanship. A moose head, squarely in the middle; under it, two well-dressed, well-groomed gentleman outers, an angler and a hunter with an obedient dog at his knee. To their right, in the middle distance, an



Note: The sportsman as symbol. *Original masthead, 1873*.[34]

orderly camp, and a view beyond, across a placid lake to the mountains. To their left, deer and a sylvan idyll.

But more precisely, *Forest and Stream* conferred the cultural authority of the Adirondack sporting tradition on the modern practice of outdoor recreation. The sportsmen figures depicted on its masthead brandish rod and gun while fishing tackle lies arranged in the foreground, a seeming nod to the central importance of discerning consumerism as well as technical proficiency in outdoor sports. Knowing just what outfit would be needed on a trip was after all a mark of the modern sportsman. *Forest and Stream* encouraged readers to embark on trips to the outfitter as well as to the wilderness, to become as closely acquainted with the sporting-goods catalogue as the woods, and the magazine helped invent the modern way of being a consumer and tourist in this respect. Equally importantly, these figures are represented as self-guided sportsmen, travelling without hired guides or porters, in a manner that would become increasingly associated with *Forest and Stream*. The title appears in rustic letters, as if hewn from wood, presumably by someone adept at splitting campfire logs, or perhaps capable of building their own cabin. All that follows, it implicitly announces, carries the approval of these natural successors to the Adirondack sporting tradition. Paradoxically, as it expressed

nostalgia for old-time sportsmanship, *Forest and Stream* gave definition to the modern culture of outdoor recreation in this way.

In that regard, the emblematic figure, anticipating the future development of outdoor recreation, was *Forest and Stream's* star writer, George Washington Sears (1821–1890), known as Nessmuk. Back in the 1850s, Nessmuk had contributed to the early racing and sports magazine, *Porter's Spirit of the Times*, and marking something of a career comeback, it was in fond reminiscence that *Forest and Stream* hired him in 1880.[35] *Forest and Stream* had banished the disreputable elements of sporting culture that appeared in *Spirit*, but Nessmuk was a suitably wholesome outdoorsman. At the same time, he served as a useful corrective for *Forest and Stream*. Where Hallock and Grinnell were rather unattainable figures, dauntless adventurers and refined sportsmen of the genteel class, Nessmuk developed a more demotic persona. A self-styled 'ragged woodsman', he claimed to have learned woodcraft from, and then adopted the name of, an 'athletic young brave' of the Narragansett people 'who was wont to steal me away from home' when a child in Massachusetts.[36] In other words, Nessmuk was, as Deloria (1998) expressed it, 'playing Indian', and in appropriating Native American culture and identity in this way, he was able to create a classless public image. Still, all the while, his writing appeared with the implicit cultural approval of *Forest and Stream.*

Thus, in his series of 'Rough Notes from the Woods' for *Forest and Stream*, Nessmuk documented his travels in the Adirondacks, but true to style, he went alone, self-guided, eschewing the trappings of the upper-class sportsman. In a similar spirit, he later dedicated his 1884 outdoor handbook, *Woodcraft*, published by the Forest and Stream imprint, to what he called America's 'Grand Army of "Outers",' which consisted of 'hundreds of thousands of practical, useful men', as he described them, 'many of them far from being rich; mechanics, artists, writers, merchants, clerks, business men', and all of them 'workers, so to speak'.[37] This appeal to a broad readership was evidently successful. Reaching beyond *Forest and Stream's* modest subscription list, *Woodcraft* ran to twelve editions by 1900. Nessmuk thus positioned outdoor life as a classless pursuit even as his writing enjoyed the cultural cachet of *Forest and Stream*, and so he effectively reconciled the nostalgic ideal of old-time sportsmanship and the emerging consumer age.

Meanwhile, Nessmuk developed a style that brought a sense of adventure to those modern leisure pursuits. As well as offering practical advice, he was a gifted nature writer who vividly evoked life in the woods, and both aspects of his work combined to great effect. An understanding of the outfit needed for a trip to the wilderness could structure readers' fantasies. Consider that many pages of his *Woodcraft* were given over to detailed shopping lists, describing the outfit needed for a trip to the wilderness – everything from woollen drawers ('fine, but substantial' being recommended) to rod (Cruttenden or Henshall come out well reviewed), to pocket-axe (made especially to order by Bushnell; 'It cost time and money to get it').[38] Outdoor handbooks typically offered helpful consumer advice of this sort (see 'Adirondack' Murray, for comparison). But for housebound outers, as Emerson Hough noted in *Let Us Go Afield*, for example, imagining what one might need to take on a hunting and fishing excursion was part of the process of imagining oneself into the woods. In other words, readers could take practical instruction from such writing. They could also find themselves travelling by proxy.

'Rough Notes' was particularly evocative in this respect and made compelling use of a literary style that blended realism and adventure writing. Starting his series with a brief

stopover at a little hotel on Moose Lake, Nessmuk hinted at what was to come. 'Many gentlemen who go far into the wilderness [...] would be much content' with good angling and deer hunting 'within easy walk of the hotel', he wrote. But he was writing for another category of outer. 'We seek the forest for adventure', which was to say, to escape from the mundane world, into the woods. Thus, leaving his pleasant hotel, he began to lead his readers into the landscape, describing its sights and sounds to stimulate the imagination: 'bright fires' to make a camp, a bed of freshly picked hemlock and balsam (words that evoked the smell of the forest); the sound of water, 'the roaring, rushing rapids on the left'.[39] It was like being guided by Hawkeye to a secret hideaway, recalling the landscape evoked by James Fenimore Cooper.

Fishing and deer hunting could seem almost incidental. At times, it provided the occasion for Nessmuk to meet up with the chief of the St. Regis Mohawk tribe, William Bero, and so to learn from one he considered 'a grand woodsman'—the woodsman's woodsman, as it were.[40] Or his deer hunt with Bero seemed secondary to the evocative descriptions of camp life, the moment of reflection that followed a day's sport. Rounding out a day of hunting with Bero, Nessmuk settled down in camp, his own secret hideaway, writing in typical style: 'I sat up late – smoked, mused, built fires and listened to my old acquaintances, the owls, until, overcome with drowsiness, I, too, pulled my blanket about my ears and slumbered sweetly, after the manner of those who rest at night in open camps'.[41] To read 'Rough Notes' could be like sharing camp with Nessmuk, imagining the sights, smells, and sounds of the North Woods. At a time when *Forest and Stream* would complain about 'the hackneyed, fashion-plagued Adirondacks', it is still hard, when reading 'Rough Notes', to imagine Nessmuk anywhere but the loneliest wilderness.[42] His genius was in reimagining the genteel Adirondack retreat of old for the new commercial age of outdoor recreation, and to reinvest it with a sense of adventure while associating it with the cultural prestige of *Forest and Stream* and ensuring it remained socially respectable.

Meanwhile, *Forest and Stream* was pointing a way to widening horizons of travel and tourism across the United States. Granted, as Reiger (1975) noted, both Charles Hallock and George Bird Grinnell came from monied old families. But, the imagery of genteel Adirondack sportsmanship that framed *Forest and Stream* did not strictly accurately represent Hallock's own, far-reaching, outdoor exploits, nor those of Grinnell, for that matter. Both represented the very modern face of the U.S. national project and were involved with the institutions that were overseeing the exploration, study, conquest, and management of the lands of North America at a critical juncture in the history of settler colonisation.

Hallock had built his reputation in expeditions to the Rockies and to British North America and Canada, including to Labrador with a Smithsonian Institute expedition.[43] Grinnell had first travelled West in 1870, aged 20, on a fossil-hunting expedition with the Peabody Museum (New Haven, Connecticut). In 1874, he was with General George Armstrong Custer in the Black Hills, and the year after, he joined Colonel William Ludlow's expedition to Yellowstone. He went on to help establish the Boone and Crockett Club (together with Theodore Roosevelt), to promote hunting and conservation, the New York Zoological Society, and the Audubon Society. He wrote prolifically about hunting and the natural environment, and about the West, and in particular, his work shaped a

popular understanding of the Pawnee, Cheyenne, and Blackfoot plains peoples in the decades around the turn of the twentieth century.[44]

Correspondingly, while *Forest and Stream* espoused a sportsmanship based on Northeastern cultural antecedents, it took a national perspective. In that vein, it encouraged its readers to look to new landscapes across the United States. From the North Woods, it turned westward, where wild land was becoming newly accessible to sporting tourism. And it looked southward, to the lands of the former Confederacy, at war just a decade before, now being rediscovered and culturally repackaged for outdoor recreation in a moment of national reconciliation and reunion. In turn, the next two sections look at the way *Forest and Stream* represented and began to change the cultural meaning of those two broad regions. It begins with the West, a vast region that was associated with the forward line of American conquest and colonisation when *Forest and Stream* first started publication, but which quickly came into the domain of sporting tourism, and by extension, of the magazine's armchair travellers.

The Great West

In June, 1890, some two years before Robert P. Porter's bulletin for the Census Bureau officially brought the curtain down on 'the frontier', *Forest and Stream* made its own pronouncement in a special issue. 'Only ten years ago there was still a West which could fairly be called wild', it stated, but no longer. Wild animals now lived 'in isolated localities [. . .] surrounded by settlement'. This did not signal the end of hunting, *Forest and Stream* suggested, but it did mean the West would become a managed landscape.[45] As Emerson Hough lamented in the same issue, a 'grand and once trackless' America 'belongs no longer to nature, but to man'.[46] Tracks, literally, railroad tracks, eased access to the West, and the arrival of sporting tourists in growing numbers during the 1870s and 1880s heralded a cultural reimagining of the increasingly settled land.

That said, *Forest and Stream* was not a neutral observer in this process. Promoting the region as an aspirational destination and documenting and interpreting its apparently changing character over time, *Forest and Stream* helped reinvent the West, laying claim to it as the dominion of sportsmanship, in its own terms. The regional exceptionalism evoked by the idea of 'the frontier' began to soften as the earlier phase of conquest and colonisation receded into a nostalgic past and the West was increasingly integrated into the national mainstream within that sporting culture. For *Forest and Stream's* readers, fantasies of adventure in the West would come to be structured by the sporting pastimes of American outdoor recreation and tourism instead. *Forest and Stream* quite accurately remarked upon the changing cultural meaning of the West. But that change was in no small part the magazine's own doing.

The first thing to note, though, is that 'the West' denoted an incredibly expansive and geographically and topographically varied sweep of the American interior. In its fullest sense, as *Forest and Stream* defined it at times (and as it was quite commonly understood in the latter nineteenth century), it encompassed 'the Great West', as the historian William Cronon (1991) described it, extending all the way from the Ohio River basin and Lake Michigan to the Pacific Ocean.[47] In between, it took in a swathe of the North Woods in the Midwestern states of Illinois, Wisconsin, and Minnesota; it included the regions that have since become well-worn tourist trails, the Badlands, the Black Hills, and

Yellowstone National Park; it ran northward through the Rockies and the Cascades into Canada and Alaska, and southwest to the Sierra Nevada, California and the Yosemite Valley, and the Mexican border. Within those sweeping geographical bounds lay strikingly diverse landscapes and climatic zones. It also included a rapidly developing urban and industrial metropolis in Chicago.

Hence, when Emerson Hough developed the 'Chicago and the West' column for *Forest and Stream* in the later 1880s, his title implicitly alluded to that Great West idea. Significantly, while he encompassed the varied landscapes of the West in his column, he placed it all under the cultural authority of the elite sporting clubs and societies around Chicago. Typically documenting the activities of those various sporting associations, Hough's column described a West that was actually primarily the western reaches of the North Woods, from Michigan to Minnesota, the upper Midwest. It was the cultural counterpart of upper-class Adirondack sportsmanship.[48]

Still, in the first decades of *Forest and Stream*, the magazine made frequent use of a narrower idea of the West, denoting land still undergoing conquest and colonisation ('the frontier'). This was a West that lay outside the immediate domain of the genteel sporting club and was yet to be shaped by the tourist economy. At first, when *Forest and Stream* appeared in print in 1873, Hallock's inaugural editorial painted this West as a remote and rather glamorously dangerous land. He appealed to 'officers and soldiers upon the frontier' to supply *Forest and Stream* with reports from the remote extremity of U.S. dominion. This was not a region for casual vacationing, and so, at the time, such reports were printworthy less for their practical value, more as a matter of curiosity, or to provide 'We of the East' with thrilling stories of (as Hallock put it) 'hairbreadth experiences among the Indians, the buffaloes, the grizzlies and the antelopes'—expressing, as he did so, an Edward S. Ellis-like, dime-novel idea of the West.[49] 'A Hunt with the Yankton Sioux', published in the issue of 9 October 1873 was, for example, tellingly reprinted from *The Galaxy: A Magazine of Entertaining Reading*. It was adventure-story fare.[50]

The magazine nevertheless soon began to encourage its readers to contemplate destinations farther afield, even if some itineraries were not for the faint of heart. In May 1874, for instance, *Forest and Stream* presented a lengthy and evocative description of the Yellowstone Valley's 'charms for sportsmen', reassuring readers that 'a party of three can travel in perfect safety' despite ongoing wars with the Sioux people.[51] Similarly, an account of a Californian excursion the same year began with the comment that the writer had drifted into danger, 'an Indian war having been carried on in that part of the country'.[52] Tourism was following very closely behind the military conquest of the West.

Quite soon, though, the coming of the railroad opened routes for commerce and tourism. In 1875, *Forest and Stream* published a report of a railroad journey through the Rocky Mountains, from Omaha, Nebraska, to Nevada, passing plunging canyons and soaring peaks.[53] The Rockies would become an increasingly popular destination for outdoor recreation in the years ahead. So much so, in fact, that by 1877, the magazine was encouraging 'The amateur hunter' to consider seeking out the bighorn, not merely in the Rocky Mountains of Colorado and Wyoming, where it was already being over hunted, but even 'further West' to the Cascades and 'the man-silent mountains that traverse Idaho, Oregon and Washington Territory'.[54] Change occurred at pace, as correspondents began to note. 'THE rapidity with which our western country is settling up, impresses me more and more each year', a correspondent wrote, reporting back from

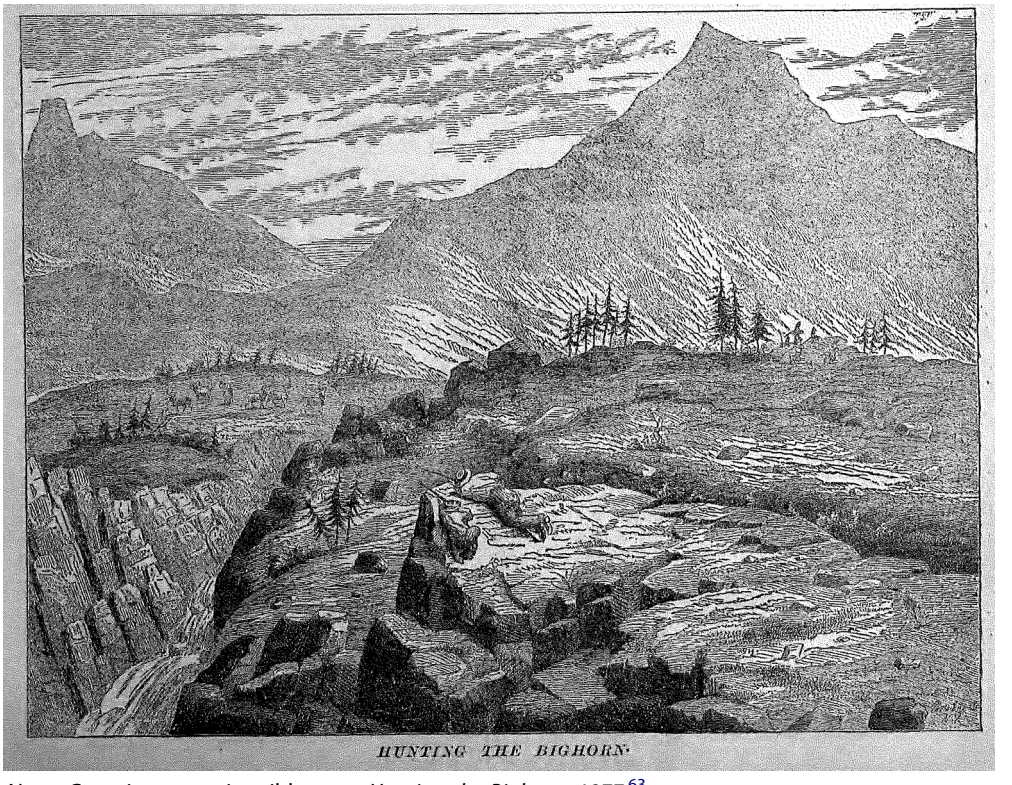
a visit to North Park, Colorado, in 1879, for example.[55] Or, three years later, the same sentiment: 'The rapidity with which the Rocky Mountain region is being settled up is astonishing to any one who has for years been familiar with it'.[56]

But nostalgic laments for the passing wilderness aside, *Forest and Stream* made its way in a West increasingly being brought into the world of industry and commerce. While *Forest and Stream's* disposition could seem inimical to industrialism and commercialism, it nevertheless encouraged its readers to imagine themselves into the West as modern tourists rather than pioneers in the wilderness. In fact, in a West undergoing economic transformation, the tourism associated with outdoor recreation provided a new layer of commercial activity following behind the arrival of industry (particularly extractive enterprise). And actually, this was explicitly documented in *Forest and Stream* at the time. Successive station stops marked milestones in the coming of agriculture and mineral extraction for *Forest and Stream's* correspondent Yo, for example, in an 1881 railroad journey from New York via Chicago to Omaha, and then onward through Wyoming to Oregon, to Washington State, and through British Columbia to Alaska. And of course, the point was that behind those waves of economic development came the sporting tourist, using the infrastructure being laid down by industrial capitalism to travel into the West and launch into adjoining wilderness landscapes.[57] Or, in 1882, *Forest and Stream* contributor Prairie Dog (writers often had whimsical pennames) reported the silver rush in Denver had been followed by a boom in tourism. 'Great changes had been made at that place since my visit in 1876', he wrote. It had become the region's main centre for outfitting and was positioned to provide access routes to the mountains. Among the many guests of the city's 'full to overflow[ing]', hotels and boarding houses were presumably many of the numerous vacationing sportsmen the author met while there, including familiar faces and acquaintances.[58]

At times, descriptions of the new sporting destinations in the West recalled those of the Northeast. When David C. Beaman encouraged aspiring outers westward in June 1886, for example, he wrote in terms long used to lure cityfolk to the Adirondacks. Thus, in the Rockies, 'business and professional men' seeking 'health-restoring pursuits' instead of a vacation 'lounging about in the hotel verandahs at the watering places of the East' could find reportedly the best hunting in the USA, 'scenic wonders', and a climate that was 'perfection'. It outdid the North Woods in an important respect: here was an environment happily untroubled by mosquitoes. But otherwise, its attractions surely appeared strikingly similar.[59]

As the West came within the cultural auspices of American outdoor recreation, so the magazine's writers at times linked those landscapes to an established understanding of the wilderness, often recalling the Adirondack precedent. Representations of the West implicitly expressed a nostalgia for another place and time in this way. That the pursuit of game so often took outers into forests and mountains in fact tended to colour descriptions of the West in such terms. For example, of the mountains around Denver, the writer Prairie Dog could declare, with some confidence in the aesthetic preferences of his readership, 'The scenery is magnificent', before evoking a familiar list of prized features, towering rock and gushing water – a 'river rushes through a narrow gorge whose walls raise their rugged sides three thousand feet', and so on.[60] The writer Percyval offered similar fare, an evocation of the Rockies as a familiar idyll in which the 'clear water' of a stream 'ran swiftly over rock and boulder', and whose 'musical song soothed us at

night'.[61] Likewise, when *Forest and Stream* depicted the realm of the bighorn in July 1877, it presented an illustration of soaring peaks, rocky clefts, and pine-strewn hillsides.[62] These were the signifiers of a particular romantic aesthetic, traceable to the same European precedents that had influenced the earlier reimagining of the tourist's Adirondacks, for example.



Note: Generic mountain wilderness. *Hunting the Bighorn, 1877*.[63]

Simply reduced to a set of symbolic elements, the landscape emerged in such descriptions as somewhat generic and idealised. But such writing communicated the point efficiently. Quickly, readers could understand they were being transported to a 'mountain wilderness' scene. The overall effect was to set the West in a comparative national context, and to press it into an idea of a formulaic 'wild outdoors' that was available to sporting tourists in different varieties in America's various recreational destinations. Thus, for Prairie Dog, the wild grandeur of a Colorado sunset appeared superlative, certainly, but a vista to be understood alongside and in comparison with the 'many [other] beautiful sunsets in the mountains, in the plains, [and] in the deep blue waters of our great lakes' that he had seen on his travels elsewhere, as he wrote in 1882.[64]

And so, the West, for outers, was not 'the frontier' as the historian Frederick Jackson Turner imagined it in its pristine form, or even the wild land Hallock described in his inaugural editorial, but part of the modern tourist economy. Therefore, it must be said, *Forest and Stream* was being somewhat nostalgic when its Western number lamented the

passing of the wilderness, looking back twenty years from the vantage point of 1890. But equally, the retrospective mode allowed writers to begin to consign the recent history of conquest and colonisation to the past, and to package the idea of wildness for consumption by the men and women who made up *Forest and Stream's* target readership. The West could thus be reinvented as a land offering wild adventure, if only relative to the staid, bourgeois life of the city, and actually safely accessible for a sporting tourist.

In framing his vacation experience in 1890 for the Western number, for example, W. J. Dixon recalled a previous visit, in 1874, and retold that earlier experience as a 'frontier' adventure story. He had gone to Colorado 'for health and not to participate in fights', so the whole experience at the time had been 'too dime-novelish to be enjoyed'. Crucially, though, 1890 found Colorado quieter land. So while Dixon's narrative takes the reader back to the moment of a fierce battle between Cheyenne fighters and white settlers, it concludes by returning to a serene present. 'I camped in the [now] deserted cabin one night while hunting', he wrote. But while 'I know I was safe from Indians', he continued, 'the place seemed peopled with whispering ghosts'.[65] Those days may have passed, he implied, but the memories, personified in the ghosts that haunted the cabin, gave the landscape a lingering cultural association with 'frontier' wildness. Similarly, in other articles, descriptions of encounters with 'frontier' types could serve to distance the present from earlier phases of colonisation. The figure of the Indian, the cowboy, the miner, the rugged stage-coach driver, or (perhaps more surprising for a modern reader) the mountain sheep herder, could each in different ways be presented as the embodiment of past or passing ways of life.[66] Recalled from a safe historical distance, the recent past could be invoked to thrill readers, whose armchair travels might spill imaginatively into Western adventure in this way.

Meanwhile, the same process was working in a different way in *Forest and Stream's* treatment of the South. On the face of it, the long-settled Southern states could seem a wholly different prospect to the West. Yet, *Forest and Stream* went about reinventing the South during the 1870s and 1880s too. It distanced the region from the memory of the Civil War, and as in the West reimagined it through the eyes of the sporting tourist as a newly found wilderness, accessible for outdoor recreation. 'With a varied and rich fauna there is no part of the United States whose natural history is so little known as that of the South', wrote J. W. St. Clair in May 1877.[67] Or, rather, little known to Northerners, venturing southward for the first time – but that was soon to change. The rapidly developing tourist industry in Florida became a focus for *Forest and Stream* during those years, partly encouraged by its founding editor, Charles Hallock, and it emerged as an exotic alternative to the established resorts of the North or the wild landscapes of the West. By 1890, *Forest and Stream* had played an important role in putting the South, and particularly Florida, on the outer's map of the United States.

Florida and the South

For readers of *Forest and Stream*, one state in particular came to signify the promise of the South while the region emerged as an exciting new sporting destination in the 1870s and 1880s: Florida. In fact, by 1890, so prominent a position in the culture of outdoor recreation did Florida occupy that *Forest and Stream* dedicated an entire special issue to the state. By then, the magazine declared it had become established as no less than 'the

winter home of the sportsman'.[68] Or, as the correspondent Piscator felt moved to write that same year, it was 'a sportsman's paradise', one 'literally flowing with milk and honey'.[69] This was all something of a turnaround. When Charles Hallock had published his book *Camp Life in Florida* in 1876, based on columns appearing in *Forest and Stream* during its first years, he could still claim that relatively 'little is known' of the state. However, he wrote (in a rather self-aggrandising manner), no little thanks to his own publicly and privately acknowledged efforts to raise the profile of the state, its reputation had grown and its tourist economy had rapidly developed.[70]

Actually, while Hallock could claim 'little' was known in the North about Florida as a sporting destination, the South was acquiring renewed prominence in national life around this time. Florida itself received fresh attention when Harriet Beecher Stowe published her memoir and travel guide, *Palmetto Leaves* (1873), the same year *Scribner's Monthly* began Edward King's major series, *The Great South*, documenting his travels.[71] As King's travel writing indicated, the South loomed in the recently fractured nation's cultural consciousness as the land of the defeated Confederacy. Accordingly, in promoting the South as a destination for sporting tourists in the 1870s, Hallock's *Forest and Stream* did much to reframe perceptions of the region, particularly for its anticipated readership of Northern outers.

This was implicit in the authorial voice of accounts of the South that typically adopted the outsider perspective of the Northern sporting tourist and presented it as a curious new land. At times, the outsider perspective was expressed as a naive, sentimental nostalgia for an idealised, aristocratic past. Here, *Forest and Stream* followed the general pattern that Silber (1993) found in travel writing and local-colour articles published in the likes of *Harper's, Scribner's, Cosmopolitan*, or *The Nation* in the 1870s and 1880s.[72] Writing primarily for hunters and anglers, *Forest and Stream* had a particular perspective on this, of course, but its descriptions of the sporting pastimes of the old, slave-holding planter class provided a way into a discussion of their supposedly genteel, but arcane, decayed, faintly old-world customs. In contrast to the old Adirondack sportsmanship that had received a new lease of life in modern tourism and recreational culture, Southern planter traditions could seem even more aristocratic and part of a bygone tradition that was lost in the past. Such accounts could thus engage with the troubled history of slavery without dwelling on the Civil War itself, and at the same time implicitly signal that the past was safely consigned to history, encouraging a sense of national reunion.

Equally, though, *Forest and Stream* quite often elided the recent past altogether, looking to Florida especially as it reimagined an untouched land of tropical, exotic flora and fauna to be discovered by sporting vacationers, as if for the first time. In the 1870s and 1880s, *Forest and Stream* anticipated the subsequent development of the tourist industry in Florida in the 1890s and 1900s, which Henry Knight Lozano (2013, 2017) has described, and foreshadowed American colonial encounters and the growth of overseas leisure travel in the decades after the turn of the century. But whichever way it approached the South, *Forest and Stream* presented it as a place out of time, now being reshaped by the modern, leisure economy, by commerce and consumption, and absorbed into the larger national culture.

Yet, before the magazine could begin to reimagine the South in these terms, as a place out of time, as a newly discovered wilderness ready for sporting tourists, it was necessary to prepare the way by doing the cultural work of reframing the history of race, slavery,

and the Civil War. And in this regard, founding editor, Charles Hallock, was an important influence over *Forest and Stream*. An enthusiastic promoter of the South, in his writings, Hallock anticipated the future of tourism in the region. At the same time, he also harked back to an idealised vision of the past that was unquestionably sentimental and racist. This was most evident in his later, 1913 autobiography, *An Angler's Reminiscences*, where he looked back to his earlier experiences in the South by indulging in the sort of racist nostalgia that facilitated American national reconciliation at the expense of civil rights after the Civil War. It was in such terms that he described one of his first winter visits to 'the sunny South' in 1860 as an opportunity 'to contemplate the negro [*sic*] in his highest estate', which was to say, he ventured, the 'condition of servitude' for the enslaved 'was really enviable', offering 'all that [they] wanted and small care', while enjoying a 'social status [that] kept pace with the families to which [they were] attached'.[73] Future president Wilson had peddled similar racist mythology in his *History of the American People* (1902), and it was infamously recycled in D. W. Griffiths's *Birth of a Nation* (1915), for example.

Rarely did the inhumane cruelty of the Southern racial hierarchy find explicit expression in *Forest and Stream*, which instead preferred the (also racist) myth of the genteel South or played sentimentally with a melancholy nostalgia for the ruined South. Something of an exception was an article, 'Hounding Deer in Mississippi', a description of a hunt that offered incidental praise for local bullwhip-wielding ('Bulldozer') vigilantes, published in an April 1877 issue (right at the end of the Reconstruction period, it bears noting); it seems singular in its (barely) implicit brutality.[74] More typical were articles that played up the image of Southern hospitality and the ideal of a decayed, old-world, aristocratic gentility, setting slavery aside as a peculiarity of place and (past) time. Thus, Southerners might appear as charming hosts, detached from any explicit reference to slavery or its legacy, or the Civil War. In July 1877, for example, the magazine published 'A Trouting Picnic in Louisiana', describing a party's journey on country roads, past farms and plantations, through air heavy with the scent of magnolia, to stay with a Mr. L. at his 'mansion', and 'where we were received with that whole soul, hearty welcome so characteristic of the southerners'. All was 'joyous and light-hearted'.[75] Other articles might touch on the war or refer implicitly to slavery while placing those times at a safe historical distance from the present. Readers in the 1870s could find enchantment in descriptions of ruined plantations, newly seen through the sporting-tourist's eye as romantically sited relics of a lost world. As Hallock observed in the course of his ramblings, for example, 'many old fields and abandoned plantations' now 'afford delectable feeding grounds for game'.[76]

Those different ways of mythologising the Old South could combine to powerful effect, as in F.G. Blandy's multi-part 'Sportsman Tourist' account of a visit to Cumberland Island, Georgia, for *Forest and Stream* in 1890. Arriving at the old plantation house, he described something clearly grand, but as from another time and place, bringing to his mind an aristocratic English estate, an old hall or hunting lodge complete with deer horns in the gun room and armour hanging in decoration.[77] Later, ruminating on the history of the island's Camden Hunting Club, he cast his imagination back to the 1830s and what he called 'the past glory of the South'.[78] In a flight of nostalgic reverie while perusing the club's records, he imagined a summer regatta, 'shady avenues leading from the river to the piazza, overgrown with honeysuckle', sitting in the cool shade,

'strolling out on the lawn', or lying on the grass while 'servants' passed around cool drinks.[79] But any 'glory' he imagined was in contrast to a decayed present. In the 1830s, 'the planters were kings, ruling each his principality, expecting no more their downfall than their slave expected freedom'. But their downfall had come. In warehouses nearby, where once satins and silks had been stored, 'mice now held high carnival'.[80] As much as melancholy nostalgia of this sort mythologised the antebellum plantation system, it had an important cultural function in consigning the memory of the Old South safely to the past for Northern readers and armchair travellers.

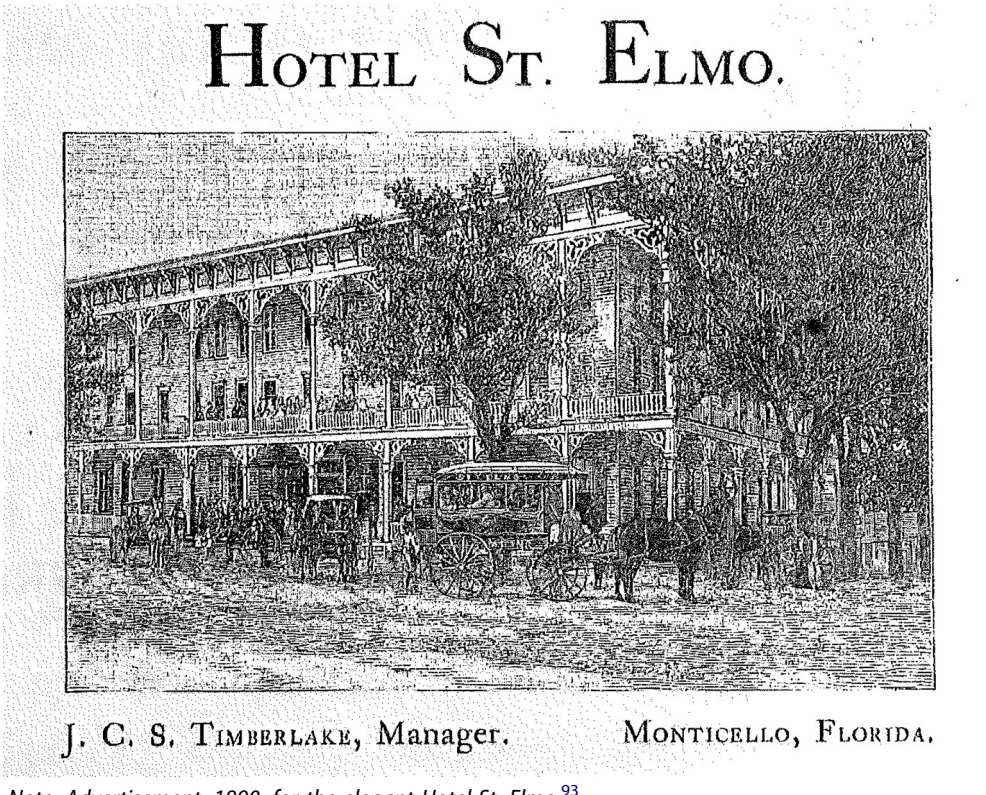
There was an interest in the unfamiliar types who populated the margins of the Southern wilderness, too, and whose seeming social dislocation appeared to lift them out of modern time. For example, in his 1876 ramble through the South, Hallock described and classified Florida 'crackers' (cowboys) and herders, the outlaw 'bush-rangers', and African American hunters of racoons, rabbits, and squirrels.[81] Similarly, there was an associated fascination with the figure of the African American rabbit hunter.[82] C.D.D. presented the South in similar terms in another article, evoking a decadent landscape in which 'an air of thrifty, contented indolence pervades the whole scene', and poor-but-contented black workers, postwar migrants from South Carolina, lived in 'a flourishing colored settlement'.[83] All appeared adrift from the urban society of *Forest and Stream's* presumed readership, taking on a timeless aspect.

The idea of a timeless South allowed writers in turn to reinvest the landscape with a sense of mystery and exoticism – recalling the excitement of a childhood adventure story for their readers, perhaps. Hallock himself made a particularly important contribution to that reinvention of the South as a land of adventure and exploration for sporting tourists. 'Hunting at the extreme south is quite a different business from hunting in the northern States', he wrote in his 'Editorial Notes of a Southern Rambling' series for the magazine in 1876. There were new landscapes for readers to discover, from the dry pine to the swamp, the prairie to the canebrake, and the marshlands and keys of the coast.[84] Wild animals could still be found in number (where they had been depleted in the Northeast), and 'one is liable to meet a bear at any point', he promised.[85] Lands were opening to sport that 'only two years ago, were unknown and inaccessible', and where 'scarcely anything was to be seen' by way of settlement. And there were still mysterious interior landscapes, said to be known only to the Seminole people, 'barred by a cordon of swamp, lagoon, and jungle, that swarmed with repulsive reptiles and noxious insects'.[86]

In similar terms, other writers for *Forest and Stream* emphasised the difference between the environment of the North Woods, as the outer's geographical reference point, and the tropical qualities of Florida's landscape, suggesting a sense of exotic adventure. Tracking an overland horse-drawn journey through the Florida country from Jacksonville to St. Augustine in 1877, for example, one article by C.D.D. described a sedate meander through orange groves, and across land profuse with 'rose bushes, flowering pomegranates, oleanders and crepe myrtles', and 'mulberry trees [. . .] specked red with ripening berries', where paw-paws, the carnivorous pitcher plant, and the swamp lily added to the overall impression of difference.[87] Florida's tropical climate ensured it would be endlessly fascinating. Vacationing anglers could look forward to waking up to a breakfast of baked sweet potato and boiled kingfish with lime juice, washed down with coffee, before setting out for a day's fishing for the region's distinctive catch of shark, swordfish, sheepshead, or goliath grouper. This was a land of alligators,

mango trees, coconuts, bananas, and yams, where one might sail past sponge fishermen or see cigar makers working with tobacco imported from Havana.[88] 'The climate is simply superb', wrote one correspondent, as if readers might have failed to discern as much.[89] Even a relatively cold day in Key West was a welcome contrast to what 'you good people in New York' would be used to, another wrote in January 1886, addressing the magazine's readership of Northern outers.[90]

In time, all of this was brought squarely into the realm of tourism and commerce. By 1890, Florida retained the esteemed status of 'sportsman's paradise', even though, in the years since the 1870s, when Charles Hallock founded *Forest and Stream*, cultivation had eaten into its wilderness, and its resorts had increasingly attracted visitors who came not for hunting, but sightseeing.[91] There were many tourists who did still come for hunting, but among them were a good number looking for comfortable lodgings that might compare favourably with the resorts of the Adirondacks – the sort of hotel Nessmuk mentioned in the first of his 'Rough Notes'. For example, presenting itself to readers in an



Note: Advertisement, 1890, for the elegant Hotel St. Elmo.[93]

advertisement in the 1890 special issue of *Forest and Stream* was the Hotel St. Elmo in Monticello, Florida. Promoted as 'The Coming Mecca of American Sportsmen' in a once little-known locality rich in game, it offered to accommodate sporting visitors in some style. The exotic landscape was clearly also thought to be a draw for those equally, or

more-so, interested in sight seeing, as it promised 'The most typical pieces of wild tropical scenery imaginable'.[92]

Conceived as a landscape for outdoor recreation and viewed through the prism of Florida's burgeoning tourist industry in this way, the South was culturally reinvented in those years. But at the same time, even then, a new nostalgia was settling over memories of the very recent past, even as recent as the 1870s when the likes of Charles Hallock were just beginning to lure Northern outers to a Florida reimagined as an exotic wilderness. So, *Forest and Stream* recalled the idea its writers had themselves imposed on the landscape, a fantasy of an exotic, undiscovered wilderness. In a wistful article, 'Florida Retrospective', published in the 1890 special issue, contributor O.S.S. reminisced about a visit in 1873, first encountering what seemed a tropical land of oranges, bananas, and alligators.[94] Back in the 1870s, the magazine insisted, Florida had been 'an unknown world and practically unexplored wilderness', or 'practically a frontier state', into which the readers of *Forest and Stream* had entered as 'pioneers in strange lands'.[95] It underlined how far the state had been reconceived, now recalled, nostalgically itself in turn, as a former frontierland, a 'wilderness' that had been discovered by sporting tourists. For housebound outers, then, it could occupy a distinct place on the map, a warm, sunny, exotic, tropical alternative to those other wild landscapes of the Northeast or the West.

Conclusion

It was as a writer of romantic tales of Western history that Emerson Hough ultimately found his way into the age of cinema. But it was significant that his name as a writer of Western adventure fiction owed much to his reputation, earned earlier, during his years as a journalist for *Forest and Stream*, as an authentic outdoorsman. Yet, while his journalism covered the West, his association with the magazine nevertheless connected him to a nostalgic tradition of sportsmanship that was rooted foremost in the idealised cultural memory of the Northeast, not the West, and of the leisure pastimes of the genteel upper class. He went on to develop a strain of Western nostalgia in his later literary works, but it was as a sportsman that he wrote when his words appeared in *Forest and Stream*. And it was through the figure of the sportsman that readers of that magazine came to understand the West. A West not standing in isolation, though, and not an exceptional landscape, but part of a broader national vista.

It hardly mattered how often, or even whether at all, readers of *Forest and Stream* ventured out into the wilderness themselves. For housebound outers, the magazine shaped a shared understanding of the landscape, and through it, the nation. *Forest and Stream* showed little regard for history. It preferred convenient mythology or nostalgic sentiment to difficult, actual history, or it simply disavowed the past altogether. Similarly, it had little interest in understanding a broader social context. Its America was ideally a pristine wilderness, or failing that a land of romantically recalled past societies and peoples. A reader of *Forest and Stream* could possibly develop an understanding of how to operate as a sporting tourist, but without necessarily understanding the local people, or the local context. This simplified idea of the United States could only really make sense when approached for the purposes of outdoor recreation, tourism, and leisure, but it gave the nation a coherent form and culturally connected its disparate regions.

In that respect especially, it is significant that *Forest and Stream* symbolically placed outdoor recreation under the cultural authority of the old monied families of the Northeast by invoking the idealised figure of the Adirondack sportsman. It presumed to speak on behalf of all American outers, but did so in the authorial voice of that Yankee Protestant patrician class. Yet, while its genteel image could seem at odds with the commercialism of the Gilded Age, the magazine was in reality very much part of the emerging consumer economy, promoting the goods and services associated with outdoor recreation, travel, and tourism. It encouraged outdoor pastimes that would be taken up as consumer practices by a broad cross section of the American people. By the mid-1880s, Nessmuk could address in classless terms what he called his 'Grand Army of "Outers",' for example. Meanwhile, *Forest and Stream* sought a readership of both women and men, at a time of changing social expectations about gender and leisure. Still, addressing a presumed readership of white people, as *Forest and Stream* linked wild landscapes to the idea of recreation, it also assumed that they would be – and consequently contributed to the belief that they should be – racially exclusive spaces, accessible to white, middle-class men and women, in an expanding consumer society. Outdoor recreation, once the preserve of old-money families, became somewhat more democratic, but remained a facet of white privilege. The idea of the nation that opened up to readers of *Forest and Stream* thus foreshadowed the white, middle-class, consumer's republic of the twentieth century to come.[96]

Notes

1. The film's status is reflected in, for example, Fenin and Everson. 1978. *The Western*, 130–131. See also Hefner. 2018. "'Gettin' on with these furriners'".
2. The Preface of *Story of the Outlaw* begins accordingly, 'In offering this study of the American desperado, the author constitutes himself no apologist for the acts of any desperado; yet neither does he feel that apology is needed for the theme itself. The outlaw, the desperado – that somewhat distinct and easily recognisable figure generally known in the West as the "bad man"—is a character unique in our national history, and one whose like scarcely has been produced in any land other than this. It is not necessary to promote absurd and melodramatic impressions regarding a type properly to be called historic, and properly to be handled as such. The truth itself is thrilling enough, and difficult as that frequently has been of discovery, it is the truth which has been sought herein'. Hough, *Story of the Outlaw*, vii.
3. Biographical detail: Grover. 1979. 'W. H. D. Koerner & Emerson Hough': 2–15; Wylder. 1981. *Emerson Hough*, 15, 18–23,26-, 44, 78–83, 85–92, 93–114, 131–141. See also, all Hough: *Story of the Cowboy; Story of the Outlaw*; *Way to the West*; *Passing of the Frontier*; *54–40 or Fight*; *Covered Wagon*.
4. 1923. 'Latest Works of Fiction'. *New York Times*, 22 July: Section BR, 14. This was a review of his posthumously published *North of 36*, itself subsequently adapted for screen in 1924.
5. He became Western Editor of *Forest and Stream*, and with that magazine made a significant contribution to raising public awareness of the need for conservation with his investigation of the declining buffalo herd in Yellowstone in 1894. He worked with *Forest and Stream* until 1903. He then had a spell with *Field and Stream* until 1905. He also wrote for *American Field*. Johnson. 1975. 'Emerson Hough's *The Story of the Outlaw*.' See also Wylder. 1981. *Emerson Hough*, 26, 40.
6. Hough quoted in Bold. 2013. *Frontier Club*, 46.
7. The dedication appears from the first issue. 1873. *Forest and Stream*, 1 (1), 14 August: 8.

8. Hallock stepped away in January 1880. See 1880. 'Valedictory'. *Forest and Stream*, 13 (22), January 1: 950.
9. Other key titles from the time included *Outing*, *Outer's Book*, and *Recreation* (later combined as *Outer's Book-Recreation*). See Bold. 2013. 'American Recreation': 850.
10. Hough. 1916. *Let Us Go Afield*, 3–4.
11. Silber. 1993. *Romance of Reunion*. It was not just Hough who remarked on this, of course, and it had long been true. 'BUSINESS keeps many readers of FOREST AND STREAM, no doubt, from taking those long vacations and outings' that the magazine's correspondents described, as one article admitted in the 1880s. 'But it is the next thing to being there ourselves to read the accounts they write of trips by land or water, of game bagged and fish caught'. Harry Hunter. 1886. 'DAKOTA GAME'. *Forest and Stream*, 26 (2), 4 February: 27. See Nina Silber's comments on class and leisure in Silber. 1993. *Romance of Reunion*, 67–68. See also Brodhead. 1993. *Cultures of Letters*, 126.
12. Or for that matter, two British writers born in the 1850s who came to influence the genre, Robert Louis Stevenson and H. Rider Haggard. Smith. 2019. *Deep Water*, 85–99.
13. For social context, see Lears. 2009. *Rebirth of a Nation*, 51–56.
14. See also Kasson. 2001. *Houdini*; Kelly. 2006. 'The Hunter Elite'; Bold. 2013. *Frontier Club*.
15. Although of fine quality, there have been relatively few articles about outdoor recreation published in *The Journal of Sport History* over the past decades, for example, and none has engaged with readership. See, for example, Berg. 2015. '"To Conquer Myself"'; Hopsicker. 2009. '"No Hebrews Allowed"'; Buchholtz. 1978. 'The National Park as a Playground'. Competitive sports and spectatorship tend to predominate in sport-history research. Tellingly, a 2019 special issue of *Sport in History* given over to 'Hemingway and Sport' looked at baseball, boxing, and bullfighting, but not his well-known love of hunting and fishing. See *Sport in History*, 39:3 (2019).
16. Relatedly, see Anderson. 2015. *Frank Merriwell*.
17. 1880 *Ayer & Son's*: 438. For comparisons see McLaughlin. 2020. 'American Recreation': 850.
18. Brodhead. 1993. *Cultures of Letters*, 124–134.
19. Thank you to Thomas R. Smith for this observation. For *Harper's*, see Phegley. 2004. 'Literary Piracy': 63–90.
20. For distinctions of class and taste in magazine publishing at this time, particularly as regards sensation, see Roggenkamp. 2007. 'Dignified Sensationalism'.
21. Classless, in the sense of subsuming the cultural distinctions of social class under a larger cross-class national identity.
22. For his references to the Alps and the Highlands, see Headley. 1864. *Adirondack*, i-ii.
23. See the preface to the edition of Headley. 1864. *Adirondack*, i.
24. Cymon. 1868. 'AMONG THE ADIRONDACKS'. *New York Times*, 30 August: 5; 1869. 'Rev. Wm. Dymond on "The Adirondacks".' *New York Times*, 17 January: 8; Manhattan. 1869. 'THE ADIRONDACKS'. *New York Times*, 26 July: 2; 1870. 'The Adirondack Region'. *New York Times*, 21 November: 3; 1871. 'THE ADIRONDACKS'. *New York Times*, 5 July: 2; C.L. B. 1871. 'Advantages of a Rough Life'. *New York Times*, 11 September: 2; M.B.D. 1871. 'Scenery of the Region A Picturesque Paradise'. *New York Times*, 31 July: 2.
25. Reiger. 1975. *American Sportsmen*, 30–34.
26. Murray. 1970. *Adventures in the Wilderness*.
27. Monroe, 1869. 'BOOKS IN BOSTON'. *New York Times*, 12 April: 5.
28. '1880 The Raquette Club'. *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 41 (243), August: 321–338.
29. Hallock. 1873. *Fishing Tourist*, 67–68.
30. For example: 1886. 'A RAIL ROAD TO COOKE CITY'. *Forest and Stream*, 27 (7), 11 March: 121–122; 1886. 'A BOOM FOR COOKE CITY'. *Forest and Stream*, 26 (13), 22 April: 242; 1886. 'THE RAILROADS AND THE PARK'. *Forest and Stream*, 26 (16), 13 May: 302; 1886. 'REPORT OF THE PARK RAILROAD: VIEWS OF THE MINORITY'. *Forest and Stream*, 26 (16), 13 May: 302–303; 1886. 'HOW THE CASE STANDS'. *Forest and Stream*, 26 (17), 20 May: 325–326; 1886. 'COOKE AND THE CLARK'S FORK MINES'. *Forest and Stream*, 26 (17), 20 May: 326; 1886. 'THE NATIONAL PARK RAILROAD JOB'. *Forest and Stream*, 26

(23), 1 July: 446; 1886. 'YELLOWSTONE PARK MATTERS'. *Forest and Stream*, 26 (25), 15 July: 485.

31. See Wylder. 1981. *Emerson Hough*, 80.
32. Carolyn Merchant has explained how this managed to help Grinnell appeal to women conservationists at the same time. Merchant. 2010. 'George Bird Grinnell's Audubon Society'
33. Dedication. 1873. *Forest and Stream*, 1 (1), 14 August: 8.
34. Masthead. 1873. *Forest and Stream*, 1 (1), 14 August.
35. Announcement. 1880. *Forest and Stream*, 15 (2), 12 August: 23. See also, 1890. 'DEATH OF NESSMUK'. *Forest and Stream*, 34 (16), 8 May: 305–306.
36. Nessmuk. 1881. 'AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL FRAGMENTS – III'. *Forest and Stream*, 17 (19), 8 December: 366. ' . . . steal me away' reads as a playful reference to the (racist, colonialist) trope of 'Indian abduction', the stuff of dime novels and folk tales.
37. Nessmuk. 1900. *Woodcraft*, vii, 3.
38. Nessmuk. 1900. *Woodcraft*, 4–17. More broadly, McLaughlin. 2020. 'American Recreation': 849–850.
39. Nessmuk. 1880. 'ROUGH NOTES FROM THE WOODS'. *Forest and Stream*, 15 (2), 12 August: 26. Thanks to Thomas R. Smith for comments on Nessmuk's literary style.
40. Nessmuk. 1880. 'ROUGH NOTES FROM THE WOODS'. *Forest and Stream*, 15 (3), 19 August: 45–46. Note, 'my friend "Bero"' gets a mention for being the owner of Nessmuk's prized hatchet, in Nessmuk. 1900. *Woodcraft*, 12.
41. Nessmuk. 1880. 'ROUGH NOTES FROM THE WOODS'. *Forest and Stream*, 15 (5), 2 September: 84.
42. 1890. 'THE DEATH OF "NESSMUK".' *Forest and Stream*, 34 (16), 8 May: 305.
43. Hallock. 1913. *Angler's Reminiscences*, 2.
44. 'DR. G. B. GRINNELL, NATURALIST, DEAD'. 1938. *New York Times*, 12 April: 25.
45. Porter, *Compendium*. 1890. 'THE OLD WEST AND THE NEW'. *Forest and Stream*, 34 (21), 12 June: 405. Interestingly, the observation ecological consequences of animals becoming trapped in pockets of wilderness anticipated Foreman (2004).
46. E. Hough. 1890. 'Fishing Resources of the West'. *Forest and Stream*, 34 (21), 12 June: 409.
47. Cronon. 1991. *Nature's Metropolis*, xviii. See also Turner. 1996. *Frontier in American History*, 1.
48. For some indicative examples, see: E. Hough. 1888 'CHICAGO AND THE WEST'. *Forest and Stream*, 31 (12), 11 October: 226; 31 (17), 15 November: 325; 31 (18), 22 November: 344; and E. Hough. 1890 'CHICAGO AND THE WEST'. *Forest and Stream*, 33 (25), 9 January: 498–499; 33 (36), 16 January: 514–515; 34 (1), 23 January: 6; 34 (2), 30 January: 26–27; 34 (13), 17 April: 247; 34 (14), 24 April: 268. Compare with E. Hough. 1888 'CHICAGO AND THE WEST'. *Forest and Stream*, 31 (13), 18 October: 245, concerning a journey to Colorado, and 31 (16), 8 November: 307–308, concerning a visit to Kansas.
49. Hallock. 1873. 'ANNOUNCEMENT'. *Forest and Stream*, 1 (1), 14 August: 8.
50. Theo. E. Leeds. 1873. 'A Hunt with the Yankton Sioux'. *Forest and Stream*, 1 (9), 9 October: 132–133. From 1873. *The Galaxy: A Magazine of Entertaining Reading*, 16 (July-December): 552–557.
51. Monmouth. 1874. 'The Yellowstone Valley'. *Forest and Stream*, 2 (14), 14 May: 209–210.
52. Monmouth. 1874. 'Sports in California: No. III – WOODCRAFT'. *Forest and Stream*, 2 (19), 18 June: 289–290.
53. Rev. Hiram Chase. 1875. 'From Omaha to Nevada'. *Forest and Stream*, 4 (18), 10 June: 275.
54. John Mortimer Murphy. 1877. 'Hunting the Bighorn'. *Forest and Stream*, 8 (24), 19 July: 397–398.
55. Yo. 1879. 'A TRIP TO NORTH PARK'. *Forest and Stream*, 13 (9), 2 October: 691.
56. 1882. 'THEIR LAST REFUGE'. *Forest and Stream*, 19 (20), 14 December: 382–383.
57. Yo, 1881. 'BYE-WAYS OF THE NORTHWEST'. Part 1. *Forest and Stream*, 16 (24), 14 July: 469.
58. Prairie Dog. 1882. 'A Summer's Rambling in Colorado'. Part I. *Forest and Stream*, 18 (26), 27 July: 505–506.

59. David C. Beaman. 1886. 'ROCKY MOUNTAIN RESORTS'. *Forest and Stream*, 26 (19), 3 June: 366.
60. Prairie Dog. 1882. 'A Summer's Rambling in Colorado'. Part I. *Forest and Stream*, 18 (26), 27 July: 505–506.
61. Percyval. 1890. 'In the Rockies'. *Forest and Stream*, 34 (21), 12 June: 406–407.
62. John Mortimer Murphy. 1877. 'Hunting the Bighorn'. *Forest and Stream*, 8 (24), 19 July: 397.
63. John Mortimer Murphy. 1877. 'Hunting the Bighorn'. *Forest and Stream*, 8 (24), 19 July: 397.
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66. For example, see C.L.S. 1889. 'The Sportsman Tourist: A MONTH IN THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS'. *Forest and Stream*, 32 (4), 14 February: 62–63; 32 (6), 21 February: 82–83; 32 (8), 14 March: 150. G. F. Blandy. 1888. 'The Sportsman Tourist: TWO MONTHS A COWBOY'. *Forest and Stream*, 31 (14), 25 October: 262–263; 31 (15). 1 November: 283–284; 31 (16), 8 November: 303. For loneliness and isolation, see C.L.S. 1889. 'The Sportsman Tourist: A MONTH IN THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS'. *Forest and Stream*, 32 (7), 7 March: 130.
67. J. W. St. Clair. 1877. 'Natural History: Some Southern Wood Notes'. *Forest and Stream*, 8 (16), 24 May: 239.
68. 1890. 'THE SPORTSMAN'S FLORIDA'. *Forest and Stream*, 33 (25), 9 January: 485–486.
69. Piscator. 1890. 'WEST FLORIDA SPORTS'. *Forest and Stream*, 34 (12), 10 April: 226.
70. Hallock. 1876. *Camp Life*, 7–8. The book includes contributions from various columnists as well as Hallock's own writings.
71. Edward King. 1873. 'The Great South'. *Scribner's Monthly*, 6 (3), July: 257–288, and subsequent volumes and numbers. With thanks to Thomas R. Smith.
72. Silber. 1993. *Romance of Reunion*, 70–92.
73. Hallock. 1913. *Angler's Reminiscences*: 34.
74. Darrington. 1877. 'Hounding Deer in Mississippi'. *Forest and Stream*, 8 (10), 12 April: 142.
75. Plume del Rosa. 1877. 'A Trouting Picnic in Louisiana'. *Forest and Stream*, 8 (22), 5 July: 358.
76. Hal. 1876. 'Editorial Notes of Southern Ramblings'. No. 11. *Forest and Stream*, 6 (10), 13 April: 152.
77. F. G. Blandy. 1890. 'The Sportsman Tourist'. *Forest and Stream*, 34 (5), 20 February: 32.
78. F. G. Blandy. 1890. 'The Sportsman Tourist'. *Forest and Stream*, 34 (6), 27 February: 102.
79. F. G. Blandy. 1890. 'The Sportsman Tourist'. *Forest and Stream*, 34 (7), 6 March: 122–123. The fantasy related to the 1830s, and so 'servants' inevitably implied 'slaves', of course.
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82. H.W.K. 1890. 'A Quail Hunt in North Carolina'. *Forest and Stream*, 34 (6), 27 February: 105. See also Hal.1876. 'Editorial Notes of Southern Ramblings'. No. 11. *Forest and Stream*, 6 (10), 13 April: 152.
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84. Hal. 1876. 'Editorial Notes of Southern Ramblings'. No. 11. *Forest and Stream*, 6 (10), 13 April: 152.
85. Hal. 1876. 'Editorial Notes of Southern Ramblings'. No. 11. *Forest and Stream*, 6 (10), 13 April: 152.
86. Hallock. 1876. *Camp Life*: 7–12.
87. C.D.D. 1877. 'Across Country in Florida'. *Forest and Stream*, 8 (16), 24 May: 239. The presence of bear tracks added a frisson of excitement to the journey, but no actual bears were seen.
88. See, for example, VH. 1887. 'ON THE WEST COAST'. Parts I-III. *Forest and Stream*, 27 (5), 24 February: 83; 27 (6), 3 March: 107; 27 (7), 10 March: 126–127.
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96. Cohen. 2003. *Consumers' Republic*. Thank you to Joanne Hollows. See also the excellent Averbeck. 2018. *Liberalism Is Not Enough*.

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Notes on contributor

Malcolm McLaughlin is Associate Professor of American Studies and History at the University of East Anglia. His work has previously looked at the interplay of race and class in the development of democratic society in twentieth-century America, a theme he has explored in two books. More recently, he has been researching changing attitudes to the environment and national identity while tracking the cultural history of sport, travel, and recreation in the Great Outdoors in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

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