**Reel Adventures: Fishing, Fantasy, and Sportswriting, 1890-1910**

**Introduction**

It was a fishing expedition to thrill cinema audiences: the 1932 motion picture documentary, *South Sea Adventures.* Casting off from Santa Catalina Island, California, bound for shark-infested waters, in search of “monsters of the deep” (as *New York Times* reviewer Mordaunt Hall put it), was none other than Zane Grey.[[1]](#endnote-2) As the famed author of *Riders of the Purple Sage* (1912), Grey’s name was by then synonymous with Western adventure. Angling, however, had been his other lifelong passion. Truly accomplished, he was equally at home in river or ocean—although it was undoubtedly in the thrilling pursuit of big-game fish on the sea that he achieved the greater distinction. From the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific, his catches broke records. Memorably, in Tahiti, in 1930, he landed an enormous thousand-pound marlin. Note, while his books out-sold his junior contemporary Ernest Hemingway, he could reasonably claim to have out-fished that acclaimed sportsman-author too.[[2]](#endnote-3) At the same time, Grey was a prolific writer of angling stories, published in *Field and Stream* years before he became known as a novelist; angling stories, that is, with the Zane Grey touch. Crossing between sportswriting and adventure fantasy, he brought his distinctive storytelling genius to the genre. In recounting epic battles with swordfish, or describing journeys into tropical seas, Grey invested angling with adventure.[[3]](#endnote-4) All the same, the angling adventure story as a genre did not belong to him alone, even if he shaped it in his image. Long before Grey picked up his pen, in fact, sportswriters had discovered excitement and escapism in fishing. The following study of outdoor-sports magazines in the years around turn of the twentieth century is about the making of that genre, angling stories that transported readers to adventures on the high seas and shaped an understanding of the world.

Fair to say, angling has not enjoyed a high standing in the academic scholarship of sport history. A field that has often clustered around team sports, athletics, and fitness culture has largely left recreational fishing on the sidelines. It rarely appears in *The* *Journal of Sport History,* for example*—*although Kevin Kokomoor’s illuminating interpretation of tarpon fishing in the early twentieth century, published in 2010, is a notable exception in recent decades and demonstrates the importance of angling for an understanding of social and cultural history.[[4]](#endnote-5) More typically, angling has been bracketed with hunting, from John Reiger’s landmark book to Scott Giltmer’s more recent work.[[5]](#endnote-6) Or in the case of Jack E. Davis’s majestic environmental history, *The Gulf* (2017), fishing (along with hunting) provides an essential perspective on the exploitation of the coast, following in the wake of sporting tourism.[[6]](#endnote-7) Often, though, angling has simply faded into the background in historical studies of tourism and recreation by, for example, Lawrence Culver or Henry Knight Lozano, or it has been overlooked for other watery pursuits, like surfing.[[7]](#endnote-8) Notably, when Gail Bederman and others have written about the macho culture of outdoor sports in the age of American imperialism, they have typically concentrated their attention on trophy hunting and safari.[[8]](#endnote-9) The merest contours of the cultural history of angling, especially sea fishing, have yet begun to emerge.

This is perhaps all the more surprising given the critical scholarly interest in Theodore Roosevelt and his times over these past decades. Granted, TR himself was better known for bear-hunting than angling, but the sort of adventurous sea fishing Zane Grey often described had an obvious cultural resonance at a time in American history when the nation was looking outward with new ambition.[[9]](#endnote-10) As Assistant Secretary of the Navy (1897-1898), Roosevelt was an outspoken advocate of sea power, and his memorable deeds as President (1901-1909) included the global circumnavigation of the Great White Fleet, a demonstration of U.S. capability that announced the republic’s new muscular posture to friends and adversaries alike.[[10]](#endnote-11) Salt-water sport fishing in turn offered a way of understanding a republic on the cusp of global power, connecting the metropolitan centers of the North and East to Florida and California, and gazing outward—to Mexico, or to the expanding imperial horizons of the Caribbean and the Pacific. Yet as much as they expressed national self-confidence, writers reflected on the limits of mastery, describing a marine environment that was fundamentally mysterious and untameable. Angling stories have much to say about the ambivalent cultural disposition of the USA at this pivotal time.

All of which is to suggest the importance of attending not only to the social history of angling, but also to the vibrant reading culture that came to surround it at the turn of the century. From the launch of *Forest and Stream* in 1873 to the appearance of its younger rivals, *Sports Afield* (1889), *Recreation* (1894), *Field and Stream* (1896), and *Outdoor Life* (1898)—not to mention *Outing* (1882), the title that out-sold them all in the 1900s under the editorship of Caspar Whitney—this was a golden age for sports publishing. These magazines were packed with practical advice and sporting news, but also travel writing and stories of outdoor adventure.[[11]](#endnote-12) Unlike the old *Spirit of the Times*, which enjoyed its heyday in the 1830s-1850s, this new generation of magazines turned away from gambling and disreputable urban entertainments, appealing to a respectable middle-class readership, and women as well as men as they shaped modern sporting culture.[[12]](#endnote-13) Yet, the place of specialist outdoor-sports magazines in American life at this historical juncture remains only partially understood. So, while John Reiger, Thomas Dunlap, Thomas Altherr, Daniel Justin Herman, Andrea Smalley, and others have shown these magazines were important advocates of conservation, for example, far less scholarly consideration has been given to the many stories of travel and sporting adventure that also appeared in their pages, and which in offering escapism in flights of fancy were no less a part of their appeal.[[13]](#endnote-14) Consider that while Richard Brodhead’s study of general-interest magazines long ago showed how *Harper’s* and *Atlantic* informed ideas about travel and tourism, region and nation in the Gilded Age, outdoor-sports magazines have not received similar treatment.[[14]](#endnote-15) The adventurelands described by outdoor-sportswriters still await full exploration.

Those magazines described what were, for most readers, worlds of the imagination. They were visited in daydreams rather than in reality. Few Americans living in the major cities of the East around the turn of the twentieth century could afford any kind of vacation, let alone a lengthy and expensive train or steamer trip to the Gulf of Mexico or the Pacific. This was a variety of travel enjoyed mainly by the wealthiest class. It might be a rare treat for prosperous business folk, if they could tear themselves away from work. Or it could be a middle-class trip of a lifetime. On the whole, anyway, labor and commerce filled the days of all except the idle rich, and almost everyone had to make do with daydreams much if not all of the time.[[15]](#endnote-16) It is, then, surprising that while adventure fiction has received considerable attention over many years, down from Joseph Campbell in the 1940s to Martin Green, Margery Fisher, and Robert Fraser, to Gary Hoppenstand more recently, outdoor-sports magazines have not really been considered in similar terms—even though their writers often crossed quite freely from journalistic realism into the realm of fantasy.[[16]](#endnote-17)

Outdoor-sportswriting was not entirely alone in this generic blurring at the time. As Karen Roggenkamp found in her study of *Cosmopolitan* magazine, journalists were experimenting with elements of sensationalism in their writing in search of new readerships during the 1880s and 1890s.[[17]](#endnote-18) Outdoor-sportswriters could especially appeal to readers in that moment, as they turned up the intensity of both realism *and* fantasy. Increasingly using photography to document their exploits, they brought a new sense of authenticity to their stories. But at the same time, they also frequently drew on a sensational style, emphasizing physical ordeal and jeopardy, and weaving their experiences into thrilling narratives. If adventure is typically characterized, as Hoppenstand neatly summarizes it, by an emphasis on action, on protagonists battling adversaries and the environment, and (in the spirit of the age of imperialism) exploring and dominating exotic lands and peoples, then it can be said that stories of angling sailed into those generic waters.[[18]](#endnote-19)

This turn to sensationalism and adventure fantasy had marked implications for the image of angling as a sport. Generations of Americans had been raised on editions of Izaak Walton’s seventeenth-century English pastoral masterpiece, *The Compleat Angler,* and its exhortation to “be quiet and go a-angling.” It was a text to be treated reverentially.[[19]](#endnote-20) Even so, as frequently as Walton’s memory was invoked in the pages of outdoor-sports magazines through the turn of the century, American angling stories also often brought to mind quite a different writer and another world: James Fenimore Cooper and the romantic wilderness of Natty Bumppo, his leather-stockinged protagonist from *Last of the Mohicans* (1826). Articles could encompass both worlds. Two angling ideals—the quiet pursuit of the gentle art and the backwoods adventure—coexisted in outdoor-sportswriting during these years. There again, the pursuit of big-game fish on the open sea distanced anglers further from the Walton legacy even as it evoked new horizons of adventure. In place of the quietness of the gentle art, it offered the swell of the sea, the din of the motor boat, and strenuous hours battling tarpon and swordfish, marlin and sharks. It pointed outward to tropical climes, recalling the fantasy South Seas of R. M. Ballantyne’s *Coral Island* (1857) more than Walton’s beloved River Dove, or the Lea Valley of *The Compleat Angler*.[[20]](#endnote-21)

The history of the American angling story recounted here, then, follows a journey from the idealized quiet of the riverbank to the roar of the sea, from a contemplative sensibility into adventure fantasy. What is documented here is on one level the history of American sporting tourism, as it moved outward from the Adirondacks and the Rockies, to southerly waters. It is at the same time a cultural history of the empire of play and imagination that grew in the wake of U.S. expansion. More specifically, in exploring this cultural reimagining of angling, the study examines the leading outdoor-sports magazines of the day, beginning in the 1870s and 1880s, but focusing mainly on the 1890s and creeping into the twentieth century, when angling tourism in Florida and California really got going. The first part explains how fishing became both a recreational pastime and the gateway to stories of adventure—first of all in the North Woods and the West, and then increasingly to the open sea. The second part traces the way sportswriters introduced elements of sensation into their fishing stories, producing a new idea of angling that could speak to a readership searching widening horizons for thrilling fantasies of adventure.

**I. From Recreation to Adventure**

There is no doubt that for American anglers at the turn of the twentieth century, Izaak Walton occupied a revered status. In *Field and Stream,* he appeared as “The Father of the Gentle Art” in a commemorative full-page portrait.[[21]](#endnote-22) He was sometimes honored in pastiche imitation, as in Clarence Deming’s practical instruction on how to dress a fish, presented in Walton’s style, as a dialogue between *Piscator* and *Venator*—and in this case with photographs for illustration.[[22]](#endnote-23) Writers commonly played with the contemplative pastoral ideal, familiar to readers of *The* *Compleat Angler.*[[23]](#endnote-24) Or, they might appeal to Walton’s spirit as they lamented his followers’ well-known reputation for spinning yarns when returning from a fishing trip empty handed. “If it’s to be an evening of fish stories,” began F. I. Sherman’s wry contribution to the September 1899 issue of *Recreation,* then “by the sacred shade of Izaak Walton, let us bar out the old-fashioned ‘fish story.’”[[24]](#endnote-25) Meanwhile, for one vacationing reader of *Outing*, the tomb of Walton’s wife, Anne, at Worcester Cathedral in England, was a sacred place of sporting pilgrimage, described in a letter to the editor.[[25]](#endnote-26) But in the development of American sporting culture in the nineteenth century, as far as it was represented in the pages of *Forest and Stream* during the 1870s and 1880s when it had the market largely to itself, a suggestion of adventure fantasy was also present from the first.

There was, early on, a noticeable Transatlantic influence to the idea of adventure *Forest and Stream* described. “Wild Fishing Among the Kroos” spirited readers away to the coast of West Africa, home of the legendary Kru mariners, in an excerpt from Frank Buckland’s writing, originally in the British magazine *Land and Water.* And a description of a journey on “Trout Trails from the Nepigon” (Nipigon River) struck out for Canadian lumber and copper country and the territory of the Hudson Bay Company, recalling something of R. M. Ballantyne’s adventure stories, *Young Fur Traders* (1856) or *Ungava* (1857).[[26]](#endnote-27) But, if it was at first implicated in a transatlantic world of adventure, *Forest and Stream* went on to acquire a more emphatically homegrown, American voice in George W. Sears—known by his pen-name, “Nessmuk.” A familiar name to readers of *Spirit of the Times*, and later the author of what became the definitive handbook of the era, *Woodcraft* (1880), it was his series for *Forest and Stream,* “Rough Notes from the Woods,” describing his travels in the Adirondacks that Nessmuk came to the attention of a new generation. It was a landscape that came preloaded with romantic associations, having been reimagined by James Fenimore Cooper as the domain of Hawkeye in *Last of the Mohicans,* and then repackaged for metropolitan tourists by William H. H. Murray in his 1869 guidebook, *Adventures in the Wilderness.* By 1880, it had become a fashionable vacation retreat—and was, as a consequence, no longer everywhere quite the lonely, enchanted landscape Murray had described.[[27]](#endnote-28)

Still, Nessmuk succeeded in rekindling something of the original Adirondack romance. His pen-name itself was evocative of Cooperish adventure: he claimed he had taken it from an “athletic young brave” who taught him woodcraft when he was growing up in Massachusetts.[[28]](#endnote-29) Inhabiting that persona, he suggested he could lead his readers away from busy tourist resorts to adventures in the woods. “I could, by angling just enough for recreation, catch more speckled trout by far than I needed,” at a section of Moose River popular with visiting fishing parties, he wrote in his opening article. But while the hotel near good hunting and fishing had its appeal, Nessmuk had something else in mind. “We seek the forest for adventure,” he wrote, setting out “for broader waters and deeper woods.”[[29]](#endnote-30) A practitioner of the gentle art of Izaak Walton, angling was, in Nessmuk’s hands, also an invitation to adventure—and his readers followed him on his journey like a latter-day Hawkeye.

From playing Walton to “playing Indian” (to use Philip J. Deloria’s memorable expression) in this way, Nessmuk helped popularize an idea of the sporting vacation as a modern type of adventure in the woods suitable for middle-class Americans.[[30]](#endnote-31) Angling described in this mode could be understood as a pastime suitable for men and women together—husband and wife, enjoying their own little fishing adventures in the wilderness, as the cover illustration of *Field and Stream’s* 1902 Adirondack Number represented it, for example.[[31]](#endnote-32) Or, the river could be a place for men and women to spend a respectably wholesome hour together with the suggestion of romance, as in N. H. Crowell’s short story “A Maid and a Trout” or Mary H. Coates’s “Her Salmon Trust Score.”[[32]](#endnote-33) Angling became thoroughly woven into an idealized American life in stories like these, of genteel outdoor adventures for middle-class couples.

That said, as tourism followed the westward settling of the North American continent, accounts of fishing adventures did not entirely break with the Walton tradition. Mary Trowbridge Townsend, for example, discovered “the veritable trout of Izaak Walton” on her trip to Yellowstone in 1897, amid the peculiar landscape of Firehole River.[[33]](#endnote-34) Similarly, the Rockies combined both adventure and serenity, the majesty of the mountains and the peaceful quiet of the trout stream in the lonely wilderness. Writing in *Outing* in 1887, George O. Shields—later editor of *Recreation—*brought to mind jeopardy and tranquility in his description of a journey through the Bitterroot River valley. From its source, he wrote, it “sweeps and whirls in its course” and in places “tumbles down over a long, steep pavement of granite bowlders, working itself into a very agony of bubbles and foam,” gathering driftwood along the way. The angler must exercise caution, for the current is strong enough “to take the conceit out of any living man and show him what a poor, weak worm he is.” But the riffles present an altogether different perspective, and anglers can wade as though into another world, one more recognizable to disciples of Izaak Walton, perhaps. Here, Shields “beguiles the hours in dalliance with these beauties of the river, gazing into crystalline depths and toying with its poetic denizens.” Or, glance away from the stream for a moment, and be caught by the “inspiring loveliness” of the mountains—now to be enjoyed as spectacle rather than warily negotiated. Combining Western adventure and contemplative angling, such stories could transport the housebound reader on a flight of fancy.[[34]](#endnote-35)

In time, though, the encroachment of tourism spoiled some of the romance for outdoor-sportswriters. By the turn of the century it was common enough to find articles dismissing the Adirondacks as a “hackneyed, fashioned-plagued” tourist resort (*Forest and Stream*), or no place “to meet Nature in her own haunts” (*Outing*).[[35]](#endnote-36) The shine was coming off the West too, at least for a veteran outdoorsman and writer like Emerson Hough. In *Forest and Stream’s* Western number in 1890, reflecting on the growth of tourism and commercial fishing, he held up faint hope. “If only man would work with nature,” he lamented. Instead, the waterways of the West were being depleted like those of the East. He saw the coming of the day when the rivers in “what was once the wilderness” might be entirely depopulated, or else the fisheries would be commercially managed. Either way, for him, it meant the loss of a certain idea of the West—or at least, the West as he had imagined it, the beguiling idealized landscape of “untracked woods” and the “stream whose tongue is foreign”; the West of “quiet ways by new, unfretted waters.”[[36]](#endnote-37)

The open sea, though, remained a vast and mysterious wilderness, and it presented expansive possibilities for adventure. The idea of a wild and unpredictable ocean found expression in the figure of the swordfish, appearing in *Forest and Stream* as an almost mythical creature. Stories of hairsbreadth encounters with these strange and potentially dangerous fish caught the attention of successive chief editors, Charles Hallock (1873-1880) and George Bird Grinnell (1880-1911). For example, in 1875 *Forest and Stream* reported the schooner *Wyoming* “had a narrow escape from sinking through the attack of a swordfish” off the coast of Massachusetts, after the “sword was run through the planking of the vessel.”[[37]](#endnote-38) Or, there was, for example, a dramatic experience off the coast of Martha’s Vineyard, recounted by one correspondent in 1880, the moment “the sword of a swordfish [had] come up through the bottom of my boat, and also through one of the thwarts.”[[38]](#endnote-39) Similarly, a swordfish breaking through the planks of the boat added excitement to a day’s harpooning off Block Island, Rhode Island, described in *Outing,* in 1889*.*[[39]](#endnote-40) Or, there was the correspondent who had finally landed a swordfish after multiple encounters, recognizing it from the distinctive iron it had carried since the first time he tried to catch it off Montauk.[[40]](#endnote-41) When outdoor-sports magazines began to turn their attention to the Gulf of Mexico and the Pacific Ocean in the latter decades of the nineteenth century, then, they came ready to look to the sea as a place of danger and adventure in like terms.

The latter decades of the nineteenth century were years of discovery for Northern anglers. From lands of the recently defeated Confederacy to sporting paradise, Florida found new purpose in the decades after the Civil War—eagerly promoted along the way by Charles Hallock, founding editor of *Forest and Stream,* who presented it as a fashionable destination for the wealthy Northern elite in the 1870s.[[41]](#endnote-42) It was considered sufficiently unfamiliar territory in 1874 for one vacationing reader of *Forest and Stream* to write with news of the mysterious fish pulled out the waters on a cruise from Indian River to Key West.[[42]](#endnote-43) And while tarpon fishing and Florida would become almost synonymous by the twentieth century, the sport was presumed to be almost unheard of in 1878 when “Al Fresco” recommended it to readers of *Forest and Stream*. “I care not how skilled the piscator,” he declared, “he will find he has one of the most artful fish.”[[43]](#endnote-44) Yet by 1890, Florida merited its own special number in *Forest and Stream,* complete with an illustrated supplement and guide to the fish of its waters.[[44]](#endnote-45) Meanwhile, tourism was booming in the Southwest too. In California, Santa Catalina Island slowly became of interest to outdoor-sportswriters in the North as it acquired a reputation for exclusive, upmarket vacationing—it was “the nearest thing to Bar Harbor one can find in Southern California,” as “Piscator” put it, in an 1895 article, comparing it to the Maine resort presumed to be more familiar to readers of *Forest and Stream.*[[45]](#endnote-46) Or, as sporting tourists were gradually creeping further afield into Mexico in the later nineteenth century, Tampico emerged as the next big thing. One early convert was *Forest and Stream* enthusiast J. B. Burris. “Not at all” the remote destination it might seem, Tampico “is a pleasant ocean voyage from New York, via Havana.” It was on the up, and while the hotels were not ideal, “better are promised soon” in this growing resort.[[46]](#endnote-47)

While accounts of new subtropical angling destinations invariably described an easy climate and plentiful fish, they also gave play to a sense of adventure. The idea of the sea as a place of danger, as much as a sportsman’s paradise, would inform the development of writing around the turn of the century, as magazines appealed to readers who daydreamed of adventure as much as to prospective vacationing anglers. In “Hints for Southern Hunting,” in 1874, *Forest and Stream* remarked that Florida was not a land for genteel trout fishing with lightweight split bamboo—which could seem useful, practical advice. For anyone seeking “a new sensation,” it continued in more dramatic style, “it may be obtained at the end of a half-inch rope, with shark hook and chain”—and watch the rope does not coil around the legs, for “if a large shark or swordfish accepts the challenge,” it could mean “a tow seaward.”[[47]](#endnote-48) Another contributor was more direct in building a sense of jeopardy, referring to deep waters off the Florida Keys “in which lie silent and dangerous swordfish or man-eating sharks.”[[48]](#endnote-49) Or regular contributor “Al Fresco” wrote to *Forest and Stream* in 1884 with a tale of a close encounter with a sixteen-foot swordfish—he thought better of trying to land it—and recalled the time a nine-foot shark tore a chunk off his boat. He was playing the thrills for all they were worth with his title: “Monsters of Florida Waters.”[[49]](#endnote-50)

So, to the extent that its waters were said to be teeming with fish, Julia Welles understandably wrote in the June 1898 issue of *Recreation,* that the “East Coast of Florida” appeared “thoroughly saturated with the spirit of Izaak Walton.”[[50]](#endnote-51) But, with sport ranging from blue fish and pompano to tarpon, swordfish and shark, or even the marine mammal the manatee, the nature of that fishing might have surprised Walton himself. There again, for readers of outdoor-sports magazines, generally presumed to be cityfolk of the North and East, rarely if ever able to journey to Florida, Mexico, or California themselves, stories of sport fishing in what could seem to them quite exotic seas had a very obvious appeal. Sportswriting could open the door to fantasies of travel and daring escapades. The next section will look more closely at the way in which angling and adventure combined in outdoor-sportswriting in this way.

**II. The Deep**

For readers of outdoor-sports magazines, dreaming of a Florida vacation at the turn of the twentieth century, tarpon fishing became emblematic of a new subtropical recreational environment—adrenaline-fueled thrills, played out in the glamorous setting of the Gulf of Mexico. Surely, when John Mortimer Murphy wrote of tarpon fishing as a branch of the “gentle art” of Izaak Walton in his 1891 article for *Outing,* he meant this in the very loosest sense. As he found out, there were new possibilities in a sport that was anything but quiet: fishing with a barbed iron. “Spearing,” he reported, was “far more dangerous and exciting sport” than angling with rod and line. After striking the fish, he wrote, “We chased it or were pulled about by it for fully an hour,” before hauling it aboard. Weighing over a hundred pounds, it “thrashed about so violently that I half expected to see it break through the floor of the boat.” To catch one by rod and line could take hours longer. The successful angler “must be strong, patient, and capable of bearing much bodily fatigue,” and even salmon fishing, for all its rigors, cannot compare, he concluded.[[51]](#endnote-52) Harry Wellington Wack was even more emphatic in distinguishing this sport from traditional angling. “Don’t let Brer Izaak beguile you into the belief that tarpon and quietude ever fill the same hour,” he wrote in *Field and Stream*. “Nor is calm an element in the thrill which sends quivers through your frame when the Silver King is struck.” This muscular fish, clad in large silver scales is “a battle flotilla in full blazing armor.”[[52]](#endnote-53)

When they expressed a distinctly macho combativeness in this style, stories of big-game fishing can appear to stand in quite stark contrast to the way outdoor-sports magazines represented angling in the Walton tradition, as a pastime for men and women. Demanding prolonged physical exertion and presenting the risk of injury, it soon acquired a fashionable status as, in Kokomoor’s words, “the very definition of manly sport.”[[53]](#endnote-54) That said, at a time when outdoor-sports magazines cultivated a readership of men and women, angling adventures at sea were not always understood as straight-forwardly triumphalist celebrations of the manly conquest of exotic lands and peoples in an age of imperial expansion. These stories of angling adventure also invited a more questioning attitude, and encouraged readers to imagine the sea as a place of enchantment, of a wild nature that was perhaps beyond human mastery.

For one thing, even though many male writers laid claim to the sea, they did not have it wholly to themselves, either in practice or in sportswriting. For example, as *Outdoor Life* reported in 1902, women anglers had landed the season’s record catches of tuna, black bass, and yellow jack at Santa Catalina. They received a special prize instead of proper recognition from the island’s prestigious Tuna Club because it only admitted men as members—but, meanwhile outdoor-sports magazines offered a more modern, view of angling, increasingly documenting women’s participation during these years.[[54]](#endnote-55) *Outing* published contributions from accomplished angler Mary T. Townsend, for example, including her gladiatorial account of tarpon fishing in Florida in 1899. Called “the mistress of the gentle art,” Townsend reconciled the Walton tradition with old ideas of femininity.[[55]](#endnote-56) Meanwhile, Violet Coen set out to dispel such illusions in her 1905 story for *Field and Stream,* a sign of an emerging sensibility that would grow in influence during the twentieth century. While women anglers usually posed for portraits alongside their catches in neatened dresses, hair well re-arranged underneath a hat, Coen’s description of her experience has a rather more convincing ring to it: “My arms were strained and sore, my fingers were bleeding, an elbow was skinned, the pomp and glory of my hair had departed, and I’d lost my hat,” she wrote—although, “what did I care. I had caught my tarpon!”[[56]](#endnote-57)

But nor did saltwater-fishing stories always describe angling triumph, rather, they quite often encouraged readers to reflect upon failure. “Generally speaking, the true angler delights in using delicate tackle,” Henry Guy Carleton wrote in *Outing,* because “It gives the fish a fighting chance.” Not everyone was a capable angler, though. “In Florida it is the angler who needs a fighting chance,” he complained.[[57]](#endnote-58) In an account of tarpon fishing in Florida, for example, O. P. Hay lingered on memorable failures, moments when the fish proved too strong or too wily. “You do the best you can,” the author wrote. “You press on the drag of the reel with your thumb as long as that useful member of your body has any strength left in it; but it is impossible to hold,” and you are drawn out into the Gulf. One experienced angler “was carried out so far into Gulf that he did not get back until after nine o’clock.” On another occasion, the narrator hooked a tarpon, but it leaped out of the water, “gave himself a mighty shake, and out of his mouth flew the bait and the hook.” It was considered important to remind readers that in the battle of human against fish, sometimes the fish prevailed. Even now, Hay wrote, “there is a tarpon or two swimming about yet in the Gulf with fishing tackle from our yacht.” But the sentiment was ultimately sporting, magnanimous in defeat when nature presented a fish that was more than a match. Sometimes the fish “deserved his freedom and he gained it.”[[58]](#endnote-59)

The strength and guile of fish in these seas enabled writers to play with that essential ingredient of almost any thrilling adventure story, peril. Sometimes—although not very regularly—stories described events that appeared genuinely dangerous. Sharks were a common menace. W. A. Michael described a close shave off the coast of San Diego in an 1897 issue of *Outing*, for example: “The shark came to the surface with a mighty rush, and made a leap into the air,” while the narrator “swallowed the largest lump that ever stuck in a fisherman’s throat.”[[59]](#endnote-60) The game fish themselves could prove more than a handful too. “An Adventure with Tarpon,” by Fred J. Wells, also for *Outing,* described the instant after a harpoon struck a tarpon: “the huge fish leaped his full length into the air and we could see that the iron had entered his side,” and it flew “through the air like a cannon-ball,” narrowly missing the narrator. “I never expected to be made a target for a fish weighing over two hundred pounds,” Wells wrote, “and I never want to again.” It splashed into the water, taking the line with it, near capsizing the boat, and cracking it almost in two.[[60]](#endnote-61)

The swordfish was another menace. It “goes without saying,” Tuna Club founder, Charles Holder, told readers of *Outing* in 1904, “there would be an element of danger” in fishing for swordfish. For, this “swordsman of the sea” possessed a “living rapier.” Its appearance off the coast of Santa Catalina came as a surprise to one angler who unintentionally hooked one, Holder noted. As the reel spun, “a sharp, long-pointed object became visible—the weapon of the swordfish.” As it powered toward the boat, the angler was unnerved. “You have him, sir!” the boatman said. “‘He has me,’ was the retort of the angler.” The risks, Holder thought, made it a poor prospect for California. “That swordfish are a menace to life has been demonstrated on many occasions,” he wrote, citing examples from the East—the holing of the *Wyoming* (reported in *Forest and Stream* in 1875) for one. A recreational tuna boat of the type common in California “would undoubtedly go to the bottom if injured by”—and he added a melodramatic flourish—“a revengeful swordfish.”[[61]](#endnote-62)

Just as often, the drama was distinctly over egged for effect. Frank V. Rider’s account of tuna fishing off Santa Catalina had the melodramatic subtitle, “Graphic Account of a Battle Royal with an Ocean Tiger.” Still, there was excitement enough, with “screaming” reels, the rod bending “to a dangerous angle” as the line tightens and “shoot[s] seaward with terrific velocity.” Two fish are hooked “and the fight of fights is on.” Heading “out to sea,” he continued, “rush the two monsters, and straight in their wake speeds the boat.” Then comes “the first mad rush of the leaping tuna,” as it “cleaves the water with the speed of an express train.”[[62]](#endnote-63) The point is not that the angler was in terribly much danger, if any, but that the reader could be drawn into a story that played with the conventions of the adventure genre.

In these sensational battles with tarpon, encounters with sharks and swordfish, outdoor-sportswriters took their readers on escapist adventures from Florida to Mexico, and from the Californian coast, outward to the South Pacific. As they did so, they shaped an understanding of the coastal regions of the southern and southwestern USA, and territories beyond—into the world at “the frontiers of leisure” (to take Lawrence Culver’s term and extend it, as Henry Knight Lozano has encouraged scholars to do in his work on tourism in Florida, California, and Hawaii, for example).[[63]](#endnote-64)

Part of the draw here was the idea, crafted for a readership, presumed to be white and from the Northern cities, of the local boatman or guide, whose native guile and folkways offered a way into an authentic experience. As the coming of tourism reorganized the local economies of those regions, fisherfolk from indigenous or minority communities sometimes became boatmen and guides (as Culver has noted of Santa Catalina Island, for example), drawing new hierarchies.[[64]](#endnote-65) Readers of outdoor-sports magazines were, in that context, encouraged to see local people in that context as a racially or ethnically distinct servant class. There was, for example, the description of the famed “Mexican Joe” Presciado appearing in an 1895 article by “Piscator” for *Forest and Stream—*his accented speech (“that great fish, he the boss, sure. How he kick!”) establishing his authenticity for readers, while his reported expressions (“following the motions my rod with staring eyes and anxious countenance” and later, “eyes sparkling with excitement”) testify to the prowess of the visiting angler and writer.[[65]](#endnote-66) Or, writing of tarpon fishing in Florida for *Field and Stream,* Harry Wellington Wack insisted that only the most authentically rustic, local black boatmen were worth employing—his obtrusive racist language in this case expressing the ease with which white supremacy would be repurposed for the consumer economy in the age of outdoor recreation, which Scott Giltner has discussed of the South more widely.[[66]](#endnote-67) Still, this was not just a Southern phenomenon. For example, despite lacking Wack’s venom, Charles Clay’s article on angling in Bermuda for *Outing* expressed a fascination with the skin color and teeth of his fishing party’s black boatman that nevertheless encouraged a readership presumed to be white and probably Northern to view their guides as exotic and racially distinct.[[67]](#endnote-68)

Despite the cultural differences between these regions, the effect of outdoor-sportswriting (rather as Brodhead observed of Gilded Age general-interest regional writing) was to shape an understanding of the world in contrast to the metropolitan center. Viewed from a distance, differences were compressed, and each offered an equivalent adventure in an apparently exotic land. Along the way, writers could appeal to a quasi-ethnographic interest in indigenous cultures, somewhat broadly comparable to *National Geographic.* Outdoor-sports magazines could similarly take readers on daydream adventures to lands coming under America’s expanding imperial influence. In “Fishing in Hawaiian Waters’ for *Outing,* “Buck Waterhouse” described a thrilling excursion on an indigenous canoe, “an hour’s hard paddling” that led to the fishing grounds of the ulua, which the author explained “used to be ‘tabu’ to everybody but the king.” After hauling the fish from the depths, the party returned to enjoy “a ‘luau,’ or native feast, underneath a group of cocoanut trees.” It was the style of “playing Indian” transposed to the Pacific, encouraging readers to dream of a flight from modernity.[[68]](#endnote-69) Or, in a later issue of the same magazine, esteemed ichthyologist Dr. Barton Warren Evermann offered an ethnographic description of “The Native Fishermen of Hawaii”—explicitly comparing studies of those islands to the Lewis and Clark expedition.[[69]](#endnote-70)

Readers were, then, acquiring an idealized vision of the subtropical environment, a place of exotic adventure, sport, and play. The subtropical climate could suggest a life of ease. In southern Florida, Walter F. Mickle told readers of *Field and Stream* in 1899, he sat in a yard “gay with the flowers of the tropics” and “the oranges and grape fruit hang in clusters.”[[70]](#endnote-71) Or, quite in contrast to that lush environment, it might bring to mind a desert island. St. James Island near Tarpon, Texas, described by Vinson L. James in his contribution to *Outdoor Life* in 1904, was surrounded by “bleak and barren wastes of white dazzling sand, stacked in little hills,” providing a stark foreground to “the dark blue waters of the Gulf of Mexico, with their long lines of foam-crested breakers.”[[71]](#endnote-72)

But above all, it was the sight of marine life that brought most vividly to mind the excitement of idealized exotic adventure in a land reimagined as a “tropical” paradise. On the journey from the mainland to Santa Catalina, for example, there were exotic wonders to be seen from the boat, the “schools of yellow-tail or of flying-fish and sun-fish, shark, sword-fish and other strange denizens of the deep” that G. E. Tuck described in an article for *Outdoor Life.* Or, at Avalon town, the ocean viewed from the pier was “the most wonderful aquarium”: a school of sardines suddenly disturbed by the appearance of a yellowtail or a barracuda, visible through waters “so transparent they seem to possess magnifying properties.” A hint of the dangers and mysteries of the sea appears in the form of an octopus, “clinging with cruel-looking tentacles” to the pier’s piles, while in the distance “the ugly black fin of a shark cuts the water.”[[72]](#endnote-73)

Zane Grey’s genius was his ability to combine all of those elements into thrilling angling adventures. Here, the threads come together. Consider one of his early stories for *Field and Stream,* “Three Strikes and Out.” It took readers to Tampico, Mexico, and the Gulf: “There was no other boat in sight; we were absolutely alone with the deep rot of the surf and the sailing gulls and grotesque pelicans.” It was, he wrote, “delightful,” a place of enchantment. “The sun shone brightly from behind me, and when another wave rose before me, it became transparent, and in it I saw hundreds of fish, some silvery, some dark, all heading toward me.” There was the mystery of the sea as well: “deeper down, floating like shadows, huge fish, which must go nameless.” Then a tug on the line signals the beginning of a fight. First one fish, then another bites. “A savage commotion,” and he knew he had “a great fish.” It went deep, and curved. “Never have I felt such a force as seemed to run up and communicate itself to me through that wire-taught line!” The strain was telling. “My face was bathed in perspiration; my skin felt tight-drawn and actually hurt. I had a premonition of something awful.” And the fish rose up and was off and away, “a long shadowy form” that “showed through the clear green water,” as it escaped; there was “the yellowish body and long circled snout of an immense sword-fish.” His Mexican boatman had been watching and offered a lament: “Malo! Malo!” he repeated, witness to Grey’s failure.[[73]](#endnote-74) It was a tale of the one that got away. But, it was also a cautionary tale, an encounter with the limits of power at the far reaches of America’s growing empire of leisure and tourism. There was a lesson in that failure, a reminder there are forces of nature, and immense fish in the sea, beyond human grasp.

**Conclusion**

From the Lea Valley to the Adirondacks, westward to the Rocky Mountains, and then southward to the waters of the Gulf of Mexico and the Pacific Ocean, the angling tradition of Izaak Walton found new a life in American sporting culture in the latter years of the nineteenth century. Across a growing range of new magazines dedicated to outdoor recreation, writers injected a spirit of adventure into the quiet, contemplative gentle art. Angling stories followed journeys into the woods, in search of lonely streams, recalling the romantic landscapes imagined by James Fenimore Cooper as much as Walton’s rural England. They tracked American expansion into the West, shaping an angling tradition that related national expansion to the leisure pastimes of the growing middle class. With the growth of tourism in Florida and California, though, and the emerging popularity of sea fishing, outdoor-sportswriters found the potential for a new kind of angling story featuring the thrilling pursuit of big-game fish.

Drawing on the conventions of the adventure genre, writers reimagined the gentle art in accounts of daring and exhilarating battles with monsters of the deep. At the same time, they took readers on journeys to regions far from the metropolitan cities of the East, giving play to colonial attitudes to local peoples, presenting an exotic impression of the Gulf and the Pacific. These stories expressed the cultural imagination of an expanding imperial power in the age of global empires, but they were not simply tales of mastery. Writers set out to find enchantment in the unfamiliar, and lingered with a romantic sensibility on the mysteries of the sea. What Zane Grey understood, on his way to becoming one of the world’s best-loved outdoor-sportwriters, was that the most exciting angling adventures of all brought the reader not to a predictable triumph, but close to an unfathomable force of nature. Certainly, angling stories could describe the vainglorious sentiments of a macho culture of imperialism, but they could also capture and expose its underlying hubris. They opened up a sweeping vista on worlds that readers would rarely if ever visit in person. They encouraged Americans to presume a right to claim a vast empire of sport and play, adventure and enchantment. Yet, equally, they suggested the sea commands our respect: beyond our grasp, wild nature can be discovered somewhere out there—and it is more than a match for us.

1. Mordaunt Hall, “Hooking Giant Fish,” *New York Times,* 1 April 1932: 17. <nytimes.com> [↑](#endnote-ref-2)
2. Terry Mort notes Hemingway was a fan, especially of Grey’s fishing stories. Terry Mort (ed.), *Zane Grey on Fishing* (Guilford, CT: The Lyons Press, 2005), xvi-xvii. [↑](#endnote-ref-3)
3. For example: Zane Grey, “Three Strikes and Out,” *Field and Stream,* 12:3 (July 1907): 201-203; Zane Grey, “Byme-by Tarpon,” *Field and Stream,* 12:8(December 1907): 613-616. [↑](#endnote-ref-4)
4. Kevin Kokomoor, “The ‘Most Strenuous of Anglers’ Sports Is Tarpon Fishing’: The Silver King as Progressive Era Outdoor Sport,” *Journal of Sport History,* 37:3 (2010): 347-364. See also Kevin Kokomoor, “‘In the Land of the Tarpon’: The Silver King, Sport, and the Development of Southwest Florida, 1885-1915,” *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era,* 11:2 (April 2012): 191-224. [↑](#endnote-ref-5)
5. John F. Regier, *American Sportsmen and the Origins of Conservation* (New York: Winchester Press, 1975). Scott E. Giltner, *Hunting and Fishing in the New South: Black Labor and White Leisure after the Civil War* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 2008. [↑](#endnote-ref-6)
6. Jack E. Davis, *The Gulf: The Making of an American Sea* (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 2017), esp. 114-183. [↑](#endnote-ref-7)
7. Lawrence Culver, *The Frontier of Leisure: Southern California and the Shaping of Modern America* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2010). Henry Knight Lozano, *California and Hawaii Bound: U.S. Settler Colonialism and the Pacific West,* 1848-1959 (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2021). Henry Knight Lozano, *Tropic of Hopes: California, Florida, and the Selling of American Paradise, 1869-1929* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2013). Scott Laderman, *Empire in Waves: A Political History of Surfing* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2014). [↑](#endnote-ref-8)
8. Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1995), esp. 170-215. See also: Richard Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Atheneum, 1992); Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign People At Home and Abroad* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000); Christine Bold, *The Frontier Club: Popular Westerns and Cultural Power, 1880-1924* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2013). [↑](#endnote-ref-9)
9. “Hunting the Grisly,” in Theodore Roosevelt, *The Wilderness Hunter* (New York and London: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1893), 296-334. [↑](#endnote-ref-10)
10. Edmund Morris, *Theodore Rex* (New York: The Modern Library, 2002), 180-181. [↑](#endnote-ref-11)
11. Appealing to readers who craved an escape from a modern way of life they found banal, stuffy, and stultifying--Americans like those described in T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981). [↑](#endnote-ref-12)
12. Jan Cohn, *Creating America: George Horace Lorimer and the* Saturday Evening Post (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1989). Matthew Schneirov, *The Dream of a New Social Order: Popular Magazines in America, 1893-1914* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994). Richard M. Ohmann, *Selling Culture: Magazines, Markets and Class at the Turn of the Century* (London and New York: Verso, 1996). Matthew Schneirov, “Popular Magazines, New Liberal Discourse, and American Democracy, 1890s-1914,” *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era,* 16:2 (2017): 121-142. [↑](#endnote-ref-13)
13. Reiger, *American Sportsmen;* Thomas R. Dunlap. ‘Sport Hunting and Conservation, 1880-1920.’ *Environmental Review,* 12:1 (1988): 51-60; Thomas L. Altherr, “The American Hunter-Naturalist and the Development of the Code of Sportsmanship,” *Journal of Sport History*, 5:1 (1978): 7-22; Daniel Justin Herman, “The Hunter’s Aim: The Cultural Politics of American Sport Hunters, 1880–1910,” *Journal of Leisure Research*, 35:4 (2003): 455-474; Andrea L. Smalley, “‘Our Lady Sportsmen’: Gender, Class, and Conservation in Sport Hunting Magazines, 1873-1920,”  *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era,* 4:4 (2005): 355-380. See also Malcolm McLaughlin, “American Recreation: Sportsmanship and the New Nationalism, 1900-1910,” *Journal of American Studies,* 54:5 (2020): 839-869. [↑](#endnote-ref-14)
14. Richard Brodhead, *Cultures of Letters: Scenes of Reading and Writing in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993). [↑](#endnote-ref-15)
15. Malcolm McLaughlin, “Forest and Dream: Adventure, Nostalgia, and the Making of a Sporting-Tourist’s America, 1873-1890,” *Comparative American Studies: An International Journal,* 19:4 (2022): 293-320. [↑](#endnote-ref-16)
16. Joseph Campbell, *The Hero With a Thousand Faces* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1949). Martin Green, *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire* (New York: Basic Books, 1979). Margery Fisher, *The Bright Face of Danger: An Exploration of the Adventure Story* (Boston: The Horn Book, 1986). Robert Fraser, *Victorian Quest Romance: Stevenson, Haggard, Kipling, and Conan Doyle* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998). Gary Hoppenstand, *Perilous Escapades: Dimensions of Popular Adventure Fiction* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2018). [↑](#endnote-ref-17)
17. For an illustrative example from general-interest publishing, see Karen Roggenkamp, “Dignified Sensationalism: ‘Cosmopolitan,’ Elizabeth Bisland, and Trips Around the World,” *American Periodicals,* 17:1 (2007): 26-40. [↑](#endnote-ref-18)
18. Gary Hoppenstand, *Perilous Escapades: Dimensions of Popular Adventure Fiction* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2017), 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-19)
19. For the first American edition, see Izaak Walton, *The Compleat Angler* (New York and London: Wiley & Putnam, 1847), 249. The edition has a lengthy bibliographical preface by George W. Bethune. [↑](#endnote-ref-20)
20. Hoppenstand, *Perilous,* 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-21)
21. Gen. John McNulta, “Fifty Years with a Fly,” *Field and Stream,* 4:3 (January 1899): 156-159. “Bibliophile,” “Consecutive Editions of the Complete [*sic*] Angler,” *Field and Stream,* 5:6 (July 1900): 337-340. [↑](#endnote-ref-22)
22. Clarence Deming, “How to Dress the Fish—After Walton,” *Outing,* 38:4 (July 1901): 415-419. [↑](#endnote-ref-23)
23. W. R. Scott, “Fishing at an Elevation of 11,000 Feet,” *Outdoor Life,* 2:5 (November 1898): N.P. Chas. L. Moody, “Where Leaps the Salmon,” *Outdoor Life,* 4:4 (October 1899): N.P. Hon. Lewis B. France, “Angling—Its Philosophic Side,” *Outdoor Life,* 5:1 (January 1900): N.P. Rupe Barbi, “About Fish and Fishing,” *Outdoor Life,* 9:6 (June 1902): N.P. [↑](#endnote-ref-24)
24. F. I. Sherman, “An Evening in Camp,” *Recreation,* 11:3 (September 1899): 175-177. [↑](#endnote-ref-25)
25. F. J. Chaplin, Letter to Editor, *Outing,* 9:4 (January 1887): 383. [↑](#endnote-ref-26)
26. “Havelock,” “Trout Trails from the Nepigon,” *Forest and Stream*, 1:1 (14 August 1873): 4-5. Frank Buckland, “Wild Fishing Among the Kroos,” *Forest and Stream*, 1:1 (14 August 1873): 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-27)
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29. “Nessmuk,” “Rough Notes From the Woods,” *Forest and Stream,* 15:2 (12 August 1880): 26. [↑](#endnote-ref-30)
30. Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian,* (New Haven: Yale University Press 1998). [↑](#endnote-ref-31)
31. Cover illustration, *Field and Stream,* 7:4 (July 1902). Or see, for example, the story of a mixed-sex party out West: L. S. Day, “Trouting on the Laramie,” *Outdoor Life,* 11:6 (June 1903): 397-400. [↑](#endnote-ref-32)
32. N. H. Crowell, “A Maid and a Trout,” *Outdoor Life,* 18:1 (July 1906): 47-50. Mary H. Coates, “Her Salmon Trout Score,” *Outdoor Life,* 19:6 (June 1907): 581-584. [↑](#endnote-ref-33)
33. Mary Trowbridge Townsend, “A Woman’s Trout-Fishing in Yellowstone Park,” *Outing,* 30:2 (May 1897): 163-165. [↑](#endnote-ref-34)
34. G. O. Shields, “Trouting in the Rocky Mountains,” *Outing,* 10:3 (June 1887): 253-258. [↑](#endnote-ref-35)
35. “The Death of ‘Nessmuk’,” *Forest and Stream,* 34:16 (May 8, 1890): 305. Leonidas Hubbard, “Afoot in Nature’s Game Preserves: The Adirondack Park Region,” *Outing,* 37:2 (November 1900): 196-200. [↑](#endnote-ref-36)
36. E. Hough, “Fishing Resources of the West,” *Forest and Stream,* 34:21 (12 June 1890): 409. [↑](#endnote-ref-37)
37. “Sea and River Fishing,” *Forest and Stream,* 5:4 (2 September 1875): 53. [↑](#endnote-ref-38)
38. “Whaler,” Letter to Editor, *Forest and Stream,* 13:24 (15 January 1880): 986. [↑](#endnote-ref-39)
39. S. H. Hubbard, “A Day’s Sword-Fishing,” *Outing,* 14:2 (May 1889): 133-134. [↑](#endnote-ref-40)
40. “Misal,” “Fish Journeyings and Fish Voracity,” *Forest and Stream,* 11:20 (19 December 1878): 405. [↑](#endnote-ref-41)
41. Hallock, Charles, *Camp Life in Florida: A Handbook for Sportsmen and Settlers* (New York: Forest and Stream Publishing Company, 1876). [↑](#endnote-ref-42)
42. W. H. Burrell, Letter to Editor, *Forest and Stream*, 2:21 (2 July 1874): 324. [↑](#endnote-ref-43)
43. “Al Fresco,” “Marooning,” *Forest and Stream*, 11:15 (14 November 1878): 297. [↑](#endnote-ref-44)
44. “The Sportsman’s Florida,” *Forest and Stream,* 33:25 (9 January 1890): 485-486. [↑](#endnote-ref-45)
45. “Piscator,” “In the Yellowtail Belt,” *Forest and Stream*, 44:19 (11 May 1895): 370. [↑](#endnote-ref-46)
46. J. B. Burris, Letter to Editor, *Forest and Stream,* 39:5 (4 August 1892): 97. [↑](#endnote-ref-47)
47. “Hints for Southern Hunting,” *Forest and Stream,* 3:18 (10 December 1874): 280-281. [↑](#endnote-ref-48)
48. V.H., “On the West Coast,” *Forest and Stream,* 28:5 (24 February 1887): 83. [↑](#endnote-ref-49)
49. “Al Fresco,” “Monsters of Florida Waters,” *Forest and Stream,* 23:4 (21 August 1884): 68-69. [↑](#endnote-ref-50)
50. Julia C. Welles, “The Pompano of the Indian River,” *Recreation,* 8:6 (June 1898): 427-428. [↑](#endnote-ref-51)
51. John Mortimer Murphy, “Tarpon Fishing, Florida,” *Outing,* 17:5 (February 1891): 398-400. For similar, see John Dent Peabody, “Striking a Tarpon,” *Outing,* 29:5 (February 1897): 469-471. [↑](#endnote-ref-52)
52. Harry Wellington Wack, “Tarpon, King of the Florida Sea,” *Field and Stream,* 4:3 (January 1899): 133-137. [↑](#endnote-ref-53)
53. Kokomoor, “Most Strenuous”: 351. [↑](#endnote-ref-54)
54. D. C. Beaman, “Sport at Catalina—Can its Waters be Fished Out?” *Outdoor Life,* 9:2 (February 1902): N.P. S. J. Mathes, “Big Catches at Catalina,” *Outdoor Life,* 9:4 (April 1902): N.P. [↑](#endnote-ref-55)
55. Mary T. Townsend, “Florida Fishing Sketches,” *Outing,* 33:4 (January 1899): 390-392. For “Mistress of the Gentle Art," see Townsend, “Woman’s Trout-Fishing.” [↑](#endnote-ref-56)
56. Violet Coen, “The Tarpon in Texas,” *Field and Stream,* 9:10 (February 1905): 333-336. [↑](#endnote-ref-57)
57. Henry Guy Carleton, “The Game Fish of Florida,” *Outing,* 29:4 (January 1897): 329-333. [↑](#endnote-ref-58)
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59. W. A. Michael, “Shark-Fishing with a Rod,” *Outing,* 31:1 (October 1897): 49-50. [↑](#endnote-ref-60)
60. ‘Fred J. Wells. “An Adventure with Tarpon,” *Outing,* 25:5 (February 1895): 389-391. [↑](#endnote-ref-61)
61. Charles F. Holder, “Catching Swordfish with Rod and Reel,” *Outing,* 44:6 (September 1904): 752-754. See also “Sea and River Fishing,” *Forest and Stream,* 5:4 (2 September 1875): 53. [↑](#endnote-ref-62)
62. Frank V. Rider, “The First Tuna of the Season,” *Outdoor Life,* 5:6 (June 1900): N.P. [↑](#endnote-ref-63)
63. Culver, *Frontier*. Lozano, *California*. Lozano, *Tropic*. [↑](#endnote-ref-64)
64. Culver, *Frontier,* 104-107. [↑](#endnote-ref-65)
65. “Piscator,” “In the Yellowtail Belt,” *Forest and Stream,* 44:19 (11 May 1895): 370. He is also mentioned in Culver, *Frontier,* 106-107. [↑](#endnote-ref-66)
66. Harry Wellington Wack, “Tarpon, King of the Florida Sea,” *Field and Stream,* 4:3 (January 1899): 133-137. Giltner, *Hunting,* 127-128. [↑](#endnote-ref-67)
67. Charles E. Clay, “Fishing in Bermuda,” *Outing,* 9:3 (December 1886): 234-245. [↑](#endnote-ref-68)
68. “Buck Waterhouse,” “Fishing in Hawaiian Waters,” *Outing,* 33: 5 (February 1899): 515-516. [↑](#endnote-ref-69)
69. Dr. Barton Warren Evermann, “The Native Fisherman of Hawaii,” *Outing,* 43:6 (March 1904): 660-666). [↑](#endnote-ref-70)
70. Walter F. Mickle, “An Echo from Southern Florida,” *Field and Stream,* 4:5 (March 1899): 303-304. [↑](#endnote-ref-71)
71. Vinton L. James, “My First Tarpon,” *Outdoor Life,* 14:4 (October 1904): 651-654. [↑](#endnote-ref-72)
72. G. E. Tuck, “Fishing at Catalina,” *Outdoor Life,* 5:3 (March 1900): N.P. Similarly, Dennis H. Stovall, “A Trip to Catalina Island,” *Outdoor Life,* 14:5 (November 1904): 740-741. [↑](#endnote-ref-73)
73. Zane Grey, “Three Strikes and Out,” *Field and Stream,* 12:3 (July 1907): 201-203. Grey was of course an avid baseball fan too. [↑](#endnote-ref-74)