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The Cultural Construction of the Maine Sporting Camps

by

March O. McCubrey

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COLBY COLLEGE
1993
The Cultural Construction of the Maine Sporting Camps

Maine sporting camps were a cultural and social phenomenon of the urban upper and middle class. They originated in Maine in the late 1870s and early 1880s and reached their zenith around the turn of the century with over 160 in operation in eight of the sixteen counties in Maine in 1906. The period from 1880 until World War I can be considered the 'golden era' of the Maine sporting camps. After the war, with technological advancements such as the outboard motor, the proliferation of the automobile, and the introduction of a road system into rural Maine, the camps underwent significant change that warrants an entirely different cultural analysis.

A number of elements came together to produce a cultural atmosphere permissive of sporting camp creation in Maine. These include changing national views upon nature, health, sport and the leisure time in which to pursue them. In the late nineteenth century, with the rise of large industrially based cities, overcrowding fostered crime and disease. An upper and middle class emerged that desired escape and separation from the lower classes. Maine was chosen for such an escape because it offered, through sporting camps, a chance to "get back to nature," by pursuing the healthful activities of hunting and fishing. At the same time these urban sportsmen and sportswomen distinguished themselves on the social hierarchical scale from the rural inhabitants.
What happened in rural Maine during the period between 1880 and World War I was the introduction of a new cultural order on the landscape. Coming primarily from urban centers on the East Coast of the United States were men, women and children who looked to Maine for vacations. These vacations were designed to put them in touch with nature by pursuing healthful activities, especially those of fishing and hunting. Coming from an environment that emphasized social standing, they ensured that these trips would perpetuate this hierarchy. They experienced nature through the Maine sporting camps, which provided them with the services and skills necessary to experience it while enjoying a degree of luxury that they were accustomed to in the urban world.

The Maine sporting camps were a cultural manifestation of the urban upper and middle class, the groups that the camps were established to serve. Despite this the camps did not represent a structural duplication of urban society. Instead, the camps represented a cultural construction that was produced by interaction between members of two different conceptual and physical worlds, the blending of which, on a social level, was determined by urban mentality and rural knowledge. In the production of a cultural world meaningful to the clients, the rural world of the Maine woods was altered to meet their needs. It was not a one-sided process, however, as the clients were forced to acknowledge the importance of the rural inhabitants on the basis of their value to the clients.
The Cultural Construction of the Maine Sporting Camps

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Background Information

Before delving into the bulk of this paper, it is important to bring to the reader's attention the scope of this investigation. The sporting camp industry developed and prospered in most areas of the State of Maine by the first decade of the twentieth century with one hundred sixty known camps in operation in eight of the sixteen counties in Maine. I have limited my scope to only three regions of the state and detailed analysis to only two of these. Enough data has been gathered from these areas to allow safe speculation about the overall processes that brought about the formation of these camps and hence sporting camp culture.

Two regions, Moosehead and Rangeley, had the highest percentage of camps and were areas that had national status by the turn of the century. The process of Maine sporting camp evolution seems to have been universal. Thus, the detailed analysis of these two regions will be sufficient to give a broad understanding of Maine sporting camps as a cultural phenomenon. A limited amount of information will be drawn from the Belgrade lakes region and Aroostook county to support the overall model of Maine sporting camp culture. While each region has a unique history, the socio-economic conditions are comparable and will allow for a systematic and generalized approach to understanding sporting camp culture.

The main focus of this paper will be upon camps existing in a period that can be considered the 'golden era' of sporting camps. During this time a number of factors came together in order to allow

1Babb, Cyrus C. "Sportsman's and Lumberman's Map of Maine" 1906
for their creation and success. These were the creation of a leisure class, improvements in transportation, and the prevailing upper-and middle-class attitudes toward nature, leisure time, and health which all came together in the late 1870s and early 1880s to produce an environment suitable for the creation of commercial sporting camps in Maine (Cole, 1992: 2-3). This paper will look at the camps in operation between this starting period and World War I. After the war significant changes dramatically effected sporting camp culture. Automobiles and outboard engines became readily available, eliminating the need for traditional services that camps offered. With visits to the wilderness becoming ever easier and vacation times being shortened, the demand for sporting camps fell. Still they were never altogether eliminated, and some survived the harsh period of the Great Depression and the second World War. Jerry Packard identified the reason for the camp's continuations to the present, albeit small in number, as resting in the desire of people who want escape from the busy city life into the wilderness (Packard 9/18/92). In all instances the camps discussed are restricted to ones that operated for profit.
Maine Sporting Camp Culture

The appeal of the sporting camp was aimed at the upper and middle classes in the large eastern cities. A sporting camp vacation frequently lasted for periods of up to several months. The difficulty of travel prohibited short stays and limited these vacations to people with extended periods of leisure time. The economic upswing and the industrial developments of the late nineteenth century created this class. The propensity for sport of this class was manifested in the desire to pursue an activity that set them apart and distinguished them from the common laboring class (Veblen, 1899: 264-265). Thus, hunting and fishing were activities which were transformed into leisure time activities in this exclusive world.

The essence of the sporting camp culture was the formation of a temporary community carved into the wilderness. This 'community' provided the necessities for living in a remote location. Guests would travel from large Eastern cities to these 'communities' for a variety of activities. The sporting camp was a physical means through which guests, regardless of knowledge, could experience life in the woods and pursue outdoor-oriented sports of fishing, hunting, and hiking. However, the degree of participation for wilderness sports was determined by the individual.

The social composition of the guests at sporting camps varied according to the time of year. The early spring and late fall were

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2This was the case in the years prior to the arrival of direct train service; which greatly reduced the time required for travel; see section on camp development for a complete discussion
typified by a predominantly male clientele who devoted all of their
time to fishing—at its best in early spring—and hunting in the fall.
The summer months, when the weather and travel were more
agreeable, entire families were present. However, with
improvements in transportation the number of women increased for
all of the seasons. Women were actively involved with hunting and
fishing by the 1890s. They enjoyed national recognition in such
media's as *Outing* magazine and through the efforts of determined
women such as Cornelia 'Fly Rod' Crosby, who championed the cause
of the female sportsman.

Here is a bit of "Fly Rod" philosophy; Life in the woods
broadens women and makes them more companionable
to men. Women are jealous and spiteful, I'm afraid, and
the woods will cure them of this. Human nature might
well take a lesson from nature. She tries to cover up all
defects. Even a decaying old tree is covered with moss in
the summer, and in the winter the snow comes to hide
the things that aren't perfect. Women sportsmen never
gossip; neither do true sportsmen (Crosby 1897).
Maine Sporting Camps

Established to serve recreational fishermen and hunters in the late nineteenth century, Maine sporting camps were located on lakes, ponds, and rivers throughout the state. As traditionally conceptualized the essentials of a camp included a central dining lodge and the surrounding cabins for the guests, owners, and guides to stay in. These cabins were sufficiently spaced to afford some privacy for the guests but remained in close proximity to create a small, self-contained community in the wilderness. Camps had to be located near to a sufficient supply of wildlife as daily activities revolved around outdoor sports. Prices for sporting camp vacations ranged started at several dollars per day and increased with the amount of luxury. Knowledgeable guides were employed to escort guests into the wilderness and ensure their safety and success in their pursuits.

The Maine Historic Preservation commission defined the essentials of sporting camps simply as "a complex of structures situated on a lake or river erected to serve as accommodations for sport fishermen and to a lesser degree, hunters" (Cole, 1992: 1). This working definition was further refined to contain only camps conforming to a 'classical' definition. Sporting camps, when considered for social construction, took on many shapes and sizes in their development. The social and cultural manifestations and interactions were similar in all types of sporting camps regardless of
the physical setting as they all contained the same basic elements. This similarity allows for a general analysis of Maine sporting camp culture regardless of physical and regional differences.

Contemporary owners of sporting camps established The Maine Sporting Camp Association in 1987; they were and remain very selective and restrict membership only to camps that fit into the 'classical' definition of sporting camps. Their membership currently numbers forty-one. The MSCA's brochure defines sporting camps as they existed in the past and the elements essential to them.

A typical Sporting Camp, usually of log construction, consisted of a main lodge, cabins for guests, and lodging for guides and other employees. Hearty meals, home-cooked in the Maine woods style, were served in the lodge. The great stone fireplace in this impressive building was an attraction for guests who gathered at day's end to relax and recount adventures afield. Usually affluent, "sports," as guests were called, enjoyed daily maid service and were guided to the best hunting and fishing spots. Many guests returned to the same camp each year and passed the tradition to the next generation (Maine Sporting Camp Association brochure 1992: 2).

The camps which make up this association try to emulate these camps described above. However, many other types existed in the 'Golden era;' roughly from 1880 until World War I, and an understanding of these will be vital in grasping the once immense scope of the industry.

Maine sporting camps should be considered as existing on a continuum. Three main divisions divide this continuum and fall
along lines of cost and corresponding luxury. The quality of sport, that is the natural resources available for it, was often in inverse proportion to the extent of luxury. By virtue of the number of people they served, the most luxurious accommodations often had the poorest fishing and hunting. In contrast, the more remote and by necessity less luxurious accommodations often enjoyed greater natural resources.

The first division includes wilderness hotels/resorts, which offered sporting vacations of a sybaritic extreme. The middle category encompasses what has come to be known as the 'classical' sporting camps defined for their remote location and distinctive architecture. The third and final division is composed of small operations run out of houses, farms, and guided expeditions not affiliated with the larger camps.

Wilderness Hotels/Resorts

Wilderness hotels and resorts have been included because they appealed to many of the same interests the smaller 'camps' did but from a much more "highbrow" vantage point. It was they who defined the region, a process that also benefited the smaller camps. The Maine Historical Preservation Commission excludes this category when talking about 'sporting camps,' but an understanding of them is essential in order to grasp the diversity of accommodations which existed in the various sporting regions of Maine during this period.

3"Highbrow" is a terms used by Lawrence Levine in Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America, 1989, that designates upper-class manifestations and interpretations of culture.
Indeed, period maps of Maine sporting camps included hotel/resorts and did not distinguish between these large scale operations and those in the middle category. (Babb, Sportsman's and Lumberman's map of Maine: 1906) These hotels/resorts catered to the very wealthy who demanded all of the modern conveniences. They appealed to those wanting access to the wilderness without the inconveniences accompanying life in the forest. The number of such operations was limited to only a few per region occurring on the major water bodies and transportation networks.

Wilderness hotel/resorts were designed to provide excessive luxury, scenery and access to the wild regions of the state. To a large extent they were able to do this by importing the latest technological advances such as electricity and plumbing into the wilderness, creating a type of urban compound in the midst of the rural world. Essentially, what they did was extract the best elements of both urban and rural living and combine them into a vacation wonderland. These were located within reasonable proximity to railroads and wilderness areas for outdoor activities. It was essential to have easy travel to them since they relied heavily upon the goods brought in from urban areas and indeed for guests as well.

The form of these structures varied to a degree but did contain several essential elements. Generally, they were located on significant bodies of water. The physical setting was dominated by one overarching structure—the main hotel complex, which was where the guests would stay and eat their meals. Often, there were outlying log cabins that offered seclusion with fewer luxuries and
more rustic accommodations. Surrounding the main structure would be cleared fields and paths for popular recreation activities of the period. These included golf, lawn tennis, cycling, and wild berry gathering. Hunting and fishing were the main activities and arrangements would be made for and/or by guests with guides who would prepare everything necessary for a day's outing. With the assistance of a guide, a guest could fish, hunt, and pursue any number of outdoor activities with little trouble in the surrounding region.

The most significant features of this type of operation were the diverse number of activities available and the amount of luxury. Sacrifices of comfort did not have to be made in order for clients to experience nature. The Mt. Kineo House on Moosehead Lake, for example, had in 1881 a long list of luxuries for the Maine woods. [See fig#1] These included steam heating, plumbing, gas lighting and even a steam elevator (Farrar 1884: 66). The quality of the food was very high and the variety great. For the most part, establishments on this end of the range had most of the conveniences available in urban settings and kept pace with modern technology.

"Semi-Roughing It" hotels such as The Belgrade and the Mt. Kineo House appealed to those who craved the wilderness setting but were less interested in being absolutely removed from the trappings of urban life. The following passage from the 1900 brochure details this level of vacation.

Probably nowhere in all the vacation and sportsmen's resorts of America is there such an unique combination
as here. Here is the finest game fishing in the whole
country, the most picturesque and truly restful scenery,
the quiet and seclusion of the wilderness, and yet The
Belgrade is a hotel that gives its guests all the comforts,
the cuisine, and the service of the modern metropolitan
hostelries, with only one thing missing,—you are made to
feel perfectly at home (The Belgrade, 1900: 9).

The brochure details an assortment of modern conveniences such as
electric lights, telephones, and modern sanitary facilities. Activities
mentioned include hunting and fishing along with cycling, country
drives, golf, boating, and such novelties as a log cabin in the nearby
woods for "all guests who appreciate novelties in outings (The
Belgrade, 1900: 7)." A great deal of attention was devoted to the
comfort of the client, even fresh cut flowers in their rooms when
they arrived (Beals, 9/26/92). Some went as far as claiming to have
controlled nature for the guests as a brochure proclaimed proudly
"Black Flies Absolutely Unknown" (The Belgrade, 1904: 2).

Hunting and fishing remained primary activities. Guides would
come to the hotel each morning to fetch the guest for a day's outing.
Guides were sometimes employed by the hotels but often were
independent and worked directly for the client. Lunch would usually
be cooked outdoors by the guide; the client returned to the hotel in
the evening. During the outing the 'Sport'⁴ could choose his level of
activity allowing the guide to choose the best spot to hunt and fish.
The goal was entertainment, not work for the guest.

⁴The term 'Sport' was a name commonly assigned to guests by the rural
inhabitants and employees of the sporting camps in Maine, indicating their
social and geographical background.
Private sporting clubs also existed in the same time frame as the large hotels and smaller sporting camp facilities. Typologically speaking, they could fit into either of the first two divisions. They operated on a scale similar to the large hotels but their architecture and layout was much closer to the 'classical' camps. What made these operations distinctive was the private membership and private wilderness over which they had complete control.

The private sporting clubs were operated like a corporation with constitutions and by-laws. With their exclusively male membership, women were allowed to visit as guests but had to be signed into the camp register. Privacy and exclusivity were the main elements defining them. These clubs obtained exclusive rights to large blocks of land and/or bodies of water and preserved them for the sole use by club members. The physical constructions varied from club to club but usually centered on a lodge where meals were eaten and meetings were held. Surrounding the lodge were individual cabins for the members' accommodation and then outlying cabins in remote regions controlled by the club. Included at the Parmachenee Club were:

From time to time rough lunch camps and shelters have been built making it possible to spend a day on the river in much greater comfort. At present there are six of these luncheon camps—located at Indian Cove, Little Boy Falls, Cleveland Eddy, Taylor Eddy and The Fireplace. These are built of rough logs, protected on three sides, the fourth side being left open, and inside there are a table and two long benches. Outside of each is an outdoor oven where the guides cook the lunches. The out-
of-door cooking appeals to all and 'lunching out' is almost a daily occurrence (*The Story of The Parmachenee Club*: 11).

Guides were employed to show those members who desired instruction and direction to the best hunting and fishing locations. They also performed the other duties of guiding, which included rowing the boat and preparing lunch (Lowrey, 1986: 9). Well-marked paths also existed for the benefit of members who wished to explore without the assistance of a guide. Among the best known of the private clubs in the state were the Megantic Angling Club, the Oquossoc Angling Association, and the Parmachenee Club all in the Rangeley region (Steve Brooke: 10/22/92).

'Classical' Sporting Camps

The middle category of sporting camp is what generally comes to mind when the subject is brought up. These camps again varied to extremes but had a number of distinctive features. Similar to the private clubs, they consisted of a central lodge for dining and socializing and surrounding cabins for guests. They were almost exclusively located on bodies of water. Unlike the private clubs, they did not have exclusive rights to all of the surrounding resources. By virtue of their remote location, camps in this class enjoyed fewer of the luxuries offered by the larger hotels. This type of camp was located in areas where the resources were more abundant and hence further removed from major transportation areas. Travel to these remote locations was often accomplished by a combination of buckboard, boat, and foot. 'Classical' camps had to rely upon food
grown in camp gardens and wild game to feed the guests. They did enjoy, however, excessive luxury for their location in the woods, as the services available made up for the lack of luxurious food. In camps such as Tim Pond in Eustis and Grant's Camps on Kennebago Lake a large staff was employed to see to the comforts of the clients with cabin maids and kitchen help.

Gary Cobb, owner of one of these 'classic' sporting camps, developed a definition of what he conceived of as the essential elements comprising a camp of this type.

The sporting camp plan was, in itself, a little community. The style of architecture is pure "Maine" with buildings made of peeled and chinked logs, roofs of split cedar shakes and a porch on every cabin overlooking water. The sleeping cabins were clustered near the shore around a central dining, and all purpose, building. A bit away from the guest cabins were quarters for the guides and help. The entire group had the appearance of having grown out of the ground, which posed a problem for later proprietors who had to replace sill logs. Plumbing was "out back." Indoor facilities and electric generators did not become common until after World War II, and some camps today are still without them (Cobb 1992: 64-65).

The architecture of these camps was one of the most important distinguishing elements. The vast majority of the camps were started by enterprising local residents who employed the technology and resources available. This meant that log construction was the predominant style and can be traced to logging camp structures in the various regions [See fig #2].
[Fig #2] "An abandoned Lumber Camp on the Kennebago Stream." Circa 1910. Photo courtesy of the Philips Historical Society.
Construction of most camps in this class was carried out, for the most part, by men best termed "jack-of-all trades" but not architects. Coming from backgrounds in lumbering and guiding, the camp owners tended to build simple structures with the material at hand. This meant that the predominant construction type was log construction. Logs of hemlock, pine, tamarack, and cedar were used, sometimes peeled and in later camps hewn to provide flat interior walls. The roofs were covered with wood shakes, often made from bark. Inside the structures, that for the most part were one story, were stone fireplaces and chimneys, again, made with materials readily available (Cole, 1992: 17).

The common theme among this class of sporting camp was simplicity. The cabins where the guests stayed were usually one or two rooms with the stone fireplace in one corner [See fig. #3]. Furnishings would be several beds, a table, and a few chairs. Wooden pegs protruded from the walls to hang fishing and hunting gear from. In the front of the structures was generally a porch with rocking chairs serving as a common social gathering place [See fig. #4].

Common to all camps of this category was the main lodge. This building was significantly larger than all of the other structures and often assumed a prominent space on the landscape. It was here that the main meals were eaten and the place where most of the socializing was done during and after meals. Porches were often attached to these lodges and provided with rocking chairs where stories were told by guides to entertain the guests. The interiors to lodges varied to a degree but for the most part contained a large
[Fig #3] Interior of cabin at Tim Pond Camps, Eustis, Maine. Photo by the author, 1992.
fireplace which heated a high posted room. The walls of this structure were often cluttered with trophies of successful fishing and hunting expeditions attesting to the abundance of game in the particular area and the success of guests in past years [See fig#5].

'Classic' camps provided fewer options in terms of activities than did the larger hotel/resort establishments. Those wishing to either fish or hunt, depending on the season, arranged in advance for a guide to prepare the gear, usually a canoe and food so that they were ready to go out early in the morning. Other activities in some of the more progressive camps included facilities for such sports as tennis, but for the most part entertainment revolved around other people in the camp and nature (Packard, 9/18/92). In isolated camps that often could not offer these sports, greater emphasis was placed on outdoor activities, a limitation understood by the guests who went there. Guests relied upon one another, the guides, and owners for entertainment. The season also had much to do with the type of recreation. In the early spring and late summer, fishing was at its best and assumed primary importance with the 'hard core' anglers in residence such as this all-male fishing party at the "Pool at Upper Dam" [See fig#6]. It was during the summer months that alternative activities were sought as entire families were in residence as the fourth of July photograph at Packard's camps illustrates [See fig#7] (Jerry Packard: 9/18/92). As will be detailed later the role of the guide as storyteller played a central role in the entertainment of all the guests.
[Fig #5] Interior of the main lodge at Cobb's Pierce Pond camps, North New Portland, Maine. Photo by the author, 1992.

Image resized at a lower resolution.
Small operations

The final category comprises camps lacking essential elements to be included with the 'classical' sporting camps. Some of those included in this category were camps without central lodges and even cabins. Some operations were based in local houses and farms and served as a means by which rural households could supplement their income. Information on this size of operation was hard to gather as they were not sufficiently large to be included with standard camp documentation. Thus, an exact estimate of the number in operation will be impossible to speculate. Advertising was not done as customers were attracted through word of mouth. The material that does exist has to be gathered from either oral informants or in some instances detailed camp histories.

This category was included with the other two because it represents the lower end of the sporting camp continuum. Essentially, these operations served dual purposes. The first was their ability to absorb excess guests from the large camps in the busiest seasons of the year, early spring and late fall. They also acted as a forum for guests interested in only the hunting and fishing aspects of a sporting camp vacation.

The evidence available suggests that this type of accommodation was frequented by the members of the urban upper and middle class especially when no alternatives existed. What is evident is that in the early years of development in a region this
type of accommodation would have been more popular as the larger facilities were being built. Provided with these accommodations would only have been the basic necessities of lodging, food, and guiding making this for purely outdoor sport-oriented guests.

Camps that were in the early stages of formation can be included in this category. As in the case of Grant's Kennebago camps in their first year of operation, 1905, only one cabin existed for guests, guides, and the owner to stay in. In the following years the camp grew to include a lodge and eighteen cabins that today can accommodate fifty-six people (Kauffmann 1992: 6). With growth, the camp added structures and services raising it to the 'classical' category. Generally, once the camps grew to include a main lodge for dining and separate cabins with staff to operate them thus qualifying for the 'classical' category. Many camps got their start in this way usually by local residents, often guides, who had a knowledge of the area and a following of people with which to start such an enterprise.

Other operations were based in private houses and farms and did not develop into large-scale operations as they were often a means of supplementing income of rural households. In these instances a room would be let out to a 'sport' in a manner similar to a Bed and Breakfast operation. It was usually the case that the owner would also serve as a guide. Long excursions were often began in this manner, with only the first and last night spent in the home, and the rest of the time camping out in the wilderness. (Collier, 1/27/93)
Maine Sporting Camp Development

National attention focused on Maine in the first half of the nineteenth century was limited primarily to financial interests in timber resources. Most of the state was not accessible to the ordinary traveler or the general population as roads and railroads did not exist to take inexperienced travelers into the wilds. One of the early exceptions and also one of the most famous of the early visitors to interior Maine, for non-economic reasons, was Henry David Thoreau. He made three journeys into the interior in the years 1846, 1853 and 1857 (Thoreau 1988: xix). In his first trip to 'ktaadn' he remarked about the largely inaccessible nature of the state:

Leaping over a fence, we began to follow an obscure trail up the northern bank of the Penobscot. There was now no road further, the river being the only highway, and but half a dozen log-huts confined to its banks, to be met with for thirty miles. On either hand, and beyond, was a wholly uninhabited wilderness, stretching to Canada. Neither horse nor cow, nor vehicle of any kind, had ever passed over this ground; the cattle, and the few bulky articles which the loggers use, being got up in the winter on the ice, and down again before it breaks up (Thoreau [1864] 1988: 19).

He also told of the abundant natural resources of the land which still remained in its virgin state. Maine as he described in his first trip:

It is a country full of evergreen trees, of mossy silver birches and watery maples, the ground dotted with insipid, small, red berries, and strewn with damp and moss-grown rocks,—a country diversified with
innumerable lakes and rapid streams, peopled with trout and various species of *leucisci*, with salmon, shad, and pickerel, and other fishes; the forest resounding at rare intervals with the note of the chickadee, the blue-jay, and the woodpecker, the scream of the fish-hawk and the eagle, the laugh of the loon, and the whistle of ducks along the solitary streams; at night, with the hooting of owls and howling of wolves; in summer, swarming with myriads of black flies and mosquitoes, more formidable than wolves to the white man. Such is the home of the moose, the bear, the caribou, the wolf, the beaver, and the Indian (Thoreau 1988: 108).

It was because of these natural resources that attention was shifted away from areas such as the Adirondacks, with its dwindling resources, and toward Maine. Sporting camps originated for those seeking to capture, in some way, this natural abundance. In 1863 New York City residents were astounded by the enormous specimens of brook trout brought back from the Rangeley Lakes by George Shephard (Conaway 1991: 75). Stories of the vast untapped and undeveloped fish and game resource flowed from all over Maine to the rest of the Nation. National magazines such as Harper's New Monthly Magazine, Outing, and many sport-oriented publications began mentioning Maine in articles and monthly columns.

As the urban upper and middle class discovered Maine through word of mouth and the various publications, people began to come to the state. However, it was not until the arrival of the railroads in the remote regions that significant numbers arrived. As the railroad made regions accessible, new camps sprang up, and a partnership was formed in which the railroad and sporting camps combined their advertising to attract more people.
Travel in the pre Civil-War era was difficult and long, as no road networks penetrated into the interior of the state. Travel into the interior was infrequent as illustrated by the Appalachian Mountain Club in 1881:

It is probably true that a greater number of eastern men now annually visit Pike's Peak than penetrate to the Maine mountain, and a hundred Bostonians have been among the Alps for one who has climbed Ktaadn (Hamlin, 1881: 306).

This was soon to change in this region and others as railroads were built into the remote regions of the state.

Geographically, the establishment of sporting camps was tied to the development of the region in which they were located. Some regions were 'discovered' by out-of-staters, but the major impetus for development of camps came from within. Specifically, the origination of sporting camps can be linked to the promotion of an area and the availability of transportation.

Foremost among the promotion of an area was the natural resources it possessed. These were essential in luring people to the state. Free publicity had been gained through authors like Henry David Thoreau and individuals such as George Shephard. However, in most regions, including the Rangeley's, vigorous advertising was the means by which people were ultimately enticed into the Maine woods. Booths were established at the various sportsmen's shows around the country including the famous annual Madison Square Garden Sportsmen's Show begun in 1895 [See fig#8].
[Fig #8] Sportsmen's exhibition at Madison Square Garden, New York. Circa 1895. Photo courtesy of the Philips Historical Society.
The brainchild of a woman from Philips, Maine, Cornelia "Fly Rod" Crosby, the Maine exhibition at Madison Square Garden was a resounding success and attracted national attention to herself and to Maine. With the cooperation of the Maine Central Railroad, she was able to send a Maine log cabin along with stuffed deer, moose, other native game, and even Maine guides to New York City. Her idea of recreating the unique Maine sporting camp atmosphere proved to be a success as the sporting/tourist businesses in Maine reported an increase the following season. She has even been credited with originating the phrase "Maine: The Nation's Playground" (Verde 1989: 10).

A close link tied the origination of sporting camps, the development/promotion of their region, and the railroads. Transportation into a region was the ultimate factor determining the amount of growth potential for the sporting camp industry. Railroads laid tracks into remote regions, primarily for the timber resources, as it was cheaper and more reliable to transport logs to the lumber mills by rail than by water (Bennett 1979: 121-122). The railroad subsequently found it was profitable to offer passenger service along with lumber transportation. Local businessmen and the railroads saw the mutual benefit of developing a tourist industry based upon the natural resources, and a partnership was begun.

A third partner of sorts with the sporting camps and railroads was the lumber companies. Most of the land in the state was owned by these companies, and leases had to be obtained before development could take place. The lumber companies established
tote roads in the woods that benefited the sportsmen as they allowed for easier travel through the woods.

The largest threat to the lumber companies was fire. Having people in the woods on their own presented a large risk. It was therefore to the companies' advantage to have sporting camps established to contain the guests to certain areas and maintain control over the people in the woods. This was the case with Pierce Pond Camps in North New Portland. In 1904 the Great Northern Paper Company became concerned with the number of sportsmen wandering their property. They approached an employee, Charles Spalding, and offered a free lease on land if he would establish a sporting camp (Cobb 1992: 50).

The rise of many of the sporting camps in Maine was linked to the introduction of the railroad. In this way entire regions can be understood as becoming developed in terms of sporting camp establishment with the arrival of transportation. The railroads helped to create the 'golden era' of sporting camps as they ensured a steady supply of clients. Perhaps the most significant influence the new ease in transportation brought was the arrival of women and whole families on a regular basis. Previous years, marked by long and difficult journeys, not only saw fewer people on the whole but witnessed a marked bias toward males as journeys were often viewed as being too arduous for women.
Rangeley Region

In the case of the Rangeley region the discovery of world record brook trout gained it national fame in the 1860s. This fame continued so that by the 1890s Rangeley was synonymous with excellent fishing nation wide. Outing magazine's "Rod and Gun" section made frequent reference to the Rangeley and Moosehead regions with the tacit assumption that all readers knew there location, never mentioning the fact they were located in Maine (Outing May, 1892: 43). In the world of fly-fishing this region became significant as many flies were invented here that took on legendary status nation-wide. These include: Parmachenee Bell; White Millet; Tim Fly; Professor; Red Ibis; and the Grizzly King. All of these were identifiable as Rangeley flies (Calden 10/1/92).

However, considerable 'lag time' occurred between the 'discovery' of a region and its development. Logistically, it took a great amount of effort to open up an area and make suitable provisions for 'Sports.' In the case of the Rangeley's the lapse between the initial reports of record game and the establishment of sporting camps and adequate transportation required some ten to fifteen years. Railroad service directly to Bemis, on the Rangeley lakes, was completed in the spring of 1896 and was extended in later years to Oquossoc in 1902 and in 1909 to Kennebago [See fig#9]. (Bennett 1979: 123) This completion of railroad track in combination
[Fig #9] Portland & Rumford Falls Railway map. Circa 1900. Map courtesy of the Maine State Museum.
with the success of the Madison Square Garden Sportsmen’s Show had a profound impact.

By the summer of 1896, hotels and sporting camps at the Rangeley Lakes were booked solid for the months of July and August, now that a standard-gauge railroad provided direct travel to the region. Previously the lake country could be reached only after arduous journeys by buckboard and steamer, even if one elected to go on the Maine Central Railroad to Farmington and take the narrow-gauge Philips & Rangeley Railroad, which began service to Rangeley in 1891 (Bennett 1979: 124).

Previous years saw significant numbers of visitors to the region despite the difficult travel. As “Devils Run” illustrates, pre-railroad journeys were arduous [See fig#10]. A combination of walking and rides on buckboards and steamers would take passengers from the nearest railroad terminus and transport them to specific destinations in the region.

Establishment of sporting camps in a given region was subject to ease of access. The greatest concentration of camps occurred around the large bodies of waters. In the Moosehead, Rangeley, and Belgrade regions this meant that the greatest number of camps were situated on the shores of the lakes. Moosehead Lake is the best illustration of this as the Maine Historic Preservation Commission identified thirty-two camps as having existed on the lake shore (Cole 1992: 6). Some outlying camps were established in the early development of a region, but they became more prevalent as it became easier to reach the region as a whole.
[Fig #10] "Another section of the road leading into Lake Kennebago, and known as the 'Devil's Run'"
Trips to the remote sporting camps required additional travel after one reached the region. Camps such as Tim Pond in Eustis have never had the benefit of railroad service and appealed to those desiring more rustic accommodations with all of the associated advantages and disadvantages. Tim Pond was established in 1877 when six log cabins were constructed. Access was by a six-mile corduroy road from the edge of the owner's farm yard to the pond. The journey from the farm into Tim Pond was rough, and clients often opted to walk in rather than ride on buckboards. "Sports" could hunt along the journey for partridge and deer (Conley 1990: 5–6).

Moosehead Region

The Moosehead region experienced a similar pattern of development. It had benefited by the free publicity from Thoreau's accounts. The reputation of this region and the ability to attract people there rested upon the untapped resources of wildlife. It was ultimately a combination of advertising and improved transportation that led to the establishment of sporting camps in this region.

Publicity appeared in the national media with articles in publications such as Outing and Harper's New Monthly Magazine, telling of the abundant natural resources. In 1876 Farrar's Illustrated Guide Book to Moosehead Lake and Vicinity was begun, and by 1884 it professed to have attracted thousands to the region.

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5Corduroy roads were ones which passed through swampy areas. They were built up by layering logs and branches in a crisscross fashion that allowed for dry but rough travel.
The book detailed how to get to the region, what was available there in terms of accommodation, and generally provided any information needed to make a journey to Moosehead.

There was an integrated effort to transport 'Sports' into this region which included rail, buckboard, stagecoach, and steamboat. The extension of the Bangor & Piscataquis railroad to Greenville from Blanchard in 1884 eliminated stage and buckboard rides to the lake as the railroad provided direct service (Chase 1926: 125). Once in Greenville steamboats were available to points on the lake.

By 1881 a trip to Moosehead Lake was still quite a journey. One would leave Boston by train at seven in the evening and arrive in Bangor at half past five the next morning. From Bangor another train was taken to Old Town. The next leg of the journey consisted of a sixty-three mile trip on the Bangor & Piscataquis Railway to the town of Blanchard [See fig#11]. From here a stage was taken to Greenville on Moosehead lake. To reach the Mt. Kineo House passengers had to take another trip by boat (Hamlin, 1881: 318). Bangor has been a starting off point for many journeys into Maine and transportation to that city was among the first developed. However, beyond the limits of Bangor there did not exist much in the way of travel until the Bangor & Piscataquis Railroad was chartered in 1861 ("Maine Railroads Chartered up to the Early 70's").

Business in the region experienced increases in the 1870s presumably linked in part to the increasing ease of getting there. This growth can be traced through the additions to the Mt. Kineo
House, the most prominent establishment on the lake. In 1876 an annex containing forty new rooms was added, and in 1881 another sixty rooms were added. Fire destroyed the hotel in the fall of 1882, but by the spring of 1884 it was back in operation with a total of two hundred rooms (Farrar 1884: 76-77). The growth of the region did not taper for some time, as by 1890 its capacity was some seven hundred guests and four hundred employees (Cobb 1992: 62). Sporting camps in the entire region prospered, and by 1906 approximately fifty camps were operating in Piscataquis County alone (Nason 1906).

As the map of the Moosehead region illustrates, by 1906 the area was crisscrossed with railroads, roads and steamer roots [See fig#12]. Comparison to the 1881 map will yield an understanding of how the process of development facilitated the creation of a vast number of sporting camps. The wilderness was made easily accessible for those wishing to experience it. Indeed, as train service improved efficiency and the Pullman cars increased luxury, the trip to the Maine wilderness became less troublesome.
Maine Sporting Camp Composition

Three distinct groups of people made up the social and cultural composition of the Maine sporting camps. Most important among these were of course the guests, or "Sports" as they were referred to. They came from predominantly upper-and middle-class urban backgrounds from the East Coast and included men, women and children\(^6\). The second group comprised the sporting camps' staff, which included the proprietor and camp employees responsible for the daily operation of the camps. The final and arguably the most essential group in terms of ensuring a successful visit were the guides. The latter two groups for the most part consisted of local residents. All of these groups came together and interacted within the contexts of the camps.

As with the types of the camps, the backgrounds of the people in each category existed on a continuum. Sometimes camp owners from out of state and guests from within the state. For the most part, however, each group was distinctive enough to allow for an analysis of them as comprising groups. The important points to be illustrated are: that the vast majority of guests were indeed wealthy and came from large eastern cities; that the camps' staff was drawn from local residents and came from radically different backgrounds than did the guests; and that the guides, also from local origins, were the primary ones responsible for the safe and successful ventures of the guests into the wilderness.

\(^6\)Though historic records do not specify it is assumed that the clients were predominantly white with few minorities.
Sporting Camp Guests

Often referred to as "Sports," the clientele who frequented the Maine sporting camps were from predominantly upper- and middle-class backgrounds with wealth playing a key role. In interviews with contemporary camp owners, all referred to the camps as being initially a phenomenon of the wealthy. Most every camp also had at least one person of renown to list among its history such as Theodore Roosevelt. When asked about the geographical origins of the "Sports," each informant gave an almost identical list of East Coast cities. Photographic evidence and oral interviews revealed that "Sports" included men, women and children. The numbers of women and children depended upon the time of year, but some were found at all camps included in the camp continuum.

The class background of the guests in the 'golden era' period of the camps was almost exclusively upper and middle class. Some of the reasons for this elitism relates to simple economics. Travel was difficult during this period with a journey lasting usually several days. Once at a sporting camp the practical length of stay was from several weeks to several months. The expenses and amount of time required would thus have made this type of vacation beyond the reach of the lower income population. Indeed, expenses would have included the train journey, room and board, costs and guide fees along with the cost of sporting equipment. For example, a stay at Tim Pond Camps was two dollars a day plus fifty cents a day boat rental and guide fees ranging from one to two dollars per day per
person in 1896\(^7\) (Calden 10/1/92). Not a seemingly huge amount today but when travel and time away from work was figured in, the cost excluded a large percentage of the population. The large wilderness hotel/resorts were even more expensive with a week's stay at the Rangeley Inn estimated to have cost around thirty-five dollars per week in the late nineteenth century (Conley 10/1/92).

Thus, the remote location, and relatively high costs ensured that the camp's clients be from upper-and middle-class backgrounds. After World War I, with the proliferation of automobiles, and the development of a road system into rural Maine, camps became accessible to those with smaller incomes as travel no longer necessitated long stays. This is also the same period in which the national parks became a popular destination.

Among the guests at each sporting camp were doctors, lawyers, bankers, politicians, businessmen, and occasionally the very rich and famous. Tim Pond camps boasted of having the owner and family of the Stanley Steamer company (Calden 10/1/92). Packard's Camps were frequented by family members of the Johnson &. Johnson company (Packard 9/18/92). The Belgrade, Rangeley, and Moosehead regions in general attracted over the years such people as Theodore Roosevelt, the DuPont family, the Colt family, and many of the powerful railroad families. Cornelia "Fly Rod" Crosby in her weekly column commented about the social standing of sporting camp guests:

\(^7\)A stay at a comparable sporting camp today ranges from sixty to one hundred dollars and up.
Kennebago Lake House, Aug. 19. It is always a happy event for those whom fortune smiles upon, and they are among the number gathered at this spot in the heart of the Maine wilderness. It is here some of the best known people in our country come for the rest they need and must have if they are to continue in the great work they are doing for America at this time (Crosby Aug. 19, 1918).

The clients came predominantly from the large urban centers in the northeastern United States. The areas identified most often by my oral informants were Philadelphia, New York, Boston, Baltimore, Washington, D.C., and generally speaking any of the other large urban areas on the East Coast. A small number of guests also came in from other parts of Maine, the western states, and even from other countries.

Men, women and children frequented all types of sporting camps. The composition of a given camp did, however, vary according to the time of year and in some cases the degree of remoteness of a camp. Often in the very early spring men would come to the camps alone. This time of year had the best possible fishing conditions—cool and damp with black flies and deep mud all in abundance. Women and children do not appear to have been included during these periods. Reasons may relate to excessively difficult travel and/or the fact that these are times when children would have been in school and the women would have been busy with them. The same was true for the late fall when conditions were best suited for hunting. The period in between was the time during which the vast majority of camp guests included whole families. This time offered more temperate weather allowing for easier travel and a greater variety in activities. In some cases men would leave their
families at the sporting camps while they returned to the city to do business, then come back to Maine to finish the vacation with their families.

The location of sporting camps often had some bearing upon the type of guests vacationing there. The very remote camps and those on the smallest end of the continuum were probably more often frequented by men than women. In the former case it was the sheer difficulty in travel that prevented women and children from going. Travel to most camps was difficult enough without the added burden of long wilderness treks. Practical considerations, as well as fashion restrictions on women, made some types of journeys dangerous and nearly impossible. This slowly changed with a lessening of the fashion restrictions and the introduction of bifurcated garments (Leslie, 1985). In the latter case the guests who went to this end of the spectrum were interested purely in the outdoor sports without any of the conveniences of the larger sporting camps. They were not generally seen as being suited for children, and especially women, particularly considering the social restrictions accompanying the cult of domesticity prevalent during this time. Women, upper- and middle-class ones, were viewed as delicate and not able to experience such demanding travel (Dulles 1940: 95). However, women were present at the camps, and by their very presence challenged these assumptions.

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8See "Devils Run" photograph
Women's involvement in Sporting Camps

That women were present in the sporting camps is well documented in period photographs. In fact, what is evident is that women were not just idle companions to the men, sitting around while they went off and fished or hunted, but were active in the outdoor sports including hunting and fishing. Numerous photographs, articles, and sporting camp brochures depict women taking an active role in the primary outdoor activities of the camps. Contemporary owners of sporting camps stressed the fact that not only are women today involved in hunting and fishing but have been since the early creation of the sporting camps.

Women's involvement in hunting and fishing can be measured on the national level with period literature. *Outing* magazine serves as a prime example of the extent to which women were involved. Though few in number, female authors published articles on hunting and fishing in the magazine in the early 1880s. A total of nine articles out of 134 on fishing were written by women between 1889 and 1901. In 1891 a monthly column was written by a woman, E. Pauline Johnson, and it lasted until 1893. In this column entitled "Outdoor Pastimes For Women," women were strongly encouraged to become actively involved with outdoor sports [See fig#13].

Women appeared frequently in the magazines' illustrations such as "A Mistress of The Gentle Art" and "The Madam and Bob" [See fig#14 & 15]. The illustrations depicted an ideal image of the healthy and fashionable sporting woman. The articles that

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9Miller Library’s collection of Outing is incomplete; missing in this period are vols. 17, 18, 19, 23, 24, 32, 33, 34, 35.

Image resized at a lower resolution.
"A MISTRESS OF THE GENTLE ART."

Image resized at a lower resolution.

Painted for OUTING by Hermann Simen.  (See "The Madam's Chicken Shoot," p. 37.1.)

"THE MADAM AND BOB."

[Fig #16] Cornelia “Fly Rod” Crosby. Circa 1890.
Photo Courtesy of the Maine State Museum.

Image resized at a lower resolution.
accompanied these were designed to encourage women to become active participants. The literary image accompanying the various illustrations portrayed women as "a perfect picture of health and beauty" (Gunckel 1893: 88). This was especially true of E. Pauline Johnson's column whose purpose was to expose women to the idea of becoming involved with outdoor sports.

Women's involvement with hunting and fishing was also championed by Cornelia "Fly Rod" Crosby [See fig#16]. A Maine resident and in 1897 the first registered Maine guide, she gained national fame with her promotion of the Maine sporting camps at the sportsman's shows (Verde 1989: 10). In the late 1880s she became active with the sporting camps in the Rangeley region, eventually publishing a column entitled "Fly Rod's Notebook." Initially published in a regional paper, The Philips Phonograph, it appeared in newspapers in New York, Boston, Chicago along with national sporting journals such as Forest and Stream (Verde 1989: 10).

Crosby used her column and her appearances at the sportsmen's shows as a means to get women involved with outdoor sports. She appealed to the potential health and fashion benefits that the sports held for women. An undated newspaper clipping, most likely from around 1895, in the Philips Historical Society collection demonstrates how she was received by the national audiences:

Any woman who saw Fly-Rod's gorgeous costume would want to go fishing if she could wear one just like it ("Fly Rod' Talks About Fly Fishing" Cornelia Crosby collection)

Her importance as a promoter of the outdoors as a health resource will be discussed later. Cornelia was a crusader of sorts encouraging
the active participation of women. Photos of her demonstrate the ideal that she and the national magazines were promoting. Indeed, the similarities between the *Outing* illustrations of sporting women and photographs of her are quite remarkable [See fig # 15 & 17].

The 1908 cover of "The Belgrade" brochure illustrates the targeting of women in sporting camp advertisements [See fig # 18]. The active presence of women is shown in this illustration with a woman assisting a man in landing a fish. This cover was used for both the 1908 and 1909 brochures. Though it was the only example found of women on the covers of promotional literature, it is nonetheless significant in indicating the increasingly accepted role of women in the camps.

The vast majority of evidence for women's involvement comes from the numerous photographs of the sporting camps. These showed women posing with fishing rods, guns, and captured game. Most of the camps that were visited had old photographs of guests that included women. One of the few that was able to be reproduced came from the Philips Historical Society collection. The photo entitled "A Fishing party at Loon Lake" shows a group of anglers, one female, about to embark upon a day's sport as does the frontispiece [See fig # 19].

Women's presence and participation in sporting camp activities is a well documented fact. The numbers of women present at the camps seems to have increased in percentage from 1880 to World War I. This increase was evident in the appearance of women in national sporting literature and in the photographic evidence from around the state. This growth seems to have stemmed from the
[Fig #17] Cornelia "Fly Rod" Crosby. Circa 1890. Photo courtesy of the Philips Historical Society.
[Fig #18] The Belgrade, cover for the 1908 brochure, courtesy of Mary Beals.

Image resized at a lower resolution.
[Fig #19] "Fishing Party at Loon Lake." Circa 1910. Photo courtesy of the Philips Historical Society.
rising national awareness of fitness and health especially for women. This was certainly the justification given in most of the literature and by figures such as Cornelia "Fly Rod" Crosby. The overall struggle for women's rights may have played a role, but such influences are difficult, if not impossible to determine from the surviving materials. What is clear, however, is that women were able to enter activities that had previously excluded them. In this way they may have gained some recognition for their abilities by their male counterparts. Certainly figures such as "Fly Rod" gained respect and was given more equal footing in the male-dominated sporting community.

Sporting camp owners and staff

The second of the three main components of the social composition of the sporting camps were the camp owners and staff. These groups were drawn primarily from local populations near the location of the camps. The camps offered alternative employment opportunities in areas that were dominated by the logging industry. The proprietors also generally came from the local population as they had intimate knowledge of an area and were able to use this knowledge in establishing their business. The proprietors, however, had to have a wide variety of knowledge in order to be successful.

The staff of the sporting camps varied according to their size and location. Most sporting camps, except the very small ones, on the bottom of the continuum, had a central dining lodge and provided breakfast and supper, with lunch usually cooked outdoors
by the guides. This necessitated a kitchen staff with the proprietor's wife frequently in charge. Some camps offered cabin maids to straighten and clean the cabins and cabin boys to empty the chamber pots while the guests were out for the day's activities. The degree of luxury, in terms of service, varied from camp to camp, but generally speaking the larger the operation the more services offered.

The importance of a large sporting camp operation to a region was significant. For example in the Rangeley region, the Parmachenee Club was responsible for a great amount of employment opportunities, as certified by Isabelle Bryant, a long-time native of the region:

This country was practically made by the Parmachenee Club. They had so many members and they employed so many of our people... (Bryant 7/17/87: 10).

Opportunities for employment were made available to men and women alike. Guiding being the main activity for men, with kitchen and cabin duties for women. The same applied to the large wilderness hotel/resorts, which had an even greater emphasis on service.

The guests and the staff were kept very much apart at the sporting camps. Separate sleeping quarters were provided for the staff along with separate dining areas away from the guest areas. At Cobb's Pierce Pond Camps, the staff dining room was located to the side of the kitchen and served at meal times for the guides and owner and at off times for the rest of the staff. Jerry Packard, owner
of Packard’s Camps, revealed the strict rules that used to exist for the staff.

Oh no, they [guides and staff] had a separate table there. They weren’t allowed out to mix with them [guests] in the dining room at any time. Then, they had a lot of different views. They treated the help a lot different than they do now. Things that you did then, you know, like there is a pair of stairs that goes upstairs there. Well, those are known as the front stairs and then there’s a set of stairs back here known as the back stairs. Nobody that ever worked here were allowed to go up those front stairs. But that was typical of every, that was true everywhere. You know, you didn’t hang around the office and you didn’t walk through the dining room if you wanted to go out front you went around and that was the way it was. We had a table for the guides and a table for the kitchen help and cabin cleaning girls (Packard 9/18/92).

Sporting camp owners were generally from the local population as well. Camp owners had great experience in outdoor skills and as “jacks of all trades” they seized upon the economic potential and embarked upon sporting camp ventures. Essential to this group was an intimate knowledge of the surrounding area.

Frequently the camps were established by guides who had a steady following of customers and who were willing to leave their present employer and begin a new establishment. As will be shown later, this was due in large part to the bonds which developed between the guide and the guest. A prime example of bonding was the creation of Grant’s Kennebago Camps. Ed Grant worked as a guide for the Kennebago Lake House until 1905. When he left to open up his own camps with his two sons, his business grew and became very successful in a short period of time (Kauffmann 1992: 6).
Owners had to ensure that the overall operations of the camp went smoothly. This meant that the guests had to be kept happy with good food, adequate accommodations, and successful ventures into the woods. For the latter guides were primarily responsible but camp owners had to ensure that guides were available to those requiring them. The former two, however, were major considerations for the Maine woods. The hotel/resorts were able to operate on a large scale and import architects and building materials. All of the smaller operations were restricted by their location and supporting capital. This is why log construction was utilized in most instances as they could be constructed with readily available materials. The supply of food was also a problem faced by the owners and was met in several ways. Local camp gardens were established along with animals to supply dairy products. Thus, the owner of these sporting camp had to be well versed in the practical matters of life in the wilderness. Ultimately, the camp owners had to provide enough of the comforts and modern conveniences to accommodate the tastes of upper- and middle-class clients.

In some cases, however, the owner was not drawn from the local population, but from out of state. Prime examples of these were the private sporting camps like the Parmachenee Club, which was owned by a group of men based in New York. Here the practical considerations of daily operation were met by employees drawn from the local population. With an intimate knowledge of the area, they were thus better able to negotiate the chores of the camp's everyday operations.
Guides and Guiding

The Maine guide was an essential component of the sporting camp throughout the period from 1880 until the First World War. The tradition of guiding in the state originated with Native Americans in the eighteenth and possibly seventeenth centuries. By the time of the rise of the sporting camp industry in the 1880s, the guiding tradition had been taken over, for the most part, by local, non-Native American residents. These guides came primarily from the logging industry. Having an intimate knowledge of the land and seeking better paying and less hazardous work, lumbermen turned to guiding in the months when the lumber industry was dormant. The guides provided an essential service to the sporting camp guests as they were primarily responsible for their safe and successful sporting ventures and also for entertainment as guides were renowned for their oral storytelling abilities. Strong bonds developed between guides and clients, forming a basis for the annual repeat business and thus assuring the guide continual work and the clients successful trips.

In the period before the Civil War leading all the way back to the initial settlement of Maine, the tradition of guiding was for the most part the exclusive province of Native Americans. Perhaps the most famous among them was Henry David Thoreau’s Penobscot guide, Joe Polis (Thoreau 1988: 215). These early guides were employed for their knowledge of Maine and their wilderness survival skills. A transformation took place in the years after Thoreau’s journey's.
By the 1880s, when the sporting camp were in operation, the guides were primarily drawn from local non-Native American populations. This switch can, in part, be attributed to the cultural decline of the Native American populations who, by this period, experienced a loss of land, and with the introduction of Fish and Game laws, restrictions upon the periods in which Native Americans could hunt for food. Up until the introduction of these laws, tribes such as the Penobscots spent long periods, approximately six months, in the woods hunting and fishing with families. This was the time when only the native language was spoken and traditions were passed down to the younger generations. The introduction of game laws restricted this period to several weeks, thus effectively ending the time in that the tribes could renew their traditions and culture. This was a serious blow which prohibited the wide scale guiding of earlier periods as that time had to be utilized for family food gathering. Also, by this time a strong mistrust had developed among the Penobscot who viewed all visitors as potential land grabbers (Siebert 1/21/93).

In the period between Thoreau's visits in the 1850s and the rise of the sporting camps, Maine underwent an expansion of the logging industry that reached into many of the remote areas including the remote Rangeley and Moosehead regions. This meant that lumber men acquired the intimate knowledge of the landscape and survival in these regions that was once the exclusive province of Native Americans. When the sporting camps became established it was from this group along with the knowledgeable settlers that the skilled labor force of guides was drawn from.
The role of the guide was essential in ensuring a successful and safe experience for "Sports" in the Maine woods. Guides provided services that made trips into the wilderness possible for those lacking the basic skills necessary to do so alone. These services included carrying essential supplies, preparing meals, locating game, and ensuring that clients did not get lost. The ultimate success of a guide was essentially dependent upon his ability to locate game for the client, a skill that entailed a detailed knowledge of a particular region.

The guide was primarily a paid servant. One of his primary responsibilities was rowing his client around in canoes while he/she fished or hunted [See fig#20]. In fact, the creation and proliferation of the outboard engine after the First World War was one of the reasons given for the decline of guiding in Maine (Maynard, 10/27/92). The guide's other main duty was the preparation of lunch, which had to be cooked over an open fire. The guide was also responsible for locating game and assisting the "Sport" in capturing it [See fig#21], clearly illustrated in this photograph with the guide up to his knees in water with a landing net helping the "Sport" land the fish.

In some instances guides were paid to catch or kill game for the "Sport" then to claim as his own. This charade was not necessarily a legal or ethical practice but was required by some of the "Sports" who did not want to gain a reputation as being unsuccessful, especially as their vacations were coming to a close. One instance occurred in Aroostook County. A "Sport" was nearing the end of his stay at the Machias Forks Camps and had not been
successful in shooting a bear. He refused to pay unless the guide guaranteed him a bear in the last hunt. A tame bear, belonging to a local resident, was chained to a tree and the guide pointed it out to the client as being a wild bear. The client shot the bear and the story was published in the local newspaper without mention that it was a tame bear. Locals knew what happened by the collar marks around the bear’s neck (Lowrey 1989:97-98).

The guide's duties went far beyond the set tasks for that they were paid. Guides were generally perceived as entertainers for the guests and in some cases their families. Guides would entertain by telling stories. The stories they told and the knowledge they claimed to have were often exaggerated. Ed Grant, a guide and owner of Grant's Kennebago Camps exemplified the humorous storytelling abilities necessary for a guide. A passage in Dear Old Kennebago illustrates his abilities well:

"See that mountain over there?," Grant asked a young visitor who inquired how long he had lived in the area. "Well, when I first came here, that mountain was jest a little hill." After telling a sport that he knew every rock in the pond, Ed Grant hit one. "I thought you knew every rock in the pond!" exclaimed the visitor. "Yup, I do. That's one of 'em right there," said Grant, and kept on rowing (Kauffmann 1992: 3).

Speaking of the guides' overall importance to sporting camps Jerry Packard, president of The Maine Sporting Camp Association, reflected upon the sporting camp tradition within Packard's Camps.

A guide was a real important part of camp life. They kind of kept things going for the proprietor. Anything the guide did the proprietor didn't have to do, so to
speak. I mean if the guide sat on the porch and talked to the guests that's something the proprietor didn't have to do. The good guides almost, they kind of, handled the clients as a separate business. When the client left here he'd, the smart guide, he'd have all the arrangements made for next year. You know, he had all his work lined up for next year. When that guy left he wanted it understood that he wanted that certain guide for that certain time. You know, we had guides that worked here for forty years or more (Packard 9/18/92).

As Jerry Packard indicates above, clients developed relationships with guides and requested them year after year. This, however, did not limit the client to going to the same camp. Guides were usually employed by the client directly and not by the camp owner. The payment and arrangements were usually made directly from the client to the guide. In some cases, such as the one Jerry spoke of, the client would use the sporting camp owner as a type of booking agent with the arrangements being made through him. The loyalty of clients to their guides would, in some cases, prompt them to change sporting camps as was the case with Ed Grant mentioned earlier.

These friendships between the guide and client frequently resulted in the guide receiving gifts, especially on the holidays from satisfied guests. Ethel Collier, whose father and grandfather were guides, remembers as a child receiving Christmas gifts and magazine subscriptions from some of her father's clients (Collier 1/27/93). Cornelia "Fly Rod" Crosby was also the recipient of gifts ranging from photo albums of fishing expeditions in the Rangeley region to expensive fishing rods and rifles (Verde 1989: 11).
As will be explored in the final section of this paper, the relationship between the guide and client was a complex one. Despite the friendships that developed, they were conditioned by circumstances that made them more akin to commercial relations. Still, the guide provided some of the most essential functions of sporting camp life and thereby occupied positions that were vital to both the owner and the client.
Sports, Health, and Leisure time

The creation of the Maine sporting camps was inexorably linked to a rising national awareness of the need for sport. Sports and the time in which to pursue them, leisure time, became viewed as essential for the promotion of good health, a strongly emerging concern. It was a combination of these factors in the post-Civil-War era that combined to bring about the active role of sport in society in conjunction with Romantic conceptualizations of nature that created a cultural predilection for sporting camp vacations.

Looking first at Sports, we see that they originated in the post-Civil War era in a dialectical fashion. The sporting activities of this period benefited from and were created in response to the industrialization of society. Viewed as a safety valve for the urban population, sports developed along class lines (Betts 1974: 178). The wealthy upper and middle classes opted for exclusive health-beneficial activities that allowed for escape from the city, separation from the lower classes, the display of wealth, and the ability to demonstrate the mental and physical virtues that separated them from the common folk. Lower classes were restricted to sporting activities of a more populist nature, which provided a brief but healthful diversion from the mundane realities of urban life.

The creation of leisure time was the single largest factor in the establishment of organized sporting activities. Leisure time in the post-Civil War era was made possible by the massive national
movement toward industrialization. The emergent industrial climate, with the strict division of labor, created a large group of people able, through the labor of others, to enjoy and make necessary time away from work. As Betts noted, industrialization was a two-sided process:

There are those who stress the thesis that sport is a direct reaction against the mechanization, the division of labor, and the standardization of life in a machine civilization, and this may in part be true, but sport in the years between the Civil War and the First World War was as much a product of industrialization as it was an antidote to it (Betts 1974: 84).

As Veblen argued, sports arose when sufficient wealth was available to exempt part of the population from work (Veblen 1899: 264). Thus, the first to embark upon sporting activities were the upper class. The emergent middle class able to afford limited amounts of leisure time then became active participants. Organized sports were later introduced to the lower classes with the emphasis placed upon team-oriented sports that did not require great amounts of time or money to be enjoyed.

At the same time the demand for sport was created, the influence of the puritans had sufficiently waned to allow for their rise. Sport, it was viewed, did not interfere with the gospel of work and fit into the accepting secular sentiment (Dulles 1940: 201). Sports became, in a very rudimentary sense, the new religion of the nation. As Mrozek points out:

In a secular and materialist age, sport began to encroach upon the renewing role of religion and even seized some of its aura and tone. Although sport was not a religion or
even a quasi religion, it offered a means to fulfill, at least temporarily, the needs that religion had difficulty in meeting (Mrozek 1983: 4).

Sports were also seen as a means by which the body could be kept in a youthful condition. This was of great importance to a society that had shifted away from an acceptance of mortality and put great effort into the denial of death. Keeping the body in a youthful state in an attempt to slow the aging process through sport was a major way to accomplish this denial (Mrozek 1983: 10).

"Highbrow " sports

The upper and middle classes also viewed sports as an outlet from urban life. However, they were able to physically escape the confines of urban centers for extended periods of time. The beneficial health activities which they pursued were marked by their exclusivity. The sports that they pursued were ones they believed difficult to be 'vulgarized' by the general population and included tennis, golf, yachting, squash, fox hunting, and polo (Betts 1974: 161). The same also applied to the sports of hunting and fishing, or, shooting and angling as they were also known. Though initially activities associated with rural inhabitants, hunting and fishing underwent a cultural transformation and became, by the time of the Civil War, identified as an exclusive province of the upper and middle urban classes.

That hunting and fishing became the exclusive province of the upper and middle classes was an essential element in the process of ensuring their location in the social hierarchy. Lawrence Levine has
traced the formation of the cultural hierarchy in American. He found that in the second half of the nineteenth century, American culture was becoming increasingly fragmented with "Highbrow/Lowbrow" distinctions being developed. This split was due largely to the desires of the wealthy to somehow distinguish themselves in society. The notion of "conspicuous consumption" was applied to the ability to acquire material items and also to the acquisition of "culture" as it was associated with and defined the upper class. The emerging middle class also desired to set themselves apart. (Levine 1988: 207)

Indeed, the culture they prized and approved of offered much to the newly rich—who, while themselves mostly from the solid middle classes, were nevertheless distinguished from the larger mass less by pedigree than by their life style, manners, and cultural artifacts—and was equally attractive to significant segments of the new professional and middle classes who lacked any bedrock of security and needed to distance themselves, culturally at least, from those below them on the socioeconomic scale. The cloak of culture—approved, sanctified, conspicuous culture—promised to become a carapace impervious to assault from above or below (Levine 1988: 227).

Essentially, what both the upper and middle classes did to establish their place in the cultural hierarchy was to pursue activities in such a way as to separate them from the general populous. The transformation of hunting and fishing from subsistence activities to the sport of "Gentlemen" and "Ladies" was done for the reasons cited above.

Largely a carry-over from the aristocratic British traditions of the landed gentry, the sports of hunting and fishing underwent
profound change in American culture. By the time Maine became a
destination for avid sportsmen and sportswomen, hunting and
fishing had been elevated to a "highbrow" status. The transformation
of these sports into an exclusive realm is tied to the creation of the
"gentleman sportsman," which has been traced to the period around
the 1840s. Largely through the efforts of Henry William Herbert, an
English journalist, these outdoor sports were introduced in a series of
manuals: Field Sports, Fish and Fishing, and Complete Manual for
Young Sportsmen. They were designed to instruct American
sportsmen in the English tradition which emphasized proper dress,
speech and techniques designed to differentiate one from "native
hunters" and fishermen (Schmitt 1969: 8).

The English traditions were adopted and the American
"gentleman sportsman" and eventually "lady sportswoman"
developed into a distinct personage by the time of the Civil War.
Language was adopted for these sports with specific terminology for
all aspects of them. Examples include a "covey" of partridge, a "wisp"
of snipe, a "fowling piece" instead of shotgun, and the term "angling"
used in place of fishing (Schmitt 1969: 9). The goal of all this new
diction was the ability to distinguish a "gentleman sportsman" from
the market hunters and the "pot shot" who hunted for food to
survive (Schmitt 1969: 10).

Sporting literature of the post-Civil War era emphasized these
values. Since the desire was to approach these sports from a
gentlemanly perspective, a code of ethics was established. Articles
stressed the humane killing of game:
I hold that every humane fisherman should kill his fish as soon as taken from the hook (Outing 1890: 110).

They also emphasized the differences in skills which separated the common sportsman from the "gentleman."

Now right there Jack gave additional proof that he was not an angler, but simply a fisherman, by taking a pair of balances from his pocket and weighing my bass (Outing 1893: 319).

Fly-fishing is one of the clearest examples of this elite sporting ethic. It required a great deal of skill and equipment and was not a particularly efficient means of catching fish. However, it embodied all of the virtues of a "gentleman." Articles constantly emphasized the point that fishing with bait was the sign of a common fisherman.

The "gentleman sportsmen" ethics soon came to be applied to the sporting camps in Maine. Private camps such as the Parmachenee Club drew up detailed lists of ethical guidelines for members to follow in addition to the State game laws. Included in the Constitution By-Laws and Rules of The Parmachenee Club were:

Rule III. All trout taken, of whatever size, which if kept, would be killed to waste, shall be restored alive and with as little injury as possible to the water.

Rule IV. No member or guest of the Club shall intentionally kill or molest any female animal (Constitution... 1896: 24).

The private clubs enforced these rules among their guests. Public sporting camps could not enforce such rules, but the guests generally observed the code of ethics for "gentlemen," which meant that it was up to the individual to regulate his own behavior by pursuing the
proper methods. These were enforced more for etiquette than any sense of conservation.

Health and Sports

The rise of sports was closely associated with the increasing rise of health consciousness. Notions of good health were grounded in both the physical and mental aspects of well being. The urban environment, it was believed, was both an unnatural and an unhealthy one. Empirically, this sense of ill health associated with the overcrowding is understandable. In the period from 1880 to 1900, the urban population increased from fourteen to thirty million due in large part to eastern and southern European immigration (Dulles 1940: 211). Resulting from this increase was an overcrowding that fostered crime and disease attributed to a large extent to the immigrant communities. This view was shared by the social planners of the day:

Psychologists, sociologists, and educators developed insights into urban behavior that suggested society could not survive without nature. Instinctivists, environmentalists, and crowd psychologists all supposed that man was not made for urban life (Schmitt 1969: xix).

The answer for the upper and middle classes was to get away from the city and engage in activities that brought a sportsman into contact with nature and the natural world. Mrozek states that sports were viewed as a means by which to re-establish the link between man and nature that had been lost in urbanization.
The imagery of sport provided ties of its own between nature and civilization. For example, sport linked man and machine by suggesting parallels in the workings of both. At a time when man's "feel" of his own society and his relationship to nature on the grand scale had altered, the emergence of sport suggested a reconciliation of man and nature—of man's quality as an animal and his placement in a large natural context, even though it had been modified by the machine. In this respect, the complexity and fluidity of sport resembled the complexity of American attitudes toward nature and represented turn-of-the-century man's hope to have the best of all worlds simultaneously (Mrozek 1983: 234).

The general urban population believed that sports had the power to alleviate some of the problems associated with city overcrowding. Sporting diversions, along with commercialized amusements, were provided as the chief sources of play (Betts, 1972: 172). This was all done under the auspices of the safety valve theory, which touted sporting activities a suitable forum to provide an outlet for the ills of society (Betts, 1972: 178). These lower classes, forced to remain in the cities, had fewer options and were introduced to sports such as football whose playing field represented an area in which the proletariat could escape urban problems temporarily by directing their energies toward sports.

Hunting and fishing, as has been illustrated, were in the realm of the upper and middle classes by the time of the Civil War. In the decades following the war these sports increased in popularity. Enjoyed across the nation in private clubs and in exclusive areas such as the Adirondacks, these sports were equated with good health for both men and women.
A search through *Outing* (1882-1923), a popular outdoor sporting magazine, yielded valuable insight into the perceived health benefits thought to be associated with outdoor activities. *Outing* was considered:

Far and away the most responsible magazine for acquainting the public with the wonders of life in the mountains, the lakes, the forests, and the streams was *Outing* (1882), which was published by Albert Pope and reached an average circulation of 88,000 (Betts 1972: 60).

The articles on hunting and especially fishing in the 1880s and 1890s established a very close link between these outdoor activities and good health. The language of the articles always described the city as something to be escaped and the outdoors as the place to seek renewal of both mental and physical health.

The numerous articles and columns addressed both men and women and encouraged them to seek good health in the outdoors. The pleas were strongest for the women who, by the 1890s had gained a considerable amount of recognition for their involvement with sports.

The most encouraging signs of the times in American life is the increasing love for out of door life and sports, indulged in now not by men alone, but also by those who used to be termed the "weaker sex." Women are beginning to learn that there is health as well as fun in active outdoor life. ... ladies now penetrate the wilderness, where a few years ago men would scarcely have ventured (Thackvay 1889: 333).

Fictional stories of female anglers always presented them as being "perfect pictures of health and beauty" (Outing 1893: 88). A monthly
column, "Outdoor Pastimes For Women," was written by a woman who encouraged female participation in outdoor activities by playing upon the health concerns of her readers.

I ALWAYS feel sorry for the girl who never exercises her brain and body in the open air—the girl who huddles herself up in a shawl and hangs about the grate during the boisterous weather when her more energetic sisters are getting up a warmth of circulation in their systems by the more natural and pleasurable mode of taking a little recreation outdoors (Outing 1892: 21).

For the men it was emphasized that they needed rest from the business of the city. A prime example was the advice given in the monthly "Rod and Gun" column for men.

This is the month of months for holiday, and he who is wise in his generation will slip the galling, sweating harness of business toil and care, and hide away to breeze-swept mount or beach; to stream, and lake, and wood, and there find needed recreation. The wisest man is he who closest guards his health: we live too fast in these whirling days of daring speculation and fierce striving to make a dollar in one-hundredth part of the time our fathers were willing to devote to the same purpose (Outing 1893: 102).

In justifying specific "healthy" sports one author cited the numerous benefits that fly-fishing offered.

It is the skill required, the beautiful scenery, the music of the birds, the perfume of the flowers, and, above all, the health-giving exercise, that go to make up the sum total pleasures of fly fishing (Holberton 1889: 196).
Maine Sporting Camps and Health

Maine sporting camps played upon this notion of the health benefits derived from hunting and fishing activities, often in their advertising and especially through the advocacy of people such as Cornelia "Fly Rod" Crosby. In brochures for specific camps and regional directories, the theme was health and nature juxtaposed with outdoor sporting activities. This literature served to emphasize the views that the national sporting media was trying to portray.

A poem written for a 1908 advertisement brochure called "Northward-Ho" illustrates this blending of health, nature and the outdoors well [See fig#22].

Here's to the Land of spruce and pine,  
The Northern Land with air like wine;  
Where bright lakes nestle 'mid em'rald hills  
And woodlands sparkle with silver rills;  
Where grim mountain peaks of purple hue,  
Sink into skies of clearest blue;  
Where there's health and peace, and sport and rest,  
And life is lived at its very best;  
Where the weak grow strong and strong, grow great,  
Here's to NORTHWARD-HO!—the Pine Tree State!  
(Northward-Ho! Sept. 19, 1908: 1)

This brochure was published weekly and covered the Moosehead, Rangeley, and Belgrade regions. Individual camp brochures also illustrated these themes. The Indian Rock Camps brochure, circa 1917, visually linked health and fishing. The subject matter of the cover was fishing gear and fish with the camp name and location. The second page only contained the title "The Great Health Resort"
[Fig #22] Cover of "Northward-Hol" sporting brochure Sept. 19, 1908. Courtesy of Mary Beals.

Image resized at a lower resolution.
with two native Americans rowing a canoe in the foreground. [See fig#23] Visually then one encountered sport on first sight then after turning the page health in bold letters accompanied by the image of two native Americans—the embodiment of health through living in the wilderness.

These two surviving examples of sporting camp literature illustrate an advertising trend which was common to the entire industry. They were more than gimmicks to attract people however. There was a genuine sense among contemporary owners of sporting camps that they were originally established as healthful retreats from society and that is what they believed of them in the present. Gary Cobb, owner of Cobb's Pierce Pond camps in North New Portland spoke of the health benefits of sporting camps.

People change when they get here you know. It may be that they are a ruthless businessman or a politician or a lawyer or what have you in his work but when they get here they change to a different person. They relax, you know, and start enjoying themselves a little bit and enjoying other people a little bit. I think it's kind of a healing kind of thing for a lot of people. They almost need it, they need to get away and back into the woods (Cobb 9/24/92).

The idea that the sports of hunting and fishing were beneficial to one's health, especially in the context of the Maine sporting camps, was put forth by a woman from Maine. Cornelia "Fly Rod" Crosby, a Maine resident and Guide was prompted by her doctors to pursue the outdoor activities of hunting and fishing in order to improve her health. Living in the Rangeley region she was able to work in the sporting camps where she took up the fly fishing and hunting.
COME!
AND
GET SOME OF THEM

THERE ARE PLENTY MORE LIKE THESE
AT INDIAN ROCK CAMPS.

Indian Rock Camps
W. C. HOLI
Proprietor
Howard's Lake
HANOVER, MAINE

INDIAN ROCK CAMPS
From Across the Lake

THE GREAT
HEALTH RESORT

[Fig #23] Indian Rock Camps brochure. Circa 1917.
Courtesy of the Maine State Museum.
Recovering quickly and becoming a strong advocate for Maine, she was appointed the first registered guide in Maine in 1897 (Verde 1989: 11). "Fly Rod" embodied all the notions of health believed to be associated with hunting and fishing. As a nationally known columnist, she encouraged men (and especially women) to pursue outdoor sports using herself as an example of the benefits to be gained. A quote from the "Fly Rod" scrapbook kept at the Philips Historical Society sums up her views best.

The pine woods and nervous prostration never go well together, and a woman hasn't time to fret when she is taking a trout on the fly. I really doubt whether there is any sport in the world half so delightful as angling, or half so graceful and healthful for our sex. What gems sparkle as the gleams of a 'speckled beauty' darting through limpid water? or where is the collection of china or lace as interesting as a well filled fly book? And another thing: while fishing you are out of doors in the sunshine coloring your cheeks and strengthening your muscle (Crosby 1897 in "Miss 'Fly Rod' ... ").

Good health was thus a major selling point for the Maine sporting camps and certainly it fit into the larger national trends. To the perspective client of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Maine sporting camps would have appeared as a restful haven away from the reaches of city life. Indeed, they would have been influenced by both local Maine publications and the national literature that raved about the healthful benefits to be gained by the outdoor sports of hunting and fishing.
The Changing American Views of Nature

Nature played a vital role in defining American culture and the conceptualization of nature and wilderness\(^\text{10}\) mirrored cultural changes. In the period leading up to and including that of the 'golden era' of Maine sporting camps upper- and eventually middle-class attitudes toward nature and wilderness prompted these groups to choose exclusive areas for their vacations. Maine offered this type of exclusive "wilderness" experience for those able to afford it. The mass of the urban population, however, was exposed to nature in a vastly different manner.

There was a social transformation which took place in the period after the Civil War. Perceptions of nature and the relationship of society to it were altered as the nation experienced urban and rural development. This eventually led to the recognition that the wilderness was disappearing, but this realization only prompted elite groups to opt for more remote and exclusive destinations.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, until the Civil War, many Americans understood nature according to a "Romantic" conceptualization. The ideal landscape, according to the Romantic viewpoint, was one which included both nature and civilization. Thus, virgin land was not seen as an asset unless it could, in some

\(^{10}\) "Nature" and "Wilderness" are socially and hence culturally constructed concepts. Thus, specific connotations of these terms depends upon one's social reality. Nature and wilderness were understood and experienced differently depending upon a myriad of factors including one's class background, residential area—(urban or rural), and ethnicity. Thus, when someone from the urban upper or middle class wanted to experience nature, he/she would not have the same destination in mind that someone from a lower working or rural class would.
way, incorporate civilization. Nature was ultimately seen as something that needed to be controlled and could be enjoyed as long as there was a visible human presence. Thus:

Although Americans idealized the wilderness, they welcomed the idea that civilization would ultimately spread over the continent (Foster 1975: 45).

Edward Foster argues that the Romantic's ultimate goal was to produce a "civilized wilderness" and with this encourage the exploration of the landscape.

But while the wilderness disappeared with the advance of civilization, thousands set out to explore American landscapes—either those along such popular routes as the Hudson Valley route or the less accessible wilderness landscapes which attracted men like Parkman and Thoreau. More significantly, perhaps, there was a widely expressed American desire to incorporate, somehow, the wilderness within civilization—to resolve the paradox and create a "civilized wilderness" (Foster 1975: 46).

In his accounts of Maine, Henry David Thoreau illustrates this desire as he paradoxically writes of his wishes to get away from the manifestations of civilization but in his account of his Chesuncook trip spends some five pages describing a log cabin that he happened upon (Thoreau 1864: 168-172). Thus, "going back to nature," practically speaking, meant incorporating nature to some extent into one's life, the degree of which depended upon one's position in society.

A movement affecting art, architecture, literature, music and landscape design, the "Romantic" blending of nature and civilization manifested itself both psychologically and physically in society. For
the mass of the urban population, it was constructed by social architects such as Frederick Law Olmstead who in 1857 began work on Central Park in New York City (Foster 1975: 168). Other cities around the country followed suit, adding tree-lined boulevards, children's playgrounds, athletic fields, and public flower gardens (Jackson 1972: 217). All of these features served as the architects' "idealized" landscape for the general urban population to experience a sampling of nature. Those with the means available would venture into the surrounding rural areas. This trend continued well into the post-Civil War era for urban settings.

The period following the Civil War saw important changes in American society, changes that helped to transform America's views of nature and the wilderness. Natural areas that had once been abundant to the point of seeming infinite were disappearing rapidly by the turn of the century. Urban areas were expanding at a rapid pace as the industrial base of the country grew with increased immigration, insuring a steady supply of labor. What this alteration produced was a revision in America's views of nature. The "Romantic" ideals of the pre-Civil War era gradually gave way to those of the conservationists and preservationists. With this shift, nature was no longer seen as an obstacle to be modified for progress but something to be protected and experienced as a relic of national heritage. This became especially true with the recognition that the frontier was part of America's history in the 1890s. The general

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11 Turner, Frederick Jackson. *The Frontier in American History*. This was the first scholarly work to acknowledge the American frontier as no longer existing.
urban population on the East Coast in the post-Civil War era had time and money only to experience nature in areas such as Central Park in New York City. The national parks being established in the 1890s, were not frequently visited by the general population until after the First World War, with 1921 being the first year to see a million annual visitors (Schmitt 1969: 155).

The Civil War also marked an important turning point in terms of how people saw nature. J.B. Jackson contends of the generation after the Civil War:

Unlike their fathers they saw themselves not merely as inhabitants but as owners, and with an owner's instinct they sought to find out the value of the patrimony.

That is why, during the post war years, the relationship between Americans and their environment began to change. The relationship had no less of love and pride, but it had less emotion and more of calculation. We had acquired new needs, and we looked to the landscape to satisfy them. Reverence for the past and for the beauties of unblemished nature was certainly a virtue; but there were practical matters to take into account. Simply to admire the richness of the land was no longer enough (Jackson 1972:19).

And so it was in the post-war years that the nation experienced massive expansion and development in both the urban and rural settings (Jackson 1972: 19). In the face of this expansion was a limited awareness of the finite nature of the remaining wilderness. This awareness stemmed from those few who had the leisure time and financial resources to be able to appreciate nature. As Robertson points out:
The disappearance of the American wilderness into a nature which was entirely for human use and manipulation was not something most Americans regretted (Robertson 1980: 120).

Those who made use of nature and the wilderness for sport, health, and leisure wanted to ensure that areas would remain for their use. In the Adirondacks, this desire led to the protection of the forest from lumbermen.

Essentially, what happened in the latter half of the nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth was the creation of two nature/wilderness realities. One was constructed and existed in both urban and rural settings for the general population. These were the public city parks and eventually the national parks, set aside and designated as areas where the people could expose themselves to nature. The other was created by the upper and middle class in areas that were privately controlled and accessible only to an elite. These areas were essentially playgrounds for the rich to pursue nature-oriented activities. Jackson thus characterized the manifestations of the "highbrow" wilderness in the immediate postwar era:

In New York there still survived an aristocratic tradition of the forest as a hunting ground for big game, and much of the pressure for the preservation of the Adirondacks came from well-to-do New Yorkers who owned hunting lodges in the region or belonged to one of the hunting clubs. New England, however, approached the forest in a different, more detached frame of mind: either in search of spiritual uplift or (as was more common) in search of a cool and restful vacation spot (Jackson, 1972: 99).
As Jackson points out, regional variations in New England were different from the New York traditions. Maine at this time enjoyed large wilderness areas that had never been developed and appeared to outsiders to be nearly pristine with their abundance of wildlife. In the 1880s, Maine, by some sources, was considered the last frontier in the East, making it a highly prized sporting destination (Packard 9/18/92)\(^\text{12}\).

Maine thus benefited by the post-Civil War era "back to nature" movement spurred on by an upper and middle class urban population seeking simple pleasures and undisturbed quiet not found in the cities. America's cities, it was believed, had created an unnatural atmosphere removed from traditional, rural agrarian values.

Such folk heartily approved the opportunities for social and economic success, the educational and religious benefits, and the cultural advantages that accompanied urban life. They simply realized, as every suburban mother knew, that the city is no place to raise a family (Schmitt 1969: 3).

The value of nature and the wilderness was recognized as resting in its spiritual importance to American culture. As urban centers grew in the nineteenth century and economic emphasis shifted from an agrarian base to an industrial one, the need to experience "the simple life" found expression in the European Romantic movement. Aspiring to the "country gentleman" ideal the American Romantic had to earn

\(^{12}\)Jerry Packard is the owner of Packard's Camps on Sebec Lake and has family links to sporting camps going back to the turn of the century. His view of Maine as the last frontier in the East was also expressed by other members of the Maine Sporting Camp Association.
money in the urban areas in order to then enjoy excursions into rural areas. Farmers were not envied by the movement as they were deemed incapable of appreciating nature and too willing to sell out their rural life for the conveniences of the city (Schmitt 1969: 5). Thus, the importance of nature and the wilderness could only be appreciated by those who were removed from it.

Nature had been seen as a gift from god with which the early nineteenth-century rural farmers formed the basis for the survival of the American people. Accompanying this belief were associated values of "industry, order and justice, freedom from want and ambition alike, and homely dignity (Schmitt 1969: 4)" all necessary to promote the advancement of civilization. However, with the rise of large urban centers in the 1880s citified Americans seemed far removed from nature and, it was believed, nature's associated values. This belief was fueled by the increasing incidence of crime and disease.

In 1880 a survey of first grade, middle-class public school children was conducted in Boston by G. Stanley Hall about the fundamentals of nature. The results were shocking as a vast majority of the students lacked fundamental knowledge and exposure to nature (Schmitt 1969: 77). Hall began a program of nature studies in an attempt to introduce his students to the natural environment. Other public schools around the country embarked upon similar programs. The wealthy sent their children to schools in the country where they could be taught "outdoor" skills believed essential for a complete education (Schmitt 1969: 86).
The idea of wilderness was introduced into urban life physically with parks, with nature education in schools, and symbolically in literature. Books, magazines, and newspapers were filled with images of the wilderness and how men and women were supposed to experience it [See fig#14 & 241. Schmitt cites the importance of this social construction:

Wilderness fiction brought nature to city dwellers purified of black flies and mosquitoes, frigid cold and steaming summer heat. Those who appraised its value spoke of a simple and timeless way of life. Readers learned more than the behavior patterns and conventional symbols of the outdoorsman—the mackinaw jacket and khaki breeches, the knee-high boots and briar pipe. They learned also a view of nature and the city and of men's role in life that was essentially Arcadian. And if the myth seemed always clearer in literature than in life, it was not less real for its fictional presentation (Schmitt 1969: 140).

This staged introduction of the wilderness to the public was designed to provide an escape from the realities of urban life and ultimately improve society as a whole. Nature was supposed to be a kind of safety valve for the general urban population, but especially for the middle and upper classes within it. For the most part, however, the general population was strictly limited by time and financial constraints.

The conception that a refuge from urban life was essential to a healthy continuation of society originated with the ideals initially of the upper class and then spread to the middle classes. Again harkening back to "romantic" ideas of a blend between civilization and wilderness this class regularly sought refuge from the poverty,
Painted for Outing by Mr. S. Watson.

Good Luck! (A. W.)

[Fig #24] "Good Luck!" Outing magazine, Vol. 22, 1893. p124.

Image resized at a lower resolution.
crime, disease, noise, and pollution of city life (Schmitt 1969: 3). Destinations in the countryside grew farther away as the city centers expanded and transportation improved. Furthermore, with the expansion of the economic opportunities as early as the late 1840s the middle class began to move to the country surrounding urban America. The upper class, who desired more exclusive locations, opted for remote destinations so as to assure their place in the emerging social hierarchy (Levine 1988: 207). These destinations eventually included Maine, which offered wilderness and civilization combined in the form of Maine sporting camps. Initially restricted to upper-class visitors, Maine soon became accessible to a larger percentage of the middle class as the transportation improved.

The urban upper and middle classes, those able to afford extended leisure-time activities, were able to escape the bounds of the urban settings and venture into the remote rural areas to experience what they perceived as the "real" wilderness separate from the urban population. In doing so they also differentiated themselves from rural dwellers:

Urban gentlemen took to forest and stream for temporary outings, secure in their belief that they remained gentlemen, no matter what the semblance of 'roughing it' (Schmitt 1969: 7).

They identified with the European Romantic tradition of the British leisure/upper class and ascribed to the rigid separation of themselves and the common folk, the rural populations. The elite wanted to experience a nature that they believed existed exclusively for their enjoyment as they considered the rural and most of the
urban populations unable appreciate such things (Schmitt 1969: 17). Nash emphasizes this point:

The capacity to appreciate wilderness was, in fact, deemed one of the qualities of a gentleman (Nash 1982: 60).

The desire to escape the "unnatural" urban environment for "simpler" life in rural areas should not be confused with a desire for an agrarian life. The rural world was viewed through the lens of civilization as being a pleasant escape and release from urban life but not an alternative lifestyle (Schmitt 1969: xviii). As cited above, urban visitors had no desire to be identified with the rural inhabitants, a snobbery partially attributed to the nature literature of the day encouraging Americans to pattern themselves after English gentry. This elitism is evident in Outing articles that detail the proper attire, equipment, and mannerisms to use when in rural areas. Thus, the notion of the sporting gentleman arose with all of the associated rules and regulations designed to separate him/her from the common rural inhabitants.

The creation of the "gentleman" and "lady" sportsperson were used as a means to separate the common rural inhabitants from these urban sophisticates in experiencing nature. This was a means by which the emerging cultural hierarchy in America was able to reinforce its position in society. In the latter half of the nineteenth century American society was becoming fragmented along class, economic, and ethnic lines (Levine 1988: 207). This change manifested itself with regard to nature and the opinions of how it should be utilized. Essential to the creation of a "Highbrow" identity
were distinguishing behavioral characteristics that formed the basis of class separation. In exposure to nature this was realized with the shift of hunting and fishing from a means of subsistence to that of pure sport. With this transformation, wilderness regions such as the Adirondacks were earmarked for the express purpose of pursuing outdoor sport in a natural environment.

In 1849 Fenno Hoffman published *The Adirondack: or Life in the Woods*, detailing "the pleasures a cultivated vacationer might find in the region" (Nash 1982: 61). This area was to become one of the most popular regions for the urban upper class to go and experience nature in the immediate post-Civil War era. The publication of William H.H. Murray's *Adventures in the Wilderness; or, Camp-Life in the Adirondacks* in 1869 made this area a favored destination of those seeking a wilderness experience (Nash, 1982: 116). Thus, regions were beginning to be earmarked as the exclusive province of those worthy of appreciating wilderness areas. However, by 1873 environmental degradation was gripping this same region as the water levels in the Erie Canal dropped. The shortage was the product of excess logging in the region and marked the start of the decline of the natural resources in the Adirondacks. Despite the public concerns raised, nothing was done in this region for a period of twelve years:

To be sure, no action was taken for another twelve years, and then only because the volume of water in the river and canal was once more below normal; but the recommendation marked the first official recognition of the preservationists' point of view, and of the forest as a definite environment (Jackson 1972: 95).
This same period, when the Adirondacks began to deteriorate as wilderness, coincides with the start of the rise of the Maine sporting camps in an environment not as yet decimated by the advances of civilization.

The Adirondacks illustrate an important transformation in America's views of nature. Inherent in the romantic attitudes toward nature was the view that it was something that could exist alongside civilization and be a continual resource from which to draw upon both physically and spiritually. With the realization that nature and certainly the natural resources contained within it were finite, we see a shift toward preservation and conservation. These new trends, however noble in appearance, seem to have been the means by which the upper class determined to protect their rural retreats. In one Outing article on fishing, we see a fisherman as concerned with other people catching fish as with the loss of the environment.

The discovery of a coal mine at Ralston soon finished the fishing; between poaching, miners and sulphur water from the mines the trout had no chance (Holberton 1889: 198).

With the preservation of the Adirondack wilderness area came a heightened awareness of the need for wilderness preservation. Due in part to the work and actions of a few men, wilderness areas were preserved across the nation. Men like John Muir helped to bring the idea of wilderness to public attention. Oeschalger credits him for being one of the most important advocates in helping to change the perception of wilderness from something to be exploited
to something worth preserving (Oeschlager, 1991: 4). Muir began writing about the virtues of the wilderness in the 1870s, and Nash said of his warnings:

His many later writings had a unifying message: buried in the cities, Americans defrauded themselves of the joy that could be theirs if they would but turn to 'the freedom and glory of God's wilderness' (Nash 1982: 129).

Ultimately, Muir was successful in bringing about the establishment of the Sequoia and Yosemite National Parks in 1890 and the creation of thirteen national forests in 1897 (Jones 1976: 13). His was, however, a "highbrow" preservationist's viewpoint with the original intention to preserve these areas for those capable of appreciating them. It was not until the improvement of transportation with railroads and automobiles that these parks became readily accessible to more of the general population. This can be seen with the increases in the annual park visitors from just 69,000 visitors in 1908 to 334,799 in 1915 (Schmitt 1969: 155).

**Cultural Construction of Nature for the Maine Sporting Camps**

The creation of the Maine sporting camps relates directly to the "romantic" desires of the leisure class to experience nature and wilderness as they defined it juxtaposed with civilization. In this same period in which we see the rise of the a "back to nature" movement, the establishment of hierarchy in culture in the form of "Gentleman" and "Lady" sportspeople, the degradation of the wilderness in the Adirondacks, and a growing desire to escape the
bounds of the city, we also have the creation of the Maine sporting camps. Maine in the post-Civil War era contained areas of virtually untapped natural resources that appealed to a sporting elite. Maine sporting camps thus provided the means through which the upper and middle classes could go "back to nature" while maintaining a social hierarchy, ensuring that they remain "Ladies" and "Gentlemen" despite the remote "wilderness" locations. Effectively "Sports" experienced nature in a wilderness that was socially and culturally constructed for the urban upper and middle classes.

The concept of nature and wilderness as they applied to the Maine sporting camps was ultimately created through an urban upper and middle class conceptualization. In order for these groups of people to be able to come to Maine, the rural world had to be transformed to accommodate those without practical knowledge of the wilderness. As the map of the Parmachenee Club indicates, this domestication was achieved by making the wilderness familiar through placing a specific order upon it [See fig. 25]. The specific that made the sporting camps a phenomenon of the upper and middle classes will be explored in the final section. Before we take up that aspect of the camp culture, an understanding of different ways to view nature is important.

Ultimately, an individual sees and interprets anything on the basis of the meaning that the object has for him or her (Blumer 1969: 2). With that in mind we should consider that the wilderness

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13See the discussion on Blumer and Symbolic Interactionism in the final section.
in which the Maine sporting camps were built contained differing meanings depending upon background. Thus, on a macro or structural level, the sporting camps' placement in nature represented the enforcement of urban upper- and middle-class ideology upon a rural landscape.

The elite urban group acted toward and within a nature and wilderness that they believed existed entirely for themselves because they were the only ones who could properly appreciate it. Thus, nature was to be experienced from a Romantic vantage with the proper blending of nature and civilization. This in turn led to the establishment of rules governing the ways in which to interact with nature. Thus, to stay in log cabins was acceptable as long as there were services available in order to separate oneself from the "native" customs. This is why the "Sports" related to the camp staff in the ways they did.
Social and Cultural Implications of the Maine Sporting Camps

The Maine sporting camps were a cultural phenomenon created by the urban upper and middle class. Attitudes among this group toward sport, health, leisure, and nature created a demand for a rural retreat that could address their perceived needs while ensuring their place in the social hierarchy. This end was accomplished on a structural level with the imposition of upper/middle class ideology upon the rural inhabitants. The specific processes by which these ideologies were carried out can be seen in terms of the daily interaction between the urban and rural classes in the context of the sporting camp and in the associated activities. From a more abstract point of view, sporting camp culture will be understood utilizing both the Marxist materialist and symbolic interactionist perspectives.

The value of the Marxist approach is in the understanding of the influences of ruling class structure upon the formation of institutions. In this way it can be seen how the class divisions associated with labor roles within urban areas were incorporated into the structure of the sporting camps. What took place, however, was not merely a simple reproduction of the urban power structure. The upper/middle classes did place their social stamp upon the camps, but the process by which it was done goes beyond the structural explanation. As Marx knew, the social production of culture also involves daily personal interactions and interpretations of cultural meaning. Thus, the individuals involved within the overall structure of the camps interpreted and ultimately produced,
on a fundamental level, a sporting camp culture. In other terms this latter understanding can be considered one of symbolic interaction. This approach, pioneered by Herbert Blumer, focuses upon the role of social interaction in producing the meanings through which social and cultural values are formed.

By their very existence the camps represented a cultural and social presence in rural Maine which, before the Civil War, did not exist. The period between 1880 and World War I saw the establishment of sporting camps in Maine on a scale suitable to consider them as an institution, the structure of which was shaped by the urban classes for whom they were created. Prior to and during this period, there was a substantial increase in the growth of urban areas and within them an increased division of labor. As industrialization took shape, classes of people emerged who had time available for leisure activities. The activities themselves and the ability to pursue them became indicators of differential social status.

Essentially, what the camps' establishment and operation represented was the introduction of upper and middle class urban ideas about sport, nature, leisure, and health to rural Maine. These concepts and the associated activities were organized on a basis that allowed for the imposition of social hierarchy. Thus, activities such as hunting and fishing, once associated with subsistence living, became upper/middle-class pursuits conforming to their notions of good health and appropriate sports.

On the other side of the equation were the rural inhabitants with the skills and knowledge necessary to allow for successful visits by the urban classes. Serving as metaphorical cultural mediators the
sporting camps and their staffs allowed their clients to experience nature and wilderness in rural Maine. The wilderness they were experiencing, however, was socially constructed around their assumed needs and expectations. Space was divided and roles were put into place to perpetuate the social hierarchical distinctions that made the sporting camp experience one of an essentially "highbrow" nature.

Marx argued in *The German Ideology* that the upper class that controlled the material means of production in society also held control over the intellectual ideas of society. These ideas became the dominant ones because they had a powerful group to back them up.

The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, i.e. the class which is the ruling *material* force of society, is at the same time its ruling *intellectual* force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it. The ruling ideas are nothing more that the ideal expression of the dominant material relationships, the dominant material relationships grasped as ideas; hence of the relationships which make the one class the ruling one, therefore, the ideas of its dominance. The individuals composing the ruling class possess among other things consciousness, and therefore think. Insofar, therefore, as they rule as a class and determine the extent and compass of an epoch, it is self-evident that they do this in its whole range, hence among other things rule also as thinkers, as producers of ideas, and regulate the production and distribution of the ideas of their age: thus their ideas are the ruling ideas of the epoch (Marx and Engles 1970 (1846): 64).

According to this theory, it would seem that the sporting camps were a cultural production of the upper and middle classes since they
controlled both the material and intellectual means of production. To some extent, this is borne out in the sporting camps. However, such an argument denies the importance and autonomy of those on the receiving end, the rural Maine inhabitants. This group had knowledge without which the Maine sporting camps could not have operated.

The argument, then, that the camps are an upper class phenomenon has to be considered from another vantage point that accounts for cultural meanings being produced in a relationship of inequality. Turning again to Marx, this time in the *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, we see an argument which deals with cultural meanings as they are produced on an individual level.

In the social production of their existence, men inevitably enter into definite relations, which are independent of their will, namely relations of production appropriate to a given stage in the development of their material forces of production. The totality of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which arises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the general process of social, political and intellectual life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness (*Marx 1970 (1859): 20-21*).

Focusing upon the last sentence, we note a perspective of exceeding importance in helping us to understand the Maine sporting camps: it allows for the importance of the individual in determining culture. This is the point from which both the Marxist materialist and symbolic interactionist views can be blended in order to look at the
sporting camps. The camps can thereby be seen as a predominantly upper and middle class phenomenon but not one that was merely imposed but produced through meaningful social interaction influenced by class, wealth, power, and knowledge.

The symbolic interactionist approach recognizes individuals and how they interpret and respond to the world around them as being the level at which culture is defined and redefined. Herbert Blumer championed this kind of cultural analysis with his symbolic interactionist perspective:

He contended that human group life should be studied in terms of action—in terms of what the participants do together in units. Such transactions are not mere expressions of cultural patterns; they are constructed step by step as the participants align and realign their respective contributions in a reciprocating manner. (Shibutani 1988: 24)

Blumer contended that in these social transactions, people adjust their behavior toward one another by role-taking. The form of role taking depends upon a number of factors:

Each person acts on the basis of his or her definition of the situation, and how each situation is defined depends on the meanings of the relevant objects—things, events, people, institutions, ideas, oneself. (Shibutani 1988: 25)

Underlying the symbolic interactionist approach Blumer argued were three basic premises:

1. Human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them.
2. The meaning of such things is derived from, or arises out of, the social interaction that one has with one’s fellows.
3. These meanings are handled in, and modified through, an interpretive process used by the person in dealing with the things he encounters. (Blumer 1969: 2)

Thus, Maine sporting camp culture can be understood by examining the social interactions which took place on a personal and symbolic level.

With this framework the essential elements of Maine sporting camps will be considered individually as they were all essential in producing the upper/middle-class orientation of sporting camp culture. The roles within the camps provide insight into the social structuring of class based not only upon monetary considerations but knowledge as well. These roles include those of “sport,” owner, staff, and guide. The sporting activities of the camp and especially the way in which they were conducted perpetuated this type of “highbrow” culture. This cultural hierarchy applied to the material items and the division of space within the camps as well. Finally, the process of reordering nature for the camps’ clients was in itself a class-laden action.

Role taking within the Maine sporting camps

The Maine sporting camps operated with three main categories of employees that assumed three broad social roles. Viewing them hierarchically, in terms of relationships with the clients, the camp owners would be highest, followed by the guide, and then the camp staff. Though all were essentially paid servants of the clients, their
relationships with them varied according to the knowledge they possessed and the value of their experience to the client. Thus, a guide was thought of in a different manner than a cabin maid since the latter was not in possession of knowledge essential to a successful fishing or hunting outing.

What took place in the Maine woods, however, was not a mere reproduction of the social order of the urban world. The clients, in a very real sense, were entering a world that was foreign and indeed dangerous to the uninitiated. In this new setting they relied upon the sporting camp both for its facilities and its labor resources in order to experience safe leisure time activities in a rural environment. The owner of the camp was the figure responsible for seeing that, in general, all the requirements of the clients were satisfied. Outside the immediate camp area, the safety and success of the clients were the responsibility of the guide who acted as an interpreter of the rural world. Within the camp itself, the staff was responsible for the basic comforts that were more closely aligned with luxury than with basic survival and as such were not highly valued roles. A social hierarchy was thereby formed on this basis.

The role of the owner of sporting camps was of course essential to their operation. This position was one that, inside the sporting camp, was respected both by the staff and clients. The owner had very little direct responsibility to the clients in terms of their daily requirements except that he was ultimately responsible for ensuring that everything necessary was done by others. On a social level the owners were approached by the clients on more equal footing than
any of the other camp employees. This, I would suggest, was due to several factors. As "owner" this person was in a position more closely related to the upper and middle ruling class than to the laboring class. In terms of knowledge the owners were required to have the greatest amount as they served as "Jack of all trades." They not only had to concern themselves with a particular landscape but also the camps' construction and maintenance within that space requiring knowledge of the regional resources. For all that, the amount of interaction between the owner and the clients was not really significant and hence represents a minor role in the overall sporting camp culture.

On the bottom end of the scale were the camp staff. This category includes all of the positions involving physical labor necessary to maintain a degree of luxury in the camps, from kitchen help to cabin maids. The camp staff had to keep the clients comfortable in a manner which a guest might expect in an urban hotel or indeed a wealthy household. The role was thus similar to that encountered in the urban setting and hence was one that had a pre-assigned level on the social hierarchical scale. Here we find the closest reproduction of urban-upper and middle-class notions of social hierarchy. As will be shown, spatial and social contact with clients was limited for this group, distances that served to re-enforce class distinctions. The reasoning for this is straightforward as this group in its role as servant had nothing in the way of knowledge to warrant any other kind of treatment by the elite clients.
The middle position between the owner and the staff was occupied by the guide. The relationship between the guide and the client was strikingly complex. In his role as interpreter of the rural environment, and hence the natural world, the guide was in contact with the client for extended periods of time every day. The guide was first and foremost a paid servant but one with a vast amount of knowledge. The latter fact is crucial to an understanding of their special relationship.

The reasons guides were required by the clients were twofold. The client needed someone to carry out the physical tasks associated with sporting camp activities, especially those of hunting and fishing. They also required wilderness "experience" as the client relied upon the guides' knowledge of the wilderness for safety and success in their pursuits. The labor-oriented tasks included rowing and portage of canoes, transportation of equipment and game and other tasks such as cooking lunch. The "experience" tasks were more diverse and included locating game, finding lost clients, aiding in emergencies, and giving advice on such matters as survival, hunting, and fishing. The guide also had to keep the client entertained, as his success depended upon repeat business, thus he also served as storyteller generally when they were back within the confines of the sporting camp. The role of the guide, in terms of social interaction, was thus a complex one.

In dealing with the guide the client maintained his social superiority but was not the dominating force in the relationship. The guide, by virtue of his quasi-servant status and the fact of payment,
was after all an employee. However, to balance out the knowledge differential, the relationship between the guide and client was allowed to go beyond the usual employer/servant one. From the outside it would appear as though the two groups had formed normal friendships. These relations were, however, created by social and economic factors that ultimately dictated their existence. A client would choose and befriend a certain guide if he or she valued the specific skills and knowledge that guide had to offer. By the same token the guide would befriend a client who paid and treated him well, thus ensuring successful visits in future years as both parties grew accustomed to one another.

Social Division of Space

The spatial interaction within the sporting camps re-enforced the social divisions described above. Space within the camps was rigidly defined and carried meanings perpetuating the social hierarchy and ultimately helping to determine sporting camp culture. Looking again at the three main role types within the camp and examining them in reference to the clients delineates the social structure on a physical level. The number of restrictions varied according to a group's position on the social hierarchy. The owner was again on top, the guide in the middle, and the staff at the bottom.

The camps, generally speaking, centered on a central dining lodge and surrounding cabins, or rooms in the case of the wilderness hotel/resorts, with support buildings. The greatest number of
restrictions were applied to the central dining lodges as they were areas in which all the classes came together. Clients would remain "out front" in areas specifically designated for them in the dining room and sometimes a sitting room and/or a porch. The owner could go freely into any of these spaces. The kitchen staff, by virtue of their jobs, were allowed into the dining areas when serving meals or cleaning up. The guides were prohibited from the dining area unless invited to dine with the clients, a rare practice.

At meal times the guides and the owner generally ate at the same table in a space separated from the main dining room, usually in an area in or near the kitchen. The camp staff, responsible for the meals, ate at a separate table from the guides or at the same table at a different time. No one except the owner was allowed to go out into the dining area to socialize during meal times. In some camps certain staircases were reserved for clients and others for staff. Guides did socialize on the porches located outside of the main lodge and individual cabins. The staff was not allowed in these spaces unless invited, again a rare practice.

What all of these restrictions (and some camps had even more than those mentioned) implied was the physical presence of class distinction. It was not an across the board structural imposition as restrictions depended upon a group's role within the camps. In this way the staff, knowing the numerous restrictions against them, acted toward the clients in a "separated" manner. They were strictly servants and hence occupied the lowest rung of the social ladder. The guides, again by virtue of their knowledge, were higher up on
the ladder as it was strategically important for them to be able to move farther into the clients' space. On the top was the owner, dealing individually with the clients in a manner that neither the guides nor the staff were able to.

**Camp continuum and role taking**

The degree to which the ascribed roles of owner, guide, and staff were negotiated by the clients varied according to the type of sporting camp. In considering sporting camps as existing on a continuum, we see differences in the extent to which the clients had to rely upon the knowledge of the owners and guides for safety and success. The lower one went on the continuum, that is, away from the hotel/resorts, the greater the importance of these roles. Thus, the levels of power in the social interaction were closer to being equal in the smaller operations than in the wilderness hotel/resorts.

Starting with the upper end of the spectrum the wilderness hotel/resorts provided excessive luxuries. By virtue of their size they were situated closest to transportation centers and hence with links to the urban world. They were also the closest to the urban world in terms of the services they offered, thereby mirroring social roles similar to those found in urban settings. Essentially, what this did was to lessen the clients' reliance upon the knowledge people such as guides had because resources were readily accessible. Having to rely less upon the guide's knowledge for success and entertainment, the client treated him/her in more like a servant with less gratuitous social interaction.
The 'classical' camps, being further removed from transportation centers and lacking in the vast resources that the hotel/resorts featured, forced clients to alter their social relationships. Thus, by virtue of their surroundings the clients were farther into the conceptual and physical world of the rural inhabitants. The role of guide as interpreter took on more value since the guide was intimately familiar with the surrounding landscape including people and natural resources. Moreover, the role of the owner, and indeed the sporting camps' role as mediator, influenced the nature of social interaction by making the client less powerful within the power relations.

In the lowest end of the continuum the client retained the least amount of power. Relations were severely skewed, making daily interaction egalitarian or tipped in favor of the owner-guide-staffer who frequently was the same person. Again, at this level money was exchanged and fundamental distinctions were drawn between client and employee but at this level class was not particularly evident. Correspondingly, this was the level at which some of the more personal friendships seemed to develop, but again due to the paucity of surviving information on such operations, further conclusions are not as yet possible.

All of this speculation seems to indicate that in dealing with the urban upper and middle classes a class structure of sorts was established by and for the camp's staff, all of whom were drawn from the local rural population. By virtue of their introduction the sporting camps put into place a social order in rural Maine based not
only upon wealth but also knowledge. This represents the fundamental social level at which sporting camp culture operated. In addition, other, more subtle, mechanisms operating in the camps perpetuated a social dichotomy of class. Again, these dealt with control of wealth and knowledge, but they were developed in urban settings specifically to designate class.

Camp activities and the manifestation of class

By analyzing the activities and the material culture of the sporting camps, we see again an imposition of class and social hierarchy. Dealing specifically with hunting and fishing, the primary activities of the sporting camps, we have been able to draw clear distinctions between those who possess the proper equipment, the skill to be able to use it, and (above all else) the proper cultural attitude and those who do not.

The rise of hunting and fishing from subsistence-oriented activities to those of 'gentlemanly' and hence higher status ones was a transformation that not only helped to create the sporting camps but dictated the way in which they operated. The intent of the clients was to experience nature and enjoy a healthful sport. Sometimes problems arose with the subsistence connotations that the sports of hunting and fishing carried with them in the rural world. The elite's desire was to pursue these activities in a manner that separated them from the rural "pot shots"—those who pursued game strictly for consumption. What eventually developed were methods,
equipment and a mentality which made these sports upper and middle class.

Turning first to the material culture we can see in a physical sense the manifestations of class hierarchy. The implements used in fishing and hunting were, by their prices alone, ones which restricted them to the upper and middle classes. Some of the main selling points which Cornelia "Fly Rod" Crosby emphasized at the sportsmen's shows were the fancy and expensive fishing rods with inlaid German silver and gold decorations. These items were the ultimate embodiment of conspicuous consumption whose beauty lay in their value. The ability to buy such items denoted placement within the social hierarchy of the urban world.

The meanings these objects had in the Maine sporting camps were, however, another matter. No matter how expensive the equipment, the ability to use it was the true mark of success and standing. Rural residents could pursue game with much less expensive or ornate equipment and have more success. Certainly the objects denoted some status in the rural world, but "expensive stuff" alone was not enough. In terms of proficiency the urban classes could not compete with the successes of the rural residents who depended to a degree upon wild game for survival. The ability to distinguish oneself thus lay in the re-interpretation of the methods by which game was pursued.

The guests' interaction with nature in pursuit of wildlife thus was done through an upper-and middle-class interpretation. For
these purposes such techniques as fly-fishing were introduced. Not only did this method require extensive investment for equipment, but fly-fishing also required a great deal of practice and skill which meant time away from work for practice. Fly-fishing was ultimately not as practical as the rural method of bait fishing. The introduction of this method into rural Maine altered the power relations between urban and rural. Those who did not fly-fish were not members of the social elite. This affected the power relationship with guides. The clients were able to discount and eliminate from consideration a whole segment of the guide's knowledge by dismissing it as a sign of lower status. Thus, in order to successfully negotiate the relationship on more equal footing, the guides had to learn to fly-fish. Thereby a role reversal was effected with the guide dependent upon the client in the rural world. In a sense the clients redefined how the natural world should be properly experienced, which discounted entirely the way the rural class perceived it.

Hunting was regulated in a like manner with rules of proper conduct established to eliminate any influences the rural methods may have had. Thus, shooting at a bird on the ground was considered to be poor sportsmanship and assigned a lower class standing. Accompanying both hunting and fishing were the nomenclatures that further served to define the upper/middle class nature of the sports. It was one thing to shoot game and another to describe it in a proper manner. Indeed language, especially as it concerned regional dialect, must have played a major factor in
delineating and re-enforcing social status with convoluted terms such as "fowling piece" assigned to the basic object of a shotgun.

Overall then, the Maine sporting camps were a cultural manifestation of the urban upper and middle class the groups that the camps were established to serve. Despite this the camps did not represent a structural duplication of urban society. Instead, the camps represented a cultural construction that was produced by interaction between members of two different conceptual and physical worlds, the blending of which, on a social level, was determined by urban mentality and rural knowledge. In the production of a cultural world meaningful to the clients, the rural world of the Maine woods was altered to meet their needs. It was not a one-sided process, however, as the clients were forced to acknowledge the importance of the rural inhabitants on the basis of their value to the clients.
Conclusion

What happened in rural Maine during the period between 1880 and World War I was the introduction of a new cultural order on the landscape. Coming primarily from urban centers on the East Coast of the United States were men, women and children who looked to Maine for vacations. These vacations were designed to put them in touch with nature by pursuing healthful activities, especially those of fishing and hunting. Coming from an environment that emphasized social standing, they ensured that these trips would perpetuate this hierarchy. They experienced nature through the Maine sporting camps, which provided them with the services and skills necessary to experience it while enjoying a degree of luxury that they were accustomed to in the urban world.

Culturally speaking, the form which these camps took on represented the intersection of the urban and rural worlds. The legacy of this interaction remains today both in the surviving sporting camps and outside of them. Nature, and the way to interact with it, in Maine still bears the rural/urban divide. On the field and stream one can still hear class distinctions being drawn and quality judgments made on the basis of how one chooses to interact with nature.
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