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THE CULTURAL CONSTRUCTION OF THE
MAINE SPORTING CAMPS

Maine's lakes and forests attracted a growing number of urban hunters and anglers after 1880. Attracted in part by the informality and remoteness of the Maine woods, these urban recreationists nevertheless imposed their own sense of order and propriety upon the culture of the sporting camp. Urban "sports" went "back to nature," yet maintained their status – and their social distance – as "ladies and gentlemen."

To recreationists in the first decade of the twentieth century the Maine woods represented the antithesis of overly civilized urban life. This wilderness setting offered a taste of freedom from urban social restraints, a promise of wholesome, informal camaraderie, and a return to primitive egalitarianism. Although this image was immensely attractive, the wealthy patrons of Maine's deep-woods sporting camps found it necessary to impose a social hierarchy on the forest setting – a reflection of their own urban status – in order to create social and cultural space between themselves and those of lesser station who served them.

Maine's sporting camp industry developed and prospered in the first decade of the twentieth century, when at least 160 camps were in operation in eight of the sixteen counties in the state.¹ This study explores the social construction of these camps in the "golden era" of the industry, a period roughly spanning 1880 until World War I. During this time a number of factors came together to contribute to their success: the creation of an



An example of a "classical" sporting camp. Tim Pond was situated in a remote location and operated as a self-contained community in the woods.

Photo (circa 1890) courtesy Maine State Museum.

American leisure class; transportation improvements in outlying areas of Maine; and the transformation in upper- and middle-class attitudes toward nature, leisure time, and health. Together these developments produced an environment suitable for the proliferation of commercial sporting camps in Maine.²

During this era, the rural Maine landscape experienced a new cultural overlay. Men, women, and children, primarily from urban centers on the East Coast, looked to Maine, among other places, for vacations. Their excursions were designed to put them in touch with nature through the pursuit of healthful activities, especially fishing and hunting. Coming from an urban environment that emphasized social standing, these vacationers, or "sports," as they were also known, brought these social constructs with them to the Maine woods.³ Maine sporting camps provided the services and skills necessary to experience primitive nature, but at the same time they offered a degree of the luxury clients customarily enjoyed in their urban settings. Culturally speaking, the Maine woods camp represented the intersection of the urban and rural worlds.⁴

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Established to serve these urban recreational fishers and hunters, Maine sporting camps were located on lakes, ponds, and rivers throughout the state. As conceptualized in popular travel literature, camps included a central dining lodge and surrounding cabins for the guests, owners, and guides.⁵ These cabins were spaced apart, to afford some privacy for the guests, but they were close enough to create a small, self-contained community in the wilderness. Camps had to be located near a sufficient supply of wildlife, as daily activities revolved around hunting and fishing. Prices for sporting-camp vacations started at several dollars per day and increased with the amount of luxury. Guests hired knowledgeable guides to escort them into the wilderness and to ensure their safety and success in their pursuits.

Maine sporting camps can be classified along a continuum, with three main divisions based on cost and corresponding luxury. The quality of hunting and fishing — the natural resources available to the sports — was often, ironically, in inverse proportion to the luxuriousness of the camps. By virtue of the number of people they served, the more stately accommodations frequently offered the poorest fishing and hunting. In contrast, the more remote and by necessity less luxurious accommodations often offered greater game and fish resources.⁶

The first division included wilderness hotels and resorts, such as the Rangeley Lakes Hotel or the Kineo House on Moosehead Lake. Such establishments offered sporting vacations of a sybaritic extreme. The middle category encompassed what came to be known as the “classical” sporting camps, defined by their remote locations and distinctive architecture. The third division was composed of small operations run out of remote houses and farms.

The essence of the sporting-camp culture, particularly in the classic sporting camp, was the formation of a temporary community carved out of the wilderness. This community provided the necessities for living in a remote location. Guests arrived at these remote communities via railroad, then buckboard or stagecoach, lake steamer, or even canoe, and came for



The "Anglers Retreat" at Round Mountain Lake, Eustis. The social makeup of sporting camps like this regularly included women.

PHILLIPS PHONOGRAPH photo (1896), Courtesy Maine State Museum.

a variety of activities. The sporting camp provided a physical means through which guests, regardless of their prior knowledge, could experience life in the woods and pursue outdoor-oriented sports like fishing, hunting, hiking, or canoeing.

The social background of the guests at sporting camps varied according to the time of year. The early spring and late fall months attracted a predominantly male clientele who devoted all of their time to fishing (early spring) or to hunting (late fall). During the summer months, when the weather and travel were more agreeable, entire families patronized the camps.

With improvements in transportation, the number of women increased during all seasons. Indeed, women were actively involved with hunting and fishing by the 1890s. Sporting publications included columns like the "Women in the Woods" feature in the *Maine Woods*, published in Phillips, which reported

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opinions voiced by women staying at the sporting camps or involved in the sporting-camp industry.⁷ Women gained national recognition in sporting media, particularly in Maine, through the efforts of Cornelia “Fly Rod” Crosby, a determined woman from Phillips. Fly Rod’s persuasive campaign to promote outdoor sports for women is well illustrated in the following quote:

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.⁸

Although some regions of the state were “discovered” and subsequently promoted by nonresidents, the major impetus for developing camps came from within. Growth of an industry in a particular area depended upon vigorous advertising and adequate available transportation. In most regions, the Rangeley lakes especially, vigorous advertising was the means by which people were enticed into the woods. Camp owners and other promoters established booths at the various sportsmen’s shows around the country, including the well-attended annual Madison Square Garden Sportsmen’s Show begun in 1895.⁹

The brainchild of “Fly Rod” Crosby, the Maine exhibition at Madison Square Garden was a resounding success and attracted national attention to herself and to Maine. With financial cooperation from the Maine Central Railroad, Crosby exhibited a Maine log cabin, stuffed deer, moose, other native game, and even a brace of Maine guides. Her idea of recreating the unique Maine sporting-camp atmosphere proved to be a success; the



Cornelia "Fly Rod" Crosby poses with a gun. A noted hunter, angler, guide, and outdoor columnist, Crosby encouraged women to pursue outdoor recreation as a path to good health.

Photo (circa 1890)
courtesy Phillips
Historical Society.

state's sporting and tourist businesses reported an increase in trade during the following season. Crosby has been credited with coining the slogan, "Maine: The Nation's Playground."¹⁰

The self-interests of the sporting camps and the railroads serving the area were closely interlined. Transportation ultimately determined the potential for the sporting camp industry in a given area. As it became cheaper to ship lumber by rail rather than by sea, railroads laid tracks into remote regions of Maine.¹¹ The railroad subsequently found it profitable to offer passenger service. Local businessmen and the railroads sought mutual benefit in developing a tourist industry based upon the region's natural resources, and a partnership was begun.

A third partner in sporting-camp development was the lumber industry. Most of the "wildlands" in the state were owned by wood-products companies, and prospective developers had

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to obtain leases before building a camp. The lumber companies also cleared “tote” roads in the woods, and these benefited the sports industry by facilitating travel through the woods.¹² The timber companies, on the other hand, feared that unsupervised hunting and fishing would increase the threat of fires.¹³ It was therefore to their advantage to have sporting camps established to confine the guests to certain areas and to ensure some control over them in the woods. This was the case in Pierce Pond Camps in North New Portland. In 1904 the Great Northern Paper Company became concerned about the number of hunters and fishers wandering their property. They approached an employee, Charles Spalding, and offered a free lease on land if he would establish a sporting camp.¹⁴ The camp remains in operation today.

Camp guests in this “golden era” were almost exclusively from the upper and middle classes.¹⁵ This was largely a matter of simple economics: Travel, often lasting several days, was expensive. Expenses in addition to the train journey included room and board — often for several weeks, or even months — as well as guiding fees and the cost of the sporting equipment. A stay at Tim Pond Camps in 1896 cost two dollars a day plus fifty cents a day for boat rental. Guiding fees ranged from one to two dollars per day per person.¹⁶ Although not onerous by today’s standards, the cost and the leisure time required was beyond the reach of most people. The large wilderness hotels and resorts were even more expensive — and thus more exclusive. A week’s stay at the Rangeley Inn cost an estimated thirty-five dollars.¹⁷

Remote location and high costs ensured an elite clientele.¹⁸ Guests included doctors, lawyers, bankers, politicians, businessmen, and occasionally the very rich and famous. Tim Pond camps hosted members of the Stanley family, of Stanley Steamer fame.¹⁹ Packard’s Camps were frequented by family members of the Johnson & Johnson Company.²⁰ Over the years the Belgrade, Rangeley, and Moosehead regions attracted such people as the Roosevelts, the DuPonts, the Colts, and the families of many powerful railroad magnates.²¹

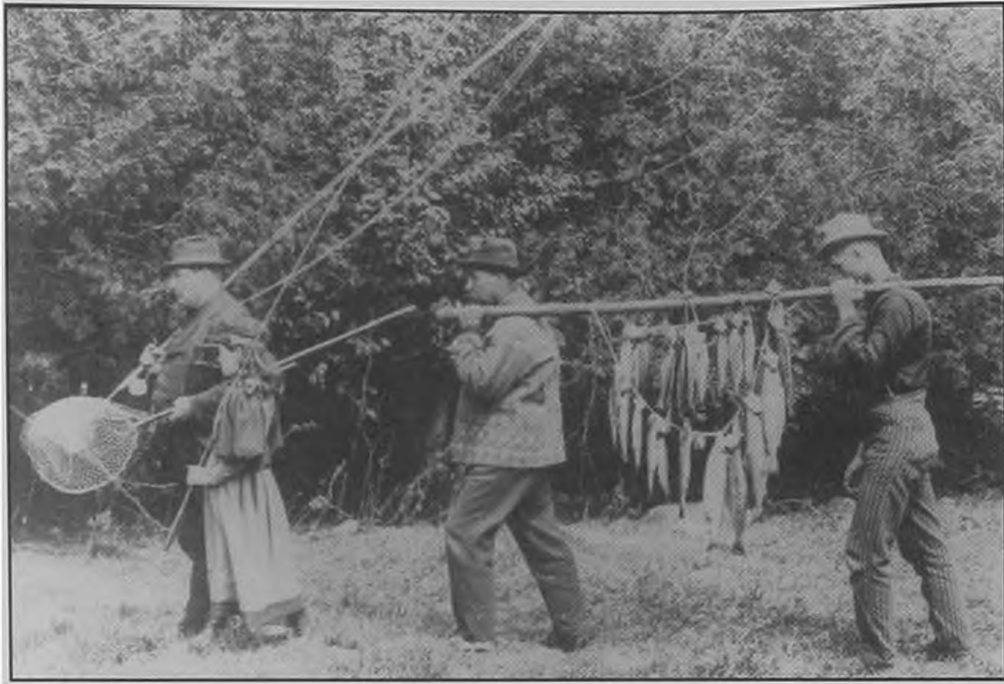
An essential component of the sporting camp was the Maine guide. The tradition of guiding in the state originated with Native Americans in the eighteenth and possibly seventeenth centuries. By the rise of the sporting camp industry in the 1880s, the guiding tradition had been taken over, for the most part, by local Anglo and French residents. These guides were primarily farmers and loggers who worked off-season in the sporting camps, capitalizing on their intimate knowledge of the land to gain better paying or less hazardous work.

The guides were essentially paid servants. They carried supplies, located game, and ensured that clients did not get lost; they prepared lunch, which had to be cooked over an open fire, and they paddled or rowed clients around in canoes or boats while they fished or hunted. In fact, the proliferation of outboard engines after the First World War was one reason why guiding declined in Maine.²²

The guide's responsibilities, however, went far beyond the set tasks for which they were paid. They provided an essential service to the camp guests, as they were primarily responsible for their safe and successful sporting ventures. Their expertise made trips into the wilderness possible for those lacking basic woods skills. The business success of the guide depended upon the ability to locate game, a skill that entailed an intimate knowledge of a particular region. 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.²³

Guides were also responsible for much of the guests' entertainment, as they were renowned for their storytelling abilities. The stories they told and the knowledge they claimed were often exaggerated. Ed Grant, a guide and owner of Grant's Kennebago Camps, exemplified the humorous storytelling abilities necessary for successful guiding. A passage in *Dear Old Kennebago* illustrated 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."



Despite their knowledge of the wilderness and their skills in locating game, guides (shown here carrying the fish) were, above all, paid servants.

PHILLIPS PHONOGRAPH photo (1896), courtesy Maine State Museum.

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.²⁴

Telling such stories verified the guide's special status based on esoteric knowledge and experience; at the same time it confirmed the guide's subservient role in relation to the client.

The creation of the Maine sporting camp was linked to a rising national awareness of the need for sport. Turn-of-the-century Americans viewed sports and the leisure time in which to pursue them as essential for the promotion of good health and national competitiveness – an outlet for tensions generated by urban life.²⁵ At the camps they were able to escape the confines of the city for extended periods of time. The activities they chose to pursue were marked by their exclusivity. The sports they embraced were those they believed difficult to "vulgarize": tennis, golf, yachting, squash, fox hunt-

ing, and polo.²⁶ The same applied to hunting and fishing — or shooting and angling, as they were known.

Largely a carry-over from the traditions of the British 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 genteel occupation.²⁷ The elevation of these sports into an exclusive realm was tied to the creation of the “gentleman sportsman,” which has been traced to the period after 1840. Largely through the efforts of Henry William Herbert (“Frank Forrester”), 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 the American sporting elite in the English tradition that emphasized proper dress and speech and techniques designed to differentiate them from “native” hunters and fishermen.²⁸

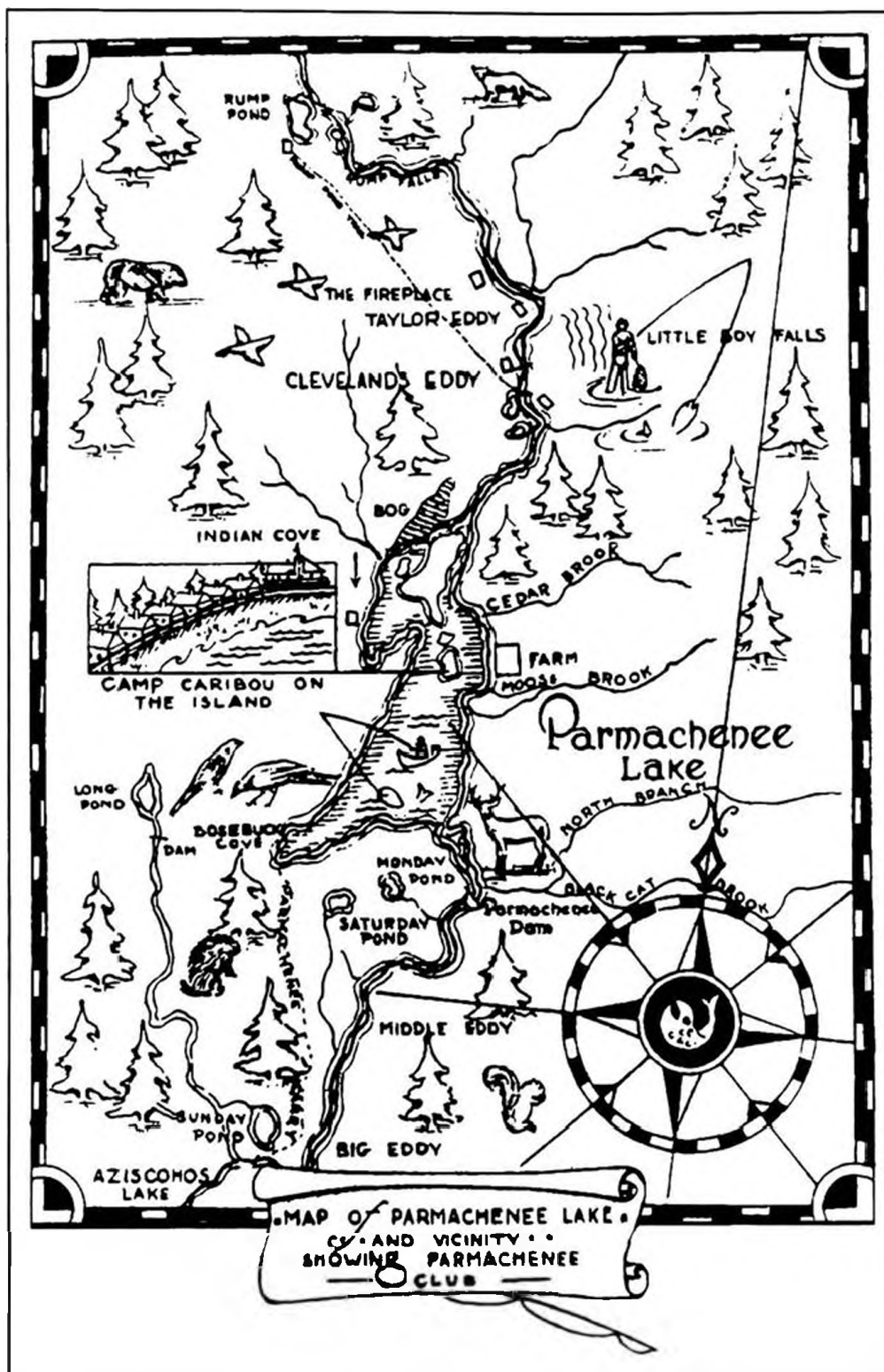
The ethic of the “gentleman sportsmen” was applied to the sporting camps in Maine. Private camps such as the Parmachenee Club supplemented the state game laws with detailed lists of ethical guidelines for members to follow. Included in the *Constitution By-Laws and Rules of The Parmachenee Club* were:

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.²⁹

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 individuals regulated their own behavior by using proper sporting methods.

The cultural structure of the Maine sporting camps also reflected the Romantic ideals. The camps provided the means through which upper-or middle-class clients could go “back to nature” in remote, wilderness



Map of the Parmachenee Club. The rural Maine landscape was culturally and physically constructed to meet the needs of the sporting elite.

Map from *THE PARMACHENEE CLUB* (ca. 1917), courtesy Maine State Museum.

settings, while maintaining their social status as “ladies” and “gentlemen.” Visitors could act out their recreational impulses in a wilderness that appeared to exist entirely for them, since they were the only ones who could properly appreciate Nature in refined and cultivated ways.

This required a subtle transformation in the rural world.³⁰ As the map of the Parmachenee Club indicates, camp owners made the wilderness more familiar by placing a specific order upon it.³¹ Also, they offered a wilderness experience that blended nature and civilization. Urban elites found the stay in a log cabin acceptable as long as there were services available to separate them from the “native” denizens of the rural world.

By their very existence, the camps represented a cultural and social presence in rural Maine which, before the Civil War, did not exist. The decades after 1880 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. They represented the intrusion of upper- and middle-class urban ideology concerning sport, nature, leisure, and health into the rural Maine landscape. These concepts and their 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 backwoods subsistence living, became pursuits conforming to elite 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 facilitate the experience of wilderness by the urban classes. The wilderness they experienced, however, was constructed around their assumed needs and expectations. Space was divided and roles were put into place to perpetuate the social hierarchy that made the camp experience one of an essentially “highbrow” nature.

The Maine sporting camps operated with three categories of employees, each of whom assumed a distinct social role. Viewed in terms of relationships with the clients, the camp owners would be highest, followed by

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the guides, 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, clients thought of guides and cabin maids in different ways, since the latter did not possess knowledge essential to a successful fishing or hunting outing.³²

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 recreation in a rural environment. The owner of the camp was the figure responsible for seeing that 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. Accordingly, their roles were not highly valued. A social hierarchy was formed on the basis of these functions.

The owner's role was essential to the operation of the camp. Inside the camp, both the staff and the clients respected this position. On a social level, clients approached the owners on more equal footing. This was due to several factors. As a proprietor, the camp owner was more closely related to the upper and middle class than to the laboring class. Camp owners also possessed the greatest knowledge of the camp and the surroundings; they served as "jacks of all trades." They not only understood and interpreted a particular landscape and its sporting resources, but also managed the camps' construction and maintenance. For all that, the relation between the owner and the clients was not close, and hence the owner played a minor role in the overall sporting-camp culture.³³

On the bottom of the scale was the camp staff. This category included all those involved in the 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 they might expect in an urban hotel, or indeed a wealthy household. Their role was thus similar to that clients encountered in their urban setting; hence staff had a pre-assigned level on the social hierarchy. Here we find the closest reproduction of urban notions of social hierarchy. Spatial and social contact with clients was limited; distance served to reinforce class distinctions. This group, in its role as servant, had nothing in the way of specialized knowledge to warrant more intimate treatment.

Guides occupied the middle position between owner and staff. The relationship between the guide and the client was strikingly complex. As a personal interpreter of the natural world, the guide was in contact with the client for extended periods of time every day. Although a paid servant, the guide possessed a vast amount of specialized knowledge. They filled two critical roles: they carried out physical tasks; and they imparted a knowledge of the wilderness that ensured safety and success in their clients' pursuits. These special skills included locating game, finding lost clients, aiding in emergencies, and giving advice on such matters as survival, hunting, and fishing.³⁴

In dealing with the guide, the client was socially superior, yet deferential in matters of woods lore and woods techniques. The relationship between the guide and client was balanced by the guide's special skills. Superficially, the client and guide appeared to form a normal friendship. These relations were, however, circumscribed by the social and economic factors that dictated their existence: A client chose and befriended a certain guide if the client valued the specific skills and knowledge that guide had to offer. By the same token, the guide befriended a client who paid well. Mutual regard across the wage relation ensured successful visits in future years as each party grew accustomed to the another.³⁵

The spatial relations within the sporting camps reinforced these social divisions. Space within the camps was rigidly defined and carried meanings perpetuating the social hierarchy and helping to determine

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camp culture. Examining the spaces occupied by the three main groups delineates the physical attributes of the social structure.

Generally speaking, the camps contained a central dining lodge and surrounding cabins, or rooms in the case of the wilderness hotels and resorts, with support buildings.³⁶ The greatest number of restrictions were applied to the central dining lodges, as they were areas in which all the classes came together. Clients remained “out front,” in areas specifically designated for them in the dining room, a sitting room, or a porch. The owner could go freely into any of these spaces. The kitchen staff was allowed into the dining areas only to serve meals or clean up. The guides were not allowed in the dining area unless invited to dine with the clients — a rare practice.³⁷

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 ate at a separate table, or at the same table at different times.³⁸ In some camps certain staircases were reserved for clients and others for staff.³⁹ Guides, however, did socialize with clients on the main-lodge porch or the porches of the individual cabins. The staff was not allowed in these spaces unless invited, again a rare practice.

These restrictions represented the physical presence of class distinction. The staff, aware of the numerous restrictions leveled at them, behaved in a manner that reflected their physical separation from clients. The guides, given more spatial freedom in the camp environment, were able to intrude farther into the clients' social space as well. The owners interacted with the clients in a manner that neither the guides nor the staff were able to.

The behavioral norms and the material culture of the sporting camps suggest a social hierarchy imposed on an environment noted for its informality and egalitarianism. Social distance also separated those who possessed the proper equipment, the proper skills, and (above all else) the proper cultural attitude for hunting and angling from those who do not. The creation of “gentlemanly” codes of hunting and fishing not only fostered the sporting camp, but it



A guide and client set out after waterfowl. Note the difference in dress: clothing and other material items were used to separate middle and upper class "sports" from rural hunters and guides.

Photo (circa 1895) courtesy Maine State Museum.

shaped the way in which the camps operated. Elites pursued these activities in a manner that separated them from rural "pot shots" — those who pursued game strictly for consumption. Accordingly they developed methods, equipment, and a mentality that elevated these sports beyond the reach of the backwoods forager.⁴⁰

The equipment employed by elite anglers and hunters, by virtue of their prices alone, restrictive. Indeed, much of the equipment that "Fly Rod" Crosby demonstrated at the sportsmen's shows was fancy and expensive — fishing rods with inlaid German silver and gold decorations, for instance.⁴¹ These items were the ultimate embodiment of conspicuous consumption and distinguished their users from "ordinary" fishers. Ability to purchase them ranked anglers in the social hierarchy of the urban world.

Yet no matter how expensive the equipment, the ability to use it was the true mark of standing. Rural residents pursued

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game with much less expensive equipment, and yet had greater success. Certainly the objects denoted some status in the rural world, but expensive equipment 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.⁴² The ability to distinguish oneself thus lay in the re-interpretation of the methods by which game was pursued.

Elite recreationists reinterpreted the pursuit of wildlife, as they did the interaction with nature generally. In order to separate themselves from forage fishers, elites introduced fly-fishing. Not only did fly-fishing require more expensive equipment, but it also required a great deal of practice and skill, which meant time away from work.⁴³ Nor was fly-fishing as practical as bait-fishing as a means of procuring fish. The introduction of fly-fishing altered the power relations between urban and rural recreationists. Those who did not fly-fish were excluded from the recreational elite. Fly fishing also affected relations between clients and guides. Fly-fishing clients were able to discount a whole segment of the guide's knowledge unless the guide, in order to successfully negotiate the relationship on more equal footing, learned to fly-fish. Guides thus became dependent upon elite, urban-dominated areas of expertise to secure their position in the sporting-camp hierarchy.

Hunting was regulated in a like manner, with rules of proper conduct established to eliminate any direct competition for status from skilled rural hunters. Shooting a bird on the ground, for instance, was considered poor sportsmanship and assigned a lower class standing. Accompanying both hunting and fishing were the nomenclatures that further served to define the elite orientation of the sports. It was one thing to shoot game, and another to describe the experience in a proper manner.⁴⁴ Indeed, knowing the proper designation for a shotgun — a "fowling piece" — indicated one's social standing. Language, especially as it concerned regional dialect, must have been a major factor in delineating social status.

Overall, the Maine sporting camps were a cultural manifestation of the urban upper and middle class. The camps were not structural duplications of urban society, but they represented a cultural construction produced by the interaction of two different conceptual and physical worlds. Although clients were forced to acknowledge the skills and strategic importance of its rural inhabitants, the Maine woods was shaped into a new cultural world.

The legacy of this interaction remains today both in the surviving sporting camps and in the general pursuit of outdoor recreation. Outdoor sports, and the way to experience them in Maine still bear this 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.

NOTES

¹Cyrus C Babb, "Sportsman's and Lumberman's Map of Maine," 1906.

²Stephen A. Cole, "Maine Sporting Camps: A Phase One Survey," typescript, Maine Historic Preservation Commission, 1992.

³Hans Huth, *Nature and the American: Three Centuries of Changing Attitudes* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1957), pp. 105-128. See also Peter J. Schmitt, *Back to Nature: The Arcadian Myth in Urban America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1969), pp. 3-19.

⁴A similar process occurred in the Adirondacks. See Harvey H. Kaiser, *Great Camps of the Adirondacks* (Boston: David R. Godine, 1982), pp. 55-67.

⁵Cole, "Maine Sporting Camps," p. 1.

⁶Previous studies have focused on the "classical" camps and ignore the diversity in the types.

⁷Articles in the *Phillips Phonograph* (after December 14, 1900 titled *Maine Woods*), especially those of Cornelia Crosby, list the arrivals of individuals and families at sporting camps. Crosby wrote the column, "Fly Rod's Notebook," where she placed special emphasis on women and their active involvement in hunting and fishing. Crosby was a regular contributor to the publication from the late 1880s into the early decades of this century.

⁸"Miss 'Fly Rod' : A Noted Maine Woman Whose Life Work is Fly Fishing," clipping, 1897, Crosby collection, Phillips Historical Society, Phillips, Maine.

⁹"The New York Exposition," *Phillips Phonograph*, April 12, 1895.

¹⁰Thomas A. Verde, "Diana of the Rangeleys," 15 *American Fly Fisher* (Fall 1989):

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¹¹Randy L. Bennett, "The Rumford Falls and Rangeley Lakes Railroad," *All Aboard for Yesterday!: A Nostalgic History of Railroads in Maine*, (Camden: Down East, 1979), pp. 121-125.

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¹²Lloyd C. Irland, *Wildlands and Woodlots: The Story of New England's Forests* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1982), pp. 27-48; William G. Robbins, *Lumberjacks and Legislators: Political Economy of the U.S. Lumber Industry, 1890-1941* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1982), pp. 16-34.

¹³Thomas R. Cox, et als., *This Well-Wooded Land: Americans and Their Forests From Colonial Times to the Present* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985), pp. 168-169.

¹⁴Gary Cobb, *The History of Pierce Pond* (Farmington, Maine: Knowlton & McLeary, 1992).

¹⁵In her column, Cornelia Crosby emphasized the middle and upper class occupational backgrounds from which sporting camp visitors originated.

¹⁶Betty Calden, personal communication, October 1, 1992.

¹⁷Spence Conley, personal communication, October 1, 1992.

¹⁸For parallel class developments in the Adirondacks, see Philip Terrie, "Behind the Blue Line: The Creation of the Adirondack Park made Public Domain a Private Obsession," *Adirondack Life* 23 (January/February 1992): 47-51, 60-62.

¹⁹Calden, personal communication.

²⁰Jerry Packard (president, Maine Sporting Camp Association), personal communication, September 18, 1992.

²¹Paul Russell Cutright, *Theodore Roosevelt: The Naturalist* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1956), pp. 13-21; Spence Conley, personal communication.

²²Roger Maynard, personal communication, October 27, 1992.

²³Nathan S. Lowrey, "Tales of the Northern Maine Woods: The History and Traditions of the Maine Guide," *Motor Camps and Maine Guides: Two Studies* (Orono: University of Maine Northeast Folklore Center, 1991), pp. 69-110.

²⁴John Michael Kauffmann and Jean Powers Paradis, *Dear Old Kennebago: A Pictorial History of a Maine Lake and its Friends* (Kennebago Lake Camp Owners' Association, 1992).

²⁵Foster Rhea Dulles, *A History of Recreation: America learns to Play* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1965), pp. 182-210.

²⁶John Rickards Betts, *America's Sporting Heritage 1850-1950* (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley, 1974).

²⁷Lawrence Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1989).

²⁸Peter J. Schmitt, *Back to Nature: The Arcadian Myth in Urban America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), pp. 3-19; Huth, *Nature and the American*, pp. 54-70.

²⁹*Constitution By-Laws and Rules of the Parmachenee Club*, 1896; *ibid.*, 1898, Parmachenee Collection, Maine State Museum, Augusta.

³⁰For comparable developments in the Adirondacks, see Philip Terrie, *Forever Wild: Environmental Aesthetics and the Adirondack Forest Preserve*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1985), pp. 44-67.

³¹The map is included in *The Story of the Parmachenee Club*, n.d. (circa 1900), Parmachenee Collection.

³²Conclusions based on analysis of period photographs from the Phillips Historical Society and the Maine State Museum and interviews with the following camp owners: John Blunt (Grant's Kennebago Camps, October 1, 1992), Betty Calden (Tim Pond Camps, October 1, 1992), Gary Cobb (Cobb's Pierce Pond Camps, September 24, 1992), G.E. & Kate Fackelman (Little Lyford Pond Camps, October 27, 1992), Jerry Packard (Packard's Camps, September 18, 1992).

³³*Ibid.*

³⁴Lowrey, "Tales of the Northern Maine Woods."

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³⁵Dave Peppard, September 24, 1992; Eugene Lanteiteng, September 25, 1992.

³⁶Based on camp layout sketches done by March O. McCubrey in 1992: Cobb's Pierce Pond Camps (North New Portland), Tim Pond Camps (Eustis), Grant's Kennebago Camps (Rangeley), Bear Spring Camps (Oakland), Packard's Camps (Guilford), Wilson's Camps (Greenville Junction), Maynard's Camps (Rockwood). See also Cole, *Maine Sporting Camps*.

³⁷Packard interview.

³⁸Cobb interview.

³⁹Packard interview.

⁴⁰James A. Tober, *Who Owns the Wildlife?: The Political Economy of Conservation in Nineteenth-Century America* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1981), pp. 41-68.

⁴¹Grant Fuller, "Fly Rod's New Costume," *Phillips Phonograph*, March 20, 1896; "The Sportsmen's Show," *ibid.*, March 27, 1896.

⁴²Edward D. Ives, *Wilbur Day: Hunter, Guide, and Poacher* (Orono: University of Maine Northeast Folklore Center, 1985).

⁴³Paul Schullery, *American Fly Fishing: A History* (New York: Nick Lyons Books, 1987), pp. 61-74.

⁴⁴John F. Reiger, *American Sportsmen and the Origins of Conservation* (New York: Winchester Press, 1975), pp. 25-49.

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