

george bird grinnell's audubon society: bridging the
GENDER DIVIDE

IN CONSERVATION

ABSTRACT

In the years 1886-1889, George Bird Grinnell, conservationist and editor of *Forest and Stream*, founded the Audubon Society and edited *The Audubon Magazine*. During this period he encouraged women to contribute to both journals and enlisted their help in saving avifauna by halting the wearing of bird feathers in hats. In so doing he helped to bridge the gender divide in conservation. A gendered dialectic emerges during the 1880s-1900s that moves back and forth between male and female blame and responsibility, to female activism, and finally to women and men working together to reenergize the Audubon movement, form Audubon societies, and pass laws to halt the trade in feathers and preserve birdlife.

GEORGE BIRD GRINNELL (1849-1938) explored the western United States, interacted with Indians, championed the formation of national parks, and brought the fate of forests, waters, wildlife, and native peoples to the attention of the American public. His contributions to ethnography, ornithology, and gender history invite critical comparison with those of other formative figures in the conservation movement.¹ An important area of comparison is that of the role of gender in shaping the responses of conservationists to vanishing nature.

Here I examine Grinnell's central role in founding the Audubon movement and in launching *The Audubon Magazine* in the years 1886-1889. In so doing, I focus on

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his advocacy for the preservation of birdlife in 1876, when he became natural history editor of *Forest and Stream*, followed by the years between 1880 and 1911 when he served as its editor.² I argue that Grinnell was both socialized into and helped to bridge an important divide in the ways in which men and women engaged with each other in the effort to preserve wild animals, plants, and places. In the 1880s, Grinnell reached out to women by encouraging them to contribute to his two journals and to work together to dissuade other women from supporting the slaughter of songbirds. Although his Audubon society and magazine collapsed in 1889, the movement he inspired was revived by women in the mid-1890s and in the early 1900s led to the passage of several laws and treaties that helped to preserve birdlife. I place the ups and downs of this story into a new narrative structure that I call a gendered dialectic. I begin with the historical and social background within which women and men engaged with conservation and move to the gendered saga of the Audubon movement.

GENDER AND CONSERVATION

NATURE IN AMERICA was threatened in the late nineteenth century as in no previous era. Infatuation with vanishing nature affected women and men in different, but significant ways. The conservation movement can be understood in part by the changing gender roles in industrial capitalism as it developed in the 1880s and 1890s. Both internal economic development and expanding geographical boundaries framed a changing patriarchal society. In the largely agrarian society of the early and mid-nineteenth century, male identity was defined by land ownership, female identity by household management. Patriarchy constituted a separation of male economic and female household spheres with the male realm superior to that of the female, but both equally necessary to the success of the economic unit. As industrial capitalism expanded during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, many male selves, previously defined as heads of household units comprising land and labor in a single location, evolved in new directions. Men began to see themselves as middle-class, white-collar managers or as blue-collar workers in factory locations outside the home. Within the home, middle-class females assumed stronger roles as moral models for and teachers of boys and girls within an increasingly amoral capitalist society.³

In the last quarter of the century, men experienced a contraction of options for engaging with undeveloped nature. In 1890, the census declared the end of the unbroken frontier. Men's identities as frontiersmen, explorers, fur traders, and soldiers truncated, while their employment as industrial laborers, mechanics, and businessmen expanded. Yet these changes also initiated new possibilities for participating in challenging encounters with nature that reinforced masculinity. Outdoor clubs such as the Appalachian Mountain Club (1886), the Boone and Crockett Club (1887), the Sierra Club (1892), and the Mazamas of Portland, Oregon (1894), created new opportunities for testing male strength and endurance. Male virility could be reinforced by the hunt for big game and

collection of trophies. Outdoor journals such as *American Sportsman*, which appeared in 1871, *Forest and Stream* in 1873, and *Outdoor Life* in the 1890s stimulated the male imagination and inculcated a desire for outdoor engagement.⁴

During the same period, women's roles expanded. Middle-class women, whether as educated single women or supported by successful husbands, gained opportunities for public service. Like men, they joined outdoor hiking and mountaineering clubs and appreciated wild nature through botany, birding, and animal study. And like men they also became hunters and fishers as well as conservationists. During the 1890s and early 1900s, they spoke out forcefully on behalf of vanishing resources such as forests, wildlife, and birds and joined in efforts to mitigate the detrimental effects of garbage, sewage, smoke, and noise. Groups such as the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Women's Rivers and Harbors Clubs, and the Women's Country Life Movement participated in local and national campaigns to improve the environment for future generations. The sanitation movement enlisted women in urban areas who saw their roles as homemakers expand outward to municipal housekeeping.⁵

Relevant to the conservation of fauna and avifauna in the late nineteenth century was the role of women as sports-hunters. Women's voices found a place in *Forest and Stream* in the 1870s through the early 1900s under both the editorship of Charles Hallock and George Bird Grinnell. In 1873, the journal published a letter, "To the Ladies," and in 1877 introduced a "Ladies Department." By 1874, it had six regular female contributors. Throughout the remainder of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, *Forest and Stream* worked with women to publish articles by and about women's experiences as hunters and fishers. A major goal was to elevate sport-hunting above subsistence and market hunting by introducing a "gentlemen's" code of conduct. Embracing women as hunters helped to promote the class interests of hunting as a sport with codes that dictated which animals, birds, and fish were acceptable for taking in which seasons. Andrea Smalley argues that "while historians have stressed the connections between 'blood sports' and masculinity, turn-of-the-century sportsmen wielded gender in a far more complicated and contradictory way. Outdoor periodicals advanced a definition of sport hunting that included both primitive, virile masculinity and modern, respectable femininity. While men represented the long human history of hunting, women symbolized those qualities of recreational hunting that elevated the sport above all other forms of wildlife use. It was on that basis that sportsmen argued for conservation legislation. Using a gendered language of conservation, journals located legitimate hunting within the realm of genteel leisure while characterizing other forms of hunting as low-brow, disreputable, and unsportsmanlike."⁶

Within the conservation movement, birds represented a unique intersection of gender tensions that both united and divided male and female identities. Male virility could be demonstrated by hunting large game animals such as elk, bear, bison, and mountain sheep with mounted trophies displayed in homes and

mountain cabins. Skill and craftiness could be established in fishing, trolling, angling, and ocean fishing. Accuracy and ability with the gun could be proven by shooting game birds on the fly. On the other hand, shooting small birds such as song, field, and forest birds did not add as much prestige as did large game to the trophy cabinets of the would-be top-ranked hunter. Birds, moreover, had an association with femininity as garments of headwear that marked women as objects of beauty and wealth, setting them out at the upper echelons of their social circles. The market hunters who supplied these ladies of fashion with their feathers were held in scorn by recreational sport-hunters who achieved their male identities through trophy hunting. Birds thus held a complex place in establishing and maintaining gender identities. And that very crosscutting, multifaceted location was reinforced by the roles played by male and female conservationists. Men who saved birds and flowers were subject to potential scorn by those who saved big game, forests, and mountains.

In his article, "Political Hermaphrodites" (a turn-of-the-century term used to denigrate men who joined with women in reform movements), Adam Rome argues that some men embraced the contributions of women to conservation, while others distanced themselves from women's actions and rhetoric. John Muir welcomed women's support and was pictured instructing women of the Sierra Club, but was lampooned as dressed in a skirt and apron using a broom to sweep back the flood waters of the Hetch Hetchy Project. John Burroughs was photographed with women naturalists supporting what he called the "feminine idiosyncrasy," but vigorously opposed sentimentality in writing about nature. In praising the Audubon Society, Theodore Roosevelt wrote glowingly of spring bird songs and the beauty of flowers, but was cautious about using florid language in public and cultivated a civic *persona* of sportsman and hunter. Gifford Pinchot initially welcomed the contributions of women to saving the nation's forests, but during the controversy over damming Hetch Hetchy Valley in the early twentieth century he backed off from seeking their support. Frank Chapman of the American Museum of Natural History in New York City, on the other hand, welcomed the support of women and worked with Mabel Osgood Wright to edit *Bird Lore* (which he founded in 1899 as the successor to Grinnell's *Audubon Magazine*). Yet Chapman, like Muir, was lampooned as outfitted with binoculars and camera, leading an army of women bearing binoculars in support of birdlife, while chastising bird hunters who used guns. Rome's work on "political hermaphrodites" reflects an emerging gender differentiation in women and men's work in conservation by the turn of the century.⁷

GRINNELL'S ROLE IN BRIDGING THE GENDER DIVIDE

HOW DID GRINNELL, as founder of the Audubon Society in 1886 and the Boone and Crocket Club in 1887, fit into the gender-based framework that emerged

between the 1880s and 1900s? What were the influences that allowed him to work with both women and men in the conservation of birds and bison? On one side is the forceful role played in shaping Grinnell's life by Lucy Audubon, widow of John James Audubon. Lucy had married Audubon in 1808 and encouraged him to publish his *Birds of America*, enabling the two to purchase the land in New York City that became Audubon Park where Audubon lived until his death in 1851. In 1857, Grinnell's family moved to Audubon Park, where Grinnell attended school taught by Lucy. Here he roamed the estate, examined the birds and mammals in Audubon's collection, and received Lucy's tutelage on the care of wounded birds.⁸

On the other side, Grinnell's work with paleontologist O. C. Marsh of Yale University resulted in his 1874 and 1875 excursions to the West that reinforced his appreciation of the rugged frontier, the skills of native peoples, and the tragedies of vanishing nature. His efforts to save the bison, his editorship of the sportsman's journal *Forest and Stream*, through which he promoted conservation, and his founding of the Boone and Crocket Club with Theodore Roosevelt reflected his full confidence in his own masculine ability to confront the frontier. Grinnell had read Audubon's *Ornithological Biography* (published in five volumes between 1831 and 1839) in which Audubon detailed his own life on the frontiers of America along with accounts of the habits of the birds he shot and painted and of the country's loss of wildlife. Like Audubon and Roosevelt, Grinnell was not only a nature lover, but also a hunter, his facility with a gun stemming from the days in which he shot and examined birds on the Audubon estate in New York City. These formative influences on Grinnell's identity left him open to working with both women and men during the years that he edited *Forest and Stream* and launched the Audubon movement.⁹

Several gender-linked issues dominated the early years of concern over vanishing avifauna: hunters who shot migrating birds during both the spring and fall migrations; men who hunted birds with guns under the pretext of being scientific collectors; boys who stole and sold eggs from bird nests; and women who wore hats adorned with feathers and entire birds atop their heads.¹⁰ Of these issues, the hat trade inspired the greatest public protest. By the 1880s, hundreds of thousands of birds including songbirds, herons, egrets, swallows, and terns were being sacrificed for fashion. Louis Antoine Godey, producer of *Godey's Ladies' Book* featured bonnets of "sapphire blue-velvet trimmed with flowers and a gay colored bird," hats of ruby velvet trimmed with lace, birds, and aigrette; and "coquettishly bent hat(s) of white leghorn, with ... trimmings of white plumes and chiffon."¹¹

In 1886 Grinnell founded the Audubon Society amid mounting concern over the decline of songbirds, plume birds, and even game birds that were being hunted all over the United States to serve as decorations for women's hats.¹² During the course of promoting the society, Grinnell eventually became convinced that women were key to the project of stopping the hat trade. In order

to achieve that outcome he needed to marshal female bird-lovers to convince female hat-lovers to cease wearing birds in their bonnets. The society lasted until 1889, when Grinnell terminated it owing to his inability to raise sufficient funds to maintain the society's journal and to reach enough women in prominent places to achieve its objectives. The story of Grinnell's work to save the nation's avifauna is one of dramatic upturns and downturns, hope and despair, and critique and counter-critique. That saga, played out in the pages of Grinnell's two journals—*Forest and Stream* and *The Audubon Magazine*—illustrates the complexity of bridging the gender divide in conservation.¹³

A GENDERED DIALECTIC

WHAT FOLLOWS IS A DETAILED NARRATIVE of the period between 1880 and 1905. I call this narrative type a gendered dialectic. It moves back and forth between male and female blame and responsibility. It moves between men blaming women for wearing bird hats, and men blaming market hunters over collectors and ornithologists to men accepting personal responsibility for losses of bird species. Similarly it moves from women recognizing the loss of birds to headgear worn by their sisters to assuming responsibility for raising female awareness, to full-blown activism by female organizations to try to halt the feather trade. It moves onward to women and men working together to form Audubon societies and to pass legislation to preserve avifauna. At the core of the gendered narrative is Grinnell and his two journals. Grinnell plays a formative role in bridging the gendered divide as the dialectic progresses, but becomes less visible after the Audubon Society collapses and the women whose awareness he aroused become more central to the story. The following is Grinnell's story, its ups and downs, and the formative role played by gender in the narrative.

THE ROLE OF *FOREST AND STREAM*

LEADING UP TO THE FOUNDING of the Audubon Society was Grinnell's work for *Forest and Stream: A Weekly Journal of the Rod and Gun, Angling, Shooting, the Kennel, Practical Natural History, Fishculture, Protection of Game, and the Inculcation in Men and Women of a Healthy Interest in Out-Door Recreation and Study*. The most prominent of several sportsmen's journals of the period, *Forest and Stream* grew out of an effort to transform commercial hunting for profit into sports hunting for pleasure. A major goal was to wage war against the exploitation of wildlife made easier by better guns, ammunition, transportation, and distribution networks that put fish and game on the tables of middle-class urbanites. Killing for fun or the market, poaching for profit, and shooting defenseless quarry should give way to a sportsman's code of conduct that would preserve declining populations. For the sportsman, game birds could ethically be shot in season, but

nongame birds should be left untouched. Traffickers, however, were decimating game birds for the pot and plume and songbirds for the hat. Of significance for the movement to save birds from the fate of the hat was the appeal in the journal's subtitle (above) to inculcate "in men and women ... a healthy interest in outdoor recreation and study."¹⁴

Forest and Stream's first editor, Charles Hallock, had already reprinted articles from British publications on the destruction of birdlife and in 1875 had written an editorial against the wearing of feather hats. "Every bird whose gift of glorious plumage makes him a mark for the adornment of a lady's hat, is eagerly sought for in the market, and the coming fashion of ornamenting dresses also, is increasing the demand and corresponding slaughter."¹⁵ During the 1880s, Grinnell continued to use the journal to call attention to the widespread destruction of avifauna. Through editorials, articles, letters, and contributions, the publication documented the increasing concern among readers of the consequences of that decline for agriculture, forests, and other life-forms.

Anticipating the need for action, several articles appeared in *Forest and Stream* during the early 1880s. On September 13, 1883, Grinnell issued an appeal to "Spare the Sparrows" that heralded the value of birds as insect control agents. To supply the milliners' demands, their agents shot thousands of birds under the eaves of barns to obtain wings and breasts for hats. But the real value of birds as insectivores went unappreciated. "The laws," he stated, "forbid the killing of insectivorous birds: let the laws be enforced."¹⁶ By that time, laws protecting nongame birds had been passed in some twenty eastern and midwestern states. In the era before insecticides, birds were one of the primary means of biological control of insect pests.¹⁷

A gender differentiation soon became apparent, however, with some writers laying the major blame on men for shooting songbirds, with others defending men, while blaming women for wearing headgear adorned with songbirds. In April 1884 a correspondent to *Forest and Stream* called for a new law to prevent the shooting by men and boys of insectivorous songbirds, urging that they lay down their guns and abandon their cabinets of stuffed bird skins in favor of sketching and painting. Another correspondent, however, defended young boys, noting that the greatest ornithologists—Audubon, Alexander Wilson, Spencer Fullerton Baird, Elliott Coues, and others—were themselves once boys who learned their love of birds by shooting them and stealing eggs. Then he asked the opposite question, "Do the ladies themselves really care for the birds?" He noted that killing for millinery far exceeded killing for private collections of skins.¹⁸

Grinnell's editorials reflected the problem of gender. In August of 1884, Grinnell, in a long editorial on "The Sacrifice of Song Birds," railed against the commonplace practice of wearing bird bonnets as a virtually accepted feature of civilization. The hundreds of thousands of birds used in the hat trade did not come from South America or Africa, as many assumed, he said,

but from the United States itself.¹⁹ In his “Natural History” column in the same issue, Grinnell elaborated on the growth of the trade and the hundreds of individuals who shot birds. Boxes of dead birds were delivered to taxidermists who employed young girls to skin them, after which they sold them to milliners. He called on all to join with the ornithologists in developing a love of birds and to express opposition to the practice. Both female bird wearers and male market hunters needed to stop the sacrifice.²⁰

In an odd parody of Grinnell’s main message, however, the last pages of each issue of *Forest and Stream* were filled with advertisements for guns, ammunition, decoys, hunting dogs, and shooting suits. One ad for Allen’s Specialties showed a cartoon of a man in a rowboat falling off his seat shooting birds who mock him as they fly away with cries of “We ain’t afraid of your kind,” and “If you want to get us, use Allen’s Bow Facers.” (i.e. Allen’s Bow-Facing Rowing Gear). While these ads presumably appealed to the sportsman who shot game birds in season, to some readers they would increasingly seem to contradict Grinnell’s larger message.²¹

A note published in the August 6, 1885 issue brought mixed news: “The fashion for ornamenting ladies’ hats with small bird skins is declining, and the use of the long shafted wing and tail feathers of much larger species is coming in. This is good: the bay birds will have a rest, not, however, as they should until all spring shooting ceases.”²²

Amid the wider issues of sportsmanship and the preservation of all forms of wildlife that engaged the readers of *Forest and Stream*, the accelerating devastation of nongame birds presaged the need for a special nationwide effort, one that would increasingly focus on gender.

FOUNDING THE AUDUBON SOCIETY

THE AUDUBON SOCIETY EMERGED both from the recognition by professional ornithologists that birds all over the United States were declining in numbers and the reluctance of the American Ornithological Union (AOU) to take on the role of building a popular movement. This gap between professional science and public outreach created the occasion for Grinnell to rise to the challenge. Grinnell had become a member of the six-person Committee on the Protection of North American Birds, established at the second annual meeting of the AOU in 1884 and expanded to a ten-person committee in 1885. In addition to Grinnell, the committee included ornithologist William Brewster who was its first chair, Frank Chapman of the American Museum of Natural History, who in 1899 founded *Bird Lore*, and William Dutcher who in 1905 became the first President of the National Association of Audubon Societies. In 1886, it published 100,000 copies of a supplement to *Science* that contained a “Model Law” to be adopted by each state along with a collection of articles documenting the destruction of birdlife. The need to arouse the

public to the problems associated with declining avifauna provided an ideal opening for Grinnell's journal.²³

Against this background, in the February 11, 1886, issue of *Forest and Stream*, Grinnell announced the formation of a new society to be named The Audubon Society. He urged the public to rise in opposition to the killing of birds for the millinery trade and appealed to women to take the lead in opposing the practice. "The reform in America, as elsewhere," he wrote, "must be inaugurated by women, and if the subject is properly called to their notice, their tender hearts will be quick to respond." The traffic in bird skins had grown to hundreds of thousands of birds as indicated by statistics showing that a single middleman might slaughter as many as seventy thousand birds in a four-month period. The decline especially affected farmers who depended on birds for keeping down crop pests. But the new movement, Grinnell warned, would be slow unless everyone took an interest in the project of awakening the public in the place where it would have the most effect—the pocketbooks of the traffickers.²⁴

Grinnell then put forward the rationale for the name "Audubon Society," stating that Audubon's paintings had done more to teach Americans about their beautiful birds than had the efforts of any other person. He proposed that a new organization dedicated to the protection of wild birds and their eggs be called the Audubon Society. Its membership would be free to anyone willing to lend a helping hand. The goals would be to prevent, so far as possible (1) the killing of any wild birds not used for food, (2) the destruction of nests or eggs of any wild bird, and (3) the wearing of feathers as ornaments or trimming for dress." He called for the formation of branch societies all over the country that would distribute information locally. The work would be in cooperation with and ancillary to that of the AOU. He urged all those who would like to join to send their names to *Forest and Stream*, 40 Park Row, New York.²⁵

In subsequent issues of *Forest and Stream*, Grinnell continued to develop his proposal. He noted that it was only within the past few years that such action was needed owing to the recent slaughter of massive numbers of birds in defiance of laws already on the books of many states. Until public outcry halted the practice, the laws would have no efficacy. He compared the protest needed to outcries against the slaughter of bison.²⁶

Grinnell was enormously encouraged by the initial response to the society.²⁷ Soon after the announcement of its formation, he received enthusiastic responses from prominent men who laid the onus for the decline of birds on the millinery trade and the women who were complicit in it, continuing the male-dominated phase of the gendered dialectic. Clergyman Henry Ward Beecher expressed his wholehearted sympathy for the protection of birds, writing that only women could halt the trade by halting the demand for feathers.²⁸ Writer John Greenleaf Whittier stated that hunters, taxidermists, and women who wore feathers should bear the same penalty as that felt by the Ancient Mariner who shot the

albatross.²⁹ G. E. Gordon, president of the American Humane Society, wrote from Milwaukee, Wisconsin, that women needed to be educated in the crime perpetrated by their feather-wearing sin.³⁰

Additional indictments of women who wore birds on their heads came from ornithological community itself. In 1886, ornithologist Frank Chapman made a checklist of the birds worn on women's heads as he walked through New York City. "In view of the fact that the destruction of birds for millinery purposes is at present attracting general attention, the appended list of native birds seen on hats worn by ladies in the streets of New York, may be of interest. It is chiefly the result of two late afternoon walks through the uptown shopping districts, and, while very incomplete, still gives an idea of the species destroyed and the relative numbers of each."

Robin, four.	Swallow-tailed flycatcher, one.
Brown thrush, one.	Kingbird, one.
Bluebird, three.	Kingfisher, one.
Blackburnian warbler, one.	Pileated woodpecker, one.
Blackpoll warbler, three.	Red-headed woodpecker, two.
Wilson's black-capped flycatcher, three.	Golden-winged woodpecker, twenty-one.
Scarlet tanager, three.	Acadian owl, one.
White-bellied swallow, one.	Carolina dove, one.
Bohemian waxwing, one.	Pinnated grouse, one.
Waxwing, twenty-three.	Ruffed grouse, two.
Great northern shrike, one.	Quail, sixteen.
Pine grosbeak, one.	Helmet quail, two.
Snow bunting, fifteen.	Sanderling, five
Tree sparrow, two.	Big yellowlegs, one.
White-throated sparrow, one.	Green heron, one.
Bobolink, one.	Virginia rail, one.
Meadow lark, two.	Laughing gull, one.
Baltimore oriole, nine.	Common tern, twenty-one.
Purple grackle, five.	Black tern, one.
Bluejay, five.	Grebe, seven.

Chapman's headcount accentuated the despair felt by many ornithologists: "It is evident, he noted, "that, in proportion to the number of hats seen, the list of birds given is very small; but in most cases mutilation rendered identification impossible. Thus, while one afternoon 700 hats were counted and on them but 20 birds recognized, 543 were decorated with feathers of some kind. Of the 158 [hats] remaining, 72 were worn by young or middle-aged ladies and 86 by ladies-in-mourning or elderly ladies.

Percentage of hats with feathers.....77
 Without feathers.....10
 Without feathers, worn by ladies in mourning or elderly ladies.....12.”³¹

Yet Chapman’s efforts as an ornithologist represent a new step on the men’s side of the gendered dialectic. His work illustrates the move by men toward assuming personal responsibility for the care of avifauna. In 1884 Chapman had forsaken his career in banking to take up ornithology. He gathered bird migration data for the AOU before collecting bird specimens for the American Museum of Natural History. On a field expedition to Florida, however, he shot a total of fifteen rare Carolina parakeets, an act that left him filled with chagrin and sadness at what he had done. Such experiences turned him into an ardent advocate for bird protection and he began to work with women who opposed killing birds for the millinery trade.³²

But other professional ornithologists, now on the defensive for their own acts in shooting and collecting birds, turned against women in an attempt to exonerate themselves. J. A. Allen, president of the AOU, had been among the first to raise the alarm about the near extinction of American vertebrates—such as the American bison, gray wolf, and panther—and avifauna—such as the whooping crane, sandhill crane, passenger pigeon, and Carolina parakeet. Recognizing that the problem of shooting birds for the hat trade also might implicate ornithologists who shot birds for scientific study, including rare and endangered birds, Allen relied on an argument of scale. He wrote that only about 500,000 American birds had been collected for scientific study or for exhibition in museums in the United States and abroad. On the other hand, of the 50 million Americans, 25 million were of the “dead bird wearing gender” and some 10 million were of the “bird wearing age.” Fortunately, he noted, not all the birds came from North America. Most birds on women’s hats could, in fact, be identified by a knowledgeable ornithologist as coming from places as far away as South America, Africa, and India.³³

As the dialectical narrative began to encompass women, the first concerns were economic. The feather trade undermined one of the means of support available to unmarried women. In a letter to *Forest and Stream* dated February 25, 1886, Midy Morgan of the *New York Times* analyzed the impact on women’s work for wages that resulted from the shift from flowers to birds in women’s hats. Not only was the slaughter of living birds for decorative millinery a travesty, it was doubly offensive to “working girls” who had been employed in large numbers creating artificial flowers for hats.³⁴

But men who wrote to *Forest and Stream* continued the earlier strategy of trying to dissuade women by poking fun at their delinquency in wearing birds. A writer named E. R. from Rochester, New York, noted that prisons were filled with individuals who had broken laws no less binding than those protecting birds. “Every one of the ten thousand women in Rochester who has a stuffed songbird on her hat, he warned, is liable to imprisonment for a year or a fine of \$25.” And those who wore more than one bird would be subject to a triple fine. “Think

seriously of it ye fair and gentle dames who have broken your country's laws," he warned. "Picture yourself under arrest, then indicted and on trial ... where in case of conviction ... you will be solemnly sworn to tell your age, whether you are married or single ... and were you ever before convicted."³⁵

In the spring of 1886, Grinnell exuberantly reported on the "Progress of the Work" over the past several weeks. Circulars and news items had been distributed over states ranging from Maine to Florida and as far west as California. Young college women had formed branch societies.³⁶ Thousands of pledges had come in from all over the country.³⁷ He was heartened that a national movement was in the making and that *Forest and Stream* had reached even those in remote settlements. Milliners were shifting from birds to flowers and beads. And although "the head gear of the women on the streets is a moving museum of stuffed birds and fragments of birds ... the shop windows reflect back few feathers excepting the graceful plumes of the ostrich. These are gratifying results from a movement which is but yet in its infancy."³⁸

But opposition to the Audubon Society's goals mounted. Collectors objected that those who collected nest eggs for "scientific purposes" should be exempted; hunters said that noxious birds—hawks, vultures, owls, crows, and jays—which were of no use to the economy of nature should be exempted. Some women stated that feathers already collected should be exempted and that penalties would be ineffectual in the face of continued demand for feathered headgear. Grinnell countered that collectors should study live birds, that noxious birds destroyed reptiles, mice, and larger insects, and that feather millinery was the greatest drain of all on birds.³⁹ Another objection came from a "Cincinnati gentleman" who argued that the millinery trade could have no appreciable effect on the three billion birds of the Americas because most feathers came from non-songbirds, as well as from South America and other countries. To this argument, Grinnell responded that such vast numbers of songbirds had already been destroyed for women's hats that they might never be restored.⁴⁰

With the movement beginning to take hold, the next moment in the dialectical narrative came from women opposed to other women wearing feather hats.⁴¹ A Smith College "lady professor" reported that two-thirds of the students had given up wearing bird bonnets, that bird observation field trips were being conducted, and that children were being encouraged to hunt birds without a gun. John Burroughs had spent several days with the college's Audubon group and through field trips inaugurated them into the joys of bird life. The Smith College Audubon Society had been organized by students Florence Merriam [Bailey] and Fannie Hardy [Ekstrom]. Merriam, a strong supporter of the Audubon movement, would contribute to *The Audubon Magazine* and become a well-known prize-winning ornithologist. Hardy would contribute a series of articles on game laws in Maine to *Forest and Stream* in 1891 and on birds to *Bird Lore* and *The Auk* after 1899.⁴²

But by July, Grinnell, again under fire, felt obliged to defend the fact that the Audubon Society had been founded by *Forest and Stream*—a renowned

sportsman's journal. A Chicago religious editor, he said, was "grieved because a letter received by him from this office relating to the Audubon Society was written on a sheet of paper bearing at its head the pictured rod and gun—implements of bird destruction." Moreover, a Cincinnati doctor (Frank W. Langdon), he reported, "wants people to go on killing songbirds because the Audubon Society was founded by a journal devoted to the interests of a class of men who shoot birds for sport." To these detractors, Grinnell defended sportsmen who shot game birds, arguing that game birds had been created for that very purpose and that hunters had helped to put conservation laws into place. In turn, he chastised those who shot songbirds whose main purpose, he said, was to gladden men's hearts and exterminate noxious pests.⁴³

Nevertheless the society continued to make inroads into the decline of avifauna. By August, it had enlisted more than eleven thousand members and a "Certificate of Incorporation of the Audubon Society for the Protection of Birds" in the state of New York was published in *Forest and Stream*.⁴⁴ The AOU Committee on the Protection of North American Birds reported that a special issue of *Science* magazine, prepared by the committee, containing articles and a draft bird law had been distributed to legislators, school superintendents, and members of the Audubon Society.⁴⁵

Despite the gains that the Audubon Society made during its first half year, an ominous note was reprinted from *Harper's Weekly* in September noting that millinery shops were once again featuring stuffed birds. "[T]he woman," it stated, "who wears a dead bird for ornament is in danger of being regarded by intelligent persons as they regard a fantastic barbarian."⁴⁶ Yet some reports indicated that milliners were shifting from songbirds to game birds, with hats now featuring snipe feathers. Shooting game birds for feathers was a more difficult issue for Grinnell, however, as it was legal to shoot game birds in season, a practice supported by *Forest and Stream*.⁴⁷

Amid these mounting concerns about the conflicting goals of professional ornithologists and criticisms of the use of a sportsman's journal to promote bird preservation, Grinnell made the decision to launch a new journal devoted entirely to education about birds and their place in the natural world. In that journal women would play an increasingly important role.

PUBLISHING AUDUBON MAGAZINE

IN FEBRUARY 1887, the year-old Audubon Society published the first issue of *The Audubon Magazine*. Its lead article was the first of eight episodes in the life of Audubon, written by Grinnell himself, accompanied by Audubon's own self-portrait. In subsequent issues Grinnell added "The Character of John James Audubon," and "Incidents of Audubon's Life," followed by episodes in the life of Audubon's rival Alexander Wilson. He also reprinted from *The Auk* (the journal of the AOU), "Audubon Sketches," by R[obert] W[ilson] Shufeldt.⁴⁸

As the dialectical narrative moved forward, women's voices became stronger. In the first issue of the new magazine Grinnell included a powerful article by Celia Thaxter, well-known author of *Among the Isles of Shoals* (1873) and lover of birds who had become an early member of the Audubon Society. Thaxter's article, "Woman's Heartlessness," a clarion call for bird preservation, framed the dilemmas Grinnell hoped to highlight. She started on a note of deep despair, admitting that women had not in fact rallied to the cause out of compassion for the lives of birds. "When the Audubon Society was first organized, it seemed a comparatively simple thing to awaken in the minds of all bird-wearing women a sense of what their 'decoration' involved. We flattered ourselves that the tender and compassionate heart of woman would at once respond to the appeal for mercy, but after many months of effort we are obliged to acknowledge ourselves mistaken in our estimate of that universal compassion, that tender heart in which we believed."⁴⁹ Thaxter lamented the disdain expressed by some women for birds: "One lady said to me, 'I think there is a great deal of sentiment wasted on the birds. There are so many of them they never will be missed, any more than mosquitoes! I shall put birds on my new bonnet.'" After excoriating women who wore bonnets decorated with the withered corpses of birds spiked with arsenic, she expressed sorrow that all birds could not be transported to another planet where they could live in peace and where they would be treated with respect and love.⁵⁰

In that first issue of the magazine, Grinnell recounted the founding of the Audubon Society a year earlier in February 1886 by *Forest and Stream* and its incorporation in New York on August 6, 1886. Noting his own role in founding the new society, he pointed out that as a scientific society the AOU had declined to engage in a popular movement. "The idea of founding the Audubon Society originated with Dr. George Bird Grinnell of the Forest and Stream Publishing Company of New York. As a member of the American Ornithologists' Union, he had given much study to the subject in all its aspects. The Union, while it laid stress upon the importance of public agitation for the preservation of our birds, declared plainly that it would not head such a movement."⁵¹

But vanishing avifauna, Grinnell argued, affected the entire nation and both men and women could contribute to their preservation. Those who had noticed the disappearance of birds included not only "scientific men" who studied birds and their habits, but also farmers who worried about insects being kept in check by birds and vacationers from cities who liked to get out into the woods and fields. And Grinnell was heartened, by the support of "active lady members" who were "quite shocked when they learned ... what a fearful sacrifice of bird life was entailed" and by the intercontinental character of the movement which was joined by many Canadians.⁵² In recognition of the work of ornithologists, the third issue contained a tribute to the work of the AOU Bird Protective Committee in 1884 and noted the passage of a bird protection act by New York State in May 1886.⁵³

Throughout the two years of the magazine's existence, Grinnell worked closely with Florence Merriam [Bailey] who had cofounded the Smith College

Audubon Society in 1886. She wrote articles featuring a particular bird each month that were subsequently collected in her book, *Birds Through an Opera Glass* (1889). The magazine also included other articles such as “Our Smith College Audubon Society,” “Hints to Audubon Workers,” articles on “Song Birds in Europe and America,” and “The Trade in Bird Skins.” In addition it featured stories for children, reports of the value of birds to farmers and the economy, and an “Audubon Notebook” containing membership reports, announcements, and communications from members. In marked contrast to the advertisements featuring guns and fishing rods in *Forest and Stream*, those in *The Audubon Magazine* were for artists’ materials, photographic instruments, and walking shoes.⁵⁴

The magazine chastised hunters who killed for the millinery trade and pleaded with hunters who killed for pleasure. An article entitled “Wholesale Destruction of Birds in Florida” concluded that the war of extermination of birds was a war against God and nature. Another article on “How I Learned to Love and Not to Kill,” recounted the pathos felt by a former hunter on beholding the shooting of a loon which, wounded by rifle power, sat on the ground “head erect, with the white ring round its coal black throat, and the softest melancholy in the large eyes, that were fixed with longing on the far away lake.”⁵⁵

The November issue of 1888 broke the news that feather millinery was again on the rise. Grinnell voiced despair that the membership of the Society, despite its growth and devoted numbers, was less than one in a thousand of the country’s population and known to less than one in a hundred of its people. He acknowledged that change would ultimately have to come from “a small coterie of American women, numbering at most only a few hundreds; the acknowledged social leaders in our principal cities.”⁵⁶

DECLINE AND REBIRTH OF THE AUDUBON MOVEMENT

FINALLY IN JANUARY 1889, after two full years of publication of *The Audubon Magazine*, Grinnell posted a notice that that issue would be the magazine’s last. After two years of work to arouse the public, it had failed to achieve sufficient numbers of subscribers to offset the costs of production. The first and second volumes would be bound and sold for \$1.00 each. He also noted that the membership of the society had reached 48,862 as of December 1888, just a few short of a noteworthy level of 50,000, but still too small to achieve the objectives for which Grinnell had worked so hard.⁵⁷

Although the society and the magazine folded in 1889, it nevertheless laid the foundation for a wider protest in the late 1890s, a movement now spearheaded by women, representing a new phase of the gendered dialectic. Owing to the efforts of Harriet Lawrence Hemenway and Minna B. Hall, who knew of Grinnell’s work, the Massachusetts Audubon Society was founded in 1896.

In a letter in the April 18, 1896, issue of *Forest and Stream*, Minna B. Hall wrote, "I enclose a circular of the Massachusetts Audubon Society, just started here.... The purpose of the society is to discourage buying and wearing for ornamental purposes the feathers of any wild bird, and to otherwise further the protection of our native birds."⁵⁸ The following year Florence Merriam Bailey cofounded the Audubon Society of the District of Columbia and in 1898 "a score of ladies met in Fairfield," Connecticut, to form the Connecticut Audubon Society. They elected as president Mabel Osgood Wright who became the Audubon Department editor of the society's new journal *Bird Lore* (founded by Frank Chapman in 1899). Audubon Clubs were formed in Pennsylvania, New York, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Iowa, Minnesota, and Rhode Island. Mabel Osgood Wright requested that the secretaries of the initial nineteen states, all but one of whom were women, send in news items and notes to strengthen the movement. In this phase of the dialectical narrative, women and men worked in partnership (in accordance with the gender roles of the time), with men assuming roles as presidents of the state societies and women serving as vice-presidents and secretaries, while also doing much of the organizational work. The Audubon societies worked closely with women's organizations, such as the General Federation of Women's Clubs, who lobbied their members to cease wearing bird hats. In 1905 the societies banded together as the National Association of Audubon Societies with William Dutcher as President and Mabel Osgood Wright, along with Grinnell and others, serving as directors.⁵⁹

The work of the combined societies was influential in the passage of the Lacey Act of 1900 prohibiting trade in illegally taken wildlife; Roosevelt's 1903 establishment of Pelican Island in Florida as a preserve for native birds; the passage by twenty-eight states of the AOU's model law by 1905; a Tariff Act in 1913 outlawing the importation of wild bird feathers; the Federal Migratory Bird Treaty Act of 1918; and the success of the campaign to convince women to change their hat styles.⁶⁰ Grinnell's energy and vision had at last borne fruit.

ASSESSING GRINNELL'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO PRESERVATION

GRINNELL'S WORK IN THE 1880s helped to bridge the gender divide over the preservation of the natural world. He sought the support of both women and men, while hiding neither his love of nature nor the hunt. At the same time that he came to acknowledge the necessary role of women in protecting avifauna, he also promoted the need for men to take on the preservation of big game. In 1887, the year after he founded the Audubon Society, he co-founded the Boone and Crockett Club, an exclusive organization that admitted only men who had killed large game animals. Like the Audubon Society, which focused on wider issues affecting the place of avifauna in the natural world,

the Boone and Crockett Club took on issues that affected the preservation of fauna as part of the larger environment.⁶¹

Through popularization in *Forest and Stream* and *The Audubon Magazine*, conservation issues impacted the consciousness and conscience of both women and men. Although Grinnell's own efforts to save plume birds and bison failed, he brought the plight of both into public awareness, setting the stage for success in the early twentieth century.⁶² In 1905, in the same year that the National Association of Audubon Societies was formed, the American Bison Society was founded, with William Hornaday as its President, President Roosevelt as its Honorary President, and Grinnell as a member. Under Roosevelt's influence, Congress established a number of preserves that were stocked by private bison owners, eventually building up the numbers of bison to over 3000 by 1929.⁶³

In the 1900s, Grinnell remained supportive of both bird and bison preservation, but by now was devoting a major part of his attention to the creation of Glacier as a national park. In 1910, President Taft signed the bill crafted by Grinnell and approved by Congress, establishing the new national park as the "crown of the continent." A year later Grinnell stepped down as editor of *Forest and Stream*.⁶⁴

How does Grinnell fit into Adam Rome's characterization of men as "political hermaphrodites?" Like Burroughs and Chapman, Grinnell welcomed the support of women in the movement to save songbirds from their fate atop women's hats. Like Roosevelt he was both a bird lover and a hunter of big game, but unlike Roosevelt he did not privatize his love of nature.⁶⁵ Although he played a reduced role in the movements to save birds and bison in the early 1900s, he cannot be called a "political hermaphrodite" in Rome's sense. Instead, he should receive full credit for helping to bridge the gender gap in the 1880s by encouraging women to contribute to *Forest and Stream* and even more prominently to *The Audubon Magazine*, while also printing articles and letters by men who supported the Audubon movement.⁶⁶

Grinnell's role in bridging the gender divide in the 1880s and early 1890s can be illustrated by two editorials he wrote in *Forest and Stream* about hunting with the gun and hunting with the camera. The first may well have appealed to women hunters who read and contributed to the journal as well as to the men of the Boone and Crockett Club, although its emphasis on bloodsports might be objectionable to current environmentalists. The second would have appealed to both male and female bird-lovers of yesterday and today. In the first of these editorials, entitled, "Autumn Anticipations," written in 1888, a year after the founding of the Boone and Crockett Club, Grinnell used flowery language to eulogize the hunt for buffalo, mountain sheep, blue-winged teal, snipe, canvasbacks, redheads, quail, ruffed grouse, and woodcock.

Glorious autumn is at hand. Already we have had days whose crisp air had in it all the tingle of October, ... days which bring out all a man's

vigor, and call up memories of a hundred autumn outings past.... The autumn shooting! To each man who uses a *shotgun* there is magic in these words....

The pleasures of his outing are hardly less to the man who has but barely stained his hands with blood than to him who has bathed in it. It is not what we kill, but how we kill it, that makes life in the open air a delight, and its memories a lasting blessing to the true sportsman.... Whether he return with a full bag or with a load that is but light, he is a better man, more fitted to do good to those about him than he was when he started from his home. He has read from Nature's book another great lesson.⁶⁷

By 1892, Grinnell had changed his stance, promoting the hunt with a *camera* over the hunt with a gun. Here, in the second editorial, entitled "Shooting without a Gun," he eulogized the value of life over death:

All the skill of woodcraft that goes to the making of the successful hunter with the gun, must be possessed by him who hunts his game with the camera.... When ... he has drawn within a closer range of his timid game than his brother of the gun need attain, he pulls [the] trigger of a weapon that destroys not, but preserves its unharmed quarry in the very counterfeit of life and motion. The wild world is not made the poorer by one life for his shot, nor nature's peace disturbed, nor her nicely adjusted balance jarred....

The eagle on his craggy perch, the high hole on his hollow tree are as legitimate game for him as the deer and grouse. All things beautiful and wild and picturesque are his, yet he kills them not, but makes them a living and enduring joy, to himself and all who behold them.⁶⁸

CONCLUSION

THE DRAMATIC UPS AND DOWNS that played out in the gender-based sagas of the Audubon Society and the Boone and Crockett Club were a microcosm of the larger conservation movement in which Grinnell played a foundational role. The narrative structure within which these events took place is one I have characterized as a gendered dialectic. The narrative begins with men who read and contributed to Grinnell's *Forest and Stream* in the 1880s, who blamed both the market hunters who shot plume and song birds for the hat trade and the women who purchased and wore the hats. It continues with contributions by ornithologists in the AOU who supported the efforts to halt the hat trade and to develop legislation to prohibit the hunting of nongame birds and the importation of bird feathers. Men such as Burroughs and Chapman who joined with Audubon women and women such as Thaxter and Merriam [Bailey] who assumed leadership roles in Grinnell's new Audubon Society moved the

dialectic forward. Finally, women emerged in the mid-1890s to revive the movement, to found state Audubon societies and serve as presidents, vice-presidents, and state secretaries, to co-edit *Bird Lore*, and to press for successful legislation. Women in women's organizations worked closely with their sisters who wore feathered hats to persuade them to give them up for the sake of bird preservation. Within this gendered dialectic, Grinnell played a central role by bridging the gender gap in the 1880s and by continuing to support the movement in the 1900s.

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NOTES

An earlier version of this essay was presented to the annual meeting of the American Society for Environmental History, Tallahassee, Florida, March 2009. I appreciate comments by John Reiger, Donald Worster, and two anonymous referees. In this essay, I use the term conservation (introduced by Gifford Pinchot and W. J. McGee in 1907) to refer to the larger movement to preserve wild nature and conserve natural resources. Grinnell and others who contributed to his journals used the terms protection and preservation to refer to the saving of wildlife. They also used the negative terms (and their variants): abominable, butcher, careless, crime, cruel, dead, destroy, disaster, evil, exterminate, harvest, heartless, helpless, hideous, ignominy, kill, loss, molest, perish, plight, poison, sacrifice, shoot, slaughter, snare, reproach, wanton, war, wicked, and wound, along with the positive terms (and their variants): beauty, compassion, enforce, fair, gladden, heart, life, innocent, love, melodious, mercy, reform, respect, save, sentiment, spare, sweet, and tender.

1. John Reiger's foundational work on George Bird Grinnell has established the importance of Grinnell as a sportsman, conservationist, and journal editor in bringing to public attention the urgency of saving America's wildlife. See John Reiger, *American Sportsmen and the Origins of Conservation*, 3rd. ed. (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2001); John Reiger, ed. *The Passing of the Great West: Selected Papers of George Bird Grinnell* (New York: Winchester Press, 1972); John Reiger, "Pathbreaking Conservationist: George Bird Grinnell (1849-1938)," *Forest History*

- Today* (Spring/Fall 2005): 16-19; John Reiger, "An Inspiration to Us All: The Boone and Crockett Club's Place in the History of American Conservation," *Fair Chase* 19 (Fall 2004): 50-57. On Grinnell's efforts to preserve the American Bison, see Michael Punke, *Last Stand: George Bird Grinnell, the Battle to Save the Buffalo, and the Birth of the New West* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian books, 2007). On bison preservation, see also Andrew Isenberg, "The Returns of the Bison: Nostalgia, Profit, and Preservation," *Environmental History* 2 (April 1997): 179-96; Andrew Isenberg, *The Destruction of the Bison: An Environmental History* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000); and Mary Ann Franke, *To Save the Wild Bison: Life on the Edge in Yellowstone* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005).
2. On Grinnell and the Audubon movement, see Reiger, *American Sportsmen*, 98-102; Mark V. Barrow, Jr., *A Passion for Birds: American Ornithology After Audubon* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), ch. 5, esp. 117-20; Frank Graham, Jr., *The Audubon Ark: A History of the National Audubon Society* (New York: Knopf, 1990), ch. 1. James N. Levitt, "Conservation Innovation in America: Past, Present, and Future," Occasional Papers, Institute for Government Innovation, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, 2003; Kurpatrick Dorsey, *The Dawn of Conservation Diplomacy: U.S.-Canadian Wildlife Protection Treaties in the Progressive Era*, foreword by William Cronon (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998), part 3, "The Migratory Bird Treaty," 165-237. On the role of gender in the Audubon movement, see Carolyn Merchant, "Women of the Progressive Conservation Movement, 1900-1916," *Environmental Review* 8 (Spring 1984): 57-85, esp. 69-73; Carolyn Merchant, "Women of the Progressive Conservation Crusade, 1900-1915," in *Environmental History: Critical Issues in Comparative Perspective*, ed. Kendall E. Bailes (New York: University Press of America, 1985), 153-75, esp. 159-61; Jennifer Price, "When Women Were Women, Men Were Men, and Birds Were Hats," in Price, *Flight Maps: Adventures with Nature in Modern America* (New York: Basic Books, 1999), ch. 2, 57-109; Glenda Riley, *Women and Nature: Saving the Wild West* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), 46-48. On selections from eighteen women who wrote on birds around the turn of the nineteenth century, see Deborah Strom, ed. *Bird Watching with American Women* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1986).
 3. E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1993); Judy Arlene Hilkey, *Character is Capital: Success Manuals and Manhood in Gilded Age America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997); Clifford Putney, *Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America, 1880-1920* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001).
 4. Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," paper read at the meeting of the American Historical Society, July 12, 1893 in *Report of the American Historical Association for 1893*, 199-227; Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 3rd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), ch. 9.
 5. Merchant, "Women of the Progressive Conservation Movement, 1900-1916"; Price, *Flight Maps*; Riley, *Women and Nature*; Suellen Hoy, *Chasing Dirt: The American Pursuit of Cleanliness* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); Virginia J. Scharff, ed., *Seeing Nature Through Gender: Development of Western Resources* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2003); Susan R. Schrepfer, *Nature's Altars: Mountains, Gender, and American Environmentalism* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2005).

6. Andrea L. Smalley, "Our Lady Sportsmen": Gender Class, and Conservation in Sport Hunting Magazines, 1873-1920," *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 4 (October 2005): 355-80, quotation on 377; for example, see "To the Ladies," *Forest and Stream*, August 14, 1873, 10; "Our Lady Sportsmen," *Forest and Stream*, January 15, 1874, 361; "Our Ladies Department," *Forest and Stream*, January 11, 1877, 360; "Women's Column," *Forest and Stream*, November 13, 1879, 809; "Woman Out of Doors," *Forest and Stream*, October 13, 1894, 309; "Women and Field Sports," *Forest and Stream*, May 27, 1899, 404; "Woman in the Field," *Forest and Stream*, March 20, 1909, 427; "The Modern Sportswoman," *Forest and Stream*, April 22, 1911, 605.
7. Adam Rome, "'Political Hermaphrodites': Gender and Environmental Reform in Progressive America," *Environmental History* 11 (July 2006): 440-63, esp. 440-41, 447, 453, 449, 454, 455.
8. Reiger, ed., *Passing of the Great West*, ch. 1, esp. 21-25 on the formative role of Lucy Audubon on Grinnell's consciousness; Punke, *Last Stand*, 18-23, 27; Carolyn E. Delatte, *Lucy Audubon: A Biography*, updated edition with a forward by Christoph Irmscher (1982; reprint, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2008).
9. Reiger, ed., *Passing of the Great West*, ch. 1, esp. 17-21, 29-30, ch. 2-4; Reiger, *American Sportsmen*, esp. ch. 6 on the Boone and Crockett Club; Punke, *Last Stand*, 74-91; John James Audubon, *Ornithological Biography, or An Account of the Habits of the Birds of the United States of America; Accompanied by Descriptions of the Objects Represented in the Work Entitled The Birds of America, and Interspersed with Delineations of American Scenery and Manners*, 5 vols. (Edinburgh: A. Black, 1831-1849), vol. 1, 1831; vol. 2, 1834; vol. 3, 1835; vol. 4, 1838; vol. 5, 1849 [i.e. 1839].
10. "The Slaughter of the Innocents," *Forest and Stream* 20, June 14, 1883, 387.
11. Robert Henry Welker, *Birds and Men* (1955; reprint, New York: Atheneum, 1966), 196-99. *Godey's Ladies Book* (Philadelphia: L.A. Godey, 1883); Doughty, *Feather Fashions*; Merchant, "Women of the Progressive Conservation Movement," Price, *Flight Maps*.
12. Barrow, *A Passion for Birds*, 117-20. Birds were divided roughly into three categories: game birds (such as ducks, geese, rails, and pheasants), harmful birds (such as crows, hawks, and birds of prey), and song and insectivorous birds (most other birds). See Grinnell, "The Audubon Bird Law," *Forest and Stream* 65, July 15, 1905, 41.
13. Merchant, "Women of the Progressive Conservation Movement"; Price, *Flight Maps*, ch. 2, 57-109.
14. Reiger, *American Sportsmen*, 48-49.
15. Punke, *Last Stand*, 109-10; Doughty, *Feather Fashions*, 103-04; Charles Hallock, "Spare the Birds," *Forest and Stream* 47, March 25, 1875, 104. Barrow, *A Passion for Birds*, 117.
16. [Grinnell], "Spare the Sparrows," *Forest and Stream* 21, September 13, 1883, 121; Grinnell made it his practice not to sign his editorials. See also articles on "Ruffed Grouse," *Forest and Stream* 21, September 13, 1883, 121; "Shore Bird Shooting," *Forest and Stream* 21, September 13, 1883, 121; "The Egret," *Forest and Stream* 22, February 14, 1884, 44.
17. Doughty, *Feather Fashions*, 106, Table 7. James Whorton, *Before Silent Spring: Pesticides and Public Health in Pre-DDT America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974).

18. "Preservation of Song Birds," *Forest and Stream* 22, April 3, 1884, 183: "Let anyone walking our streets notice the ladies' hats and he will have strong reason for doubting the sincerity of the fair sex." See also, "Protecting Song Birds," *Forest and Stream* 22, April 10, 1884, 203.
19. [Grinnell], "The Sacrifice of Song Birds," *Forest and Stream* 23, August 7, 1884, 21.
20. [Grinnell], "The Destruction of Small Birds," *Forest and Stream* 23, August 7, 1884, 24; "Small bird Destruction," *Forest and Stream* 23, September 11, 1884, 123.
21. "Allen's Specialties," *Forest and Stream* 23, November 27, 1884, 360.
22. "Bay Bird Movements,—Philadelphia, Aug 2," *Forest and Stream* 25, August, 6, 1885, 27.
23. J. A. Allen, "The Present Wholesale Destruction of Bird-Life in the United States," *Science* 7 (1886): 191-93; Doughty, *Feather Fashions and Bird Preservation: A Study in Nature Protection* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1975), 54, 59, 103-04; Reiger, *American Sportsmen*, 98-104; Barrow, *A Passion for Birds*, 117-20.
24. [Grinnell], "The Audubon Society," *Forest and Stream* 26, February 11, 1886, 41. Grinnell wrote: "Very slowly the public are awakening to see that the fashion of wearing the feathers and skins of birds is abominable.... If the women of America will take hold ... they can accomplish an incalculable amount of good." For Grinnell's report of statistics see his editorial, "The Sacrifice of Song Birds," *Forest and Stream* 23 (August 7, 1884), 21.
25. [Grinnell], "The Audubon Society," *Forest and Stream* 26, February 11, 1886, 41: "In the first half of this century there lived a man who did more to teach Americans about birds of their own land than any other who ever lived. His beautiful and spirited paintings and his charming and tender accounts of the habits of his favorites have made him immortal, and have inspired his countrymen with an ardent love for the birds. The land which produced the painter naturalist, John James Audubon, will not willingly see the beautiful forms he loved so [much be destroyed]."
26. [Grinnell], "The Audubon Society," *Forest and Stream* 26, February 18, 1886, 61: "Men and boys scour a district during spring, summer and autumn, killing off all the permanent residents and a large proportion of the migrants.... For many years the slaughter of the buffalo went on unchecked, and to the demand for protection ... came the reply that there were millions of them, that they blackened the plains, and could never be killed off. A few years went by, and one day the dwellers in the buffalo range awoke to find that there were no more buffalo. A year or two later the information spread through the country at large. As with the buffalo, so with the elk and the antelope and other large game."
27. [Grinnell], "The Audubon Society," *Forest and Stream* 26, February 25, 1886, 83: "The encouraging letters which we receive in regard to the establishment of the Audubon Society are most gratifying.... [T]o enlist the aid of every individual who has a love of nature and admires the beautiful birds, is now our object.... No expense whatever will attach to membership in the Audubon Society."
28. Henry Ward Beecher, Letter 3, February 20, 1886, *Forest and Stream* 26, February 25, 1886, 83: "As only women create a demand, it rests upon them to stay this wanton destruction. I am sure that it is only necessary to bring before American women the cruelty of this 'slaughter of the innocents' that fashion is carrying on to secure a renunciation of this ornament and the salvation of birds."
29. John Greenleaf Whittier, Letter 1, Oak Knoll, Danvers, Mass, 2nd mo., 20, 1886, *Forest and Stream* 26, February 25, 1886, 83: "I heartily approve of the proposed Audubon Society. We are in a way to destroy both our forests and our birds.... I could almost

- wish that the shooters of the birds, the taxidermists who prepare their skins, and the fashionable wearers of their feathers might share the penalty which was visited upon the Ancient Mariner who shot the Albatross."
30. G.E. Gordon, "Letter 6," February 26, 1896, *Forest and Stream* 26, March 4, 1886, 104: "Fashion is so imperious that it leads the best hearts astray. If the women could only know what they are doing! They don't know, and hence they carry and flaunt, as a decoration, that which is destined before long to mark the commission of a crime against the Nature we all love.... Your Audubon Societies, for the protection of our birds will enroll many thousands of women as ardent bird protectors who are now, unconsciously, accessories in the wanton, wholesale and most disastrous destruction of the most beautiful denizens of our fields, orchards and woods."
 31. Frank M. Chapman, Letter 5, "Birds and Bonnets," *Forest and Stream* 26, February 25, 1886, 84.
 32. Barrow, *A Passion for Birds*, 37, 102-06, 132.
 33. J. A. Allen, "The Audubon Society," *Forest and Stream* 26, March 11, 1886, 124: "Let us say that these 10,000,000 bird wearers have but a single bird each, that those birds made over so as to do service for more than a single season, and still what an annual sacrifice of bird life is entailed! Can it be placed at less than 5,000,000—ten times more than the number of specimens extant in all our scientific collections, private and public together, and probably a thousand times greater than the annual destruction of birds (including also eggs) for scientific purposes? ... The ornithologist recognizes in the heterogeneous groups of birds on women's hats, met with on every hand, a great preponderance of North American species; but with them are many of the common birds of Europe and a far greater variety from South America, and many from Africa, Australia, New Guinea, and India." See also Barrow, *A Passion for Birds*, 108-15.
 34. Midy Morgan, "Letter 5," dated February 25, 1896 in *Forest and Stream* 26, March 4, 1886, 104.
 35. [Grinnell], *Forest and Stream* 26, March 18, 1886, 144.
 36. [Grinnell], "The Progress of the Work," *Forest and Stream* 26, March 25, 1886, 161.
 37. [Grinnell], "The Audubon Society," *Forest and Stream* 26, April 8, 1886, 203.
 38. [Grinnell], "The Audubon Society," *Forest and Stream* 26, April 22, 1886, 243.
 39. [Grinnell], "The Audubon Society," *Forest and Stream* 26, May 6, 1886, 283.
 40. [Grinnell], "Song Birds and Statistics," *Forest and Stream* 26, June 24, 1886, 425.
 41. In June 1886, Grinnell proudly proclaimed that the movement was taking hold, with 1,000 new members per week and the first ten thousand members in sight by the end of June. "The First Ten Thousand Roll of Audubon Society Members," *Forest and Stream* 26, June 24, 1886, 425; *Forest and Stream* 26, May 20, 1886, 327.
 42. [Grinnell], "The Audubon Society," *Forest and Stream* 26, May 27, 1886, 347. "Letter," *Forest and Stream* 26, July 1, 1886, 446; Barrow, *A Passion for Birds*, 118-19. On Florence Merriam [Bailey] see note 54. On Fannie Hardy [Eckstrom], see <http://www.une.edu/mwww/research/eckstormf.as> Eckstrom published two books on birds in 1901 and several books on Maine folklore and native American ways of life.
 43. [Grinnell], "Concerning Consistency," *Forest and Stream* 26, July 8, 1886, 465. See also Barrow, *A Passion for Birds*, 120.
 44. [Grinnell], "The Audubon Society," *Forest and Stream* 27, August 19, 1886, 64.
 45. "American Ornithologists' Union," *Forest and Stream* 27, November 18, 1886, 332.
 46. "Harper's Weekly," *Forest and Stream* 27, September 30, 1886, 185.
 47. "Snipe Decoration," *Forest and Stream* 27, November 15, 1886, 281.

48. [Grinnell], "John James Audubon," *The Audubon Magazine* 1, February 1887, 3-5, portrait on 2. For subsequent installments see vol. 1, 27, 51, 75, 99, 212, 147, 171. See also "The Character of John James Audubon," vol. 1, 197, 219; "Incidents of Audubon's Life," vol. 1, 243; "Portrait of Audubon," vol. 1, 266; and R[obert]W[ilson] Shufeldt, "Audubon Sketches," vol. 1, 265 and vol. 2, 3 from *The Auk*, October 1886. The biography of John James Audubon that was serialized in the first eight issues of *The Audubon Magazine* seems to be Grinnell's own, as it was his custom to leave his own materials and editorials unsigned. He presumably drew on Audubon's own account of his life and travels in Audubon's five-volume *Ornithological Biography*, published between 1831 and 1849 (op. cit., note 10) and perhaps Lucy Audubon's account of her husband's life based on Audubon's diaries. See Robert Buchanan, *The Life and Adventures of John James Audubon, the Naturalist*, edited from materials supplied by his widow, by Robert Buchanan (London: S. Low, Son & Marston, 1868) and Buchanan, *The Life and Adventures of Audubon the Naturalist*, with an introduction by John Burroughs [dated July 1869] (London: J. M. Dent & Sons and New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., Everyman's Library edition [1912]). Lucy Audubon was evidently not satisfied with Buchanan's editing of her manuscript, because a second version was published in 1869, entitled *The Life of John James Audubon, the Naturalist, Edited by his Widow, with an Introduction by Jas. Grant Wilson* (New York: G. Putnam & Son, 1869; copyrighted 1868 by Mrs. J. Audubon). This 1869 edition stated: "To my kind friend Gen. Jas. Grant Wilson, this volume is respectfully dedicated, as a slight mark of gratitude, by Lucy Audubon." In his preface Wilson (p. iii) wrote, "Accepting their proposition for its publication in England, Mrs. Audubon forwarded the MSS., consisting in good part for extracts from her husband's journals and episodes.... The London publishers placed these MSS. in the hand of Mr. Robert Buchanan, who prepared from them a single volume containing about one fifth of the original manuscript. The following pages are substantially the recently published work, reproduced with some additions, and the omission of several objectionable passages inserted by the London editor." Another early account of Audubon's life is that of Mrs. Horace St. John, *Audubon, the Naturalist of the New World, His Adventures and Discoveries* (Boston: Crosby, Nichols, Lee, & Co., 1864). A later version of his life was that of Mary Fluker Bradford, *Audubon* (New Orleans: L. Graham & Son, 1897). Bradford stated: "The following Biographical Sketch of Audubon was originally read before the Quarante Club, a leading literary society of New Orleans." In 1902, the naturalist John Burroughs also wrote a biography of Audubon. See John Burroughs, *John James Audubon* (Boston: Small, Maynard & Co., 1902), 144. Also Francis Hobart Herrick, *Audubon the Naturalist: A History of His Life and Time*, 2 vols. (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1917). A longer more definitive biography by Alice Ford was published in 1964. See Alice Ford, *John James Audubon* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964). A DVD of Audubon's life has been produced by Lawrence Hott and Diane Garey, "John James Audubon: Drawn from Nature," Florentine Films, 2006.
49. Celia Thaxter, "Woman's Heartlessness," *The Audubon Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 1, 13-14: "I would the birds could all emigrate to some friendlier planet, peopled by a nobler race than ours, where they might live their sweet lives unmolested, and be treated with the respect, the consideration and the grateful love when are their due.... We venture to hope for a better future ... when women ... will look upon the wearing of birds in its proper lights, namely as a sign of heartlessness and a mark of ignominy and reproach." On Thaxter's work, see Sharon L. Dean, *Isles of Shoals Study Guide*,

www.nhpr.org/files/IslesOfShoalsStudyGuide.pdf, Department of English and Communications. Rivier College. Nashua, NH.: "Thaxter's love for birds led her to become an active member of the Audubon Society and to write for the 1887 Audubon Magazine an article titled "Woman's Heartlessness" that opposed the use of bird feathers for hat decorations," 5. On Thaxter's publications, see Sharon Dean, "Isles of Shoals Study Guide:" Celia Thaxter, *Among the Isles of Shoals* (1873; reprint, Hanover: University Press of New England, 2003); Celia Thaxter, *An Island Garden* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1988); Rosamond Thaxter, *Sandpiper: The Life and Letters of Celia Thaxter* (Francestown, NH: Marshall Jones Co., 1963); Celia Thaxter, *Selected Writings and Anthology*, ed. Julia Older (Hancock, New Hampshire: Appledore Books, 1998); Jane E. Vallier, Poet on Demand: *The Life, Letters and Works of Celia Thaxter* (Camden, MA: Down East Books/Peter Randall, 1982).

50. Thaxter, "Woman's Heartlessness," *The Audubon Magazine* 13-14.
51. [Grinnell], "A Review," *The Audubon Magazine* 1, February 1887, 15.
52. *Ibid.*, 16.
53. "The A.O.U. Bird Protective Committee," *The Audubon Magazine* 1, April 1887, 55-56.
54. *The Audubon Magazine* 1 3-8. Florence A. Merriam, *Birds Through An Opera Glass* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1891 [New York: Chautauqua, 1889]). A note states "Many of the articles herein contained were published in the Audubon magazine in 1886. These have been revised and largely rewritten." Ornithologist and nature writer Florence A. Merriam [Bailey] (1863-1948) was a distinguished contributor to ornithological studies in the Southwest and author of *Handbook of Birds of the Western United States* (1902), which became a standard reference in the field, and *Birds of New Mexico* (1928), which was awarded the Brewster Medal by the American Ornithologists' Union, commemorating original scientific work. She collaborated with her husband Vernon Bailey, who was the chief field biologist in the Southwest for the United States Biological Survey, based in Washington and directed by her brother C. Hart Merriam. She also wrote several books that brought birding and conservation to public attention, such as *A-Birding on a Bronco* (1896) and *Birds of Village and Field* (1898). See Carolyn Merchant, *American Environmental History: An Introduction* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 216-17; Barrow, *A Passion for Birds*, 130-31, 156-57.
55. "Wholesale Destruction of Birds in Florida," *The Audubon Magazine* 1, August 1887, 480; W. M. Chauvenet, "How I Learned to Love and Not to Kill," *The Audubon Magazine* 2, May 1888, 79-81, quotations on 80.
56. "Reintroduction of Feather Millinery," *The Audubon Magazine* 2, November 1888, 207-08, quotations on 208.
57. *The Audubon Magazine* 2, January 1889, 262. "[W]hile the Society was established on philanthropic grounds and with the clear understanding that it would involve some cost to its promoters, it was hoped that the Magazine would have been in such demand as to render it self-supporting. But after two years of effort ... we have no such subscription list as is fairly remunerative for the trouble and expense involved in the publication of the magazine; we have consequently decided to suspend its issue with the close of the second volume." "These two volumes," he wrote, "include complete biographies of John James Audubon and Alexander Wilson, the two great pioneer naturalists of America; each monthly number has a bird portrait, reproduced from Audubon's world renowned plates, and the chapters on descriptive and economic ornithology contain an amount of interesting and instructive information about birds and their importance in the economy of nature."

58. Minna B. Hall, "Letter 5, 'A New Audubon Society,'" *Forest and Stream* 46, April 18, 1896, 314. Hall and Hemenway invited several Bostonians to found the society and elected William Brewster as its president.
59. *Bird Lore* was founded by Frank Chapman in 1899 as a successor to Grinnell's *Audubon Magazine*. In 1931 it became *Audubon Magazine* and later simply *Audubon*. William Dutcher served as president of the National Association of Audubon Societies from 1905-1910, when he was succeeded by T. Gilbert Pearson. The National Audubon Society, formed in 1940, was independent of some of the state societies; Barrow, *A Passion for Birds*, 127-28, 132-33; Price, *Flight Maps*, 62-63; Graham, *Audubon Ark*, ch. 2, Reiger, *American Sportsmen*, 101-04. Mabel Osgood Wright taught bird classes to children and wrote several children's books on nature, including *The Friendship of Nature* (1894), *Birdcraft* (1895), *Birds of Village and Field* (1898), and *Citizen Bird* (1897). See Merchant, *American Environmental History: An Introduction*, 264. On the roles of women as secretaries and vice-presidents (the latter being in Massachusetts, Mrs. Louis Agassiz, President of Radcliffe College and Mrs. Julia J. Irving, President of Wellesley), see Merchant, "Women of the Progressive Conservation Movement," *Environmental Review*, op. cit., 69-73, esp. 70; On Audubon societies working closely with women's organizations, see Merchant, "Women of the Progressive Conservation Crusade," in Bailes, ed., op. cit., 160-61: In 1905 the Audubon Society requested help from the National Federation of Women's Clubs and in cooperation with the request made by the Audubon Society, the GFWC appealed to women at its 1910 Biennial Convention, stating, "Our work for the Audubon Society is not as active as it should be. Can we logically work for conservation and expect to be listened to, while we still continue to encourage the destruction of the song birds by following the hideous fashion of wearing song birds and egrets upon our hats?" At the 1912 National Conservation Congress, Mrs. Crocker of the GFWC's Conservation Committee asked a personal favor of the women present: "This fall when you choose your fall millinery ... I beg you to choose some other decoration for your hats." By 1913, the women's organizations were promoting Audubon Save the Bird hats."
60. Barrow, *A Passion for Birds*, 133; Dorsey, "The Migratory Bird Treaty," *Dawn of Conservation Diplomacy*, 165-237. See also Price, *Flight Maps*, 65-73.
61. Reiger, *American Sportsmen*, ch. 6. Grinnell was the fourth president of the Boone and Crockett Club, serving from 1918-1927. On the objectives of the club, see *Forest and Stream* 30, March 8, 1888, 124: "(1) To promote the manly sport with the rifle. (2) To promote travel and exploration in the wild and unknown or but partially known portions of the country. (3) To work for the preservation of the large game of this country, and so far as possible, to further legislation for that purpose, and to assist in enforcing the existing laws. (4) To promote inquiry into, and to record observations on the habits and natural history of the various wild animals. (5) To bring about among the members the interchange of opinions and ideas on hunting, travel and exploration on the various kinds of hunting rifles, on the haunts of game animals, etc." The constitution declared that "No one shall be eligible for membership who shall not have killed with the rifle in fair chase, by still-hunting or otherwise, at least one individual of one of the various kinds of "American large game," i.e. bear, buffalo, mountain sheep, caribou, cougar, musk ox, white goat, elk, wolf, pronghorn antelope, moose, and deer. Members had to adhere to the code of "fair chase," defined as not "killing bear, wolf or cougar in traps, nor 'fire-hunting,' nor 'crusting' moose, elk or deer in deep snow, nor killing game from a boat while it is

- swimming in the water." Today women can be professional members, associate members, and fellows, are editors of the club's publication, *Fair Chase*, and are pictured with their big game trophies. See *Fair Chase: The Official Publication of the Boone and Crockett Club* 23 (Summer 2008): 17, 24, 28, 68; *Fair Chase* 23 (Fall 2008): 10, 20, 28, 74, 77. On the role of women in hunting and in sports hunting, see Reiger, *American Sportsmen*, 66; Mary Zeiss Stange, *Woman the Hunter* (Boston: Beacon, 1997), 1-11, 84-102, 169-89; Mary Zeiss Stange and Carol Oyster, *Gun Women: Firearms and Feminism in Contemporary America* (New York: New York University Press, 2000).
62. On the failure of the society to "attempt any political action," see Dorsey, *Dawn of Conservation Diplomacy*, 175.
 63. "Buffalo-Bison," <http://www.americanwest.com/critters/buffindx.htm>.
 64. Andrew Graybill, "George Bird Grinnell and the Crown of the Continent," paper presented to the annual meeting of the American Society for Environmental History, Tallahassee, FL, February 28, 2009; Graybill presents a more positive account of Grinnell's interactions with the Blackfeet than does Mark Spence in *Dispossessing the Wilderness: Indian Removal and the Making of the National Parks* (New York: Oxford, 1999).
 65. A report on the 1899 meeting of the New York Audubon Society appeared in *Forest and Stream* 52, April 1, 1899, 243: "Several women among those who attended the annual meeting of the Audubon Society of this State in the lecture hall of the American Museum of Natural History yesterday morning wore birds' wings and feathers on their hats, although sentiments condemning the destruction of birds were applauded with marked unanimity.... The following letter from Gov. Roosevelt was read: 'My Dear Mr. Chapman: I need hardly say how heartily I sympathize with the purpose of the Audubon society. I would like to see all harmless wild things, but especially all birds, protected in every way. I do not understand how any man or woman who really loves nature can fail to try to exert all influence in support of such objects as those of the Audubon Society. Spring would not be spring without bird songs any more than it would be spring without birds and flowers, and I only wish that, besides protecting the songsters, the birds of the grove, the orchard, the garden, and the meadow, we could also protect the birds of the seashore and of the wilderness. The Loon ought to be, and, under wise legislation, could be a feature of every Adirondack lake; ospreys, as every one knows, can be made the tamest of the tame; the terns should be as plentiful along our shores as swallows around our barn. A tanager or a cardinal makes a point of glowing beauty in the green woods, and the cardinal among the white snows. When the bluebirds were so nearly destroyed by the severe winter a few seasons ago, the loss was like the loss of an old friend, or at least like the burning down of a familiar and dearly loved house. How immensely it would add to our forests if the great logcock were still found among them! The destruction of the wild pigeon and the Carolina paraquet has meant a loss as severe as if the Catskills or the Palisades were taken away. When I hear of the destruction of a species I feel just as if all the works of some great writer had perished; as if we had lost all instead of only a part of Polybius or Livy.' Very truly yours, Theodore Roosevelt." For a discussion of Roosevelt and this passage, see Rome, "Political Hermaphrodites," 449. Roosevelt also wrote that the beauty of "frigate-birds soaring in circles above the storm, or a file of pelicans winging their way homeward across the crimson afterglow of the sunset, or a myriad of terns flashing in the light of midday as they hover in a shifting maze above the beach—why the loss is like the loss of a gallery of the masterpieces of the artists of old times." See Dorsey, *Dawn of Conservation Diplomacy*, 174 and 274, n. 16.

66. [Grinnell], "What the A.O.U. has Done," *Forest and Stream* 36, January 19, 1891, 24; *idem*, "The Audubon Society," *Forest and Stream* 46 (May 2, 1896), 1; *idem*, "A National Audubon Society," *Forest and Stream* 63 (December 31, 1904), 545; *idem*, "The Audubon Work," *Forest and Stream* 64, March 18, 1905, 209; *idem*, "The Audubon Bird Law," *Forest and Stream* 65 (July 15, 1905), 41.
67. [Grinnell], "Autumn Anticipations," editorial, *Forest and Stream* 31, August 30, 1888, 101, italics added.
68. [Grinnell], "Shooting Without a Gun," *Forest and Stream* 39, October 6, 1892, 287, italics added.