Diana's Dilemma: A Historical Religious Study of Female Hunters and the Intersection of Nature, Death, and Gender

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Dissertation

Submitted to the Faculty of the

Graduate School of Vanderbilt University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

Religion

May 12, 2023

Nashville, Tennessee

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Part I: Introduction, "The Environmental Hagiography"

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> *"Often during hours of keen regret, of bitter disappointment, of heavy grief, man is called upon to acknowledge how powerless is the voice of his fellow-man when offering consolation. It seems as though at such moments the witty become dull, the eloquent tedious, the wise insipid, so little are they enabled to effect...But as the days roll onward amid the sorrows, the strifes, the deceits, the cares which beset our path, it must often happen that the full measure of our grief-it may be of our weakness - will be known to our Maker only. We often need much more than sympathy...let the mourner turn to the works of his God; there the eye, which has been pained with the sight of disorder and confusion, will be soothed with beauty and excellence; the ear, wearied with the din of folly and falsehood, will gladly open to sounds of gentle harmony from the gay birds, the patient cattle, the flowing waters, the rustling leaves...When the spirit is harassed by the evils of life, it is then the works of God offer to us most fully the strengthening repose of a noble contemplation; it is when the soul is stricken and sorrowful, that it turns to the wise and beautiful smile of the creation for a clearer view of peace and excellence."* (Susan F. Cooper, *Rural Hours*, 1850, pp. 44-46)

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Susan F. Cooper was born on April 17th, 1813, in Scarsdale, New York. Her family was one of the last wealthy "landed" aristocratic families in America during this time. She lived most of her life in a village named Cooperstown, founded by and named for her grandfather. She dedicated her adult life to two ventures: charity and writing. She founded several organizations for her local community, including a free school for underprivileged children and a "Thanksgiving Hospital" following the Civil War. Cooper was a third-generation author, as both her grandfather, William Cooper, and father, James Fenimore Cooper, were famed authors. Through the written works of this family, we are provided a unique glimpse into the social and environmental relationships and changes of early rural New York. Susan's words, however, stand apart environmentally from those of her father and grandfather. While her grandfather wrote biographically and her father dedicated his work to fiction, she chose to write an explicit, straightforward environmental message in her works.

Susan maintained that her grandfather initiated her "botanical education" during their frequent excursions into the forests that neighbored their home. These lessons blossomed into a passionate dedication to not only an environmental concern but also a union of environmental appreciation with her religiosity. She wrote *Rural Hours,* published originally in 1850, as both a memoir and documentation of her day-to-day observations of the neighboring forests and lakes and a candid reflection on the local village life (especially regarding the citizens' relationships and perspectives of the environment) across four seasons. Her work is considered one of the first, if not *the* first, American literary publications that addressed the conservation of forests and critiqued the timber industry.

In her memoir, Susan depicts trees primarily in two ways. During specific discussions, she adopts what might be considered a more scientific tone, in which she provides in-depth botanical discussions of specific trees. She accompanies this scientific language with a more intimate, anthropomorphic language, through which she depicts trees as critical members of the community. She refers to the trees of the local old-growth forests as her "old friends," whose loss would have the effect of altering the landscape irrevocably (4, 149). These changes are not merely restricted to the nonhuman environment, but also alter the mindset of the local human community. For Cooper, trees (and, by extension, nature) act as a source of spiritual insight. Their longevity and beauty reveal to humanity their place in creation - one based on humility and finitude. Cooper wrote extensively on the impact of a fallen tree on its local biosphere, both through a more "natural" death such as age and weather or human-caused. Sites of fallen trees presented moments of both loss and life, as exhibited by the smaller plant and animal life that lived in or on the fall remains of a tree. For Cooper, this cycle of life and death, and the proper

understanding of it, was the epitome of true spirituality. The cycles of life and death - and their natural and intermingled relationship - were best defined in the forests:

> *"It is the peculiar nature of the forest, that life and death may ever be found within its bounds, in immediate presence of each other; both with ceaseless, noiseless advances, aiming at the mastery; and if the influences of the first be most general, those of the last are the most striking...We owe to this perpetual presence of death an impression, calm, solemn, almost religious in character, a chastening influence, beyond what we find in the open fields."* (142)

According to Susan, death and its proximity to life were not meant to be feared but instead recognized as natural and, at times, beautiful. She notes that the "subdued spirit" of death is not always "gloomy" or "oppressive" due to its interwoven state with the animation of "living beauty," such as seen in the growth of flowers and other plants fueled and protected by fallen trees (142). She argues that entering into this nature, and recognizing its lessons on life and death, was key to the growth of an individual's spirituality and mental well-being.

Susan's writing is not only beautifully insightful to environmental issues then and now, but it also highlights the historical, American tendency to link environmental beliefs and relationships to religious theory and practice. It is a shame that this consequential work has been lost to time and overshadowed by those authors who were directly inspired by her words, such as Henry David Thoreau. Her concerns and arguments are as timely today as they were in the mid-nineteenth century. She was concerned with the loss of an intimate connection to nature by her community, one that extended beyond selfish economic desire. She saw in nature a chance for spiritual restoration that promoted healthy economic systems, societal building, and, especially, religious perspectives on death.

Environmental dilemmas are complex beyond strictly battles raging within "natural" or "nonhuman" realms. Today's environmental issues are the results of many aspects of our

modern, Western society. This reality has been assessed by many academic and popular writings. As J.R. McNeill observes in his preface of *Something New Under the Sun: An Environmental History of the Twentieth-Century World* (2000), modern Western social norms and consumption are adapted to particular environmental fabrications and expectations (such as “unlimited" cheap energy and cheap fresh water), and were our environmental realities to change our society would struggle to adapt. But this is not simply an oncoming, future-based dilemma; it is a present crisis, grounded in a distorted and lost history. To focus environmental studies on an ever-arriving, disastrous climate change (while accurate) fails to address modern social injustices and imbalances.

The primary focus of my research is threefold, with each point highlighted by Cooper’s environmental reflections:

- **First, the connection between community (particularly Protestant) with the environment, and the subsequent effects on personal and communal spirituality, theology and gender constructions;**
- **Second, this connection’s relationship to a healthy perspective on the environment and its natural cycles, such as death, at both a personal and communal level.**
- **Third, the potentiality of nature-based memoirs on this research.**

The first two issues are at the forefront of Cooper’s writings, and are at the heart of her concerns. The third focus is broader, and pertains to the literary genre of nature narratives. A key obstacle in environmental education by academic and more popular or nonacademic leadership is the translation of information. Our current ecological crisis encompasses numerous scientific complications, convoluted historical incidents, and socio-political quandaries. It is a system of

complications, and it is not uncommon for experts to fail at relaying their knowledge to an audience beyond their immediate peers. In *The Great Derangement: Climate Change and the Unthinkable,* Amitav Ghosh addresses the lack of success in environmental discourse in literature and fiction. Ghosh calls for more significant "imagination" in academic and popular writing, where a complex natural order might be better explored (Ghosh, 2016, 7). He argues that nature is "vitally, even dangerously alive," and grounded in a reality that exists apart from popular naive fantasies where humanity tries to deny its place as one component of a greater system that "may have its own purposes about which we know nothing" (3, 5). This work will explore the potential use of memoirs and narratives (similar to Cooper's) as a form of literature that might provide a bridge between the greater community and environmental and spiritual reflections. The analysis of such literature will not only draw from the natural ability of this form of literature to connect to the audience, but will also provide a space in which more complicated, but nevertheless equally important, social and philosophical methodologies might be more easily translated to those in the audience outside of academia.

In *Blessed are the Consumers: Climate Change and the Practice of Restraint,* Sallie McFague explores the power of spiritual biographies in her study of the intersection of religion and social issues. McFague argues that biographies have the potential of becoming a form of pedagogy, in which they act as an "illustration" for a means to overcome the "chasm between belief and lifestyle...reflecting on the way great religious leaders and activists have incarnated the gospel in their own personal and public lives" (McFague, 2013, 14). When written and analyzed correctly, memoirs, narratives, and biographies present a seemingly paradoxical relationship between the self and selflessness, through which various cultural and social issues are studied by "pointing away from the self through the self." In *Braiding Sweetgrass: Indigenous Wisdom,*

Scientific Knowledge, and the Teaching of Plants, botanical scientist Robin Wall Kimmerer integrates scientific knowledge, environmental education, and spiritual reflections through her unique nature memoir. A fundamental critique she levies against both the academic and, more specifically, the scientific community is their inability to more frequently embrace an accessible language, especially with regards to the lack of interdisciplinary studies or lack of acknowledging the multiplicity of "human ways of understanding" (Kimmerer, 2013, 35-36). She concludes that environmental studies should focus on the search for and uplifting of a healthy relationship between human communities and nature, primarily through the self's experience in nature. Nature memoirs present an intriguing and inspiring medium through which audiences can access complicated environmental studies and reflections, in academic and non-academic communities. Furthermore, their personal tone and topics allow for a greater connection with an audience beyond the author's immediate academic or social peers, generating greater sympathy for the considered topic as opposed to an article weighted by strict jargon or perhaps academically complex ideas.

A critical field of memoirs that has not had the mainstream academic or popular attention afforded to many environmental narratives is the hunting memoir. Hunting is a well-established cultural icon among more conservative facets of our country. Yet, its social, religious, and political history is far more complex than what much of academia and the greater public zeitgeist give it credit for. Many assume correctly that hunting's cultural influence in America historically is dominated by elite men hoping to gain social notoriety and power through either politics or publication. Yet the field is not a monolith. Between 1850 and 1930, many women entered the field and wrote about their experiences, and this popular form of domination or masculine

victory was not necessarily the goal. In their stories, we find a unique interplay of nature, death, and individual development, often within what they consider a spiritual template.

This is a work of gender studies on this topic that bridges environmental education and studies and conservative Protestant communities. I will focus on three women: Martha Maxwell, Grace Gallatin Seton-Thompson, and Paulina Brandreth. Their stories and personal reflections offer a useful framework and language that religious and historical studies might use to encourage a healthier relationship with nature and death among religious communities, particularly more conservative and/or Protestant. Even within the field of hunting, considered by most modern academics as a backward hobby, there arose counter interpretations to the dominant masculine narrative - women entered this male-dominated realm and claimed for themselves a socially and spiritually liberating narrative, one that when read even today would be considered radical. These three women sought ascension: Martha Maxwell, through her desire to overcome society's expectations of her as a woman and mother and achieve a personal legacy through fame of her accomplishments; Grace Gallatin Seton-Thompson, through her desire to uplift all women in not only their social and political rights, but in their reflections of themselves; and Paulina Brandreth, who sought ascension of her body and soul, and attempted to move beyond society's definitions of gender and, ultimately, social and philosophical satisfaction.

It should be noted here, however, that any analyses of their memoirs must anticipate very complicated conclusions. While these three women strove for gender equality and environmental education - all of which would have identified them as progressive in their day - they participated in and argued for ideals that are and were questionable, even reprehensible. This study engages the complexity of human nature and recognizes how messy individual lives can be. This study of complex lives - including an account of how these women wrestled with their relationships with

nature, death, and societal expectations - provides a better environmental "hagiography" than one that presents a saint, free of any traits that we might dislike. Furthermore, none of these women ever fully received the respect or acceptance of the greater hunting community they strove to be an integral part of. In the eyes of the male majority, they were at best amusing distractions, and at worst deformations of the socially expected "feminine."

As I have observed earlier, many Protestant communities (in particular, the more conservative or Evangelical factions) divorce themselves from the natural environment, and, consequently, develop both a sterilized and therefore false perception of the environment and natural life cycles. Nature is something that is at best a secondary concern within the church community and theology. The complexities of both the natural processes of the ecosystems they participate in and perceptions of the individual and the body are forced to align with simplified expectations grounded in orthodoxy or, when appropriate, distanced and guilted into silence. Protestant communities are starved for a healthy outlook on religious and communal relations with the environment and their place within it. It is no secret that higher academia often fails to find a proper academic and language bridge over which they might meet with these communities and encourage genuine, permanent edification or social change. I believe that hunting memoirs present an opportunity for building such a bridge. My goal is not to provide a defense or promote sport or trophy hunting, etc. as a hobby. However, it will be my goal to promote the importance of hunting as not only a key historical field critical to the study of American culture, but also its study as a potential meeting ground between academia and conservative Protestant facets with regard to both environmental and gender studies. I wish to give voice to these women that history has neglected and explore how they entered a realm that their society deemed masculine and emerged with a radical stance, both environmentally and socially. In addition, the analysis of

their memoirs will provide an avenue to explore my primary concerns: how does the relationship between a community and the environment affect social and religious concerns? How does this relationship affect communal and individual perspectives of natural life processes?

Methodological Considerations

We have discussed the importance and potential of using historical memoirs in environmental and religious studies discourse. However, a few methodological questions must be addressed before successfully incorporating these memoirs into our modern discourse. First, how do we apply what we might learn from a personal memoir to a broader, social dilemma? Do historical studies provide the best social commentary for a modern situation if they are broad or small in scope? This work will promote a study in which these small-scale studies are needed to best understand the greater social impact of these issues on the "everyday" individual, while simultaneously ensuring that these individual studies are not performed in a way where we isolate the individual from their social and cultural situation. The small-scale studies also provide a means to escape from restricting our studies to the dominant voice, which potentially has obscured several disenfranchised groups and oversimplified a historical narrative. One of the best recent explorations of this historical question is Catherine Brekus's 2015 "Who Makes History?" Brekus recognizes the importance of the rise in more individualistic, small-scale studies during the 1960s and 1970s, especially those that provided a voice to those who had been denied a voice or proper recognition. However, these studies do at times deny the social realities of the considered figures, and present their attitudes or decisions as ahistorical or magically able to deny their social influences. For Brekus, broad-scoped history is not enough on its own. Brekus compares the missteps of "big history" with postmodern approaches to defining the

"self" (as promoted by the quintessential works of Pierre Bourdieu and Michel Foucault), in which the self is denied agency and is often denied any sort of free will beyond cultural determination and the study of the individual is rejected in favor of studying larger social structures. Brekus promotes a "tempered selfhood" based on a balance between small and broad-scoped studies: "too often, social and cultural historians have exaggerated the individual agency because of their desire to write emancipatory narratives, but both postmodern theorists and advocates of 'big history' have shown us that humans are caught up in vast webs of power or historical processes that they cannot always see" (Brekus, 2015, 98). When completing an individual study, such as a memoir, one must consider: the immersion of the case study in their history or society; their agency, as understood both as individualized and relational; and developing an empathetic engagement between the studier and case study.

For our case studies, we must recognize both their accomplishments and relatively progressive ideals, and their key insights into the relationship between spirituality, identity, and the environment, but also take care not to deny their historical contexts. In Annette Kolodny's work, *The Land Before Her: Fantasy and Experience of the American Frontiers,* she explores the various experiences of women on the Western frontiers from 1630 to 1869. Kolodny provides keen insight into studying these historical women: "if we judge these women and their writings by the ideological predispositions of late twentieth-century feminism, their aspirations seem tame, their fantasies paltry and constricted. But when analyzed as part of the worlds in which the women actually lived, those same fantasies emerge as saving and even liberating" (Kolodny, 1984, xi). We must allow these women to remain in their histories and study them from the perspective of understanding their social situations. However, simultaneously, we must bear witness to the moments in which their lives or observations reject the traditional molds of

cultural expectations of their times. These "breaks" must be recognized as great efforts and thoughts by the women, but also an indication of those minority voices, beliefs, and movements that have been denied their historical or social recognition. Their "extraordinary" breaks from the social conviction might indicate a modern incompleteness of historical records, in which those minority voices have been denied recognition or respect by those holding power over the historical record and academia.

As suggested by these questions, another major methodological quandary we must disentangle for this project is the issue of studying the relationship between women and religion in America. In her critical "Women's History Is American Religious History" (1997), Ann Braude explores the harm that prioritizing men in power (clergy, ministers, etc.) in religious historical studies has on the field itself. Until the latter half of the 20th century, "narrative fictions" dominated historical depictions of the evolution of American religion reflective of, according to Braude, "historians' and churchmen's anxieties about the role of religion in American society, anxieties closely tied to women's numerical dominance in churches, synagogues, and temples" (Braude, 1997, 87). One dominant narrative fiction ascribes three key turning points to American religiosity - declension (colonial period, in which all religiosity is on a decline), feminization (19th century, in which women "suddenly" gained more power and visibility, such as through the rise in mission work), and secularization (20th century, in which there is an overall decline in religiosity). According to Braude, these three turning points are grounded in the social and academic "assumptions" that the "public influence of Protestant clergy is the most important measure of the role of religion in American society" (92-3). Braude notes that focus on female presence reveals the errors of these three points, and how they instead reveal a fear of female influence and authority in religion: "The story shifts, I argue, as women

move toward spiritual equality with men in the colonial period, as they assume public roles because of their positions as guardians of private morality and piety during the nineteenth century, and, in the twentieth, as women exercise public moral authority first as voters and as shapers of the welfare state during the Progressive Era, then as members of the ordained clergy following the rise of feminism in the 1970s" (87-88). She promotes a study based on female presence instead of male absence. Another similar case study appears in Evelyn Higginbotham's *Righteous Discontent* (1993), but from specifically a black woman's experience. She argues that during the 1880-1920 (her key period focus, both the nadir and "women's era") "women were crucial to broadening the public arm of the church and making it the most powerful institution of racial self-help in the African American community" (Higginbotham, 1993, 1). The church became a "discursive arena," where negotiations occurred regarding a web of race, gender and class that comprised black Baptist identity and action. The church is ultimately not a product of male ministry, but instead of the interaction between male and female (2, 10). Higginbotham also explores the issues surrounding studying historical women, and, in particular, more conservative facets through a progressive and modern lens. Higginbatham describes their private theology as what we might call "orthodox." Yet, they still rejected the label as "silent helpmates" for their male family or congregation members through their activity in the church, through which they developed a theology "inclusive of equal gender participation" (120-1). She contends that this theology adheres to Rosemary Ruether and Eleanor McLaughlin's concept of a "stance of radical obedience," in which these women "seized orthodox theology" as a defensive tool for sexual equality (122). This inversion of traditional theology and social ideology reflects Caroline Bynum's analysis of such a public event, as "traditional rituals can evolve to meet the needs of new participants" as old symbols might allow for new conceptions of a social or cultural reality

(123). Catherine Brekus's exploration of early women preaching in *Strangers and Pilgrims: Female Preaching in America, 1740-1845,* applies a similar analysis of women traditionally labeled as "traditional" or orthodox promoting certain social ideals we might consider more progressive. She notes that during a short interlude of the early Great Awakening, many evangelical women entered the realm of public speaking and evangelization. These women have disappeared from public and academic memory due to both their radical social participation and their orthodox theology: "Revolutionary in their defense of female preaching, yet orthodox in their theology, female preachers have been too conservative to be remembered by women's rights activist, but too radical to be remembered by evangelicals" (Brekus, 1998, 7).

The expansion of the presence of women's and gender studies in history and religious studies has been a critical academic effort in the past few decades. As observed by Catherine Brekus in her introduction of *The Religious History of American Women: Reimagining the Past,* this expansion in these fields not only allows for the ending of the dominant, historical myth that only male leaders have made history, but also, subsequently, affects how we might imagine our past and future as products of this myth (Brekus, 2007, 34). In exploring the various unique aspects of women's history methodology, Brekus notes one of the greatest strengths of this field is its origins in its struggle to reintroduce lost or rejected voices from the historical and cultural record - "But because [women's historians] have devoted their careers to rectifying women's exclusion from standard narratives of the past, they are painfully aware that history is always written from a particular standpoint. Like historians of other overlooked groups, including African Americans, Asian Americans, native Americans, and Latinos, they have argued that researchers inevitably approach the past through the lens of their own experiences and assumptions…they argue that because perfect neutrality is impossible, historians must be

particularly careful to think about the way their own biases might shape their interpretations" (9). Women's studies not only focuses on academic and social correction by introducing women back into the discourse, but in addition encourages methodological recognition of the impact academia has on social issues and the impact of personal biases of the researcher, academic, audience, etc. on their considered work. The field, of course, is not without its faults, such as the lack of widespread academic recognition of the complexity behind the very concept of "gender," where most historians still hold archaic presumptions regarding what "womanhood" means: "Most historians assume that gender, which they usually link to bodily difference, produces particular kinds of religious discourses, not that religious discourses produce gender" (11).

This work will carefully intertwine this key critique of Brekus of women's history and conceptions of gender, and her and Evelyn Higginbotham's discourse on historical women who challenge modern standards regarding the separation of more traditional versus progressive ideas. First, as observed by Brekus, we must recognize the reality that religious and, more broadly, social expectations and ideologies influence perceptions of gender and cultural gender expectations. Dominant religious ideologies in any social group will nearly always influence that group's determination of gender identity. Take, for instance, Amy DeRogatis's exploration the "Promise Keepers" religious group found in *Themes in Religion and American Culture.* This group's primary focus is the promotion and reclamation of "godly manhood," in which male spirituality is different from female spirituality, and male religious and social authority on based in spiritual and biological "truths" (DeRogatis, 2004, 197). Masculinity for the Promise Keepers, according to DeRogatis, was an attempt to identify with their interpretation of the masculine and "father" God and their reinforcement (both intentionally and unintentionally) of the traditional, gender hierarchy based on patriarchy already in place (198). DeRogatis concludes that the

example of the Promise Keepers reveals how religious theology and personal identity are linked to gender identity: “Gender is created and sustained by what people do, how they act, what they wear, how they speak, all of which signify ‘maleness’ or ‘femaleness.’ To understand gender, one needs to know the cultural and religious rules that determine how males and females behave” (197). As noted in Verta A. Taylor, Nancy Whittier, and Leila J. Rupp’s *Feminist Frontiers*, gender is “simultaneously socially constructed - ‘made up,’ artificial, created by people out of quite flimsy bases.” Yet, it is still “very real in its ramifications for individuals and for the society as a whole” (Taylor, Whittire, Rupp, 2020, 28). While it is clear that social perceptions of gender are reliant on the same society’s created cultural constructions, and are in a sense “made up,” we must still acknowledge that these social constructs play a serious role in ordering our cultural “status quo.” What is approved of, or allowed space in a greater culture, is reliant on what is established as either traditional or expected gender norms, ranging from what political platforms gain the most significant approval to what American churches promote as ordained by the divine. This study will acknowledge both of these realities, and rely on the methodology of intersectionality to reveal how all academic fields must turn towards a more complex definition of gender defined by these two facts: “Although our society traditionally recognizes just two sexes and two genders, the existence of intersexed and transgender people compels us to think beyond a binary approach to sex and gender. In addition, even though there are undeniably physical or biological attributes that differ between women and men (including to, reproductive organs), the distinction between biological sex and social gender is far from clear-cut…intersectionality simply means the recognition that gender is inextricably entwined with race, ethnicity, class, sexuality, nationality and other major categorical distinctions” (27). As will be demonstrated later, all of our case studies developed their gender identity at the

intersection of their own personal religiosity and spirituality, their social position and influences, and their relationship to nature and their hunting hobby.

I will also take care to keep these women situated in their historical, social situation, especially with an eye toward their efforts to take ownership and at times alter their traditional, conservative hobby. Hunting itself is a difficult activity to study, especially where the dominant masculine story has tended to take precedence in most modern historical examinations of the field. Consequently, historical female participation has been difficult to determine and properly analyze. Consider Andrea Smalley's exploration of sports hunting in her article "I Just Like to Kill Things," written in 2005. In this work, Smalley's considered era falls later than this work, from 1940 to 1973. As she explains, the cultural effects of World War II on hunting were tremendous. While 19th and early 20th-century hunting welcomed women with definite hesitation, later hunting during and following the war nearly wholly rejected female participation. This was due to male participants applying their experience of the battlefield and combat to hunting, an experience they asserted only men could ever fully understand, regardless of their direct participation in the war or not. Participating women still viewed hunting as "pure sport," according to Smalley. Still, men had "moved on" and created a "homosocial hunting field, in which men could reassert their male identities after the wrenching locations of World War II" (Smalley, 2005, 203). Women still participated, yet rejected this masculine definition of the sport as the authentic, end-all experience. Smalley concludes that the history of hunting is grounded in this debate regarding the claim to "authentic" hunting, all of which is informed by and informs the progression of related economics and culture:

> "Gender provides a means by which different groups could naturalize their constructions of hunting, thereby masking the very real economic, environmental and political interests at stake…Both European and American commentators claimed that practice in the hunting field fostered manliness for some, but bred idleness in others. The masculinities

> various hunting proponents advanced were multifaceted, driven by class and racial divisions. Yet in these modern European and American contexts, the gendered language that labeled hunting as masculine did not always bar women from legitimate hunting, but rather was used to grant certain groups of men (and women) access to weapons, forests and wild animals while depriving others of the same rights. Deploying gender to describe legitimate hunting allowed some hunters to claim the cultural, and sometimes legal, authority to deny hunting privileges to others by deeming their forms of hunting inauthentic and unnatural. A gender analysis of hunting, then, sheds light on the politics underlying the cultural coding of certain human activities as masculine. A hunting analysis of gender, on the other hand, illuminates the complexities of gender identification and performance." (Smalley, 185-6)

Smalley concludes that her considered women provide key insight into the processes of social gender structure hunting informed and was informed by. However, one should not consider "masculine" and "feminine" hunting as opposites, or that hunting can be defined in such a binary manner. Instead, elements of both varied "inversely with one another," and their complex relationship must be recognized.

A final thought on the study of hunting: as noted by the numerous examples previously mentioned, hunting is usually analyzed as, most predominantly, a sport or hobby by modern academia, coupled with lesser note of hunting as a subsistence practice. While neither of these approaches is necessarily inaccurate, or lead to false determinations, I would propose that this study of hunting is missing a more nuanced exploration of more personal or, for the individual, spiritual perspectives of the influence of hunting on the individual and/or their community. Hunting as labeled as strictly a "sport" or "hobby" carries certain, unavoidable connotations, which can imply perspectives of hunting ranging from childish to unimportant to disrespectful. Football, when studied as a sport, is understandable; video games, when examined as a hobby, are wholly acceptable. Both greatly impact on our greater society and culture, and the ramifications of proper academic studies in both would be incredibly beneficial. However, to restrict hunting to either category, when at times it might be somewhat reasonable, rejects the

practice's consequential impact. Hunting has been a human practice for many millennia, and has been influential in the development of human culture. Additionally, hunting involves, and requires, the death of a living entity. Again, this is not an attempt to praise the practice of hunting apart from subsistence, but instead to highlight the importance of the practice for the participant and to attempt to lessen the bias of the outside analyzer of the practice. This work's analysis of hunting will still view the practice through the lens of it as a sport or hobby when appropriate but will further explore the practice as a ritualistic act, in which the participant, perhaps intentionally or unintentionally, gains personal reflection or characterization through the practice beyond mere entertainment.

The fields of both religious and ritual studies have been fraught with recent debate on the validity of their methodological standards with regards to two key issues: first, the question of the validity of those studies in which the studier or academic is an "outsider" to the considered studied group or event; second, the question of the individual's will and reflection regarding the impact of their participation in a religious or ritual event on their identity. To put it succinctly: how does one properly study a group, belief, practice, etc. that they do not adhere to? One of the best recent explorations of the dilemma within ritual studies is Catherine Bell's *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, whose primary concerns and critiques will guide much of this paper's approach to ritual studies. In her work, Bell argues that most modern theories of ritual exhibit a form of "predetermined circularity," where a strict dichotomy between action and thought/theory is improperly maintained (Bell, 2009, xiv-xv). Theory regarding the analysis of a considered ritual has, put simply, given greater weight to the outside analyzer's opinion and interpretation of the ritual to the participant's. Historically, ritual as a category was ensconced in a time when Western hegemony dominated scientific and intellectual pursuits, especially in any case study of

religious studies regardless of its location (6). This domination, as a result, encouraged the placement of Western ideas and expectations over other conflicting and competing traditions. Subsequently, this led scholars to only use Western labels and interpretations as a comprehensive foundation of study and comparison of various forms of rituals, etc. across multiple cultures and societies. Bell contends that this practice eventually led to the creating a "universal category of human experience" that has drastically influenced modern ritual studies (14). Bell additionally argues that many of those participating in ritual studies have exempted themselves from critique by arguing they hold the ability, through their training and position in Western dialogue, to "transcend the politics of those who study and those who are studied" (xv). This assumption of authority, and the separation of the ritual in practice versus the promoted interpretation of the academic, according to Bell, generates discourse that is reliant on the premise that there are certain fundamentals "out there" that transcend time and all cultures, all of which are based in not only Western ideals, but, more specifically, the dominant, patriarchal Western ideals (37).

Bell presents the following dilemmas that were created within ritual studies as a result of this history: first, the dichotomy of action and thought - which she argues is the most critical mistake - encourages the belief that action and activity are secondary to thought and are separate physical manifestations (6, 21, 31, 32); second, the resulting transformation of ritual as something wholly symbolic, an entity in which the "observers" can decode and interpret as they see fit ("our thoughts and their actions") (31-2); third, the separation of the observer from the participants of the ritual encourages the portrayal of ritual as "dramatism" and the application of performance theory, which further allows for the preferences of the observer's interpretations and promotes the application of the ritual to their desired categories (39, 42). To sum up, these obstacles common to ritual studies place the ritual itself and its participants as subordinate to the

observers and their theories. As a result, ritual studies usually reflect the theories' methods and presuppositions, in which the "concerns of the theorist take center stage" (54).

Stanford Searl, Jr.'s analysis of Perry Miller's quintessential work *The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century* is an example of this in religious history. In the article "Perry Miller as Artist," Searl explores not only Miller's work at what we might simply call "face value," his work as a historical study, but Searl also explores what Miller is revealing about his own biases, goals, etc. through his analysis of the Puritan culture. Miller states that it is his goal to discover the "living reality of the spirit" of Puritan theology, politics, and everyday life. However, this hidden reality, this greater interpretation, is not grounded in the reality of the historical Puritans, according to Searl. This reality is in the mind of Miller, the observer and outsider of the Puritan ritual, and he prioritizes its supposed existence over the voices of the Puritans themselves:

> "Puritan writers did not demonstrate the sort of balance between piety and intellect that Miller discovers. It is Miller himself who expresses such a balance. Since one cannot find a single writer who articulates the issue, Miller himself, in an imaginative quest for meaning in which all quotations merge into a composite quotation, attempts to articulate and to express what the Puritan writers did not face…*The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century* expresses a writer's quest for the underlying reality of history." (Searl, 1977, 232)

Miller was assuredly not acting out some malicious plan but was a continuation of Bell's observation regarding the prioritization of the outside theorist's priorities over their case study. Bell's answer to this dilemma is to replace ritual studies with a focus on what she calls the study of ritualization. The choice of labels might seem like a scant departure, ritualization from ritual, but in fact Bell's new premise is a clearly different category in all other aspects, and moves ritual studies towards focusing on a living, changing action as opposed to a static object. Ultimately, Bell defines ritualization as a way of acting that distinguishes from another action or activity and

consequently privileges it, where the participants promote certain activities that create and control the placement of the activity as apart from other common or everyday life. These actions are specific to cultural contexts and time, and seek to create distinctions between the "sacred" and "profane" and certain realities that transcend human powers and abilities (Bell, 74). This practice, additionally, is "situational" and cannot be understood outside its historical and social context (81). Very simply, Bell desires to move away from the tradition of ritual studies that seeks to compare a practice from the starting point of noting how it is or isn't similar to a dominant (especially Western) or expected practice, and also privileges an outside academic's "correct" interpretation of the ritualistic practice apart from how the participant views the practice.

A key theme in Bell's definition of ritualization is the impact of ritualization on the body itself. Bell draws particular attention to the strategy of ritualization that promotes the production of "ritualized agents," created through the generation of a "structured environment" (social context and pressures) that houses the ritualized practice that ultimately molds bodies/individuals within this environment (101). Bell draws from Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of *habitus* and *doxa*, and argues that the ritualized body produced by ritualization becomes ingrained with a "sense of ritual," encouraged by certain systems of "schemes," activities, and practices that, when used, produce certain situations in which the ritualized body can achieve domination (98). Bell argues that the "natural logic" of ritual is subsequently embedded in and expressed by the physical movements of the ritualized body, and is, therefore, "lodged beyond the grasp of consciousness and articulation" (99). Consequently, according to Bell, the body is always habituated by its specific context, and reacts accordingly. In addition, the participant of the ritual might be wholly

unaware, consciously, of how participating in said ritual and correlating culture is impacting their actions or way of thinking.

So what does this adoption of Bell's reflections on ritual studies mean for this exploration of hunting? It is twofold: first, we must study hunting from the perspective of the hunters, and not through the lens of how, as outsiders or academics, we expect those participants to act or react to hunting. We must also take care to not remove any of our case studies from their historical and cultural context, where we might be tempted to group all hunting into the dominant, male-driven narrative. Second, we must move away from the objectification of hunting as simply a sport or hobby, but one with serious cultural and spiritual transformative elements for those participants. As those hunters participate in the ritualization of hunting, how are they interpreting the act as impactful on their lives? How are not only their thoughts but their "bodies," their actions, programmed to act within the literal act of hunting and, consequently, their community once they have exited their hunting grounds? We must find the proper balance between rejecting the traditional tendency to, as stated before, group all hunters together in one conglomerate, male-dominated, patriarchal, backwards sport, and the reality that the participation in hunting will have a critical impact on the *habitus*, or the socially-driven attitudes and beliefs of the individuals participating in the complicated realm. This is an opportune moment to recall Catherine Breckus' analysis of "tempered selfhood," in which she defined proper case studies as incorporating both an understanding of the individual as immersed in and influenced by their cultural and historical context, while simultaneously holding a degree of autonomy in which they might react to (either positively or negatively) this reality. In addition, the observer or academic is expected to show a degree of thoughtful good will, or "empathetic engagement," toward their case study. We must acknowledge that our case studies cannot escape their historical realities or

cultural upbringings, and that their participation in hunting ritualization and its various corresponding communal aspects or events influence both how the participant thinks and acts within this environment. However, we must also recognize the various ways in which our case studies respond to their reality - do they, so to speak, go with the flow of the dominant narrative of the community? Do they attempt to alter the dominant narrative due to their disagreement with an aspect of the narrative? How do they differ in how they move about the environment, both philosophically and physically?

A final methodological consideration key to this work is the application of certain aspects of ecofeminism ideologies and thoughts. It would be difficult to complete a project on the interaction between environmental issues and women or gender studies without responding to the broad field of ecofeminism. In *Ecofeminist Philosophy*, Karen Warren defines ecofeminist philosophy as the union of feminism, ecology, environmentalism, and philosophy applied to analyses of various social issues, especially "human systems of unjustified dominations," which it assumes is never justified nor an inevitability of the human condition or social constructs (Warren, 2000, 43). Warren continues by outlining five basic claims of the field:

- First, there are critical "interconnections" among the justifications behind the unethical dominations of women, other humans considered "other," and nonhuman nature that must be analyzed and recognized.
- Second, recognizing that these interconnections are critical to understanding of and creating solutions for these unethical dominations and injustices.
- Third, any form of feminist philosophy must include these ecofeminist insights, especially with regard to the interconnections of the women/"others"/nonhuman nature.
- Four, gender studies and issues must include these same ecofeminist insights.

- Five, environmental studies and issues must also include these same ecofeminist insights. (Warren, 45)

While the field of ecofeminism is vast with numerous methodological, ethical, and theoretical approaches, the field is unified by this core belief in the interconnection between gender studies, social ethics, and environmental ethics. Warren herself argues that there is not a single dilemma within these three branches that could be resolved without consideration from the remaining two. With regard to environmental justice, Warren contends that our current corrupt and unjust social structures and gender constructions make any improvement or fix impossible. As she explains, "one simply cannot make ecologically perfect decisions or lead an ecologically perfect lifestyle within current institutional structures characterized by unequal distributions of wealth, consumption of energy, and gendered divisions of labor. When institutional structures themselves are unjust, it is often difficult to make truly just decisions within them" (45). Environmental justice and improvement require reflection and analysis of our current culture and society, and unearth those deeply ingrained ideologies, beliefs, etc. that influence our decisions on environmental and social justice. In *Gaia & God: An Ecofeminist Theology of Earth Healing*, theologian Rosemary Ruether employs this ecofeminist recognition in her analysis of the relationship between Christianity and environmental dilemmas. She hopes to discover and assess the "cultural and social roots that have promoted destructive relations between men and women, between ruling and subjugated human groups, and the destruction of the biotic community, of which humans are an interdependent part" (Ruether, 1992, 2). She concludes that environmental, social, and religious healing are intertwined, and are only possible through the recognition that Western culture, buttressed by Western Christianity, has promoted destructive domination that has damaged all three of these elements (1). Ruether concludes the introduction of her work by

encouraging hope through her work and other similar projects of either correcting or recovering usable elements of both Western culture and Christianity that might promote healing between humanity with itself and with the earth.

The application of ecofeminism to questions of hunting and its impact on the individual and community appears rarely in any academic field, yet shows great promise when properly done. Hunting and its corresponding culture provide an intense intermingling of the three key themes considered by ecofeminism: hunting provides key insight into the formation and continuation of gender expectations and constructs within particular communities; hunting provides a dramatic case study on the relationship between humans, animals, and nature; the history of hunting is filled with important environmental and conservation efforts. Eric Godoy's recent work "Sympathy for Cecil: Gender, Trophy Hunting, and the Western Environmental Imaginary" provides an excellent example of the potentials of incorporating ecofeminist studies in historical and social studies of hunting. The article not only proves this methodological potential, but also demonstrates the impact hunting and its perception has on cultural and social gender construction and expectations and perceptions of environmental issues and basic natural cycles. Godoy explores why the killing of Cecil the lion inspired such public rebuke when compared to other similar cases, where trophy hunting of lions has a very long history. In addition, Godoy reveals through his analysis how the public response to the killing of Cecil provides a social mirror through which Western culture might examine not only its environmental stances but also its perspectives on countries and cultures considered "outside" the Western sphere. Godoy concludes, through both his ecofeminist and political ecological analyses, that the widespread and fervent "western sympathy" for Cecil "reveals, relies upon, and reinforces different forms of gender, racial, and neocolonial power relations" (Godoy, 2020,

761). Godoy explains that he drew upon ecofeminist thought to properly highlight and analyze the "highly gendered imaginary" of the West on lions, such as seen in Jimmy Kimmel's (whose comedic monologues popularized public awareness of the hunt) comparison of trophy hunting to sexual violence (762). Political ecology, simply, is the study of ecological dilemmas and issues through a scope beyond strictly ecological and incorporates broader political struggles (768). Godoy explains that the added element of political ecology further solidifies the ecofeminist focus on expanding ecological studies to broader social and cultural studies. In addition, political ecology encourages definitive "real world" change and social transformation following the conclusions of the academic reflections. Godoy cites P. Robbin's definition of political ecology from *Political Ecology: A Critical Introduction* (2012), where political ecology identifies "broader systems rather than blaming proximate and local forces…viewing ecological systems as power-laden rather than politically inert, and…taking an explicitly normative approach rather than one that claims the objectivity of disinterest" (768). Godoy reflects on the history of hunting in the United States, drawing particular attention to the "intentional linkages" of masculine constructions and the social perpetuation of said constructions through sport hunting culture and practices. Furthermore, this tie between gender and hunting both informs and is informed by displays and implementations of Western power and colonialism within the United States and beyond (764). An ecofeminist approach to this historical reality allows insight into how this relationship between sports hunting and Western masculinity was used to solidify the dominance and power of Western white masculinity. Furthermore, not only does it solidify the hierarchical dominance of this form of masculinity, but it also reflects American attempts to enforce Western ideals, expectations, etc. on outside communities and cultures:

> "Ecofeminists have long highlighted a problematic dualism in western thought that reinforces hierarchical power relations by associating the feminine and non-white with

> the bestial and the natural. The western environmental imaginary is suffused with these hierarchies and norms. They help define who can hunt and why, and in turn what violations of these norms warrant anger…Tracing power relations between people here reveals how the western imaginary mobilizes sympathy as a force of domination and environmental injustice by presuming that the burden to preserve global wildlife falls on appropriately sympathetic westerners. I conclude with the claim that western sympathy can fail to benefit either lions or the people whose lives intersect with them. Instead, it often reinforces sexual, racial, and colonial power relations." (762)

It is important to note here that this hierarchical dilemma not only promotes a toxic masculinity and toxic dominating Western cultural exchange, but is also based on the degradation of both the feminine and natural world. Ecofeminism, Godoy notes, allows for illumination on the connection between the "exploitation and degradation of the natural world and the subordination and oppression of women" (762). Godoy borrows and expands on Carol Adam's concept of the absent referent, a sociological reflection made by Adam in which she observes how the majority of the meat industry and its success relies on the removal of the animal and its death from the food end product from the consciousness and reflection of the consumer. Godoy observes that violence against and domination of the feminine, its language and inspired metaphors, are used in common Western and American reflection on environmental dilemmas. Citing Adams, Godoy promotes an ecofeminist approach that establishes the connection between the feminine and nature is not an inherent, ultimate truth, but instead is social and linguistically based:

> "Just as dead bodies are absent from our language about meat, in descriptions of cultural violence women are also often the absent referent. Rape, in particular, carries such potent imagery that the term is transferred from the literal experience of women and applied metaphorically to other instances of violent devastation, such as the 'rape' of the earth in ecological writings of the early 1970s. The experience of women thus becomes a vehicle for describing other oppressions. Women, upon whose bodies actual rape is most often committed, become the absent referent when the language of sexual violence is used metaphorically. These terms recall women's experiences but not women." (Carol Adams, 2000, 53-4)

Trophy hunting and, more broadly, Western culture, through its hierarchical structuring and its approach to gender promotes not only this hierarchical structuring that promotes dominant perceptions of masculinity over femininity, but also, as implied by this domination, a dangerous binary approach to gender, race, and animality (764). One way, usually a Western, patriarchal way, is seen as the pinnacle of society and culture, and all aspects of said society and culture will be arranged in a manner that situated them in comparison to the dominant, elevated way, subsequently placing the aspects in a subservient position or in a position that allows for their usage to elevate the dominant narrative.

The following sections turn toward the application of these methodological questions and considerations to a historical and cultural exploration of hunting in the United States. The reflections and lives of our three primary case studies, Paulina, Grace, and Martha, will act as both guides and signposts for the flow of our research. Sections of academic and historical reflections are situated between stories from our three focuses, allowing space for the displaced voices of these three women, of the "non-dominant-male" voice, within the field of hunting. Chapter I: Hunting and "Muscular Christianity," introduces the basic history of hunting in the United States and explores the rise of its social impact especially during the latter part of the 19th century. This chapter will also focus on the impact of hunting on societal gender constructs, and vice versa. Chapter II: Conservation and Spirituality Realized in the "Feminine" Land, further expands this gender studies and focuses on the historical application of a pre-determined and created "feminine" characterization on nature, the land, etc. This chapter also explores the rise in conservation as in dialogue with the hunting community, and the relationship between interactions with and perceptions of nature and American conservative Protestantism. Chapter III: Death, the Sublime, and the Self, explores how hunting traditions are reflect and inform

societal approaches to death. This chapter then transitions into how hunters use the space to address questions of death and to solidify their personal morality, spiritually, or religiosity. The conclusion reflects on how this research might be used to first analyze and then critique modern approaches to religious, environmental, and gender studies, especially with an eye towards focusing discourse with more conservative (politically and religiously) facets in American society.

- What are the key social, religious, etc. influences on the formation of American hunting culture? How did different hunters (especially our three focuses) respond similarly/differently?
- How do we study our individual authors and hunters, where we situate them appropriately in their time and context, while exploring how their stories might impact modern cultural situations?
- How do our considered authors and hunters gender self-identification play a role in how they move about in the hunting realm, and how others perceive their actions and lifestyles?
- How might we view hunting through the lens of ritualization?
- How does understanding the history of hunting inform both modern and historical explorations of the intersection of gender, environmental, and other social studies?

Part II: The Dianas

Chapter I: Hunting and "Muscular Christianity"

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*192_*. Paulina considered herself the pinnacle of cool headedness while on the hunt. After all, she had two decades of professional experience, and was published numerous times in several outdoor magazines in which she advised on hunting in the Adirondacks of New York. Nothing could or ought to catch her off guard. This was a simple deer hunt, one of multiple dozens she had participated in. She was also accompanied and bolstered by her best friend Rube's own numerous decades of experience. No one was closer to Paulina than Reuben "Rube" Cary, the legendary tracker and hunter of the Adirondacks. He achieved his fame by not only his skill and decades as a guide, but he was also said to have killed the last eastern timber wolf in the Adirondacks in 1893.[1] While Paulina moved through life with layers of planned and forced personas, with Rube she could be herself. The two had participated in a multitude of outings together and were a formidable team. They had learned to not only respect one another's expertise and delegate the chores of hunting excursions fairly, but, in addition, they fostered a deep, loving friendship, where the two enjoyed the other's company and believed that the other's presence only added to their own personal enjoyment of the hunt. They both valued the solitude provided by the wilderness - a solitude that often included the other. During this outing, they

[1] Note here that Reuben Cary is recommended by W. H. H. Murray's guidebook "Adventures in the Adirondacks" as a guide, on page 39. This book will be explored later in the chapter, and is credited with initiating the mass tourism industry at the end of the 19th century in the Adirondacks. For more on Cary, see *The Post-Star* newspaper article on his life, from September 21, 2003: https://www.newspapers.com/image/348004767/?terms=reuben%20cary&match=1

were hunting on the land in the Adirondacks owned by Paulina's family, the Brandreths, and managed by Rube. The property was around 100 acres, originally set aside by her grandfather for farmland. While the farming venture had failed, the process of turning the land into farmland had inadvertently created the perfect biosphere for deer to thrive in.[2] The land had subsequently been transformed into a private park and hunting grounds for the family and visiting friends.

Nothing brought Paulina greater joy than moving through, wholly being in, nature. Her reflections in her writings reveal that Paulina thought of nature as a source of both practical betterment, through its ability to train and test the physical body, and also as the site of an uplifting, if not strict, spiritual retreat. The forest along the trail they were now walking was no exception, and Paulina depicts the site as equal to that of a natural cathedral:

Paulina, taken from Trails of Enchantment, *pg. 170. Photo titled "On the Way to Camp." No Date.*

"The forest in this locality had a spacious beauty and cathedral quiet. Aisles of gray tree trunks marched across the floors of wide and roomy valleys carpeted with russet foliage and brightened by the magic green of little spruces and hemlocks. Overhead, through naked branches, the slate-colored clouds hung low and snow-laden. A light wind, cold and stinging, blew directly in our faces." (Brandreth, 1930, 250)

While this trip had been planned to hunt deer, things took a sudden and unexpected turn. Paulina's prized composure was about to make a swift departure. As they made their way to the base of a small hill, silently stalking through the thick undergrowth, a mother black bear trotted across the clearing just ahead of them, followed by three yearling cubs. Paulina could scarce believe her eyes. Bears were sparse in the Adirondacks during this time and held a severely shy temperament. This was the first time she had seen a bear

[2] Paulina reflects on the history of the property in her article "Days with the Deer," published in *Forest and Stream* on March 18, 1905.

alive while hunting. Years of strict training and rationality fled her, and she lifted her rifle. All she could think of was the potentiality of her prize, that this moment would likely never occur again. Therefore, she had to take the shot. The adrenaline of the moment was far too contagious, as Rube followed her example without delay. They fired toward the family of bears, the two focused on quantity as opposed to the quality of their shots. One shot wounded the mother in the leg, while another from Paulina's rifle brought one of the younger bears down. The dead bear rolled down the hill a distance before stopping just in front of the veteran hunters. The death of the young bear dramatically and swiftly changed the tone of the scene, once its body was spotted by the now wounded mother:

> *"At that moment, a bloodcurdling roar echoed down the ridge slope. With her mouth open, and presenting a truly ferocious appearance, the big bear came racing towards us, the two cubs following her heels. 'Here they come, Rube!' I shout. The old hunter's eyes were snapping with excitement. 'Let 'em come - I don't care how close they git so long as they keep comin'' he replied."* (251-2)

The mother raced forward until she reached her fallen cub, accompanied by her two terrified remaining children. Rube stood and took a final shot with buckshot. The mother fell alongside her cub, and the two remaining bears fled in a panic together into the undergrowth. Amidst their celebration and congratulatory handshakes, the two hunters decided that Rube should take the mother, while Paulina would take the yearling as a trophy. Paulina chose to commemorate her success by sending the cub to a taxidermist. While she reflected that her "vanity" had been

"gratified" by her first successful bear hunt, her satisfaction was ended at the arrival of her taxidermied bear six months following the hunt:

> *"When the animal arrived at my home from the taxidermist's (mounted whole) I gazed upon it in dismay. Of all the sad excuses for a trophy, it was the worst one could possibly imagine. To begin with, it looked small - so small in fact that I commenced to experience a feeling of guilt. There was a sag in its spine, and it had bow-legs and a queer peaked nose." (253)*

Rube, taken from Paulina's article "Old Leviathan of Burnt Mountain Lake," for Forest and Stream, *1913. Photo titled "Rube and Leviathan."*

At the end of the hunt, and in her stories she told to her friends prior to the arrival of her "trophy," this same bear had been described as being in "prime condition," and was a "fine husky fellow." Now, standing in her home, dead and stuffed, it was weak and small. Her disillusionment was swift, and the hunt was now far from the triumphant success it had been in the heat of the moment:

> *"But all this disillusion came later, and at the conclusion of the hunt, I rejoiced mutually with Rube over the successful outcome of our unexpected adventure. The picture of the old bear charging down the ridge slope with her jaws wide open, and her eyes blazing, was still fresh and full of thrills. Not until afterwards did I come to the decision that for reasons purely sentimental, I would not care to see the incident repeated. The courage of the mother, returning in the face of certain destruction to protect her young, was something quite different from the courage of an animal charging to protect itself, and with the express intent of doing harm to its pursuers. There is no doubt about the fact that unless she had heard the outcry of the yearling, this female bear would have gone the other way and kept going." (254)*

What had once been Paulina and Rube's story of the dramatic attack from a ferocious creature had now become the desperate charge of a mother on behalf of her child. It is one of the few cases found in the vast collection of her writings that Paulina questioned her decisions regarding

the ethics of her hunt. Did the opportunity to hunt such a magnificent yet dangerous creature trump one's ethical obligation regarding a just hunt, in which one carefully planned their shots with hopes and expectations to kill the animal in one shot? Every other instance of hunting in which she failed to kill her target with one shot leaves Paulina in either a righteously grieved or severely self-critical state. Why, once presented with her taxidermied trophy, did she now feel guilt over her killing the young creature? This was not the result of a poor effort on the part of the taxidermist. The same creature she had shot while it attempted to flee with its mother was the same creature that now sat mounted in her home. What had she truly gained from the hunt, following her later guilt? In her book, Paulina reflects openly and honestly regarding her guilt, but she still insists the hunt and her participation in the event was key to the development of herself as a hunter and her continued participation in the greater hunting ritual. The moment had molded her, and provided her with not only exhilarated, harsh lessons within the immediate moment of the hunt, all based in physical and mental fortitude, but also continued lessons of her place within nature and her perception of herself as an individual and her gender. The taxidermied bear, the pitiful yearling's body, was now a sacred object that reflected this moment of ritualization for Paulina.

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What was this ritual construct that Paulina initially hopes to enter through the death of the bear and her family? What was the greater social construct that would approve of such a hunt? That Paulina would have been formed within and whose opinions were molded by? Why does she stake so much of her identity on a hunt, one which she later would regret? Before proceeding further, we should explore the historical and subsequent social impact on the institute of hunting in America, especially during the later half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th

century. In most recent studies on American hunting, authors often present hunting as an aside, and when explored the analysis is usually only descriptive. The social impact of hunting has only recently appeared in academia. It is important to note here that while the impact of hunting on social and cultural constructs in America is immense, there is no "one" history or final result of hunting. However, the most culturally visible and most explored realm of social impact by hunting in this slowly growing academic field is the impact on gender constructs and social expectations within social groups tied to hunting and outdoor recreation. These studies that expound upon hunting's impact on social and cultural constructs tend to usually focus predominantly on sports hunting. Sports hunting is defined in a variety of ways by both academics and actual participants, but, broadly, usually refers to hunting that goes beyond merely subsistence means. The focus of the hunt is not only on the final result of acquiring food and other products produced by an animal, but also considers the process of the hunt as a hobby or entertaining in some way. Sports hunting during the late 19th and early 20th centuries was practiced by many people, but for the middle and upper classes, the practice both encouraged and informed many social and cultural changes, especially within religious and political circles. It will be this impact of hunting that will be the most important to consider while analyzing the stories of our considered female hunters. The resulting gender constructs and the impact on social interaction with nature, particularly death, will be the focus of this work. The realm of hunting was predominantly one restricted to men, and as such a culture of muscular "manhood" and Christianity took strong hold of those participating.

Two recent academic works that present both a descriptive historical analysis of hunting in America alongside a social analysis are Daniel Herman's *Hunting and the American Imagination* (2001) and Philip Dray's *The Fair Chase The Epic Story of Hunting in America*

(2018). While both provide a broad analysis of the history of hunting, they also present a particular focus on the gender constructions created and inspired by these hunting participants and their respective communities in which they interacted with the greater population. In his work, historian Daniel Herman explores both the "real" and "idealized" perspective of the American hunter in the American social consciousness. Herman contends that the American hunter played a critical role in the development of a multitude of social and cultural ideals, ranging from political ideologies based in individualism to more dangerous ideals of imperialism and patriarchy (Herman, 2001, xii). Herman devotes most of his work on the development of a historical hunting archetype he dubs the "American Native." It is through the analysis and development of this archetype that Herman reveals the convoluted past of American hunting, one rooted in both historical fact and fiction. Its reach in numerous American ideologies and policies in both the past and present are as varied as the represented hunters, and, according to Herman, deserve greater academic and public attention. Herman's time frame is expansive and covers the early 17th through the early 20th century. He categorizes his considered hunters into two broad categories. First, the hunter who is a "backwoodsman," settler, and farmer of a lower or middle class, one who primarily hunted out of necessity or subsistence. Second, the "well-to-do-sportsman" of a higher wealth or class (x). Herman organized his work in a tactfully symmetrical manner. He begins his book by first exploring how the American hunting community escaped its early roots in what was considered "cultural backwardness" and communal disapproval (especially by the religious community) in early Colonial America. The book then devotes a majority of its content to the rise and development of the hunter as a legendary "hegemonic" figure by the 19th century. Herman then concludes by observing that the hunting culture has

recently declined, and again a majority of American society has labeled it as "backward" (xii, 36, 67, 272).

Herman defines the American Native as the "Anglo-American" individual who finds their purpose and identity in nature and in hunting and "clings" to a partly imagined past of pioneer self-reliance and "manliness" (270). According to Herman, this individual believes they thrive in living near nature, and this leads to the development of a system of virtues that take on an "aura of the indigene" (xiii). Herman notes that his choice of the very term "American Native" is meant to denote a critical yet ironic reality regarding these hunters and their historical tendency to, as Philip Deloria calls it, "play Indian" (xiii). While these hunters portray themselves as the true heirs of the American wilderness and land, they were and are conquerors. As Herman explains, the American Native should not be confused with Native American, and the "triumph of the former meant the dispossession of the latter, leaving both with a bitter history indeed" (xiii, 46, 92). Herman determines that the American Native developed from a "salvaged" and "invented" history. According to Herman, upper class hunters in the late 19th and early 20th century both received and manipulated (intentionally and unintentionally) the history of hunting in America in a manner to promote it as the pinnacle of both "Americanness" and "manliness" (63, 270). As suggested, a series of ironies and continuing tensions highlight this history. Socially and politically, these hunters have and still follow either more traditionally conservative or perhaps libertarian politics, but are continuously torn between these politics of so-called "self-reliance" and their desire for government intervention in the furthering of their ideologies and the protection of wildlife and the respective habitats (270, 276).

Philip Dray similarly explores this social temperament developed within the hunting realm. While Dray does not provide his own overarching archetype, he concludes that the development

of sports hunting in America inspired and coincided with the development of a "masculine" lifestyle in which "manliness," including spiritual and social maturity, was developed through the application of certain expected gender norms within nature. Dray also explores how hunting was predominantly relegated to subsistence needs in the 17th and early 18th century, and sports hunting was rare, nor was hunting seen as potentially character building. However, with the rise in urbanization and the perceived "distancing" of the individual from nature, retreating to an outdoor activity became a popular means of potential escape and relaxation from city life by the mid 19th century. Dray concludes that an American hunting culture developed from the influences of three sources: first, British "sportsmanship ethos;" second, the rise in popularity in American fiction and myth based on stories of "heroic frontiersmen" such as Daniel Boone and Davy Crockett; third, similar to Herman conclusion, the acquisition and inspiration of Native American culture. Dray notes that a key feature of this hunting culture is the development of a hunting code of conduct called the "fair chase," in which sports hunting was grounded in certain rules that these hunters considered provided the hunted animals a fair chance, as well as requiring the hunters to behave in a certain manner expected of a white, upper class Protestant male (Dray, 2018, 5). Popular literature, such as written by Henry William Herbert (pen name "Frank Forester") and William Porter, during the 19th century elevated the hunter to the level of folk hero and idol. According to these authors, hunting could restore an individual's temperament and woes, and their popular tales romanticized hunting and nature for the public and further solidified the myth of the "American Native," arguing the American landscape was ready for the American male to enter and conquer the land (38). Herbert, according to Dray, was almost singularly responsible for the rising popularity of hunting and outdoor recreation, as, through his works published from 1839 to 1958, he "tamed the outdoors and thrust America into it," and helped to transition popular opinion to

consider hunting a potentially refined sport (32). Eventually, the participation of prominent political and communal figures, such as Theodore Roosevelt, would further add a sense of elitism and "higher culture" to the hunting community. As Dray concludes, the American hunting culture became an amalgamation of "business, folklore, diversion, and sport" defined by interpretations of appropriation of American Indian culture and the "refinement" of British hunting culture (341).

What is particularly interesting in Dray's exploration is his inclusion of the role of this newfound popularity of sports hunting in religious circles. Numerous ministers rose in both religious and social prominence (both to the benefit and detriment of their reputation) due to their incorporation of nature-based hobbies and hunting themes in their sermons and publications. More broadly, this incorporation by ministers and religious leaders corresponds to the simultaneous and larger movement of the promotion of both incorporating greater "manly" and physical attributes to Christianity. This rise in religious focus on masculinity and physical fitness during the end of the 19th and start of the 20th centuries is defined as the "muscular Christianity" movement. Many ministers feared the perceived "feminization" of the church during this time, which they considered was brought about both by rising "city life" that encouraged a sinful and slothful lifestyle and the decline in male attendance in church. Ministers and other religious leaders began to promote a strict and literal interpretation of Christianity as simultaneously needing to be "muscularized" while also being naturally and historically always more "muscular" and "manly." Historian Clifford Putney explores the rise and impact of muscular Christianity in his 2003 book *Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America, 1880-1920.* Muscular Christianity (while originating in Europe) had its American origins in the Northeastern states among the major Protestant denominations, including Congregationalists, Disciples, Episcopalians, Baptists, and Northern Presbyterians and Methodists. The movement found its

greatest support in primarily liberal and progressive Christian denominations. It was slow to gain an audience in more conservative and fundamentalist circles, but once it did gain this participation, muscular Christianity transitioned to becoming a staple of more conservative Christian denominations, even through modern times. This can be seen in modern organizations such as the Promise Keepers and the Fellowship of Christian Athletes, both which focus on the promotion of physical fitness and traditionally conservative perspectives of masculinity in Christianity. The movement's origins were not restricted to church buildings, but also involved other religious organizations, such as the YMCA, and other greater social movements such as The Businessmen's Awakening. Those religious and social leaders who disapproved of the feminization of the Church not only believed this feminization endangered their local congregations, but all other social circles of men, thus leading this complex intermingling of social organizations and churches in the creation of the muscular Christianity doctrine.

While the origins of muscular Christianity had roots in and ultimately impacted multiple cultural outlets, from political to racial, its influence on the religious sphere is critical to understanding the historical turn religious organizations took during this era regarding gender identities and environmental stances. For many of the muscular Christian advocates, in their beliefs and explorations of gender, their stated concerns usually lie in their belief of the decline in male participation in religion, and desire to promote what they considered masculine attributes of Christianity. However, in all cases of such promotions, their celebration of the masculine inevitably reveals their implicit biases against the feminine, and their desire to uphold a binary social experience with genders in which males and the masculine are given priority and access to the dominant voice. Putney focuses chapter three, "Men and Religion," on the key religious changes of this era, especially with regard to the relationship between the Christian church and its

male populace. The Victorian era of Christianity was perceived as "effeminate" due to not only the rising authority of women in various Christian denominations, coupled with their overwhelming numbers in both membership and participation, but also the literal decline of male membership. Citing the work on by Janet Fishburn and Susan Curtis, Putney notes that this push to escalate the "masculinity" of religion extended beyond muscular Christianity and into many facets and theologies of Christianity, including the newly formed and rapidly spreading Social Gospel. Yet critically, as Putney explains, the motivational roots of muscular Christianity were grounded in a social anxiety on the part of white, male Protestants regarding their social authority. Threats to their established status quo and dominion were perceived as to be escalating during the late 19th century, originating from sources such as the rise of large corporations and the resulting management and sedentary office jobs, rising non-Protestant immigration, and rising women's rights. Putney recognizes that most scholars of this era coin this social event as the "masculinity crisis," "a period when various male intellectuals, uncertain about their place in society, struggled to come up with a new model for manhood." The goal became to protect the authority of the "native-born, middle class white men." Any social element that was perceived as a threat of idealized masculinity was protested, ranging from portraying "city living" as emasculating to portraying the rise of women teachers as "feminizing" the young male public. (Putney, 2003, "Introduction")

Dr. Carl Case, The Masculine in Religion, 1906

Perhaps the best way to properly explore the complicated realm of muscular Christianity is to explore popular works written during the height of its influence in society. One source analyzed by Putney is Carl Case's *The Masculine in Religion*, published by the American Baptist

Publication Society in 1906. This work provides a helpful overview of the popular stances and beliefs of those religious facets who hoped to transform Christianity into a more masculine image. The work also provides key insight into also the specific beliefs of the American Baptists in particular, whom Case wrote on behalf of and published through. Case pastored several Baptist churches over the course of his career, after receiving his doctorate from Chicago Divinity school in 1891. He accepted his last position, in Quincy, Illinois, after resigning from his position at Oak Park following his involvement in a divorce case involving his parishioners, after a Mrs. Charlotte Leland revealed she had carried out an affair with the minister. Dr. Case's family would later contend that his heart failure was due to the stress caused by this "injustice," as the court had ruled in favor of Mr. Leland's request for a divorce after rejecting Dr. Case's explanation that Mrs. Leland's admittance of infidelity with the minister was based on vivid "hallucinations."[3] Case begins *The Masculine in Religion* by providing "evidence" of the impact of "sex" on the mental faculties. His own interpretation of gender studies are at the core of this book. The introductory sentence of his long work leads with the following assertion: "The subject of sex in education and religion must assume increasing importance as the fundamental differences between the sexes are more clearly recognized" (Case, 1906, 5). Not only does Case assert that there are differences in mental capabilities between the "sexes," but there also exist key differences in the spirituality abilities and characteristics of different sexes. Case believes, and asserts, that sex "reaches up through physical to mental and spiritual characteristics which essentially differentiate the masculine from the feminine" (5). Just as children and "Orientals" required different types of religious education, so should women as well - "Is there not far more difference between the man's and the woman's religion than between the man's and the boy's?" (11). He again compares

[3] See Dr. Case's obituary in the Chicago Tribune, January 26, 1931. https://www.newspapers.com

women's spirituality with children in his explanation as to why juvenile boys attend Sunday School more than their older counterparts, as "the juvenile type has many points of similarity to the feminine and the transition is easy from one to the other" (24). Case assures his audience he is not against the rise in education, job opportunities, etc. for women necessarily. In fact, he claims that it is Western Christianity that has provided women the social conditions for these opportunities, following a series of racist and false interpretations of civilizations he sees as savage and their supposed treatment of women, such as American Indians and Indonesians (16-17). While outlining some supporting viewpoints for the advances women had managed in society up to this point, Case's support seems superficial. It only extends to the use of this reality as "evidence" for the success of Western Christianity, and proof of his original claim regarding his binary views of spirituality. Case concludes this chapter, after discussing the successes of women, with a series of reflections that quickly proves his ultimate opinions regarding the feminine in religiosity:

> "Nevertheless, woman is still feminine, and the grave question must be asked, Has she made Christianity and the Christian life distinctively feminine? Is there a feminine note in religion as in education depriving it of virility, prone to substitute a sentimental idea of what ought to be for candid recognition of what is? With an inordinate desire to call everything by a fictitious name, dreaming that life is beauty, not knowing that life is war, enfeebling the will, arresting the intellect, and greatly increasing caprice and waywardness?" (21)

For all his praise of women, Case reveals here that he, and many of the Baptists he writes for, perceive that any form of the feminine in Christianity is not only lesser than masculine reflections of Christianity, but also poses threats to the superior masculine interpretations that are more appropriate and accurate to an "ultimate truth." He does assert that either gender might and ought to exhibit elements of the other ("Let the feminine exists primarily in woman and secondarily in man; and let the masculine continue primarily in man and secondarily in women"), and elements of the feminine Christianity are in fact beautiful and divine ("Christ is himself a feminine power,

the apotheosis of the feminine ideals, and his era is the one in which the feminine or passive type shall be exalted" (29, 31). However, one gender, the masculine, is still the dominant and ought to hold authority, while the other, the feminine, acts as a companion to the other, to provide checks or to act "ornamental" (44).

Case's arguments hinge not entirely on the rejection of the feminine attributes of the church, but instead on the lack of what he considers dominant masculine aspects. He contends that there ought to be two focuses of the Christian life, based primarily on the common concept of the separation of spheres of life, private and public: first, the focus on the "so-called religious" practices, such as reading the Bible, praying, and going to the church (the private realm, therefore feminine); second, the focus on one's social and political life, such as one's business, pursuit of science, etc. (the public realm, therefore masculine) (64). While supporting the separation of spheres, Case argues there ought never to be a separation based on the religious versus non, and that all aspects of one's life should be focused on one's religiosity (67). As the church apparently had an overabundance of feminine features and structuring, this was not only corrupting Christianity but also driving away male participation. As discussed earlier, Case observed that young boys still attended Sunday School in good numbers only because they were more like women. However, as they age, "the growing boy finds his needs unsatisfied and his new life only hampered by a wrong mold" (24). He contends that the church did not accommodate male privilege nor need for weighty chores. Pointing to the success of the YMCA in attracting male participants, Case argues that the church ought to be organized like a business where all men were given "something large enough and important enough, and they will do it. It belittles their manhood to make them turn from some weighty business transaction to a petty religious affair" (96). Case quotes Captain Alfred Mahan, famous naval officer and historian, as evidence not only for the loss

of men in the church, but also the militant masculine aspect of Christianity. During a speech at West Point, Mahan argued that:

> "The masculine, military side of religion as portrayed in the Bible is too often overlooked, because women are more religious than men. In its precepts and typical men Christianity finds in the military calling its most vivid illustration and fervent appeals. Christ came not to send peace, but a sword. The good men of the Bible are a line of heroes, courageous in action, patient in endurance, obedient, subordinate, counting gain but loss so that the ends of God their general, of Christ their captain, be achieved. They loved not their lives unto death…The essential character of the good Christian and the good soldier have much in common. They are more closely allied than those of any other calling. War realizes in an extreme form the conflict of all life, and even in peace the decisive military virtues are essentially Christian virtues." (25)

Case's work displays the common Christian male's perspective of the church and its perceived faults at the time. His work is a fascinating combination of promoting the virtues and victories of men, and "their" part of Christianity as dominant, yet simultaneously implies a lack of confidence in men to participate in religious life unless it provides them with opportunities to be heroic or feel important. Christianity was not only manly, it was very manly, even to the point of being militant. As he concludes his book, Jesus was a "supremely manly man" (120). Case's book and example provide us a useful overview of the overall muscular Christian movement, highlighting the movement's anxieties regarding the perceived disruption to not only proper gender balances and constructs in society and in religion, but also the appropriate style and leadership that white men ought to be exerting in said fields. Muscular Christianity would offer the proper social and physical instruction to men, all the while reestablishing the expected social order of patriarchal authority.

Dr. Robert Conant, The Virility of Christ, 1915

Another critical book in the development of muscular Christianity in American culture is Dr. Robert Conant's *The Virility of Christ: A New View*, published in 1915. Conant taught both

classics and history for many years at the Chicago Latin school, though he graduated from Yale with a medical degree. He practiced medicine for a few years after moving to Chicago in 1877 before transitioning to the educational field.[4] Along with Case's work, Putney cites Conant's work as popular in the developing muscular Christian movement. Conant introduces his work with a similar concern as Case, with his observation regarding what he perceives as the feminization of Christianity. However, unlike Case, the feminization does not provide aid of proper promotion of the Christian faith to the common population, especially with regards to what he sees as the feminized presentation of Jesus. Case offered some appreciation for feminized presentations and attributes of Jesus. Conant, on the other hand, rejects this outright. Conant argues that the feminized Christ is the reason why men do not attend church (Conant, 1915, 13). Conant contends that the failure to present Jesus as manly, or Christianity as similarly manly, has allowed for not only men to drift away from the church, but excuses amoral practices of men:

> "Was Christ any less manly because he was free from their grossness and moral blemish? A gentleman is not necessarily effeminate. There is altogether too much popular inclination to assume that goodness cannot be thoroughly manly, and so we have much twaddle from those who should know better about 'boys will be boys,' and 'a young man must sow his wild oats' - which is simply one way in which respectability condones folly and licentiousness." (14)

Conant's goal of his rejection of the "effeminate Christ" is not simply to increase male attendance to the church. It is his primary goal to promote his theological belief that Jesus was masculine, and in fact "Christ stands for the highest type of a strong, virile man, and there was nothing effeminate about him" (14). The subsequent character traits Conant argues are required of an effective leader, including courage, nerve, force, foresight, sound judgment, shrewdness, the ability to "talk and argue convincingly," are all masculine traits in his mind, and unachievable by the effeminate Christ, and, by extension, the feminine whole (14-15). Conant explores the stories of Jesus

[4] See Dr. Conant's obituary in the Chicago Tribune, July 11, 1930. https://www.newspapers.com

provided in the gospels through the lens of his desired masculine characteristics. In particular, he highlights the episodes of "righteous indignation" of Jesus, in which Conant characterizes as moments of virtuous physical and violent prowess:

> "There were other occasions when Christ got angry with cause, but little is said about them. It is nicer to talk about miracles. But men of action, men with good red blood in their arteries, feel drawn toward a Christ who had the manliness to whip the rascally brokers out of the Temple…How his eye must have flashed and how terrible his wrath when before his single arm the whole crowd ran like whipped curs! They were many against one and that one had no authority and no power, yet they did not dare put up a fight even to save the money which they loved better than their souls. If they had, can we have any doubt whether Christ would have proved himself a good fighter? How often must his fingers have tingled for a good grip on the handle of a sword when he saw evil triumphant! Not the least of his trials, in which he was tried like ourselves, must have been the necessity which he usually laid upon himself of denying the natural outlash of a strong man's wrath." (18-19)

Conant argues that the promotion of any qualities that he contends are effeminate in Jesus must end, both for proper theology and the need to bring men to the church. The "meek and lowly Jesus" ought to be replaced with the "Fighting Christ." Conant contends if this Christ were to appear in modern times, he would lead raids on "gambling, prostitution, lewd dances and exhibitions, rum-holes, and all other forms of iniquity" (19). Conant's depiction of the masculinity of Jesus includes, of course, the traditional racism and patriarchal expectations of muscular Christianity popular during this era. Conant rejects the perfect, pale, long-haired Jesus popular in religious art during his time, but for Conant, Jesus was still very white and very Anglo-Saxon. Jesus could not be thought of as Jewish, because "he was more occidental than oriental." He was "born of a race which has always been characterized by great excitability and volubility, he was more like the best type of the modern Anglo-Saxon in his perfect self-command, his cool, steady eye, his capacity for reticence, and his love of brevity" (120). This manliness of Jesus does not stop with him, but, according to Conant, is expected of all his male followers. Not only for his immediate disciples, all of whom Conant analyzes as flawed but still properly manly men (a fact, according to him, has

been either downplayed or rejected by modern theology and sermons), but the modern Christian man. As he explains, Jesus's request to "follow me" implied not only for the follower to be "good and gentle as has been so over-taught," but also, and more importantly, for the follower to "be strong, even as [Jesus] was strong" (59).

The strength, the manliness, that Conant promotes is not restricted to mental fortitude, as outlined by his characteristics of a leader and theological beliefs, but physical. He reflects that the Church's traditional rejection of the body over the soul has been misdirected, and that "God made man a composite of physical and spiritual, mutually necessary and interdependent, in order that they might be mutually helpful; not foes but good comrades and partners" (343-344). The two binary realms of the physical and spiritual need to both be bettered through the Christian religion, but, importantly, the spiritual realm needs a strong physical presence to succeed. If one is to gain "soul-power," a "strong physical basis" is first required: "We who are not geniuses but just everyday folks need all the physical vigor which we can inherit and acquire to help us in developing vigorous minds and wills and sane emotions. From physical weakness and taint flow all kinds of abnormality and perversion" (344-346). It is indeed notable that Conant, and other similar promoters of muscular Christianity, promoted the rejection of the classic dualism of the body and soul in Christianity, where the soul was the sole focus. However, this move is in no account a promotion of perhaps a healthy alternative to the binary belief, but upholds this dualism in favor of seeking out a better balance between the two, in which Conant's expected dominance of the white masculine in Christianity is uplifted by a focus on the physical bodies of the Christian male.

While muscular Christianity encouraged Church and Christian participation in numerous types of physical fitness endeavors, many religious leaders combined their support for exercise

and rejuvenation with their public support for further interaction with the individual and the natural environment. The debates on gender by muscular Christianity inevitably tied in with their discourse on the proper relationship between the Christian faith and environmental attitudes and events. The outdoors, as discussed earlier, provided muscular Christianity discourse and participants with a site of physical recreation, but also religious reflections. Boston abolitionist Thomas Wentworth Higginson published an article in the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1858 titled "Saints and Their Bodies," in which he concluded that since the soul resided in the body, the "sound maintenance" of one's physical health was a "worthy religious endeavor." Such maintenance, according to Higginson, ought to be performed outdoors (Dray, 63). The city, urban lifestyles, acted as pollutants (literally and symbolically in the social sense) for the Christian body, hindering proper spiritual growth. In most cases, the appeal of nature relied on simply its literal separation from civilization. However, during the end of the 19th century, nature was perceived by many as a source of religious influence and education among a greater portion of the religious community. We will further explore the role of environmental language and relationships within the Christian population and religious dialogue in the next chapter, but what is critical to note here is the presence of nature in the muscular Christian dialogue of those pastors and religious leaders who promoted hunting as a good source of Christian respite and physical edification. Hunting was only one avenue in which certain ministers supported muscular Christianity's unity between the physical and spiritual edification, but its participants shaped the greater dialogue on wilderness in religious reflection.

Rev. Joel T. Headly, The Adirondack, or, Life in the Woods, *1849*

Reverend Joel T. Headley was born in Walton, New York in 1813. He studied at Auburn Theological Seminary and was a pastor for a short period of time in Massachusetts. He transitioned from the ministry to writing historical nonfiction books, for which he achieved notoriety during the mid-18th century. In a 1896 publication in the *Democrat and Chronicle* newspaper, in recognition of his serious illness, the paper reflects on his most famous work, an account of George Washington. The article praises him for not leaving readers "undecided about the qualities of the great actors of the revolutionary period," implying that his historical work was quite normative and focused primarily on Headley's desired message, not historical accuracy.[5] In 1849, Headley published *The Adirondack, or, Life in the Woods*, in which he helped promote the rising popular belief that nature had "restorative powers" for human health and spirituality, all the while interweaving his reflections on nature with a number of tales of the various hunting trips he had participated in. Much of Headley's work on the impact of nature on spirituality was inspired by his friendship with and excursions with famous Abenaki outdoor guide Mitchell Sabattis (Dray, 58-9). The work is made up of a series of letters written by Headley over the course of two different summer trips to the Adirondack wilderness, during primarily the 1840s. Headley contends that in nature, one experiences a freedom from societal restrictions, in which they might better explore themselves and their spirituality. As he explains, "in the woods, the mask that society compels one to wear is cast aside," and the soul finds liberty and is like a "child in action" (Headley, 1849, iii). For Headley, nature was not only a place of spiritual retreat, but it was also an object of and continually occasion of the sublime, a reality he highlights with his continual biblical references to his situations (all of which range from subtle to overt). He reflects during one occasion while

[5] https://www.newspapers.com/image/135263047/?terms=joel%20t.%20headley&match=1

relaxing on the shores of a lake on how his presence within the wilderness opened his mind to the ability to explore the sublime:

> "...I had a glorious view of the broken chain of the Adirondack. From the ravishing beauty of the scene, my mind, as it is wont, fell to musing over this mysterious life of ours - on its strange contrasts and stranger destinies, and I wondered how its selfishness and sorrow, blindness and madness, pains and death, could add to the glory of God; or how angels could look on this world without turning away, half in sorrow and half in anger, at such a blemished universe…" (107)

The picturesque scene is interrupted by a storm rolling swiftly in. Headley felt no rush to flee the storm, and instead watched with morbid curiosity from underneath a make-shift shelter. The storm, a "mighty black mass" that sent its lightning and rain down from the "dark womb" of the clouds, lasted for about a half an hour before subsiding. Once over, Headley crept back out to explore the impact of the storm on the area. His attention, however, was drawn to a single cloud that appeared over the mountains, taking the same path across the sky as had the stormhead. He marvels at its beauty, through which he claims to have glimpsed a "solution" to the "mystery of life." His depiction of his situation evokes the spirit of Elijah, in which he has waited for the sign of the divine in the storm, yet found it in the peace following the tempest (1 Kings 19:11-13). Now, as Headley's mind's eye opened, he longed to "fly away and sink" into the cloud, to be taken up into the heavens as Elijah in the whirlwind (Headley 109, 2 Kings 2:11). The cloud was the "gentle whisper" of the divine, which revealed to Headley this solution:

> "But seen at that distance - shone upon that setting sun - how glorious…with [life's] agitations and changes - its blasphemies and songs - its revelries and violence - its light and darkness - its ecstasies and agonies - its life and death - so strangely blent - it is *a mist, a gloomy fog*, that chills and wearies us as we walk in its midst. Dimming our prospect, it shuts out the spiritual world beyond us, till we weep and pray for the rays of heaven to disperse the gloom. But seen by angels and spiritual beings from afar - *shone upon by God's perfect government and grand designs of love* - it may, and doubtless does, appear as glorious as the evening cloud to me." (109-110)

Headley adopts a classic theodicy based in the "greater good view," as popularized by many theologians dating back to Augustine of Hippo. How is the "problem with evil" dealt with, if one adheres to the belief in an "all-powerful" and "all-good God?" For Headley and those who agree with his approach to theodicy, the divine's plans for the cycles of the world are ultimately all working towards a greater good, which is a destiny that is only perceivable by such an omnipotent deity. This reality can be glimpsed in episodes, such as storms, in the wilderness and in nature. In another nod to the Old Testament, Headley relays another storm story in which another biblical symbol makes an appearance. While traveling near midnight, he and his companions manage to make their way to safety ahead of a storm due to their own Exodus "pillar of fire" in the form of a column of fireflies:

> "At length, just as the heavy drops began to fall, we emerged into a little valley, in which nestled a rude village, the meadows of which seemed to be one mass of phosphorescence. The fire flies hung in countless numbers over the surface, forming almost a solid body of light. The effect was indescribable; all around was Egyptian darkness, except that single level spot on which the incessant flashes made a constant, yet ever tremulous light. At first, it seemed an illusion, so fluctuating and confused did everything appear; but as the eye, aided by the judgment, got accustomed to the scene, it became a beautiful creation, made on purpose to cheer the night and lessen the gloom that overhung the world." (17)

Indeed, though nature is a source of respite, Headley makes it clear that its natural cycles and events, as seen with these fireflies, are established for the benefit of humans. The solitude of the wilderness and forests require the appreciation and introspection of humans to be fulfilled. In reflecting on the sounds of one forest, Headley notes that the birds' songs are a "complete waste of time" with "no one to listen to them." The birds, he reflects, must only sing to hear their echo (21). Headley is also not above the belief that the more remote regions of the wilderness that he visits ought to be made more readily accessible to the greater public. During a visit with a settler near Blue Mountain Lake, he informs his reader that he had participated in a recent legislature

endeavor to connect Sackett's Harbor to Lake Champlain with a railroad (414-415). Nature's offered "solitude" must be completed by human interaction.

As Headley's storm story reveals, this journey into the wilderness provides the individual with both better introspection and spirituality, but also better understanding of the greater divine plan. Headley presents two German phrases (the latter of which appears to not, in fact, be proper German) as explanatory of the two states one's mind might inhabit. The first, "einseitigkeit, which he defines as "one-sidedness," is the state most are in, in which the individual "goes through the motions" of everyday life and fails to observe or reflect on the spiritual complexities that surround them, and to fail to have the confidence in implementing or demanding change to their own routine or societal norms. This state, according to Headley, causes social reform to falter and "bigotry and prejudice" to prosper. The second state, "fielseitgkeit" (a word that appears to be either made up or mispelled), is, as defined by Headley, "many-sidedness," a state Headley vaguely defined as the evolution of "einseitigkeit," in which the individual adheres to a more complex way of thinking, and is often gained through a retreat into the wilderness. It must be noted here that while Headley does see the natural landscape as a window into the greater cosmic order, and is many times awe-inspiring and beautiful, it is on a whole rather brutal. This extends beyond the random dangers of the natural world, such as seen in the frequent storms that appear in his book. There is a sinful nature underlying the natural cycles, evoking a "Fallen" order. This is best seen perhaps in his depiction of a panther hunt witnessed by a colleague. The man was out hunting when a panther and deer raced in front of him, the former in close pursuit of the other:

> "They came and went more like shadows than living things. The mouths of both were wide open, and the tongue of the deer hanging out from fatigue, while their eyes seemed starting from their sockets - one from fear, the other from rage. Swift as the arrow in its flight, and as noiseless, save the strokes of their rapid bounds on the leaves - they fled away, and the forest closed over them…Ah, hunger will outlive fear, and before many miles were sped

> over, that harmless thing lay gasping in death, and its entrails were torn out ere the heart had ceased to beat." (89-90)

What did this hunt say about nature? For Headley, it meant that "innocence [was] safe nowhere" in every corner of "God's universe:"

> "Even in the solitude of the forest - in nature's sacred temple - [innocence] falls before the power of cruel passion. The hunters and the hunted come and go like shadows, and the appealing accents of fear, and the fierce cry of pursuit or vengeance, ring a moment on the ear, and then are lost in a solitude deeper than that of the wilderness." (90)

This violence was not merely the nature cycle of life and death, but went "deeper" than wilderness, and was indicative of a spiritual "Fallen" nature.

When it comes to Headley's perspectives on hunting, the application of perhaps ethical or "fair chase" practices are not his priority. There are numerous stories throughout his work that present hunting practices or incidents that, in other hunting literary publications, might elicit at least an aside regarding the ethical implications of what had transpired. When Headley stumbled across a bear, he wishes that he had a dog accompanying him so that he might have treed the bear and shot him easily (92). Headley and a friend go "jackhunting" (spotlighting, its modern equivalent, is illegal today) at night for deer, despite the fact they did not need the meat and were simply curious, "as [they] had nothing else to do" (382). During another hunt, while in a boat, he and his hunting companions spot a doe and fawn feeding along the bank and "sent one random rifle-shot" towards the pair in a half-hearted attempt to hit one or the other (397). Finally, the most common form of hunting employed by Headley or by those hunters whose hunts Headley includes in his book is driving. Typically, the drives that appear in this book are deer drives, in which the hunters set loose their dogs into the woods surrounding a large lake. The dogs are trained to drive the deer into the lake, where the hunters stand ready by their boats. Once the deer enters the water, the hunters race out on their boats and shoot the deer while it swims (e.g. of such a hunt, page

432+). For Headley and his hunting companions, the ethics of the hunt are derived from the end result of the hunt (whether they got a trophy or not, by any means necessary) and the hunt's providing them with time and entertainment in the woods.

There is a hunter that appears often in this book by the name of Cheney, whom Headley provides with the illustrious title of "a mighty hunter," evoking the biblical hunter and warrior figure of Nimrod. Headley presents Cheney as the ideal hunter, the ultimate masculine man who is self-sufficient and has made his home in the tumultuous wilderness. Cheney's stories include the typical lavish exaggerations we anticipate from hunting stories to this day. On multiple occasions, Cheney is cited to have literally wrestled with his quarry, including both a panther (76) and a bear (80). His usual deer bag is 70 per year (82). During one hunt, his dogs successfully drive a deer into a lake and, while rowing out to shoot the buck, Cheney accidentally shoots himself in the ankle, yet continues on his quest and resorts to beating the deer to death with his oar (82-83). Headley depicts this story as the ultimate masculine and practical feat: "[Cheney's] resources are almost exhaustless, and his presence of mind equal to that of one who has been in a hundred battles. Wounded, perhaps mortally, it nevertheless flashed on this hunter's thoughts, that he might be so crippled that he could not stir for days and weeks, but starve to death there in the woods" (83). Although the story first presented Cheney in the middle of a long-term hunt, for which the veteran hunter would have undoubtedly packed and harvested many rations at this point, and once he returns to the shore he builds himself crutches and begins his 14-mile hike to reach aid, Headley assures his audience that Cheney's choice to bludgeon this deer was practical. This was not the first time Cheney had resorted to such a conclusion to his hunts. Many of the Cheney hunts end with his beating the animal to death. This was a result of not only the dramatic flair that highlights Headley's hunting stories, but also the very stark reality that Cheney hunted with a single-shot

rifle, one which either had very poor aim or the hunter himself tended to aim in haste. During another hunt, Cheney comes across an emaciated wolf, one "ravenous with hunger" as she struggled through some deep snow. Cheney fires at the wolf, but the animal had leapt up simultaneously and the shot only wounded her. Now "enraged," the wolf charges Cheney, the hunter once again adopting his Jacobian mantle as he wrestles death: "The bleeding and enraged animal seized the hard iron [of the rifle] with her teeth, and endeavored to wrench it from his grasp - but it was a matter of life and death with Cheney, and he fought savagely" (78). Cheney calls for his dogs to come to his aid, the pair having been exploring the woods nearby on their own. The first dog arrives, a young hound, and, upon seeing the wolf and Cheney's condition, flees. The second, an older dog, arrives and immediately leaps to Cheney's aid, and successfully pulls the wolf away from Cheney. The man finally manages to stand and beats the wolf with his now broken rifle until he crushes the skull of the wolf. After relaying a hunt of a panther to Headley, one in which Cheney and the big cat had, of course, wrestled with each other across a clearing, the pastor had asked Cheney how he had felt when faced with such danger. Cheney reported coolly and simply: "I felt as if I should kill him" (77). The simple answer, while disappointing to Headley who desired more drama, was still indicative of Headley's overall theme of the hunt. Yes, hunting was important, and part of his greater nature-based ethics and spiritual retreat, but the ends assuredly justified the means - one did not feel ethically-based tinges of emotions while killing animals. Demonstration of one's domination over nature, establishing the religious ideal of humanity as the pinnacle of and, while a part of, still uniquely separate, was the ultimate goal. The hunted animal's death was but a single part of the ritual.

It is interesting to note that Headley does address the presence of women in his nature excursions and hunts. Headley's attitude towards the women is surprisingly welcoming, though his

acceptance is still tinged with a hint of patronization. Headley not only joins with groups and encounters other groups with women, but he apparently voluntarily led all women groups into the field. He observed that he rarely encountered women in the Adirondacks during his early years of venturing out, but in recent years ladies now went in "crowds" (442). This rise in women corresponded with a rise in visitors overall, this corresponding to a rise in tour guides, lodges, and hotels. Headley dedicates chapter 50 to offering advice to women who chose to visit the Adirondacks. Here, Headley suggests that there were two types of women who visited. The first "class" fully embraced the rough life of the wilderness, and loved the recreation, while the second enjoyed the beauties of the wilderness but from the comforts of a hotel or lodge:

> "One class goes to the woods to rough it like any man. They like the ten-life - the distant exploration and the hunter's fare, and sometimes use his rifle or the sportsman's rod. To such I have nothing to say. Willing to take the evil and good together, the wild scenery and wilder life have a charm for them that makes them laugh at mosquitoes and the thousand little inconveniences to which they are subjected. But there is another large class who have no taste for these things - they want to see a little of the wilderness without being deprived of their usual comforts. These stay on the outskirts, while the others, with the gentlemen, press into the interior with their tents." (444)

Headley does not dismiss or condemn this second class of women, but instead offers a few suggestions of places they could stay comfortably, one of which is a close friend, a man named Martin, and his wife's business (448). The lodge purportedly was near a town, received a stagecoach every evening with supplies, and had wonderful views. Headley's endorsement highlights the underlying mission of the minister's book as a tourism advertisement and guide for the Adirondacks. Headley's observation regarding the second class of women is applicable to many of the men Headley comes across as well. One friend, referred to as "C", complained through most of his hunting trip, got lost due to his desire to make his work easier, and improperly loaded his gun and failed to kill a deer, leading the hunting group to tease him (394-397). Another man, who was hunting with Headley's cousin, catches a mild cold or another similar affliction and

becomes alarmed due to the fact they would not be able to quickly call for a physician to attend to him (418). Headley might direct his second class characterization against women, but his two-class system is clearly applicable to all visitors of the Adirondacks. The visitors are all on a complex scale of not only experience, but personal preference.

While Headley might be commended on his unusual welcoming of women, especially considering the time he is writing, we cannot overlook the serious faults of the minister when it comes to his connections to racist groups and people. Chapter XLIX is dedicated to the celebration of Louis Agassiz, and Headley's self-described "pilgrimage" to the infamous naturalist's abandoned "philosopher camp" in Ampersand, New York. Headley makes the trip with his 10 year old son and a number of friends and guides. He bases the success of the trip on their ability to procure a boat and drive a deer into the lake in order that his son might shoot it. His fascination with Agassiz is further highlighted by his membership with the American, or the "Know Nothing," Party. This party, first rising during the mid-19th century, was based in its opposition to Catholic immigration and xenophobic ideologies. He was Secretary of State for New York from 1856 to 1857, but most of his political life was restricted to his pastoral lectern and publications. Headley's work encompasses a great deal of the rising muscular Christian and outdoor movements, especially those facets focused on the promotion of the expected dominance of the white, Protestant male, from its troubling outlook on race to its focus on centering humanity as the core focus of all wilderness.

Rev. William H. H. Murray, Adventures in the Wilderness, or, Camp-life in the Adirondacks, *1869*

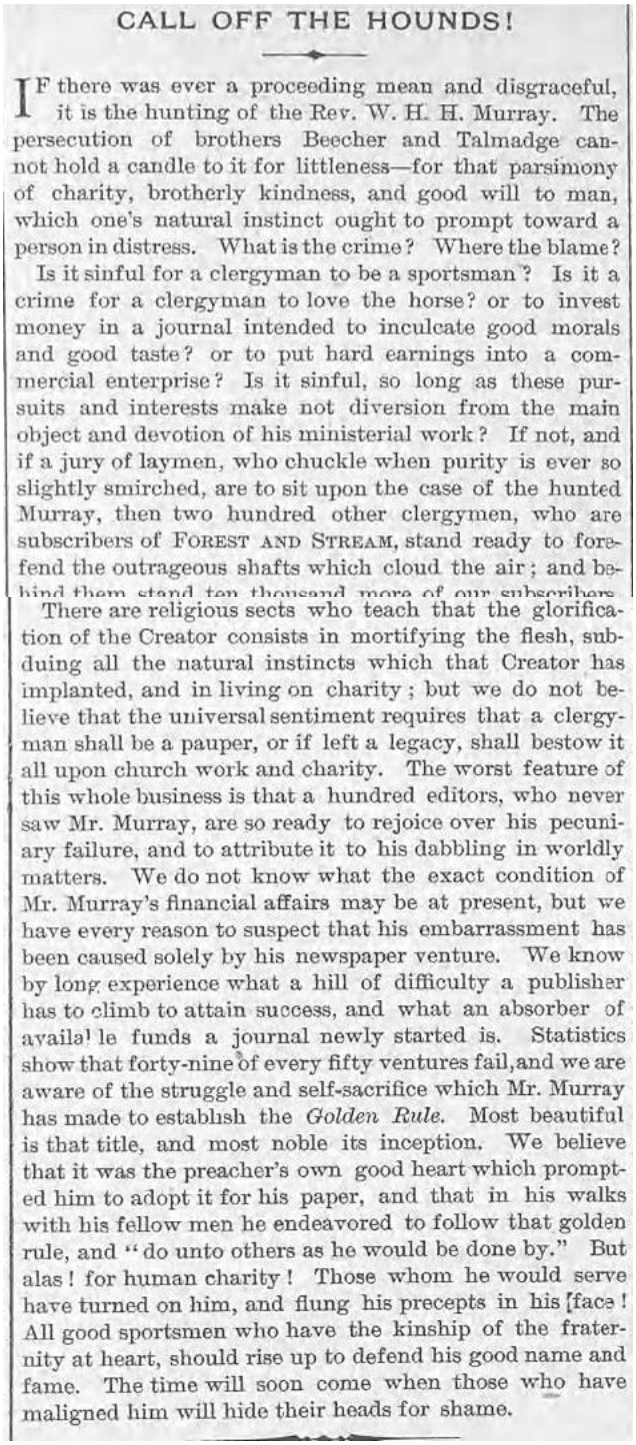
Perhaps the most notable pastor famed for advocating for hunting and outdoor recreation of this era was Reverend William H. H. Murray. Known as "the shooting pastor," and "Adirondack

Murray," Murray gained fame through both his outdoor guidebook publications and his sermons promoting muscular Christianity, in which the biblical patriarchs were depicted as "vigorous outdoorsmen" and God as approving of rugged recreation and nature. He pastored churches over the course of his career in both Connecticut and Massachusetts. Murray graduated from Yale in 1862, and from Yale's theological school two years later. Following his graduation and over the course of three years, he worked at two different Congregational churches in Connecticut. At the age of 28, he received an invitation from the historic Park Street Church in Boston, Massachusetts to become their minister. While there, his popularity was reflected in the church's sudden explosion in attendance, and every Sunday more than a thousand visitors crowded into the sanctuary to hear the charismatic minister speak. His local celebrity status was solidified by not only his speaking skills, but also his notoriety to dress and carry himself in a manner not common for ministers during this time. His expansive obituary in *The Boston Globe* notes he had the "eloquence of a statesman" and the "physical attributes of a knight." The article goes on to note that he dressed in a short coat, with trousers carefully tucked into his high boots, while a soft hat sat "jauntily" on the side of his head.[6] Philip Dray noted in his exploration of the pastor that Murray often arrived at his pulpit with his hunting rifle hanging lazily in his arm (Dray, 63). His obituary claims that he lost his position at the Park Street Church in 1875 following the deacon's disapproval of his involvement with the local horse racing scene due to his hobby of breeding horses. Dray noted that he also drew ire from his parishioners due to his insistence to include Irish immigrants in his church (66). He hosted a temporary independent church in the public hall across the street from the Park Street Church, after which he floated from job to job, never able to wholly devote himself to any one idea and continually losing money to his various schemes. The *Globe*

[6] See his obituary from March 4, 1904 in *The Boston Globe,* https://www.newspapers.com/clip/99058736/1904-william-h-h-murray-obit/

observed that if his income had been $50,000 a year at Boston (it was $15,000) he still would have managed to lose it all.

For Murray, hunting was more than just a "splendid recreation," but was also an "exercise of faith" and an escape from the evils (both physical and social) of the cities. Murray supported the building of various exercise venues in cities, such as pools, playgrounds, YMCAs, etc., but argued that proper revitalization would only occur in a "complete immersion" in the "wilderness" (Dray, 63-4). While successful in publication and notoriety, Murray's enterprise to unite religiosity and hunting was not without controversy or skepticism. Many local citizens and his own parishioners grew tired of the success of Murray's publications, which drew numerous tourists to the Adirondacks and popularized accessible but superficial advice to these short-term visitors to the nearby parks. Many of his parishioners were also not pleased with his seemingly lack of whole dedication to practices they saw necessary of a minister. In an 1879 publication of the magazine *Forest*



CALL OFF THE HOUNDS!

IF there was ever a proceeding mean and disgraceful, it is the hunting of the Rev. W. H. H. Murray. The persecution of brothers Beecher and Talmadge cannot hold a candle to it for littleness—for that parsimony of charity, brotherly kindness, and good will to man, which one's natural instinct ought to prompt toward a person in distress. What is the crime? Where the blame?

Is it sinful for a clergyman to be a sportsman? Is it a crime for a clergyman to love the horse? or to invest money in a journal intended to inculcate good morals and good taste? or to put hard earnings into a commercial enterprise? Is it sinful, so long as these pursuits and interests make not diversion from the main object and devotion of his ministerial work? If not, and if a jury of laymen, who chuckle when purity is ever so slightly smirched, are to sit upon the case of the hunted Murray, then two hundred other clergymen, who are subscribers of FOREST AND STREAM, stand ready to forefend the outrageous shafts which cloud the air; and behind them stand ten thousand more of our subscribers.

There are religious sects who teach that the glorification of the Creator consists in mortifying the flesh, subduing all the natural instincts which that Creator has implanted, and in living on charity; but we do not believe that the universal sentiment requires that a clergyman shall be a pauper, or if left a legacy, shall bestow it all upon church work and charity. The worst feature of this whole business is that a hundred editors, who never saw Mr. Murray, are so ready to rejoice over his pecuniary failure, and to attribute it to his dabbling in worldly matters. We do not know what the exact condition of Mr. Murray's financial affairs may be at present, but we have every reason to suspect that his embarrassment has been caused solely by his newspaper venture. We know by long experience what a hill of difficulty a publisher has to climb to attain success, and what an absorber of available funds a journal newly started is. Statistics show that forty-nine of every fifty ventures fail, and we are aware of the struggle and self-sacrifice which Mr. Murray has made to establish the *Golden Rule*. Most beautiful is that title, and most noble its inception. We believe that it was the preacher's own good heart which prompted him to adopt it for his paper, and that in his walks with his fellow men he endeavored to follow that golden rule, and "do unto others as he would be done by." But alas! for human charity! Those whom he would serve have turned on him, and flung his precepts in his face! All good sportsmen who have the kinship of the fraternity at heart, should rise up to defend his good name and fame. The time will soon come when those who have maligned him will hide their heads for shame.

Fig. 1b

and Stream, the editors' call for support of Murray highlights the tensions surrounding Murray's social status, most of which are tied to his success and monetary gain from his publication and celebrity status (Figures 1a, 1b).

Murray's most successful publication was his 1869 *Adventures in the Wilderness, or, Camp-life in the Adirondacks.* The book originated from a series of earlier articles Murray had published promoting tourism and trips to the Adirondacks, written during his time at his second ministerial position in Connecticut. After the popularity of the articles, and encouragement by his friends, Murray chose to compile these articles into an in-depth guide for new visitors to the Adirondacks, ranging from tips on how best to travel into the region, places to stay, and what to pack with regards to clothes and food. His guide focuses primarily on outlining a potential trip that would start in Boston, from which one would travel through Vermont to New York, and then would stay at a select few hotels before venturing into the Adirondacks. In the second half of the book, Murray includes a variety of his own stories from his time visiting the Adirondacks, most of which are humorous or fantastical in tone and subject. Throughout the book, Murray's tips for traveling and his reflections reveal, similar to Headley, not only the origins of theological reflection of the beginnings of muscular Christianity, but also indicate the changing social attitudes towards the "wilderness." Nature now provided not only a place of reflection and retreat for the rising middle class, but also a source of spiritual reflection for those religious leaders drawn to such trips. Some of Murray's reflections, as will be noted, differentiate notably from Headley, again revealing the great multiplicity of representations of and approaches to muscular Christianity and the rising integration of nature reflections in theological circles.

A majority of the work is focused on his personal experience as a visitor to the Adirondacks, and, subsequently, the audience is allowed a glimpse of a side of Murray in which

the minister seems disheartened by ministerial work at his church, a revelation that does not appear to have been made intentionally by Murrray despite his openness regarding his theological development. In his introduction, Murray explains that he wrote this book for those who, like him, were "born of hunter's breed and blood," and were "pent up in narrow offices and narrower studies, weary of the city's din" and longed for a "breath of mountain air and the free life by field and flood" (8). During one of his trips, while providing a mock sermon for his fellow hunters, he reflects that their responses were "more direct and unanimous than I ever expect to receive from any church whatsoever" (88). Murray asserts that trips to the Adirondacks hold special healing properties for both himself and other visitors, both physical and spiritual in nature. At the start of the book, Murray relays the tale of a young man who was dying in the city until his parents brought him to the Adirondacks, in a last-ditch effort to better his health after receiving advice from a friend. The parents pay a guide to take their dying son into the woods, who ultimately emerges from the woods several months later in perfect health (12-13). Murray explains that his own trips reinvigorate him, allowing him to better preach and work for his church. He encourages all churches to send their ministers on such excursions. His promotion highlights not only his belief in the ability of nature to promote the masculinity of those who venture into the wilderness, where health and masculinity are equated, but also the traditional, racist promotion of American Indian characteristics as commendable when applied to white men (and not actual American Indians):

> "For when the good dominie came back swarth and tough as an Indian, elasticity in his step, fire in his eye, depth and clearness in his reinvigorated voice, wouldn't there be some preaching! And what texts he would have from which to talk to the little folks in the Sabbath school! How their bright eyes would open and enlarge as he narrated his adventures, and told them how the good Father feeds the fish that swim, and clothes the mink and beaver with their warm and sheeny fur. The preacher sees God in the original there, and often translate him better from his unwritten works than from his written word." (21-24)

Murray's words perfectly reflect our concept of the "American Native," where the white man is the true indigene of the American landscape, and is "wild" only to the extent that it exhibits masculine qualities expected of this time period. The Adirondacks, in Murray's mind, was a literal paradise, for these "health-giving qualities," its "beauty of scenery," and its sport and hunting offerings (19). Only the trained and prepared white man could appreciate this paradise and obtain its profits.

The spiritual properties of nature for Murray are based not only on its ability to offer the space for retreat, but in its state as "primordial." For Murray, nature was in a primordial state either through the fact it was not literally altered by industry, or the fact that, visually, it was reflective of "Creation:" "I know of nothing which carries the mind so far back toward the creative period as to stand on the shore of such a sheet of water, knowing that as you behold it, so has it been for ages…Even the grass at your side is as the parent spire which He who ordereth all commands to bring forth seed after its kinds. All around you is as it was in the beginning" (65-66). When discussing his preference for the Adirondacks to the "Maine Wilderness," he explained that the forests in Maine were tainted by the timber industry, which stripped the forests of its vegetation and left behind serious pollution (literal, auditorial, and visual). In the Adirondacks, the "forest stands as it has stood, from the beginning of time, in all its majesty of growth, in all the beauty of its unshorn foliage" (16-17). In chapter X, "Sabbath in the Woods," Murray depicts one Sunday visit to the Adirondacks as superior to any experience of what could be acquired in a church. In a move nearly identical to Headley's biblical recollection of the prophet Elijah, Murray's day of enlightenment was instigated by a storm rising over the mountains. As the storm begins to ascend in the sky, Murray's attention is first drawn to the beach in the distant horizon, and he reflects further on the primordial and its reflection on the spiritual and the divine. He observes that recent

scientific findings determined that the ocean represents where "the first ripples broke" under the command of the divine for the dry land to form, after which the mountains rose up "out of the Profound" (193).[7] Murray equates the moment to the first day of the "Creation," a metaphor he explores through liberal use of feminine imagery and language. As discussed before, we have seen and will see the frequent comparison of the feminine body with nature by not only our current community of muscular Christianity and outdoor enthusiasts, but by the majority of other major academic, theological, and social communities during their reflections on nature and the wilderness. Murray compares the young Earth to a "queen" in her "bridal robes," a "maiden" welcoming the light as though it were her "love" (194). Nature, while wonderfully spiritual in its primitive state, was still in need of the masculine to "fertilize it," to bring about its ultimate purpose. As the storm picks up, his musings turn towards comparing the escalating weather to the "old dispensation" of the God of Sinai and the calm skies in the distance to the new covenant of "light" and "love" (198). Murray hopes to take this new covenant further by arguing for a spirituality that moves beyond the written word, where true enlightenment is found in this spirituality of the wilderness. The woods allows for one to escape from the creations and distractions of "men," where one can have "communion" with the divine:

> "The heart needs neither hymn nor prayer to express its emotions. Even the Bible lies at your side unlifted. The letters seem dead, cold, insufficient. You feel as if the very air was God, and you had passed into the land where written revelation is not needed; for you see the Infinite as eye to eye, adn feel him in you and above you and on all sides…in the silence of the woods the soul apprehends [God] instinctively. He is everywhere. In the fir and pine, which like the tree of life, shed their leaves every month, and are forever green; in the water at your feet, which no paddle has ever vexed and no taint polluted, rivalling that which is as 'pure as crystal'; in the mountains, which, in every literature, have been associated with the Deity, you see Him who of old time was conceived of as a 'Dweller among the hills.' Which such symbols and manifestations of God around, you need not go to the lettered page to learn of him…The Bible, with its print and paper, is a hindrance rather than a help.

[7] It should be noted here that Murray cites the work of Agassiz here to prove this scientific reflection, though his name appears as an aside and quick reference to a popular scientist during this era. This is a departure from Headley's use of his name and memory, who views the man in near saintly status.

> Like a glass with too narrow a field, it concentrates the vision too much…The spirit which, for the first time, perhaps, has escaped the bonds of formal worship, for the first time tasted of freedom and tested its capacities to soar, returns regretfully to the restraint and bondage of book and speech." (194-195, 295-296)

Murray's words might not be a form of pantheism, but perhaps reflective of panentheism, in which the being of the divine intermingles and encompasses the physical universe. Regardless of theological jargon or classification, Murray's stance here reveals that his discomfort with the church extends beyond merely feeling trapped in an office or by societal expectations by his congregation, but also the deeper spiritual restrictions he feels created by these circumstances. However, this access to the divine in nature is not egalitarian, and requires a ritualized, masculine body to access it.

How does hunting, or nature-based sports, play a role in his spirituality? It is first important to understand how Murray defines proper "sportsmanship." For Murray, he appears to prefer a trip that is invigorating, but still very relaxed and reliant on little physical exertion. As he explains in his promotion of the Adirondacks over Maine, a tourist can traverse most of the Adirondacks by boat, alleviating the visitor of any potential "physical weariness," all the while relying on a guide who Murray promises would see to every need (18). While Murray does not focus on his personal physical fitness on his trips, his downplay of such a reality seems to be primarily focused on his desire to draw more tourists to the region, especially those more amateur participants to the nature scene or of a higher class who might not appreciate strenuous physical exertion. But it is clear from how Murray carried himself, and also the individuals he praises in his book, that he valued physical discipline. Murray's words highlight not only his fascination, but high praise of the strong, trained male body. Consider his 1870 sermon, "To Young Men," published in his sermon compilation *Music-Hall Sermons,* in which his praise for the male body borders on the sensuous:

> "Take a young man inured to toil, - I do not mean a slim, fragile lad, such as are nestled in babyhood in the suffocating down on your cities, but such as were rocked on the hard oaken floor of the country, - broad in the chest, with shoulders thick and square. Bare his breast and neck. What breadth, what fulness! See how the blue veins cross it, taut with healthy blood! Turn his head and observe how with the motion the great ridges of the well-twisted cords come out. Lift the arm; move it up and down in the socket, and mark the play of the tough sinews. Watch the face with its broad brow, the keen, lively eyes, the crisp beard, the wide, squarely set jaw. Who has ever looked on such a piece of God's creative power, and not marvelled? And who of us, with such a picture in our mind, wonders that the Apostle should say, 'I have written unto you, young men, because ye are strong'?" (Murray, 1870, 72)

Not only does Murray "marvel" over the male form, but he further promotes its access to the divine. Through the male form, through physical masculinity, one gains access to and the ultimate approval of the divine. In his Adirondack guide, Murray promotes this perception of the male body in his explanation of the ideal guide. This guide is young, "bronzed and hardy," "eager to please," and "uncontaminated" by the modern, corrupt civilization. Their moral aptitude, their closeness to nature, and their realization of the ultimate masculinity grants them access to spiritual knowledge:

> "They are not unworthy of the magnificent surroundings amid which they dwell. Among them an oath is never heard, unless in moments of intense excitement. Vulgarity of speech is absolutely unknown, and theft of matter of horror and surprise. Measured by our social and intellectual facilities, their lot is lowly and uninviting, and yet to them there is a charm and fascination in it. Under the base of these overhanging mountains they were born. Upon the waters of these secluded lakes they have sported from earliest boyhood. The wilderness has unfolded to them its mysteries, and made them wise with a wisdom written in books." (Murray, 1869, 38)

Through such a tie with the divine, and their closeness with nature, these men will be afforded the honor of being interred beneath the trees, and entombed in the primitive divine:

> This wilderness is their home. Here they were born, here have they lived, and here it is that they expect to die. Their graves will be made under the pines where in childhood they played, and the sounds of wind and wave which lulled them to sleep when boys will swell the selfsame cadences in requiem over their graves. When they have passed away, tradition will prolong their virtues and their fame." (Murray, 1869, 38)

What can be said of this exhortation of the primitive, especially during an era when colonialism was rampant, and social Darwinism promoted the Western disapproval of those societies deemed "savage?" Why was entering into a state depicted as wild or primordial acceptable for many theologians and social leaders now? Clifford Putney explores the irony behind this turn and its corresponding promotion of the "primitive." The irony is aggravated by the reality that these same leaders believed passionately in the dominion of the Western, white male world as the pinnacle of civilization, while those outside this establishment were more "savage" and in need of civilizing guidance: "If primitiveness was a valuable quality in white boys, then why was it often used as a term to denigrate nonwhite cultures?" Many proponents of muscular Christianity provided numerous developmental theories to explain this dilemma, as seen in the success of prominent psychologist Granville Stanley Hall, who posited that "primitiveness was not a permanent condition - at least not for whites." Those "less civilized" peoples were in a state of permanent primitiveness where they "languished," while the primitiveness experienced by men and boys in clubs such as the Boy Scouts or short-term outdoor excursions were "just a phase through which they had to pass" that would better prepare them to move through the sphere of civilization (Putney, 2003, Introduction). Intermediate ventures into nature ritualized the body to become properly civilized:

> "Like Hall's theory, muscular Christianity laid stress on the importance of having a muscular, 'preindustrial' body. This body, however, was not simply meant to do preindustrial chores such as hunting and farming; it had a higher purpose. Instead of just being a tool for labor, the body was viewed by muscular Christians as a tool for good, an agent to be used on behalf of social progress and world uplift." (Putney, 2003, Introduction)

For Murray, Headley, and other proponents of nature excursions, such experiences were only suitable due to their temporary nature. The wilderness, though not plowed or controlled in the strictest sense, still came under the control of white, male authority, acting in accordance to the

expectations of said authority so that the male population could ritualistically transform themselves to better maneuver through their patriarchal society. While Murray, in particular, revels in the divine mystery of the wilderness, he still perceives it through the lens as a theological and social commodity.

This perception of nature informs Murray's stance on the ethics of hunting by his ideal masculine figure. Murray goes into great detail, during his recollection of his past hunts, to describe his stance on a hunting ethic, much of which stands opposed to Headley's own outline of the proper hunt. First, Murray asserts that the hunter should never kill more than that was needed to feed one's camp. He describes the multiple occasions he halted his fishing due to his already obtaining enough fish for the day and enjoyed simply watching them swim about, after which he experienced greater pleasure than any "thoughtless violator of God's laws could feel in wasting the stores which Nature so bountifully opens for our need" (Murray, 20). He is not in favor of what he calls "game laws," which he believes prioritizes the needs and wants of the rich and connected above the needs of the majority and poor who rely on hunting for subsistence. He does, however, endorse those laws that would imprison or fine those who hunt and kill for simply "sport," who "[direct] a ball (rifle) or hooks a fish when no necessity demeans it. Such ruthless destruction of life is *slaughter*" (21). Murray later directly rejects one of the most popular form of hunting of that day, promoted by Headley, in which deer drives focus on forcing the deer into a lake or another body of water: "...the dog drives a deer into the lake, and, rowing up beside the poor frightened and struggling thing, that guide holds him by the tail while you blow his brains! Bah! I should be ashamed to ever look along the sights of a rifle again if I had ever disgraced myself with any such 'sporting' (!) as that!" (50) While rejecting this form of deer drives, Murray still supports the other common practice of jackhunting, and even creates for himself a retrofitted firefighter helmet to help himself

in this method (e.g. 170+). His rejection of those hunting practices he deems as unethical or savage do not appear to be out of sympathy for the hunted animal necessarily, but instead on how one's actions during a hunt might reflect on the individual's personal character. While jackhunting one night, his shot only stuns the deer, which, upon exiting his boat from which he had fired, leaps up. His friend and guide Martin manages to grab the deer by the tail and is dragged about for some time before managing to drown the deer. The story played up for comedic effect by Murray (187-191). Murray's words of love and praise of the beauty and mysteries of nature end with the start of his hunts. At the start of this particular jackhunting, Murray's observation of the beauty of the woods at night halts with his turn towards focusing on the hunt, relaying that the two could not be intertwined: "My mood changed with the change of locality. The lover of nature was instantly lost in the sportsman, and as we shot into the fog, which, rising above the river, from the lake looked like a great fleecy serpent twined amid the hills, eye and ear were all alert to detect the presence of game" (180). Murray concludes the chapter with his explanation that he uses the recollection of his hunts (especially those highlighted by humor in his mind) to alleviate his high stress when back in the city and working (192).

What role do women play in his narrative? Like Headley, Murray appears accepting of women in the wilderness realm, though he too highlights the "natural" weaknesses of women and hopes to alleviate their "feminine anxiety" of travel in the wilderness. During his exploration of the health benefits of the Adirondacks, Murray asserts that he knows many "delicate ladies" and "fragile school-girls" who have gained a pound a day while visiting, and that he has never known a women, even "accustomed to every luxury," to catch a cold or any other similar illness from camping (11, 51). His wife, unnamed here, appears numerous times throughout the text, and is a frequent companion on his trips. Beginning on page 58, he includes her suggestions for dress for

women to wear to avoid bug bites, including adopting a hat made for men. He presents her as very brave, competent in woodcraft, and a particularly excellent shot, though he states he has never feared for her safety due to the fact they are always a great distance away from any other male not in their party during their trips. Her safety is based not on her own skill, but instead on male absence (61-62). His burgeoning discomfort with his church, however, provides perhaps the best reflection of his opinion on women within the religious realm. While he might be open to women visitors to the Adirondacks, where he can offer his gentlemanly advice and protection, he reveals his tensions with the women of his church in numerous asides. We first note this ire during his discussion of the lady who is the head of the "ways and means" committee of his church, who appears to not approve of spending church funds on his trips to the Adirondacks. He implies that this to the fact that she, as a woman in a place of authority, is anxious and is overcompensating (21). During his discussion regarding how the day-to-day events and practices of the church bore ministers and sap their masculinity, most, if not all, of the activities he critiques were those traditionally run by women, including tea-parties and mission work (24). While not as direct as our other proponents of muscular Christianity, such as Case or Conant, Murray alludes to the belief that the church had grown too "effeminate," and was harmful to the masculinity of its male attendees, especially its ministers. When discussing the traits of a good guide, Murray compares the successful guide to a good wife, one whose duty is to be "indispensable to one's success, pleasure, and peace" (33). Very few women are named by Murray, and those who are inhabit a role expected of him and are focused on male comfort in the woods (i.e. Mother Johnson, the cook and manager of an inn, or Miss Palmer, who participated in an impromptu dance held by his hunting party, 45, 99). Those who went for their own enjoyment or who were successful in various sports, such as his wife, are not afforded the honor of being named. His wife would leave him

shortly after his departure from the Park Street Church, after, according to his obituary, he was discovered to be carrying on an affair with "at least" one other woman. The only woman given more than a sentence or two of attention is an American Indian woman named Wisti, who played the lead role in a mythical tale told to him by his friend John. In the story, the woman, while pining for her lost lover, disappears along a river known for its rapids and waterfalls, and now haunts the area, still searching for the man (145+). Murray and John reflect sadly on the nature of women to fall prey to their womanly emotions, after which they dedicate themselves to chasing after her ghostly apparition, leading them to nearly die after going over said waterfall during their pursuit.

It is impossible to extract muscular Christianity and its corresponding movements in other facets of Christian theology from serious gendered dilemmas and the promotion of patriarchal idealization. As earlier discussed, the rise in these organizations and theologies were a reaction of male leadership and participants who feared or rejected feminine authorities or perceived feminine qualities of their faith. This tension filtered into perspectives of nature, which became a commodity of masculinity in this greater ritualization process. While the rise in muscular Christianity and the popularity of hunting and outdoor recreation as an appropriate indicator of one's "manliness" and social standing was highlighted by instances of controversy and debate, hunting left its impact on the greater population beyond these theological debates. Many individuals, both directly tied to or simply indirectly inspired by the dominant Protestantism culture, saw hunting as a means to further themselves, both for private and personal satisfaction and public reputation. It is this practice, this ritual, that Paulina Brandreth desperately wanted to participate in, and to whom we will now return, and reflect on how her writing compares to this wider discourse she is actively participating in - a discourse, as reflected by our studied sources, was at best amused by women in nature, and

believed that women could only participate in the development of this spirituality unique to nature as helpmates of the male attendees.

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Paulina Brandreth, "Freeing The Self In Nature"

Paulina was born in 1885 in Ossinging, New York. Brandreth was the daughter of a wealthy landed American aristocratic family, their wealth acquired through the family's pill manufacturing business. The family owned a large parcel of forested land surrounding a large lake (Lake Brandreth) popular among local hunters in the Adirondacks, which provided her a stage on which she entered into the hunting community and literary world beginning at a very young age. She learned to hunt under the tutelage of her father, Colonel Franklin Brandreth, her grandfather Dr. Benjamin Brandreth, and two prominent guides who would later become two of her closest friends and allies, Wallace Emerson and Reuben Cary. At the age of nine, she began to publish articles on deer and wolves in the magazine *Forest and Stream*. While it was of course not uncommon for wealthy or elite women to hunt during this time, Brandreth stands out for her independent successes in both her hunting and her publications, and her ideas regarding gender conformity. She was known among her hunting peers for rejecting the traditional feminine identity expected of a woman in her position. Brandreth dressed in men's clothing, at times hunted alone, and was known as an expert and guide in the local flora and fauna. In reading her most famous publication, *Trails of Enchantment*, unless one was acquainted with the history of this work, the audience is never told their literary guide is a woman. The only arena in which "Paul" was recognized as "Paulina" appears to only reside in works written by either later literary critics or by hunting authors focused on analysis of their field. Note that in an article published in 1938 in the *Star Tribune* by outdoor sports writer Robert Page Lincoln recognized Paulina as an author who wrote under a male

pseudonym.[8] However, Lincoln still represents Paulina as an anomaly, and that it was bizarre she was an expert in deer hunting. Regardless of his hesitation, *Trails of Enchantment* was considered one of the key guide books on whitetail deer hunting during its time, and today many hunters and historians still consider it so. In this work, Paulina reflects on ethical relations with nature and the influence it has on the development of the individual through her recollections of past hunts and her intensive knowledge of her neighboring ecosystem. Paulina rooted her identity in this work not based on the traditional gender expectations of her time, but instead she defined herself based on her experiences as a hutner and her intimate interactions with nature. Outside her hunting reflections and what we might glean from her poetry, there is little writing on Paulina's life beyond her hunting practices and advice. She lived a relatively solitary life on her family's property, spending her days writing and hunting with her close friends. However, she does appear infrequently in the society pages as a younger woman, the newspapers relaying her visits to other high society individuals and families and her attendance to a number of weddings. She lived until she was sixty-two, when she would die in a mental health facility, though there is no record for why she entered the facility save for the observation that she suffered from depression.[9] It was not uncommon during this era, however, for wealthy families to "hide" their less than desirable daughters away in institutes due to their nonconformity with feminine ideals. Paulina was definitely not compliant to this ideal. Historian Mary Zeiss Stange, in her afterward for the 2003 republishing of *Trails of Enchantment*, proposes the possibility that Paulina was, in her words, a "transgendered individual," and her depression was brought about by her lifelong struggle with this reality. While it cannot be denied that Paulina, at the very least, wholly rejected binary, social

[8] https://www.newspapers.com/image/182239732/

[9] Note that Paulina's biographical information was taken from the forward and afterward of the republication of *Trails of Enchantment* from 2003.

assumptions of gender that were common for her time and even today, there is simply not enough personal biographical writings by Paulina to make any definitive claims regarding her gender identity. What is critical, however, in exploring her writings, is to honestly and accurately acknowledge Paulina's reflections on gender and identity, and relay how she presented herself that honors her memory and reflects her personal preferences.

Paulina wrote both under her own name and the pen name "Paul." While successful under both names in publication efforts with various hunting magazines, "Paul" received the greatest notoriety and respect by her hunting community. In most of these writings, she adopts a masculine identity yet does not describe or call herself a man directly. Paulina's words clearly reflect the dominant, masculine narrative that grounded most hunting culture this time. Were one to include her words among the works discussed earlier that promoted the earlier discussed muscular Christianity movement, many of her reflections would fit comfortably. However, one key fact removes her from ever fully conforming to or being fully welcomed by this literary realm - her identity as a woman. She is not writing as a woman who is promoting how men ought to interact in this field, or writing how women could adopt a feminine approach to hunting that would further support the masculine elements of the field. She is writing from a masculine perspective and claiming these considered masculine attributes and hunting goals for herself. She considered herself wholly an insider of this masculine realm, where she anticipates the greatest physical and spiritual growth for herself, and not in what would be considered more feminine pursuits or feminine approaches to hunting. She desires to engulf her body and mind in the ritualization of hunting for its benefits, and never questions her right to do so in her writings as either Paulina or Paul.

This claim to masculinity is found throughout Paulina's publications in *Forest and Stream.* In "The Art of Still-Hunting," published in August of 1911, Paulina details the best hunting outfits and gear one ought to wear or take to hunt deer in the style of "still-hunting," which involves the silent stalking of the animal without the use of lures or stands. The clothing suggested by Paulina was undoubtedly more masculine than feminine for the time, but what is most critical is Paulina's conclusion that the participation of still-hunting, a form of hunting she considered more ethical than others and required greater skill and dedication, would provide the benefits of "health, endurance and manhood" (Brandreth, 1911, 207-9). In her 1926 article "The Public Benefit of Private Game Parks," Paulina promotes both hunting and nature-based pastimes, coupled with land conservation, as critical for appropriate masculine character building, one which she again claims for herself:

> *"The preservation of wild game for the future is a very vital problem. Are we, like blind and improvident children, going to strip our forests and mountains of the animal beauty that animates and makes them doubly attractive, at the same time depriving the generations to come of a manly and invigorating pastime; or are we through common sense, protection and foresight going to perpetuate the different species still existent, thereby acquitting ourselves of the selfishness and unintelligence that would destroy the rightful inheritance of all sport and nature loving people?...hunting is a recreation and invigorating pastime that never should, through a super-civilized, over-artificallized state of living, be allowed to die out. In this age of neurotic haste it means rest and renewed health to the man whose brain and energies are being constantly overtaxed. It means stronger muscles, a more vigorous constitutions, self-reliance, hardihood. A real man does not care for sport that does not involve difficulty, discomfort and sometimes danger. The trouble with modern life is that physically it is terribly softening. We need something to counteract the effects of luxury and too easy living."* ("The Public Benefit," 138, 181)

Note her language, where defining what a "real man" ought to do within the realm of nature and hunting, includes herself with this dialogue: "*Are **we**...going to,"* "***we*** need something," the language indicates she considers herself a member of the masculine realm. It cannot be denied that Brandreth, at the very least, wholly rejected binary assumptions of gender that were common

during this era. Again, Paulina definitely could have been genderqueer or non-binary, but it is difficult to analyze this topic due to the fact that Paulina did not directly address this issue. However, what is clear is that Paulina rejected any social barriers or convention that might encourage her to maintain femininity as defined by early 20th century social and religious expectations, and that her place in her local community indicated that either her friends and acquaintances either accepted her gender nonconformity or were simply under the impression she was a man, beyond the pages of her articles and in her everyday life.

We find this rejection of the gender and social norm in her various relationships as described by her writings. In her most notable work *Trails of Enchantment*, the introduction observes that most of her audience during its release, its audience was wholly unaware of her gender. As earlier discussed, we find here numerous stories within the text in which it is unclear if her hunting party simply accepts her gender nonconformity or are also unaware of her identity. In one incident, she describes a man telling a story in which the punchline revolves around the fact that one could never "get the best" of a woman or one's wife, which all of the men laugh and joke as though they are insulated in an all male company and everyone "gets" the stereotypical joke, safe from the scrutiny of the mocked female gender (Brandreth, 1930, 201). During a fire at Albany Mountain, Paulina is here treated as though she were a man, as she is expected to join and welcomed by the volunteer firefighters (299). In her article "The Sunrise Buck - A Day on a Stand and an Evening Beside the Camp-Fire with an Adirondack Guide," published in *Forest and Stream* in April of 1911, Paulina, under her pen name Paul, described her cohabitation with another woman while they are camping. She calls the woman "Naiad," a Greek name for the mythological water nymph traditionally known for taking the form of a beautiful young woman who might pose danger to men through their "seductive" charm and beauty. Her sharing a tent with the woman in light of

Paulina's adoption of a masculine role in the story, plus this pet name and her depictions of the woman's charms, imply a romantic or intimate relationship between the two women. The audience of this article in 1911, with no context for who "Paul" was, would have undoubtedly read the story as though Naiad was either Paul's wife or partner (Brandreth, 1911, 568-571). In several other publications, Paulina references a "Diana" who accompanies her on numerous trips and is depicted in a similar fashion to this Naiad. However, in a 1906 article titled "Good Luck," in which this Diana is present, Paulina refers to being in the company of "brothers, cousins and sisters," implying that the Diana could be a relative (Brandreth, 1906, 752). It should be noted here that her story of "The Sunrise Buck" is also recounted in *Trails*, nineteen years after the original article. She does not mention the Naiad here, but instead explains that another friend, Wallace, was on the trip. However, the latter telling of the story appears to be a sanitized version of the original: her relationship with the Naiad does not appear, and she adopts a more expected tone of the male hunting sphere with regards to her poor shot of the deer they hunt on this trip. In the first story, she is highly distressed by her poor shots, brought about by her haste, and wants to immediately set out to find the deer to end its suffering, and disputes with Rube over this. In the second, she agrees with Rube to wait for the deer to tire itself after it flees, and casually recalls her "youthful" impatience, all the while a blanket of fog is to blame for her poor aim. But the vanishing of the Naiad is reflective of perhaps Paulina's hesitation as to how her appearance might be perceived, and what prejudices might be directed towards the two women. As discussed earlier, while Paulina's articles were known to most of the public as written by a man, she might have feared that those literary critics and hunting experts that would review her book for their newspapers, etc. might catch this detail.

Her relationship with this Naiad is paralleled, and reflected on, by Paulina in her fictional short story "The Silver Horn - A Forest Idyl," which was published in *Forest and Stream* in 1908 (Brandreth, 1908, 808-810). The story's protagonist is a young man named Tomaso, who lives with his Mohawk father and French mother. The story explains that Tomaso was particularly close to his mother, who had instilled in him since childhood a love for nature. He grew further enticed by the mystery of the "wandering life in the wilderness" as he matured. Tomaso extended his ventures into the forest and hunting trips grew more frequent as he received greater criticism from his community, in particular from his father's family. The community considered Tomaso as odd and suspect, as he did not fit the expectations of a young man in his position. During one of his canoe trips down the river, he finds and picks a lotus from a shallow pool. Immediately, a water nymph, a Naiad, rises from the waters. The lady at first is somewhat hostile to him and his canoe, causing the river to turn against him. Tomaso recognizes that he had insulted the nymph by taking the lotus, and he returns the flower to the lady and expresses his friendship. The lady accepts the apology, and the two converse for some time. It is suggested here that not only is the lady a nymph, but is the river itself. Tomaso vows to see her again, yet when he returns to the location later he cannot find her. Tomaso treks throughout the forest in search of the lady for some time. During one of his trips, while he is walking through an area that had recently experienced a forest fire, the "seer of the wilderness" visits with him, who "serene, dream-tongued and benevolent, forever roams the forest, whose glance means death or happiness, or worse than death or more than happiness." He is described as having the appearance of an old Jesuit priest, with thick white hair and cloak of silver. The seer tells Tomaso he will see the river lady again and be forever welcomed in the wilderness if he manages to hunt a legendary buck. The deer was identified by not only its immense size, but also by left horn that was polished and had a whitish-silver appearance. The

seer gives Tomaso five days to bring him the deer's head. After delivering the instructions of the quest, the seer vanishes. The place where the man stood became covered by a foxfire plant, a type of bioluminescent fungi. Tomaso wastes no time and immediately sets out in search of the legendary buck. However, after four days of hunting with no luck, despondency threatened to take him. As he bemoans his failure, Tomaso finally comes across a set of tracks. The story here doubles as a lesson by Paulina on still-hunting, as she depicts Tomaso carefully tracking the deer through the thickets. Tomaso succeeds in killing the deer after it returns to a trail where Tomaso laid in waiting. He hastens to return to the seer with the deer's head, who graciously receives the trophy. The seer instructs Tomaso to return to the river with his canoe, after which he again disappears, this time into a rosy shaft of sunlight. As Tomaso rows his canoe away from the riverbank, the tale comes to a bittersweet ending:

> *"The canoe sprang forward into the current. A vapor of mist curled along the water, and in another minute rounding a grassy bend it passed from view. After that no one ever saw Tomaso again."* (Brandreth, 1908, 810)

It is hard to not draw the obvious parallels between Paulina's protagonist Tomaso and herself. Of course, one might analyze the appearance of a Naiad as a love interest in both stories, but what is critical is what the Naiad more broadly represents in both stories: the freedom and the potential nature provides for the individual to be their true selves and find personal and spiritual growth apart from, or perhaps despite, potential social criticism. Paulina would live a majority of her life in near solitude on her family's nature preserve. Here, she rejected the expectations of her as a daughter of a wealthy and socially astute family, and retreated into nature where she claimed for herself an identity embedded in the hunting masculinity popular during her time and informed by a close relationship with nature based in a spiritual awe. The masculine ideal, preached by those early precursors and proponents of muscular Christianity, was attainable by all, even by what

society considered during that time the feminine body. While Paulina pursued this reality as an extension of her own personal and private spiritual development, another hunter during this time, Grace Gallatin Seton-Thompson, sought similar access to the ritualized male body, but for the purpose of societal upliftment. We will turn to her story now.

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c.190_.

> *"It has not been conclusively proven that the 'fantail' exists. Hunters' stories affirm it. An isolated bone or two, but never a complete skeleton has been produced. The fragments I have seen might have been the young of black- or white-tail."*

Grace glanced across the fire where her husband, Ernest, was waxing poetically on his thoughts on the legendary "fantail" deer. Ernest, whom Grace referred to as "Nimrod" after the biblical hunter, was a well-respected author and wildlife expert, and was always quick to assert his scientific prowess on all of their hunting and nature excursions. Opposite of Nimrod was their friend and hunting guide, a man who went by the nickname "Cap'n." Cap'n's enthusiasm to jump in on the conversation was palpable by everyone participating in the conversation, he visibly strained as he waited for Nimrod to pause so that he might put forth his thoughts to the group. *"I ain't never killed one,"* Cap'n confessed but continued quickly after noting Nimrod taking a dramatic breath, *"but they are sure here, seen their tracks often. It's narrower than a fawn. Once I followed one and came on it in the dusk, about the size of a greyhound, only shorter of course, a full grown adult with small horns. No, it was not a fawn,"* Cap'n shook his head sharply, *"too clean limbed and tight made."* Nimrod methodically wrote for a moment in silence

in his journal before continuing, *"Perhaps…It may be. How I would like to be sure! A good specimen settling the matter would be worth while"* (168).

Tails of the legendary "fantail" had occupied the hunting party most of their evenings by the campfire. Cap'n had declared himself the expert on the creature, while Nimrod had grown more and more enticed by the appeal of making such a discovery for science. Grace couldn't help but join the two men in their enthusiasm. Grace had only a few years of experience in hunting at this point, but her swift success and ability to not only quickly learn the skills of hunting but also thoroughly excel in them had made her nature excursions all the more rewarding. There was no hesitation on her part to join Cap'n and Nimrod's oath to find a faintail deer during this hunt. Early the next morning they set out to the site where Cap'n claimed to have spotted tracks before. While traveling along, they come across a blacktail doe with two fawns. The hunting party watched the family walk along a trail from a distance, only to be surprised by the sight of a *"tawny shadow close against the red earth"* following the deer family at a distance. It was a puma, Grace both in awe and fear as she watched *"incarnate death"* track the deer. Grace wondered aloud if the puma would catch up with the deer, to which Nimrod assured her that possibility was not likely.

After this determination, the group set out to follow after the puma. However, this decision proves fatal for the doe, who had after catching scent of the puma doubled back to lead the predator away from where she had hidden away her two fawn. Grace immediately regrets their curiosity as the doe bounds out of the woods, nearly running into the trio. *"Alas! She saw us now in full view, and turned her course. She did not know that we could be trusted. She lost ground by it and I thought I got one glimpse of a yellow pursuer drawing near"* (174). They followed swiftly after the two animals, and, after thirty minutes, finally came across the doe, who

was dying from a wound inflicted on it by the puma. The big cat had retreated from its prey due to their arrival. Grace refuses to allow the doe to suffer, and shoots it: *"It was but humane to put a bullet where it would speed oblivion to the cruelly wounded deer"* (175). Not only was Grace thoroughly upset by the turn of events, but a sense of foreboding slowly overcomes her. This hunting trip was now marred, and she began to frantically search for the two fawns, hoping to make amends by either ensuring their safety or ensuring they were not suffering. After failing to find the two fawn, Nimrod tried to console Grace, and assured her that they were old enough to fend for themselves. His words, his claimed expertise, however, felt hollow to Grace: *"I knew that a very young fawn would probably starve to death on the spot where it dropped, when the mother gave signal to freeze - waiting, waiting for its protector's little grunt of release"* (174).

Yet Grace chose to trust her husband, and put on a brave face. Surely her husband, the expert, knew better! And he would provide her with the best insight and advice. Grace managed to put aside her foreboding mood, and tried to refocus on their mission to find the fantail deer. The next morning, again spurred on by Cap'n stories of fantail deer tracks, the trio left the camp to return to the woods, this time initially by horseback. The new day, and a full night's rest, had lifted Grace's spirit. She spent the journey focused on admiring the natural beauty of the wilderness, and reflected on how such interaction with nature healed her previous woes:

> *Oh, land of steeps and rocks, many a sacrifice of aches and pains you have accepted from me! But today it offered one of its caresses, and like all things beautiful and rare, it bestowed its blessing upon us in full measure. Blithely, in the crisp fragrant air of early sunlight, we followed a well-defined game trail bordering leisurely a tumbling inconsequent rill that drew its life from…this wooded ravine. Once we floundered in a willow bog; but it was a passing frown not indicative of temper. Already the way was smiling, masses of flaming Indian cup, and the fairy blue bell, the aristocratic lupin in full lilac bloom, and wealth of feathery grasses for the open glades, while in the leafy gloom was spread a carpet of pine needles on which the willing partridge vine had woven a pattern of shining green, pailletted* [sic] *with coral, and strange coloured beads on brilliant red and purple stems welcomed our passing." (183, 185)*

After some time into their journey, the trio switched from their horses to a slow hike, following Cap'n direction to the site he claimed to have seen fantail deer tracks the previous day. Grace observes that Nimrod's eyes had an unusual brightness, as he hoped that *"perhaps he was on the edge of solving a long dispute between hunters and scientists*" (185). Here, it should be noted, that the trio determined that Grace would take the shot of any fantail deer they came across. Why did they choose this? The story does not explain their decision outright, but several factors are clear: first, Cap'n was the hired guide for the group, so it was his job to help the couple and the other participating hunters to set up their hunts and shots; second, Nimrod did not and does not take a single shot for the entirety of the trip[10]; third, Grace explains that during this trip she had become "lame" from an injury during the previous day's chase after the puma, leaving her the prime choice to take up silent residence along any trail they found; fourth, Grace's expert aim is praised throughout the book by her friends and fellow hunters, and it seems she was in fact the best shot out of the group. Regardless, Grace was determined to help her husband *"secure a specimen of 'fantail,' a proper sacrifice for the advancement of knowledge"* (185). The trio carefully make their way to the site of Cap'n observed tracks:

> *"After infinite precaution, wiggling past branches, avoiding a step on twig, dead leaf or any noise maker, we arrived at a spot that is deep graven in my memory. It was a small open basin, perhaps a hundred yards in diameter, surrounded by a ring of dense second-growth saplings. The marks of a forest fire were everywhere represent in the charred sticked heaped on eon the other, making travel through it impossible, combined as it was, with tall marsh grass and bog foundation."* (186)

At the center of the basin was a natural *"salt lick"* made up of a forty foot patch of alkali-heavy earth. Cap'n indicates two trails of *"dainty deer track,"* one fresh and one a day old. Nimrod could hardly contain his excitement, and states that he is positive that they are tracks of a fantail.

[10] His biographer David Witt notes that Ernest gave up hunting following a traumatic hunt of a wolf, though it would seem he had no qualms with allowing Grace to kill his requested specimens and help build his scientific collection. https://ernestthompsonseton.com/

He noted a third set of similar tracks, and determined that there was, undoubtedly, a buck and doe fantail visiting the area. After the two men positioned Grace a set of thick bushes, both leave her to her watch. Cap'n left for a time to retrieve their lunch from the horses, while Nimrod periodically wandered away to explore the surrounding forest and fill his notebook with more thoughts.

After waiting for several hours, and during a moment that both men had returned, both the Cap'n and Nimrod determined they had simultaneously spotted a fantail deer. They urged Grace to stand with them, but upon doing so she realized that she was too short to see over the tall marsh grass. She climbed precariously onto a nearby tree root, which allowed her eyes to be level with the top of the grass.

> *"I saw two ears facing me. One flicked a fly off. It was a hundred yards fully, and the light was failing. The ears moved, turned and I could guess where the body was."* (190)

Cap'n urges her to shoot, and, in a moment of rushed judgment, Grace desperately approximates where the deer's shoulder's ought to be and shoots. The creature leapt up into the air and retreated over a nearby log, disappearing from view. Grace still did not get a clear view of the animal. However, Grace's sole focus was the fact that her shot had failed to immediately kill the animal. Cap'n celebration that she had even hit the animal fell on deaf ears, and she sought to stem her desire to weep:

> *"It was the first time I had fired at a live thing without having a sure shot. The four victims of my pride had never suffered. Now I had wounded that dainty little creature that could harm no one - and it had gotten away."* (190-191)

Grace turned to her husband, seeking consolation. At least she had suffered for science, she internally assured herself. However, at the sight of Nimrod's placid face, Grace's sole source of comfort vanished. Something had gone horribly wrong. She demanded Nimrod to explain himself, and tell her what the fantail looked like, *"whereupon that gentleman gave me a curious*

glance." Nimrod gave her a verbal shrug, *"You will see to-morrow, perhaps,*" and swiftly changed the subject (191).

Grace did not sleep that night. Due to the fact that the hunt had occurred so late in the day, it had been impossible to track down the deer she had shot. Grace was haunted by the hunt and her decision. She lamented, *"Oh! Ghost of the Fantail! How it haunted me that night! If it had been trained by the Society for Psychical Research it could not have done its work better. All night I kept vigil…"* (191) With dawn's first bit of light Grace marched the trio back to the site of the hunt. They searched for any sign of the animal throughout the morning. They picked up the animal's trail a few times, during which Nimrod diagnosed the animal with a broken leg, further adding to Grace's woe: *"Shuddering and sick, I urged haste, but that was futile"* (192). Finally, after eight hours, they found the animal, it hidden in a thicket. The group slowly crept forward, and Cap'n again encouraged Grace to act swiftly and *"aim sure"* (193). Grace rose to match the animal as it too stood, and she finally saw the truth. The animal she had wounded the day before had not been the legendary fantail, and she was not participating in a great scientific venture. It was a fawn, and she had mortally wounded the small, helpless creature. The pitiful animal began to limp on its three remaining good legs, and this time Grace acts with a swift determination, and killed the suffering animal instantaneously with a single bullet:

> *"The animal shot in the air, turned a complete somersault and rolled a hundred yards down the mountain before a boulder stopped it, quite dead. I am sure the Cap'n never tells this story."* (193)

As Grace struggled to process what had just transpired, she was further startled by the sight of Nimrod suddenly sitting down. He responded to her stunned countenance with a sage nod, declaring the dead fawn to be in fact a dead fawn. *"Suspected it last night,"* Nimrod sighed, recalling the previous day's events in a remarkably unique light, adding further details as to the

events that were beyond his control and had temporarily impaired his expertise, *"But its track was peculiar and the Cap'n was so sure. I could not see it well last night, and its being alone without the mother was misleading*." He smiled and asked Grace to identify where they are, to which Grace simply mutely shakes her head, indicating she hadn't the foggiest. He observes that they are, "obviously," in the same general area where the mother doe had been killed by the puma, and this was one of her fawns. Grace finally managed to find her voice, and inquired about the second fawn. Nimrod puffed up a bit, and, with an air of pomp and circumstance, explained *"Lion got it! I passed the remains this morning but steer you away. Your fawn was wounded, it was better to finish-"*

Grace interrupted her husband here and demanded that he silence himself, and walked away from the two men. As she fled Nimrod's explanations her grief returned and she began to once again weep, stunned by not only her actions but by her husband's. He had known, since the day before, that she had shot a fawn, and then had tricked her into finishing the creature off. He had denied her the truth, and had treated her as though she was too weak to handle the reality of the failed hunt, all the while shielding himself from the reality that he had been foolish to believe in the fantail deer and had failed to properly identify a fawn's tracks. His pride and her trust in him had cost her dearly:

> *"Trusting to the wisdom of another, inspired by a desire to further science, I had tortured and killed that motherless little creature! No wonder the name of 'fantail' disappeared from the camp circle and I never raised a gun again that trip or for years and never but once since at a living mark. Treacherous 'fantail,' illusive, unproven still, protected by Saint Hubert, you may roam the hills in safety, you may enshroud yourself in mystery, while retribution works its way with me."* (194)

Unfortunately, the hunt of the fantail and its woes did not end with this final shot. The drama continued with the arrival of two game wardens to their camp, who found Nimrod with both the skull of the mother doe and the skin of the fawn. He had retrieved both for "scientific"

purposes, and was studying them and sketching them for his journal. Upon seeing the doe and fawn's remains, both of which were illegal to hunt, the two men declared that Nimrod was under arrest. Grace immediately stepped in to explain to the two wardens that she was to blame, and Nimrod had not fired a single shot the entirety of the trip. Nimrod demanded her silence this time, and told the two men that he was responsible. The two wardens ignored Grace's detailed confession, and arrested Nimrod. The hunting party was forced to make the 100 mile trip back to the nearest city in 48 hours, through snow and over rugged terrain. It should be noted here that during this forced march, Cap'n continuously expressed his fear how these events might hurt his hunting business, as Nimrod's arrest will reflect poorly on his expertise. Grace reflects here that her stress became nearly unbearable, and that she struggled to find peace of mind. However, her fears do not seem to extend strictly towards worry over Nimrod, but instead on her own previous actions and the difficulty of the trip:

> *"Oh shades of the Pioneer Mother! For you, such may have been all in the day's work - but I am not complaining, did you think I was? No, only giving a hit of what it is like to be caught in the oils of error. I cannot pretend to be a heroine, and did not enjoy it."* (198)

Upon arriving in the city of Garver, they find and retain an attorney, a man named Barker, a local legend known about town for both his skill and extensive wardrobe, to which he adds a new suit with each of his new cases. The trial quickly evolved into theatrical chaos. Barker initiated his case by voicing the well-known town gossip that the head warden, Dean, was suspected of killing a man. Dean responds by drawing his gun in an attempt to defend his honor. Following the incident, the judge ordered that all weapons in the courtroom be placed on his bench before the trial would continue. Barker's defense of Nimrod rests not only on this defamation of Dean's character, but also on his portrayal of Grace. There seems to have been little discourse on the evidence or the question whether Nimrod had or had not killed the two

animals (this point, while Barker declares to be perhaps false, is also considered entirely probable but of little consequence), but instead on how the whole ordeal affected Grace negatively. Not because she herself was the one who killed the two animals (a reality that was far from the minds of those present in the courtroom), but instead, as Barker explained, how separation from and the shame brought upon Nimrod was affecting her:

> *"Torn from the loving arms of a beauteous wife like a common criminal he was snatched away from honour* [sic] *and love and position and credit and all that he had wrested from the world's grasp. Picture the poor young wife, deprived of her tend and loving partner, alone in the mountains, away from her home and her dear friends, weeping copiously, pale and feeble and sick, enduring agonies of dread and fear…"* (209)

Grace notes at this point in Barker's speech all eyes in the courtroom turned towards her. She recalled that she had, up to this point, sat calmly in her seat, in *"the full glow of health, looking uncommonly comfortable"* (209). Nearly the entirety of Grace's recollection of the trial focused primarily on either her self-reflection of her own actions during the hunt, or on her and her friend Sally's amusement regarding the antics of Barker. Once the court's attention turned to her, and she recognized that the trial then rested on her acting the part of the fragile, grieving wife, she quickly attempted to adopt the role: *"Vainly, I tried at such short notice to become pale, cowering, fearful, sick and tormented"* (209). Despite her failed attempts in embodying the role, the jury and courtroom determined that any woman in her position would undoubtedly act in the manner Barker had described. Such was the assumed feminine role. Barker finished with a *"peroration in which the glories of the nation past and present were inwoven with the stars and stripes of the noble flag, and the eagle screamed triumphant,"* and the jury found Nimrod "not guilty;" not due to their belief that he had not killed the doe and fawn, but instead due to the fact that his wife suffered so, and the man who had instigated the arrest was disliked by the town.

This hunt would have serious ramifications on Grace. At the time of this hunt for the fantail, she was a newcomer to the world of nature excursions and hunting. Her attendance on these hunts originally had been inspired by her determination that her husband would not abandon their young marriage for his trips, yet, over the course of a few trips, she had developed her own passion for the outdoors. As a newcomer to this realm, she had relied heavily on her husband's expertise and decisions, and sought to uphold the standards of hunting ethics and the hierarchy of women in the field. This trip would change this, and mark the beginning of her own evolution, of her own journey to obtain for herself a relationship with nature apart from social expectations and her husband's ordering. As time progressed, Grace would reinvent her place and practice of hunting, and see that a relationship with nature apart from her day's standards could be wholly fulfilling and, in reality, uplift the spirits and rights of women.

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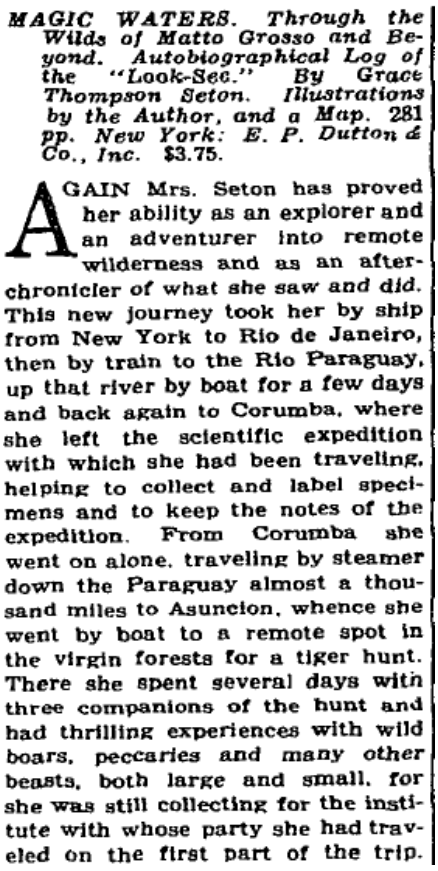
Grace Gallatin Seton-Thompson, "Establishing The Self Through Nature"

Grace was born in January 1872, in Sacramento, California. Her parents divorced in 1881, and her mother subsequently moved with her to New York City. By the time she concluded high school, Grace already worked as a freelance journalist under the pseudonym Dorothy Dodge, and focused primarily on travel pieces. She graduated from Packer Collegiate Institute in Brooklyn in 1892, after which she traveled to Paris to write. She met her husband, Ernest Thompson Seton, during her return from Paris. They married in 1896 and had one daughter named Anya Seton Chase in 1904. It was initially through her husband that she discovered her love of outdoor recreation and hunting. A year after their marriage, Ernest announced his desire to travel to the mountains,

and Grace, with no prior experience in such trips or hobbies, joined him, rejecting his plans to travel alone. This trip would forever change Grace's life, and quickly became for Grace far more than merely a chore she endured to please her husband. Grace devoted her life to the promotion of women's rights and suffrage, and most of her travel pieces include analyses of local women and their efforts to further their social and political statuses. Grace's writing and lectures would unite both her work as a feminist and her outdoor travel, in which she used her travels and interviewing expertise to illuminate and analyze various women's issues, especially within the realms of politics and business. In a book review titled "Mrs. Seton Interviews the New Women of China: Decline of the Tyranny of Man in the Celestial Empire," published in *The New York Times* in April 20, 1924, reviewer Isaac Anderson notes this union in Grace's book *Chinese Lanterns:*

> "Mrs. Grace Thompson Seton is not one of those travelers who are content to be mere sightseers and to record their impressions of strange people and strange places for the entertainment of those whom necessity forces to stay at home. Her chief interest in foreign countries is, if we may judge by 'Chinese Lanterns' and by her earlier book, 'A Woman Tenderfoot in Egypt,' to learn what progress is being made by members of her own sex, what part they are taking or preparing to take in public affairs, and to what degree they are emancipating themselves from the tyranny of man."



MAGIC WATERS. Through the Wilds of Matto Grosso and Beyond. Autobiographical Log of the "Look-See." By Grace Thompson Seton. Illustrations by the Author, and a Map. 281 pp. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc. $3.75.

AGAIN Mrs. Seton has proved her ability as an explorer and an adventurer into remote wilderness and as an after-chronicler of what she saw and did. This new journey took her by ship from New York to Rio de Janeiro, then by train to the Rio Paraguay, up that river by boat for a few days and back again to Corumba, where she left the scientific expedition with which she had been traveling, helping to collect and label specimens and to keep the notes of the expedition. From Corumba she went on alone, traveling by steamer down the Paraguay almost a thousand miles to Asuncion, whence she went by boat to a remote spot in the virgin forests for a tiger hunt. There she spent several days with three companions of the hunt and had thrilling experiences with wild boars, peccaries and many other beasts, both large and small, for she was still collecting for the institute with whose party she had traveled on the first part of the trip.

Fig. 2a The New York Times *book review, published March 19th, 1933.*

In her hunting trips, Grace discovered a new angle for her promotion of women's rights through outdoor recreation. As Dr. Mary Zeiss Stange notes in a foreword of a reprinting of Grace's book *Nimrod's Wife*, Grace believed that there was a "direct correlation between her growing commitment to women's rights, and the kind of empowerment that becoming adept with rod, gun, and camping gear afforded" (Stange, 2003, vii). While Grace had started her career focused on women's rights, her outdoor trips and hunts instilled in her further confidence in her endeavors and provided additional writing opportunities for her to spread women's rights doctrine. During this era, outdoor recreation represented the uplifting of male dominance in all social realms, including both political and religious. As she joined her husband and friends on hunting excursions and other endeavors, Grace was quick to recognize this reality, and incorporated her own attendance and her promotion of other women outdoor enthusiasts into her feminist and suffragist publications.

Her book publications include *A Woman Tenderfoot in the Rockies* (1900), *Nimrod's Wife* (1907), *A Woman Tenderfoot in Egypt* (1923), *Chinese Lanterns* (1924), *Yes, Lady Sahib: A Woman's Adventurings with Mysterious India* (1925), *Magic Waters* (1933), *Poison Arrows* (1938), and *The Singing Traveler* (1947) (Figures 2a, 2b). She also helped edit and format many of her husband's works during their marriage. Grace participated in numerous clubs and

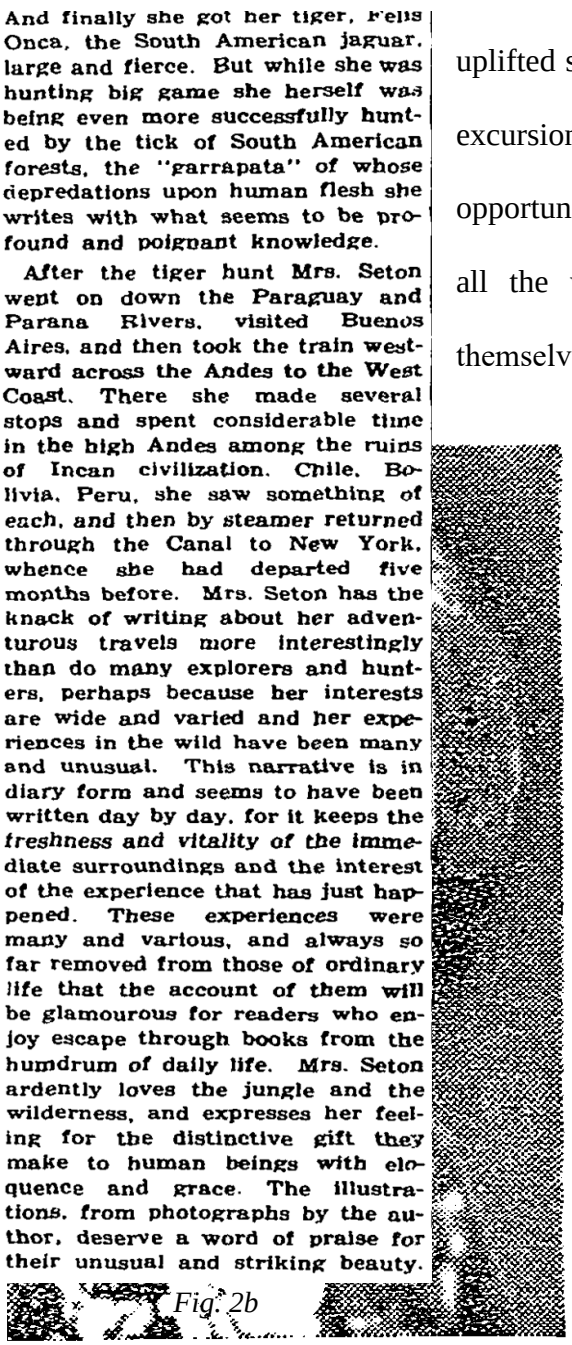
organizations, and translated her written activism to action. In 1910, she, along with a number of other colleagues, helped found the "Girl Pioneers" as a girl's alternative to the Woodcraft League, an outdoor club Ernest founded after leaving the Boy Scouts of America, which he had co-founded alongside Lord Robert Baden-Powell.[11] Grace's volunteer services include but were not limited to: president of the National League of the American Pen Women, from 1926-28 and 1930-32; Vice convener of letters for the International Council of Women and chairman of letters of the National Council of Women, during which she compiled more than 2,000 volumes published by women from 37 countries into the *Biblotecha Femina*, finished in 1940 and donated to Northwestern University; founding member of the committee of the National Society and Women Geographers; Vice President of the National Library Association for the Blind and the Woodcraft League of America (participation information taken from her obituary published in *The New York Times* on March 20, 1959). Throughout her life Grace would make frequent appearances in the social pages of *The New York Times.* These reports would usually focus on her public life, both involving her publications and women's rights efforts. However, at times the social pages would also air her more private affairs, such as rumors surrounding exaggerated drama on her international trips and her unstable homelife. Most of this drama arose from the real rising friction with Ernest. In 1918, while she was traveling, Ernest abandoned the marriage and sold their Connecticut home, leaving for New Mexico with his personal secretary and future second wife Julia Moss Buttree, along with her husband and his new partner. Grace was always quick to either correct or curtail newspaper reports on her personal life, and instead focused her efforts on drawing the public's attention back to her concerned women's rights issues and promotion of outdoor recreation for women and girls. One letter she wrote to the paper on February 15, 1915 summarizes

[11] The Girl Pioneers will be further explored later in this chapter

these goals. Entitled “Mrs. Thompson-Seton Says 8,000,000 Women Compete in Business on Equal Terms with Men and are Trained Like Them,” Grace outlined her arguments for women’s right to participate in politics. She remarks on recent research and literature by theorists who contend that politics were better suited for personalities and characteristics considered more “feminine” during this time. Given opportunity, and afforded proper education, Grace argued that women would thrive in politics better than men. She contends that American politics were polluted by corruption and archaic injustices, sagely yet sarcastically observing: *“Perhaps women have yet to learn the game of human selfishness a little better and the method of circuitous thinking! Perhaps they have to ‘hang around the places where votes are bought and watch the men who are willing to kill the people whose votes they cannot buy!’...But to keep on insisting that women shall not have the vote on account of this or on account of that is wasting time.”* She argued that the same people who sought to restrict women’s participation were the same that had tried to restrict African American enfranchisement, and that these men molded the political process as the *“science of human selfishness.”* Grace clarified the common assumption that women did not have the “business training” in order to properly understand politics, observing that millions did have business training and were professionally-trained. According to Grace, many women were then competing to obtain that *“home”* where society expects them to stay *“which they would not have unless they provided it for themselves.”* Grace concludes that all governments, and by extension American society, could not be properly democratic if only one point of view (elite male) was represented, and argued that women needed female representation. Grace continued to write on

and promote women's rights until her death on March 19, 1959 from a heart attack in the home of her daughter.

Throughout her book *Nimrod Wife* (1907), she claims to desire to assume the "masculinity" offered by hunting, which she equates with a superior or uplifted status in her greater community. Nature sports and excursions offered women, according to Grace, real opportunities to better themselves physically and mentally, all the while proving themselves capable of handling themselves in a "man's world." She continuously chastises herself while on her adventures if she showed any sort of fear or hesitation. *"Oh you miserable rabbit!"* She once chided herself, *"Your old enemy again, Fear, sitting on your shoulder. Cannot you get some of the calm of these men, if only - Oh mercy!"* (Seton-Thompson, 68). She belittles her efforts when comparing them to her depictions of her male companions, despite the reality of her ability to match their physical efforts. Grace simultaneously depicts many popular and expected physical hunting attributes as unattainable for her due to her gender, yet she still seeks to better her physical prowess as much as possible and obtain the philosophical aspects



And finally she got her tiger, Felis Onca, the South American jaguar, large and fierce. But while she was hunting big game she herself was being even more successfully hunted by the tick of South American forests, the "garrapata" of whose depredations upon human flesh she writes with what seems to be profound and poignant knowledge.

After the tiger hunt Mrs. Seton went on down the Paraguay and Parana Rivers, visited Buenos Aires, and then took the train westward across the Andes to the West Coast. There she made several stops and spent considerable time in the high Andes among the ruins of Incan civilization. Chile, Bolivia, Peru, she saw something of each, and then by steamer returned through the Canal to New York, whence she had departed five months before. Mrs. Seton has the knack of writing about her adventurous travels more interestingly than do many explorers and hunters, perhaps because her interests are wide and varied and her experiences in the wild have been many and unusual. This narrative is in diary form and seems to have been written day by day, for it keeps the freshness and vitality of the immediate surroundings and the interest of the experience that has just happened. These experiences were many and various, and always so far removed from those of ordinary life that the account of them will be glamourous for readers who enjoy escape through books from the humdrum of daily life. Mrs. Seton ardently loves the jungle and the wilderness, and expresses her feeling for the distinctive gift they make to human beings with eloquence and grace. The illustrations, from photographs by the author, deserve a word of praise for their unusual and striking beauty.

Fig. 2b

Grace, taken from The New York Times announcement for the "A 1937 Forecast for Better Living" forum, November 29, 1936.

of hunting enlightenment, as a sort of spiritual reinterpretation of masculinity. While discussing her fear of the wild horses a driver had chosen recklessly for her coach, she recalled she had overcome her fear by giving herself a dose of the "don't care" philosophy:

> *"Yes, this is bad, awful, in fact, or so it seems to you, but it has happened before to others and will happen again. Are you a craven soul? What is your fear, that you may get hurt? The real part of you cannot be hurt by anything physical, and if you are going to be hurt - well, you will be, fear will not help you. 'Cowards die many times before their deaths' - Ugh! Away with it' - and began to feel better."* (63-4)

Grace's acquisition of the muscular Christian attributes provided by hunting was not, for her, fully physical, but instead something beyond the physical, thereby allowing her access to the "male" hobby and, ultimately, rights and status in her patriarchal society.

In an early story of her book, Grace reflects on a time when her husband and another male friend, Lou Silverton, were swimming in Lake Tahoe. Filled with envy at their "right" to swim only in a towel outdoors, she sneaks away to find a nearby spring and waterfall she had passed by several days prior, determined to swim "*scandalously*" as the men did. Grace recalls that she rode to the hidden site with pretended confidence despite her lack of familiarity with this forest in particular, assuming an air of determination in which she claimed her right, the "male right," to be alone in the wilderness. She depicts the water as a picturesque bathtub that even Susanne would envy, and compares herself to Eve as she disrobes. As she approached the cool waters and at first hesitated, she claims that the neighboring pines beckoned her into the water with their sighs, singing words of encouragement for her to "*step boldly*" and "*dare all to win*" through her naked swim. Her boldness is met with misfortune, as she slips on a wet rock and is plunged swiftly into the water. Once in the water she is met by an equally surprised water snake, who retreats quickly with her arrival into his domain:

> *"O mournful deceivers above - are you the unwilling servants of the monster my affrighted eyes now gazed upon? Life may hold worse moments, I pray not. What fiend had dashed*

> *me into that icy water to disturb, in frantic struggles for the life-giving air, the owner of this pool - a water-snake with darting tongue in a flattened head. It was not courage but sheer fright that tightened my hold on the rock rim near his writhing tail. There seemed yards of the squirming horror; in fact it filled the universe. It seemed to be enveloping me in swirling waves, as the dragon of the pool gradually glided under the rock. Then suddenly again the pines sang: '...dare all to win." (23)*

She climbed out of the water, sore but laughing in good humor at her situation and declares it was a "*delightful bath*." Her mood is soured by the arrival of her husband, who focused his attention on finding the snake to prove her recollection of the size and variety of the snake as false (the snake later is found out to be a large bull snake). Silverton tries to act as a mediator between the couple by observing she is simply more driven by her feelings, and he belittles her "imaginative" tale by comparing his and her experiences in the wilderness to their two sombreros. His is plain, sturdy and "masculine," while hers is sturdy too but decorated - both serve their purposes, but indicate that she will never "acquire" full access to the male inheritance at the heart of hunting, and will always be an irregular copy of the original (17-25). This is the first of the numerous times throughout the work that her husband and his male colleagues either outright or passively reject Grace's presence in the wilderness or on hunts. While Ernest says he is pleased with her accompanying *him*, and is impressed by her physical and hunting abilities when it adds to his scientific repertoire, it is clear he does not understand nor fully accept her own interpretation of nature-based spirituality, and is not pleased her work might challenge his status as *the* Seton-Thompson nature expert. The other male hunters and friends that appear in the work mimic Ernests' stances, and she is often mocked for her gender and chided any time she questions plans or practices.

Grace never directly chastises her husband in this book, but does subtly critique him and the dominant patriarchal or muscular Christianity interpretations of the day. One way she manages

this is her adoption of certain biblical figures as symbolic of her own experience, as seen in this story of her swim. It is no coincidence that Grace invoked the biblical figure Susanne when describing her luminal moment found in the outdoor bath. In the tale of Susanne, the Babylonian woman is nearly executed due to the false evidence brought about by two elders of the city. Both men attempt to assault her while she is bathing alone in a garden. They tell her if she does not cooperate, they will claim to have seen her having sex with another man, which would lead to her execution. Susanne refuses to cooperate and is brought to trial after her household refuses to believe her, even though her community considered her a godly woman. A young prophet Daniel speaks on her behalf, proves the two men are lying, and she is ultimately vindicated.

In Grace's adoption of Susanne's mantle, she also adopted Susanne's righteousness. While she was personally upright and considered so by the community, once accused and rejected by men her grace was stripped from her and she was denied access to her own righteousness by her community. Grace sought out her spirituality by the pines and in the waters, but her bath was interrupted by a man who questioned her place. Her application of Eve to herself finds new meaning as well. Her story inverts the classic, "Fallen Eve" depiction, in which she rejects her husband's belittlement and holds firm to her revelation. Her awakening, her attainment of the male world and wisdom through her hunting and skinny dipping, is witnessed by a serpent, who is a surprise and frightening visitor to be sure but ends as a critical participant in her enlightening experience. Her "siren" pines, the call to nature, would provide the site of wonderful spiritual reflection, yet these luminal moments were still accompanied by potential dangers or darker experiences. Such was the natural cycle of life.

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c.1907 Grace was determined to be an honorable goddess, a Diana who would claim a respectable trophy. The ghost of the fantail still haunted her, and she had sworn to never repeat such an incident. She and a large company of friends were on an October moose hunt, staying in a camp that neighbored a bog. As she was bestowed with the title of honorary guest, it was her right to have first access to the choice moose of the area. At the start of the excursion, however, Grace had taken an oath to not hunt any animal that was not a large bull moose. This decision quickly inflamed camp gossip. Her host, a man named Bert, initially supported her, though this support was restricted to conversations with only her and seemingly based more on his amusement by her status as a female hunter than his agreement with her decision. Bert, Nimrod, and the other hunters eagerly encouraged Grace to shoot every moose she came across, certain that their own judgment on the size and quality of moose was better than Grace's. She ventured out multiple times, yet no moose that met her standards presented themselves. Eventually Nimrod abandoned his pretense that he supported her decision and chose to no longer help her, and she only went out with Bert.

One chilly morning they ventured out via canoe, beaching along a shore thick with bushes and dotted with numerous tracks. One track excited the pair, as it was undoubtedly from a large bull moose who had recently passed by. They stalked through the undergrowth until they came across a small lake. As they paused by the waters, Grace felt a sharp thrill move through her. She "felt" the moose was very near. She encouraged Bert to blow the moose-horn, and the two then did not have to wait long:

> *"Bert had not taken the horn from his lips when I saw his body stiffen with attention, and the next instant I heard a low thudding that struck straight to my heart. It could mean but one thing, a heavy animal coming toward us on a run…The thudding stopped suddenly and at the same second burst upon me a beautiful vision. Across the tiny lake and above the low willows loomed a magnificent animal, head carried erect proudly he bore two broad blades of conquest. I even seemed to see the blazing glances that shot out from his eyes. A superb creature full of strength and beauty and passion." (373)*

This moose easily met Grace's strict criteria. Bert handed her gun to her quickly, yet as Grace sited the moose across the lake she paused. The moose was too far out of the range of her rifle. Bert urged her to shoot, and she asked him about the distance. Bert assured her the moose was close enough. Grace was not yet what one would consider a veteran hunter, but she had enough experience and skill to know she was right. Again, memories of her failed fantail hunt flooded her memory. She still did not directly correct Bert, but instead asked if Bert thought the moose was indeed big. After a look of disgust from him, Grace took a shot, and her bullet fell short of the moose into the lake. As the unharmed but startled bull moose disappeared into the forest in retreat, Grace turns to Bert, and, fueled by adrenaline and excitement, declares she was glad the moose got away:

> *"I had missed my [large moose] and forfeited the admiration of the camp. But the reward was great - a picture for all time that never fails to thrill me with excitement of that wonderful moment when Nature allowed me to take another lesson from her primer of the woods." (375)*

After the pair returned empty handed, Bert consoled himself and the hunting party at the news of the escaped large bull by asserting her gun's sights had been damaged in their travels, and his guidance had been perfect. The cook of the camp, who had taunted her throughout the trip, referred to her gun as a toy and blamed her choice of weapon as faulty. Another hunter, Bobbie, mocked her claim she was glad she missed, and questioned her dedication to hunting. But Grace knew better. The gun nor her skill with her 30-30 Winchester were at fault. Her shot had been "dead line," perfectly aimed. The moose had been out of range. She stops herself from

responding to the men, all except the cook, whom she corrects and states her gun had brought down many large animals due to her expertise. However, the dismissive insults from the men did weigh on her. She reflects that she began to "feel the burden of my failure" and suffer that "popular opinion" was against her.

It was two days prior to their departure, and the guides of the camp appeared to now stake the success of the hunt on Grace's shooting a moose. Bobbie offers to take her to a location near Daly's Lake for her last attempt, along with another hunter named George. Offer, however, might be too generous of a term, as Bobbie practically orders her to "*come with [him]*" following his disapproval of her "allowing" the bull moose to escape. This hunt, already marked by high tensions, is christened by a small fire caused by Bobbie's lack of care for their campfire, a fault that Grace graciously covers for. The embarrassment and disgrace felt by the fire, however, hardens her:

> *"Henceforth there was no pity and no sentiment. My soul was no longer open to the beauty of the evening. It may have been beautiful, I only remember that it was cold, and that I sat in the middle of the canoe, gun in lap, alert for a chance to use it, as George propelled us swiftly, silently to a little bay in Daly's Lake that was half choked by bog and rank marsh grass." (378)*

The sun had set but still provided enough light to allow Grace to search the banks for a sign of moose. As Bobbie blew the horn lure, Grace reflected on the unjust nature of using such a hunting method. Was it right to lure the moose, pretending to be a female moose? The taunts and judgment of the other hunters filled her mind and chased away this attention to ethics - *"but it was the usual method - away with sentiment. Had I not left it behind at the camp?"* (379) Following two calls from the horn and fifteen minutes of silence, Grace endures tense *deja vu* as the still evening was broken by the echoing stampede of a bull moose:

> *"This time I was disturbed by no quakes. I gripped the gun - ready…We could even hear the crashing of branches. A bull was coming, careless of noise, coming - coming on the*

> *run. It was an indescribable moment. That creature coming - on - on* nearer - *and me waiting to kill him, if I could…He was* coming - *closer and closer - awful moments, but I would not let myself think. I simply sat there - grim, tense, ready, until he should burst into the open." (379-80)*

As the moose finally broke through the tree line and raced along the bank, Grace determined that the moose filled her entire horizon. It was the same moose that she had earlier met with Bert and missed. Upon this realization, Grace compared the moment to stumbling upon the *"strangled ghost of one's first love"* (385). Did this meeting nullify the revelation brought about by the first encounter with this magnificent animal? She again determined that it was not the time for reflection. She stood without hesitation, and George and Bobbie steadied the canoe for her. This time the moose was well within range. She shoots it once, felling the moose. Upon noting it was not dead, Grace leapt into the water and waded to where it lay, shooting it again to put it out of its misery. A rush of relief filled her, though coupled with the return of her former questions regarding the ethics of this hunt: *"The icy grip of murderous intent relaxed and I felt once more human"* (381). She chose to put off confronting the issue at the moment of her victory, as she and the two men returned back to camp in the silent darkness after preparing the body for storage by the bank until they could return for it in the morning. Bobbie was quick to detail the story to the camp once they returned, Grace observing that his excitement was due to her ability to uphold the "honor" of the camp. Nimrod visited the moose the next morning with the three in order to measure and document the moose for his own personal scientific data. In accordance with his role as both the sage and scientist of the group, he observed that a female moose had visited the body of the bull sometime during the night following its death. Grace couldn't help but imagine the nighttime vigil; her imagined thoughts of the female moose, clouded by confusion and fear, tipped the balance further for Grace's thoughts on the just nature

of the hunt. Why did they hunt? Why did *she* hunt? What right did she have to take the life of the moose?

On the final morning of their trip, as they packed and readied to leave, a nearby pack of wolves on a hunt caught their attention. Their calls were close by, and Nimrod narrated his interpretation of their movements. They were in the pursuit of a deer, who hoped to find safety near the vicinity of the humans. *"Why her*?*"* questioned Grace. *"Probably a doe, she is not putting up a very good fight."* Nimrod answered with great excitement (387). Once the deer drew close to their camp, the wolves broke off their hunt, refusing to chance an encounter with the hunters. Grace concludes this chapter with the following reflection:

> *"With this diploma from our 'little brothers,' to testify that although we often slip back into the stone age attitude, we do have, and frequently use, the divine attributes of justice and mercy, we turned our feet once again toward brick and mortar, toward the frills of life, desirable and delicious, taxing and enervating. On an Eastern wall hangs a beautiful moose head with broad palmated antlers and gleaming tips, that like the magician's carpet is capable of transporting us at any time back to the days in the open, when blood ran through the veins, quick and red, when we worked, played, idled and rested with a vigour and a joy that never comes elsewhere. Perhaps the scales weighed even, after all." (387-88)*

How did Grace's "little brothers" hunt present this revelation? Grace does not provide further analysis. Her concluding words recall many facets of the muscular Christianity and "manly" character building popularized by hunters. The "retreat" into nature provides physical benefits, coupled with a philosophical clarity. The taxidermied moose head would keep these lessons alive, reminding the hunter of their glory achieved through their conquering of the animal. This interpretation, however, seems to be only part of Grace's revelation. The words, superficially, align with Grace's goal to write in the traditions of hunting literature of her time. Yes, it is true Grace desired to enter and be welcomed into the male world of hunting and gain the respect of her fellow hunters, and she provides the appropriate defenses for hunting as

reflective of our earlier male case studies. But did she receive her greatest joy, her greatest growth from the death of the moose? Or the moment she missed the moose? The latter moment had given her a great sense of joy and adrenaline, and this luminal moment was cut short by the taunts of the men. During her hunt with Bobbie in the canoe, Grace had depicted herself void of emotion, as she chose to reject her true emotions in order to succeed in the moment. *"Why* her?*"* Grace had asked of the hunted doe. Was Grace asking why Nimrod assumed it was a female doe? The story does not indicate that Nimrod had gendered the deer up to this point. Was Grace asking why this deer was chosen by the wolves? Perhaps, and Nimrod's assumption that it was a doe due to its inability to escape the wolves properly displays an odd aspect of his deer "expertise." Regardless, it is clear Grace's question revealed her affinity to the deer, as she had for the female moose that had visited the dead bull. Grace saw herself as immersed in a hunt. She was a hunter, part of the natural cycles of the forest, as were the wolves. She was also, however, the doe, the part of the hunt that men saw as part of the hunt yet weak in the face of the strong, true male hunters. The doe must struggle, must be willing to adopt strategies that might risk its life to survive the hunt. Just as the doe sought *"protection from the arch enemy, man,"* Grace joins the hunt, even though it is occupied by men who question and belittle her, and promote a muscular Christianity that limits nature's benefits to male domination. She rejects their demands for exclusivity, and works towards a defining a new nature-based spirituality in which women's rights are further uplifted.

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Girl Pioneers

Grace stands apart from our remaining two case studies due to her extensive participation in political and social clubs, events, programs, and more. Grace wished to promote her nature-based philosophy through her literary works and through real, practical means. She was an advisor or founding member of a number of organizations. Her work with the Girl Pioneers of America is particularly illuminating in not only her vision for the promotion of one's personal development and growth through a close connection to nature, but also several other participating founders that were her close allies. Clifford Putney in *Muscular Christianity* provides a history of the creation of the short-lived Pioneer Girl organization. Following the successes of the YWCA and other similar women's organizations, Charlotte Gulick, a missionary, and Luther Gulick of New York, a well-known physician and physical educator, sought to create an organization akin to the Boy Scouts of America for women and girls, the first scouting organization in America exclusively for girls. Charlotte was the first president of the National Association of Directors of Girls' Camps, and was friends with Ernest Seton. The proposed organization was first coined the Camp Fire Girls in 1910. The Gulicks, according to Putney, concluded the following for their vision of a camp: first, they did not want a carbon copy of the Boy Scouts; second, they did not want the camp to have an overt Christian identification, but "some general recognition of the Great Spirit" was instead expected; third, they wanted to instill in the participating girls a "domestic fire," not a "wild fire," implying they wanted to teach lessons and skills expected of "womanhood" during the era. Putney notes here that there was passionate disagreement among the committee working to create this organization, among whom was Grace. As Putney explains, Grace thought the Gulick's vision for the Camp Fire Girls would reinforce feminine ideals distant from the realities of nature-based excursions and recreation. She feared the organization would "simply [give] out badges for cooking and cleaning." She wanted

the organization to include more competitive sports and a greater focus on building one's physical strength. Grace and her allies would gain the opportunity to make these changes after Mr. Gulick grew ill and was forced to temporarily resign from the creative committee. In 1911, the original plans for the Camp Fire Girls was replaced by the newly envisioned Girl Pioneers of America (Putney, 2003, Chapter Six).

A 1918 manual reveals now only what Grace and her allies believed was the ideal organization to introduce young girls to natural excursions, but also what they believed were the ideal characteristics of young girls and women, and how an intimate relationship with nature and promotion of physical education would allow for the realization of these expected characteristics. The manual is titled *Girl Pioneers of America: Official Manual*, and this particular publication is the third edition. Its authors are Lina Beard and Adelia Beard, sisters known for their many workbook publications on activities for girls. Lina is credited as the lead founder of the organization, and the first meeting was in Flushing, New York, in 1912. The manual states that the purpose of the Girl Pioneers is to build up the character of a girl "mentally, morally and physically" (Beard, 1918, 13). The improvement of these three elements are done through the cultivation of the "sterling virtues" established by early pioneer women, including courage, uprightness, and resourcefulness (18). The Girl Pioneer Law outlines the qualities of a Girl Pioneer, including that she is brave, cheerful, reverent, helpful, and numerous other respectable qualities. These qualities are established through not only self-respect, but also her pursuit to uplift her home, school, and church. As the manual explains, while the Girl Pioneers are "strictly nonsectarian," the organization "encourages every member to bring the truths of HER OWN CHURCH down into the little as well as the big things of EVERY DAY LIFE, and helps her to actually live those truths" (13). The organization is not meant to replace church or school

entities, but instead the organization hopes to be a supplement for these established organizations, while uplifting social elements they believed were lacking in these organizations, such as nature education and girl's physical education. Finally, the Girl Pioneer is required to always remember that people are worth more than "money" or "things," and to value a person focuses on who they are and not what they have or what their class status is (19). The primary activities of the Girl Pioneers primarily fall under the following four broad categories: first, physical education, including outdoor sports; second, nature education, ranging from animal studies to botany; third, practical home care, ranging from vegetable gardening to artistic pursuits; fourth, historical and political education.

How did this manual reason that nature would provide for this education, and build the physicality and character of the girls? The nature education is two-fold. First, the lessons that the Girl Pioneers would provide to their members on nature, various survival methods, and natural excursions, so that they might wholly enjoy nature. As the manual explained, the Girl Pioneers would help girls to "develop a love of outdoor life by teaching them how to enjoy it" (19). Providing the girls access and opportunities to nature was not enough, but the clubs would focus on educating the girls on how to properly understand and respect nature, and be able to participate in more intensive sports and excursions. Another key category of the Girl Pioneers' education was medical education, many lessons focused on injuries and ailments that might be acquired during an outdoor event, including frostbite, stings, and sunstroke. Second are these literal lessons provided by nature or in nature, ranging from the classes on the environment to the outdoor sports hosted by the clubs.[12] The manual describes the relationship between the Girl

[12] It should be noted here that the manual provides for ways girls who lived in urban regions or larger cities without regular or easy access to natural landscapes. Girls were encouraged to help around their home and take pride in their housekeeping, while participating in pioneer adventures to public locations such as libraries and taking adventures and educating themselves on public transport.

Pioneers and nature as a friendship, in which each pioneer is a friend to "birds and animals" and would protect them (21). In chapter nine, on "Woodcraft," the girls are encouraged to study nature while viewing the natural habitats as "sacred" and equitable to human spheres:

> "You must study the habits of wild birds and animals by watching the creatures in their native haunts, stalking them, photographing them, *never* hurting or injuring them. Let the bird nests with their eggs or young birds be as sacred to you as the homes of your friends. The birds are your friends and do much for you in killing insects that destroy not only the beautiful trees and delicious fruits, but the very grain upon which you depend for the bread you eat, and the vegetables so necessary to your health." (Beard, 57)

While this tenet suggests a rejection to hunting, later discourse on a fish badge available to the participant implies a promotion of fishing as a means of acquiring subsistence (130). This is a reflection of Grace's later stances on hunting, as explored by the final thoughts and chapter of *Nimrod's Wife.*

Underlying the whole manual is a message that might be most appropriately categorized as an "American Native" narrative, as defined by Daniel Herman in his work *Hunting and the American Imagination* (2001). As earlier discussed, Herman defines the American Native cultural and social creation in which the "Anglo-American" individual purports to find their purpose and identity in nature. Critically, this image is based in a complicated and oftentimes corrupted history of an idolized era of American pioneers, and a rejection or manipulation of the historical realities of American Indians (270). The Girl Pioneers, as implied by the chosen name, based their organization's "lore" and premise on the histories of certain female pioneers. They are also quick to distance themselves from any semblance of mimicking "Indian" mannerisms, such as seen in their depiction of the dress once worn by pioneer women as being distinct from Indian womens' dresses as they did not include ornaments (41).[13] In chapter six, "Story of the

[13] It should also be noted here that the racism against American Indians is not limited to the emphasizing of differences such as dress, but also the observation on page 42 that "Indian tribes" were "no longer dangerous" and were "almost extinct."

First Girl Pioneers of America," the Beard sisters provide a dramatic and glorified picture of early Euro-American women. These women and girls managed literacy only through their reading from the bible (the only book most early settlers had access to) and their mother. A great portion of the education, however, came from what nature taught them: "Though filled with danger, the early pioneering brought a happiness all its own. It brought the healthful outdoor life and the wholesome indoor interests. The pioneer girl was happy because she was morally, as well as physically, strong" (41). According to the manual, it was due to the strength of these women pioneers, physically as well as virtuously, and their male counterparts that America succeeded as a nation. The spirit of the pioneer was in essence the truest form of patriotism:

> "The Girl Pioneers organization derives its inspiration and its name from the early settlers of America, for the movement is truly American in its aims, its ideals and in the practical application of the early pioneer qualities and virtues. It is 100 per cent. America, 1000 per cent. Patriotic. It is identified with and founded upon American history, and the members heartily join in all work where they can be of service to their country…[the Girl Pioneers] revive and perpetuate the SPIRIT that dominated the INVINCIBLE men and women, the founders of our country, who made our great nation possible." (Beard, 10)

To be a girl pioneer meant not only continuing this legacy, but also continually educating oneself in this version of historical events. Note that one of the requirements to become a third class Girl Pioneer is to relate this story of the pioneers, and "tell the sterling qualities of the early pioneers and explain how the story helps Girl Pioneers of to-day" (27).

The most common critique of the Girl Pioneers was the perception that it was causing the girls to become or adopt "manly" or "masculine" qualities. These critiques, according to Clifford Putney, would lead to the eventual disintegration of the Girl Pioneers, as other organizations such as the revived Camp Fire Girls (formed in 1912 after the Gulicks returned to New York following Dr. Gulick's recovery from his illness) and Girl Scouts (also formed in 1912) promised spaces that would promote and "protect" the expected femininity of the girls by

featuring greater activities considered suitable for women and moving away from more rigorous activities and sports offered by the Girl Pioneers. The Girl Pioneer manual definitively encouraged sports and physical activities for their girl participants considered for boys and men during this time, and claimed attributes for their women and girl participants that were also considered masculine, such as bravery and leadership. It is in this latter attribute that is of particular intrigue with regards to this manual and what the organization hoped to teach and instill in the young girl participants. The organization's definition of pioneer invokes the belief that these girls, once adults, ought to hold positions of leadership and independence: "Full of bracing, exhilarating thoughts of heroism and bravery, of wild adventures, of strength and power. A pioneer is one who leads the way, WHO OVERCOMES DIFFICULTIES and clears a path for others to follow, and also who is the first to settle new lands and to embark in new enterprises" (40). Leadership meant acquisition of power, where women would not simply act as support or "helpmates" for men but the independent agents of social change. The "American Native" is alive and well here, yet the narrative is used by these founders of the Girl Pioneers to showcase female pioneers who, by their virtues, grant women the right to access communal and social power within American culture and governance. Several tests for the girls to ascend in the class system of the Girl Pioneers require the girls to set up their own small business or obtain a job and create their own independent bank accounts (30, 126-7). The manual also makes use of military terminology and ideals in its lessons on girl leadership and unity. Recall our earlier discussion on Carl Case's 1906 *The Masculine in Religion,* and his use of military imagery to promote the man's role in Christianity, and what he might gain from his own participation. The manual encourages activities that were military in style, including drilling and marching (36). When explaining the quality of obedience, the manual uses military imagery: "A true Girl Pioneer will

obey her officers as a soldier obeys his" (20). Many of the badges (all of which are named after women) promote the idealization of historical women known to reject societal expectations of the feminine role, several including women famous for their participation in various American wars and conflicts. The civics badge, where the girls are encouraged to be educated on town and school governance and the layout of their cities, is named the Anne Hutchinson Badge, named for the Puritan woman who was at the center of the Antinomian Controversy (1636 to 1638). Anne was eventually banished from the Massachusetts Bay Colony due to what was considered by the colonial leaders as her divisive spiritual stances and her radical claims to spiritual authority (128). The business badge is named the Margaret Brent Badge, a 17th Maryland colonist who was a landowner and the temporary executor of the late Governor Calvert's estate. Her time as executor was credited with saving the Maryland colony from mutiny due to her handling of the militia, yet she was forced to leave the colony due to the second Lord Batimore's hostility towards her (126). The entertainment badge is named after Anna Bailey, a folk hero known for her participation in combat in both the American Revolutionary War and the War of 1812 (129). The Molly Pitcher Badge, named for the legendary female soldier of the American Revolutionary War, acted as the patriotism badge. This badge require the girls to not only familiarize themselves with various political documents and the history of the presidents, but also learn about and promote job opportunities for women, and to "give three actual instances of bravery on the part of the early women or girl pioneers, and tell for what qualities the early pioneers are best known" (139-140). The "American Native" here acts, simultaneously, as a continuing source of American nativism and exceptionalism and racism against American Indians, but also reinterpreted as a source of white, feminine empowerment.

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The years surrounding the turn of the 20th century saw the crucial change of social perceptions of the relationship between human communities and "wilderness." The wilderness transitioned from a place of danger and mystery to a place of potential retreat and nostalgia, as the dominant portion of the population lived and made their living several steps removed from the land or the American frontier. As we've seen in this chapter, while all our religious representatives or writers portrayed their relationships with nature differently, nature was still in all cases a key commodity in the individual's ritualistic transition they sought after, whether that was religious, spiritual, social, or some other personal focus. In Thomas Dunlap *Faith in Nature,* he too notes how, in American history, wilderness is perceived as a recourse, despite the perspective of it as either dangerous or beneficial:

> "While Americans embraced nature in various forms from the first days of settlement and gave wilderness many meanings, they never gave it a permanent place. It was raw material for civilizations, land that should be turned into farms and pastures as quickly as possible, and even when they set areas of land aside for their nature qualities, they did not include wilderness. The national parks preserved monumental scenery and geo-logical wonders that visitors could view in comfort - not primeval land-scapes." (Dunlap, 2004, 69)

The wilderness had always been viewed as a commodity for the American public to consume. Now, the provided commodities extended beyond mere physical resources, such as lumber or agricultural land, or sites for challenges to Western expansion or religious ordering. The non-physical commodities now included beneficial elements as determined by the visiting individual and the social construct informing them. As outlined by William Cronon in his quintessential 1995 article "The Trouble with Wilderness; or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature," nature, or our self-described wilderness, is primarily a product of our own reflection, a social construct: "Wilderness hides its unnaturalness behind a mask that is all the more beguiling because it seems

so natural. As we gaze into the mirror it holds up for us, we too easily imagine that what we behold is Nature when in fact we see the reflection of our own unexamined longings and desires" (69). Despite the claims of his critics, Cronon is not asserting that nature isn't "out there," or that as a relativist object it is not of concern. But we must recognize how our society perceives and uses nature to further certain social constructs. The wilderness, as presented by our case studies, was reflective of their social status and situation: the wealthy tourists, who never needed to work the land for their own survival, saw the wilderness as a source of escape from their city life; the hunting pastors, who saw nature as an opportunity to witness the sublime in manner they could consume and later relate to their audience; the Christian man, who was encouraged to fulfill their part in the muscular Christian ritual. However, in the midst of this continuation of these social features, deeply rooted in patriarchal stigmas, certain women also entered and rejected the expected maneuvering through the natural space. As demanded by rising religious theories and social commentaries, the male body needed transformation in the wilderness. However, as revealed by our women participants, the masculine transformation was determined to be available to all those who participated in the ritual. The gendered social construct labeled this transformation as manly, or masculine. However, such labels were social constructs. Would society still consider it masculine once integrated into the feminine body? Did the women who acquired the attributes believe they were more masculine? Perhaps these labels, this vocabulary, restricts our understanding of the ritualization experienced in nature. We must further explore our women's journeys to better understand what they hope to achieve, and how they reflected on their ritualization journeys.

Chapter II: Conservation and Spirituality Realized in the "Feminine" Land

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1876. Mary Dartt couldn't help but sigh as she lightly patted the back of the shell of the turtle that sat on the edge of the path. This turtle assuredly would provide better conversation than the group of tourists readying themselves to enter the exhibit she was overseeing. When Mary had agreed to accompany her half-sister, Martha, to the Centennial in Philadelphia, she had anticipated some tension and disapproval from the public, but such potential dilemmas had been overshadowed by her determination to use the opportunity to not only aid her beloved sister, but also promote women's rights. Mary had spent her life seeking out personal fulfillment and social rights, from struggling for further education to various business and social ventures. She now hoped to expand her own personal journey to public work. This trip would provide her a taste of this lifestyle. Not only would she have a chance for public debate, but she wholeheartedly believed her sister was the quintessential feminist woman. Martha, as a hunter and taxidermist, broke social barriers and challenged gender conventions. If only more people knew of her success! If only more women could read of her brilliance, surely she would inspire! Mary was determined to be her sister's voice, both through her leadership at this exposition and through penning Martha's biography on her behalf.

Martha had been afforded the opportunity to display her taxidermy museum at the Centennial, this brought about both through the popularity of her own private museum in Colorado and her connections to the Smithsonian. Taxidermy during this time was seen not only as an opportunity for the individual hunter to relive their hunting victories through a private

trophy, but also a scientific endeavor in which specimens might be cataloged and displayed in an academic setting. Martha had been in contact with the Smithsonian for a number of years, and provided their scientists with both written reports and physical specimens for their collections. While taxidermy was popular in a number of social circles during this time, Martha approached the endeavor from a perspective unique for the era: she hoped to make her animals appear as lifelike as possible and display them in dioramas that reflected their natural habitats. For the Centennial, Martha had worked tirelessly on the exhibit, attempting to recreate the wilds of Colorado and the Rockies in the small space afforded to her:

> *"Within the enclosure was a miniature landscape, representing a plain, and a mountain side, apparently formed of rocks and crowned with evergreens. Down the rugged descent leaped a little stream of sparkling water, which expanded at its base into a tiny lake, edged with pebbles and fringed, as was the brook-side, with growing grass and ferns. The water and the banks which confined it were peopled by aquatic creatures: fishes swimming in the lake - turtles sunning themselves on its half submerged rocks, while beavers, muskrats and water-fowl seemed at home upon its margin. Between the cascade and lakelet appeared the irregular vine-fringed mouth of a cave, its dark moss–grown recesses soon lost from sight in shadowy gloom. Above it and upon the upper heights of the mountain side - suggesting the altitudes at which they are found - were grouped those animals that frequent the Rocky Mountains; fierce bears, shy mountain sheep, savage mountain lions or pumas, and a multitude of smaller creatures, each in an attitude of life-like action. On the limited space allowed to represent the Plains that stretch eastward from that elevated chain were huge buffaloes, elk, antelope and their native neighbors. The attitudes and surroundings of all were so artistic and unique as to form an attraction even among the many fascinations of the century's gathered productions. (Dartt, 1879, 6-7. See Figure 3)*

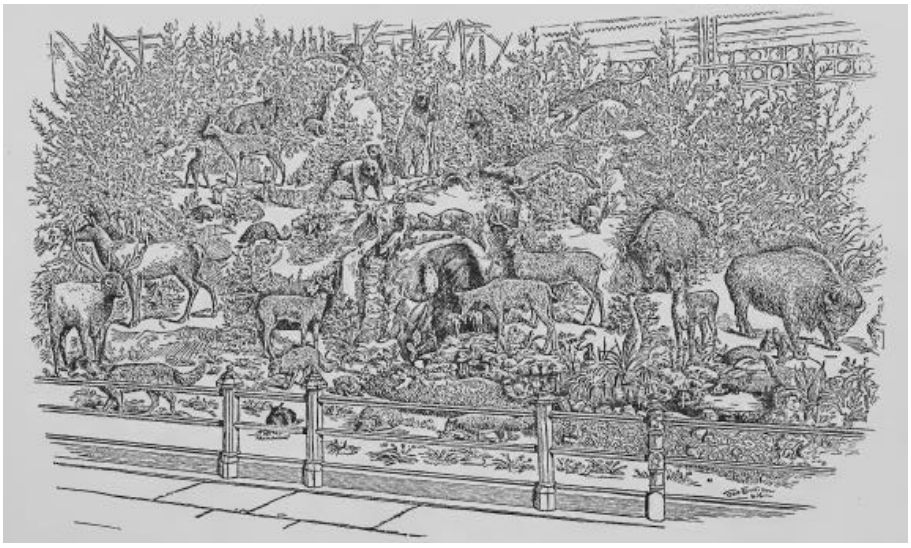

Fig. 3. The Centennial "Exposition Collection." Dartt, Title Page.

In an article found in *Forest & Stream*, published the same year as the Centennial, a visitor of Martha's exhibit described the collection as the "best array" of Western mammals - besides that of the Smithsonian's. The editor acknowledges that many of the visitors and readers of this article might be confused by the fact Martha's exhibit was not presented in the "women's pavilion." The editor surmised that this was because Martha, a "talented artist," desired to include her work in the field of competition with the other men who were "wresting wealth and comfort from the stubborn rocks and soils of the new West, rather than with the embroideries, painting, bed-quilts and scrap-books of feminine exhibitors." The editor is quick to assure the audience that this did not indicate that Martha was "masculine" herself, despite the fact her work was so. Martha was allowed entrance into the masculine realm of hunting through the teaching of her stepfather. She became an excellent shot and nature enthusiast, the editor simultaneously praising Martha while demeaning the feminine by explaining that Martha delighted "more in the beauties and novelties of nature than in the nonsense which occupies the attention of most ladies." Again, however, she kept herself appropriately within the realm of this inferior

femininity, and her masculine participation was "not carried to an extreme," as she received an education at Oberlin that taught her discipline and refinement. (*Forest & Stream*, vol. 7, 1876-1877, 74)

Not a single detail was left unattended by Martha. Every feather was laid, every paw was angled, and every tail was raised to her specifications. After all, Martha asserted, she was an artist. The dead animals were her canvas, and taxidermy was her brush. The final touch to the exhibit was a sign hung above the makeshift cave, which read *"Woman's Work"* in a bold font to match its bold statement. This sign, Martha's work, was Mary's drive. This was what gave her courage to relieve her sister from tour duty and face the public. She expected and received antagonism, but what she didn't anticipate was the repetitive litany of questions thrown her way. Most questions were directed at her with such speed she failed to keep up, and their shallow presentation did not provide her with the opportunity to participate in good-faith debate. After initially explaining to every tour group that she was not in fact the hunter, dozens of questions, most directed at the character of Martha, would bombard her:

"Is she a young woman?"

"Is she married?"

"Did she kill all these animals?"

"What did she do it with?"

"How did she stuff 'em?"

"Does she live in that cave?"

"If shes married, why ain't it called Mr. *Maxwall's* [sic.] *collection?"*

"How old is she?"

"Is she good-looking?"

"Has she any children?"

"Is she a half-breed?"

"Is she an Indian?" (8-9)

While some more pleasant visitors and scientists directed questions toward the history of the collection itself, most visitors were fixated on the claimed *"Woman's Work,"* that a woman had taken it upon herself to not only hunt and kill these animals but taxidermy them as well. Surely it had to have been her husband! Or, if it was indeed her that had created this collection, she was not a *real* woman, not a *white* woman. But if she was a white woman, she must be beyond her "fruitful years," and be old or barren. After all, as a *N.Y. Independent* article observed in a piece done on Martha's museum in Colorado, *"that a pioneer woman should shoot wild cats and grizzlies seemed not unnatural or improbable; but that the same woman who could fire a rifle so well could also stuff an animal with any sort of skill or artistic effect seemed very unlikely."* While Women were allowed moments of killing wild animals in self defense, Martha's occupation was unheard of. The feminine was not expected to seek domination so actively over the land, for the land, nature, and wilderness, were the feminine, in need of masculine ordering and domination. Martha's exhibit and her life's work were an affront to such order, and the sign that she and her sister defended were a challenge to socially determined gender constructions. The feminine human could not dominate the feminine land, nor should it display its victory in such a provocative manner (Dart, 11).

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We have explored in depth the development of muscular Christianity, and the accompanying gender social constructs encouraged by various prominent members of the

hunting community. However, we have yet to address what arguably is the most discussed contribution of hunting in America by most modern historians and academics: the birth of American conservation. In Daniel Herman's *Hunting and the American Imagination,* he concludes that the greatest legacy of the hunter is the creation of an American stewardship ethic. Despite the salvaged, bitter histories of his so-called American Natives, and the troubling political and social constructs they helped encourage, Herman observes that hunters did more than most to help aid in the creation of a stewardship ethic in which "genuine appreciation" for American wildlife and geography was expected of all active participants in our modern society (Herman, 2001, xiii). According to Herman, the early 19th and 20th century sports hunter's love of "American fauna, their fascination with natural history, and their appreciation for the sublime" contributed to public sensibilities regarding nature, both during their time and still to this day. In Philip Dray's exploration of the impact on hunting on the development of America's "national temperament," the connection between hunting and American conservation efforts is the most prominent of hunting's social influences that underlies his work, *The Fair Chase,* as a whole. Dray contends in his introduction that from the earliest days of American hunting, participants promoted a respect for and encouraged protection of hunted species and their habitats. This relationship, however, was definitely a two-edged sword. While America's "love affair" with sport hunting led to enhanced appreciation for nature and promoted public approval of government management of wildlife and the wilderness, it also led to the mass slaughtering of numerous animal species and "nourished the myth that the hunter's dominance over living prey prepared them uniquely to be conquerors of other men" (Dray, 2018, 5-6). Dray also observes that conservation and any stewardship ethic held by the hunter differed based on class and economic status. As he observes, the impact on elite sports hunters on public policy was and is

still immense. Wealthy hunters managed to easily maneuver through the legal and court system in their effort to obtain "courtroom game preservation," in which their preferred hunting lands and animals were afforded protection by both state and federal government (28). In *The Hunter's Game: Poachers and Conservationists in Twentieth Century America*, Louis Warren explores the debates and tensions surrounding various conservation efforts in a number of different regional case studies. Warren also analyzes how conservation efforts at the end of the 19th-century reveal not only how hunting influenced and responded to gender norms, but how this relationship differed among classes. Warren concludes that late 19th century conservation was an "alliance of rural and urban elites arrayed against more marginalized rural people" (Warren, 1997, 49). Elite or higher-class hunters managed to secure their desired state and federal laws that reinforced their own "vision of hunting" in the greater public sphere (Warren, 13-14). This movement aligns with the overall changing culture within American hunting: during and prior to the early 19th century, hunting was predominantly seen as a subsistence need, and not a potential socially upstanding hobby or uplifting endeavor. However, with the turn in popularity of hunting and the greater participation of social elites, these elite participants desired to uplift hunting's reputation (especially sports hunting) with an aura of sophistication. In Cronon's "The Trouble with Wilderness," he too observes that this era, in which conservation rose and the wilderness became sublime, was advanced primarily by the wealthy.

How did these different hunting groups differ? The most notable difference, according to Warren, is the definition of masculinity promoted by each group (14). Opposing views of proper hunting, proper "manliness," were at battle within this conservation conflict. As we've discussed in our exploration of the rise in Muscular Christianity and its accompanying social parallels, many groups had grown concerned with what they perceived as the "feminization" of American

society and men during this time. Outdoor recreation became seen as a potential solution for the dilemma, and hunting was promoted as one of the greatest potential arenas of men to "reaffirm" their "manliness," as defined, of course, by their community. As Warren notes, "how one hunted and what one killed came to define what kind of man one was" (14). The elite hunters relied on their own definitions of the fair hunt, which they did not shy from demanding that all other hunters follow after. In their definition, hunting was depicted as an arena for combat, in which animals they deemed effeminate were noncombatants and must be spared. These hunters targeted large game and male animals. For many rural hunters, what defined their masculinity was their ability to put food on the table and protect their land from any encroaching "enemy." This would include any animal, male or female, young or old, that might intrude on their farm. It should be noted here that this conflict was not a simple two-sided disagreement - this debate pitted elite hunters against state authorities against federal authorities against subsistence farmers against subsistence hunters against immigrant farmers, and no two groups were ever fully united (69). However, what did arise from this conflict was a unified front, spurred by a number of well-connected elites and their government connections, on establishing lasting policies that guided not only hunting regulations, but also conservation policies that still inform our modern society. Not only were conservation and stewardship standards determined, but, subsequently, gender standards were also determined by these elites and enforced:

> To a degree, elite development of these masculine ideals facilitated the emergence of conservation. In positing idealized masculine behaviors as 'proper,' elite recreational hunters began to set standards of behavior for other hunters, cleansing the fields of all who did not abide by the sportsmen's ethic. The backbone of the conservationists cause, recreational hunters lobbied lawmakers to pass game laws that effectively wrote their own sporting ideals into legal statues…In the collisions between local hunters and state authority, at stake was not only the political power of local people, but the behaviors, beliefs, and activities associated with being a man. (Warren, 14)

In his exploration of hunting in Pennsylvania during the late 19th century, Warren notes that rural citizens and hunters disagreed heartedly with elite "sportsmen" on the ethics behind hunting practices, especially with regards to hunting female deer. While rural hunters saw hunting female deer as a necessity when the deer population threaten their agricultural survival, elite sportsmen often supported state and federal laws to enforce their vision of hunting, which included certain ideas of "manliness:" "By killing female deer, rural locals were not only defying state authority, but challenging sportsmen's cultural attachments to the animals as repositories of motherhood and femininity...doe and woman were both reified as mother, noncombatant and, by extension, noncompetitor in the male world." This pattern of class dispute and expansion of gender norms onto the environment, according to Warren, was repeated throughout the United States during this era, and the more elite hunters gained a great amount of political sway. In American history, hunting became a realm in which social, gender, and religious norms were contested, and the resulting disputes were manifested in state and federal laws regarding conservation and environmental policies.

The quintessential underlying theme in this exploration on the rise of conservation efforts in America, and its relationship to hunting, is the application of gender standards on the land, the animals inhabiting the space, and the humans who interact with both. American hunters were deeply embedded in this historic equation of the feminine with the land and their domination of said land. While various groups might have presented this femininity in a variety of manners, or prioritized the feminine in different aspects of nature, most still arrived at the conclusion of domination of male as the answer to any natural development or dilemmas. This theme of gender is simultaneously informed by the tradition of Protestantism of representing nature or the wilderness as a special source of spirituality. We will first explore this latter reality, as it

appeared frequently in the preceding chapter. Religious justifications supported conservation through not only gendered focuses on land dominion and economic "practicalities," but also through the intimately interrelated tradition of nature, particularly the wilderness, as a special source of spirituality. In his 2015 work *Inherit the Holy Mountain: Religion and the Rise of American Environmentalism*, Mark Stoll contends that American conservation had its roots in religious influences apart from this specific theological quandary. Stoll's primary goal in his work is to demonstrate how, contrary to most modern explorations and interpretations of American environmentalism ethics and politics, the early origins of American environmentalism had its roots in the influences of Calvinist doctrine, including Puritan, Congregationalist, and Presbyterian institutions, which presented both harmful and (primarily, in his mind) helpful theological perspectives of the environment. Calvinist doctrine provided a defense for environmental efforts beyond the dominant narrative concerning domination of the male population over the effeminate land. According to Stoll, Calvinist doctrine presented a defense of environmental care and focus for the sake of nature as a source of spirituality and reverence - for its own sake. He argued that John Calvin himself honored "Creation" to a greater degree than any of his contemporary theologians, and in his quintessential 1536 *Institutes of the Christian Religion* Calvin argued that nature provided a key source of knowledge and relationship with God apart from the Bible. To Calvin, "the Lord had made the universe 'as a spectacle for God's glory' or as a 'dazzling theater' of his glory.'" Calvin's understanding of the "Fall" required greater attention towards the study of nature, as he contended that this Fall had polluted human reason and the best way to seek the divine was to "contemplate [God] in his works whereby [God] rendered himself near and familiar to us, and in some manner communicates himself" (Stoll, 2015, 21). Stoll insists that this is a unique concern for Reformed theology and allows it to

stand apart from the other American Christian traditions. As he explains, "there was something about this religious tradition, perhaps the undercurrent of fear of God's wrath, or the implacable decree of predestination, or the prophetic calls for reform and righteousness, or the censoriousness of its theologians and preachers, that stirred nostalgia for an imaged era of bliss and peace with God. Very likely, too, the Calvinist emphasis on God's presence in nature inspired a longing for that long-lost moment in time when God could be enjoyed in a beautiful landscape without the impairing effects of the Fall" (38). The works of humanity, which is clearly "Fallen," obscures the "divine beauty" of nature, which is always superior to human-made societies and cultures (38). Anything "adverse" in nature is a result of human actions or is part of Adam curse (39). As a result, according to Stoll, "Reformed Protestants sought to distance themselves from artificial environments in order to immerse themselves in the unsullied works of God" (39).

Stoll dedicates his book to exploring how these early Calvinist roots and beliefs engaged American culture and evolved. Calvinistic conservation was inspired by the ideals of "improvement" and "stewardship," in which the improvement of land and one's own possession was interpreted as a moralistic and religious act (69-70, 82). This reform mentality was not restricted to only a personal sphere, but Calvinist doctrine also expected this mentality to apply to public improvement of society and the economy (70). For example, Stoll attributes the invention and continuation of various agricultural inventions and methods, governmental and educational agricultural institutions, conservation and forestry reservations, etc. to Congregationalist communities and leaders (112). Later Presbyterians accelerated these efforts and became the most prominent and influential conservationists by the turn of the 20th century, and turned conservation, park building, and forestry maintenance into a national crusade (139).

As Stoll explains, “whether in the cause of conservation or parks, wilderness or pollution, livable cities or safe workplaces, Presbyterians would dominate environmental discourse and lead the major environmental battles into the 1960s. New England Congregationalists forged the core values of conservation in their advocacy of a moral and orderly society in which community took precedence over the individual. Presbyterians transmuted conservation into mid-twentieth-century environmentalism and in the white-hot fires of moral urgency” (139). Although Stoll offers this high praise of the Calvinist tradition in its role in the development of American conservation, this participation and leadership no longer exists today:

> “The former ‘mainline’ churches and other institutions that long taught the virtues of the Protestant ethic and gave environmentalism coherence and direction could not withstand such money-driven values delivered by such a seductive and ubiquitous messenger. No strong liberal or progressive political movement counter balances and checks private enterprise, and it is difficult to see from which corner of society one might come forward…If it is not dead yet, environmentalism is certainly weak, divided, and wandering in the wilderness.” (275)

This drive represented Calvinist tradition to preserve the environment through its source as an access to the divine is represented by nearly all of our past case studies. Recall that both Reverend Headley and Reverend Murray both compared their visits to wilderness during a storm to the biblical prophet Elijah’s meeting the divine on Mount Horeb. This tradition expands beyond a strict Calvinist religious sector and has deep roots in the earliest Christian communities settling the mainland United States. With the beginning of the development of Euro-American Protestantism during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, one family emerged most prominent in the cultivation of the foundation of the American religious experience: the Cotton-Mather family. Few families in American history have obtained their level of influence, in both longevity and in breadth of theology, as did the members of the first three generations of the Cotton-Mather family in New England. John Cotton, Richard Mather, Increase Mather, and

Cotton Mather have all become synonymous with the archetypical early American Protestant religious leader and theological forerunner. However, despite the extensive research done into this family's history and influences, the Cotton-Mathers family's influence on the environmental attitudes of Protestant and Evangelical religious communities, and its theological reach and longevity, is neglected in modern religious historical studies. Their combined works and teachings exhibit the complex relationship fostered by mainline Protestant theology and environmental relationships with the human community and reveal the early origins of gendered constructions regarding religio-political attitudes towards the environment that predated our focused mid to late 19th century. The theology spurring on "muscular Christianity" did not suddenly manifest itself in the minds of the ministers who preached its message from their pulpits. The witness of our hunters and nature enthusiasts to claim a spiritual uplifting from the land was not a newfound effort created anew by our 19th century case studies. All of our studied works, all of the theology we have explored, all of the social attitudes towards religion, gender, and nature, all have roots in the theological reflections and doctrine that came before. The gendered land, the wilderness as both to be conquered by the Western Christian world and commoditized as a religious retreat, was conceived by the very first Christian (particularly Protestant) ministers to immigrate from Europe. The works of the father-son duo Increase and Cotton Mather, who were part of the first two generations of European families born in the English colonies, perfectly encapsulate this reality. This section will explore how these two men not only encouraged a particular environmental attitude amongst their peers and communities, but also shaped the manner in which modern Protestant and Evangelical groups treat the environment and relate to the natural world. Three areas of concern stand prominent among their work: the defining of New England as participating in a "New Covenant" with God and thereby

acting as the "New Israel;" the relationship with the American Indian communities; the subsequent definition of proper land use derived from not only these two stances, but from other theological tenements of both the Puritan and Calvinist traditions. Early English explorers and religious leaders determined that their mission to fulfill their covenant and to aid in the realization of the Kingdom of God on earth could only be realized in the Americas, and not on the European continent. Historian Andrew Preston, in his work *Sword of the Spirit, Shield of Faith: Religion in American War and Diplomacy,* argued these early Puritan religious leaders sought out their own "promised land" in the Americas, from which an abundance of wealth and resources might be enjoyed in the "paradisiacal" makeup of this land, which might become a new "Eden" under the toil and domination of the English:

> While Hakluyt, Purchas, and others argued that God had anointed England as a chosen nation, the Puritans gave this familiar conceit a new twist. Instead of looking solely to the book of Genesis for inspiration, they saw their own plight as a sequel to the book of Exodus. New England was their promised land. In this idea lay the seeds of permanent settlement, of the transition from exile to migration, and of the idea that America, not England, was the land of the chosen people. If the Puritans obeyed the terms of their covenant with God, their new home would be the site of a New Israel . . .New England was not only vacant but untainted, waiting to be used by a pious and hardworking people. It was a promised land that quickly became *the* promised land. Massachusetts, described by the one of the first settlers as 'our new paradise,' was just such a place, and would provide all the Puritans' spiritual and material needs. (Preston, 2012, 26)

The environmental doctrine developed by Increase and Cotton Mather is a complex system steeped in a world order in which the religious and secular are intertwined, under a predetermined "covenant," and theological determinations are steeped in gendered social anticipations and rules originating from this religious doctrine. Once we have properly studied the Mathers in their context, we can then begin to examine how their influences have spanned across time within the Protestant and Evangelical Christian communities. The attitude towards

the American landscape that the Mathers lauded was based on theological principles and a social worldview they believed to be ordained by the divine (and thereby morally and ethically sound), and miraculously protected from their own social contexts and biases. Both Mathers maintained that nature was simultaneously an entity to be feared and dominated, in which both spiritual and physical battles would occur, while also acting as an outlet through which God's revelations might be observed and revered - but only after it had been properly subjugated to and ordered within the Western Christian tradition.

Increase Mather

Increase Mather was born on June 21, 1639, in Dorchester, Massachusetts. He was educated at both Harvard University and then Trinity College in Dublin. Increase led his father's church in Dorchester for more than a decade (following receiving his masters diploma from Trinity College), after which Mather was the president of Harvard University from 1685 to 1701 (Lowance, 1974, n.p.). Following in his father's and stepfather's footsteps, Mather dedicated his life to strengthening the Puritan stronghold in New England.

Key to Mather's work is his part in the formalization and popularization of the preaching style of the American jeremiad. In early American jeremiads, the focus would be on the lamentation of and condemnation of New England's rejection of its divinely ordained "Errand into the Wilderness" (Smolinski, n.p.). In his introduction to Mather's *An Earnest Exhortation*, R. Smolinski explains that through jeremiads, Mather assumed the "persona" of the prophet

Jeremiah, who would inevitably lead his New Israel, the English colonists, to proper adherence to the moral settlement that was expected of them by God (Smolinski, n.p.). Imperative to any analysis of early American Puritan theological and social structuring is the acknowledgement of the Puritan understanding of themselves as the "New Israel," set in a divine "New Covenant" with God. The Puritans believed that their English and pious society was the reincarnated "New Israel" that would usher in the Kingdom of God through their settlement of New England after their "Exodus" from England. In his biography on Increase Mather and the early Puritan community, historian Mason Lowance explained that he and his fellow early English Puritans saw themselves as the primary actors in a "cosmic" plan in a moral settlement mission in the Americas:

> The abundance of allusions to the biblical pattern throughout early New England literature is evidence that the Puritan considered himself to be a small part of a cosmic pattern ordained and instituted by God, revealed in Scripture, and worked out through the teleology of history. Thus the most common element bonding the Puritans to one another was the psychological and spiritual conviction that they were indeed God's New English Israel, the New Chosen who had only to look at the example of Israel to see how Providence would guide them to become the precursor of Christ's Second Coming. The Puritans, therefore, shared a heritage that went back to the Bible and that was manifesting itself in contemporary history through the repetition of analogous patterns so clearly drawn in the Old Testament. (Lowance, 1974, 42)

It is in this new covenant that the Puritans first began to develop the American socio-religious doctrine of "Manifest Destiny," wherein the American "wilderness" and its inhabitants, the American Indians, acted as the obstacles to the divine mission of the New Englanders (Lowance, 42). In *The Day of Trouble is Near,* one of Mather's most famous jeremiads delivered in Boston on Dec. 11th, 1673, Mather explored the responsibilities of New England as the "New Israel" if

they were to realize both the physical and spiritual arrival of the Kingdom of God in the American landscape. Mather argued that the colonization efforts in New England had, from the beginning, been grounded in religious motivations. However, with New England's departure from a focus on their covenant with God, just as the Israelites had in the Old Testament, New England would be punished by God for their religious and moral crimes:

> The Interest of New-England was Religion, which did [distinguish] us from other English Plantations, they were built upon a Worldly design, but we upon a Religious design, when-as now we begin to espouse a Worldly Interest, and so to [chase] a [new] God, therefore no wonder that War is like to be in the gates. I cannot but admire the Providence of God, [that] he should threaten to punish us with a generation of men that are notorious for that sin of Worldliness, as if the Lord would make us see what our great sin is, in the Instruments of our trouble . . . Truly so may we in the Instruments of our present affliction, reade what our sin hath been. And is there not woful Covenant-breaking amongst us? Men when they come into the Church, enter into the solemnest Covenant that can be; They promise in the presence of God, Angels and Saints, that they will watch over one anothers Souls: But how little is that Christian and Brotherly Watchful|ness attended ever after? (Mather, 1674, 23-24)

This threat was imperative for the purification of New England. Mather outlined the following four mandates for his congregation and New England: as the New Israel they must accept that they are subject to the "troubles" of the world; that they must properly explore these troubles; that they must seek out the "signs" of the days of trouble; that they must understand that it is from God that these troubles originate (Mather, 1674, 3). Mather argued that only through suffering and hardship can the Kingdom of God arrive, and the troubles and "evils" of the world are innate to the "un-cultured" American landscape and "wilderness" (Mather, 3-4). Mather asserted that it was the duty of the Christian to suffer as Christ had suffered in this troubled world. To be grafted into the body of Christ required godly suffering:

> Christ himself was exposed to sufferings when in this world. He was a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief . . . Should not the Members be like the Head? Shall we be [Monsters] in the Mystical Body of Christ? Truly, if we should meet with no troubles in the world, we should rather be [Monsters] then Members in the Mystical Body of Christ. (Mather, 4)

For Mather, the New Englanders, through their adherence to their covenant and through suffering, were the realization of the peak of not only Christian civility, but also all of human civility. This also included a "transcendence" of the English over their more brutish natural surroundings. Mather used numerous natural metaphors in *The Day of Trouble is Near* to denote the duty of the New Englanders to prove themselves beyond the control of the American wilderness:

> Shall we be worse then dumb, and brute, and savage Creatures have sometimes been? It is a memorable Passage, which some Historians make mention of, That once in *Somersetshire* in *England*, when there was a sudden Flood, wherein many men were drowned, the dumb Creatures ran to the top of an Hill, that so they might escape the fury and destruction of the Flood; and there such Creatures as had an Antipathy in their Natures, even Dogs and Hares, yea Cats and Mice, could sit quietly together, and never offer to molest one another. Why behold, there is a Flood coming in upon us, And shall we not now live quietly by one another? Shall we not at such a time as this lay aside our Animosities and Variances about matters, which it's great pity that ever a Contention should be upheld amongst good men, about such small differences? (Mather, 30)

Mather asserted that the greatest danger for the New Englanders was to grow lazy, and find "sinfull Security" in their environment, and no longer seek to promote Christian "dominion" over and "improvement" of the American landscape:

> That sinfull Security is the great Disease of the last Times, whereunto those [Churches] are especially obnoxious, that have escaped the grosser Pollutions of the World and Antichrist, and do enjoy Rest, and Peace, and Freedome from hard Bondage. Who sees not (that sees any thing) that the Security of this Age is very great? And may we not rationally [see] that many of the Wise, as well as the Foolish Virgins in this Land of Rest, and Quietness, and Fulness of Spiritual Enjoyments, are slumbering and sleeping?

> Consult we the Sacred Oracle, and we shall readily be informed, that one great Reason of the prevailing of this Distemper, is, because we *put far from us the evil day*. (Mather, n.p.)

In his 1677 work *A Relation of the Troubles which have hapned in New England by Reason of the Indians There*, Mather also argued that it was the result of one man's sins that ignited the first violence between the American Indians and English colonists, and not the result of the great colonial intrusion or other societal disputes:

> As yet there was not (so far as I can learn) any disturbance from the Indians, then the only Natives of this Land. But not long after this, an unworthy Ship-Master whose name was Hunt, being sent forth into these Coasts on the account of the Fishing trade, after he had made his dispatch and was ready to sail, (under pretence of trucking with them) enticed Indians into his vessel, they in confidence of his honesty went aboard, to the number of twenty from [Patu---?], since called Plimouth, and seven from Nosset (now known by the name of [Es--am?]) these did this Hunt seize upon, stowed them under hatches, and carried them to the streights of Gibraltar, and there did he sell as many as he could of them for 20l. a man, untill it was known whence they came; for then the Friars in those parts took away the rest of them, that so they might nurture them in the Popish Religion. The pernicious and avaritious felony of this Ship-Master . . . as hath been expressed, laid the foundation to great troubleswhich did after that befall the English, especially in the North-east parts of this Land. Yea that inhumane and barbarous Fact was the unhappy occasion of the loss of many a mans estate and life, which the Barbarians in those beginning times did from thence seek to destroy." (Mather, 1677, 2)

In this story, Mather suggests that if not for this one man's felony, the English's moral settlement plan would have not incurred violence and would have remained peaceful. The English's settlement, as it was based in a new covenant with God, was thus morally justifiable.

For Mather, the American landscape would become both a spiritual as well as a physical battleground through which the Euro-Americans would further Christendom through their growth. Central to Mather's concern for land control and domination was the control and domination of the American Indians. Mather became a frequent apologist and promoter of the

numerous wars and violence against the American Indians during the late 16th and early 17th centuries. In his work, *A Brief History of the Warr with the Indians in New-England,* Mather compared the colonial campaign against the American Indians with Israel's campaign against their own enemies:

> Now, as the Lord, who doth redeem Israel out of all his troubles, hath graciously and gloriously begun our Salvation, so let him perfect it, in such a way, as that no honour at all may come unto us, but that great glory may be to his own blessed Name for ever. Let him bring health and cure unto this Jerusalem, and reveal the abundance of peace and truth: And it shall be unto him a Name of joy, a Praise and an honour before all the Nations of the earth, which shall hear all the good that he will doe unto us, and they shall fear and tremble for all the goodness, and for all the prosperity that he will procure. (Mather, 1676, 78)

Just as his predecessor John Cotton concluded, Mather contended that God was clearing the American landscape for this English Israel. In *A Relation of the Troubles,* Mather claimed that a godly fear had encompassed their native enemies, and that the American Indians now revered their religious authority. While discussing the capture and execution of an unnamed American Indian captain, Mather cited that this man declared to the English soldiers that his defeat had been a result of God's providence, and that the "Englishmans God maketh [the American Indian soldiers] afraid" (Mather, 1677, 7). In *A Brief History of the Warr*, Mather contended that it was the design of God for the English to take possession of the American Landscape away from the American Indians, and introduce Christian order and control over the wilderness. Mather compared the destruction brought about by the wars to the purification process of the Israelites

wandering in the wilderness. The American Indians, through their violence, were cleansing New England of the lazy, sinful generation that threatened the covenant of the English Israel:

> That the Heathen People amongst whom we live, and whose Land the Lord God of our Fathers hath given to us for a rightfull Possession, have at sundry times been plotting mischievous devices against that part of the English Israel which is seated in these goings down of the Sun, no man that is an Inhabitant of any considerable standing, can be ignorant. Especially that there have been (nec injuriâ) jealousies concern- ing the Narragansets and Wompanoags, is notoriously known to all men. And whereas they have been quiet untill the last year, that must be ascribed to the wonderfull Providence of God, who did (as with Jacob of old, and after that with the Children of Israel) lay the fear of the English, and the dread of them upon all the Indians. The terror of God was upon them round about. Nor indeed had they such advantages in former years as now they have, in respect of Arms and Ammunition, their bows and arrows not being comparably such weapons of death and destruction, as our guns and swords are, with which they have been unhappily furnished. Nor were our sins ripe for so dreadfull a judgment, untill the Body of the first Generation was removed, and another Generation risen up which hath not so pursued, as ought to have been, the blessed design of their Fathers, in following the Lord into this Wilderness, whilst it was a land not sown. (Mather, 1676, 9-10)

As the New Englanders sought to control the land and conquer the American Indians, Mather contended that God would both subdue the American land itself and use its abundant resources to aid the English in their war efforts:

> Its wonderful to con- sider, how that the Lord hath visited his People in giving them Bread, when a Famine was expected. And this Summer, God hath caused the showre to come down in its season, there have been showres of Blessing when some beginnings of a Drought were upon the Land. And sore Diseases hath the Lord rebuked; whereas the small Pox and other Malignant and Contagious Distempers have been amongst us since this War began, God hath been entreated to have compassion on us, and to restore health unto his people. Moreover, we are still under the enjoyment of our Liberties, both Civil and Spiritual: for such causes as these, the day mentioned was observed (by order of the Council) as a day of publick Thanksgiving throughout this Colony: And behold, when we began to sing and to praise the Lord whose mercy endureth for ever, he hath as it were set Ambushments against the Enemy, and they were smitten, yea they have since that been smiting and betraying one another. (Mather, 58-9)

Mather further alluded to the diseases that had ravaged the American Indian population as an avenging "angel" that God had sent ahead of the English, again displaying God's use of environmental warfare to further promote the English cause:

> Also if we keep in mind the means and way where- by our deliverance hath thus been accomplished, we must needs own the Lord in all. For it hath not been brought to pass by our numbers, or skill, or valour, we have not got the Land in possession by our own Sword, neither did our own arm save us. But God hath wasted the Heathen, by sending the destroying Angell amongst them, since this War began; and (which should alwayes be an humbling consideration unto us) much hath been done towards the subduing of the enemy, by the Indians who have fought for us, sometimes more then by the English. (Mather, 77)

For Increase Mather, the American landscape was a stage on which the English Israel would bring about the Kingdom of God. It was a place of peril and savagery, and in desperate need of control. However, Mather did not limit his analysis of nature to this disparaging conclusion. Mather, as his son would later mimic, was fascinated with scientific literature and studies. Mather was particularly interested in the union between religious ideologies and scientific discoveries, and sought to create a bridge between the two that relied on using natural discoveries and other scientific facts to defend religious doctrine. In his 1684 work, *An Essay for the Recording of Illustrious Providences*, Mather produced a work featuring a union between scientific discourse and supernatural analyses, as he attempted to unite the "Book of Nature" with the "Book of Scripture." (Smolinski, 1676, n.p.) Mather provided the following reasons for the publication of such a book: to provide glory to God; to understand the divine judgments that God enacts through nature and the other "Illustrious Providence" found in the American

landscape; to encourage the intellectual and religious advantages that will be provided to the academic and religious communities through such a study.

In the third chapter of *An Essay for the Recording of Illustrious Providences*, Mather explored the science behind lightning, and numerous "miraculous" and dramatic accounts of lightning strikes in America. Mather argued that lightning in America was simultaneously both representative of the unpredictable American wilderness and a weapon of judgment by God:

> There are who affirm that although terrible Lightnings with Thunders have ever been frequent in this Land, yet none were hurt thereby (neither Man nor Beast) for many years after the *English* did first settle in these *American Desarts.* But that of later years fatal and fearful slaughters have in that way been made amongst us, is most certain. And there are many who have in this respect been as Brands plucked out of the burning, when the Lord hath overthrown others as God overthrew *Sodom* and *Gomorrah.* Such solemn works of Providence ought not to be forgotten. (Mather, 72-73)

In the following chapter, Mather explored the theological implications of these instances of lightning strikes. Mather argued it was imperative for any natural study to include such a religious meditation:

> Having thus far Related many *Remarkable Providences,* which have hapned in these goings down of the Sun; and some of the particulars, (especially in the last Chapter) being Tragical Stories: The Reader must give me leave upon this occasion a little to divert and recreate my mind, with some Philosophical Meditations; and to conclude with a Theological Improvement thereof. There are Wonders in the Works of Creation as well as Providence, the reason whereof the most knowing amongst Mortals, are not able to comprehend. (Mather, 99-100)

Though Mather provided a great amount of praise for the scientific discoveries of his time, he argued that there were certain natural occurrences that were beyond the human mind's capacity

to comprehend, and were restricted to the transcendent mysteries of God's power. Every act of nature had to be understood as indicative of a greater spiritual situation:

> There is also that which is very mysterious and beyond humane Capacity to comprehend, in Thunder and Lightning. *The Thunder of his Power, who can understand?* Also, *Can any understand the spreadings of the Clouds, or the noise of his Tabernacle?. . .He Thundreth marveils.* It is indeed manifest that these wonderful Meteors are generated out of a Nitrous and Sulphurous Matter. Hence it is commonly out of dark and thick Clouds that Hall and coals of Fire break forth, *Psal.* 18. 11, 12. The Scent which the Lightning useth to leave behind it, in places where it falls, is a sufficient evidence of it's being of a Sulphurous nature. Nay the persons (as well as places) smitten there with have sometimes smelt strong of Brimstone. (Mather, 109)

Mather had no qualms with relying on religious language to explain scientific dilemmas and other unknowns. He also sought to use his scientific understanding to defend those religious stories in the bible that appeared to be impossible in the natural world:

> The *Jewish Rabbins* affirm, that all great and suddain Destructions are from Satan, the Angel of Death. That he has frequently an hand therein is past doubt. And if the fallen Angels are able (when God shall grant them a Commission) to cause fearful and fatal Thunders, it is much more true concerning the good and holy Angels, 2 *King.* 1. 14, 15. When the Law was given at Mount *Sinar,* there were amazing Thundrings and Lightnings, wherein the great God saw meet to make use of the Ministry of Holy Angels, *Act.*7.53. *Gal.* 3.19. *Heb.* 2. 2. Some think that *Sodom* was destroyed by extraordinary Lightning. Its certain that Holy Angels had an hand in effecting that Desolation, *Gen.* 19.13. We know that one Night the Angel of the Lord smote in the Camp of the *Assyrians* an 185000. It is not improbable, but that those *Assyrians* were killed with Lightning: For it was with respect to that tremendous Providence, that those words were uttered, *Who amongst us shall dwell with the devouring Fire, Isai.*33.14. (Mather, 128-129)

Mather was adamant that scientific advances would only further defend the Christian faith. Natural studies were but an additional tool for Christian studies to make use of to further evangelizing and religious education efforts. However, Mather concluded (in his argument that the work of angels might be explained through lightning and thunder) that the ultimate instigator

behind such natural occurrences, God, must not be ignored, and spiritual concerns ought to always be prioritized over scientific exploration:

> But though it be true, that both natural Causes and Angels do many times concurre when Thunder and Lightning, with the awful effects thereof, happen; nevertheless, the supream cause must not be disacknowledged. The Eternal himself has a miglity hand of providence in such works. He thundreth with the voice of His Excellency. (Mather, 130)

Mather concluded *An Essay for the Recording of Illustrious Providences* by telling a story of a man who was converted by his encounter with thunder. The man was enjoying a ride with his Puritan wife when they were caught by a storm. After becoming terrified by the thunder, he asked his wife, who had remained stoic through the storm, why she was not afraid. She responded, "[Why] should a Child be afraid to hear his Fathers voice?" (Mather, 134). The man, inspired by her peace and serenity, begged for pardon with those in his community he had wronged, and became a "very godly man" (Mather, 134). Mather concluded that this was "an happy Thunder-Storm" (Mather, 134).

Cotton Mather

Cotton Mather was the eldest son of Increase Mather, born in Boston in 1662 in the house of his maternal grandfather, John Cotton. Following in the footsteps of his father, Mather earned both his bachelor's and master's degree at Harvard University, and later received an honorary doctorate degree from Glasgow University's Divinity school in 1710 (Smolinski, 1693, i). He is often considered to be the first American Evangelical minister and leader (Kennedy, 2015, x). According to religious historian Rick Kennedy, Mather saw it as his mission to not only

encourage individual responsibility and growth, but also inspire the new evangelical movement to focus on public education, American Indian relations and outreach, prison reform and ministry, widow and orphan support, African American "uplift," care of sailors, and "the love that held households together" (Kennedy, xi).

Mather from an early age was fascinated by the study of science and nature, as inspired by his father. He too promoted the importance of the study of the "Book of Nature." In his 1693 *Winter Meditations*, Mather wrote that "the Great God requires our *Contemplation* to observe ALL HIS WORKS . . . We should now *Know the Work of God*, and Study as far as we can, every one of *His Works*" (Stoll, 2015, 22). Mather would eventually become a prominent member of the Colonial American "scientific" community, and published one of the first books on medicine, *Angel of Bethesda,* in the colony (Stoll, 47). However, just as his father before, Mather too held a dichotic view of nature. Simultaneously, while nature provided revelations of God, it was also a dangerous wilderness to be feared.

Mather is perhaps most (infamously) recognized in the American conscience for his role in the Salem Witch Trials. Mather's work, *Wonders of the Invisible World,* in which he detailed the workings of witches and other demonic presences, includes an analysis of how the wilderness plays a role in the aid of the devil's work on earth. Although nature can be pursued as the "Book of Nature," Mather warned his audience to refrain from too great an attachment, as the ultimate goal of nature had yet to be realized through the full transformative power of the English settlers.

The wilderness, when defined or experienced by the feminine, was susceptible to the devil's wiles, as seen in the presence of Mather's witches. The goal of the colonial Christian was twofold: to aid in the production of an earthly "Eden" through defeat of the wilderness, after which they would ascend to an ethereal heaven apart from this earth:

> What shall I say? The Wilderness thro' which we are passing to the Promised Land, is all over fill'd with, Fiery flying serpents. But blessed be God; None of them have hitherto so fastned upon us, as to confound us utterly! All our way to Heaven, lies by the Dens of Lions, and the Mounts of Leopards; there are incredible Droves of Divels in our way. But have we safely got on our way thus far? O let us be thankful to our Eternal preserver for it . . . We are poor Travellers in a World, which is as well the Devils Field, as the Devils [Goal]; a World, in every Nook whereof, the Devil is encamped, with Bands of Robbers, to pester all that have their Face looking Zion-ward: And are we all this while preserved from the un- doing Snares of the Devil! it is, Thou, O keeper of Israel, that hast hitherto been our Keeper! And therefore, Bless the Lord, O my soul, Bless his Holy Name, who has redeemed thy Life from the Destroyer ! (Mather, 1693, 22-23; Nash, 1967, 26)

In accordance with this transitional view of the land, Mather concluded, as his father had before him, that the English were under a new covenant akin to that of the Israelites with God. Historian Mason Lowance argued that Mather believed the "New English Israelites" were performing their own "errand into the wilderness," and their service in God's calling "was the governing characteristic of the Puritan sense of mission throughout the seventeenth century" (Lowance, 1974, 41). Mather provided a detailed definition of this covenant in his 1702 work *Magnalia Christi Americana, or, the Ecclesiastical History of New England*:

> For the Lord our God hath in his infinite wisdom, grace, and holiness, contrived and established His covenant, so as he will be the God of his people and of their seed with them, and after them, in their generations and in the ministerial dispensation of the covenant of grace, in, with and To his visible Church, He hath promised covenant-

> mercies on the condition of covenant-duties. If my people who are called by my name, shall humble themselves, and pray, and seek my face, and turn from their wicked ways, then will I hear their prayers, forgive their sins, and heal their land; and mine eyes, and mine heart, shall be upon them perpetually for good! That so the faithfulness of God may appear in all generations for ever, that if there be any breach between the Lord and his people it shall appear plainly to lye on his people's part. And therefore he has taken care, that his own dealings with his people in the course of his providence, and their dealings with him in the ways of obedience or disobedience, should be recorded and so transmitted for the use and benefit of after-times, from generation to generation. (Cotton, 1702, n.p.)

Mather combined his study of the English covenant with his analysis of the English-American Indian relations as well. In his 1967 work *Wilderness and the American Mind*, Roderick Nash explores how Mather explained why the "sun of righteousness never shone" in the Americas to bring "proper" religion to the American Indians (Nash, 1967, 36). Mather believed that "Satan" had "seduced" the first American Indians to "his" ways in order to create "himself" a stronghold in America. Consequently, the American Indians were "active disciples for the devil," whose "chief Sagamores [were] well known . . . to have been horrid Sorcerers, and hellish Conjurers and such as Conversed with Daemons" (Nash, 36). Mather would include stories of English "victories" over the American Indians in his sermons and writings as further proof of their godly covenant and their right to "inherit" the American land. As Increase and a majority of the English colonists had before him, Cotton Mather conflated the American Indian identity with that of the wilderness and American landscape. The fate of the American Indians would be tied with the fate of the land, and vice versa. Mather used the story of Hannah Dustin, a woman who had been captured by a raiding party of Catholic Abenakis in 1697 in Haverhill, Massachusetts, as evidence of God's approval of the English, as well as the English's ability to

conquer the American Indians and their land. After her capture and witnessing the murder of her newborn infant, Hannah procured a hatchet and killed and scalped ten members of her host Abenaki family (Preston, 2012, 51). His promotion of the story was not to highlight the abilities of Hannah, however, but instead emphasize the divine's ability to work even through a "weak" feminine body. As suggested in this story, Mather was also highly critical of the Catholic presence in the Americas and was quick to promote the English enterprise over what he deemed to be the sacrilegious and immoral society and culture of the Catholics. One figure which received a great deal of condemnation from Mather was the French priest Father Rale, who became infamous among the English for his adoption of the Abenaki lifestyles and customs. Mather argued that this was not only an act of cultural treason, but also blasphemous against proper Christian civility and relations to the land. After the death and scalping of the French priest Father Rale in his own church in Maine by English militiamen in 1723, Mather blamed Rale's death on the priest's Catholic and French colonization methods and religious doctrine:

> The Barbarous and Perfidious Indians in our Eastern Country, being Moved by the Instigation of the Devil and Father Rallee, have begun Hostilities upon us. They did it, when the French Hopes of a Fatal Revolution on the British Empire, deceived them. And it was not long before the Hairy Scalp of that Head in the House of the Wicked, paid for what Hand he had in the Rebellion, into which he Infuriated his Proselytes. (Preston, 55)

For Mather, only the English held the divine blessings of God to take control of the American land and lead both the American wilderness and the American Indians to civility. Any attempts to promote or even consider a synchronous relationship between American Indian society and European society was not only doomed to fail but amoral.

Thirty-six years after his father, Mather published his own scientific-religious work, *The Christian Philosopher*. This work reveals that he too held a dichotic opinion of nature, in which it behaves both as a spiritual and social battleground as well as a source of insight into God's mystery and ought to inspire spiritual awe. Mather defined nature as the "decoration" of heaven, which acted like a mirror that reflected the "workmanship of the great Architect" (Mather, 1815, 22). Mather argued that both the Book of Nature and Book of Scripture are necessary for proper Christian studies:

> Chrysostom, I remember, mentions a twofold book of God; the book of the creatures, and the book of the Scriptures: God having taught us first of all by his works, did it afterwards by his words. We will now for a while read the form of these books, it will help us in reading the latter: they will admirably assist one another. The philosopher being asked, what his books were; answered, the books of nature. All men are accommodated with that public library. Reader, walk with me into it, and see what we shall find so legible there, 'that he that runs may read it.' Behold, a book, whereof we may agreeably enough use the words of honest Ægardus; 'This book may be read by all, although they may never have learned to read; it is accessible to all; it is exposed to the eyes of all. (Mather, 10)

Mather determined that any scientific exploration, when "properly done," would inevitably provide greater support for his interpretation of the Christian faith. After discussing the scientific reasoning behind the occurrence of a rainbow, Mather argued that the rainbow ought to serve as a constant reminder of God's covenant with the Christians ("It should be considered as a sign and a seal of covenant, which the great God has made, that He will not have this world, though a sinful one, drowned any more, nor his church in the world…" Mather, 64). Mather next concluded that, similar to the appearance of the rainbow, snow ought to be considered as representative of the hope and promise offered by God through "his" control of nature ("When

we see the snow, that comes down from heaven, and returns not thither, but waters the earth, and makes it bring forth and bud; we cannot but hope, that the word of our God, which comes like it, will continue with us, and accomplish the intentions of it…" Mather, 66). The Book of Nature would allow for those Christians who were perhaps not educated to have access to crucial Christian doctrine that they may not be able to comprehend in the Book of Scripture. Mather argued that any proper Christian "philosopher" should "fetch lessons of piety from the whole creation of God, and hear what maxims of piety all the creatures would, in the way of reflection and similitude, mind us of." (Mather, 17) Despite this confidence in the Book of Nature, Mather provided a warning against the improper balance between the two books, as the Book of Nature must always acknowledge the role of God behind all aspects of nature:

> I would by no means look up to the stars with the foolish astrology of the star gazers, who try to read, what the great God that made them has not written there. But there is very plainly to be read there, the power and the grandeur of the glorious God. This I will observe, prostrate in the dust before Him. The heavens declare the glory of God; and shall not I observe it? (Mather, 29-30)

The Book of Nature, according to Mather, could only be read through the "glasses" of the Book of Scripture. The Book of Scripture will always take precedence over the Book of Nature, although both were still necessary in Christian theology:

> Glorious God, I give thanks to thee, for the benefits and improvements of the sciences, granted by thee unto these our latter ages. The glasses which our God has given us the discretion to invent, and apply for the most noble purposes, are favours of Heaven most thankfully to be acknowledged. The world has much longer enjoyed the Scriptures, which are glasses, that bring the best of Heavens much nearer to us. But though the object glasses are here, the eye glasses are wanting. My God, bestow thou that faith upon me, which, using the prospective of thy word, may discover the heavenly world, and acquaint me with what is in the world, to which I hope, I am going. (Mather, 23)

For Mather, God's used nature for power demonstrations and the ushering in of righteous punishments, both of which demanded awed praise from the English Christians. Mather maintained that no natural process could occur without the allowance of God, whether it was penance against the wicked or a blessing for the virtuous:

> The clouds are so carried about by the winds, as to be so equally dispersed, that no part of the earth wants convenient showers, unless when it pleases God, for the punishment of a sinful people, to withhold rain, by a special interposition of his providence: or, if any land wants rain, they have a supply some other way; as in the land of Egypt, where little rain falls, there is an abundant recompense made for that want, by the annual overflowing of the Nile . . . When God gives rain from heaven, he will give also fruitful seasons in our minds, if they be thereby led to due acknowledgements of him. (Mather, 60)

After Mather provided a detailed examination into the science he had read on hailstorms, he concluded again that, ultimately, hail was still a tool of God, usually used for punishments (Mather, 67-8). Mather inherited his father's fascination with lightning and thunder as well. He concluded similarly that thunder was in fact the "voice" of God. Mather asserted that God's use of lighting and thunder was the ultimate indication of God's omnipotence, and his total control of the entire natural world:

> There is this voice most sensibly to be heard in the thunder, power belongeth unto God. There is nothing able to stand before those lightnings, which are styled the arrows of God. We see castles fall, metals melt, bricks themselves vitrify; all flies, when hot thunderbolts are scattered upon them. The very mountains are torn to pieces by their force. The thunder of his power who can understand? An haughty emperor shrinks, shakes, and hides his guilty head, before the powerful thunder of God. (Mather, 70)

For Mather, God ultimately had two voices in the world: the first, and most crucial, was through Scripture; the second, while subservient but still powerful, was through God's active role in and control over nature.

Both Increase and Cotton Mather maintained a seemingly dichotic theological doctrine regarding the Christian relationship to the natural world. Simultaneously, nature was both a battleground to test the English's dedication to their covenant with God as the New Israel, with the wilderness acting as a stronghold for evil, while simultaneously occupying a special place in Christian doctrine as the Book of Nature and God's tool for distributing blessings and punishments. The American landscape was the physical manifestation of the story of God's role in the Christian colonizing efforts and the Puritan's efforts to realize the Kingdom of God and the reincarnate "Eden" in the Americas. As Lowance explains in his biography of Increase Mather, the Puritans maintained the practice of "recalling events of the past" in the "context of [their] desire to record and illustrate God's Divine activity in human time" (Lowance, 1974, 43). Increase and Cotton both promoted reading the "characters," the "pages," and the "manuscripts" of the Book of Nature at every point of the settlement process (Stoll, 2015, 42). In his analysis of the Mathers' theological writings, historian Mark Stoll concluded that, to Cotton Mather, "every creature was a preacher, and even the smallest blade of grass proof of the existence, power, and glory of God. Science would evangelize for Reformed Protestantism" (Stoll, 48). Be it one of violent punishment, or the blessings found from the abundance of resources, nature was the reflection, or "decoration" of heaven and divine's character. This carefully "awed" appreciation of nature, and the desire to promote the domination and taming of the American wilderness, would inspire the Protestant and Evangelical community for years to come. Nature was a

spiritual commodity to be accessed by those positioned to properly interpret, enter into and interact with the wilderness.

While there are aspects of the Mather's spiritual reflections that might be commendable, we must reflect on the lens through which they present these ideas: first, this spirituality is only accessible to the white, elite, European male, who has been properly trained in their theological positions; second, science was presented as a tool for Christian evangelization and apologetics, and all science was proven "accurate" if it fell in line with the pre established Christian worldviews of ministers and other religious leadership; third, this spirituality is ingrained in certain gender constructions, particularly by a family who were key in promoting the equation of the feminine with weak, or even corrupted, spirituality and sin. Both Increase and Cotton were key players in the Salem Witch Trials, and the defining of the feminine as susceptible to the "wiles" of the "devil," and in need of male guidance and dominance. The works and influences of these early American ministers would pave the way for our later ministers and religious leadership, through which the continuance and further growth of this relationship between the Christian community, nature, and gender.

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In American history, a dominant social definition of "wilderness" and its respective environment was based on what was considered "feminine" attributes. What gave the elite hunters the right to encourage their definitions of conservation? What allowed them to enter into

the wilderness and hunt? Defense of these enterprises were spurred by language and philosophical interpretations in which the masculine hunter not only had the right, but was expected, to dominate and order the feminine wilderness. This association between nature and the feminine has a history long predating the European colonization of the Americas. One of the most prominent works on this reality is Carolyn Merchant's *The Death of Nature* (1990). In this book, Merchant explores the social association of nature and the feminine through both historical religious and scientific studies. According to Merchant, the equation of "women" and nature solidified in Western culture primarily in the 16th and 17th centuries through a collusion of pseudoscientific studies of the female body versus the male and religious definitions of the identifying markers of "womanhood" (Merchant, 1990, xx). Both realms placed women as inferior in their respective hierarchies: science depicted the female body as a deformity of the male, while religion equated the male with the spiritual realm and the female with earthly, physical realms (162). This depiction of the feminine land was further partitioned into two, at times seemingly competing, yet similar gendered realms: nature was both presented as a nurturing mother, and also a wild female in need of domination through male ordering (2). The state of womanhood could either be a "virgin" or a "witch" - this "woman's place" dictated by "the natural order" of "her societal and religious roles," and perceptions of the land, as it was similarly feminine, followed suit (145). Although this dichotomous social construct might seem primitively binary to us today, these perceptions still linger today in many social realms and have played key roles in numerous historical events and eras.

The application of gender social constructs onto environmental realities and theological theories is key to understanding the history of American Christianity. In order to understand our upcoming case studies, one must first understand this Western equation of nature with a

definition of femininity grounded in certain Christian gender norms. Any resulting betterment of either environmental conditions or gendered social justice relies on this recognition, as asserted by Merchant in this work:

> "It is not the purpose of this analysis to reinstate nature as the mother of humankind nor to advocate that women reassume the role of nurturer dictated by that historical identity. Both need to be liberated from the anthropomorphic and stereotypic labels that degrade the serious underlying issues…my intent is instead to examine the values associated with the images of women and nature as they relate to the formation of our modern world and their implications for our lives today." (Merchant, xxi)

Merchant calls for "radical critiques" of the categories of "nature" and culture," for the sake of all arenas of social justice, from the presented environmental to gender issues, to other outside yet intertwined social groups, including Indigenous and black communities (144). Also key to Merchant's overall methodological explorations is her affirmation of not only the intermingling of various social realms and academic pursuits, but the specific reality that the scientific field is not an unbiased island of intellectual pursuit, but is too influenced by personal and social biases. As she explains, "social concerns serve consciously or unconsciously to justify a given research program and to set problems for a developing science to pursue. Cultural norms and social ideologies, along with religious and philosophical assumptions, form a less visible but nonetheless important component of the conceptual framework brought to the study of a scientific problem" (xxii). This reality of the simultaneously biased fields of science perceived as unbiased by its participants still exists to this day, where modern science is somehow "objective, value-free, and context-free" (290). Again, what must be emphasized here is that many of these biases we find in the scientific realm that inspires such a hierarchical and binary view of the masculine vs the feminine are based in religious and theological ideologies. In her latter book *Reinventing Eden* (2003), Merchant further explores the equation of the feminine with the land

through an analysis of Western economic and cultural norms as grounded in a religious narrative based on a literalist interpretation of "the Fall" of the Genesis creation myth. Literalist interpretations of this account equate Eve with the initiation of "sin." In turn, men become the laborers of the earth in an act of spiritual transformation and repentance: "they become earthly saviors who strive, through their own agricultural labor, to re-create the lost garden on earth, thereby turning the tragedy of the Fall into the comedy of Recovery" (12-13). This "Recovery Narrative," according to Merchant, has become the "mainstream narrative" influencing the course of Western Culture - men are the agents of transformation and restoration, while women (the inheritors of Eve) are equated with the sinful nature that must be restored and ultimately "tamed into submission" (22). Merchant identifies three forms of Eve as nature in Western ideology and rhetoric, which in turn influence religious and social perception of womanhood and femininity: Original Eve, in which nature is virginal and pure; Fallen Eve, in which nature is disorderly and chaotic, and is ultimately a wilderness that is both a victim and mouthpiece of "Satan" and in need of spiritual male improvement; Mother Eve/Mary, in which nature is an improved garden, nurturing and "bearing the fruit" of this male improvement.

All social realms are reliant on a system of cyclical biases, social expectations, social norms, etc., through which they function and through which they further uplift the anticipated dominant social status quo. This approach to social, and in particularly religious, systems is inspired by Pierre Bourdieu's concept of "misrecognition," taken from his quintessential work *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1972). According to Bourdieu, misrecognition is the misrepresentation of a social element as having some ethereal, logical, or permanent origin or influences apart from its construction within the social sphere it resides. For example, an anthropologist or sociologist might adopt a "systems of classification" or "taxonomy" to describe

a particular social system or event. Over time, these academics and their respective audience define the created systems as "true" or "infinite," when they were a creation of that same community of anthropologists and sociologists (Bourdieu, 1972, 97). Certain social elements are ultimately legitimized as the expected norm of a society, and their origins and their status as social constructs are lost to those participating in upholding them. For Bourdieu, misrecognition not only informs the structuring of social and cultural elements, but also the very bodies of the participants. Bourdieu contends that what misrecognition ultimately creates from this self-imposed control is a "socially informed body" (124). The control and order of the body is brought about through ritualized practices that are socially approved and "collectively assumed:" the unity of the group is further solidified by the unity brought about by participation in the ritual, while simultaneously the ritual further reinforces the collective identities and assumptions of its participating community (120, 136, 167). Group unity is further encouraged by what Bourdieu defines as social "limits" and the "legitimate transgression" of these limits. These principles are the "basis at once of the ordering of the world and of the ritual actions intended to authorize or facilitate the necessary or unavoidable breaches of that order" (124). The limits encourage conformity and abstinence from fringe behavior. Bourdieu argues that systems of human relations work through the participants' lack of awareness (both intentionally and intentionally) of the origins and motivations behind their actions. According to Bourdieu, for the system of relations to function, the participants "must not be entirely unaware of the truth of their exchanges, which is made explicit in the anthropologist's model, while at the same time they must refuse to know and above all to recognize it" (6). In other words, these "agents" participate in a system in which each participant is a producer and reproducer of some objective meaning at an "unconscious" level. This "unconscious" behavior is what Bourdieu defines as "habitus."

Habitus encourages an unconscious forgetting of history and consequently produces a mentality in which the agents are harmonized in their actions and experiences. These activities are continuously reinforced amongst the agents by the acting out of "similar or identical experiences" (either individual or collective, and both improvised or programmed) in a cyclical, dialectic relationship (80). In short, according to Bourdieu, habitus is a product of history that manufactures not only individual and collective practices, but also produces history "in accordance with the schemes engendered by history" (82). Subsequently, the agents forget the existence of these cyclical reinforcements, and the relationships are perceived as impartial, ahistorical aspects of their society. Habitus "makes coherence and necessity out of accident and contingency" (87).

The role of habitus in a society is to encourage and legitimize certain societal rules and regulations. According to Bourdieu, the "customs" produced by habitus are conserved by what he calls "group memory," and are themselves the "product of a small batch of schemes enabled agent to generate an affinity of practices adapted to endlessly changing situations, without those schemes ever being constituted as explicit principles" (16). These customs are not concerned with transcendent rules or theoretical justifications, but are instead concerned with the ability of the agents to reproduce them, regardless of the agents' understandings of the origins of the customs. These customs produce practices that tend to "reproduce the regularities immanent in the objective conditions of the production of their generative principle." They are simultaneously influenced by time while "adjusting to the demands inscribed as objective potentialities in the situation, as denied by the cognitive and motivating structures making up the habitus" (78) In Bourdieu's example of "codified honor," he claims that this custom is embedded into the participating agents' bodies in the form of "mental dispositions" and "schemes of perception and

thought." What is perceived as a "sense of honor," according to Bourdieu, is nothing more than "cultivated disposition, inscribed in the body schema and in the schemes of thought, which enables each agent to engender all the practices consistent with the logic of challenge and riposte, and only such practices, by means of countless inventions, which the stereotyped unfolding of a ritual would in no way demand" (15). From this study, Bourdieu concludes that methodological objectivism is needed in order to avoid making inaccurate representations of human activities. Bourdieu defines methodological objectivism as dismissing the claims that systems are "totalities already constituted outside of individual history and group history." Subsequently, Bourdieu argues we must abandon "all theories which explicitly or implicitly treat practice as a mechanical reaction, directly determined by the antecedent conditions and entirely reducible to the mechanical functioning of pre-established assemblies" (72).

So how does Merchant and Bourdieu's work reflect on our hunters and their conservation efforts? It is twofold: first, we must not only recognize the realities of the dynamic and intricate intermingling of our social constructs, biases, etc. in all other academic fields, but also continually assess social categories. Our historically rooted association of nature and the feminine, and the resulting impact on our broad cultural assumptions regarding gender and gender roles, is but one of these needed recognitions, and its analysis will impact the entirety of our cultural world. Second, we must note how these social ritualizations not only impact the social spheres, but also the very bodies of those participating; or, how the individual person responds to their social influences and situation, and how their maneuvering through their situation relies on many mannerisms the individual subconsciously performs. Let's take our example of the muscular Christian pastor. In light of the concern over feminine power and representation in the church, and the diversifying community, various ministers sought to

promote male empowerment within the sanctuary through a promotion of those ideals they deemed masculine over those they deemed feminine. All aspects of the church and religious theology were presented in a manner that highlighted those themes. Over time, these same promoters and their followers began to present this masculine reading of Christianity as "always had been," and that Christianity was at its core masculine. Subsequently, certain masculine attributes were prioritized, and a system of masculine versus feminine personalities and practices was established within the Protestant community. These features included ways in which the individuals not only communicated with one another and with their spiritual reflections, but also how they literally carried their bodies. For muscular Christians, they were encouraged to retreat to the outdoors to train their bodies, so that they might adopt muscular ruggedness. As they further improved their bodies in a way that met the expectations for masculinity during this time, they were affirmed in their closer affinity to the divine, as it had been proven that the masculine was closer to the divine and spiritual matters as Christianity had "always" supported such a notion. Furthermore, since a majority of women were not afforded the opportunity to participate in such trips, and restricted by social expectations to focus their energies on the home, that proved they were the subpar gender both physically and spiritually. The historic belief of the feminine's equation with the nonspiritual, or the earth and nature, was a key element in this cycle of misrecognition. The early decades of American conquest of North America saw this manifested in the colonial approval of white conquest of the land, in order that the "wild" feminine land could be tamed and controlled by Western, masculine society. At the end of the 19th century, with the loss of literal land to expand to and the rise of social desire to visit or vacation in nature, the feminine land then became in need of continued ordering and discipline, through conservation efforts.

A further exploration of the early contact period between English colonists and American Indians during the late 17th and early 18th centuries reveals the longstanding importance of the intertwining gender, environmental, and historical studies in American history, from the very beginning of the colonial state. According to Kirkpatrick Sale in *The Conquest of Paradise* (1990), the American landscape during this era underwent what was at the time the most rapid and dramatic environmental change ever brought about by human agency. To properly understand this environmental change, we must study how European environmental stances differed from American Indians', and how this difference created tensions that further led European settlements to forge ahead in environmental policies based in domination and European excellence. English environmental policies were based on a number of preconceptions about what they deemed the "virgin wilderness" of the Americas, all of which culminated into construing the land as both a physical and spiritual battleground. The land itself was an opponent, one which must be subdued in order to obtain expected agricultural outcomes and to unearth its "hidden" natural resource "treasures." The land also would host both spiritual battles and physical battles with the Native peoples and encroaching Catholics and other competing Christians. Believing that their society was the pinnacle of Christian living, the European colonists held that the land and its occupants must conform to its social and religious expectations. This environmental transformation was intimately intertwined with corresponding mission work to American Indians, and further highlights the equation of gender norms of the English with attitudes towards the environment. As James Axtell notes in *Beyond 1492* (1992), both Catholic and Protestant mission work in the Americas were based in a strict patriarchal system, with both the missionaries and other political leaders working to secure the supremacy of men in secular and religious realms. Missionaries discouraged the widespread practice of equal

distribution in work and property between men and women among the Native populations, and encouraged social structures that mimicked their established gender norms, such as the primacy of agriculture over hunting (where only men could be in charge of the farm) and static settlements where men also owned the land and led the family. A specific case in which we see missionaries directly attempting to order social relations with the environment according to their expected gender constructs was in the creation of the fourteen so-called "praying towns" of Massachusetts and Connecticut. Established by John Eliot during the 1670s, these towns offered converts a new home in which they might live under the supposed protection of the missionaries and English settlers. While lax in their offered protection or connection to English trade, the towns did not lack in their strict code of laws established by Eliot to establish the converts as "true" Christians. Men and women were expected to demonstrate their Christian dedication by dressing in English styles and inhabiting their expected roles, as the men would work the land while the women remained home. These towns also adopted a static lifestyle based on English architecture and forms of gardening and farming. For early English settlements, how one interacted with the environment (as determined by one's expected gender roles) represented one's dedication to true Christianity.

Alfred Crosby, in *Ecological Imperialism* (2004), notes that while European colonizing powers were lax in their attempts to adapt to geographies and climates different from their home countries, they were highly successful in creating and establishing colonies that mirrored their home countries in regions that mimicked their preferred environments. English attempts at reshaping their settlements into new versions of their old homes highlighted their rising nationalism ideologies and their equation of environmental alteration and domination with proper Christian living. In Merchant's *American Environmental History* (2007), she notes how

Puritan ideology equated the purification of their souls with the purification of their surrounding wilderness's soul: "[the Puritans] could take over the wilderness from the Indians and transform it into a garden through their own ecological additions, even as they transformed the spiritual wilderness in their own souls" (Merchant, 2007, 35). In all of these, the land remained the feminine target, "fruitful" and "ripe" for male acquisition and domination, the stage for the masculine to enjoy spiritual rapture and social success. Numerous publications during the early promotion of colonial work employ language that presents the land in this feminine manner. Robert Gray, a famous minister in both England and the colonies, presented the colonial effort as a modern crusade that would bring about the new Kingdom of God and the reincarnation of a physical "Garden of Eden." In his 1609 sermon *A Good Speed to Virginia,* Gray concludes that the abundance found in North America was at the disposal of the English, who were the true inheritors of God's earthly mission. The land that offered such abundance, according to Gray, was a woman, who "offered" herself to the deserving masculine:

> "Nature hath emptied her selfe in bestowing her richest treasure upon that country; so that if art and industrie be used as helpes to Nature, it is likely to proove the happiest attempt that ever was undertaken by the English." (Gray, 1609, 29)

Famous minister John Cotton, in his defense of not only colonial land acquisition but also coercive missionization of the American Indians and their subjugation, equated the English colonization with a new "special Commission." According to Cotton, the rapid decline of the American Indian population, both from disease and violence, was a sign that God was preparing the land for European settlement. Cotton argued the American landscape lacked the necessary "improvement" expected and required by good, Christian Western society. The English, therefore, must fulfill the biblical mandate to "multiple" and correct this "infertile" vacancy. The

very start of the American colonial experience rested on the cultural belief that the natural landscape required human alteration, that the feminine form required male correction:

> "But admitteth it as a Principle in Nature, That in a vacant soyle, hee that taketh possession of it, and bestoweth culture and husbandry upon it, his Right it is. And the ground of this is from the grand Charter giveth to *Adam* and his prosperity in Paradise, *Gen.* 1.28. *Multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it.* If therefore any sonne of *Adam* come and finde a renewed to *Noah, Gen* . 9.1. *Fufill the earth and multiply.* So that it is free from that common Grant, for any to take possession of vacant. (Cotton, 5)

The equation of the land with the feminine, and the need for male domination, was ingrained into American culture and religiosity from its inception. Our muscular Christianity representatives included this language in their writings. Recall that William Murray, in his *Adventures in the Wilderness,* compared the Earth to a "maiden," as it revealed its spiritual enlightenment to him:

> "As I gazed, novel emotions arose within me. The experience was fresh and solemn. The air was cool, delicious. The earth was clothed as a queen in bridal robes; and Morn, with garments steeped in sweet-smelling odors, her golden curls unbound and lifted by unseen winds, streaming abroad as a yellow mist, - like a maiden, at the lattice of her lover, - stood knocking at the windows of the East, and saying: 'Open to me, my love, my undefiled: for my head is filled with dew, and my locks with the drops of the night." (Murray, 1869, 194)

It is not surprising that this equation of masculinity with the majority of American hunting culture during this era further solidified societal gender norms. While it has been noted that hunters of various class or economic statuses disagreed on the exact definition of masculinity in nature, all could agree that their participation in nature, either through hunting, farmining, etc., directly corresponded to their development of their masculinity, and their targeted natural phenomena was the feminine in need of domination or ordering. But how did women hunters, our case studies, reflect on this cultural attitude of the feminine land? For our female hunters, such equations with the feminine and the wilderness defined not the masculine ego, but instead

their own roles and perceptions of their relationship with the land. Grace herself chose to depict the land in feminine language and with feminine characterizations, but her choice to do so displays both her close affinity to her time in nature and her determination that the wilderness was essentially "holier" and "better" than urban realms because it was feminine. Urban realms for Grace represented the "masculine," and were ultimately corrupt. In her poetic exploration of nature as what she calls "The Inn of the Silver Moon," she observes that she is never truly free, never "truly in the open" until she sleeps outdoors, and the songs of the coyotes serenade her (27). She compares this accommodation to a hotel she and her husband lodged at shortly thereafter, in which she describes the hotel as clean and soothing but still a "blight," a representation of the effects of the masculine urbanization on one's mental and physical wellbeing:

> *"It was an expression of the crudity of man when he has broken away front he primitive and is trying to make a big showing in a cheap way, and often does he do this in the very lap of Nature's grandest achievements such as here where she was with indifference taken centuries of time and employed all the mighty agents at her command, the sun, the air, the water and the earth, all the elements to make a home for one of her vassals, the Colorado, and to paint it in the coulours that could beautify. Then does man erect a structure of his on its surface, as a fleck of soot mars the face of a beautiful woman, putting up a false front." (Seton-Thompson, 60)*

Not only is beauty and comfort found in the feminine nature, but also power. While "man" might build temporary structures that provide temporary comforts, it is the feminine natural power that prevails. While Grace reminisces about the "creature comforts," like a bath, provided by the hotel, she notes that these pleasures do not "touch the soul" as do the nearby mountain: *"Under its spell the unimportant details of a routine life in the East* [civilization] *shrink to their proper size and one expands as the purple lupin unfolds its sensitive leaves to the sun, and shuts them against the dark"* (75).

Paulina provides direct analysis of the rising realm of conservation inspired by the hunting community, particularly with regard to the development of parks. In her 1926 work "The Public Benefit of Private Game Parks," published in *Forest and Stream,* she concludes that the establishment of Federal game reverse is and ought to be "regarded as one of our noblest national assets," and local or state-based "sanctuaries" also should receive the same attention and respect (Brandreth, 1926, 138). Focused on a case study of her home the Adirondacks, Brandreth argues that much of the local wildlife ecosystems have been damaged and tarnished by the slow march of civilization. She argues that the Adirondacks, once plentiful with wild animals and solitude, now are "really nothing more or less than a summer resort" with "luxurious hotels, macadamized roads and telephones" that have "taken the place of the primitive but comfortable" commodities such as "hostelries" or "guide boats" (139). Only the existence of private game parks, according to Brandreth, has provided for the protection of the natural landscape and created thriving "breeding sanctuaries" (139). Does Paulina address the land as a feminine embodiment, and how does it compare to Grace's stance? Paulina too occasionally refers to nature in feminine pronouns. In *Trails of Enchantment,* while discussing the failure of certain conservation efforts with regards to the local beavers, and their exploding populations, she refers to nature as a woman, who better "knows" how best to order the ecosystems and is quick to erase the presence and influences of humans. As she explains, *"Nature, if left to herself, usually places a limit on the increase of any given species. Her scales are invariably well balanced"* (Brandreth, 1930, 89). Once human visitors depart, nature, who is "jealous of man's occupation," "hastens to obliterate the marks of habitation, and in the wilderness, especially, loses no time in reestablishing her own sovereignty" (150). She seems to use the female rhetoric in a manner that simply reflects the literary traditions of the era. However, there is still, like Grace, a focus on

emphasizing the human world as masculine and inferior, while the wilderness, which is depicted as feminine, is superior. Additionally, the feminine nature is the source of spirituality, and is not necessarily found in a masculine realm or through strict masculine interpretation.

What about Martha? How did her sister Mary depict her relationship with the land, and conservation efforts? We will now turn to Martha's biography and explore how she regarded and related to nature. In both aspects, her actions and goals were motivated by her perception of herself as not only key to the era's biological scientific pursuits, but also her personal desire to immortalize herself through her work.

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Martha Maxwell, "Immortalizing The Self Using Nature"

Martha Maxwell was born in 1831 in Pennsylvania. From her youngest years Martha endured both a strange relationship with death and sickness. The earliest memory she claimed to be able to recollect was the sight of a childhood pet duckling nearly drowning in front of her as it was swept away in a swift river. Although the pet was happily recovered later, the horror of the moment and her subsequent sorrow still tarnished yet molded a young Martha. That death had come so close, nearly robbing her of her close animal friend, yet death had been overcome with her prayers encouraged by her mother. Understanding Martha requires not only glimpsing this and other similar events in her childhood, but also understanding the women who raised her, and the manners that they strayed away from the traditional feminine mold expected of their time. She was raised by both her grandmother, Abigail Sanford, and mother Amy. The three lived together in Pennsylvania for the first few years of Martha's life, all the while Martha's

grandfather and Abigail's husband begged them to return to Connecticut, where the family had originally lived prior to Martha's birth. Several years earlier, Abigail and her husband Jared had originally moved to Pennsylvania together. Jared was unhappy with the new location, and returned to his family in Connecticut. Abigail refused to join him. Jared's son-in-law Spencer Dartt married Amy in 1830. While still a young couple and after Martha's birth, Amy was for a number of years confined to her bed due to what was determined to be "hysteria" at the time. Her husband reported to Jared in one letter that Amy had been restricted to her bed for 22 weeks, unable to walk or sit upright properly. The sight of her mother and her frantic moods weighed heavily on a young Martha, leading her to further draw closer to her grandmother. Spencer would die in 1833 due to scarlet fever. Martha also contracted the disease but managed to survive after growing extremely ill. The two women chose in 1835 to finally move back to Connecticut for the sake of Amy's health, leaving Martha behind with other family members. It would be a full year of loss and loneliness until Amy would return to her daughter, now returned to more robust health. After her recovery from her unidentified disease, Amy married Josiah Dartt in 1841, who was 13 years her junior and only 13 years older than Martha. The marriage was apparently very happy, and Josiah would become one of Martha's closest allies and friends. The family moves west, eventually settling in Wisconsin with relatives, the family hoping for the opportunity to evangelize to local American Indians. With the move Amy grew further dedicated to her religiosity, undergoing numerous spiritual episodes in which she claims to have received prophetic visions. Simultaneously, Josiah, determined to be a stable father, dedicated much of his

time to encouraging Martha's education and managed to gather the funds to enroll her into Oberlin in Ohio (Benson, 1986, 1-14).

Her access to college and Josiah's encouragement led Martha to develop an insatiable need for furthering not only her education, but her social standing. Her zeal was contagious, and her half sisters, including Mary, followed in their sister's footsteps. Her college experience began with flair, as she paid off the man who had driven her coach to release his horses, who Martha argued that he was abusing. She made certain that she was outspoken and seen on campus, immersing herself in both her studies and social life. Later in life she spoke to her daughter about her experience, explaining the stress of attending the school and upholding a "proper" reputation. As she explained, Oberlin was "treading on forbidden ground" by allowing women to attend, and their conduct and manner were under constant examination: "that our conduct might more closely seal the doors of many colleges whose thresholds were sacred to masculine footsteps…[she was glad, she concluded] that my bad behavior did not blast woman's hopes in this direction" (Benson, 24). Although Josiah did his best to financially support his daughter, by the end of 1852 he no longer had the funds necessary and she returned home (Benson, 17-32).

Fig. __ Martha Maxwell, from Benson Introduction.

A year later a local wealthy businessman James Maxwell requested Martha to act as a companion for two of his children,

Emma and James, while they attended Lawrence University in Wisconsin. Part of the deal included his paying for her to attend classes, and Martha was quick to agree. James joins Josiah's practice of writing to Martha to encourage her education, though the two men's focuses do differentiate. Josiah encourages Martha's education for her sake and the sake of acquiring knowledge for its own sake. While she was at Oberlin and concerned over finances, Josiah wrote to motivate her and dismiss her fears over money: "You ought to stay [at Oberlin] till you shall desire for the acquisition of useful knowledge & such a habit of intellectual training, that no ordinary circumstances will prevent your continuing to improve down to the end of life" (Benson, 30). James's goals were certainly different. He wrote to encourage her participation in certain classes, including music lessons. In addition, he wrote to propose to her. Martha at first rejected the offer, as she was 22 at the time and did not believe she was prepared to assume a motherly role for his children. After he persisted in several following letters, Martha finally relented and the two married in 1854. She viewed her choice to give up her studies for the marriage with a practical yet bitter tone, as she wrote to him that she concluded "*not* that I do not need to apply myself to my books longer, for there are many branches of science, of which I have long desired a knowledge and of which I am still entirely ignorant, but that my ignorance of those branches will effect you about as much as it will me so that if you do not complain perhapse [sic] I ought not to" (Benson, 40). From the very start of their marriage, Martha would associate their union with the knowledge that it was an obstacle for her: it stalled her education, and it thrust her into the duties of a mother of a very large family at a very young age. A few days following the wedding ceremony, Martha received a letter from a man she had met at Oberlin whom she had developed a relationship with. The two had established a provisional commitment, and when Martha left Oberlin she had wrote him often. However, none of his

letters had ever reached her, yet this final one did, in which he explained his absence and proposed marriage. While it seems clear at the time that Martha had moved on from this young man and was committed to James, this was yet another burden added to Martha's perception of her married life (Benson, 35-41).

Taken away from her educational life, Martha devoted herself to both her new children, her young half-siblings, while also participating in local reform societies and movements. Her communal focuses ranged from anti-smoking campaigns, education, temperance, and promotion of "free-state" efforts. Martha was not one to take her participation in any of her organizations lightly or half-heartedly. She participated in a secret temperance society that raided several taverns and vandalized them, for which she was fined but not jailed. She also encouraged her husband to give up alcohol and smoking, which she required him to do prior to their efforts to conceive a child. She also donated money for the purchase of rifles to a "Free Kansas Emigrants" group and aid to Union soldiers. She was elected secretary to the Loyal Women's League of Baraboo, during which she led a petition for universal emancipation. In 1857, the same year her daughter Mabel was born, the Maxwells became broke for the first time, coinciding with the Panic of 1857. James, while known to be a gracious and generous man in his community, lacked a great deal of business wisdom and was taken advantage of numerous times by various bad actors. James, in the midst of his financial failures, was caught up in the fervor of the Gold Rush fever, moved to the Rockies in Colorado with Martha, leaving his children behind with Amy and other family members. This move would prove to immensely consequential: first, it would provide Martha contact with the trapper who would teach her to taxidermy; second, it would provide the first instance of tension with her daughter Mabel, whose troubled relationship would guide much of Martha's life choices (Benson, 45-48; Dartt, 71).

While she and James lived in Colorado, a squatter attempted to take their land. Martha was enamored by the man's work, who was a German taxidermist. On her many visits to the man regarding their land disputes, she managed to convince the man to train her in the basics of taxidermy. After two and half years in Colorado, the couple returned back to their family for their first visit since leaving. At a local school, Professor Hobart, a close friend to Martha and her sisters, requested help from them on a taxidermied bird collection, thus providing Martha further experience. In addition, as her work grew more local attention, she managed to gain contacts with the Smithsonian and several scientists who hoped for her aid in obtaining certain animals. It was during this time Martha began to see taxidermy as the perfect opportunity for multiple reasons: first, it allowed her the excuse to further spend time in the outdoors and exercise her marksmanship; second, the hobby could be turned into an occupation, one that could provide her with an income apart from James's; third, and most personally, Martha saw in taxidermy an activity she consider to be the highest art form and reflection of scientific pursuit. This final goal will be imperative to truly understanding Martha. She was a highly complicated woman. In one of the few modern biographical works done on Martha, Maxine Benson promotes her feminist ideals and lifestyle, noting the harmony sought by Martha in her social standing and her family and pious upbringing: (Dartt, 16-18, 69)

> "That she did not typify what women were (or were expected to be) is obvious, for a mid-century the Cult of True Womanhood was in full flower, carrying the idea that women should be pious, pure, submissive, and domestic, regarding marriage and motherhood as their highest calling and the home as their proper sphere. Certainly Martha had been brought up to be both pious and pure, but nowhere is there any indication that she also was expected to be either submissive or domestic, in the sense of living her life only in the home and through a husband and children." (Benson, 15)

While it might be tempting to bask in what is indisputably the progressive aura of Martha, we must also recognize the more troubling aspects of Martha's personality. She wholly immersed

herself into her craft, determined it was not only the sole way to uplift her family and her daughter, but it would be her legacy. The animals she hunted were key, as both future art pieces and scientific specimens. She would obtain them, one way or another.

We will explore the more intense elements of this zeal in our next chapter, but her resolute focus in her taxidermy enterprise highlights her dedication to her own personal participation in the domination enterprise of American, western culture in the wilderness. As discussed in our first introduction of Martha, the social scandal that arose in response to her work was based in her determination to adopt the masculine pursuit of wilderness conquering. In sharp contrast to Paulina, Mary makes it clear that Martha strove to solidify herself as physically adopting and emotionally reflecting the expected feminine features of her era. Mary, too, in her writing, works tirelessly to promote this image. In her description of Martha, she describes her sister as a *"wee, modest, tender-hearted woman, lacking one inch of five feet in height and 'as shy as one of her own weasels!'"* (Dartt, 16). She does have a "hunting costume" she employs for her ventures, in which *"superfluous graces"* and *"ornaments"* are replaced with a *"gymnastic suit of neutral tint and firm texture,"* along with *"substantial shoes,"* a *"simple shade hat,"* and a *"game bag*" (43). Later, when discussing picnic customs in Colorado, it's noted that most women dress in this fashion on their outdoor trips (74). Martha describes her pursuit of taxidermy as a *"passion"* for *"all living creatures"* and a pursuit of the *"expression of beauty in form, that would have made her a sculptor had she been placed in circumstances to have cultivated it"* (16). Mary contended her artistic dreams and focus on animals made her comparable to the famous *animaliere* painter Rosa Bonheur (21). Unlike Bonheur and Brandreth, Martha might have not have adopted masculine clothes or mannerisms in her everyday life to lay claim to masculine authority, but she did promote women's rights in education and business

ventures like Grace. Martha, along with her sister, were adamant that women held the unalienable right to such social ventures. Furthermore, this was a political right for women, and the book notes how western states and regions were properly recognizing this reality:

> *"She wasn't afraid, and had the skill. I'm not sure - but did I hear somebody suggest, 'because she was a woman?' Pshaw! Go talk to the pre-Adamites! Did you ever go to a Fourth of July celebration, and hear them read that venerable document that talks about 'liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Well, in the new States at least, they have grown to believe it, and to think it includes everybody, and can't see why a woman shouldn't do as she pleases, provided she can, as well as a man!...I think it has been growing on the human mind ever since that little drama at the gate of Eden, that* capacity *and* ability*, rather than birth, color, sex, or anything else, should determine where individuals belong, and what they shall do. If they can use a gun, and are so inclined, what is to hinder their doing so?"* (24-25)

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A key realm of gender tension in our stories has been women in possession and control of a gun. Again, it was common for girls and women to train in using a gun for defense. Recall that Paulina's father trained her in using guns, and Martha's stepfather trained her. However, when on a hunt or excursion, the women did not have control of their guns until the very moment of their shot. Either the guide would hold and prepare the rifle (as they would often do for their male clientele as well) or the present husbands would. Numerous stories point to the fact, however, that while the women might be welcomed on the hunt, their authority over or expertise with their weapons was questioned, and such authority was restricted to their male counterparts. Grace, although the best shot in most of her stories, was still questioned numerous times on her judgment and her preference for rifles. Martha's use of a rifle beyond the expected defense was seen as a detriment to her femininity and placement in "proper" Western society. In *Woman the Hunter*, Dr. Mary Stange explores how the very presence of an armed woman is a serious taboo in the face of patriarchal social structures designed to entrench the feminine into a constant state of weakness and submissiveness. According to Stange, those women hunters

> "...May or may not identify themselves as feminists, but whether or not they do, they have in common the fact that in taking up weapons for the explicit purpose of killing, they are shattering one of Western culture's oldest and most firmly entrenched taboos. The image of a woman 'armed and dangerous' is obviously profoundly unsettling to the Western cultural psyche." (Stange, 1997, 6)

This is the best opportune moment to explore Stange's work, and her analysis of the hunting realm through an ecofeminist lens. In *Woman the Hunter,* Stange explores the relationship between women, hunting, and the American cultural zeitgeist regarding this union. Dr. Stange's primary concern with this work is exploring the role of feminism (both from an academic and cultural perspective) has played in the relationship between hunting and women. According to Stange, certain strains of the dominant modern feminism (specifically, and primarily, facets of ecofeminism) deliberately facilitate dangerous gender stereotypes about femininity through both the defenses and theories used to promote vegetarianism and its perspective on the appropriate relationship between humanity and nonhuman nature (2, 4). Feminism that perpetuates the myth that woman are naturally, and "innately," passive and nonviolent reinforces the stereotype that woman are ruled by their emotions as opposed to logic (2, 74-6). Stange proposes a new form of feminism that restores its original "radical" nature, where woman can finally escape patriarchal assumptions of femininity and passivity (4). Hunting provides an avenue for woman to achieve this goal and shatters the "ultimate taboo" of a woman "armed and dangerous," with a balanced connection with a true nature (6). Stange contends that modern feminism adheres to a dangerously unreal perspective of nature, where it "absolves women of responsibility for environmental depredation" and rests blame solely on men (84). She is adamant in asserting that feministic teachings, where women hold a privileged relationship to nature and animals in a passive, nonviolent capacity, perpetuates the academic theory of the Hunting Hypothesis, which she dedicates a good portion of her work disproving (74, 76). In this

theory, hunting, as standardized by early men, encouraged the development of important characteristics of civilization, such as language and teamwork and gender work norms. However, according to Stange, the Hunting Hypothesis was merely a reflection of 20th and 21st century Western Euro-American patriarchal and social traditions. As she notes, the Hunting Hypothesis and its "Man the Hunter" icon, "just happened to emerge as the Western nuclear family man par excellence, whose proper sphere was the wider world, just as his woman's "natural" realm was that of home and hearth . . . "man" just happened to look a lot like middle-class capitalistic anticommunist Judeo-Christian Caucasian man" (39). The theory also perpetuated the assumption of women as "naturally" more passive and that early demarcation of jobs between woman and men were based on physical and intellectual necessity as opposed to a rational or convenience-based decision (26, 32). The "Gathering Hypothesis," as developed in the 1970s, was a feminist response to this older theory. It argued that women's role as the "gatherer" or homemaker brought about the first vestiges of civilization (30). As Stange notes, both theories use the same data to arrive at their seemingly opposite conclusions, but in reality they both defend the same notion of men as the more "violent" gender while woman are naturally passive (32). Stange concludes that the "Woman the Gatherer" lets "Man the Hunter" "off the hook" and grants validity to his "natural" state of aggression towards nonhuman nature (74, 76). For Stange, neither hypothesis answers the question of identifying or critiquing healthy hunting or a healthy relationship with nature appropriately.

Both the patriarchal Hunting Hypothesis and Gathering Hypothesis assume humanity is above and apart from nature, and they project human laws and expectations onto nature (126). They alienate humanity from nature, force unnatural stereotypes on all genders, and do not allow for humanity to properly respond to various nature based relationships (21). For Stange, this all

can be traced back to a question of power – "both literal and symbolic, and to American culture's deep-rooted ambivalence about power in female hands" (57). Western Euro-American culture does not have a healthy relationship with nonhuman nature, and "treatment of nonhuman nature in Western cultures mirrors the patriarchal domination of women by men through recorded history, then the relation of women to hunting surely warrants a much closer look" (6). For Stange, hunting can provide women, and the rest of humanity, an avenue to overcome these dangerous traditions. Hunting strips away the "convenient distinctions" between humans and nonhumans perpetuated by our culture (6, 44). While Stange does not call for everyone to hunt, she contends that we all can in some way "stray back into the woods . . . [and at] the present historical juncture our very lives and souls may depend on it" (7, 9).

Beyond her primary focus on feminism and hunting, Stange explores many other intriguing aspects of gender and historical studies of hunting and nature. She notes the opposing ways in which hunting and agriculture have shaped our modern cultures. For instance, Stange contends that large-scale agriculture has done far more harm to our society when compared to hunting, such as seen in its perpetuation in devaluing all types of animals and its support of the domination of land by a man (46-7, 65). Stange ties a majority of her concerns with feminism and the environmental dilemmas to the tradition of nature being described in feminine terms. According to Stange, historically, and still today, female depictions of nature are used to further support the domination of nature and the wilderness by humanity (58, 62). Another simultaneous and intertwined romanticisms of nature. She notes that most public perceptions of nature are based on television and movies as opposed to direct contact with nature (85). This immature perception of nature has led to an oversimplification of nature and animals, and an idealization of a fantastical nature and paradise somehow devoid of humanity and violence (87, 89, 94, 98).

Stange's work provides a unique exploration for this small academic field of hunting, while simultaneously bringing new perspectives to the ethical explorations of hunting, the study of the relationship of humanity with nature, and gender studies.

As noted by not only Merchant and now Stange, the historical and modern social associations between nature and the imagined feminine are rooted in dangerous gender norms and views of the environment. This is done not only by bad faith actors or those who wish to reaffirm the masculine authority or patriarchal Western dominion, but also by those with good intentions under the feminist umbrella. Establishing women as more thoughtful towards or nicely closer to nature not only is set in an oftentimes overly simplistic views of nature, and absolves a great majority of the population from both environmental wrongdoings or need to change bad environmental habits. In addition, it upholds and implies a continuance of historical binary approach to gender norms and constructs, denying the complex reality of gender and the dangerous impact such a strict binary has on all participating in said society. Hunting might not be the saving grace for modern gender rights and environmental change, but the social arena does provide an excellent insight into both dilemmas, through its presence in today's society and the past.

We've explored how hunting provided a key impetus to the development of conservation efforts, through not only a practical desire of the hunters to maintain environmental conditions and animal populations to ensure the continuance of hunting opportunities for future generations, but also the desire to pursue an additional avenue to demonstrate the desired control over nature. As Philip Dray explained, as the dominant public perception of hunting culture evolved within the American zeitgeist from viewing hunters as "quasi-savage" to "wasteful market shooter" to "ethically conscious sportsmans," hunters "by and large accept[ed] the private-public obligations

of a managed approach to wildlife, but to the chagrin of antihunting forces, are frequently the gatekeepers of conservationist policies" (Dray, 341). As we've seen in our earliest case studies, from the early to mid-nineteenth centuries, most hunters were not nearly as concerned with animal populations or the status of the wilderness for its own sake. However, by the end of the 1800s, most elite or upper-class hunters (those with political sway) supported cautioning the members of their sport and hunting clubs and societies against overconsumption (Dray, ch. 5). However, it is important to note that there was no one unified front in the definition of conservation and environmental uplift by the hunting community. The divisions are obvious amongst differing economic classes, as demonstrated earlier by Louis Warren's work. But what is key is the reality of the historic equation, present from the very earliest days of American Protestantism and broader Christianity, was the equation of the land to the subordinate femininity. The religious masculine had access to dominating the land through a variety of means, which would inevitably boost their own spiritual and social financial wealth. For those women who desired to better their own spiritual or social standing in their community, they too sought out to claim this feminine land through adopted masculine roles. These women claimed the culturally-constructed masculine body through their presence in the wilderness, through their use of weapons, through their killing and displaying of animals.

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1876. The setup of her Centennial exhibit had been a great challenge for Martha. For two weeks Martha worked on her exhibit tirelessly. She was determined that it would be perfect according to her expectations, and that her capture of, her domination over, a snippet of the nature world, of the wilds of the Western plains, was exemplified through her 3D canvas:

> *"It of course seemed very strange to the visitors who were admitted long before her miniature mountain-side was completed, to see a woman in a working-dress using paste,*

> *pulverized ore, water, lime, gravel and evergreens; yet, only by laying aside all fastidious notions of propriety, and all regard for her own comfort, and working for about two weeks, as nearly night and day as possible, was her exhibit made the attractive picture presented during the summer."* (Dart, 1879, 207-208)

While the crowd's questions directed at Mary had been tiring, the attention directed toward Martha prior to the official opening of the Exhibition escalated in fervor. The visiting crowd expected Martha to acquiesce to not only their expectations of a woman, but also demur to every inquiry.

> *"What on earth* [was] *that woman…doing on those rocks with all those animals?"*
>
> *"What* [was] *the whole thing…going to be any way!"* (207-208)

Martha had little time to complete her work, and the number of questions and their usual topics wearied her. They were unnecessary distractions, especially in light of the fact her portion of the Exhibition was not officially open, and Martha often resorted to simply ignoring the visitors following breaks in which she endeavored to answer those few polite inquiries.

"Madam! Could you tell me what is the design of this work!" called one man, his brash manner evident even before he forced his way to the front of the crowd and against the makeshift rope fence that marked the boundaries of Martha's exhibit. She did not answer the man, and he demanded again, *"Madam! MADAM!! I say!"* The man strained against the rope, *"Madam!!!"* (208) With his final demand for her attention, he suddenly thrusted his cane towards Martha, attempting to hit the woman who dared to ignore him and focus instead on her work. *"Humph! She must be awful deaf, or else she hasn't any manners not to answer a civil question."* (209) The man skulked back into the crowd after failing to strike Martha. The rest of the crowd continued the example, canes and umbrellas all used to attempt to hit and prod the woman when she chose to not answer questions. *"I say, ma'am!"* another man called out, *"Can't you hear a*

civil question? I paid my money to come into this show, and I want to know about this here." (209)

Once the exhibit opened after the two-week setup period, Martha dedicated an equal level of hard work and time towards answering all inquiries from the crowd. The only monetary compensation she received for her exhibit was the sale of minerals and photographs displayed alongside her taxidermy. Eventually, she even began to sell photographs of herself, acquiescing to this demand of her visitors (210). Martha was a part of her exhibit, forcefully romanticized and reinterpreted as "wild" and a "curiosity" by her public, and therefore expected to be commoditized. Throughout the exhibit's life numerous individuals attempted to steal and copyright pictures of it, and the company in charge of providing Martha with the photographs for her to sell failed to meet demands. She would make very little profit, despite the great amount of press on and popularity of her exhibit:

> *"Only the resolution gained by facing mountain storms and wild beasts enabled her to keep possession of* [her copyright], *the only source of income ever connected with her collection. That this promised to be a real source of profit during the summer may be guessed from the efforts made to deprive her of it. The fact that the Centennial Photographic Company had the exclusive right to manufacture views of exhibits, while a protection, was a great disadvantage, because they were utterly unable to keep her stands supplied. For this reason she was able to realize only a small part of what should have been hers. The idea of selling her own likeness was at first very repulsive, but the demand for it was so constant and the supply of views so limited, she felt compelled to yield a point, where her feelings simply were concerned."* (210-211)

With the conclusion of the Centennial Exhibition, Mary reflected that the greatest source of annoyance for Martha and her family was the ignorance of the public on the expected ignorance and "wildness" of Colorado, especially with regards to the public's and newspaper's depictions of her. The *"Female Border Bill"* and *"The Colorado Huntress"* were among her least favorite labels that appeared following the Exhibition (214). Despite her loss in profit, Mary claims that

Martha was satisfied with her experience at the Exhibition if it encouraged at least one to follow in her footsteps to realize feminine freedom in nature or education. Yet Mary and Martha did all in their power through this biography to keep Martha within the safe "confines" of femininity. We know that, through the personal writings of Martha and her family and Maxine Benson's work on her, Martha was truly disturbed by the fact she never was financially stable through her taxidermy. For much of her life, Martha was frantically trying to sell portions of her collection so that she might support her family, particularly her daughter Mabel in her education (Benson, 1986, 194+). While Martha clearly transgressed feminine expectations of her day through her hunting, killing, and taxidermy, she still made efforts to keep a "feminine" label so that she might not be wholly rejected by society. Mary concludes her biography with a recollection of how Martha usually adopted the role of caretaker whenever anyone in their family grew sick, including keeping the family together during their grief over the loss of her young niece:

> *"To those in whom it may have awakened something of a personal interest in her, yet who may question what effect such an exceptional career may have had upon her as a woman, I present no theories. I can only say, through all these years, to her friends in trouble she has been simply a tender-hearted, sympathetic woman. Though she gave herself no rest, nor spared time for any pleasure, whether social or solitary, she gave months to the care of her mother when disabled by an accident, and in her busiest time had many days and nights for her sister's child when sickness came."* (Dartt, 1879, 216)

Mary's final words assert that Martha was not a transgressor against established gender roles, but was instead a continuation of, or at the most extreme a careful reinterpretation and subsequent expansion, of the standards. Any death enacted by her hands was for science or for art, and she insisted she never received personal gratification from the act of killing:

> *"Before these and similar memories, and in the presence of ceaseless exertions and self-denials for her daughter's higher education, let no one say that any worthy, noble pursuit need diminish the sweetness of true womanhood, or rend the heart, once gentle and tender, harsh and cold. Devotion to frivolity, and the struggle for wealth, fame, or any unworthy end, may,* does *do this, but the quest for truth is a search for the divine, and can*

> *but ennoble the soul that makes it, though it leads that soul through depths and wilds no mortal ever trod before."* (216)

Although Mary and Martha might have desired to present Martha within the righteous confines of womanhood, it is clear that her public, nor even her partners in her business, ever truly allowed her such claims. Both the visitors and proprietors of the Exhibition claimed control over her work and her body

Chapter III: Death, the Sublime, and the Self

18__. Martha anxiously waited by the door as the two small creatures scampered past her. Years of training and knowledge culminated in this moment. These two small cinnamon bear cubs would be her judges. While she was confident in her work, she needed the cubs to confirm her optimism. Any affirmation from her peers and visitors had failed her, both due to their lack of what she deemed to be a proper level of adoration and their dismissal due to her gender. If she could not achieve approval from her fellow humans, it was in nature, it was in her ability to conquer nature, she would find the recognition she so desperately needed. This test would determine if she had accomplished her goal - to give life back to the dead. To immortalize the beauty and grandeur of life through her careful sculpting and research on nature. She was a taxidermist, and had devoted her life to the craft. She believed taxidermy to be one of the highest forms of both art and science. Her work not only would aid in her day's academic community, but also, she believed, that it was the perfect way to display the beauty and complexities of nature. Her dedication, however, bordered on obsession, as her pursuit of the perfect taxidermied animal was highlighted by a far more complex personal need that extended beyond these supposed communal goals. Now, these two cinnamon bear cubs, whom she had captured a little over a week ago, would enter her realm of dangerous obsession and dangerous determination.

The two bear cubs raced to the center of the room toward a familiar form, crying out in joy. There stood their mother, whom they had been separated from. They rubbed up against her

side, pleading with her to return their affection. Martha couldn't help but let out a breath of deep relief, her heart swelling with joy. She was victorious. This was the pinnacle of her art, and she had succeeded in creating immortality. The two cub's joy devolved into despair after her inaction finally revealed the truth to them. The mother bear was dead. Martha had killed and mounted the mother, and placed her at the center of the room. Her twisted test was ended as the cubs became agonized:

Martha depicted in her usual recreational outfit, pg. 43

"But when conscious that [their mother] would not return their caresses, [the cubs'] grief was touching in the extreme. Standing up and stroking her face with their little paws in the most pleading manner, they licked her nose and cheeks, and moaned like two heartbroken children." (Dartt, v 178-179)

Martha's biographer, her half-sister Mary Dartt, with whom Martha collaborated closely with to recall this and the other personal stories that appear in her approved biography, assures the audience at this moment that Martha was "touched" by this display, and took the bear cubs away. Martha adopted the two as pets, which Mary describes as gentle and demure as two kittens. The two cubs lived for some time with the Maxwell family before they were killed in an accident. The bears had dug a burrow that extended from the Maxwell yard to under the nearby road. A horse, while passing over on said road, crushed the two bears when it broke through to the burrow due to its weight. In the appendix of the book, Mary includes a catalog of all the exhibits and animals in Martha's Colorado museum compiled by a visiting scientist. He notes that one exhibit in the museum was dedicated to the local bear population. Included was the cinnamon bear mother,

now rearranged and lying in a manner that depicted her death. Surrounding her were her two cubs, posed so that they appeared to be crying over their mother's dead body. For Martha, it was not enough to achieve what she determined was immortality for the mother bear through the taxidermy of her body. Martha had to recreate, to immortalize, the moment of her greatest triumph.

If Martha deemed an animal a critical asset to her collection, nothing would dissuade her from killing the animal, regardless of its status as a mother, or even its status as a baby. In another story reminiscent of the cinnamon bear family, Martha and her husband are out for a walk one day when they come across a hawk's nest. When James voiced his concern the hawk might attack them, Martha was quick to dismiss his concern, *"Oh, pshaw! I don't believe she'd dare touch me! Besides, you can shoot her. It would be cruel to leave her to grieve over the loss of her children; and then, I ought to preserve her any way, for she is different from any hawk I have"* (70). James obeys Martha's directions and shoots the hawk while she struggles to protect her nest, after which Martha retrieved the remaining hawklet and unhatched egg. Martha gives the unhatched egg to one of her chickens for incubation and protection. After the second hawklet hatches, the story, Mary's voice, takes an odd turn in describing how Martha kills the hawklets, all the while never directly coming out and saying it outright. This is a key literary and propaganda technique adopted by Mary: she avoids saying that Martha "kills" her targeted prey, but instead uses a variety of euphemisms to imply the act. Once the hawklets reach Martha's desired age and weight, they suffer the same fate that the cinnamon cubs had - the preservation, the immortalization, of their lost family:

> *"Both birds reached Boulder in safety…where they were fed and cuddled, and made happy until their robes of snowy-white down were of the most desirable length, when a little chloroform induced them to stop growing. A nest, like the one they occupied in their native tree, was procured. They were stuffed, and placed in it, with their little mouths*

open and their necks stretched up toward their mother, which, with a rabbit in her talons, was suspended over them." (73)

It is clear reading Mary's biography and the letters and notes left by the Maxwells that Martha's taxidermy was both the catalyst and result of her complex relationship to both nature and her perception of death. This was not restricted to the deaths of the animals she brought about by her own hand, but in addition to her own fear of her death. Martha felt trapped by her era's expectations of her gender. She was determined to establish herself as an independent woman with both her own income, business, and recognition for her taxidermy as a form of both art and scientific breakthrough. If her taxidermy did achieve lifelike qualities, and thus become immortalized through both its appearance and subsequent appreciation, Martha believed she would too enjoy that immortality. She would rise above her society's restrictions:

"I am condemned for having an ambition to be something more than the common lot of mortals. Well I have a desire to live for something more than the gratification of those who cannot appreciate the sacrifice. Yes I would do something which shall follow me doing good to others after I am gone." (Benson, 194-5)

While Martha never hesitated in her preying upon her desired specimens (or, if she did, she made it clear to Mary to never dwell on it in her biography) we do see a clear departure from this mentality by Grace over the course of her life. The two hunters derived their hunting defenses from the same wellspring: both claimed that they furthered science through the deaths of their targeted animals, all the while furthering women's rights through their presence in the wilderness and on hunts, practices expected to be dominated only by men during this time (and still, to this day). Martha used her stuffed specimens to fill her own museum and collections and aid in the Smithsonian's research projects, while Grace acted as a partner to her husband's

Ernest's research on local fauna. However, following a number of traumatizing instances during her hunts, Grace could no longer justify her killings. In the final chapter of her book *Nimrod's Wife*, which outlines her and Ernest's reindeer hunt in Norway, she describes a new form of hunting, in which a rifle is replaced with a camera. The fact that Grace chose to end her "hunting adventures" book with this proposal is critical to understanding her personal journey. She never wavered from the belief that nature afforded the visitor great spiritual growth, or that hunting was an enlightening activity for many participants. However, Grace expressed the belief that hunting needed to evolve into a "New Hunt," in which the animal might be "captured" through the camera while allowing it to live:

> *"Through blood one may come to the light. Nations have too often shown us this imperfect way. Although never an enthusiastic murderer of animals, I, as already confessed, had not been proof against the temptation to secure a trophy 'big head'; yet may I claim the grace of moderatioun in the face of unusualy opportunity…Always but an incident, not the reason, for out-door living, to quote the ancient saying. I had 'no further stomach' for killing; and when we started for Reindeer land, I laid my gun at the feet of this modern Nimrod, indeed 'a mighty hunter before the Lord' and became a devotee of the New Hunting. Armed with camera instead of gun, one receives in equal lavish measure the blessings of companionship with woods and waters; one can steal from the animal his every beauty and yet leave him none the poorer. This ideal hunting requires all the skill of the old-fashioned gunner and much ingenuity besides, for an animal can be shot much farther away than photographed. And thus equipped we hied away to Norway caribou. To wrest from it, if possible, not its life but its manner of life; not its head with its bony processes without, but proofs of the mental processes within."* (Seton-Thompson, 391-393)

Both Martha and Grace encountered nature through a dramatic clash of gendered social dilemmas and death, which presented itself not only in their killing of animals but also situations in which their lives were threatened by other predatory animals or other natural obstacles. For Martha, death was the enemy, yet still her attempted art: death represented the erasure of her memory, of her self, of her end to gain success and recognition in a patriarchal society determined to reject her. Her taxidermy sought to reject this death, and her immortalized animals

might bring her self immortalization. For Grace, death at first represented an obstacle for her to overcome in order to gain respect in the patriarchal society. If she was able to kill animals on the hunt, to gain the "manliness" that allowed her to succeed on her hunts, she would establish herself in society and uplift other women. However, when continually faced with death, and witnessing nature in this violent moment, Grace grew to reject the masculine status quo established by the dominant hunting culture, and sought to move hunting culture in a new direction that prioritized the life of potential preyed animals, and argued that the self could wholly experience nature without the unnecessary killing of animals for sport. Despite their different conclusions, and ultimate destinations in their hunting lives, the reality of death played a key role in their personal development, all the while providing a window into the reality of the greater culture's stance and relationship with the reality of death. It is this question, the American societal relationship, perspectives, and treatment of death, on both a greater social level and personal level, we will now turn to.

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Confronting Death

In his 1974 quintessential work *The Denial of Death*, Ernest Becker stipulates that the fear of death drives human activity far more than any other idea: "the idea of death, the fear of it, haunt the human animal like nothing else; it is a mainspring of human activity - activity designed largely to avoid the fatality of death, to overcome it by denying in some way that it is the final destiny for man." This fear, furthermore, "makes wonderfully clear and intelligible human actions that we have buried under mountains of fact, and obscured with endless back-and-forth

arguments about the 'true' human motives" (Becker, 1974, xvii-xviii). We have explored in depth how a variety of societal and religious standards impact the relationship between human communities and the environment, and how human communities regulate themselves based on perceptions of this relationship. The role of societal perceptions of death is one key element of this societal formation that has only recently been explored by philosophical and other academic fields. At the core of any religiosity, though often hidden from mainstream discourse to protect the greater public's anxiety, is the reality and inevitability of death. American Christianities have a variety of responses and instructions for their congregants with regards to their relationships with death. For evangelical conservative churches, the fear of eternal death in a fiery hell is used to frighten participants away from designated sins, and to encourage various mission efforts. For more progressive churches, death might spur on political action through a publicized crime or injustice leading to an individual or collective group's abuse or death. However the approaches might differ, the various branches of Christianity all try to offer comfort or assurance to their congregations and communities. They do this through means they determine to be properly theologically sound or just. In his 1996 work *The Sacred Remains,* Gary Laderman explores the symbolism of the dead body in society, and how the treatment of death and the individual dead body reveals key "animating principles" of any culture (Laderman, 1996, 1). In and implied by these hunting studies, what "animating principles" of the American zeitgeist surround death? Furthermore, how does death in nature, or death specifically occuring on a hunt, uniquely affect this culture? Within our case study of American hunting and adjoining nature-based sports, two political and religious uses of death are critical for this discourse: first, the American, Protestant-based Civil Religiosity's usage of death, particularly, both in the manipulation of the memory of

the dead in the continuance of various political agendas, and in the rise of and glorification of gun culture; second, the denial of death by the culture as a whole, and the resulting eco-anxiety.

Gun Culture and Civil Religion

It is imperative to first provide a basic overview of Civil Religion, and illuminate the particular strain represented in this study. Civil Religion has been studied under numerous labels (i.e. Benjamin Franklin referred to it as 'Publick Religion'), but the basic tenets that make up this socio-religious phenomena have been a constant theme throughout American history. In *Religion in American Life: A Short History* (2011), religious historians Jon Butler, Grant Wacker, and Randall Balmer broadly define Civil Religion as the intermingling of political and religious languages – religious ideologies and efforts become indistinguishable from American politics and efforts. While the American government might have an established rule and traditions of "separation of church and state," this has never been fully realized. Since the very inception of the American republic, there has always been a strain of public discourse and belief in a form of Christianity in which America's goals are seen as divine, and therefore the two cannot and ought never to be separated. Throughout their work, Butler, Wacker, and Balmer note how this ideal is clearly present in our modern era – our politicians are expected to speak, at the minimum, in a vague, monotheistic religious rhetoric, in which America is the arbiter of ultimate religious and democratic morality. Alternatively, religious leaders have no fear in wading into the political theater, and many (especially amongst the Christian fundamentalist community) claim sole authority over the morality of American culture and politics. A study into America's wars provides a key insight into the rise of and development of the various factions of American Civil Religion. It is not uncommon for war historians to claim the "birth" of Civil Religion occurred

within the confines of their studied war. Regardless of the impossibility to claim such a specific start to American Civil Religion, war studies do provide key case studies for this socio-religious phenomena. These eras of high tension and emotions and mass casualties dramatically bring political and religious debates to the limelight and provide stress tests for their ability to sway or comfort public opinion. In Harry Stout's *Upon the Altar of the Nation* (2007), he explores the role of religion and religious dialogue in the Civil War. He notes the tensions developed due to the fact that both sides, in the words of Lincoln, prayed to the same God – both claimed Biblical scriptures defended their causes, and both determined that their endeavor was divinely charged. Ultimately, to die for one's country was to become a Christian martyr – since "God" had ordained their cause, both Northern and Southern clergy and religious leaders determined that their Union/Confederate government and leadership were summarily critical in the greater divine plan. Jonathan Ebel explores how this intermingling of warfare and religious purpose continued during World War I in *Faith in the Fight* (2010). Ebel rejects the popular historical narrative that the horrors of WWI led to a decline in religiosity, and asserts that, among the soldiers, personal religiosity increased dramatically. Religion, particularly presented through the lens of Civil Religion, provided relief and comfort to soldiers, as seen in their diaries and letters. Social expectations during this era were fueled by an understanding of "manhood" through the cyclical relationship between Christianity, masculinity, and patriotism. Soldiers often interpreted their situations through interpreting the war as not only a physical war, but a spiritual war – were they to die, they would be martyrs in this greater spiritual effort. In a time of wanton destruction, this belief provided comfort to the soldiers who had been denied their individualism through their training as a soldier and the "randomness" of death on the battlefield. Gerald Sittser's *A Cautious Patriotism* (1997) brings this Civil Religion lens to the study of World War II. Sittser contends

that, due to the horrors of WWI and the decline in conservative factions of Christianity during the 20s and 30s, a majority of religious leaders during WWII tended to adopt a "cautious" approach to their discourse on the war. Extreme nationalism and jingoism amongst religious clergy and leaders during WWI had backfired, and leaders during WWII (while almost always adopting a "pro-America/pro-War" stance) attempted to find a balancing act in which they did not necessarily call for violence but instead focused on the morality and state of religion in America. Due to the "over there" nature of the War, and the late entry of the US into the conflict, religious leaders and their respective publics tended to interpret the war in very Spiritual terms. While they did not deny the US was "guilty," as the war was nearly universally interpreted as God's wrath against the world as a whole, the US was not "as guilty" and was ultimately the moral authority for the world. The war was a modern jeremiad, and a call for the American public to repent, and lead the rest of the world in repentance as it was the guardian of God's divine plan for democracy. According to Sittser, American theology no longer was grounded in debates on doctrine, etc. but instead on arguing which religious groups were in charge of "America's soul."

While Civil Religion is critical to study on its own merits, the dangerous possibilities it presents, especially in our modern era, give more weight to the necessity of its study in American Religious Studies. Historically, the equation of the United States as the true embodiment of Christianity, with the divine authority to enact this religious belief and related political expectations on the remainder of the world has only led to tragedy, be that in the religious, political, or other cultural realms. Harry Stout and Drew G. Faust (*This Republic of Suffering*, 2008) have both explored the ramifications of "The Lost Cause" on American society in their respective works on the Civil War. A living artifact of the Civil War, the Lost Cause is an

ultimate realization of civil religiosity – the worship of the Confederate States and its political goals are labeled as "true" Christianity and "true" America by its promoters. Any event or political move against its continuation, or any perceived move "against" Southern identity, is thus a secular attempt to disrupt Christianity. This Christianity, "proper" Christianity, is likewise intertwined with the antebellum South: white and patriarchally dominant, with a self-perceived status as always "under attack" from the wiles of an amoral society. Modern fundamentalism similarly defends its calls for America to "Christianize" its public sphere and governance through its interpretation of America as not only a Christian nation, but *the* Christian Nation. Joel Carpenter, in *Revive Us Again: The Reawakening of American Fundamentalism* (1997), defines fundamentals by their concerns with not only "right living," but also their belief that they are defenders of American morality. Gerald Sittser concludes his book with a final critique of Civil Religion – should not Christianity rise above American goals and ideals, and instead be focused on "the kingdom of God?" While this might be a theological question, it still does provide a key insight into the dangers of a Civil Religion in which one religious group claims ownership of American culture, and demands the public to adhere to its expectations. While one would hope that Christianity could cleanse itself in the manner Sittser calls for, the history of the intersection of American religious language and theology and American political discourse and theory is so expansive as to make such an imagined reality difficult to realize.

A common use of death by the religious and political, as described by Gary Laderman, is the symbolic "resurrection" of the dead for public persuasions and debate: "Its interest in the dead goes beyond questions of propriety and respect for individuals who make up the republic; indeed the very life of the political order has depended on trampling over the bones of indigenous peoples and glorifying the remains of figures whose significance reflects the

principles and mission of the nation. Assuming a role once reserved for the church, the state confers immortality on particular national heroes and sacrality on specific locations that solemnize the sacrifices and triumphs of American citizens" (Laderman, 1996, 6). The power of the resurrected dead cannot be overlooked in American culture, particularly when it comes to political discourse and the establishment of expected socially based political norms. In American Civil Religion, the dead are recalled for the expansion of its political theology - past leaders, such as George Washington and Abraham Lincoln, are resurrected as martyrs of the American faith, while what might be their opinions on modern issues is assumed, or their past quotes and doctrine are reinterpreted for the same modern dilemmas; past laws, political doctrine, and writings, such as the Declaration of Independence or *Common Sense*, are removed from their historical resting places to defend modern dilemmas and doctrine, independent of the realities of either time periods. There is one particular political issue and corresponding amendment that incorporates not only this practice of resurrecting political leaders and doctrine, informs much of modern Civil Religion, is deeply intertwined with any analysis and debates on hunting, and also involves the literal deaths of thousands every year: gun culture, and the Second Amendment.

We have already explored in detail what arming oneself, especially for our female hunters, represented for themselves personally and socially. But the symbolic gesture of the gun for these women, the ability to provide access to social strength and masculine dominance, is a very small and fringe aspect of gun culture in American culture, both historically and today. The very fact that the possession of a gun by a woman would cause such a stir, or could bestow such social power, is indicative of the manner in which the sacralization of guns reveals key destructive elements of our patriarchal society, and how American Civil Religion sacralizes the nation is such a manner as to dissolve Protestant Christianity into the folds of American

nationalism. In his article "Christians for Gun Rights? An Investigation into the Discrepancy between the Gun Rights View and Christian Faith," Matt Stolick explores how the modern gun culture, in which owning a gun equated with individual rights, began to develop predominantly in the mid-nineteenth century (note the corresponding timeline with the rise of hunting culture). Prior to this time, and during the literal creation of the 2nd Amendment, "owning a gun was not considered an 'individual right' but rather was a duty and responsibility, something that people were encouraged to do in order to strengthen the whole and to be prepared to help defend the other colonists in the militia" (Stolick, 2017, 105). Up until the turn of the 20th century, no larger domestic gun market existed. Most American gun manufacturers relied on international sales through various governmental contracts. This desire by gun manufacturers to increase profit, accompanied by the rising sportsmanship culture, led to the creation of a new domestic market where Americans were encouraged to purchase firearms (109). The resulting rise in manufacturing led to the development of both mass production of firearms and the creation and distribution of the repeating rifle. Stolick contends that this introduction of such a weapon to the everyday citizen and military had a drastic effect on the moral basis of our culture:

> "Suddenly [there was] the possibility of killing many people in a matter of seconds and minutes. This was a major change in killing and what was required of a killer to take another person's life. Now killing was much more impersonal, easier, quicker, cleaner, efficient, and distant. The idea of mass killing all at once brought with it consideration of what was at the time called the 'moral effect' of the gun." (Stolick, 107)

What does this gun culture look like today? How does it guide the community culture and body politic? Stolick notes that since the 1960s, various gun advocate groups and manufacturers have successfully transitioned the Second Amendment into a question of individual rights in the minds of a great portion of the American population, overturning two centuries of precedent of the militia interpretation (104). Following the infamous Cincinnati Revolt of 1977, the National

Rifle Association changed its traditional course and began to push for greater legal activism focused on this transition away from militia prioritization of the 2nd Amendment's interpretation, relying on both funding legal publications supporting their cause and funding targeted advertising campaigns strategically formulated to scare the populace with images of "urban crime" and "home invasion" (112). The Second Amendment Foundation was founded in 1974, with the goal to publish and sponsor research into the promotion and popularization of gun rights (112). This legal strategy culminated in *Heller v. District of Columbia* (2008), a 5-4 decision that ordered protection of an individual's right to own a firearm apart from a militia connection, overturning several previous decisions and legal precedent (i.e. *United States v. Cruikshank*, 1876, and *United States v. Miller*, 1939) (110, 111). Stolick draws attention to two key gun rights political avenues that, in particular, reveal the moral effect of gun culture on the greater populace: the rise in concealed carry laws and protections, and the rise in "stand your ground" laws. According to Stolick, we have transitioned from a tradition of self-defense, with a duty to retreat in order to protect the sanctity of life, to laws and precedent prioritizing individualism and property over life (116). Both of these doctrines are derived from an expansion of the "castle doctrine," in which the expectation of retreat is no longer prioritized and one's home/"castle" is expanded beyond one's literal home. Several State Supreme Court cases, beginning in the 1870s during the rise of the "masculine" culture, rejected the necessity of retreat as incompatible with American man's character. The 1877 Indiana Supreme Court's *Runyan* ruling included the conclusion that retreat was "incompatible with American values of rugged independence and self-suffering." 19th century debates on dueling similarly reveal the growing cultural prioritization of the white male's need to "prove" his independence through such displays with a firearm:

> "Supporters of dueling argued, 'turning the other cheek when faced with an insult to one's honor was not compatible with the 'manly independence' expected of white male citizens. While such 'exercise of great Christian forbearance' was laudable, it was 'utterly repugnant to those feelings which nature and education implanted in the human character…' The main point here is how long-standing, traditional views of self-defense, ones including a duty to retreat, were rejected for other values. Light explains that in the nineteenth century 'retreat from confrontation was increasingly considered a value incompatible with rugged independence, white masculine honor, and the nation's early investment in armed self-defense.'" (117)

This legal debate over self-defense and rising gun culture flourished during the simultaneous rise in the "masculine" revolution, spearheaded by rising sportsmanship hobbies and hunting. This early legal and cultural transition created the foundation of the later 20th century gun rights movement through a variety of avenues: self-defense was transformed by the priority of the white male individual's "right" to defend his image and honor; the firearm afforded the male's ability to present an image of "strength" and ability to defend his image and honor; rising sportsmanship culture encouraged further purchasing of firearms; the manufacturing of advanced firearms afforded the individual the power implement greater damage and take more lives more readily than ever before. Ultimately, the rights of the gun and its owner overwhelmed the reality of death and destruction brought about by these firearms. The reality of death, and the ease with which one could now innact, was and is muffled. According to Stolick, "these laws are replacing self-defense laws and restrictions on the use of violence that seemed to be working well enough. Most importantly, self-defense laws and restrictions on use of deadly force are defended consistently with one major rationale, to *respect the sanctity of human life*" (116). In the article "American Gun Culture Encounters Christian Ethics: A Clash of Narratives," Mark Ryan contends that American gun culture is "sustained by a politics of strangers, rooted in fear, as well as the myth of an authentic America" (Ryan, 2017, 42). The mythic, "authentic America," as espoused by the Christian-based Civil Religion we have explored, is rooted in a doctrine in

which the “true” spiritual community, the protectors of God’s divine plan, are under constant attack from the secular world, a world that is “fallen” and humanity is, on a whole, wholly corrupt and sinful. Ryan’s study is of particular interest due to his exploration of the gun rights phenomena in which individual liberty is promoted over the social whole, informed by this phenomena in which the greater majority, the world apart from the struggling faithful few, seeks to spread its corruption and subject the Christian community (31). As highlighted by Ryan, there is a long and complicated historical relationship between both gun rights and gun control advocate groups and American Christianity, in which no group can be understood without first comprehending the others. The variation in Christian attitudes and approaches to the gun question reflects the multiplicity of the Christian tradition in America, which might be broadly defined by two branches with regards to attitudes towards gun culture: the first, driven by this conservative American Civil Religion we have explored in detail, in which the gun represents a sacralization of an American nationalist identity within the Christian umbrella, and focused on the individual; the second, a more progressive Christian tradition in which communal building and health are prioritized over the individual, and variants of nonviolent social justices and pacifism inspirations flourish.

Gun rights activists present firearms, and any perceived threat to ownership of said firearms, as integral to the liberties found in both the Christian faith and American culture: “to infringe on gun rights, then, is to touch (and corrupt) all the rights that together constitute the freedom of an American citizen” (33). Gun control efforts are thus a “slippery slope” of not only the decline of social and political freedoms in the American landscape, but also a decline of Christianity, which has been irreversibly intertwined with the fate of their perceived and

preferred American lifestyle. Ryan contends that this stream of Christian and American thought is both informed by and further perpetuates what he calls a "politics of strangers:"

> "It mirrors the vision of early modern political thinkers who imagined society in the form of the state as a conglomeration of individuals whose 'interests' are essentially private and personal. Society, which is artificially imposed on the group of individuals, exists as a hedge against the potential aggression of the other. Fellow citizens are essentially threats to our wholeness, our very being as individuals. The prevalence of the politics of strangers within American gun culture gives the lie to the authentic America narrative insofar as it is rooted not in freedom but survival." (34)

The individual, therefore, is at constant threat by the "other," the continual threat against "what *I* value" (35). Ryan notes that the primary tactic of Wayne LaPierre, the current CEO of the National Rifle Association, is to link the "image of a society composed of atomistic individuals who must secure their own right to live with an ethos of gun ownership" (33). Furthermore, LaPierre, and like-minded persons in similar positions of power and authority, present the fight for firearms as a grand "good versus evil" war, leading to usage of what Ryan calls "theo-ethics," and similar to what I have presented as American Civil Religiosity: "In LaPierre's image pitting good versus evil in a grand battle, it is easy to see a theological vision at work. Since the theology entails an account of virtuous behavior - namely, that of the good gun owner - it is a 'theo-ethics.' From here on I will refer to this theo-ethics as 'authentic America' because it is sustained by the narrative of reinstating and purifying America from corruptive forces" (33). The leaders of these organizations have envisioned an "authentic America" they desire to see enacted and protected. The gun issue provides a literal representation for this image, with a history deeply entrenched in an image of desired gender and class structuring. Additionally, it also presents an avenue in which the gun rights enterprise might rally a dedicated constituency, who will inevitably follow after the unrecognized and unquestioned intermingling of politics and religiosity. Another case study of Ryan's, Reverend Rob Schenck (a prominent minister and

lobbyist for the union of gun rights and Christianity), acknowledges the practice of promoting desired political ends through presenting them as a religious issue. Furthermore, the tool of fear and social animosity play a critical role in this transition, in order to better cement the ideals in the conservative and related religious social circles:

> "The assumption behind this strategy of outsourcing politics is that the church must move beyond its own social life before it becomes properly speaking 'political.' It needs a special instrument to become political. Thus, 'friendship' for Schenck has become a means to power, rather than a way of embodying the telos of love. These assumptions are at the heart of modern individualism, which habituates us to fear the other. They result in participating in the mechanisms of fear and violence…So when it comes to raising the issue of Christians' relationship to guns in America, he finds he must frame the question as a 'moral' and 'theological' one *rather than* a political issue. The private (moral/theological) and public (political) distinction of modern individualism continues to inhabit his thinking, even as he tries to break free of it. Thus a key consequence of the Christian strategy that involves 'outsourcing' politics to the state is that the arrangement comes to seem natural." (Ryan, 40)

In Mark Ryan's article, he concludes that at the heart of the gun debate in America lies a dilemma of community. When reflecting on Wayne LaPierre's political and rhetorical categories, Ryan questions how such a perception of society, reliant on continual fear and animosity, could be sustainable: "how…does the idea of constant suspicion of one's neighbors comport with the idea of a virtuous and free America?" (Ryan, 33). Ryan argues for a rejection of this politics of strangers, and instead promotes a politics of friendship inspired by a (corrected) Aristotelian conception of a society of "friendship" and "philia" and Aquinas's account of friendship as "caritas" (36-37). This question of the impact on communal unity and gun culture is imperative. Unity is fractured by the simultaneous methods of promoting gun rights and culture, with the simultaneous reality of the impact of these said firearms on the wielder when they take a life, either human or nonhuman. With the acceptance that guns have a greater right than the sanctity of life, the community is unable to recognize and react positively to, and ultimately in denial of,

death. At the moment of writing this research, there have been 357 mass shootings in the United States since the start of 2022. In addition, there have been 24,650 deaths due to gun violence.[14] A CBS News Poll, conducted from June 1st through 3rd in 2022 and following the tragedy of the Uvalde Robb Elementary massacre, found that 56% of parents with school-aged children approved of arming teachers and school officials, and 75% favored having armed guards or police at schools. Tragically, 27% of polled self-identified Independents and 44% of Republicans concluded that mass shootings were "unfortunately something we have to accept as part of a free society." Hope and optimism has plummeted in the American greater society and culture, as 33% of the poll participants concluded that the direction of America was going "somewhat badly," and 43% answered "very badly."[15] The relationship and impact that firearms, and gun culture, has on our greater community cannot be understated, and the dilemma encompasses both the broader communal perceptions of death and real events of horrific mass gun violence.

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c. 1906. Paulina was hunting with her father, the venerable "Veteran," and "Diana of the Dryades," her "nymph" and frequent hunting companion whom she consistently attempted to impress, and Courtenay "C." Brandreth, her brother. The initial hunt was participated first by only father and daughter, while the remaining two relaxed back at their camp. The two hunters, occupying a boat, determined that the elder Brandreth would claim any deer they came across on the first portion of their journey, and the younger would claim any deer on their return trip to the camp. The duty of the hunter, the symbolic mantle of the honored position, was represented by an old three-barreled .40-65 Wincester, a shotgun-rifle combination. The firearm was not only

[14] July 22nd, 2022. https://www.gunviolencearchive.org/reports/mass-shooting
[15] cbsnews_20220605_1_SUN.pdf Nearly half of Republicans think US has to live with mass shootings, poll finds

symbolic of the hunter's duty, but Paulina also explains how the firearm held a special sort of "companionship" with the hunter, in a tone encouraging the anthropomorphizing the weapon:

> *"I was to assume the right* [to shoot] *on the return trip, each of us having unqualified faith in the three-barreled gun which had been* [the Veteran's] *companion for many seasons, and had more than once done me good service. Who would change the new for the old? We become attached to a rifle or gun with a relationship which is the outcome of many happy hunting days and which we treasure in consequence. I doubt if there is a person who could persuade me that a better rifle for deer shooting is made than a .40-65 Winchester, yet there are rifles to suit every particular taste, and it always amuses one to listen to an argument where each opponent vainly attempts to convince the other that his own weapon is the best, explaining the why and wherefore with keen enthusiasm. A more useless task was never undertaken."* (Brandreth, 1906, 752)

Whoever held the firearm not only held the distinguished honor of claiming the life of any deer that they might encounter, but the firearm also bequeathed onto its holder the opportunity to be taken by "buck fever," in which the armed individual would lose their reason in their "manly" pursuit of blood:

> *"'I'm not going to shoot anything but a buck,' I whispered to the Veteran, as we pushed off from the grassy point. 'All right,' he acquiesced, but there was something suspicious in his tone which touched my pride. 'No, really, I'm not going to.' I echoed again, failing to take into consideration the fact that rounding sharp turns with the unknown luring on the other side, was liable to upset one's resolutions. So I cocked both barrels, fully determined not to shoot unless I saw horns, and our journey down stream commenced."* (Brandreth, 1906, 752)

The coursing adrenaline through her entirety, the weight of the weapon, proved too great for Paulina's reason. At the first sight of a deer, Paulina, manifesting a set of large horns atop the animal's head, fires, and her "buck-fever" ends in the death of a smaller doe. Paulina is appalled by her actions. "Buck-fever," and her weapon, were not to be blamed - both had acted in accordance with the hunting tradition. However, the end result, the death of a doe, was shameful. Hunting, and a firearm, might bring about masculine vitality in an individual, but, according to Paulina, the hunter themself first must embody "true sportsmanship:"

> *"At the present day, however, in the Adirondacks, there is no discrimination with the mob of so-called sportsmen who overrun the woods and shoot at everything, themselves included, for where one man is fitted to carry a gun and enjoy the sport offered by this beautiful but fast crumbling region, there are many who, void of true sportsman's instincts, prove unworthy and incapable, both in the use of firearms and in hunting the Virginia deer."* (Brandreth, 1906, 752)

With the end to their hunting venture, the two return to camp, Paulina's depiction of the event filled with her claim to masculine pronouns and claim to masculine rewards of such a "primitive" lodging. On their second journey out, Paulina makes further claims to such a masculine myth, during which the "Diana" declared her intentions to join Paulina on her hunt to provide her with feminine "good luck." On this second hunt, Paulina manages to bag a large buck, all the while under the watchful eye and encouragement of her Diana:

> *"The horn of the hunter's moon glinted between the poplar leaves and shed a faint radiance over the clearing, where the feathery seed vessels of golden rod swayed gently in the ebbing light. What are these warm, delectable and almost grape-like odors that assail one's nostrils on entering the woods? Perchance they issue from some wine press of nature or are the fumes arising from the amber, purple and golden fruit, crushed between the ethereal palms of Ceres. The trees along the roadside stood out with a vague temple-like aspect, and who knows as we wended our way homeward, but the arch face of a Dryad peeped smiling approval on a certain member of our party, and the genii hailed with unanimous appreciation the Veteran's foresight, which in truth, had been the real cause of all our 'good luck.'"* (Brandreth, 1906, 753)

The ritual of the hunter, in their transition from civilization into the wilderness, is reliant on a series of cultural markers established by said culture those participants are escaping from when they enter the woods. A firearm establishes their ability to enact violence, to take control over the life of their prey. "Buck-fever" is a simultaneous romanticized yet gently critiqued state - one should always maintain control, but a good "red-blooded man" might be taken, temporarily, by "his" primitive nature. Additionally, the woman simultaneously is presented as a "good luck" charm and a subservient participant in the realm. Although Paulina is granted access to the hunting realm, her father is in a continuous state of amusement by her: her mistaken shot is

"expected" of her, an event to provide laughter and not critique. Her mistake is the mistake of the feminine out of place. *"The Veteran laughed but I can't say as much for myself. 'It's no bigger than a rabbit.'"* (Brandreth, 1906, 752).

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pecially slow, shambling Falstaff that
is—being one who would ever become
easy victim to the hurrying flames.
When the afternoon shadows began to
ngthen, soot-smeared and ravenously
ngry, we returned to the main fire
ie. Instead of going back by way of
at to the head of the pond, however,
struck across country thru a section
woods which had been burned over
day previous. Underfoot the ashes
re still hot. Piles of brush still
ouldered. Here and there, owing to
swampy character of the ground an
erald swale remained intact; and
ross one of these we saw a chipmunk
bbling on three legs, the fourth hav-
been burned off. But except for
refreshing gleam of the little swales
seemed to walk amid sepulchers, and
an atmosphere of disaster. The
aveyard of a forest once beautiful and
actious lay about us; and the sickly
ell of charred wood only served to
ensify the realization of irreparable
When we reached Mac D's tote road
presently commenced to fall in with
attered units of the fire-fighters. The
es of many were so black it was im-
ssible to recognize them, and a more
hausted, work-wearied lot of men it
uld have been difficult to have found.
t as usual, with that proverbial good
pper of the lumber-jack, most of them,
spite of their fatigue, were laughing
joking as they sought for the
vision boss who was to tell them what
do next. And it was due indeed to
splendid individual work of many of
ne men—more especially a group of
eles—that acres and acres of forest
re saved that day from sharing a
ilar fate to those lying on the south-
slope of the mountain.
That fire won't stop till she strikes
gin timber," remarked Rube as we
ve homeward through the soft June
k. And indeed this is a fact over
ch one interested in forest conserva-
n might well ponder. With the ex-
tion of regions composed almost en-
ly of conifers, fire makes little head-
y in a mixed stand of virgin wilder-
s. You have but to see for yourself
draw your own conclusions. It is
y after lumbering industries have
ered into the woods, leaving in their
h miles of debris and dry tree tops
l outcast timber, that the opportunity
complete devastation arrives in good
nest. Under the present system and
orbitant taxation the Adirondack
derness, barring land owned by the
te and so far protected by the vote
the people—is doomed to be cut over,
-in and yet again. So at last enters
supreme destroyer; and a country of
ks and erosion—barren, waterless,
ngry—is all that is left for generations
come.

WINCHESTER
TRADE MARK
TRAP GUN

The Man-Plus

THE man who performs at the traps day after day, with unbroken successions of "kills", is a masterpiece of mind and muscle and nerve reactions. But he demands a masterpiece in his hands even nearer perfection than himself.

It is the man-plus—plus gun and shells—to whom the trophies and championships go. These men-plus won 201 championships with Winchester guns in 1922, and 125 championships with Winchester shells.

The Model 12 Winchester Trap Gun handles and points like a "third arm". Its lines are graceful and true. Its slide action is smooth and faultless.

And the ventilated rib maintains a heat-free right-of-way to the flying saucers. No matter how hot the barrel from continuous firing, the line of sight along the rib is cool, clear and precise. *A Winchester masterpiece!* See it wherever Winchester guns are sold.

THIS Winchester Proof Mark is stamped on a Winchester barrel only after a charge 25 to 40 per cent more than standard has been passed without a sign of strain.

WINCHESTER REPEATING ARMS COMPANY, NEW HAVEN, CONN.

In writing to Advertisers mention Forest and Stream. It will identify you. Page 205

Winchester ad, appearing alongside an article written by Paulina about a forest fire on Albany Mountain, published in Forest and Stream in 1923. Note how the firearm is advertised as a means by which the "man" might advance his "masculinity" as his "third arm."

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19th Century Perceptions of Death Cultural Turn

In the mid-19th century, with the dawn of hunting culture and nature sports, American culture was undergoing a dramatic reevaluation of political and religious perceptions of death. This shift was predominantly a result of the Civil War, a reality explored by Drew Glipin Faust

in her work *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War*. During the course of the war, 620,000 died, equal to the total American fatalities in the American Revolution, the War of 1812, the Mexican-American War, the Spanish-American War, World War I, World War II, and the Korean War combined (Faust, 2008, xi). Fatalities included not only soldiers, but also civilians. According to Faust, death's significance "for the Civil War generation arose as well from its violation of prevailing assumptions about life's proper end - about who should die, when and where, and under what circumstances" (xii). The proximity of death, both near (literal location of fighting, with major battles occurring in major towns, along with the deaths of civilians) and distant (soldiers dying far away from home) played a role in altering major public perceptions of death, as the "norms" surrounding expected and "good" deaths were upended.

> "Civil War carnage transformed the mid-nineteenth century's growing sense of religious doubt into a crisis of belief that propelled many Americans to redefine or even reject their faith in a benevolent and responsive deity. But Civil War death and devastation also planted seeds of a more profound doubt about human ability to know and to understand…Nearly half the dead remained unknown, the fact of their deaths supposed but undocumented, the circumstances of their passage from life entirely unrecorded…Individuals found themselves in a new and different moral universe, one in which unimaginable destruction had become daily experience. Where did God belong in such a world? How could a benevolent deity countenance such cruelty and such suffering? Doubt threatened to overpower faith - faith in the Christian narrative of a compassionate divinity and a hope of life beyond the grave, faith in the intelligibility and purpose of life on Earth." (210, 267).

Mass and dramatic deaths became the norm, and cultural and religious standards and communal structures were questioned. Military and social leaders began to intertwine the sacrifice of the individual soldier for their government and state with one's religious obligations - duty to God and duty to country were one in the same, and a dead soldier was a martyr for the greater Civil Religion (xiii, 25). The dead soldier still continued to serve their country with their symbolic body. For instance, the Lost Cause, a social and political reality that continues to threaten modern efforts for social justice and foster racists and false historical and social constructs,

constructed its imagined community and Confederate nationalism on the graves of the "Confederate Dead" (82-85). The "Good Death," *"ars moriandi,"* the goal of the soldier, was achieved through a realization of bravery, rooted in both spiritual and "manly" attributes, and presented as a cog in the greater national mechanism (6). Death became a symbolic political event, while simultaneously being socially dominating and visible, yet socially controlled and hidden, as the death's of soldiers, although documented through photography, were sanitized through this language of martyrdom and masculinity, and the decline in familial direct involvement with the care of their loved one's bodies.

In *The Sacred Remains*, Gary Laderman explores the modern and historical realities of the American funeral industry, which emerged following the Civil War (Laderman, 1996, 7). According to Laderman, Protestant perspectives of death and funerals, which would claim the greatest sway over the majority of the population culture as a whole, changed with the changing perspectives of the corpse: "the corpse moved from a symbolically powerful though liminal object to a commodity at the heart of the nascent industry" (7-8). The corpse as a commodity had to be "hidden" and "sanitized" in light of the gravity of the Civil War: "The survivors would not completely abandon their loved ones before disposal, they simply needed new authorities to assist them in their confrontation with the dead body. But the intimacy with the naked truth of death, as it was embodied by the corpse, was no longer a necessary part of social life. Avoiding, rather than simply denying, this reality became a fundamental dimension of life and death in American culture during the twentieth century" (7). Death had always been pervasive and intimate in America, as "there was no denying its reality, for not only did death strike frequently and with cruel force, but it was also a pervasive theme in the discourses, economy of symbols, and collective imagination of Protestant communities in this region," even prior to the founding

of the republic (22). The impact of the Civil War was not simply the presence of death in the everyday life of the individual, but the scale of the War led to questions regarding how the culture and religious communities were set up to deal with death. According to Laderman. Prior to the Civil War, the "crude death rate" in rural towns was fifteen per thousand, and in cities was twenty to forty per thousand. In Massachusetts in 1849, the life expectancy of both women and men were mid to late 30s. Infant mortality was as high as two hundred per thousand births (24). Death was highly visible, and all aspects of society either focused on or reflected continuously on this reality: "Diaries, letters, sermons, literature, poetry, and other texts acknowledged that human mortality was an inescapable dimension of life; cemetery iconography, works of art, mourning paraphernalia, and other visual cues reminded people of the prevalence of death in everyday life. Denying or avoiding the certainty of death, on either a personal or societal level, was an unlikely response in this time and place. Death was integrated through a series of rituals and symbols, into the life of the community" (26).

Moving away from intimacy with death, and the embracing of the symbolic laden "Good Death," might have started during the Civil War, but this reality has continued to build throughout the 20th century. Death might be a political trope, in which the corpse is removed from the individual through either covering up death or presented through a political light, and used as a tool for a political gain. One common example is the tendency of modern conservative politicians to obscure the horror and the trauma of the deaths of children in school shootings under the claim to not wish to politicize a highly political and socially critical dilema, all the while continuing their pursuit of supporting political organizations that profit from the obscuring

of the deaths.[16] Laderman, in his 2003 work *Rest in Peace: A Cultural History of Death and the Funeral Home in the Twentieth-Century America*, concludes that death is a constant in all facets of society, but while it might always be on the minds of the public, it is out of sight, save for carefully orchestrated depictions in media and on news outlets:

> "The chaos of death disturbs the peace of the living. Nothing represents this chaos more forcefully to human senses and the imagination than the biological process of bodily disintegration…Religion, culture, social structures, the vitality of these rudimentary elements of communal life depends upon ritually putting the dead body in its place, managing the relations between the living and the dead, and providing explanations for the existence of death. Throughout human history the problem of bodily decay has had to be solved in a meaningful way - the social body cannot function without agreed upon principles to respond to the universal presence of dead bodies…Modern Americans fear death and deny its reality in their lives. Indeed, the movement defined itself as an antidote to this serious social disease which, according to the popular diagnosis, had been affecting American life for much of the twentieth century. From this perspective, death no longer had substantial meaning in social life, it had disappeared from public view, and it had lost its utility as a source for moral order." (Laderman, 2003, xv, 129)

The Zen Buddhist teacher Joan Halifax reflects on the American experience with death in health care, hospice, etc. during the 20th century in her 2008 work *Being with Dying: Cultivating Compassion and Fearlessness in the Presence of Death.* According to Halifax, the American version of the good death is "fear-bound," and grounding in ideologies and practices that are "life-denying, antiseptic, drugged-up, tube-entangled, institutionalized" (Halifax, 2005, xv). The dying are marginalized and separated from the community, creating a system of "shame" and "guilt" pervading the death bed and those who interact directly with the dying individual, including doctors, nurses, and the families and friends (5). The common practice is not necessarily to deny the reality of death in a literal sense, but instead to deny death in the practice of avoidance, to attempt "sanitization" practices that hide it away or force it into certain

[16] Consider the May 24, 2022 Uvalde Robb Elementary Schools, where Texas Republicans repeatedly claimed that any calls for gun reform was a nefarious "political" act and disrespectful to the victims: Texas Gov. Abbott doesn't want to make the killing of school children a political issue. What is it then?
Ted Cruz walks away from a reporter who asked why the U.S. has so many mass shootings

expectations, or to adopt social and cultural euphemisms in addressing death that also "sanitizes" death's image. Not only does this stop the individual from healthily understanding and addressing our own ultimate deaths, but it also paralyzes us from being available to help the dying or from, more broadly, addressing societal weak policies in addressing or dealing with death in a healthy manner, politically, religiously, etc. As Halifax explains, "we glibly reel off truisms about death being a part of life, a natural phase of the cycle of existence - and yet this is not the place from which most of us really function. Denial of death runs rampant through our culture, leaving us woefully unprepared when it is our time, or our time to help others die. We often aren't available for those who need us, paralyzed as we are by anxiety and resistance - nor are we available for ourselves" (xvii).

Does religiosity promote this denial? Are certain facets of Protestant Christianity, to blame for the denial of death with its reliance on the promotion of the importance of "the next world" over the importance of this current reality? Jonathan Bassett and Mel L. Bussard explored this question in their 2021 article "Examining the Complex Relation Among Religion, Morality, and Death Anxiety: Religion Can Be a Source of Comfort and Concern Regarding Fears of Death." They concluded that there exists cultural evidence for four (seemingly contradictory) possibilities: "Religion is associated with less death anxiety, religion is associated with more death anxiety, the relationship depends on the extent of religious commitment, or that there is no relationship at all" (Bassett and Bussard, 2021, 468). No religion or religious facet has a singular or all-dominant influence on any aspect of American culture:

> "Secular aspects of worldview, such as close personal relationships (Plusnin, Pepping, & Kashima, 2018) and nationalism (Greenberg et al., 1990), can mitigate death anxiety, by offering a means of symbolic immortality that allows people to expand their identity beyond the physical body and to conceptualize a lasting impact of existence. Religious aspects of worldview, however, would seem to have a superior terror management capacity because they offer not only symbolic but also literal immortality…Religious

> beliefs offer the potential to reduce death anxiety by allowing adherents to hope for literal or symbolic immortality, but belief in the possibility of immortality is insufficient in and of itself to suppress fears of death. As Pyszczynski (2016) noted, people's confidence in the likelihood of attaining personal immortality would depend on their perception that they were living up to the culturally prescribed standards of behavior...he further argues that many religions describe criteria for admittance into the afterlife that not only depend on expressing specific beliefs but also on adherence to often-rigorous moral and ethical standards for proper conduct." (Bassett and Bussard, 469-470)

Regardless of the multiplicity of ways in which religion might influence an individual or community's stance, death is cloaked in dialogue and policed through hospital and funeral practices that present it in a manner divorced from its reality. In *Speaking of Dying: Recovering the Church's Voice in the Face of Death*, Fred Craddock, Joy Goldsmith, and Dale Goldsmith explore the relationship between death and congregations and their promoted theology, particularly in congregations where their pastor was critically ill or dying. In a majority of the churches they studied, the pastor's illness was largely ignored, and none of the case studies dealt with the death directly or purposefully. The authors observe that with modern advancements in medical sciences and quality of life, most deaths have transitioned to "chronic" and "terminal" diseases. Consequently, the average adult lives in a "dying role" longer, "thus increasing the necessity of communicating more frequently with dying persons" (Craddock, et. al., 2012, 15). The ability to openly converse on this reality, and to commune with the dying, must be addressed both within the church and the greater community. All too often, the church, who ought to be able to handle death in a mature and serious manner, reflects the communal and cultural anxiety regarding death:

> "The attempt to control death has resulted in a loss of understanding of the meanings surrounding dying…Barriers to communicating openly about dying are a result of a lack of open awareness about dying, society's high expectations and emphasis on health restoration and recovery, and the change from community-based religion to individualized religion. Our care of chronic and terminal illness is medicalized; this replaces the care we could receive from other sectors and institutions of society, the church being a dominant one. The trepidation associated with communicating with dying

> persons who are seen ‘as living reminders of the unavoidable reality of death’ is commonplace for most of us, and can be the common experience of dying even in our own families.” (Craddock, et. al., 2012, 15)

The church avoids death and ignores the dying, according to the authors, because of three critical issues: first, medical technology postpones it for most; second, the cultural sanitation and removal of death from the public eye; third, religious and theological focus is elsewhere (15-16). Furthermore, not only does the church not properly address this anxiety, even for their own pastors, churches are theologically and socially so intertwined with greater Civil Religiosity, that the “Kingdom of God” is subservient to the Kingdom of America”

> “The Christian tradition offers a considerable wealth of ideas for communicating about dying. In American culture it is not popular to emphasize dying or to see benefits in it. Nor is there urgency to get the message out before plague, war, nuclear holocaust, or some other blow cuts down the hearers. The fact that most sermons are delivered in front of an American flag suggests that the message is really one of life in the kingdom of America, not death in and toward the kingdom of heaven. Easter, not Good Friday, is the heuristic liturgical paradigm for American Christians. Lively applications of the latest technology make churches look and sound like American pop culture - the culture of the living not dying.” (Craddock, et. al., 24-25)

What is the common factor in these various responses to death in these American communities? What leads to the sanitization and removal from death? What is a common theme appears to be a separation from communal unity in order to prioritize the idealized individual and their “liberties,” and a refusal to address death in a healthy and intimate manner.

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c.1879 This was not just her purpose in life. Collecting animals for her collection, subduing and ordering their bodies for the purposes of her “art,” was more than simply her drive, her will to succeed. It was her *destiny*. Only she had the vision, the skill, the carry out this advancement of art and science. Everything else in her life that did not further this mission was

an obstacle to be ignored or eradicated. Martha's entire being was centered on this, and her home on the banks of Boulder creek reflected this determination:

> *"The situation was an admirable one for a naturalist, as it was visited by animals from both the mountain ranges and the plains. Here, while varying the monotony of house-keeping (?) by assisting her husband in planting hundred of fruit and forest trees and cultivating small fruits, she kept her gun at hand, and her eyes and ears open to the arrival of any living creature that could be appropriated to her enterprise. Her old friends, the boys, farmers and miners, remembered her still, and it was a 'bad day' that did not see some specimen added to the new collection. She was up early and late, and to say that her time was 'more than occupied,' does not express it! Society was ignored, all superfluous articles of food and dress were dispensed with, and the large margin of time which such things demand was used, with the closest and most rigide economy in the furtherance of her plan."* (Dartt, 1879, 113-114)

Every inch of Martha's home was dedicated to the display of her art. Martha would survey her home with pride, seeing not frozen and stuffed death but instead an *"instinct,"* a climate, of *"life."* (114). Perched above one door sat an owl, who *"looked down in absent-minded benignity*" at the face of both its killer and sculptor (114). Two squirrels mimicked play on top of a picture frame for her, while a hummingbird "peeked" through a window Martha had left slightly ajar to allow the dead bird to enter and feed on a flower pot Martha had hung from the ceiling for it to enjoy (114). Several Bohemian Waxwings accompanied the hummingbird, present so that Martha and Mary might point to them and recall that *"fortunate shot"* that had led to their becoming part of Martha's canvas:

> *"To those who knew the history of those perched within that room, they were interesting, not only from their beauty and associations with Artic storms, but also as reminders of an unusually fortunate shot. I cannot tell how it happened - only it did - a flock of them came into Mr. Maxwell's garden one day, and Mrs. Maxwell killed thirteen of them with one discharge of her gun!"* (Dartt, 115)

Martha's firearms were her primary tool in her ventures, but she would resort to absconding with her specimens by grabbing them with her bare hands, should the moment demand of her. One such result of this nature-based kidnapping was a goshawk, whom she kept alive and leashed to a

set of antlers in her *"bird-house,"* her *"den"* set a bit away from the main house where the bulk of her taxidermy was processed:

> *"For two days he hopped about in a restless, discontented fashion, spending his energies in pulling on his string. Then he tried another plan. He seemed to have reasoned it all out, just as anybody would have done: he began and very persistently picked it to pieces. As soon as he was at liberty, he attempted to gratify his instinct for preying upon other birds, by capturing and devouring a few that were perched in his prison. As they were stuffed, the first part of his task was not difficult, but the latter part - Mrs. Maxwell would have given something for his verdict upon the quality and flavor of her dressing, though it didn't seem to agree with him. He must have been capable of an opinion, for if he didn't reason about that string, what did he do? Why did it take instinct two days to tell him it could be picked to pieces?"* (Dartt, 117)

The example of the desperate goshawk provided Martha with yet another moment in which animals provided her work with recognition. Just as the bear cubs had been tricked by her work, the goshawk too "proved" to Martha that her work was supreme, and life had indeed been "imitated." Furthermore, however, the goshawk story reveals that both Martha and Mary believed that this bird, whom they themselves claimed to have captured in their *"prison,"* had the cognitive ability to reason and reflect at a high capacity. Martha bestowed upon her prey a great amount of love and respect for their intellect, yet had no qualms with ending their lives. While reflecting on an antelope fawn, Mary noted that he was one of the *"many wild creatures with which Mrs. Maxwell became acquainted, and in which she found much that would interest any person whose sympathies are not strictly confined to our own species. She avers that all animals she has thus intimately known have much more than is ordinarily supposed in common with humanity"* (91).

One day Martha invited a group of her lady friends to tour her home, with plans to win them to her side and earn their support in her taxidermy. Upon entering the home and viewing the numerous stuffed animals, the group was horrified, and did not hold back in their condemnation. *"You fearful woman!"* exclaimed one of the women, *"How can you have the*

heart to take so many lives?" (118) According to Mary, Martha was no stranger to this accusation from her visitors. She would retort with a well-rehearsed, yet deeply-convicted retort:

> *"Oh…I suppose you think me very cruel, but I doubt if I am as much so as you! There isn't a day you don't tacitly consent to have some creature killed that you may eat it. I never take life for such carnivorous purposes! All must die some time; I only shorten the period of consciousness that I may give their forms a perpetual memory; and, I leave it to you, which is the more cruel? To kill to eat, or kill to* immortalize*?"* (Dartt, 118-119)

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c.1907 It was a peaceful, sunny day at the terminal Goldview, and Grace found herself sitting on a shaded bench in a small park that neighbored the local courthouse. She occupied herself alternating between watching a nearby group of children playing with their dogs and a group of women participating in an outdoor market. She was waiting on her husband and friend to complete their business in town, and relished in the moment of solace and the opportunity to not only "people watch," but also read from her book of poetry, the small book she always kept neatly tucked into her hat. She was enjoying a verse reflecting on the beauty of flowers: *"...Fair lilies, roses red, That once above my head Waved in a wealth of soft caressing splendour-"*

"Miss, did you ever see a dead *man?"*

The sudden voice startled Grace back to reality and out of her serene, poetic world. An elderly woman, dressed in black, had stolen across the park and slid onto the bench next to Grace. The woman's hands were clasped tightly together in her lap and she kept her eyes fixed straight ahead. She kept her body facing straight ahead and had whispered her question to Grace out of the corner of her mouth, as though she were fearful of being seen.

"He's dead now," the woman continued before Grace had a chance to respond, *"I never saw one. He's there* now." She added emphasis to her final observation, shooting a quick glance to Grace.

The sudden onslaught of the bizarre conversation left Grace frazzled, and she managed a weak, *"Where?"* The woman's right shoulder twitched slightly toward the Main Street, *"Over there. Wouldn't you like to see him?"*

Before Grace could respond, the woman continued swiftly in her same secretive whisper, *"They took him there this morning. He shot hisself yesterday. He lived next ranch - and I - want to see him."* Her tone now was marked with a hint of both desperation and entreatment, *"I can't go alone. Been trying to-"* she trailed off, pressing down on an imaginary wrinkle in her "shabby" black dress, before suddenly rising and turning fully to Grace, *"Now* will *you come?"*

Grace's mind was still working overtime to dissect this bizarre situation, and she attempted once more to speak, *"Why did he-"*

"*He's a widower."* the woman interrupted her, anticipating her question, *"His step-daughter kept house for him, and folks say…"* The woman trailed off slightly, seemingly lost in thought as she considered the gossip she alluded to before shaking herself slightly and continued firmly, *"Well she's come to no good end, and he's shot hisself because folks said-but he and I-we-Ain't you comin'? The old Man'll be startin' back soon."* Her eyes began to dart back towards where the local market had been erected, seemingly in search for this "old Man."

"Comin'?" she demanded once again, moreso as a command rather than a request.

"Very well." Grace stood, and began to follow the woman through the Main Street until they arrived at the "Undertaking Parlour." At the sight of the sign, the elderly woman's "moral force" that had drawn Grace from her bench began to wain, and she paused. *"I dare n't-see him."* Grace managed, though her reflection was not a refusal to accompany the woman. Rather, she sought out "reinforcement," more of the woman's firm commands to help give her courage.

"Come!" the woman ordered again and ushered Grace inside. A man, later revealed to be the undertaker, greeted the pair, to which the elderly woman only responded, *"I-we want to see* him.*"* She emphasized the final word, which was enough for the man to understand their quest. He cheerfully led them to the back room where the body lay.

"Come right back here. The coffin is most done, we're just engraving the plate. He spelt his name with two l's, I presume?"

The elderly woman, once vocal, was now silent, and nodded in affirmation. Her grip on Grace's sleeve tightened. The bizarre circumstances that had led Grace to this moment were put aside, and Grace gently moved closer to the woman's side, reflecting that *"she still needed the human touch of sympathy."* Grace moved alongside the woman as she inspected the body, her new companion dry-eyed as she carefully inspected the entirety of the dead man, *"bullet mark and all*." After her series of examinations, the woman gave a brief nod then marched out of the parlour. Once outside, the woman said nothing, and immediately left Grace's side, in search of her "Old Man." Grace watched her go, then glanced back towards the shop where the dead man lay.

"In a little house ten miles away a girl was cursing him, and the neighbours [sic] *were helping. Here in the crude noisy shop was his one mourner-the other woman."*

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Eco-Anxiety and Death

It has been the continued goal of this work to demonstrate the critical role that environmental issues play in greater social agendas and dilemmas. How death and one's perspective of death might affect their environmental attitudes has appeared often. Our hunters often reflect on how the interaction with the death of an animal impacted their interpretations of

not only their spiritual journeys, but also how their relationship with an environmental locale (ranging from their own personal property to what they might determine to be the “wild") inspires their perspectives of their interpretations of community. Perspectives of the environment has also, as discussed in the previous chapter, inspired harmful social practices based on the equations of the land with the subordinate effeminate, and the subordination of nature to a dominant and patriarchal human community. However, the reality of death, both of one’s own, one’s community, and what is found in nature, adds greater complexity to the relationship between humanity and the environment. Eco-anxiety refers to the individual and communal anxiety, fear, and immobility (of activism, of change, and so on) encouraged by the inevitability of global-scale climate crisis. In his article “Death, the environment, and theology,” theologian Panu Pihkala equates the rise of eco-anxiety with the decline in a healthy societal approach to death and the decline in communal and environmental social justice: “Climate change feels like death. This experience of numerous people around the world, although they relatively rarely say this explicitly…Climate change is closely related to the main topic of this article - the avoidance of environmental matters - because of its unconscious links with death and mortality, and the resulting loss of both well being and resilience” (Pihkala, 2018, 287). According to Pihkala, in the “industrialized West,” where a majority of the population might not yet be directly impacted by environmental dilemmas, other dilemmas in the world and the growing issues act as a “dark shadow in the background,” either imperceptible or ignored, paralleling how death is treated on a greater cultural scale:

> “Thus, death and the environment are connected on this deep level in two ways. First, there is the universal task of dealing with death as part of growing up, developing a healthy self-awareness, and developing a healthy relationship with the world around oneself. But second, in the era of the environmental crisis, nature and the environment become linked with concrete death-producing or threatening matters. This deepens and complicates the existential anxiety.” (Pihkala, 289)

Inspired by the work of Ernst Becker in *The Denial of Death* (1974), Pihkala observes that the fear of death, the denial of it, encourages communities to draw inspiration and "safety" from the appointment of authoritarian movements and leaders - "such an in-group provides kind of immortality, a larger frame of reference in which the individual finds meaning" (288). This is apparent in the reality that neither major political party in the United States offers or prioritizes real environmental solutions, while one party, the Republican Party, outright rejects the reality of the climate crisis. Both mainstream parties (predominantly the Republican Party over the Democratic Party) denied the need for political action in light of the literal deaths of children and other individuals due to gun violence. They also denied the reality of the changing and dying environment or to acknowledge that current environmental standards, including the prioritization of wealthy, western, White communities and the failures of our late-stage Capitalism and neoliberalism, are leading to the death of our ecological systems as we know them, and the deaths of millions that are currently and will be impacted by the climate crisis (in particular, poor, non-white communities). What does Pihkala suggest to heal this anxiety? As a theologian, he approached this dilemma as a dilemma within traditional religious teachings, but also as indicative of a greater social illness. He asserts that due to the connection between death and eco-anxiety, "any work that helps people to better grapple with mortality helps in environmental efforts" (Pihkala, 290).

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A Modern Turn

In modern hunting literature, does there exist, as seen in our historical case studies and other literary examples, a similar writing style or goal in which hunting is presented as a realm

where spiritual transformation or environmental enlightenment is present? As suggested by our earlier exploration of more traditional academic books on hunting's history, there has been a recent resurgence in such hunting memoirs. We will now explore a few of those publications and analyze them through not only the methodological lens we have established for our historical works, but also consider how the authors have adopted the traditional spiritual and "ritualistic" approach to their hobby and/or subsistence efforts. Our first five authors, Randall L. Eaton, Jan Dizard, David Peterson, Bracy V. Hill, and John B. White, all self-identify as males, and will be compared to our subsequent authors. The first two, Stephanie Medley-Rath and Lisa M. Leopard, co-wrote the article "Viewing Nimrod from the Pew: Hunting, Masculinity, and Christian Discourse," and explored how modern gender roles coincide with religious roles within the hunting community. In continuance with these authors' exploration of modern literature and, in particular, digital media, analysis of other modern websites dedicated to "women hunters" will be included. Finally, an analysis of Jill B. Caroll's 2017 defense of hunting, "Predation & The Way of All Things," will conclude this section. What is apparent in modern hunting, aside from the continuance of the historical equation of hunting with a spiritual ritual, is the expansion of two key premises: first, that many modern hunters and authors make a greater effort to address environmental concerns that might be aided through their ventures, especially if said addressing of these issues might bring greater credibility or respectability to the sport; second, many modern hunters who identify as women have now adapted hunting as a means to assert their place within politically conservative social realms. Despite these changes, hunting remains a critical social arena in which both gender norms and religious doctrine are molded and solidified. Furthermore, both intertwined and beyond the social, hunters still lay claim to a spiritual transformation through the act, though definitions of this transformation might differ from hunter to hunter.

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Randall L. Eaton, The Sacred Hunt, 1998

In *The Sacred Hunt: Hunting as a Sacred Path, An Anthology*, Dr. Randall Eaton explores a proposed hunting tradition and practice in which spiritual growth and personal healing are the ultimate objectives. Eaton concludes that hunting literature and studies ought to move towards a spiritual focus, as opposed to the traditional focuses of biological, environment, etc. discourse. For Eaton, all of these themes are still important, but he argues that these themes over-dominate the current discourse. Eaton spent 20 years compiling this anthological work, which includes poems, short stories, quotes, personal reflections, and a documentary (Eaton, 1998, xii). As outlined in his introduction, Eaton includes analyses of themes of mystery, magic, ethics, and personal narratives (xi). His work is inspired by not only his background in animal sciences, but also his participation in sacred traditions of various Native American peoples, including the Lakota and Maya. Eaton concludes that hunting ought to be considered a religious ritual that can provide spiritual healing for its participants and allow for a community to rebuild a healthy relationship with nature.

Eaton begins his work with an exploration into the nature of death, hunting, and the current state of the hunter in the cultural zeitgeist. According to Eaton, when one kills any aspect of nature (this does not include only hunting, but also agriculture, urban expansion, etc.), they are participating in a spiritual exchange with the divine: “If God created everything, then everything is an extension of Him. The robin pulling worms from the earth is naught but God eating himself” (x). If one were to try to escape such a relationship with nature, or fail to form the relationship appropriately, they would break a “natural” and “moral” law that would decay the

self and damage the Earth (x, 28). Eaton contends that our society's poor relationship with nature has led to the "spoiling" of the Earth through such practices as "unbridled materialism" (x). Hunting, for Eaton, provides an avenue through which individuals might better this damaged relationship. When the hunter hunts, they will instinctively connect to a great cosmic scheme in which they might "discover the fullness of their own being" (xiii). Hunting ought to be considered an act of meditation: "The ego is minimized while the senses are expanded, literally, to an altered state" where the hunter experiences an "extreme oneness with nature" (62). Eaton argues that hunting can provide an opportunity for spiritual healing (199). Eaton hopes to develop a hunting education in which the earth, animals, the human community, and the divine connect not only physically but also spiritually (18). This form of hunting would include such practices as a respect for animals, a mature and wise understanding of death, and educated understanding of the production of food. Eaton concludes that such a healthy hunting ethic and practice would allow for the individual to reenter a restorative relationship with themselves, their society, nature and the divine (and sublime) found in it.

Eaton is aware of the difficult reputation hunters have developed in our community. While he does acknowledge there are serious internal problems from those hunters who participate without his preferred spiritual and honor-based method, Eaton contends that a majority of tension exists due to issues outside of hunting (18). First, there is a modern lack of proximity to our food production, and industrial agricultural and meat production demonstrates serious amoral treatment of plants and especially animals (xi, 103). Second, there is a serious distancing from nature by society, not only physically but also ideologically, in which humanity is seen as the pinnacle of and master of the fate of nature (29). For Eaton, the rise of Western civilization corresponded with a subsequent rise of "domination" and "subjugation" (33). This

has led to not only animals and nature becoming "stepping stones" for the progress of humanity, but also to the subjugation of particular people groups, such as women (34). Humanity becomes divine, and nothing apart from God and them is sacred (25).

Eaton's work provides an insightful exploration into the relationship between spiritual development and hunting. While the focus on hunting might not attract all those interested in further studying the relationship between spirituality, religion, and nature, it should be noted that Eaton's work does incorporate other interactions with nature by the individual that allow for spiritual development (i.e. plant and tree husbandry, 94-6). The work is also full of poetry and short stories from other contributors, and, as such, the diverse work provides a variety of voices for this quest to rediscover the sacred in nature. A nonhunter could still find aspects of this book beneficial to their study of spirituality and nature. Eaton's grander theme of this work is the call for a return to the view of nature as divine and a place to be honored, where hunting provides one of the pinnacle ways in which one can interact with the cosmic cycle of life and death. A sacred nature and the spiritual journey of the self in this space is the fundamental focus of *The Sacred Hunt*. Eaton concludes that without a form of "nature religion," driven by a close relationship and participation by the individual with nature, "humanity will perish" (197-8).

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Jan Dizard, Mortal Stakes, 2003

In his 2003 work *Mortal Stakes,* historian Jan Dizard explores the moral and social standing of sports hunting in America through historical analyses, philosophical postulating, and through the analyses of interviews he conducted with a number of hunters and their families. Part I of the work outlines a brief history of hunting in America, and posits the big questions

regarding hunting in our communities (i.e. cultural influences, moral defenses). Part II provides detailed analyses of the current data on hunters, which included information such as gender identity, income, and place of residence. This section also introduces the hunters Dizard chose to interview, and provides a brief biography on each one. The remaining parts of the book follow a consistent pattern: first they introduce a critical issue or feature of hunting (i.e. Part VI focuses on the reputation of the hunter), after which Dizard analyzes the topic through historical and ethical discourse, all of which is accompanied by the thoughts and responses of the interviewees.

Dizard argues that hunting is a highly controversial yet critical cultural topic that ought to be further explored. According to Dizard, hunting is critical in the study of cultural and social pathology due to its violent character and its role as a bridge between "civilized" residents and nature. Due to the progression of our society, Dizard concludes that hunting is definitively a matter of choice for those who participate in the practice today (Dizard, 2003, 39). Does the modern hunter, despite their support for the "fair chase" and other "upright" hunting practices, still represent a hidden bad conscience or reckless, even unethical, behavior (144)? The dialogue between hunters and nonhunters is practically severed, and hunters have subsequently suffered a serious loss in reputation in the past few years. When a hunter exits society and enters their hunting grounds, Dizard explains that the hunter experiences a loss of personal identity and individuality, and takes on the complex imagery of the American hunter, a new cultural identity that has evolved over the course of decades (168). This new identity is complicated, and in recent years has tended to adopt a negative connotation from those outside the hunting community. As Dizard explains, "hunting has built-in features that encourage even the most ethical and considerate hunters to occasionally depart from the straight and narrow. These features, like barrel staves, get bound together and make it hard for nonhunters to distinguish good hunters

from bad" (146). Dizard concludes that hunting is a highly controversial topic, and its participants do stray from what might be clear-cut moral decisions. However, hunting provides a healthy and honest relationship between humanity and nature, and we ought to acknowledge its complex aid to our culture (206).

Dizard's work focuses primarily on societal perceptions, whether that is of nonhunters on hunters, or the greater society's perception of land, nature, or animals. According to Dizard, for most of American history, societal attitudes on its neighboring wildlife alternated between "indifference, fear, and utilitarianism" (17). There is a definitive parallel between the "taming" of the land (i.e. growth of cities) and the new, modern "appreciation" for nature (17). Following the Civil War and especially during the Industrial Revolution, the American conservation movement developed and grew rapidly. Dizard posits that this movement was initially spearheaded by hunters, and, according to him, "had the conservation ideal been thoroughly embraced by farmers, commercial fishers, and our extractive industries as it was by hunters, we would not be facing anything like the environmental disasters that now loom" (22).

Dizard concludes that hunting's greatest contribution to American society and culture is its ability to terminate fantastical interpretations of reality and nature. Hunting is not some abstract, ahistorical entity. American hunting has definitive roots in this period of time conservation ethics and new sports hunting were popularized. According to Dizard, modern hunting is a script "whose first draft is ancient and whose subsequent revisions form and inform the experience of hunting" (14). Dizard asserts hunting aids participants and studiers in moving away from a moral simplicity. Although most of American society lives in cities and away from rural regions, all are in a state of constant intrusion and interaction with the land, and live at the expense of other creatures and wildlife (39). In addition, most facets of our American society

disagree on how to approach this issue (27). Dizard claims that hunting allows for a healthy and realistic approach to answering these questions. Certain parts of the hunting community might encourage members who romanticize the past but hunting as a whole reveals the true tensions and cycles between humanity and nature. "Spectatorship" of nature (i.e. bird feeding, pets) falsifies these tensions and cycles:

> "In this sense, we need hunters more than our ancestors did because we need to be reminded about the manifold ways in which we are connected to and dependent on nature, a nature that is resistant to out claims on it; a nature that is, it seems, bound to frustrate our designs, whether with floods, ferocious storms, or subtle changes in climate that alter growing seasons . . . In a world increasingly enamored with representations and simulations of reality, sport hunters quietly remind us that there still is such a thing as authenticity, and at its core, as regards our relationship to nature, it consists of our sober recognition of the mortal stakes on which our own lives are predicated. (Dizard, 2003, 204-5, 207)

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David Petersen, Heartsblood, 2010

In *Heartsblood: Hunting, Spirituality, and Wildness in America*, author David Petersen provides an exploration into the ethics and cultural foundations of American hunting. His work incorporates some historical and data analysis, but Petersen focuses a majority of his work on personal and philosophical reflections. Petersen concludes that hunting is a critical aspect of "what it means to be human" and ought to be pursued. However, certain facets of the American hunting population and hunting opponents have, respectively, rejected and misinterpreted ethical hunting practices. Through this work, Petersen desires to distinguish between hunting and hunter behavior (what's right and wrong about each category), the hunter and antihunter (how they differ, how they ought to converse), and the role of spirituality in hunting.

One question in particular dominates Petersen's work: "Why do hunters hunt?" (7). Petersen's goal is to not only answer this question by exploring the motivations of various hunters (including himself), but also by exploring the potential "instinctual" aspects of the desire and need for a human to hunt (9). Petersen draws heavily from the work of biologist and environmentalist Paul Shepard, who posited that a vestigial hunting instinct exists from a hunting/gathering communal past (9). Hunting is no longer a need, but it is still instinctive – according to Petersen, we, as a society, could try to "forget" our hunting instinct, but we would no longer be fully human (14). Citing the work of Shepard, Petersen asserts that, despite modern criticism of hunting as barbaric, "human ecology counters that since we evolved via hunting, and remain physically, mentally, and emotionally (genetically) exactly as we were then, to hunt is to *be* human" (11). Hunting is a beneficial anachronism, and it encourages a community to stay close to nature, to explore natural history studies, and to promote conservation (11).

American hunting experiences both internal and external setbacks. According to Petersen, hunters do not always observe healthy and ethical hunting. Petersen notes that most hunters today can be categorized into three types: the utilitarian/meat hunter; dominionistic/sports hunter; naturalistic/nature hunter (43-45). The dominionistic hunter (which makes up about 39% of all American hunters) is highly problematic to Petersen's view of hunting as a spiritual and healthy endeavor. According to Petersen, this group focuses on "mastering" nature and flaunting their skills and "prowess" – nature and their hunted prey are only a means to a selfish end (44-5). Hunting will only flourish once these types of hunters are rooted out. Petersen also notes that, among nonhunters, the lack of a healthy relationship with nature and an awareness of food supplies also harm the ability for hunting to flourish (8). According to Petersen, all individuals will in some way kill or harm various aspects of nature (especially animals), either indirectly or

directly (234). When certain nonhunters condemn hunting, they are still harming animals indirectly through various means (i.e. exterminators) Petersen considers highly troublesome when compared to hunting. Various types of killing and death can and should be compared, and, subsequently, declared morally more or less defendable. Hunters and nonhunters need to establish productive communication in which they discuss these ethical dilemmas. While these two encounters create obstacles for hunters, Petersen determines that those hunters of the healthy categories (utilitarian and naturalistic) could mend many of these troubling issues by following four steps (Petersen's four c's). First, *confess* that there are serious issues with modern hunting, and that many of today's hunters ought to be condemned. Second, *clean up* these troubling aspects of hunting culture. Third, *coach* poor hunters and nonhunters in proper hunting. Finally, focus on *conservation* (229). By following these four steps, hunters can help heal their culture and better its reputation.

Petersen's work is a bit of a departure from the traditional academic work. However, his self-reflections and philosophical approach brings a healthy diversity to the field of academic studies on American hunting. In addition to this non-traditional style of writing, Petersen's work also contributes to the study of hunting through his two chapters focused on women and hunting. Petersen critiques any "social stratification or personal domination based on sex," and asserts that men who try to exclude women from hunting are not embodying an "authentic human hunting tradition" (208-9). Although there are serious errors in some of his reasoning in these chapters (i.e. that single gender outings are not a social construct of our modern society, or his at times too lenient attitudes towards sexism against women hunters), Petersen's work on the historicity of ancient gender-inclusive hunting and the modern woman's efforts to take part in

this traditionally patriarchal culture are commendable. Overall, Petersen's *Heartsblood* is a critical piece in the growing academic field of hunting academics.

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Bracy V. Hill and John B. White, God, Nimrod, and the World: Exploring Christian Perspectives on Sport Hunting, 2017

God, Nimrod, and the World: Exploring Christian Perspectives on Sport Hunting is a compilation work edited by Bracy V. Hill II and John B. White in which they seek to explore the current state of theological and religious studies on the relationship between Christianity and sport hunting. Section One presents a number of "descriptive" articles on historical explorations of various hunting topics. Authors include Kenneth Bass, Stephen H. Webb, Alastair J. Durie, Michael Gilmour, Stephanie Medley-Rath, Lisa Lepard, and Dale Connally. This section concludes with a number of short essays written by various hunters who are, for the most part, outside of the academic community in which they explain their hunting ethics. Section Two includes what the editors call "prescriptive" articles, which explore the placement of sport hunting in Christian theology and communal debate. Authors include Nathan Kowalsky, Stephen M. Vantassel, Gregory Clark, Theodore Vitali, James Tantillo, and W. E. Nunnally. Editors Hill and White include their own articles in both sections. While Hill and White disagree on the appropriateness of sport hunting in the Christian context, both editors have joined forces in creating this work in order to bring further attention to this theological and historical topic.

Their introductory section outlines both their personal stances on hunting (Hill is pro-hunting and White is anti-hunting) and their stances on hunting as a critical source of academic, religious, and social studies. Three key themes stand out in their introduction. First, hunting fulfills two roles in American culture: hunting is a bridge between human societies and humanity

and nature, while also acting as a fringe area between human society and nature (1, 3, 5). While hunting does provide both a theological and literal physical bridge between these elements, it also has historically inhabited a blurred region between nature and human civilization. As Hill and White explain, "Hunting . . . has served as a tie binding the human to the divine, the human to the natural world, and humans to other humans . . . In wake of the domestication, the hunter and trapper inhabited a world between the wild and the domestication of the village or city and he frequently was seen as a threat to both" (1, 5). The second key theme presented in the introduction is the perspectives of nature by the American populace. According to Hill and White, there exists a lack of realistic perspective of nature by most urban Americans (what is at times called the "Bambi-syndrome") (7). This separation from nature is not based primarily on works of fiction and secondhand encounters afflict multiple levels of our society. Hill and White are critical of the aspects of our society (bound in "ubiquitous technology and urban sprawl") separate most residents from their food, limit nature interactions to parks and pets, and "have segregated human death to hospitals and that of animals to slaughterhouses, disputants in the debates have radically different life experiences than their theological ancestors and many times from their fellow contemporary Christians in other parts of the world" (14). The third key theme acknowledged in the introduction is the complicated relationship between Christianity and hunting. According to both the editors, and as represented by the multitude of authors in this compilation work, there is no one simple explanation or theory as to how Christianity ought to direct an individual's participation in hunting. Hill and White note that identifying authority in the Christian tradition is complicated: Should a hunter consult only scripture? If so, which part? Should a Christian hunter include evolutionary theories and other biological sciences in their religious theology? This work does not definitely defend any one position. In the prescriptive

articles section, two articles are anti hunting (as it is currently practiced in American sports hunting culture), while the remainder tentatively defend hunting but are critical of various elements of the relationship between Christianity and hunting ethics.

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Following the analyses of our first four modern literary hunting works, several realities are clear. First, most modern hunting authors appear to be predominantly occupied by the reality that they are expected to defend the very act of hunting prior to any other reflections on the hobby and sport. Second, in accordance with this need and desire to defend or explain hunting, there is often an assertion that there exists a form of "correct hunting," and there has arisen a field of hunters who do not follow proper protocol. This belief was echoed by our historical hunting reflections as well. While it might be commendable for insiders to desire to reform their social community, the reality of these "poor" or "amoral" hunters always existing within this field must be acknowledged. Recall Petersen's category of the "dominionistic hunter," who, by his own calculation, made up at least 39% of all hunters. These types of hunters condemned by our authors do not seem to be merely outliers, but a constant within the field that cannot be ignored or dismissed, nor easily "redeemed" by their standards. Additionally, the impact of hunting on social gender norms and the development of a "masculine" dogmatic agenda (especially within more conservative social realms) is either an aside or ignored due to its connection with those hunters deemed apart from the more holistic, "spiritually" sound and moral hunter. Those authors more critical of hunting, including White, Philip Dray, and Justin Herman, provide a better, more realistic critique of the field, as this facet of hunting (even if it is

outnumbered by those hunters who practice restraint or whatever other admirable social or political practice through their hunting experience) has a serious, oftentimes detrimental, impact on our social and religious institutions.

This reality is apparent in the continued impact of hunting on social gender development and standardization. Although many of our modern authors do fail to address women in the field, or properly analyze the strains of problematic doctrine on masculinity, the only rising population of hunters in the United States is among women. In the article "Viewing Nimrod from the Pew: Hunting, Masculinity, and Christian Discourse," (which was published in Hill and White's edited work *God, Nimrod, and the World*) co-authors Stephanie Medley-Rath and Lisa M. Leopard analyze the modern state of the hunting community, especially with regards to its presence in Christian literature and media. In the introduction of their work, they provide the following critical statistics regarding hunting participation in the United States:

- In 2011, approximately 6 percent of Americans over the age of sixteen hunted.
- In 2011, the hunting industry earned approximately $34 billion; the individual hunter spent approximately $2,500.
- Between 1990 and 2005, hunting participation fell 38% among male children, while remaining constant among female children.
- Between 2006 and 2011, hunting participation overall increased 9%.
- Between 2006 and 2011, the number of hunters identifying as women increased by 25%, and women now account for 11% of all total hunters. (Medley-Rath and Leopard, 2017, 124-5, 130)

Hunting overall has seen a dramatic decline in participation during the turn of the 21st century, However, while the overall participation numbers have declined, large numbers of women have suddenly entered into the field. However, despite of this rise of women participants, Medley-Rath and Leopard maintain that hunting today is still primarily a "leisure activity" practiced by "rural white men." Hunting is widespread among white Protestant Christians. Medley-Rath and Leopard explore a wide range of publications by Christian hunters who use religious doctrine and language to "frame," "justify," and "interpret" hunting, and contend that hunting is a "means of practicing Christianity." As they further explain, their analyses of this media reveal how certain strains of Christianity offer a "social and cultural system conducive to hunting. Christianity, which receives strong social support in the United States, can provide the needed language (or discourse) to frame the continued practice of hunting" (125, 127). Medley-Rath and Leopard explored several religious and devotional hunting titles, including Steve Chapman's *With God on a Deer Hunt* and Sean Jeffries *Deer Hunter's Devotional*, along with a number of websites including Camo Christians, Christian Bowhunters of America, Christian Deer Hunters Association, Christian Outdoorsman, and Sportsmen's Devotional.

The most consistent focus and theme across all of these publications is the quest of the authors to not only display how Christianity and hunting are deeply intertwined (a fact that is indisputable in the culture of the United States) but then subsequently argue that faithful Christian "men" must be "masculine" - "the relationship between religion and hunting facilitates not only a way to practice one's faith, but also as a way to maintain and legitimize masculinity. Both American hunting and Christianity rely on a patriarchal discourse" (128). The resulting promoted masculinity expected of participants is marked by a "hierarchical structure" that is determined by one's effort to be "competitive," "aggressive," and "violence," a system that not

only excludes and suggests the domination of women but also the subordination of certain types of men who do not fit these qualifications, or are outside the expected white Protestant social realm (129). While the promotion of the masculinity and religiosity of the individual man is priority, most of these publications contend that hunting, in the company of "like-minded" and "socially similar" men is key to the successes found in spiritual-based hunting:

> "Hunting is depicted as a means of demonstrating a masculinity ordained by God and as a way of perpetuating a healthy culture of faith for the individual and those around him. Sean Jeffries writes, 'Men must do manly things, and these things are best done in the company of like-minded men. Only then can we walk as God commands us to, in the full strength of our masculinity." (Medley-Rath and Leopard, 2017, 135)

In several websites explored by the co-authors, exceptions are made for the allowance of women and girls into hunting groups. Still, the language and guides used by the websites are outright gender specific in favor of men - "In other words, within the sources reviewed, women hunters are the exception, not the norm, and even then a woman is not seen as a legitimate 'outdoorsman'" (135). Out of all the publications researched by Medley-Rath and Leopard, only one, *The Heart of the Sportsman,* by Cruise, specified that girls (beyond "boys," or "children" implying only "boys" too) ought to be brought on hunts and taught (138). Even though, historically, women have always hunted, and presently women now make up the only growing population of hunters in the United States, women are still seen as or promoted as anomalies in hunting circles (132). However, this does not include all men, as any adult man participating in hunting is assumed to be married (to a woman) and have children, excluding gay men, single men, and childfree men.

Most of the publications do not dedicate a large portion of their time to justifying the "fact" that hunting is a Christianity activity - this "reality" is assumed to be obvious: "For [the authors], the biblical message is clear: hunting is ordained by God" (138). The authors all make

great efforts to prove that hunting is righteous, even in and especially in environmental or animal conservation efforts. The call to environmental reflections does not appear to be out of concern for greater environmental dilemmas or a pursuit of more "green" policies. Instead, environmental discussions fall under the purview of defending the "honor" of hunting and making efforts to demand that outside condemnations on hunting are uneducated on the history of hunting: "Furthermore, the sources assert that hunting may be a God-given right, but so is protecting animals…hunting is a God-given responsibility, not just a right and if done properly, can potentially solve social problems" (138-139). Despite these common themes and language across the publications, Medley-Rath and Leopard are quick to note that the books and websites are not united in how to reach these ultimate goals. There is no "one way" adopted by these authors in how best to apply Christian morals on hunting methodologies, either through how best to utilize basic Christian rituals (i.e. prayer) on hunters, or on who is permitted to participate in the hunt (again, such as seen in the disagreements on women) (140). Despite these differences, what Medley-Rath and Leopard highlight as key in analyzing this intersection of hunting and religion is the relational breakdown of "sacred" and "profane" spheres. The forest, fields, mountains, and other natural settings for the hunt act as a secondary (though always subservient) location for the church:

> "Using a religious discourse to describe features of hunting and fishing breaks down barriers between the sacred and profane, making hunting and fishing acceptable means of practicing one's religious faith…Further, hunting successes and failures are both interpreted with an eye towards God. Trophy bucks on a wall serve as prompts to thank God for hunting success, while unsuccessful hunts are a test and trial from God." (Medley-Rath and Leopard, 2017, 141)

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Huntress View

There are few organizations dedicated to women hunters and even fewer with a media presence. One organization, the Huntress View, established in 2013 by Andrea Rothove, provides a website where women can seek advice and connections from other women hunters.[17] As explained by Rothove on their website, women "have a different outlook on things than men," and "hunting is no exception." The website provides equipment reviews, recipes, etc., and hosts a map of the United States where "team members" are displayed. Members express an affinity to not only hunting, but also a wide variety of other outdoor recreation and animal-based activities (i.e. horse riding). Affiliates include various hunting equipment companies, a gun and trophy insurance provider, and "Whitetail Press," the company of an author who publishes children's books to educate children on nature and hunting.

The testimonials of the team members reveal a wide variety of motivations of the participants for not only hunting, but becoming a member of this organization. Courtney Schnitzler, the representative member for Kentucky, joined to find a greater female community within her hobby: "I starting [sic] shooting at the age of 9, with a big group of kids in the local 4-H club, and haven't stopped since. I remember taking my hunters [sic] education course that year and wondering why I was the only girl." Alongside her discussion to see a rise in women and girls in the hunting realm, she is quick to affirm that, during her education in bow fishing and turkey hunting, her husband has helped her. Again, the issue here is not that she is receiving help or teaching from her spouse: we do not know anything personal about this woman, nor should we make assumptions regarding her relationships. However, there is a greater dilemma within the field of hunting, as it is so steeped in a dangerously patriarchal history and system, that

[17] www.huntressview.com

women must receive the blessings or permission to enter the hunting realm from a male relative that has the authority (as a male) to do so. Most of the women team members cite their fathers as the source of their hunting training and initiation, and their husbands or male partners continue their "education" once married. Several women who did not grow up in a family already dedicated to hunting accessed the field through a later relationship with another man. Courtney Ogden, of Louisiana, explained that she had always wanted to hunt as a child, but never was able to fulfill her desire until she began dating her fiance. None of these women consider their access to hunting through their male relations as a negative. Leanna Graves, of Indiana, contends that her husband is her hunting *partner* (replacing her brothers). Their hunting trips enhance their marriage and act as a "bonding experience." Most of these women also describe a sort of "passing of the baton," where family firearm heirlooms are bestowed upon them once they are old enough to hunt, or have had their first successful hunt. Abrial Norwick, of Tennessee, hunts with her great-grandfather's Remington 742 Woodsmaster .30-06, after gifting her first rifle to her young cousin once he began to hunt. Cassie Powell, the team member representing Arkansas, used her mother's .308 on her first solo hunt, and continues to hunt with this same firearm. Hunting is deeply rooted in the family unit for these members, and their role in their families are defined by their continuation of the hunting tradition or their aid in their relatives' hunting endeavors. Vicky Mullaney, a team member from Maryland, published a cookbook titled *Lodge at Black Pearl Cookbook - Raising and Feeding a Hunting Family*, in which she depicts hunting as a "lifestyle" that teaches and will teach her children and future generations "tenacity, hard work, a sense of pride and a strong respect for wildlife and the environment."[18] There are a few outliers to this familial situation, where members were not raised in a hunting family nor have

[18] https://www.lodgeatblackpearlcookbook.com/

current relatives who do hunt. For many of these women, hunting was a means to eat healthier, and provide their family with organic meat. Erin Diegel, of Colorado, is a single mother of three children, and began hunting in 2014 as a means to provide her family with meat, after being vegetarian for 14 years. Sarah Honadel, representing Idao, processes all of her own meat, alongside her boyfriend (who initiated her into the love of hunting through purchasing her a rifle). Schnitzler and Powell claim to hunt only what they know how to process and cook, and that hunting is an integral part of their family's meal preparation.

Many of these women intermingle their participation with Huntress View and hunting with their spirituality. Schnitzler considered hunting not only practical for its own sake (i.e. meal planning), but also equated it with her furthering her faith: "For me, hunting has always been more than just killing an animal. It's about enjoying God's creation and glorifying him the harvest, learning to provide for yourself, spending quality time with family and friends, and learning patience." Cassie Powell similarly incorporates hunting into her acquisition of food and family communal time, all the while also considering it as an opportunity to further not only her personal spirituality but also to evangelize both her Christian faith and her hunting faith: "My goal in this life is to share the love of Jesus and the outdoors to as many people as I can! I feel as though this way of life is becoming less and less and I worry about the future of hunting and what barriers the future will bring to this way of life. So if we can all just share our experiences with others and really teach them in a way they too will become confident, then maybe they will pass it on." Leanna Graves reflects that she was raised in a church where she was taught to "love the Lord, obey your parents, and always keep your shotgun loaded." She and her husband were able to fill a tag during a trip to Montana "with help from the Lord."

In reflecting on her excitement to join Huntress View, Abrial Norwick encourages her audience to reject "stereotypes" hindering women from hunting:

> "Hunting and fishing have always been a passion of mine, and I hope that someday I can inspire others to follow their dreams and passions in the outdoors. Do not ever let someone stereotype you for what you love and believe in. If you want to be girl while you are doing amazing things in the outdoors? Go for it…God has put you where you are today for a reason, and embrace it with everything you have."

Most of the women represented on Huntress View do not view themselves as outliers to the field of hunting. Many are part of large hunting families and have been hunting since they were children, and those who did not have such a history hunt with their current male partners. However, there are definitive glimpses made by the women into their situation within the inherently patriarchal field (e.g. they receive their initiation into the hunting ritual through the permission of a man), and nearly all of them conclude their biographies with supporting the Huntress View's goals of providing greater space and support for women in the field. While most of these women discuss their personal excitement with hunting, as a means to better themselves personally, most define their ultimate satisfaction with hunting on its ability to better their stance in their family, both immediate and church. These women feel comfortable and confident in their own hunting skills, find satisfaction in outdoor recreation, and determine they are fulfilled.

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Fate of Paulina, and Her Sublime

In all of her literary publications, Paulina depicted nature as a spiritual and physical refuge, a place where one might find difficulties yet worthwhile rejuvenation. This spiritual

pilgrimage takes great effort, but Paulina asserts that hunting's benefits and time spent in rugged nature cannot be matched by any other spiritual pursuits. Her mind and body are both better off:

> *"Aside from the sporting pleasure of this trip, we have reaped other things of far greater value. Our wind, muscle, and endurance are a hundred per cent better than when we started out a couple of weeks ago. For us nature has spelled new lessons in the art of woodcraft; new meanings in the beauty of sunsets; new aims and desires along the highroad of life. Perhaps the magic influence of the forest does not enter alike into every human soul. Some require a different geography from others. But for us nothing is lacking. We have feasted and are content."* (Brandreth, 1930, 172)

In her reflection on her various fishing adventures, Paulina asserted that through nature, the divine sought out to bring the individual soul back to a more "primitive" yet cleansing state:

> *"All three of these fish* [she hunted] *are aristocrats of the finned tribe, and in seeking them out the angler often finds himself in very beautiful places - places unspoiled by the unsightly exploitations of mankind where the gleam of pure waters, the serenity of unsullied skies, the fragrance of the land as God made it, take him back to the mystery of primitive things and cleanse his soul of the turmoil and unrest of artificial living.* (Brandreth, 1930, 143)

In chapter 23 of *Trails of Enchantment,* Paulina consolidates her reflections on the potential to encounter the sublime, and how that might affect the individual adventurer, in the promotion of what she calls the return to the *"spirit of the primitive."* This spirit is the desire of the individual to venture into nature and away from the artificial aspects of human culture and society in the city:

> *"The spirit of the primitive is in most of us, still strong…It is essentially a primitive passion which draws men to the mountains, the sea, the desert, and all the wild and lonely places of the earth. It is the spirit of the primitive which makes us willing to undergo actual discomfort and sometimes real hardship, in order to gratify our ancestral longing for an open-air existence. In spite of civilization, in spite of luxury and money and modern conveniences and mechanical progress, we are products of nature, and to nature we turnfor the realization of things that are often infinitely more satisfying and stimulating than the creation of our brains and hands. No - the cave man is not extinct. He is smoothed off and polished and spiritualized, and he no longer is a savage; but he is not dead, and may it be hoped that he will never die utterly. (Brandreth,* 1930, 311-312).

True spiritual growth, true individual healing and discovery of the self, is, according to Paulina, only found in nature. As she asserts, *"shams and artificialities crowd the highroads constructed by human effort,"* but *"nature is always real. She is salutary, she is health-giving, she is profound."* The beauty of nature broadens the mind and heals the soul, while nature's more "relentless" aspects act as a stern teacher. Once we have found ourselves, and once our spirits are trained by and tied to nature, and in fact submit to nature's mysteries, Paulina asserts we finally gain a new vision of existence. True understanding of the self and effort to garner glimpses of the greater cosmic plans are only possible in an immersion with nature:

> *"Communication with nature makes it possible to commune with ourselves. In the present age of high tension and hurried endeavors, we are constantly under the pressure of nerve-racking forces which surround us. But of this atmosphere, the mountains and forests and unreclaimed places of the earth know nothing. Here is peace, here is beauty, here is time."* (Brandreth, 1930, 317)

The end of Paulina's life is shrouded in mystery, her last years lost to time. We know that she entered a mental institute, where she would die at the age of sixty in 1946. Why did she enter the institute? Was it on her own accord? It is difficult to separate Paulina's fate from the all too common practice of wealthy families during this era forcing their "troubled" children and relatives (primarily daughters) into mental institutes with the primary goal of hiding away their societal digressions. Paulina never married, lived in relative seclusion and solitary independence on the family's forested property, and made every effort to live her life and be considered by her friends and neighbors as a masculine figure. But it is also a very real possibility that Paulina, in her efforts to receive societal acceptance and recognition of her masculinity, did suffer from severe depression or another debilitating mental health condition. Regardless, it is clear that while Paulina might have internally discovered and lived out her true self, she was still denied by her community full support. Her entrance into the wilderness, in which she sought out a nature-

based spiritual awakening, was a gendered "sin," despite her goals being highly personal. No matter how successful of a hunter she became, no matter how much published and received notoriety for her *Trails of Enchantment*, she would never be welcomed into the masculine realm, or escape feminine subjugation.

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> *"Thus we go through life seeking well-heads - perennial fountains where our thirst may be quenched and our beings renovated with a crystal draught that perchance flows from some elysium. Certain influences and certain creations all differently affect, exalt and convey spiritual intimations to various mentalities, benefiting them accordingly - administering large or small portions as the case may be. But it is a beneficent provisions of nature that the greater amount we are able to assimilate into a secular existence, the more completely does her sublime power advance us to revelations of eternity. The influence of the wilderness and relationship of mountains have ever seemed especially ennobling, and draws one with surprising vigor away from follies and trivialities, planting instead those things that time will not be likely to vitiate or the changing currents of years wash away. When we return to their environment after an absence and feel the old intimacy steal through our veins like a tempered aboriginal instinct; when the forest grows vernal with fresh lustrous foliage and the lakes reflect the sky's deep azure, we experience a natural felicity that emanates not only from the reality, but from those potent invisible forces ever lurking behind it."* (Paulina, "Spring in the Adirondacks," 1905, 62)

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Fate of Grace, and Her Sublime

c.1907. While the mountain's difficult ascent matched what she expected of such terrain, and what she thought victory on such a quest ought to require, she did not hesitate to question the

sanity of the overall mission privately from time to time. They were on the trail of the "Bitter Root Grizzly" after all, whose home was a mountainscape of "superlatives;" every way was either going up a vaulting ridge or down a ravine inhabited by a mire. As demanded of her time, she bemoaned her gender's frailty in light of her male companions and frowned upon certain decisions made regarding the route she thought impractical. But Grace matched their steps; she was physically ready to meet nature's obstacles head on, and Grace accepted her bruises, discomfort, and lack of leadership as crucial in this epic chapter of her life. She would find victory in this dangerous hunt. However, as twilight settled in on the fourth day, she no longer accepted her situation with usual tired yet resolute determination. She was on a bear hunt, and her husband had seen fit to leave her alone along a riverbank he had earlier determined was frequented by the very bears they were tracking. A third member of their group, whom her husband had sent ahead to retrieve their ponies, had not arrived at their expected waypoint, and Nimrod (Grace's husband) argued that he could more quickly retrieve the man on his own. Thus Grace was left by a small fire, alone with nothing but her thoughts and the silence of the evening.

Her field of view was restricted to a six-foot clearing about her. A tall grass grew along the riverbank, and in her effort to crouch close to her fire she could not see above the foliage. As the hours passed her solitude began to trouble her. She felt that she was no longer an actor in a firm reality - the silence and her simultaneous fear and adrenaline had plunged her into a timeless, ethereal realm:

> *"But my imagination soon found plenty of food...Nimrod would never find [their friend] or he would break a leg in the dark and perish miserably from exposure...I knew then the stillness and greyness that was before the Creation. I had lived cycles since Nimrod left, taking reality with him." (Nimrod's Wife, 1907, 137-8)*

At the sound of a heavy body moving through the grass twenty feet away from her, Grace felt intense terror accompanied by a strange relief. She was no longer trapped in her silence, and the

footsteps now demanded action. Here was a “real” obstacle, one that she felt she could react to, unlike the intangibility of her solitude. She stood up, despite her instincts warning that it could be nothing other than a bear. And there it stood with its back to her - a Grizzly enjoying a few blueberries from a bush along the bank of the river. She remained frozen for a time before she reached for her rifle. While she was indeed on a bear hunt, and had joined a number of hunts prior to this moment, Grace had never hunted alone, nor had she taken the first shot prior to or without her husband. Now she stood before the apex predator of the continent, and she had one goal on her mind - ascension:

> *“Here was the chance to distinguish myself. Never was a stage set more dramatically. How the glory of it would ring down through the family annals, unaided, hand to hand, so to speak, encounter of a monster and the wonderful heroism of the women, etc. Could I do it? For the sake of my descendants. I must try.” (139)*

She takes her shot, despite her shaking. The shot either missed and only lightly grazed her target, and the bear turned and began to make its way toward her, looking for the origin of the offense. After a moment the grizzly found Grace and both froze, each locked in the other's gaze. Grace’s shaking stopped, and what she described as a calm resolve swept over her. She had made her decision, and if the bear now chose it could charge and easily overwhelm her. The bear seemed to ponder his decision for a moment before turning, moving away from Grace. She quickly lifted her rifle, knowing she now had the perfect shot. However, she refused to pull the trigger:

> *“A hunter knows when he will shoot true. I sighted along the barrel, a clear shot to the brain - it was so close - my finger on the trigger! Then I lowered the muzzle to the ground - and let him go. He had refused to injure me! Could I do less? I watched him going off in the woods and sat down again amid the silence and the bears.” (143)*

When Grace later returned to the larger group, she kept silent, acknowledging to her book’s audience that her decision would have been derided by her companions. The camp was

entertained that night by the triumphant hunt of another group, who had succeeded in killing a bear. *"Bear and forbear; water and oil,"* Grace thought to herself and she kept quiet, *"Clearly, my story could not then be told."* Grace would live until the age of 83, passing in 1959 while living with her daughter Anya in Florida. Her obituary lauded her accomplishments as a feminist activist, through her extensive writings and lectures. Her accomplishments as a hunter were only mentioned as an aside. This characterization of Grace's accomplishments seems appropriate and would likely align with how Grace would have reflected on her life. Hunting did indeed play a key role in Grace's development as a feminist and activist, but it is clear that later in her life she grew discomforted by the sport and hobby due to her dispute that the act of killing on said hunts was the only means to access nature-based invigoration. Grace's triumph would not come from accolades of her fellow hunters, nor through the blood from the grizzly whose life had been laid before her. It was in her solitude that lived *sustine et abstine* - not simply in her refraining from speaking at camp, but her restraint in her encounter with the grizzly. Grace achieved the ascension she had hoped for, but not in the manner she had anticipated. Her sublime, her luminous moment, was found in restraint and in the silence, her union with the ethereal nature and the grizzly.

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Fate of Martha, and Her Sublime

While recalling her mother later in life, Mabel noted that for most of her life she felt neglected by her mother: "Interesting as the results were…I recall clearly my own reaction. I was bitterly jealous of the animals that seemed to absorb all the interest and affection for which I longed…for some reason, inherent in her nature, my mother excluded me from the deep love

which she had for all living things" (Benson, 1986, 940). Even in Mary's glowing biography of her half-sister, Martha's troubled relationship with Mabel is present, often accompanied by depictions of moments where Martha's troubled marriage are revealed, despite Mary's best efforts to gloss over these instances. During one trip to the "Hot Sulphur Springs," in "Middle Park," Mary romantically depicts Martha's solitude with the leave of Mr. Maxwell, despite the fact that Mabel is present with her mother and helping her to collect specimens. Mr. Maxwell, who apparently had to leave the pair to appear in court, returns to the camp and attempts to "humorously" scare his wife and child by hiding behind a tree near their camp and growling like an animal. Martha nearly shoots him before realizing his strange stunt. Following the incident, the trio begin to make their way back home, during which time Mr. Maxwell leaves them behind, *"anxious to reach his son's as soon as possible on account of the little children,"* according to Mary (Dartt, 1879, 83). Why would Mr. Maxwell leave his wife and young child along along the wilderness path? Mary tries to claim that Mr. Maxwell knew that his wife could handle the situation, but the placement of this incident alongside the depiction of his prank and Martha nearly shooting him seems to imply a fight instead of a simple claim of Mr. Maxwell's faith in his wife. During the return trip, Mabel's horse is unsettled, and she is forced to ride with her mother, leading to Martha leading both her horse and Mabel's, while Mabel holds onto the reins of the packhorse. The packhorse begins to wander, and Mabel falls. Following the incident, and the arrival of a storm, Martha is forced to walk and lead all three horses by foot during the final five miles. After barely traversing a river, during which both are nearly swept away, it is one of Martha's eldest step-sons that comes to their aid, assumingly rushing out to find them with the arrival of his father to his home without the pair (90).

While it is not clear what Martha might have thought about her husband on a personal or intimate level, it is clear that his social presence and financial failures weighed heavily on her. In one story, where Mary explained that Martha had to often "check" his "decorum" when in company, Mr. Maxwell is called "Annie Laurie," and compared to "Mr. Chick" and Martha to "Mrs. Chick" of Charles Dickens' work *Dombey and Son.* Annie Laurie is the titular beauty of a Scottish folk song, praised for her "feminine" beauty and singing. In *Dombey and Son*, Mrs. Chick is the sister of the protagonist, who criticizes the lead once he loses the family fortune. She and Mr. Chick, who also has a bad habit of whistling at odd times, are depicted as occupying a marriage in which Mrs. Chick must continuously check her socially clumsy husband. On multiple occasions Mr. Maxwell lost his family's financial savings. Mabel, as an adult, wrote about his overly trusting nature, and that in one instance a Methodist minister swindled her father for all his worth. Martha was clearly distraught by this constant state of fluctuation in their financial stability, and the societal demand that continually denied her access to financial opportunities that might allow her to better their situation. In a letter Martha wrote to Mary, she lamented that she was *"sick & tired of this kind of life that nothing but shere [sic.] necessity induses [sic.] me to stay a single day"* (Benson, 86).

Benson notes no less than two times that Martha entered a "sanitarium" for her health (Benson, 67, 72). Benson implies that both times Martha entered the institutes on her own accord. Regardless of the origins for her entering the institutes, each time Martha emerged with a greater determination to seek out economic independence, and independence from her husband. After leaving the second institute in 1867, she took Mabel to live in Vineland, New Jersey. This planned community was established in 1861, and founded by C.K. Landis as a temperance and agriculturally-based "utopian" space. Mr. Maxwell demanded that she return to Colorado, and,

after she refused, he journeyed to Vineland and forcefully took his wife and child back (74-75). The rest of Martha's life would continue this cycle, in which she would struggle to care for her family, leave for a period to seek out financial opportunities before returning after failure or after the insistence of Mr. Maxwell. On May 31, 1881, while attempting once again to sell her collection in the midst of fighting debilitating ovarian cancer, Martha would die away from home, in the arms of Mabel, who had followed after her mother. Benson offers an excellent summation of the complicate life of Martha, positing a series of questions demanded by these same complications:

> "Moreover, in personal terms one might question whether the achievement was worth the cost. What really drove Martha Maxwell to devote uncounted hours in her workroom beside Boulder Creek? Why did she spend the last five years of her life going from pillar to post with no settled home and usually no family nearby? What was she searching for?...From time to time she gave her own answers: she was working to advance the cause of feminism; to make money and thereby provide an education for her daughter; to leave a legacy to the University of Colorado…In the end, it seems appropriate to allow Martha to have the last word - '*I am condemned for having an ambition to be something more than the common lot of mortals. Well I have a desire to live for something more than the gratification of those who cannot appreciate the sacrifice. Yes I would do something which shall follow me doing good to others after I am gone.'"* (Benson, 194-5)

Benson dedicates a great deal of her exploration of Martha on her relationship with her daughter and the rest of her family. Simultaneously noted by, yet continued by, the biography, and observed by Mary's biography and other contemporaneously written observations, the status of Martha's character and life were determined by her ability to "mother" and behave "effeminately" as expected by her society's gender norms. While it is rational and expected of biographical explorations to consider the case study's relationship with their family, women by far must bear greater expectations on their expected ties to their families. This is not to say that Martha's treatment of Mabel was ideal, but the critiques of Martha's actions far outweigh any similar exploration of her male counterparts. Martha's occasional departure from and her callous

nature toward her daughter was her mimicking societal expectations of the successful business*man*. Mr. Maxwell himself left his family numerous times for various financial ventures, including one ill-planned attempt to join the Gold Rush.

This is comparable to Grace's situation, in which all contemporaneous articles written about her and her marriage focused on Grace's tendency to travel and not dedicate all her time with Ernest, all the while never highlighting the fact that Ernest himself matched this practice as well, and traveled on his own often. The official website dedicated to The Seton Legacy Project, an academic institute and museum dedicated to Ernest's work, does not include any exploration of Ernest's abandonment of Grace and their child.[19] Analyses of Martha's life through the lens of her "motherhood" and "femininity" can and are useful, but a majority of the time such implementation of this analysis is based in sexist assumptions about the worth and gender roles of women. These lenses of "motherhood" and "femininity" must first be recognized as fabricated societal constructs based in a history of the subjugation of the feminine. Any studies including these realms must focus on studying them as such societal fabrications, not as the basis for appropriate determinations of the worth of any case study. Regardless, these analyses ignore a serious reality of Martha's motivations: she desired a stance in society in which she might earn respect and societal immortalization through recognition of her craft and her advances in the taxidermy field. Martha determined her best chances of earning such an end would come from a fulfillment of a unity with the sublime in nature. For Martha, this sublime was still deeply intertwined with her perspective of nature in which animals, though highly intelligent and a beautiful part of the environment, were subservient to her needs and her vision for a form of art she believed provided their memories, and hers, with immortalization. Martha's gain of control

[19] https://ernestthompsonseton.com

over her destiny required the "sacrifice" of her prey to give up their control, both of their lives and even their bodies in death. The right to power within her society required masculine domination, which was often displaced through control over a firearm and the subjugation of nature through hunting.

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c. 1879 Martha and Mabel were camping together, in the Hot Sulphur Springs, sans Mr. Maxwell. In her biography, Martha, via her sister, assured her audience she did not suffer the solitude, despite the "natural" expectation of a woman deprived of her husband for any given amount of time. She continued to act as a *"perfect mistress,"* occupying herself not only with collecting specimens but also finding the time to make a *"delicious jam,"* still the perfect homemaker despite her placement in the wilderness. This wilderness, the mountains, provided her access to the sublime, and access to a space where she might enact her fullest self:

> *"In no place is her voice more audible than amid the mountains, and Mrs. Maxwell had no more thought of loneliness, than had Thoreau in his hermitage, or Audubon in his wanderings. Mountains, like the sea, satisfy one's deepest cravings for what is grand and sublime, and, like it, shadow forth all one's changing moods. They never look twice alike: each variation in the density of the atmosphere, each increase of light or shade, changes their aspect. The eye never tires of watching their variety, nor ceases, when it has learned to love them and has parted from them, to hunger for their smiles and frowns."* (Dartt, 1879, 79-80)

What sort of activities drew Martha's attention? What events gave her this appreciation of the wilderness they were now a part of? It was her acquisition of specimens that gave this trip purpose. And it is one interaction with a small group of chipmunks that not only highlights Mary's and Martha's true perspectives of nature, and what Martha determined what true union with nature, a union between humans and animals, ought to be:

> *"A few days after they went into camp, these little neighbors* [(chipmunks)] *seemed to assemble for a picnic, council, or something of the kind, on a level spot among the rocks. They didn't invite Mrs. Maxwell to be present; but, having her share of feminine*

curiosity, she crept near to see what they were about. They were simply scampering around, so she concluded to call them to order by firing a signal-gun. One discharge furnished her five of the little fellows ready for taxidermic honors." (80-81)

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Part III: Conclusion
Nature and Community Healing

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> "*This too makes my heart take fright and leap out of its place. Listen! Listen! The rage in His voice! The rumbling from His mouth emerging! He lets it loose under the whole heaven, its flash to the ends of the earth; and then, the voice roars. He thunders in His majestic voice, but once the voice has sounded, no one can trace its path. El thunders with His voice uncanny, who makes things great beyond our knowing. For to the snow He says, 'Fall earthward!' Likewise, the rain, the downpour - the rain of His mighty downpour. He seals up every man indoors so that all will know his works…And so He alternates with twists and cunning changes, so that they do whatever He commands them downward to the surface of the earth: But whether for the rod, sufficiency, or grace, He is the source."* (Job 37)

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A Final Reflection: Job's Nature Hagiography[20]

Our memoirs, our "environmental hagiographies," all seek answers of the reality of nature and humanity's placement in a greater cosmic order. Is humanity separate from the rest of nature? How do we properly address death and violence in nature? Can one's understanding of nature answer questions regarding societal understandings of morality? Of religion or spirituality? These stories, and more broadly the hunting memoirs that depict the "protagonist" as witness and judge to the natural order, are reminiscent of one of the preeminent, ancient memoirs: the Book of Job. One cannot read the numerous accounts presented in this work and not note the inspirations taken from Job. The individual seeks out philosophical answers and

[20] All quotes from Book of Job are taken from Raymond P. Scheindlin's 1998 translation. I will be including his gender specific pronouns, as he explains they are accurate to the original text.Some quotes also rely on Dr. C. L. Seow's 2011 translation and commentary, and will be noted when appropriate.

personal growth in facing nature and creation, while meeting with the sublime in said nature, though often in a manner they did not anticipate.

This final reflection is provided to further solidify how our hagiographies might be interpreted through a "Job-ian" lens (thereby further situating the nature hagiography as a means by which critical cultural, socio-religious, and moral analysis). In addition, it will demonstrate yet another avenue by which the nature hagiography might be promoted as a rhetorical and literary bridge over which certain communities might initiate discourse regarding first environmental dilemmas, followed by other related cultural topics, but also provide a glimpse into future paths this research might take. We will take a momentary step back, away from our more strictly academic discourse, and focus on how the Job tale appears in modern popular media, particularly film (considering its greater mass reach and appeal over literature today). Realizing our memoirs fall under the Job purview, we find that our conclusion might be key to how we further instill our nature memoirs, accompanied with our outlined interpretations, as a source of authority for communities within more conservative facets (both religiously and politically). By making this parallel to Job, considering the impact of Job on not only our greater culture but especially on the Christian community, we help our promotion of the nature memoir as a hagiography, and appropriate in discourse on religion, the environment, and gender concerns.

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There are numerous movies inspired by the biblical epic of *Job*. Most rely on a *Job* tale that encompasses a more general representation of Job's suffering and his search to understand the meaning of life after various personal disasters. In this work, I will explore two movies that focus on the environmental and nature imagery of *Job*, and its related focus on the search for a divine, cosmic ordering. Throughout the book of *Job*, the characters use natural metaphors to question divine authority and how the divine orders the cosmos, and to determine humanity's place in this greater "plan." Once YHWH finally responds, the divine too uses natural and cosmological imagery to represent the divine's case. The two movies that I have chosen that I believe provide the best study for this topic are Ang Lee's *Life of Pi* (2012) and Joe Carnahan's *The Grey* (2011). Each movie has its own version of a Job character that suffers, but they arrive at different resolutions. *Life of Pi* presents a Job-like character that is broken down, loses everything, but in the end does find (albeit a solemn) redemption. The movie's Job, the main character Pi Patel, finds justification through his treacherous survival after being shipwrecked, and believes his sins are forgiven. He concludes his journey with a relatively friendly view of the deity, and claims his god is dangerous and powerful but still intervened and aided Pi in his survival. *The Grey* presents a Job-like character that similarly is broken, and has lost everything, but this Job does not find the salvation or answers he hopes for by the end of the movie. The movie's Job, the main character John Ottway, curses the deity, and condemns his unjust situation during his quest to survive the Alaskan wilderness. His resolution comes with a final confrontation/answer from nature that is harsh, and reveals his small place in the greater natural

order. Both movies, acting as a film depiction of our nature memoir hagiography, also include further comparisons to our hunting focus. *Life of Pi* follows our animal studies and elements of "survival" that make use of hunting (fishing) that appear in our hunting memoirs. *The Grey* also includes these same themes, though its hunting is more in line with Plumwood and Caroll's reflections as opposed to our other hunters. The protagonist begins as a hunter of wolves, before losing this hierarchical dominance in nature.

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Life of Pi (2012)

Life of Pi was directed by Ang Lee, and based on the 2001 novel by Yann Martel of the same name. Our movie's Job, Pi Patel (portrayed by Suraj Sharma), is a 16-year-old teen who lives at a zoo operated by his parents in Pondicherry, India. When his father decides to pursue other business ventures in Canada, his family books passage on a Japanese freighter, along with their animals they plan to sell. During a storm, the ship is damaged in some unknown way, and sinks. Only Pi manages to escape on a lifeboat, along with several zoo animals – a zebra, orangutan, hyena, and the tiger Richard Parker. Pi fights to survive not only handling the animals, but also braving the vast, beautiful yet chaotically dangerous ocean. The story is told through the narration of Pi many years after the events, who is recounting the events to a visiting author.

The movie begins with depicting Pi's early childhood when he lived in his family's small zoo and botanical garden. Pi, at a young age, becomes engrossed with religion, and chooses to try to practice Hinduism, Christianity, and Islam simultaneously. He is determined to be overtly cautious with his religiosity, just as Job was in his preemptive offerings in the introduction of the book. Pi's family zoo is a very ordered nature, and provides a sharp contrast to the "real" nature he will experience after his shipwreck. But, as a child, Pi bases his view of nature and religiosity on his experience in this false image of nature. He is taught a harsh lesson by his father when Pi attempts to pet the tiger named Richard Parker, assuming the tiger will be docile. It is in this moment that Pi catches his first glimpse of the wildness of nature. His father, hoping to protect Pi in the future and help him understand the dangers of certain animals, makes him watch the tiger stalk and eat a goat. This moment foreshadows the greater, more dramatic lesson that his "divine father" will teach him through the wilds of the ocean.

Once Pi is shipwrecked, most of the movie's setting is Pi's lifeboat. The sky and sea are all the remains, and the two seemingly blend: the horizon is often indistinguishable, and the waters reflect the sky. In Job's opening mourning in chapter 3, he calls for a return to chaos, when the Leviathan reigned during the time before the establishment of the firmament between the sky and the sea. In Job 38:8-11, YHWH admonishes Job and his friends through harkening back to Job's call for the chaotic waters, using the imagery as a lesson:

> "Who barred the sea behind double gates as it was gushing out of the womb? When I made the clouds its covering, fog it's swaddling, broke its will with my decree, set bar

> and double gate, and said, 'This far, no further! Here stops your breakers' surge." (Job 38:8-11)

Pi's spiritual journey takes place in a primordial time, in the pure chaos of water. His setting simultaneously represents Job's call for the end of humanity and YWHW's lesson on nature and order. The ocean is both beautiful and dangerous. In one scene, Pi is awed to see a whale rising from the depths as it chases a school of krill. The whale breaches, and destroys Pi's raft by accident; Pi was simply in the wrong place at the wrong time. The natural order continues regardless of Pi's expectations, needs, or presence. In another scene, Pi observes Richard Parker staring into the ocean, and asks the tiger what he sees. The screen pans to the reflection of the tiger's eyes in the water, then slowly begins to dive deep into the dark ocean. Pi sees colorful and ethereal images of the universe and cosmos, including moments of his life, stories from his religions, and wildlife. There is both beauty and death. In Job 38:16-18a, YHWH reflects that Job's wisdom is incomplete due to his inability to explore such depths.

> "Have you ever reached the depths of the sea and walked around there, exploring the abyss? Have you been shown behind the Gates of Death, or seen the Gates of Deathdark? Have you beheld the earth's expanses?" (Job 38:16-18a)

Pi, through the eyes of Richard Parker, ventures into the depths of the cosmos through the waves, but it is unclear if he comprehends what he has observed. He remains silent after the experience.

Pi represents a broken yet hopeful Job. At the beginning of the movie, the narrator, Pi at an older age, notes that doubt is a natural and healthy aspect of faith: "Doubt is useful. It keeps

faith a living thing. After all, you cannot know the strength of your faith until it's been tested." This belief allows him to remain relatively calm through the first stretch of his endeavor. Just as Job maintains the need to wrestle with the divine character and justice of the moral order, Pi allows himself to find strength in his more "fluid" religiosity and his ability to question God's ways.

> "Then what does the god above have in store, what lot from Shaddai in the heavens? Only disaster for doers of evil, estrangement for men for men who do wrong. Does He not see my ways, count all my steps? Have I walked the way of falsehood? Was my foot fleet to deceit? Let God weigh me in an honest balance - He will have to see my innocence." (Job 31:2-6)

Pi finally breaks when a storm ravages his boat and terrifies him and Richard Park. He calls out to the sky, "Why are you scaring [Richard Parker]? I've lost my family. I lost everything. I surrender! What more do you want?" As his provisions begin to fall overboard, Pi also loses his small journal that he had been using to catalog his survival. It is implied he hoped that, in the event of his death, his journal still might be found, so that others might acknowledge his suffering and remember him, just as Job pleaded for his story to be recorded and not concealed. After all his possessions are lost, the storm calms and a rainbow appears. Pi, instead of choosing to be angry, mourns his mortality and accepts his fate, thanking God for giving him life. Just as Job concludes after YHWH's speeches in chapter 42, Pi submits that he cannot understand the natural order and he is wholly without power and wisdom when compared to the cosmic divine. After fainting, he wakes to find himself on a mysterious island (which is in the shape of a body lying in repose) that provides him both with food but also contains carnivorous pools of water.

God's nature, here, allows him to survive, but is still dangerous and not constructed with humans as the only priority.

When questioned by authorities after being rescued, Pi reveals the truth to his survival – he cannibalized one of the survivors of the wreck, and had invented the story of the animals on the lifeboat to help assuage his guilt. No animals had been with him in the lifeboat. The zebra was a man who was part of the crew of the ship, the orangutan was his mother, the hyena was the ship's cook, and he himself was Richard Parker. The cook had cannibalized the crewman after he had died from his injuries, and then killed Pi's mother after they had fought over the incident. Pi then kills the cook out of revenge, and resorts to eating the body of the cook and using him as bait for fish. Pi asserts that neither the animal story nor cannibalism story can be proven true, and mourns the fact both stories end in the loss of his family and self. The authorities and Pi's author guest both admit they prefer the story with the tiger, thus absolving Pi, who says, "Thank you, And so it goes with God." The lesson Pi undergoes on the ocean is brutal and savage, yet simultaneously beautiful and bitterly joyful. Despite the horrors Pi faces and what he is forced to do in the name of survival, he represents his story as a journey to spiritual enlightenment and humbling. He concludes as Job does, and finds comfort in his newfound awareness of his position in the vast cosmos: "I knew You, but only by rumor; my eyes beheld You today. I retract. I even take comfort for dust and ashes" (Job 42:5-6).

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The Grey (2011)

The Grey was co-written and directed by Joe Carnahan, and based on the short story "Ghost Walker" by Ian MacKenzie Jeffers. This movie's Job, John Ottway (portrayed by Liam Neeson), is a hired gun for an oil company in northern Alaska. Due to the death of his wife, and his dismal work and living situation, he is terribly depressed to the point he contemplates suicide. While traveling to Anchorage on a small plane with other workers, they crash in the middle of the wilderness. Only eight other men endure the initial impact, while the rest of the crew and other passengers are killed. While trying to coordinate a plan to escape their predicament, a group of ghostly wolves begins to hunt them down. The men flee to the nearby woods, and, one by one, each man falls prey to both the harsh natural elements and the wolves.

The first reference to religion we have in this movie is a neon cross that hangs on the doorway of a church that has been converted into a bar for the oil company workers. This jarring contrast not so subtly reflects Ottway's state of mind and opinion on religion. He has lost everything, and believes his position at the oilrig is fate, as ordained by some uncaring cosmic indifference. He occupies a fringe position between life and death – first, he nearly commits suicide, and is presented as a man on borrowed time; second, he is hired to kill wolves and protect the workers from death. In a letter he writes as a potential suicide note to his already dead wife, he mourns that he moves "like I imagine the damned do. Cursed. And I feel like it's only a

matter of time . . .” Just as Job mourned, Ottway believes he is like the dead, but forced to live with no opportunity for rest.

Once Ottway and the survivors have crashed, the setting adopts a similar style to *Life of Pi*, in which the sky and land become intertwined as symbolic of primordial chaos. In this movie, however, it is not an ocean, but snow – the landscape is covered in snow, and the sky’s gray tone matches. The survivors find themselves in a vast, white, frozen ocean. The colors used, and (obviously) the title of the movie reflect the bleakness of the tale, and provide a visual representation of the difficult and multifaceted philosophical and spiritual questions raised by this movie. The wolves decidedly do not behave as real wolves do, but appear to be almost wraithlike. We rarely see them, as they remain in the darkness of the trees or snow. They, like Richard Parker, act as symbolic insights into the characters’ minds, as opposed to “actual” animals. They are representative of the men’s fears and the dangers and harsh realities of the wilderness.

Ottway and three of the survivors, Diaz, Henrick, and Talget, begin a continuing debate on their situation and nature, reflecting back to Job and his friends’ discourse. Talget and Herick are reminiscent of Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar. These two characters act as spiritual hopefuls, and encourage the group to look to the future and believe, through a greater, natural justice, they will be saved. Diaz parallels Job’s more bleak moments, and rejects the idea of any good explanation that can justify the crash or the deaths of the men. He mocks the idea of an afterlife,

and determines it is all random chance or luck that any of them survived. For Diaz, there is no greater cosmic justice. Ottway agrees with Diaz concerning the absence of an afterlife, but continuously seeks out justification for their situation. He adopts a very subjective and pragmatic approach to life, one reliant on his own senses: “This is real. The cold. That’s real. The air in my lungs. Those bastards in the dark stalking us . . . It’s this world I am worried about, not the next.” Job too calls for an approach to both moral and justice discourse based on personal experience and the senses. In the end, however, everyone, regardless of their beliefs, survival tactics, or hope, dies. As Job reflects in chapter 21, “One man dies as well-off as can be, all at ease, contented . . . another dies in bitterness, one who never had a taste of plenty: They lie together in dirt blanketed by maggots.” As each man dies, Ottway collects their billfolds in hopes of returning them to their families. When it is clear that no one will survive, he stacks the billfolds into a small altar, commemorating their suffering, hoping in vain that someone will find the memorial deep in the wilds of the tundra.

There are many moments of potential hope for the survivors, after which they are met with harsh failures. The survivors often die in decidedly cruel ways: Talget dies while hallucinating his daughter; Henrick drowns only inches below the surface of a river after his foot becomes stuck. As Henrick drowns, Ottway begs for Jesus to save him. Henrick still drowns, and only Ottway remains alive. He finally breaks, and demands for the divine to answer as he yells up at the gray sky: “Do something . . . phony prick . . . fuck faith, prove it! Show me something

real! Show me and I'll believe in you until the day I die!" Just as Job demanded a legal audience and decried the divine's absence, so too does Ottway now question the divine. Ottway's cry mirrors Job's concluding demand at the end of chapter 31: "If only I had someone to hear me! Here is my desire: that Shaddai answer me, that my opponent write a brief; I swear that I would wear it on my shoulder, bind it on me like a crown. I would tell my steps to Him by number, come before Him as before a prince." If the divine would only answer, then Job/Ottway would submit. However, the answer Ottway receives is not what he anticipates. When he proclaims that he will "do something himself" after met with silence after his rage, he manages to wander straight into the wolves' den. There he confronts the alpha wolf. The movie ends ambiguously – both Ottway and the wolf appear to be fatally wounded after the fight, and there is no clear victor. Ottway and all the men have perished in a wilderness that seemed at best apathetic to their presence. Ottway has received an answer, and his place in nature has been revealed, but it is not as the pinnacle or key concern of the cosmic "plan." This conclusion is reminiscent of Elihu's speech before YHWH's appearance. In Job 35, Elihu concludes that humanity cannot alter the divine:

> "Look up at the heavens and see, behold the clouds, so much higher than you: If you do sin, can it affect Him? If you do much wrong, how does it touch Him? If you are righteous, what have you given Him? What can He gain from your hand? Your wrongs come back to your own kind, your goodness redounds to men like you." (Job 35:5-8)

The divine, if present, is distant or primarily concerned with a vast cosmic ordering that is incomprehensible by humanity and does not place them in a superior position.

Humanity in Nature

When YHWH confronts Job in chapter 38, the divine calls for Job to "Gird now your loins like a man." The word here used for man is *geber*, which Job had used to refer to himself in 3:3. In chapter 3, as Job laments his situation and calls for the end of his existence, the language used expands his mourning to a lament for all of humanity – Job is "Man," i.e. humankind. When YHWH confronts Job, the divine is addressing all of humanity (Seow, 11). Following this declaration, YHWH resorts to natural, cosmological, and meteorological imagery to teach humanity about the divine order and reveal to them their place in this system. In these two movies, the main characters, as representatives of humanity themselves, are forced into a raw experience with nature so that they might recognize their place in the cosmic order, and explore the character of the divine. *Life of Pi* ends on a broken yet hopeful outlook. Although Pi has recognized he is a small part of the greater order, and that he will never understand this cosmic plan, he believes his God has absolved him of his sins and does still aid him directly. In *The Grey*, Ottway is faced with a harsher reality of a natural order that is not necessarily set against him, but continues in a manner unconcerned with humanity's needs or wishes. When Ottway builds his altar of billfolds, he looks through all the men's pictures of their families and other personal mementos. The billfold altar represents not only the deaths of the men, but the end of their families, and the failure of humanity to try to dominate or even comprehend nature and the cosmic order. Both movies represent different interpretations of humanity's encounter with

nature and the divine, and continue the tradition of Job's search for answers and interpreting the divine's message through the natural study. One is a hopeful Job, and the other grave.

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In the book of Job, what is our titular protagonist seeking through his spiritual journey? What is he asking for YHWH to respond to? Job's journey is his search for answers regarding the nature of humanity and suffering. Job laments not only for himself, but humanity as a whole, which Job considers is in a severely sorry state:

> "Man born of woman: His days are few, his belly full of rage. He blooms and withers like a blossom, flees, unlingering, like a shadow, wears out like a rotten thing, a cloth moth-eaten. Do You really keep a watch on such a thing? Do You call a man like me to judgment against You?" (Job 14:1-3)

Job is critical of the nature of cosmic justice and YHWH's moral order. Regardless of Job's established innocence, and his own confidence in said innocence, Job questions why should any individual, or humanity as a whole, suffer under a divine far more powerful, especially since it was this same divine who established humanity's character and ordered their lives:

> "For Shaddai's arrows are all around me - my breath absorbs their venom - terror of the god invests me." (Job 6:4)

> "How long till You turn away from me long enough for me to swallow my own spit? I have sinned: But what have I done to You, keeper, jailer of men? Why should You make me Your target, a burden to myself? Why not forgive my crimes, and pardon me my sin? In no time, I'll be lying in the earth; when You come looking for me, I'll be gone." (Job 7:19-21)

Job demands for the divine to participate in a "courtroom battle," and justify this imbalance of power and attacks against Job: "Let God weigh me in an honest balance - He will have to see my innocence" (Job 31:6). In Job's grief, he calls for the overhaul of the current order as understood by him, and a return to chaos, rejecting the state of humanity and the moral order:

> "Blot out the day when I was born and the night that said, 'A male has been conceived!' Make that day dark! No god look after it from above, no light flood it. Foul it, darkness, deathgloom; rain-clouds settle on it; heart-winds turn it to horror. Black take that night! May it not count in the days of the year, may it not come in the round of the months. That night be barren! That night! No joy ever come in it! Curse it, men who spell the day, men skilled to stir Leviathan. May its morning stars stay dark, may it wait for light in vain, never look on the eyelids of dawn- because it did not lock the belly's gates and curtain off my eyes from suffering. (Job 3:3-10)

Job's demands receive two answers: first, through Elihu's speeches, the divine mediator; second, through the "whirlwind," the divine directly. Elihu is critical of Job's attempts to position himself against YHWH and setting himself as the critic of the divine, especially through his binary outlook on the moral world (i.e. YHWH must be wholly "power hungry" due to Job's suffering). Elihu attempts to complicate this binary order through addressing the intensity and grandeur of the nature order, thereby establishing the scale of humanity when compared to the divine:

> "Do not long for the night, when whole nations vanish abruptly. Beware, do not turn to sin; choose poverty rather than that! Behold! El, sublime in power; who equals Him as a master? Who orders Him to act as He does, or says to Him, 'You have done wrong'? Remember to proclaim His works sublime, His works at which all mankind gazes, and every person contemplates, mankind, peering from afar. Behold! El, sublime beyond our knowing, His years beyond all numbering. He reserves the drops of water, refines the rain for fog, so that the clouds can drip, pour down on multitudes of people. But who can grasp the unfurling of the clouds amid the thunderclaps from His pavilion?" (Job 36:20-29)

> "Look up at the heavens and see, behold the clouds, so much higher than you: If you do sin, can it affect Him? If you do much wrong, how does it touch Him? If you are righteous, what have you given Him? What can He gain from your hand? Your wrongs come back to your own kind, your goodness redounds to men like you." (Job 35:5-8)

The very presence of Elihu additionally imply that, as he is a divine mediator, humanity might never have the ability to properly understand the divine, nor achieve true wisdom on its own (Seow, 2011, 263). Elihu's words are not enough for Job, and the divine steps in to address the audience beginning in chapter 38. Job, as representative of humanity, is addressed by YHWH.

Throughout Job's arguments and speeches, he relied on "subjective" reflections, primarily through his senses, in which he began with his self and then projecting outward onto his society. He demands that his innocence be determined through the consideration of his specific case, and not consider the "tradition" of the expected sinful nature of humanity ("If there were some way to weigh my rage, if my disaster would fit in a balance, they would drag down the ocean's sands…" Job 6:2-3a). YWHW, the whirlwind's speech, shifts the arguments to address the question of nature and justice by first beginning at the "fringes," a language and argument based on the wondrous, both intimate and distant. In chapter 38, for instance, the three represented natural categories transcend human capabilities of knowledge - the cosmic (38:4-18); the phenomenal (38:19-38); the wondrous (38:39-39:30) (Seow, 3). It should be noted here that the nature presented by the whirlwind, by the divine, is void of humans. Any "characters" that appear are either non-sentient (stars, seas, etc.) or animals, both real (i.e. lion and donkey) and mythical (i.e. Behemoth and Leviathan). Furthermore, that nature is wild and at times perceivably violent, and not "tamed" to human expectations or domination. Nature, and the greater environmental and cosmic community, is depicted in Job as being entirely anti-anthropocentric, where anthropocentrism is understood as humanity not only dominating the nonhuman but also is itself organized hierarchically. What is Job's response, once the divine reveals a glimpse into the cosmic, the sublime?

> "I see how little I am. I will not answer You. I am putting my hand to my lips: One time I spoke; I will not speak again; two times I spoke, and I will not go on." (Job 40:4-5)
>
> "I know that You are all-powerful, and that no plan is beyond You. 'Who dares to speak hidden words with no sense?' I see that I spoke with no wisdom of things beyond me I did not know…I knew You, but only by rumor; my eye has beheld You today. I retract. I even take comfort for dust and ashes." (Job 42:1-6)

Job here accepts the mystery of the divine's plan and cosmic ordering, acknowledging that he might not ever fully comprehend either. However, as seen in the divine's approval of Job, and critique of the visiting friends, Job's wrestling with these questions and confronting the divine is not immoral or condemnable. Job, as humanity, is expected to confront and dissect the divine and sublime, all the while seeking out answers in natural reflections coupled with continual demands for a moral and just order within society. As outlined by Rabbi Moshe Greenbergy in his "Reflections on Job's Theology:"

> "The book of Job tells how one man suddenly awakened to the anarchy rampant in the world, yet his attachment to God outlived the ruin of his tidy system . . . To be sure, God's examples from nature are exhibitions of his power, but they are also exhibitions of his wisdom and his providence for his creatures. Through nature, God reveals himself to Job as both purposive and nonpurposive, playful and uncanny, as evidenced by the monsters he created. To study nature is to perceive the complexity, the unity of contraries, in God's attributes, and the inadequacy of human reason to explain his behavior, not the least in his dealings with man . . . Job calls that former knowledge of God a 'hearing,' while his latter knowledge, earned through suffering, is a "seeing" (42:5); that is, the latter knowledge gained about God is to the former as seeing is to hearing—far more comprehensive and adequate." (Greenberg, 2012, 223-29)

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C. 1907 Grace pulled on her rubber coat and galoshes quickly, her hands trembling in anticipation. She and Ernest had been waiting all morning in their hotel room to venture out and see the Grand Canyon, a thick fog halting their plans initially. Their journey to the stie had been marred by a cold front and storm. Grace had assured not only her audience, but herself at the time, that their small bare room had provided the comfort she so desired after such a strenuous trip. Although she loved *"creature comforts,"* such as a bath and warm dressing room, such things did not *"touch the soul,"* but *"life in the mountains"* did (75). By the time the clock had chimed the eleventh hour, neither could be bothered to wait any longer. The couple would venture out to finally witness the natural wonder, which sat about one hundred feet from their

suite's door. Once she and Ernest had donned their water-proof clothes, they ventured out, *"hand in hand,"* until they arrived at the edge of the canyon, the edge of their world. Grace couldn't help but venture to the edge and attempted to peek down into the expanse, but was halted by the still lingering fog:

> *"The peculiar difference in the blankness before us showed that in a moment we would have stepped off into space to fall - how far we could not tell, but even then, as we stood straining our eyes, appeared in ghostly forms the tops of trees.The place was full of mystery, as we stood on the edge of the unknown that peculiar stillness of a fog heavy about us, while spread before, if we could but penetrate the veil, lay unimagined wonders of Nature's treasure house."* (75-6)

As Grace strained her eyes to catch further glimpses of life, a breeze suddenly began to lift the fog, *"the thick whiteness around us…moving right to left and upward."* The fog mimicked an ocean's edge, rising *"wave after wave, mile after mile,"* reflecting the sun's rays and casting a faint rainbow through the air. Finally, the canyon came properly into view, and Grace gave witness to the *"end of the world:"*

> *"[It was] so appallingly beautiful that I felt my brain reel. Turning away from the terrifying grandeur of it, I sank to the ground. The suddenness of the revelation had left no time for preparation, and I gazed at the commonplace grass blades to restore my balance."* (76)

Grace had been thrust into witness of cosmic chaos, of Job's whirlwind. Confrontation with such an intense terrifying beauty had forced Grace to retreat to a more comfortable, simplistic space, amongst the grass. She might be bold, as had Job, to face the expanse, but a peaceful and humbling retreat would follow, her comfort in "dust."

> *"In the sublime there is no laughter; so more sanely now we surveyed the scene. All the colours of the rainbow blazed mile after mile away like some titanic jewel casket, with the gem of all, the boiling, seething flood of the Colorado flashing like a tiny streak of lightning, down crag after crag, valley after valley, below…I was drunk with the gorgeous beauty and immensity of it…"* (79)

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In the introductory chapter of *Feminist Frontiers* (2020), coauthors Verta Taylor, Nancy Whittire, and Leila Rupp, highlight how gender studies provide a key exploration of greater social studies: "It is about recognizing the ways that gender shapes the lives of both women and men and analyzing a broad system of gender. The gender system affects not only the lives of individuals but the organization of other institutions in the larger society. By documenting the influence of social structures on gender and highlighting individuals' complex mixture of domination, resistance, and complicity, feminist scholarship leads us to rethink the structural changes necessary to meet the needs of actual people" (Taylor, Whittire, and Rupp, 2020, 2). This work, through its exploration of numerous hunting and other related nature-based memoirs, has revealed the realities of the intermingling nature of American social gender norms, environmental attitudes, and religiosity, especially the dominant white Protestant Christian community. What can the study of hunting teach us about this reality? It is definitively questionable to posit that the encouragement of hunting as a positive for all participants. Hunting is far too steeped in a dangerous patriarchal history, in which not only women are labeled as subordinate, and nature is subsequently as well, but also prioritization is placed on the success of a Western, white, male upper class in both economics and environmental concerns. Hunting practices, conservation, and environmental protections are formulated to provide comfort to this social group and deny the reality of the multiplicity of environmental relationships among various social and cultural entities. Furthermore, subaltern and disadvantaged groups are denied economic uplift through the auspices of claims to environmental protection, as defined by the dominant Western white elite. However, what makes the field of hunting problematic in practice makes it critical in the study of the intersectionality of these issues. It is possible to

simultaneously point to the reality that many of our case studies, who sought personal or spiritual enlightenment in hunting, are rooted in a patriarchal system that will, in all likelihood, never recognize their equality or right to participate in the hunting field, yet note that analysis of their experiences can point to potential healing processes in American debates and approaches to environmental, gender, and religious dilemmas. Furthermore, exploring these works as a form of nature memoir and hagiography, through a lens based on the literary themes and cultural impact of the Book of Job and its corresponding literary genre, provides a space for discourse on the relationship between the individual, the environment, and both philosophical and spiritual reflection. For the purposes of this conclusion, the findings of this research provided by the analysis of our memoirs and the hunting realm in the United States might be broadly construed in two academic and social realities: **First, there is a severe lack of recognition of the socially informed and constructed aspects of gender norms, both in the public and in corresponding academic studies, and how this reality impacts the realization of social, religious, and political ideals and practices; Second, definitions and realizations of community, both socially and environmentally, need reformation, as many modern dilemmas (from Western reflection on the environment and death to the continuance of the dominion of harmful Western cultural practices steeped in patriarchy and imperialism) can be traced back to these issues.**

Confronting the Sublime: Gender and Social Deconstructions

In "'Night to His Day': The Social Construction of Gender," Judith Lorber recognizes how difficult it is to parse out the socially constructed nature of gender.[21] "Doing gender" is

[21] Published in *Feminist Frontiers.*

deeply ingrained in the social maneuvering of every individual and the social pressures from the greater community:

> "Talking about gender for most people is the equivalent of fish talking about water. Gender is so much the routine ground of everyday activities that questioning its taken-for-granted assumptions and presuppositions is like thinking about whether the sun will come up. Gender is so pervasive that in our society we assume it is bred into our genes. Most people find it hard to believe that gender is constantly created and recreated out of human interaction, out of social life, and is the texture and order of that social life. Yet gender, like culture, is a human production that depends on everyone constantly 'doing gender.'" (Lorber, 2020, 30)

Gender is often conflated with sex, and the rejection of the social construction of gender goes beyond simply this misrecognition within the individual and their behaviors and habits, but this reality is also used for social control, in all facets of culture:

> "For human beings there is no essential femaleness or maleness, femininity or masculinity, womanhood or mandhood, but once gender is ascribed, the social order constructs and holds individuals to strongly gendered norms and expectations. Individuals may vary on many of the components of gender and may shift genders temporarily or permanently, but they must fit into the limited number of gender statuses their society recognizes. In the process, they recreate their society's version of women and men…the gendered practices of everyday life reproduce a society's view of how women and men should act. Gendered social arrangements are justified by religion and cultural productions and backed by law, but the most powerful means of sustaining the moral hegemony of the dominant gender ideology is that the process is made invisible; any possible alternatives are virtually unthinkable." (Lorber, 2020, 34)

Susan Stryker, in "Transgender Feminism: Queering the Woman Question," uses the case study of bigotry against transgender individuals as further proof of the control of gender narratives and expectations by those in power against vulnerable communities:[22]

> "Looking back, it is increasingly obvious that transgender phenomena are not limited to individuals who have 'transgender' personal identities. Rather, they are signposts that point to many different kinds of bodies and subjects, and they can help us see how gender can function as part of a more extensive apparatus of social domination and control. Gender as a form of social control is not limited to the control of bodies defined as

[22] Published in *Feminist Frontiers.*

> ‘women’s bodies,’ or the control of female reproductive capacities. Because genders are categories through which we recognize the personhood of others (as well as ourselves), because they are categories without which we have great difficulty in recognizing personhood at all, gender also functions as a mechanism of control when some loss of gender status is threatened, or when claims of membership in a gender are denied…Stripping away gender and misattributing gender, are practices of social domination, regulation, and control that threaten social abjection: they operate by attaching transgender stigma to various unruly bodies and subject positions, not just to ‘transgender’ ones.” (Stryker, 2020, 57)

Paulina, Grace, and Martha, apparent in both their own words and in our analyses, simultaneously sought to reject the socially gendered expectations of them, both intentionally and unintentionally. Their hunts, their life experiences, testify to the multifaceted reality of gender. Even if they properly fulfilled all expectations of hunting, and even if they continually claimed to be feminine (as was the case of Grace and Martha), their communities rejected their access to social equality with the dominant masculine. Even though these three participated in the ritualization of hunting, and embodied the “masculinity” of hunting (recall the reflections of Catherine Bell), their transgression against the greater “structured environment” was greater - the societal notions and expectations of gender would not adjust for them. Their efforts to escape feminine expectations were met with an amusement, accompanied by belittlement of their achievements or efforts to reinterpret their words and actions as still within the feminine social norms, or were met with hostility, in which they were depicted as “sinful” or “radical” and were a dangerous “other” in the binary gender standards. Even modern hunters who are women, despite their numbers or despite their further adoption of conservative values and religiosity, are considered to be outliers or subservient to the male hunting realm. It cannot be denied that individuals might find personal fulfillment in hunting, and they might acquire a healthy relationship with the environment and death despite the history of and patriarchal structuring of hunting. However, unless one is a white male, they will never be considered as having equal

rights and authority in the hunting field, nor access to the expected benefits of the practice. This reality is not only ingrained into the field of hunting, but also all its other social realms it is in conversation with, ranging from environmental conservation efforts to Christian communal circles. The gender and class inequalities within the realm of hunting is a microcosm of our greater social orders.

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Confronting the Sublime: Ecofeminist Expansion of Community and Nature Realism

Recall Susan F. Cooper's reflections on community in *Rural Hours* (1850). While analyzing the reaction to the neighboring forest and timber industry in her rural community, she concluded that the disconnection between nature and her community led to not only harmful environmental policies and practices (at both individual and greater community levels), but also a disruption of private spirituality and mental health. Cooper does not want her audience to simply enjoy the outdoors to a greater degree. It is not simply a matter of the encouragement of the community as a whole to venture into nature, or "go green." A healthy and realistic understanding of natural life cycles, and the inclusion of ourselves in said cycles, is key:

> *"It is the peculiar nature of the forest, that life and death may ever be found within its bounds, in immediate presence of each other; both with ceaseless, noiseless advances, aiming at the mastery; and if the influences of the first be most general, those of the last are the most striking...We owe to this perpetual presence of death an impression, calm, solemn, almost religious in character, a chastening influence, beyond what we find in the open fields."* (Cooper, 1850, 142)

What our hunting studies have further reflected upon is an expansion of environmental studies to include animal studies. Animal studies provide not only an impetus to expand the definition of community, but also provide a mirror for greater social standards, especially considering these case studies include moments of extreme violence. Consider Jon T. Coleman's *Vicious,*

published in 2004. In this work, Coleman explores the unique history of wolves in America. His initial goals for this work is stated through three preliminary questions presented in his introduction: first, why did Euro-Americans kill wolves for centuries, Euro-American opinions of wolves escalating to the point of what could aptly be described as hatred, according to Coleman; second, and related to this rising hatred, why were the wolves often killed or treated so cruelly; third, what can be said about recent reforms regarding the status of wolves in the United States, and are they truly reforms or continuations (Coleman, 2004, 2). Coleman argues that wolves act as a historical bridge, in which the wolf is a natural bridge that connects present American culture to the past: "The history of the colonization of North America was an animal history, and no creature prompted as much discussion or fired as many imaginations as wolves…The wolf documents also migrated across time periods….wolves seemed both embedded in time and free to roam through it…Beasts steeped in myth and symbol, [they] existed in the realm of folklore as well as that of history" (ix-x) What Coleman concludes is that the history of wolves in America reveals more than a simple narrative of species population gains and declines, or of hunting practices on the part of the human counterparts. Instead, wolves, through their being targeted for mass slaughter and their role in legends and folklore, became symbols of the dominant narrative of American colonialism, those ideals based in frustration and fears of failure or competition (11). How did this symbolic reality come about? Coleman explains that "in the course of becoming the most dominant predator on the continent," Euro-Americans grew to perceive themselves often as potential "prey" in light of any circumstances that threatened their dominance. "However delusional and convenient," Coleman continues, "the colonists' sense of themselves as beleaguered, and in some cases victimized, is pivotal to understanding the cruelty of wolf killing as well as the role of folklore in colonization"

(10). Killing a wolf represented a multitude of realities for the Euro-American, but what started as the destruction of what was usually the only competing predator in the natural landscape also symbolically "healed natural and social orders by restoring dominion to the proper authorities" (142). American hatred of the wolf was given longevity through the embedding of the wolf into not only dramatic folklore, but also in the blood and cruel "rituals" and killing "institutions" that ordered the deaths of wolves (5).

Reflections and analyses of the impact of American culture, history, etc. have often tended to prioritize the conceptual or idealistic over physical impacts and transformations, such as environmental changes. The use of the wolf or other "natural" markers as a historical bridge can help to rectify this dilemma. As Coleman explains, "while visions of God, country, and treasure motivated the invaders' actions, the bones of aboriginal creatures serve as reminders of the physicality of the colonial experience" (196). Coleman asserts that the wolf, as a "natural" historical bridge, is a far more appropriate bridge than many of those that are created due to lack of need to force a modern reality or ideals onto the past:

> "As folkloric beats and enthusiastic molesters of private property, wolves loped through the breadth of American history. The animals connect Lois Crisler and Roger Williams, Brigham Young and Stanley Young, Israel Putman and Aldo Leopold. They provide a historical bridge far more sturdy than the concepts scholars lay down to span the gaps in the past…Wolves tell a story longer than any nation's, larger than any war's, and more significant than any president's. They push history beyond the confines of humanity to include the creatures and biological processes that shaped the past…They embody an unbroken history of conquest worth pondering and protecting." (234-5)

Animal studies provide the opportunity to not only create strong historical case study formats and potentials to better ground "bigger picture" studies, but they also provide the opportunity for the imperative need of academic studies to, in a sense, "decentralize" humans. Recall that one of the basic claims of ecofeminism, as defined by Karen Warren, asserted that

environmental dilemmas needed to include insights into nonhuman nature and the relationship between human and this nonhuman nature. As has been stated to, alluded to, and criticized throughout this work, one of the fundamentals behind Western, American cultural indifference and danger toward the environment is the key tenet of human primacy, in which the natural world is precariously placed in a hierarchical worldview in which humans are always placed at the top (which, it should be again noted, that humans themselves are also placed in a hierarchical structure where certain minorities, women, etc. are seen as subservient to while males.) In Carolyn Merchant's *Reinventing Eden: The Fate of Nature in Western Culture*, she concludes that environmental failures and toxic patriarchal hierarchy can find healing through her proposed normative model of "partnership ethics." This ethic mirrors Warren's key ecofeminism tennents, and recognizes the inherent ties between social injustices and imbalances and environmental degradation. If either is to find healing, and if our culture is to better support both, partnership ethics insists on the recognition of equity and moral support for both humans and nonhuman life. As Merchant explains in her five precepts of partnership ethics:

1. Equity between human and nonhuman communities.
2. Providing moral consideration for both humans and other nonhuman species.
3. Respect for both cultural diversity and biodiversity in human and nonhuman realms.
4. Inclusion of women, minorities, and nonhuman nature in any code formed for ethical accountability.
5. Ecological management and healing that considers both the health and wellbeing of both human and nonhuman communities. (Merchant, 2003, 224)

Ecofeminist work recognizes the reality that both modern realities and the historical roots of environmental dilemmas are marked by the intertwining of both social injustices and harmful

cultural environmental approaches. Addressing the failures of one will benefit the other. Coleman's work adds to this relationship by stressing how it impacts not only historical reflections and studies, but also the ability animal studies have in revealing key human cultural and social realities. Using wolves as one's historical map allows for a unique reflection on the considered human culture, but also provides critical insights into the injustices committed against wolves and considers the reality that repairing the harmful human cultural beliefs and practices will benefit the wolves' condition simultaneously.

In 1995, ecofeminist scholar and philosopher Val Plumwood published the essay "Human Vulnerability and the Experience of Being Prey." In this work, Plumwood reflects on her near-death experience at the jaws of a crocodile while canoeing. The goal of Plumwood, through her raw depiction of the terrifying event, is to both demand her own voice be heard in light of the great amount of troubling media coverage of her ordeal, and to also elicit in the reader a new perspective of nature and community. Officials of the park in which she had been attacked sought to minimize the attack, both in their literal "determination" that Plumwood's estimation of the crocodile's size was too large and that her even becoming prey was her own fault, taking great efforts in outlining every single mistake she had made (Plumwood, 1995, 32). After various news outlets published the story, a pornography company appropriated her story and produced a film in which they sexualized the encounter, which, according to Plumwood, reveals "the extent to which sadism is normalized in dominant culture as masculine sexuality" (34). It is critical to note that these reappropriations of her story, and the harassment from park officials, followed Plumwood nearly being torn apart and drowned, after which she was forced to crawl for several hours to safety through the forest with numerous horrendous injuries, including a nearly dismembered leg.

Along with Plumwood's exploration of the sexist handling of her own attack by the public and media, she dedicates her article primarily to what she considered her "revelation" during and following her near-death experience. According to Plumwood, her "terminal thought patterns," drawn by her assumption during the attack that she was going to die, encouraged her to consider and "view" the world not through a self-centered or individualistically manner, but instead from a more expansive point of view where she is no longer the "center:"

> "The course and intensity of terminal thought patterns in near-death experiences can tell us much about our frameworks of subjectivity. A subjectively-centered framework capable of sustaining action and purpose, must, I think, view the world 'from the inside', structured so as to sustain the concept of an invincible, or at least a continuing self: we remake the world in that way as actionable, investing it with meaning, reconceiving it as sane, survivable, amenable to hope and resolution. The lack of fit between this subject-centred version, in which one's own death is unimaginable, and an 'outside' version of the world comes into play in extreme moments. In its final, frantic attempts to protect itself from the knowledge of vulnerability and impending death that threatens the normal, subject-centred framework, the mind can instantaneously fabricate terminal doubt of extravagant, Cartesian proportions…In that flash, when my consciousness had to know the bitter certainty of its end, I glimpsed the world for the first time 'from the outside', as no longer my world, as raw necessity, an unrecognisably bleak order which would go on without me, indifferent to my will and struggle, to my life as to my death. This near-death knowledge, the knowledge of the survivor and of the prey, has some strange fruits, not all of them bitter…The sense of gratitude was the fit of that searing flash of near-death knowledge, the glimpse 'from the outside' of that unimaginable alien world from which the self as centring observer is absent." (Plumwood, 1995, 30-32)

According to Plumwood, traditional white, Western perceptions of the duality of nature (human vs. the other) are key to not only the decline in greater communal unity in favor of hyper-individualism, or a community defined by the inclusion of nonhuman persons, but also an unhealthy fear and stigmatization of death. Death is no longer included in natural cycles of life, but is instead an affront to appropriate cultural norms:

> "In much Aboriginal thinking about death, as Bill Neidjie's work makes clear, animals, plants and humans are seen as sharing a common life force, and many interchanges of form between human and animal are conceived. In the West, the human is set apart from nature as radically other. The threat of boundary breakdown lies behind Platonic-

> Christian accounts of death as the separation of the immaterial, eternal soul as continuing human essence from an inessential, perishable and animal body. One reason why death is such a horror in the Western tradition (unless reinterpreted along Platonic lines so as to maintain the separation) is that it involves the forbidden mixing of these hyper-separated categories, the dissolution of the sacred-human into the profane-natural. Death in the jaws of a crocodile multiplies these forbidden boundary breakdowns, combining the decomposition of the body with active animal triumph over the human species. Crocodile predation thus threatens the dualistic visions and divisions which justify rational human mastery of the planet." (Plumwood, 1995, 34)

Plumwood is of course not advocating that for one to receive enlightenment in or about nature and community, one must become prey or place themselves in a situation that might encourage it. But she is using her personal experience as a means to highlight dangerous Western cultural ideologies, especially with regards to cultural power imbalances and domination through historical and modern colonial dynamics:

> "The wisdom of the rock formation *[that she was trying to reach on her ill-fated canoe trip]* draws a link between my inability to recognise my vulnerability and the similar failure of my culture in its occupation of the planetary biosystem. The illusion of invulnerability is typical of the mind of the coloniser; and as the experience of being prey is eliminated from the face of the earth, along with it goes something it has to teach about the power and resistance of nature and the delusions of human arrogance. In my work as philosopher, I now tend to stress our failure to perceive human vulnerability, the delusions of our view of ourselves as rational masters of a malleable nature. The wisdom of the balance rock does not, I think, instruct us to reintroduce the experience of being prey, but rather to try to become aware of the dimension of experience that we have lost, and to find other, hopefully humanitarian, ways to secure the knowledge of vulnerability that it represents." (Plumwood, 1995, 34)

While many of our studied hunters have been quick to adopt the label of a "predator," and affirm death as a natural part of the natural order, they have been less quick to include themselves into this equation. While these hunters argue they hold a more realistic view of death, through arguments such that their killing of animals for food is more civil or moral than the slaughterhouses, or that their very being in the wilderness makes them more intune with life and

death in nature, they rarely place their own mortality into these cycles. Out of all our historical case studies, only Maxwell addressed her own death through her work, though this is only done implicitly and privately. Maxwell never directly publicized her intermingling of her own death reflections in her taxidermy work. Our hunters promote their spiritual progress through hunting, maintaining it is one of the quintessential means through which the individual can achieve personal spiritual growth and awakening, yet this rarely includes reflections on the individual's death or how it might fall into the natural order. One exception to this rule is found in B. Jill Caroll's article titled "Predation & The Way of All Things," published in *God, Nimrod, and the World* (2017). Caroll defends her practice of hunting through common themes found in our hunting studies, such as labeling her hunts as acquisition of ethical meat ("I hunt to eat. Specifically, I hunt because I'm a carnivore, and eating meat from animals I myself have killed is the most ethical way I have found to be a carnivore…[My family] filled our freezers with nature's original free range, humanely raised and slaughtered, organic meat" (Caroll, 2017, 202)), and also defining her hunts as a sort of philosophical enlightenment, a ritual in which she fulfills the ultimate realization of humanity ("What I do know, most certainly, is that to hunt reminds me of my humanity, more than any other activity in which I participate" (202)). She compares her acquisition of meat to other natural predators, noting that in her garden (that she tends year-round) she employs the aid of other predators such as "ladybugs" and "mantises" (202). This equation to other predators, and her placement of herself not above the rest of nature but instead in communion with, is the key to Caroll's definition of humanity. We have seen many of our previous hunters acknowledge themselves as "predators," and acting within such a natural world view. However, Caroll's position takes a step further in this reflection, and places her own eventual death within the natural cycles she is participating in:

> "As I see it, predation is hardwired into existence…predation is a fundamental mechanism of existence on the earth, a grounding process of life and death in this world. Some things die so that other things may live. Whoever or whatever set up the world designed it to run on this principle. And nothing is exempt from it, not even the herbivores…Herbivores, carnivores, and omnivores alike serve as living hosts to numerous parasites and other living organisms who feed on their host's skin, blood, or tissue. Once dead, those same hosts will serve as composting meals for additional legions of creatures. Everything turns in to everything else…Hunting and other forms of predation keep me mindful of my place as a human animal in the world. I am not exempt from the deep processes of life and death through which everything eats and is eaten. No one is. As a convious predator, though, I live with this awareness more than I would otherwise. Hunting casts me as an intentional actor in the play that has been running on our globe for as long as any of us have been here. I kill, I eat. Something else will kill me - a virus, another predator perhaps - or maybe I'll get lucky and die of old age. Either way, I'll be food for something." (Caroll, 2017, 203)

This decidedly morbid take on the hunting process, despite its role as a means to defend her hunting, is a critical, and positive, healthy turn in any discourse on hunting or more broad explorations of humanity's situation in nature. Caroll maintains that to condemn hunting is to condemn predation, which "condemn[s] the whole world" (203). As a "human animal," in the company of "all the other animals," to live and die, to eat and be "eaten," is a "fundamental aspect of our larger existence" (203). Caroll's reflections parallel the same goals of Plumwood, in which both authors condemn Western social perceptions of not only its place within the greater environmental ecosystem, but also the Western tendency to reject the reality of death. Plumwood and Caroll's reflections provide perhaps the best reflection of the Book of Job out of our modern hunting and nature memoir examples. They depict a natural order that includes not just death but a healthy understanding of death, and in which humanity is not somehow exempt from this order. Plumwood and Caroll's nature hagiographies detail a cosmic witnessed through nature, where the sublime provided to the witness is chaotically yet beautifully structured, and where any cushioned, "Bambi syndrome" interpretation of nature is rejected.

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The witness of our Dianas, their journey into the realm of hunting and the resulting social friction caused by such a claim to the realm, give voice to several troubling yet aged realities of the American social realm. There is a denial of a just approach to gender, where we still reside in a reality where patriarchal subjugation leads to the loss of rights and equal access to political, economic, and religious spaces. Interrelated, there is a denial of a just approach to the environment, where climate catastrophes (both ongoing and upcoming) are dismissed as either "fake" due to such a realities agreement with our anthropocentric view of reality or as inevitable and needed for the sake of Western and elite's desire for capital growth. Finally, there is an inability by the greater public to enter into a healthy relationship with and understanding of death, where political facets become complacent with anti-life agendas in the name of gun culture, and Christian communities deny the individual and community the space to properly confront and processing grief in favor of a faith based in a forced, continual optimism (where you are a weak Christian if you either fear death or grieve the death of a loved one) and lack of positive social work due to a prioritization of the "next world," and not this current reality. What can we draw from the lives, the hagiographies, of Paulina, Grace, and Martha? Finding the self in nature is not simply about one's personal satisfaction derived from a nature excursion, or about escaping one's responsibilities found in their everyday lives. It is about recognizing the sublime in nature, and decentering the self and rejecting individualism, in favor of a simultaneous uplifting of the self and one's community. Their hunts, their journey into the wilderness, act as a mirror through which they might critique their social situations. A healthy and morally sound relationship with and treatment of the environment requires first the establishment and continuance of social justice within the community. Consequently, a healthy and morally sound pursuit of social justice within the community requires not only pursuit of environmental balance

and justice, but also a knowledge of, historically, how we have arrived at modern environmental attitudes and policies and corresponding dilemmas. Religious studies cannot depart from environmental studies; Environmental studies cannot depart from gender studies; Gender studies cannot depart from religious studies.

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> *"I am a fray and nibbled survivor in a fallen world, and I am getting along. I am aging and eaten and have done my share of eating too. I am not washed and beautiful, in control of a shining world in which everything fits, but instead am wandering awed about on a splintered wreck I've come to care for, whose gnawed trees breathe a delicate air, whose bloodied and scarred creatures are my dearest companions, and whose beauty bats and shines not in its imperfections but overwhelmingly in spite of them..."* (Annie Dillard, *Pilgrim at Tinker Creek*)

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