# What's Worn in Camp Stays in Camp

Women Campers Navigating Fashion and Function 1869-1915

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Rena Phillips expertly laid out the tent as her husband set up his photography equipment. It was hard to believe that just a couple years previous she had chided him for coming home late from fishing trips and had wondered what could possess him to stay out so long. And the thoughts of her first trips brought tears of mirth to her eyes as she recalled wearing her everyday clothing in the woods. Long skirts and low shoes had no place in the fishing and hunting trips she and her husband now enjoyed together. The thought would not have crossed her mind in those early years that she would submit a photograph of herself in trousers and a boy's jacket to the magazine *Outing*. In fact, she had vehemently refused at first to even consider wearing boy's clothing. The image of strangers ridiculing her had played out too clearly in her mind. Eventually she had designed her current ensemble and while it would never do to wear such a thing in front of strangers, she was happy to share her experience through *Outing* and perhaps encourage other women to wear clothing suited to camping.<sup>1</sup>

Many North American women campers from 1869 to 1915 had similar experiences to Mrs. Phillips'. These women had the unique opportunity to craft their own camping clothing culture. Before manufacturers and magazines commercialized a realistic alternative to everyday clothing for camping, women campers grappled with questions of why some clothing was feminine and appropriate, while others were unacceptably masculine and ridiculed. Camping provided an environment where middle-class women's core beliefs on clothing were tested and broadened to accept clothing outside the bounds of mainstream society.

This study of women's camping clothing bridges other scholars' works on camping, women's sport, and dress history. While campers could engage in sport, camping was a

<sup>1.</sup> Phillips, "A Woman on the Trail," *Outing*, August 1904, 585-89.; Phillips, "The Woman in the Woods," *Outing*, July 1905, 473-76.

wilderness experience and a vacation pilgrimage, not a sport itself. But women had to justify their inclusion in any outdoor recreation. That starting line of whether the feminine nature was suited to outdoor sport and play meant that debates for why women should go camping took place in the same arena, but not always on the side, as participation of women in non-competitive sport. Clothing played a part in these arguments and makes it necessary to contextualize women's camping clothing by combining dress, camping and sport histories.<sup>2</sup>

Previous scholars have studied women campers and took note of the discussions around women's clothing. They use that clothing within their arguments, but have not taken into account the complexities of clothing choices at different times in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Current fashions, the various dress reform movements and the presence of women's sport in the press all impacted camping clothing at different times and in conflicting ways.<sup>3</sup>

Phoebe Young does the best job addressing camping clothing by using it to show the unique nature of camping that allowed women to try novel clothing without endangering their feminine, middle-class identity. Phoebe Young expertly contextualizes the issues of gender and class where they relate to the act of camping, but does not realize that camping clothing has a slightly different context. This causes her to overlook the difficulties of women making the choice to start experimenting with their camping clothing and to over-emphasize the freeing nature of camping. She rightly argues that for camping clothing "Finding the right balance of

<sup>2.</sup> For arguments on women's participation in camping see Cindy Aron, Working at Play: A History of Vacations in the United States (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999) 69-100, 156-177; Terence Young, Heading Out: A History of American Camping (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2017) 28-46; Phoebe S. K. Young, Camping Grounds: Public Nature in American Life from the Civil War to the Occupy Movement (New York: Oxford University Press, 2021) 95-134. For women's sport see David McMurray, "The Charm of being Loose and Free': Nineteenth Century Fisherwomen in the North American Wilderness," International Journal of the History of Sport 30 no. 8 (2013): 826-852; Andrea L. Smalley, "Our Lady Sportsmen': Gender, Class and Conservation in Sport Hunting Magazines, 1873–1920," Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era 4, no. 4 (October 2005): 355–80.

<sup>3.</sup> Glenda Riley, "Victorian Ladies Outdoors: Women in the Early Western Conservation Movement, 1870–1920," *Southern California Quarterly* 83, no. 1 (Spring 2001): 59–80; McMurray, "The Charm of being Loose and Free," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 30 no. 8 (2013): 826-852;

sensible and becoming entailed some delicate negotiations,"<sup>4</sup> but she does not address how those negotiations played out for different women at different times. While her main arguments on camping clothing are sound, her choice of evidence only validates her argument regarding a few outlying women in specific years.

Examining the shared experiences of women camper's relationship to their clothing, as well as the ways their experiences differed, shows that women crafted a space for their clothing while camping slightly apart from the reasons society accepted women camping in the first place. While not all women started camping eager to throw off conventional clothing, the act of camping brought them face to face with the limitations of their wardrobe, and the lack of suitable resources made the outcome one of invention and experimentation that heightened the women's pride in their camping abilities.

## **Fashion, Dress Reform and Camping**

Summer evenings were the best time to read books. Women could sit in their white, ruffled dressing gowns and read by the light still shining through the window. Travel literature held a special appeal, the bookstores in New York City, Boston, and other cities held all the latest accounts of trips to Europe and Asia, to mountains and beaches. Subscriptions to *Godey's Ladies* and *Harper's Bazaar* brought similar stories of adventure. Most places would only be experienced by turning the pages of these books and magazines, but others appeared within the woman's grasp. *Adventures in the Wilderness* included practical instructions and tips for camping out, and the author's wife, Mrs. Murray, loved camping out just as much as her

<sup>4.</sup> Young, *Camping Grounds*, 128. Other scholars have also over-emphasized women's freedom to wear radical clothing camping. They have taken the fact that women were not often criticized for camping to mean that they could wear what they wanted, but the acceptance of women campers was still dependent on women finding the right balance of femininity and practicality in their clothing.

husband. This was a trip that men and women could appreciate together. All that was left was to plan the trip. But what shall I wear?<sup>5</sup>

In 1869 a growing surge of Americans participated in a new activity called camping.

Scholars credit William Murray's 1869 book *Adventures in the Wilderness; or, Camp-Life in the Adirondacks* for starting the American camping craze that has continued to the present.

Thousands of people flocked to the Adirondacks in the season after the book's release to follow its guidelines to have their own adventure. The rush included many women who had never camped before. Despite some bad experiences caused by overcrowding, American camping had begun.<sup>6</sup>

The people going camping from 1869 to 1915 were predominately white, middle-class and urban. They ranged in age from children camping with their parents to elderly individuals in their sixties. The middle-class had the new opportunity to take vacations but not all vacations were equal. For women, vacations were ideally healthful and women were supposed to provide a moral, domestic influence on the rest of the party. For these reasons, the magazine *Forest and Stream* in 1879 made the argument that women should be taken camping along with the men instead of being left at home. This article was published after many women had already been camping with their husbands for over ten years. The number of women campers stayed below the number of male campers all through this time; even in the large Appalachian Mountain Club only ten percent of the members were women in 1886.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5.</sup> William H. H. Murray, *Adventures in the Wilderness; or, Camp-Life in the Adirondacks*. (Boston: Fields, Osgood & Co., 1869); Young, *Heading Out*, 28-46.

<sup>6.</sup> Young, *Heading Out*, 21-48. For the purpose of this study I consider camping any overnight trip taken for recreation that involved sleeping outside or in a crude shelter.

<sup>7.</sup> Aron, *Working at Play*, 156-177; "Women in Arcadia." *Forest and Stream*, May 8, 1879. 270; Kimberly A. Jarvis, "Gender and Wilderness Conservation," in *American Wilderness: A New History*, ed. Michael Lewis (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007) 170.

The women who wrote up accounts of their first-time camping experiences overwhelmingly wrote about being introduced to camping by a seasoned, male family member. A few lucky women in Boston, New York City, and San Francisco were introduced to camping through knowing women in prominent outdoor clubs, but most first-time women campers either did not know any women who had gone camping, or only women who were almost as inexperienced as they were. Men taught women campers how to set up a camp, fish, and live outdoors, but they could not teach women what to wear. Men easily obtained clothing suitable for sport, women faced a tougher battle.<sup>8</sup>

The question of clothes is of utmost importance when camping, said the popular magazines of the 1880s. And many women campers thought the same since the beginning of recreational camping. Clothing to middle class, white, urban women in the late 19th and early 20th centuries was part of their class and gender identity. These women emulated the rich by following fashion and ordering custom clothes for every activity and time of day so as to always be dressed appropriately. Fashion and homemaking magazines eagerly sought to inform these women on how to dress without losing any femininity. 10

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries magazines encouraged women to develop and utilize their own sense of style. These magazines and female education taught these women the importance of developing their sense of style and the know-how to make and remake their own clothing so that everything they owned was suited specifically for them. The increased

<sup>8.</sup> The Appalachian Mountain Club started in Boston in 1876, and the Sierra Club in San Francisco in 1892. New York City had many smaller outing clubs starting in the 1870s. Analysis taken from men and women writing their first-hand experienced for publication in *Forest and Stream*, *Outing*, *Ladies Home Journal*, *Harper's Bazaar*, *Appalachia*, and *Country Life in America*.

<sup>9. &</sup>quot;Hints on Camp Life for Women.," *Harper's Bazaar*, August 14, 1886, 530; Charles Richard Dodge, "Out Door Athletics for American Women," *Godey's Lady's Book*, May 1888, 441.

<sup>10.</sup> Rob Schorman, *Selling Style: Clothing and Social Change at the Turn of the Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003) 1-17.

availability of home sewing machines enabled this emphasis on home dressmaking. Sewing was a necessary skill as fashions changed every few years after the 1860s. Floor and ankle-length skirts were consistent through the nineteenth and beginning twentieth centuries but the silhouettes changed drastically.<sup>11</sup>

At different times during this period some women, and occasionally men, rejected the dictates of fashion. The first dress reform movement lasted from the 1850s to the 1870s, its decline started with the Civil War which isolated the individuals in this widespread, but small, reform movement. The National Dress Reform Association encouraged a wide variety of styles, but one style in particular became associated with the movement and received the most heated criticism by magazines and random people on the street. They called the iconic clothing of knee length dress over ankle length trousers "hideous Bloomers." Any clothing associated with this outfit received the same scorn. <sup>13</sup>

The aesthetic and rational dress movement started in America in the late 1880s.

Promoters of aesthetic dress argued that current fashion was ugly and irrational because it changed the natural form of the body. This second movement distanced itself from the first because of ideological differences and the stigma against dress reform. The aesthetic movement succeeded in introducing changes to undergarments that reduced bulk by combining previous separate garments into one piece, and it introduced looser garments to be worn at home without a

<sup>11.</sup> Schorman, Selling Style, 45-75; Stella Blum, Victorian Fashions and Costumes from Harper's Bazaar, 1867-1898 (New York: Dover Publications, 1974); Alison Gernsheim, Victorian and Edwardian Fashion: A Photographic Survey (New York: Dover Publications, 1963).

<sup>12.</sup> Eliza S. Turner, "Frou-Frou Letters - No. 6," Woman's Journal, June 12, 1875.

<sup>13.</sup> Gayle V. Fischer, *Pantaloons and Power: Nineteenth-Century Dress Reform in the United States* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2001)

corset. The focus on rational dress worked with the tradition of separate clothes for different occasions by insisting that the clothes should be practically suited to the activity.<sup>14</sup>

## First-Time Women Campers and Their Clothing

Both the dress reform movements and the emphasis on fashionable clothing for middleclass women affected their choices of camping clothing. Men often made fun of first-time women campers for their vanity, but in fact these women faced a complex situation of participating in a male dominated activity with no precedent and little advice to rely on for how they should balance social requirements of modesty and beauty with functionality in their clothing. This meant that their first attempts often failed one or both of these goals. <sup>15</sup>

Established sport clothing traditions did not promote clothing that fit the needs of many women campers. Camping activities required ways of moving the body and interacting with the environment that established women's sports, like archery and riding, and newer sports, like tennis and bicycling, did not account for. Women who wanted to scramble over rocks, blaze a trail, fish in a stream, and chase after game needed to find their own way to wear practical clothing without being ridiculed like the women who promoted dress reform.

Most women went on their first camping trips in everyday clothing. Fashion changed dramatically between 1869 and 1915, but even when wide, hoop skirts were fashionable, women could leave the hoops at home and wear something closer to their house dresses while camping. Not many women wrote about what they wore on their first camping trips, but the ones that did wrote about wearing their normal clothes. Rena Phillips wrote in 1904 about her clothing the first time she went fishing. It was not even an overnight trip, but she recalls, "Of course I wore a long

<sup>14.</sup> Patricia Cunningham, *Reforming Women's Fashion, 1850–1920: Politics, Health, and Art.* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2003).

<sup>15.</sup> Some women campers were dress reformers and promoters of women's rights. These women also made difficult choices in their clothing but they are not the focus of this study.

skirt, a shirt waist, straw hat and veil, kid gloves and low shoes, and was as uncomfortable as it was possible for a woman to be." This description of shirt waist, long skirt and straw hat was a common outfit starting in the 1890s and continuing in popularity through the mid 1910's. The sleeves, general puffiness, and skirt width changed drastically in those twenty-five years, but the garments were still called the same things and provided most women with all the comfort they needed walking around town or going on a picnic. It likely surprised some readers to see it being described as uncomfortable.

The year a woman first went camping and the place she lived impacted the quality and quantity of camping advice available to her. Not all first-time women campers sought clothing advice before participating in their first trip, but those who did seek advice likely only had access to current issues of popular magazines and a few camping advice books. These sources were too vague, too radical, or too impractical.

Some women from 1869 to 1873 were not only inspired by *Adventures in the Wilderness* but attended one of William Murray's many lectures on camping held in New England. Murray advised women to wear ankle-length trousers and a knee length dress while camping, but this was too close to the maligned Bloomer suit for most women's comfort. Lecture attendees may have been more confident than women who had just read the advice in the book to attempt this clothing for their first trip, but they still faced the real threat of being associated with dress reform.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16.</sup> Phillips, "A Woman on the Trail," Outing, August 1904, 585.

<sup>17.</sup> Murray, Adventures in the Wilderness, 58-59. Young, Heading Out, 46-48.

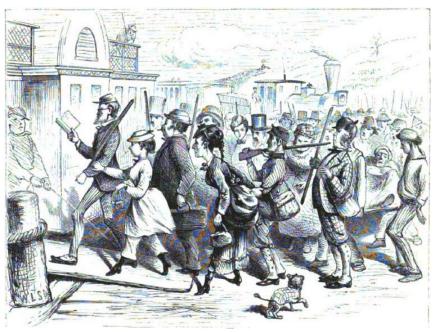


Figure 1. This illustration makes fun of people blindly following Murray's advice. The woman on the far left is wearing a bloomer suit and the woman in the middle is represented as improperly dressed because she is showing her underpetticoat. ("The Rush for the Wilderness" in Charles Hallock, "The Raquette Club." *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, August 1870. 325. Courtesy of HathiTrust)

Most first-time women campers before the mid-1880s could only rely on advice published in a couple books on camping. But camping books rarely included advice on women's clothing, and when they did it was either vague or copied almost word for word Murray's recommendation of trousers and short skirt. A more acceptable but vague piece of advice came from the popular camp cookbook by Maria Parloa, "Both ladies and gentlemen should dress in flannel throughout. One change of under-flannel is enough extra clothes to carry, but be sure to take plenty of stockings. Have your boots well made and with broad soles. For hats, broad-brimmed felt hats are the lightest and coolest." Even this level of detail is impressive from a

<sup>18.</sup> Parloa, Camp Cookery, (Boston: Graves, Locke and Co., 1878) 10.

cookbook, but the details left out made a big difference to the appropriateness and practicality of the final outfit.<sup>19</sup>

Popular women's magazines disseminated fashion and dictated what was appropriate clothing. They jumped at the chance to speak on what to wear camping once they became assured of women's participation in the activity. The first camping specific clothing advice by Harper's Bazaar is from 1886 and is remarkably similar to an article published by Outing the year before. Both articles assumed that the women would not do anything strenuous. The Harper's Bazaar article recommended, "There are several things that hold good in all camp dressing, namely, a flannel dress, comfortable shoes, and a full wet-weather suit." The article also recommended that the skirt be wide enough for a long step but did not recommend shortening the skirt. The advice was practical for camping when, as the original *Outing* article described, the woman spends her time "swinging in a hammock and talking pretty nothings to some one ready to answer between the puffs of his fragrant Havana or much-loved pipe."21 The women were to be aware that they would be seen, and "If there are two or more ladies in the party, they should so arrange as to have their dresses contrast nicely both in color and style."22 Advice like this set a high and unreasonable standard for dressing when a woman attempted more active camping trips for the first time.

This theme of not compromising style in the woods continued into the 1890s, but took a different approach inspired by the aesthetic dress movement. The first piece of camp clothing advice in *Ladies Home Journal* was responding to some women's fears of "Won't we catch

<sup>19.</sup> Examples of books relying on Murray's advice, H. Perry Smith and E. R. Wallace, *The Modern Babes in the Wood or Summerings in the Wilderness* (Hartford, CT: Columbian Book Co., 1872) 436; Bruce Wallace, *The Hudson River by Daylight: New York to Albany* rev. ed. (New York: Frank Anderson, 1875) 171.

<sup>20. &</sup>quot;Hints on Camp Life for Women.," Harper's Bazaar, August 14, 1886, 530.

<sup>21.</sup> Mary A. Barr, "The Outing Club: Camping for Women," Outing, May 1885, 233.

<sup>22. &</sup>quot;Hints on Camp Life for Women.," Harper's Bazaar, August 14, 1886, 530.

cold? Aren't you afraid? What shall we wear? Won't we look like guys?'"<sup>23</sup> Jessamy Harte wrote, "It is a mystery to me why people think that the moment they give up the restrictions of conventional social life, they must necessarily make themselves look as ugly and unattractive as possible. Why should the forest not be respected? It indeed gives us a most beautiful and picturesque background. Some of the costumes which I have seen must verily have offended its critical eye."<sup>24</sup> The article goes on to recommend a blue ankle length skirt, a blue corduroy velvet jacket, and a blue and white striped tennis shirt. Harte's focus on taking inspiration from nature echoed the aesthetic dress movement, which did seek freedom of motion, but the reference to ugly and unattractive clothing discouraged seeking freedom to the point of wearing trousers. Harte camped at an established camp site on an Adirondack lake, she participated in strenuous activities of rowing and hiking but her method of doing these things did not require more mobility than her long skirt offered.

Too much focus on appropriate dress made camping and other outdoor pursuits seem out of reach for less wealthy women. A few people were sensitive to that issue and argued that the benefits of camping for women were reason enough for their inclusion. "If the lack of money makes a choice necessary, the question of dress should never gain the day over a pleasure excursion, or make the spending of time in outdoor pastimes impossible." This article was most concerned with women's health and happiness rather than what other people thought about her clothing, but the type of outdoor recreation recommended was light and easy to participate in with regular clothes. The author was concerned that women were not participating in outdoor recreation out of embarrassment over their clothing. Camping activities that required standing in

<sup>23.</sup> Jessamy Harte, "A Camp in the Adirondacks," Ladies' Home Journal, July 1892, 3.

<sup>24.</sup> Harte, "A Camp in the Adirondacks," Ladies' Home Journal, July 1892, 3.

<sup>25. &</sup>quot;Home Circle: A Plea for Summer Recreations," Arthur's Home Magazine, July 1887, 82.

water, climbing over rocks, or pushing through underbrush created a physical barrier to women in addition to concern over fashion.

By the late 1890s popular magazines gave more attention to women participating in strenuous camping activities. The first mention of wearing trouser-like garments camping in *Ladies Home Journal* is from 1897:

Whatever prejudice a woman may have against short skirts and bloomers is soon overcome after she has tried to climb fallen trees and rocks, or made her way through thick underbrush, encumbered with the absurd long skirts of the house or street, or after she has tramped to camp with a wet and bedrabbled skirt flapping around her ankles, caused by a walk in the dewy morning or a paddle in a leaky boat.<sup>26</sup>

This article provides practical advice, but it was written by a man who thought that women only needed to be persuaded of practicality to adopt trousers. Even if a popular magazine recommended a bicycle suit for camping, a woman would not immediately try it for her first-time camping unless she already sympathized with dress reform and had the money to buy a custom tailored bicycle suit for an activity she did not know if she would enjoy.<sup>27</sup>

The brief flurry of practical clothing advice for active campers in popular ladies' magazines ended by 1900. For several years after, the popular ladies' magazines did not give any camp clothing advice, but in 1903 they went back to recommending long skirts with no mention of trousers underneath. This did not reflect the actual trends in camping clothing. More women

<sup>26.</sup> Daniel C. Beard, "In Camp and on House-Boat," Ladies' Home Journal, May 1897, 17.

<sup>27.</sup> Masterson, Kate. "For the Girl Who Camps Out." *Anaconda Standard*. July 22, 1895. 6. This article relates that a bicycle suit for camping would cost as much as a dress frock and would only be worn a couple times. Examples of articles advising bicycle suits or bloomers: Adelia K. Brainerd, "The Outdoor Woman," *Harper's Bazaar*, September 12, 1896, 767; "Summering in the Woods," *Godey's Magazine*, June 1897, 660. The prevalence of women in trousers for outdoor recreation in the 1890s has been overstated. The phenomena received a lot of press coverage and debate, but the adoption of trousers was not common. See Julia Christie-Robin, Belinda T. Orzada, and Dilia López-Gydosh. "From Bustles to Bloomers: Exploring the Bicycle's Influence on American Women's Fashion, 1880–1914." *Journal of American Culture* 35, no. 4 (2012).

were wearing and promoting trouser like garments in recreation magazines, but that knowledge was not accessible to many first-time campers.<sup>28</sup>

The situation started improving in 1908. Abercrombie & Fitch started a robust mail order business for women's outdoor clothes as well as adding a women's department in their New York City store front. This clothing came closest to reflecting what seasoned female campers actually wore. *Vogue* included advertisements for Abercrombie & Fitch, even showing a woman in trousers without skirt by 1914.<sup>29</sup>

Even the most well-meaning articles could not prevent inexperienced campers from making clothing mistakes. Braiding used at the bottom of skirts got entangled in low mountain plants, sometimes imperiling a woman as she tried to leap from boulder to boulder; shoes comfortable when walking around town made feet ache by the end of the day; clothing got burrs from plants deeply stuck in the material, ruining the dress; some women had to be cut out of entangled underbrush so they came out of the woods with their clothes looking like shredded paper.<sup>30</sup>

Despite these negative experiences, women continued camping and found ways to make their clothes suit the environment. Some women found that their clothes were already fairly well suited to sedentary camping, but little things could still be improved. A bigger pocket, lighter or studier fabric, or a different hat were little ways that women showed they were more experienced

<sup>28. &</sup>quot;Summer Outing Fashions." *Delineator*, June 1903, 1105; Myra Emmons, "Camping at Small Expense" *Harper's Bazaar*, September 1908, 902; Rosamond Lampman, "Camping for Rest and Recreation," *Harper's Bazaar*, August 1909, 769.

<sup>29.</sup> Abercrombie & Fitch, "In the World of Outdoors," *Vogue*, May 15, 1914. advertisement; Abercrombie & Fitch, *Abercrombie and Fitch Co.* (New York: Abercrombie & Fitch, 1908); Abercrombie & Fitch, 1913).

<sup>30.</sup> Compilation of woes taken from: Mrs. W. G. Nowell, "A Mountain Suit for Women," *Appalachia*, 1877, 182; Phillips, "A Woman on the Trail," *Outing*, August 1904, 585.

campers. Other women discovered that their clothing was completely unsuitable for their desired activities and began to change their minds about wearing unusual clothing.

#### **Women Campers Construct Their Own Style**

Some women enthusiastically embraced reforming their camping clothing, while others were slower to come to the same conclusions. "When we become true lovers of mountain exploration we shall forget this feminine weakness, and be willing to adopt whatever garb will help us to enjoy that which our masculine friends have so long and enthusiastically enjoyed alone." This was most likely to occur in a community of women outdoor enthusiasts. In cases where the woman was mostly in the company of men, even if the men encouraged radical clothing, it took longer to come to the same mindset about inventing camping clothing.

Women's camping clothing criteria can be divided into the categories of practicality, safety, and social requirements. Women had diverse needs for camping clothing but those diversities still fit within those three categories. Each of the three categories presented challenges to the female camper because of availability of resources and lacking an adequate precedent. Of the three, meeting societal requirements on women's clothing created the most anxiety. Rena Phillips cherished strong opinions on what she wanted: a practical outfit and to "not make a monkey of myself."<sup>32</sup>

The first concern of most women campers when starting to create their ideal camping clothing centered around avoiding the mistakes of other women who were ridiculed for their clothing choices. Sometimes the women campers were the ones who had ridiculed the clothing they now sought to transform. Rena Phillips wrote, "I always did think bloomers made a woman look absolutely frightful and leggings usually more dreadful than even bloomers. I have seen

<sup>31.</sup> Nowell, "Mountain Suit for Women," Appalachia, 1877, 181-82.

<sup>32.</sup> Phillips, "A Woman on the Trail," Outing, August 1904, 585.

women who looked like the proverbial stuffed toad after they had put on these atrocities."<sup>33</sup> Phillips wanted to avoid other people looking at her in the same way she had ridiculed others.

Women found that the people to be wary of were not their camping companions or other outdoor enthusiasts they met while on a trip, but nearby locals and people they met while traveling to their destination. Mrs. Pychowska in 1887 praised her clothing for passing without comment from fellow travelers, she wrote that her clothing, "appeared at the end of these walks sufficiently presentable to enter a hotel or a railroad car without attracting uncomfortable attention." Public transportation was the most accessible way to get to a camping destination.

Railroads extended from major cities into mountain and lake regions in New York, Maine, and Vermont. The campers would then switch to stagecoach to meet up with their guides, or the hotel where they would set out on their camping trip. This travel involved seeing many people and everything women wore while traveling would have to be carried into the woods or stored.

Remote and rugged destinations required the most unusual clothing and were also the places that did not have anywhere to store extra luggage. But camping remotely lessened the concern of uninvited human visitors.

Even with the growing popularity of camping, the activity was rare enough that locals would visit people camping nearby. This meant that women could not fully dismiss the outside eye even when most of the time while camping they were in a private setting. One article by an experienced woman camper recommended keeping this in mind when designing camping clothing, "The style of this depends, to an extent, on the location of the camp - whether it be near enough to some village to attract the occasional curious visitor, whose uneducated vision would be shocked at seeing the feminine members of the party going about in very short skirts and

<sup>33.</sup> Phillips, "A Woman on the Trail," Outing, August 1904, 585.

<sup>34.</sup> Mrs. L. D. Pychowska, "Walking-Dress for Ladies," Appalachia, 1887, 30

knickerbockers."<sup>35</sup> Jessamy Harte took pride in 1892 that people who were not familiar with camping liked how she looked while in camp, "A gentleman once said to me, while admiring some pictures I had of 'camp:' 'Why, how well you all look! Do you know. I thought that in camp the women wore healthful but hideous garments, and the men went unshaven and slouchy.' So you see no young lady need ever be afraid of appearing at a disadvantage in camp, nor is her sweetness wasted on the desert air."<sup>36</sup> Harte lies on one side of the spectrum of considering the outside eye while camping. Her solution to what to wear ended up very different from women who cared most about their clothing's respectability rather than its picturesqueness and beauty.

Not all women avoided attention being drawn to their clothing. One group of mountain climbers that included a woman recalled, "While waiting at Tacoma for the train, we had a fine view of the mountain across the level stretches at the head of Commencement Bay. Our hearts beat high. We could scarcely refrain from shouting, and telling the bystanders that we were going to 'the mountain,' though our dress and camp equipage made such declaration entirely unnecessary." The author, who was one of the male party members, writes later that, "Miss Fuller, of Tacoma, who succeeded in reaching the summit, was clad in Turkish trousers and a short, full skirt of blue flannel, with blouse to match." She may not have been wearing this outfit at the train station, but the pride in mountain climbing and camaraderie in the Appalachian Mountain Club resulted in many women from the club challenging socially acceptable clothing while in the mountains. Once out of the mountains female members of the Appalachian Mountain Club still catered to the outside eye.

<sup>35.</sup> Martha Coman, "The Art of Camping: A Woman's View," Outlook, June 7, 1902, 370.

<sup>36.</sup> Harte, "A Camp in the Adirondacks," Ladies' Home Journal, July 1892, 3.

<sup>37.</sup> Ernest C. Smith, "A Trip to Mount Rainer," Appalachia, 1894, 185.

<sup>38.</sup> Smith, "A Trip to Mount Rainer," Appalachia, 1894, 199.

Women campers' second main criteria for camping clothing was practicality, although this could mean different things to different women. Large busted women needed more support garments than small women, hunting required quick movement while fishing did not, mountain climbing required lifting the legs higher than regular hiking, all these differences resulted in different garments. But universally women looked for washability, durability, ease of movement and lots of pockets. The pocket problem was particularly annoying to women. Rena Phillips extolled the beauty of her coat because "it is mostly pockets." And even *Harper's Bazaar* reminded women to alter their skirts to have "a long and carefully made pocket conveniently placed."

Experienced campers realized that there was more at stake than having a good time while camping. Some safety concerns women were familiar with already, such as getting sick from being cold and protecting oneself from fire, others came as a surprise. Tripping was the greatest hazard. Dressmakers and home sewers would put braiding or some other stiffener to the bottom of skirts to keep the skirt away from the feet, this was done for safety as well as extending the life of the skirt. This safety feature in everyday life sometimes proved dangerous while camping. The combination of wet and catching on underbrush could pull out this braiding, causing a tripping hazard near mountain cliffs. These firsthand experiences caused some women to immediately plan changes to their wardrobe, such was the case with this group of women from the Appalachian Mountain Club, "Skirts having proved themselves so inconvenient and so dangerous, we tried to think of some suit which should be feminine and yet be adapted to

<sup>39.</sup> Phillips, "A Woman on the Trail," Outing, August 1904, 588.

<sup>40. &</sup>quot;Hints on Camp Life for Women," Harper's Bazaar, August 14, 1886, 530.

<sup>41.</sup> Kristina Harris ed. *Authentic Victorian Dressmaking Techniques* (New York: Dover Publications, 1999) 68-69.

exploring even primeval forests."<sup>42</sup> Women campers were confident they could find a solution to their problems.

Searching for Clothing and Inspiration

Women were forced to look outside the bounds of traditional clothing authority to come up with clothing that met all their needs. In contrast to first-time campers, these women had the motivation to dig deeper into their available resources looking for inspiration to design their own camping clothing. They poured over recreation magazines, searched for illustrations and photographs of women in the out-doors, closely examined sport catalogs, and purchased sewing patterns. Occasionally women could design a good camping costume from these sources, but most of the time these resources proved insufficient.

From 1869 through the 1870's women campers disillusioned with wearing their everyday clothing while camping turned to the highly visible short skirt and Turkish trouser, rather than the fashionable, long-skirted sporting attire for women. The prevalence of the Turkish trouser is evident in references to a short skirted mountain suit being worn in the Adirondacks. William Murray's wife recommended in 1869 a "Short walking-dress, with Turkish drawers fastened with a band tightly at the ankle." Women called costumes like this the mountain suit until the 1880s. 44

Magazines and camping advice in the 1880's did not reflect what had been popular camping clothing in the previous decade, instead they recommended ankle length skirts and a fashionable silhouette. Examples of experienced women campers show longer skirts than the

<sup>42.</sup> Nowell, "A Mountain Suit for Women," Appalachia, 1877, 182.

<sup>43.</sup> Murray, Adventures in the Wilderness, 58-59

<sup>44.</sup> Other sources referencing a short-skirted mountain suit: Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, *What to Wear?* (Boston: J. R. Osgood and Co, 1873), 32; "Our Lady Sportsmen." *Forest and Stream,* January 15, 1874, 361; Nowell, "A Mountain Suit for Women," *Appalachia*, 1877, 183; Turner, "Frou-Frou Letters - No. 6.," *Woman's Journal*, June 12, 1875, front page.

previous decade, but still shorter than society deemed appropriate. The Appalachian Mountain Club's journal in the 1880s only has one article detailing women's clothing. Mrs. Pychowska, a long time member of the Appalachian Mountain Club, wrote what she wore on trips, which included trousers to just below the knee, but also an over-skirt that ended at the boot-top, which was only a couple inches above the ankle. Emily Thackvay also suggested skirts to the boot-top in an *Outing* article. Despite Thackvay recommending boot length skirts, of the four sketches included in the article only one shows skirts that short and one of the other sketches has even shorter skirts.

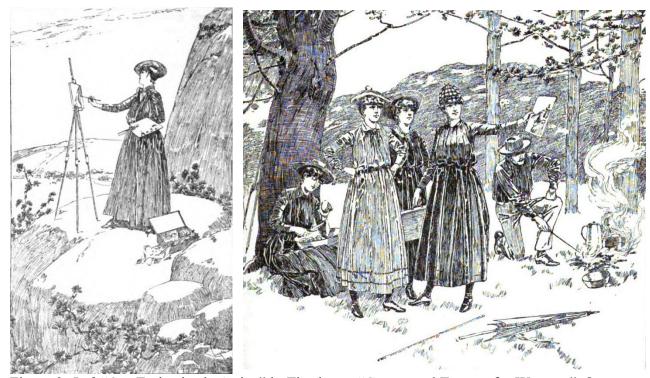


Figure 2. *Left* "Our Enthusiastic Artist," in Thackvay, "Camps and Tramps for Women," *Outing*, 333. Courtesy of HathiTrust.

Figure 3. *Right* "A Party of Four with Artistic Proclivities," in Thackvay, "Camps and Tramps for Women," *Outing*, 333. Courtesy of HathiTrust.

<sup>45.</sup> Pychowska, "Walking-Dress for Ladies," Appalachia, 1887, 30-31.

<sup>46.</sup> Thackvay, "Camps and Tramps for Women," Outing, August 1889, 333.

Some women camped in even more radical clothing for the 1880s, actually shortening the skirt to the original mountain suit length. But *mountain suit* was no longer the term applied to knee length skirts over trousers. In the 1880s fashionable magazines used the term *mountain suit* for their fashionable hiking clothes. This fashionable costume met the requirements for the conservative camping clothing suggested in other main-stream articles in the 1880s. One illustration was described a specific mountain suit as a "dress made of electric-blue cloth; the skirt kilted to the deep jacket, where it is fastened on and covered by a stitched band. The jacket is tailor cut, trimmed with stitched bands. Hat of straw, trimmed with velvet and feathers."<sup>47</sup>



Figure 4. This sketch from the article shows the skirt a little longer than Bisland describes when detailing her costume. It is radically different than the fashionable hiking garments. (Margaret Bisland, "Women and Their Guns" *Outing*, December 1889, 225. Courtesy of HathiTrust.)

The 1890s present more questions than answers for women's camping clothing. For the first time, popular magazines provided practical camping clothing in descriptions, illustrations and sewing patterns. But individual women campers did not often write in magazines what

<sup>47. &</sup>quot;Figure 14," Godey's Lady's Book, July 1883, 87.

clothing they actually wore during this decade and the photographs from the Appalachian Mountain Club do not show any of the camping clothing recommended in the popular magazines. This was not because fewer women went camping in the 1890s, its popularity continued to grow.<sup>48</sup>



Figure 5. The man is shown being dominated by an overbearing woman in trousers while he attempts to fish. ("His First Encounter with the New Woman." *Vogue*, June 27, 1895. front cover. Courtesy of HathiTrust)

The 1890s were a hard decade for average middle-class women to wear trousers.

Previously, trousers had been associated with midcentury dress reformers whose rhetoric mostly consisted of health for women. Now, trousers had become a mark of the New Woman, an ideal whose rhetoric ran contrary to how many middle-class women wished to be viewed. E. Pauline Johnson wrote an article for *Outing* in 1893 that treats skirt length sensitively. Instead of writing what she wears or recommending a skirt length, she simply suggests, "a plain dark serge skirt, as

<sup>48.</sup> Appalachian Mountain Club, Photographic Print Collection, <a href="https://opac.libraryworld.com/opac/home.php">https://opac.libraryworld.com/opac/home.php</a>

short as your daring spirit will permit your wearing."<sup>49</sup> These women were daring because they opened themselves up to judgment if people knew they camped in short skirts, or no skirts at all. One man wrote a letter into Forest and Stream in 1895 commenting on how he viewed women campers. He stated, among other things, that the ideal wives to be camping companions, "won't read novels, won't wear bloomers and won't be 'new' women."<sup>50</sup> He was not the only one to associate trousers in the woods with New Women.

One account detailing what a women was actually wearing is from *Appalachia* and was written by a man. He stated, "Miss Fuller, of Tacoma, who succeeded in reaching the summit, was clad in Turkish trousers and a short, full skirt of blue flannel, with blouse to match." Miss Fuller may not have disclosed this information if she had been the one writing the article. Mary Shipman Andrews' article from June 1894 in *Outing* gives some clues to her clothing and is one of the only other published accounts of a specific woman's costume. Her only comment on clothing stated, "My one skirt of denim was proof against everything else and I could walk exactly as freely as the men, for it wouldn't tear and it wouldn't catch." The sketch included in the article shows Mary's skirt a couple inches above the ankle. It is impossible to know from this scant public literature whether more women wore trousers and short skirts, or skirts to the boottop like the previous decade. But either way, women campers writing for magazines chose to draw less attention to radical clothing choices.

<sup>49.</sup> Johnson, "Outdoor Pastimes for Women," Outing, July 1893, 82.

<sup>50. &</sup>quot;In Camp with a Mascot," Forest and Stream, September 21, 1895. 244.

<sup>51.</sup> Smith, "A Trip to Mount Rainer," Appalachia, 1894, 199.

<sup>52.</sup> Shipman Andrews, "A Woman in Camp," 186.



Figure 6. The surprising sight of a woman hauling a deer on her shoulders is balanced somewhat by her straight figure caused by a corset, high-necked blouse, and long skirt. Striped skirts were fashionable at this time and would not have caused comment. ("My Prize," in Shipman Andrews, "A Woman in Camp," *Outing*, June 1894, 185. Courtesy of HathiTrust.)

Camping trends after 1900 show a reversal from the 1890s, fashion magazines went back to advising conservative camping clothing and individual women campers became more bold publishing their clothing choices. In 1903 *Delineator* provided a pattern for a mountain climbing suit that included, "a blouse Eton jacket with cape, short peplum and stole, and a seven-gored flare skirt in instep length." This garment was just a simpler version of what fashionable women wore around town, except the skirt was around six inches off the ground instead of gracefully sweeping the street. In contrast, Rena Phillips in 1904 published a photo of herself wearing trousers without a skirt. Rena wrote earlier in the same article that she had at first

<sup>53. &</sup>quot;Summer Outing Fashions." Delineator, June 1903, 1105.

vehemently rejected the idea of knickerbockers because, "I would not make a monkey of myself by appearing in public dressed in boy's clothes." Rena would bring along a skirt and wear it whenever she was with company other than her husband. So while she never did appear in public with trousers on, she did show all the subscribers to *Outing* what she would not show in public. Rena was not the first middle-class woman who was not a New Woman to forego skirts in the woods.





Figure 7. Left. ("Figure 4, Costume 6866" in "Summer Outing Fashions." Delineator, June 1903, 1105. Courtesy of HathiTrust)

Figure 8. Right. (Phillips, "A Woman on the Trail," Outing, 588. Courtesy of HathiTrust)

Martha Cowan shows from 1902 a particularly good look at middle-class women campers' attitudes towards clothing. She wrote an article with camping clothing advice in the popular weekly magazine *Outlook*. On a single page Martha distinguished between seasoned and

<sup>54.</sup> Phillips, "A Woman on the Trail," Outing, August 1904, 586.

new campers, and the ultra-sensible versus the picturesque. The new camper saves up cast-off clothing which, "will be just the thing in camp." While the seasoned camper never does. The new camper may make herself self picturesque with "useless fripperies and follies," while the seasoned camper, "will leave personal vanity at home with her dinner gowns." But each woman, seasoned or not, "follows her natural predilection and refuses to be so ultra sensible as to get herself up like a fright." Refusing to look like a fright did not mean that women campers did not have sensible clothing. Martha states, "To be absolutely comfortable and perfectly free in every movement is what the huntswoman and the fisherwoman desire." Martha gives two examples of sensible outfits two different seasoned campers wear. One is, "Very short skirts of stout material, flannel waists, stout boots, and outing hats." This is what Martha shows a woman wearing in a photograph. The other camper, "made an art of camping out." Which shows that this woman was not being a fright even though she wore, "heavy woolens, sweaters, knickers, high boots, and small felt hat." This woman would take with her, "short skirts which match her knickers and which she puts on when convention demands."55 This article, published two years before Rena Phillip's article, is the first published reference to a specific woman camper wearing knickers without a skirt.

Rena Phillips had at first sought out-door clothing from traditional sources, but she came away disappointed. She recalled:

I planned and discarded. I hunted materials and patterns and wasted many days trying to figure out what other women wore that would meet the requirements of my case. After spending considerable time, carfare, and energy, it suddenly dawned on me that there wasn't any uniform for women to fit my case. The fashion plates were empty; the

<sup>55.</sup> Martha Coman, "The Art of Camping: A Woman's View," Outlook, June 7, 1902, 370.

dressmakers' minds were blank, and I realized I must rely on my own resources and exercise my own ingenuity if I was to possess a suitable outfit of clothing. <sup>56</sup>

Rena certainly felt the lack of good camping clothing options. She was searching for a complete outfit that suited her, but realized she would have to put together a uniform from many sources.

It was not an easy transition for women to start experimenting with clothing outside of what was considered normal. Rena Phillips recalls, "It took some courage to don short skirts at first and I thought rubber boots made me look like a fright; but I could not fish without wading and I could not wade without boots, and as I was bound I would catch some fish at least, I mustered up courage, and got into the boots." It took Rena and many other women time, money, energy and mental contortions before they developed a costume that suited their activities while still preventing the unpleasantness of ridicule.

## **Transforming their Resources**

Women campers used various methods to justify their camping clothing choices. Some women got away with wearing radical clothing in camp because no one saw them do it, but many women ran into other people while camping. Middle-class women justified their camp clothing choices by arguing that their clothing suited the activity the same way bathing suits suited bathing. Some argued they were ancient Dianas, distancing themselves from the modern woman. Many women also used the more subtle strategy of crediting their own sense of style for developing their camping clothing, rather than the garments that provided the inspiration. Women used the phrases *special invention of my own, my own ingenuity,* and *natural* 

<sup>56.</sup> Phillips, "A Woman on the Trail," Outing, 586.

<sup>57.</sup> Phillips, "A Woman on the Trail," Outing, 586.

predilection to describe the final outfits, subtly erasing the garments' wider history.<sup>58</sup> But in fact women campers used current fashions, reform garments, masculine clothing, and some existing female attire as inspiration for their final costume.

Women's hunting clothing, next to alpine mountaineering clothing, looked the most radical of what women wore camping. Women hunters usually ended up deciding on a blouse, jacket and knickerbockers styled after men's clothing, and a skirt over the knickers.

Sportswomen had styled their clothing off of menswear since the eighteenth century, and society's acceptance of that styling for riding and archery extended to hunting. But American mainstream society did find issue with any middle- or upper-class woman wearing trousers without a skirt completely covering their legs. Both hunting and mountaineering required more freedom of movement than any other style of camping, but unlike alpine mountaineering, hunters interacted with many people while out for sport. This put their clothing on display and required them to justify their choices more eloquently than campers who could get away with longer skirts.

Many women hunters created an image for themselves that sought to both justify the hunting activity and their clothing. Women hunters argued that their choice of clothing was appropriate by using the imagery of Diana, the Roman goddess of the hunt. Margaret Bisland wrote, "Abbreviated skirts under such circumstances are regarded as both modest and necessary, and no woman can fully realize the true dignity and importance of her lower limbs till she kilts her skirts to her knees, buttons on a pair of stout leggings, and goes forth a civilized Amazon.

Then, and only then, do the savage instincts rise and the modern woman is transformed into a

<sup>58.</sup> Jennie Taylor Handle, "A Sportswoman in Squirrel Land" *Outing*, December 1892, 217; Phillips, "A Woman on the Trail," *Outing*, 586; Martha Coman, "The Art of Camping: A Woman's View," *Outlook*, June 7, 1902, 370.

keen-eyed, swift-footed Diana."<sup>59</sup> Using a classical reference accomplished several things: it gave their choices history and made it seem natural rather than a modern fabrication of womanhood; it also conjured up an aesthetic that their society found beautiful, which further distanced them from the ugly reform dress of the mid-century.<sup>60</sup>

Women often used Diana imagery innocently. It was an aesthetic, not a comment on religion. "In case there may be some other wife who might also wish to play Diana to her husband's Nimrod, I will describe my costume." Here Jennie Handle uses Diana in relation to the figure Nimrod as part of her argument on the benefits of women hunting, and the necessity of good clothing for the activity. Not all uses of the pseudonyms Diana and Nimrod made an argument about women's fitness for the activity. It was common, especially after 1900, to use the names to lend an air of beauty and sentiment to articles on fishing and hunting. 62

Many times people wrote about the fact that camping and hiking clothing was appropriate in the specific settings. Sometimes this would refer to skirts only slightly shorter than the fashionable street clothing. Other times women directly connected their right to wear trousers while camping or mountaineering to the gym and bathing suits. "The only thing we could think of was a good flannel bathing suit. We could not see why it should be more improper to wear this on the mountain heights and through the woods, than it would be along a crowded and fashionable beach." Society had only grudgingly accepted trousers for indoor gymnasium wear,

<sup>59.</sup> Bisland, "Women and Their Guns" Outing, December 1889, 226.

<sup>60.</sup> This was also a strategy of the aesthetic dress movement. See Cunningham, *Reforming Women's Fashion*.

<sup>61.</sup> Handle, "A Sportswoman in Squirrel Land" *Outing*, December 1892, 217; Phillips, "A Woman on the Trail," *Outing*, 586.

<sup>62.</sup> Examples of sentimental articles: "The Joys of Living," *Forest and Stream*, February 14, 1903, 123; "A Day on a Trout Stream," *Forest and Stream*, November 16, 1901, 390.

<sup>63.</sup> Nowell, "Mountain Suit for Women," 182.

and beach clothing, so this argument was likely used to justify the clothing in these women's own minds rather than convince other people that their choices were appropriate.<sup>64</sup>

Some women were able to wear radical clothing while camping by changing the look of their costume when around people outside their camping party. As mentioned previously, some women got away with wearing radical clothing because they would quickly put on a skirt only when people were around. The other solution was temporarily shortening the skirt. In 1877 Miss Whitman from the Appalachian Mountain Club recommended, "the plan of making the dress so that the skirt could be shortened to any necessary extent by rolling it up." In this same meeting Mrs. Nowell recommended the gym suit for women. These two women also both wrote articles on women's clothing, with Miss Whitman wearing longer skirts and Mrs. Nowell recommending trousers. This shows the two schools of thought for the best way to achieve an ideal costume. Temporarily shortening the skirt was a well-advertised solution by the 1890s. With *Vogue* even providing a fashion illustration for a buttoned up skirt in 1893, and after 1900 companies were making clasps for shortening skirts while camping. 66

#### Commercialization and the End of an Era

Women's camping clothing started to be commercialized in 1906 with Abercrombie and Fitch providing one jacket and one skirt in their sporting goods catalog. This was hardly sufficient to replace the varied clothing women had come up with to fill their camping needs, but it marked the beginning of the shift from women struggling and designing their own clothes to a wide commercial market of practical camping clothing. By 1913 the Abercrombie and Fitch

<sup>64.</sup> For the controversy over bathing suits see: Aron, Working at Play, 69-100.

<sup>65. &</sup>quot;May 9, 1877. Thirteenth Regular Meeting," Appalachia, 1877, 203-4.

<sup>66.</sup> Whitman, "Camp Life for Ladies," *Appalachia*, June 1879; Nowell, "Mountain Suit for Women,"; "Toilettes for Between Seasons," *Vogue Supplement*, September 28, 1893, 3; "Floradora Fob and Skirt Lifter," *Vogue*, August 7, 1902, 191. advertisement.

store in New York city included an entire department on women's outdoor clothing and had advertisements in *Vogue*.<sup>67</sup>

Between 1906 and 1914 magazines and manufacturers caught up with what women were actually wearing while camping and commercialized it. Abercrombie and Fitch now sold trousers to be worn without a skirt and *Vogue* offered designs of fashionable women wearing just trousers for hunting and tramping.<sup>68</sup> What had once been outside the bounds of mainstream society became folded into acceptable athletic wear. This did not mean that everyday clothing in any way changed because of camping clothing, but that camping clothing became another specific activity with its specific wardrobe. Some women continued to come up with their own clothing for camping, but inventing one's own wardrobe became less of what it meant to be an experienced camper.

From Mrs. Murray wearing Turkish trousers while camping to Rena ditching her skirt in the woods, middle-class women campers accepted radical clothing into their personal culture. In their own minds they de-radicalizing it and proved to themselves that trousers could fit into traditional values for women. This process of inventing and change where women solved their own problem of practical camping clothing ended up resulting in trousers being accepted by most of society for wilderness activities.

<sup>67.</sup> Abercrombie & Fitch. Catalog and Price List of Complete Outfits for Explorers, Campers, Prospectors, Hunters (New York: Abercrombie & Fitch, 1906) 105, 107, 122; Abercrombie & Fitch. "Every Sportsman Knows." Vogue, July 1, 1912, 69. advertisement; Abercrombie & Fitch, Catalog (New York: Abercrombie & Fitch, 1913) 5-14.

<sup>68.</sup> Abercrombie & Fitch, "In the World of Outdoors," Vogue, May 15, 1914, 83. advertisement.

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