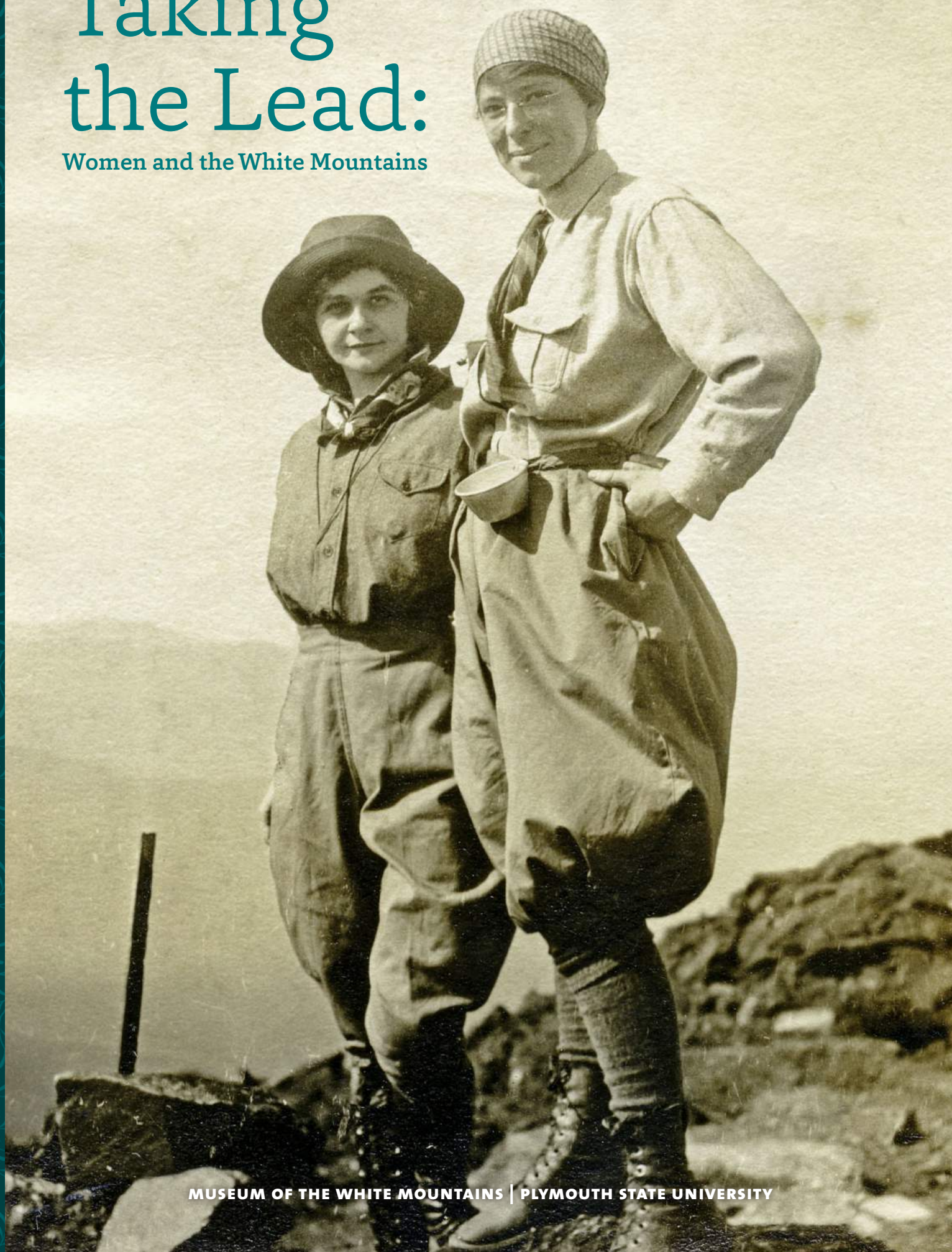


Taking the Lead:

Women and the White Mountains



CLOUDS ON WHITEFACE

*So lovingly the clouds caress his head,—
The mountain-monarch; he, severe and hard,
With white face set like flint horizon-ward;
They weaving softest fleece of gold and red,
And gossamer of airiest silver thread,
To wrap his form, wind-beaten, thunder-scarred.
They linger tenderly, and fain would stay,
Since he, earth-rooted, may not float away.
He upward looks, but moves not; wears their hues;
Draws them unto himself; their beauty shares;
And sometimes his own semblance seems to lose,
His grandeur and their grace so interfuse;
And when his angels leave him unawares,
A sullen rock, his brow to heaven he bares.*

Lucy Larcom
"Clouds on Whiteface"
*The poetical works of Lucy
Larcom* (Boston: Houghton
Mifflin Company, 1868), 19.

Taking the Lead:

Women and the White Mountains

April 6–October 7, 2016

**Taking the Lead:
Women and the White Mountains**

April 6–October 7, 2016

Exhibition Co-curators
Marcia Schmidt Blaine
Cynthia Robinson

Exhibition Design
Cynthia Robinson

Archivist & Registrar
Rebecca Enman

Catalog Text
Marcia Schmidt Blaine

Catalog Editing
Emilie Coulter

Catalog Design
Daphne Bruemmer '98

Catalog Photography
John Anderson
John Hession

Funded in part by a grant from



NEW HAMPSHIRE
humanities

Printed and bound by
Penmor Lithographers

© Plymouth State University 2016

On the cover:
Walk O' the Range, AMC Walk, 1917
Photograph
Courtesy of the Appalachian
Mountain Club Library & Archives

Museum of the
WHITE MOUNTAINS

PLYMOUTH STATE UNIVERSITY



Lauren Sansaricq
Crawford Notch
2015. Oil on canvas,
23 x 33 inches
Courtesy of the artist



Hippolyte Louis Garnier
(attributed)
*Mount Jefferson from Mount
Washington* (after Bartlett)
Alternatively, *Picnic Party on
Mount Washington*
c. 1840. Oil on canvas,
17 x 23 ³/₈ inches
John Hession photograph
Courtesy of Michael Mooney
and Robert Cram

WHEN HIKERS OR CLIMBERS head into the mountains, one person takes the lead. The lead may change over the course of a climb as one person's expertise comes to the fore or another has a burst of energy that carries the group forward. The leader sets the pace, the tone, and the path for the climb. The mountains do not discriminate; they bring out the strength of will and body individuals bring to them.

While many women preceded her, Lucy Crawford was the first white woman history records who took the lead in the White Mountains. Like pioneer women everywhere, her life was not easy. Lucy Howe Crawford arrived in the mountains in 1817 to care for her aging grandfather, Eleazar Rosebrook. After his death later that year, she married her cousin Ethan Allen Crawford. The couple ran the inn her grandparents had begun, expanding it to meet the demands of the travelers and new tourists while caring for their increasingly larger family. Eventually, the Crawfords had ten children. While all their guests must have seen Lucy work, women's work was so ubiquitous that only one person commented on it: English writer and traveler, Harriett Martineau. She noted that the Crawfords acted as hosts and guides, and took in "a flock of summer tourists" in the summer months and traders and woodsmen in the winter. Crawford and her daughters "bustle from morning till night," tending to all and providing food, beds and bedding, and drink. "The women of the family [were] cooking and waiting from sunrise till midnight."¹ That quiet work exemplified the work of mountain women of the time.

Starting with the loss of their firstborn child, followed immediately by the loss of their house by fire, through the growth of the inn's reputation to the loss of their rebuilt home in the mountains to creditors, which forced them to leave Crawford Notch, Lucy Crawford faced many trials. While her experiences were similar to those of other

female pioneers and early innkeepers in the White Mountains, her perception of them was not. As she wrote, "There seemed to be something very extraordinary in our affairs in life, which was an inducement to her labor." Crawford recognized the importance of what they were doing in the White Mountains. Covering her work in her husband's voice, she wrote a *History of the White Mountains* in 1846, recording not only the experiences of men in the mountains, but also those of women whose names might otherwise have been lost. She did it because "she found time," and because the couple desperately needed money.² Through *History's* stories about the lives of the Crawfords and their female relatives and nearby neighbors, early female hikers, and women writers, female mountain legends and the tragedy of women such as Lizzie Bourne have survived.

Lucy Crawford recorded a "female first" with the first women to climb Mount Washington. Three sisters, Eliza, Harriet, and Abigail Austin, had recently moved from Portsmouth to Jefferson, New Hampshire. In late August, 1821, they went to the Crawfords with plans to climb Mount Washington. "They were ambitious and wanted to have the honor of being the first females who placed their feet on this high and now celebrated place." Following Ethan's 1819 path, the three intrepid women, accompanied by three men, travelled a much longer and more difficult route to reach the mountain top than the typical route of today. It took them five days and three nights to complete the journey.³ Lucy recorded, "Everything was done with so much prudence and modesty by them; there was not a trace or even a chance for reproach or slander." Interestingly, Lucy Crawford notes that the only ones who might find fault with the Austins were "those who thought themselves outdone by these young ladies." Lucy herself, burdened by inn duties and child care, had not yet climbed the mountain, though she longed to make the trip.

Lucy Crawford recognized the importance of what they were doing in the White Mountains. Covering her work in her husband's voice, she wrote *The History of the White Mountains* in 1846, recording not only the experiences of men in the mountains, but also those of women whose names might otherwise have been lost. She did it because "she found time," and because the couple desperately needed money.



Ann Sophia Towne Darrah
Mt. Washington
1857. Oil on canvas,
26 x 38 inches
John Hession photograph
Private Collection

Additionally, her husband did not think the trip was suitable for women.⁴

In August, 1825, Lucy's chance came with the arrival of an unnamed sister and brother from Boston. The sister "had made every suitable preparation before leaving home, and was determined to ascend the mountain." She wanted Lucy to join her on the journey, probably as a chaperone, and, after some discussion, Ethan reluctantly agreed. Lucy's delight seeing the view from the top of Mount

Washington for the first time shines through in the narrative: "How delightful!... We could look in every direction and view the works of nature as they lay spread before us—could see towns and villages in the distance, and so clear was the atmosphere that we could distinguish one house from another; but should I attempt to describe the scenery, my pen would fail, for want of language to express my ideas of grandeur of this place."⁵ By the late 1820s, women regularly hiked Mount Washington. The



Marjorie Hurd
"Fashion on the Peaks:
1876–1935," *Appalachia* 20
(November, 1935), (detail)
Illustrated by Grace N. Aznive
and Ethel M. McKenna
Courtesy of the Appalachian
Mountain Club Library &
Archives

The women who followed Lucy were a varied group, but all had or have a **dynamic relationship with the mountains** that often gave them the opportunity to assume leadership. **This place made the difference.**

Austin sisters, Lucy Crawford, and the unnamed Boston woman led the way for female hikers. By the 1830s, enough women were hiking the mountain to have the following published in the *Journal of American Science and Arts*: "If women did 'insist on making this ascent, their dress should be adapted to the service, and none should attempt but those of firm health and sound lungs.'"⁶

Lucy Crawford was a leader in many ways: a pioneer in difficult mountain living, an early

innkeeper who tended some of the first true tourists in the White Mountains, one of the first women to climb Mount Washington, and an historian who recognized the uniqueness of her own time. She led the way and other women followed her path. Would she have recognized herself as a leader? Probably not. The leadership and accomplishments of Crawford and other women were often hidden behind their husbands' names. Their responsibilities were split between family duties, childbearing, and money-earning work. Even today, society often overlooks women's work. Women tend to lead quietly and collaboratively. Their leadership may be seen as a duty to family or simply an enthusiasm. The women who followed Lucy were a varied group, but all had or have a dynamic relationship with the mountains that often gave them the opportunity to assume leadership. This place made the difference. ■



THE COOLEST SPOT IN NEW ENGLAND—SUMMIT OF MOUNT WASHINGTON.—[DRAWN BY WINSLLOW HOMER.]

LIKE MOST PIONEERS, the women who came to the White Mountains to settle left few traces. Their lives lived on in stories told to descendants. When she wrote the fictional piece *The Road through Sandwich Notch* during a campaign to make the Notch Road part of the National Forest, Elizabeth Yates summarized the difficulties the early settler women faced: life “was hardest on the women, hungering for someone to talk with, longing for the sight of another woman. The men could go hunting, and there was always the tavern where rum flowed like water. But a woman was kept home. She might lift her eyes to the mountains she saw from the small panes of her windows and wonder what lay beyond them. Blue and beautiful as they might be, outlined sharply against the sky, they were the unassailable wall. On the other side of them was the unknown; on her side, what had been and would always be.”⁷ Unrelenting work was the norm for all in the mountains, but pregnancy, birth, and loneliness was the additional lot of female settlers. Even at the end of the nineteenth century, Randolph resident Eldena Leighton noted in her diary that a neighbor’s five-day-old son had died during a bleak early February day in 1896.⁸ Child births and deaths, biting insects, wild animals, neighbors too distant in times of need, plus hauling water and maintaining cooking fires in all seasons were just part of women’s lives. For these women, the forboding mountains were not features to be admired or ascended.

But tourists did. They began arriving in earnest in the mid-1820s. Guests needed the attention and responsiveness a woman could provide, and men recognized the importance and necessity of having local women tend to their guests. Inn keeping became one of the first public roles of women in the White Mountains. In the days of early tourism, some women became well known for their hospitality.

In 1831, Dolly Emery married Hayes Copp and moved to his new farm in Martin’s Location, north of Pinkham Notch. Reflecting on what he had learned of that pioneering family, the author of an 1886 *Gorham Mountaineer* article explained, “Uncle Daniel Evens... says he has seen Aunt Dolly piling logs in the clearing, and she would do as much work as any man. Aunt Dolly says she had to put the baby in the clothes basket and carry it out in the field and tend it there, as she could find time.”⁹ Together, the Copps cleared 50 acres of the 200 Copp owned, and began farming. According to later guidebooks, the Copp homestead was well known to tourists as the best spot to view Imp Mountain, a stand-alone sharp-pointed peak in the Carter Range, or to find the start of the best trail up Mt. Madison.

Tradition has it that the Copp house was a tourist home in the summer months. George N. Cross, who wrote a history of the Copps, published in 1927, claimed to have talked to “some of Dolly’s long ago guests still living.”¹⁰ The same *Mountaineer* article stated that “in after years they accumulated a comfortable property, built them[selves] a nice large house and took summer boarders.”¹¹ Nineteenth-century guidebooks, however, did not call the Copp homestead an inn or even a boarding house. In his guidebook, Samuel Adams Drake noted that “the house, as we see by Mistress Dolly Copp’s register, has been known to many generations of tourists.”¹² Was the register simply for tourists who came by to sign? Or was it an overnight guest register? Drake pointed out that the couple lived in a “weather stained farm house” where “long training, and familiarity with rough out-of-door life” governed their lives, not the increasing refinement needed to meet the demands of guests.¹³ Yet, it is clear that, at least on occasion, tourists stayed with them in emergency situations. The only “guest” Cross named was “Eugene B. Cook of Hoboken, who was once a



Above:
Young woman standing at the main trailhead across from the Ravine House
Photograph (detail)
Courtesy of Ginny Folsom Umiker

Opposite page:
Winslow Homer
The Coolest Spot in New England—Summit of Mount Washington
Harper's Bazaar, Vol. III,
July 23, 1870. Wood engraving
John Hession photograph
Courtesy of Bryant F. Tolles, Jr.

“Mount Hayes takes its name from the excellent woman whom visitors in Gorham, some three years since, have occasion to remember with gratitude as a hostess of the hotel. It is now her monument.”—Thomas Starr King, *The White Hills*, 1866

storm-bound guest over night at the Copp farm.”¹⁴ The house was not on the normal tourist path, and it appears that they did not regularly host guests, so Dolly’s celebrity is even more surprising.¹⁵ Clearly, this was a woman of substance.

Whether she hosted guests or not, Dolly Copp was well known and her story is one of perseverance.¹⁶ For 50 years, she and her husband worked their farm, eked out a living, and assisted guests and strangers, before they left the farm and separated, each going to live with a different child. Dolly is said to have left her husband Hayes exclaiming that “fifty years is long enough for a woman to live with any man!” Early twentieth-century officials turned to her memory when naming the Dolly Copp Campground, a campground located on their old farmstead.

Other female innkeepers took on positions of importance in their communities. Sarah Hayes, hired by the railroad company owners as an early manager of the Alpine House in Gorham, may stand in for the many unnamed women who ran inns or whose work was hidden behind a husband’s name. Julie Boardman writes that Hayes “achieved cartographic immortality for nothing more than her pleasing personality.”¹⁷ That “pleasing personality” was important: it kept Alpine guests comfortable and returning each summer. The Alpine House was so well kept that, in the era before reservations, it was often filled beyond capacity with overflow guests housed on cots in

alcoves and parlors. Hayes’ work took managerial skills and consummate customer relations. Boston minister and author of *In the White Hills* Thomas Starr King noted, “Mount Hayes takes its name from the excellent woman whom visitors in Gorham, some three years since, have occasion to remember with gratitude as a hostess of the hotel. It is now her monument.”¹⁸

Starr King was impressed by the men who kept the Summit House on Mount Washington when he was there just before 1859. “Do they not pitch their tents for months higher than the eagles will build their nests? Do they not make their home for days among blinding fogs and sweeping sleet... away from all human fellowship?”¹⁹ He would have been surprised to learn that the first Summit House innkeeper was a woman, Mary Rosebrook, the wife of one of the proprietors. Rosebrook’s daughter later wrote, “When father, with Mr. Hall, had completed the Old Summit House in 1852, they were planning how they should entertain and accommodate their guests without the aid of a woman. Mother told them she would go.”²⁰ Her position made Mary Rosebrook the first woman known to have spent the night on the mountain’s summit. She did not achieve the fame of Sarah Hayes or Dolly Copp, probably because in 1854, after owning the Summit House for only two years, her husband sold his share to new owners and the couple moved to the Midwest.²¹

Wealthy Americans and, increasingly by the second half of the nineteenth century, the middle class had the means to vacation in the White Mountains. They sought relief from the crowding, noise, and filth of the cities and expected to find clean air, clean houses, and lots of good farm-fresh food. To accommodate them, farming families turned their farmhouses into boarding houses or inns, run largely by women and children while the men continued to bring in farming income.

In the early 1880s, tourists commented on the care they received at “Mrs. Dearborn’s little cottage” in Sugar Hill. “The good woman had her house full of boarders but as I came on [the artist] Mr. [Samuel Lancaster] Gerry’s recommendation, she made up a cot in the parlor, and did everything



New Bedford House
Stereoview card image
(detail)
Museum of the White
Mountains



in her power to make me comfortable and to enable me to see all the beauty in the vicinity.”²² Similarly, Fanny Philbrook, “with her native dignity and refinement of manner,” ran a Shelburne, New Hampshire, inn that was particularly popular with hikers, or trampers as they then called themselves. At the turn of the twentieth century, “Beloved Aunt Fanny” returned to the inn started by her parents in 1861 and became the face and heart of the hotel.²³ The work of these women spread the word of the comforts of White Mountain vacations. In many ways, they were leading the mountain economy.

Another female innkeeper who left an indelible impression on the White Mountains was Katherine (or Kate) Sleeper. Born in 1862, Sleeper lost her mother at a young age. She began her working life in her father’s newspaper office and

worked at least temporarily as a reporter. She did not lack in tenacity or self-assurance. In 1890, she went to Tamworth for her health and fell in love with the area and purchased an old farmhouse.²⁴ Influenced by the romantic poet Lucy Larcom who was entranced by the White Mountains and their legends, Sleeper named the farm Wonalancet Farm after one of Larcom’s poems. Sleeper hired her friend and later husband Arthur Walden to run the farm while she turned the house into an inn. Sleeper understood marketing and knew the area could be a hiking center. During the first season, 1891, she invited former Appalachian Mountain Club president Charles Fay to Wonalancet Farm to talk to local residents about building trails on the nearby mountains.²⁵ The community was convinced and trail building commenced.

Camp Party at the Perch, Mt Adams, NH, 1893
Photograph
Courtesy of the Appalachian Mountain Club Library & Archives



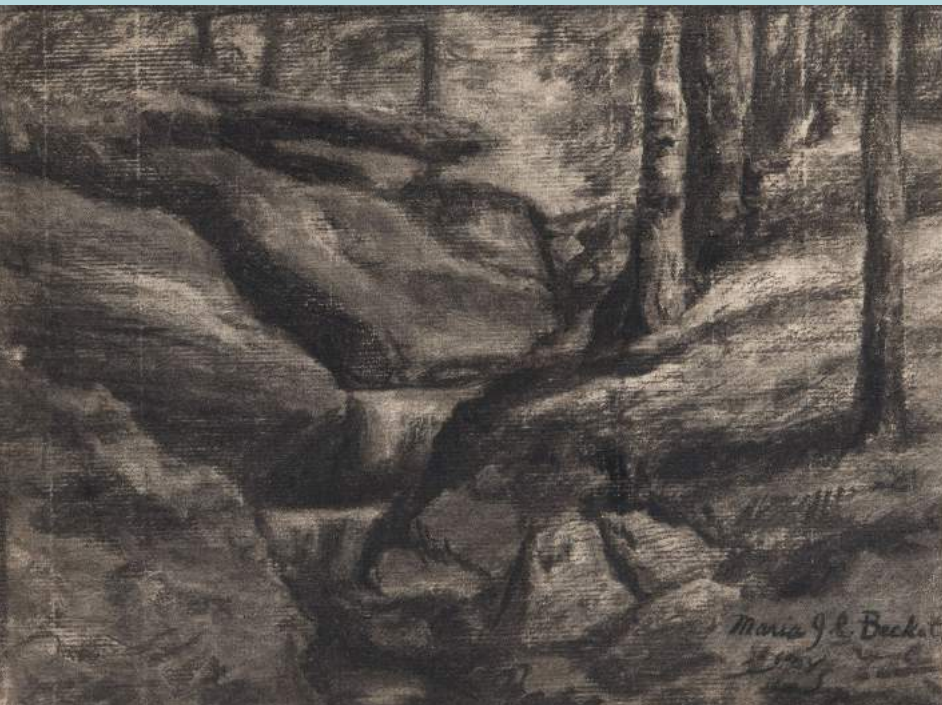
Guy Shorey
Five people in shelter
 Photograph
 Courtesy of the Mount
 Washington Observatory,
 Guy L. Shorey Collection

Opposite, top:
 Charles Codman (attributed)
*Summit House Mount
 Washington*
 c. 1825. Oil on panel, 14 x 20
 inches
 Private Collection

Sleeper became a driving force in the area. In 1898, she helped found the Wonalancet Out Door Club (WODC).²⁶ She knew that the locality—and her inn—would benefit from a network of well laid-out trails. The Club cut paths, built shelters, and beautified cut-over areas by planting trees, especially around heavily logged Mount Whiteface. Maps made the new trails available. After Sleeper and Walden married in 1902, the couple promoted winter sports at Wonalancet Farm, including snowshoeing and dog sledding, years before other tourist destinations did. “Wonalancet [became]... one of the best climbing and winter sport centers in the White Mountains.”²⁷ In later years, Sleeper turned her attention to mountain forest protection. Her “efforts in trail-building... conservation, and public improvements were so energetic and pervasive that she earned the sobriquet of ‘matriarch of Wonalancet and the WODC.’”²⁸ Today she is honored by the two peaks of the Sandwich Range

called the Sleepers or Sleeper Ridge as well as Mount Katherine and two trails, the Kate Sleeper and Walden Trails.

Crawford, Copp, Rosebrook, Philbrook, Sleeper, and other female innkeepers led the way for mountain recreation by providing quality accommodations for their guests. They were particularly important in opening the mountains for other women. Their work, skills, and personalities allowed women seeking outdoor recreation to follow—gradually. ■



Maria a'Becket
Waterfall
 Charcoal on paper, 8 x 11
 inches
 John Hession photograph
 Museum of the White
 Mountains, Frances "Dolly"
 MacIntyre Collection

Three women at summit.
 From left: Hazel Peek, [uniden-
 tified], Theodora Beckwith
 Photograph (detail)
 Courtesy of Ginny Folsom
 Umiker





John William Casilear
Howard Farm, Tamworth, NH
c. 1867. Oil on canvas, 10 x 14
inches
John Hession photograph
Courtesy of Douglas and
Karin Cullity Nelson



IN 1825, THE PARK FAMILY ARRIVED

at the Crawford's inn while Ethan was away. Lucy made "the very friendly offer to attend the ladies [a mother and two daughters] to the top of the mountain." They declined and hired a male guide. The distance and severity of the climb caused the mother and one daughter to stop and wait well below the summit. The other daughter continued to the top, but as they "reached the top in the midst of a dismal hurricane—[there was] no prospect."²⁹ Dr. Park recorded in the Crawford's register, "Gentlemen, there is nothing in the ascent of Mount Washington that you need dread. Ladies, give up all thoughts of it; but if you are resolved, let the season be mild, consult Mr. Crawford as to the prospects of the weather, and with every precaution, you will still find it, *for you*, a tremendous undertaking." The Crawfords, however, must have seen the economic benefit of having women make the trip. A couple of years later, Ethan added a separate room for women to one of his camps. Ethan's change of heart appears to have been more economic than real. He still did not encourage women to make the long hike and climb up Mount Washington.³⁰

In 1831, when Mary Thomas and her husband Moses visited, Ethan Crawford told them that he intended "to construct a bridle path and that if we would come again in the course of a year or two, *I* could ascend without difficulty to the summit of Mt. Washington." Mary Thomas returned in 1834 and made the first of her "8 or 10 subsequent visits to the 'Monarch of the Hills'" that year.³¹

Thomas was unusual since few women or men in the early part of the nineteenth century were interested in climbing to the mountain heights. More to their taste was what became known as "pedestrian tours." "When applied to the New England mountain region, the extended pedestrian tour at first meant mostly walking around the roads of the regions, without actually climbing

many mountains themselves."³² An 1840 journal entry by 16-year-old Mary Hale of Haverhill, New Hampshire, shows her enjoyment of this approach to being in the mountains. "After supper we walked down through the [Crawford] Notch about two miles. The scene was truly grand immense rocks towering above our heads looked very frightful. It is impossible for a person who has such a weak mind as mine to describe the view that we there had of the beauties of nature. We walked until dark, then returned."³³

"The ascent is laborious but easily accomplished if done moderately. I arrived at the top of the mountain first. There never was but one female there before myself. Went above vegetation. The prospect was delightful."—Mary Hale, August 25, 1840

Hale was also an early hiker and loved to climb. She claimed to be the second "female" on top of Mount Lafayette. On August 25, 1840, "We started to go up Mount Lafayette at seven o'clock. It is three miles high, very steep, some places almost perpendicular. ... We arrived at the top of the mountain at about eleven o'clock. The ascent is laborious but easily accomplished if done moderately. I arrived at the top of the mountain first. There never was but one female there before myself. Went above vegetation. The prospect was delightful."³⁴ Apparently, young Hale quite literally took the lead up the final ascent of Mount Lafayette. That same year, a local woman identified only as Mrs. Daniel Patch was the first woman to climb Mount Moosilauke. "She is said to have brought her teapot along and had a brew on top."³⁵ While not yet the norm, adventurous women enjoyed the physical challenges of climbing and the soul-satisfying views found on mountain tops.

By 1855, Mount Washington was part of the experience female tourists could expect. Access to

S.N. Montgomery
Crawford Notch, NH
1895. Oil on board, 8 x 6
inches
John Hession photograph
Courtesy of Michael Mooney
and Robert Cram



“If there is anything I especially abominate it is being trotted from place to place, and ordered to go into ecstasies just because everyone else does. I don’t want admiration dragged out of me; I wish to give it when, where, and how I like, and have the privilege of turning up my nose.”—Louisa May Alcott, 1861

Woman sitting at summit
Photograph
Museum of the White
Mountains

the trails was easier and it was possible to climb the mountain and return to the base in one day. Or, as many people did, hikers could stay the night at the increasingly well-appointed Summit or Tip-Top Houses. The promise of accommodation could have led to Lizzie Bourne’s death on the mountain in 1855. Starting for the summit late in the afternoon with her uncle and cousin, the party was caught in a storm. They sought shelter among the rocks where Lizzie died sometime in the night from exposure. In the morning, the tragedy was multiplied when her uncle discovered they were very close to the summit buildings and safety. Her death served as a cautionary tale, but it did not stop women from hiking Mount Washington. The place where Bourne died became part of a pilgrimage hikers made, adding a stone to a growing cairn as a memorial to Lizzie Bourne.

In 1861, Louisa May Alcott took a train from Portland, Maine, and stayed at the Alpine House in Gorham with her cousin and his wife. Later the author of *Little Women*, Alcott wrote, “The idea of ‘doing’ the mountains in a regular, everyday, guide-book style, was not to be entertained for a moment by me. If there is anything I especially abominate it is being trotted from place to place, and ordered to go into ecstasies just because everyone else does. I don’t want admiration dragged out of me; I wish to give it when, where, and how I like, and have the privilege of turning up my nose.” Yet, when she reached the top of Mount Washington, she was transfixed. “The mountains exceed my expectations in all respects, and I already love them heartily, for they seem to look down upon me like serene Titans.... As I sat aloft there the mountains all about me seemed made of shaded velvet, so unbroken

was the smooth sheet of verdure stretching to their topics; forests of maple, oak and pine, where all manner of wild things live undisturbed, for many of these forests have never been explored; and there they stand as they were made, untouched by axes, untrodden by human feet.”³⁶

Something deep within the human psyche finds contentment, awe, and nourishment in views from the heights. When the first hiking club in the United States, the Alpine Club in Williamstown, Massachusetts, was founded in 1863, local women, not college men, made up a majority of the members. “The twelve founding members included nine women... plus three Williams professors.” Club offices were “also dominated by women... consisted of leader (Fanny Dewey), chronicler (Professor Hopkins), secretary-treasurer (Carrie Hopkins), bugler (Fanny Whitman), and surgeon (Bessie Sabin).” The Club’s objectives were “to explore the interesting places in the vicinity, to become acquainted, to some extent at least, with the natural history of the localities, and also to improve the pedestrian powers of the members.”³⁷ They soon found themselves drawn to the mountains. In 1865 they made two trips to White Mountains, including “a twelve-day expedition during late August.” On the last day of that trip, after eleven days on the trail, they started from the summit of Mount Washington, crossed Mounts “Clay, Jefferson, Adams, and Madison,” and were lost for a while before finding Dolly Copp’s Imp Cottage.³⁸

Though the Alpine Club soon disbanded, women’s interest in rugged adventure did not. In the 1870s and 1880s, larger numbers of women took on increasingly challenging, long-distance hikes. For example, on an 1882 AMC-sponsored overnight hike up Mount Adams, “The ladies proved themselves to be good campers, and were very enthusiastic in their admiration for forest life.”³⁹ Former Alpine Club member Fanny Whitman wrote about the experience and tried to explain why she was attracted to camping. “We had heard much of camping out, of the delights of whole weeks in the open air, of the never-failing appetite produced by the entire change of habit, and, most health-giving of all, the delicious sleep on fragrant hemlock,

lulled by the murmur of mountain streams.”⁴⁰ The group embarked on a three-week trip and, luckily, they loved it. Whitman wrote that women could “do almost the same mountain work as men, may visit those delightful spots which have hitherto been but a name to them, may fish in stream sufficiently remote from civilization to contain trout... [and] may enjoy views not down in the Guide Book even.”⁴¹

In 1872, Hoboken, New Jersey, resident Eugene B. Cook and his sisters Edith and Lucia, along with Lucia’s husband Chevalier John Pychowski and their daughter Marian Pychowska, began spending summers in the White Mountains. It is impossible to know how many “firsts” these women made, but their importance lies more in their explorations of



Ralph C. Larrabee
Four women outside AMC Hut
Photograph (detail)
Courtesy of the New Hampshire
Historical Society

the mountains. Their first few summers were in Shelburne among the Mahoosuc Range before they moved their summer stays to Sugar Hill, Campton, and, finally, Randolph on the northern edge of the Presidential Range, their true mountain home.⁴²

Lucia Duncan Cook Pychowska, “a gifted poet, author, and translator” was also a botanist whose work rivaled the professionals. Her younger sister, Edith Cook was “best known ... for her work as an artist, producing many landscape paintings and sketches of the White Mountains, most of which she gave away as gifts.”⁴³ Lucia’s daughter Marian compiled “one of the earlier sketch maps of the Northern Presidential Range.”⁴⁴ Avid AMC members, all three women delivered papers to the Club during their public conferences and published articles on their explorations, botanical discoveries, and trail-building efforts in the mountains in *Appalachia*, the Club’s semi-annual journal. These women were intrepid hikers. The original letters of Lucia, Edith, Marian, and their friend and fellow mountaineer Isabella Stone carry the pride and excitement of their work in and love of the mountains.⁴⁵

Isabella after a hike near Campton in the fall of 1880. “Having crossed the little bridge to the first rock, there was nothing to do but jump from stone to stone, choosing if possible one above water, or at least not more than two or three inches below it. The lucky ones were not wet above the ankle, but two slipped in, skirts and all. ... It was great fun for those who did not have wet skirts to carry up the mountains, for the feet soon dried.”⁴⁷ Perhaps they were influenced by work of early women’s rights advocates. As Moses Sweetzer noted in his 1882 guidebook, “it need hardly be stated that American ladies can accomplish nearly everything which is possible to their sturdier brethren.”⁴⁸

“My mother, aunt and I have employed three afternoons on the Mt. Madison path in measuring it,” Marian wrote to Isabella on September 3, 1882. “Mr. Watson supplied us with a surveyor’s chain, which we have duly carried over the route to a point midway between the upper Salmacis Fall and the treeline. This point is 2 ¾ miles from the [Ravine] house, and we hope that a mile and a half more will put us on top of the mountain. ... It will require a whole day to finish the work, and I wish you could be here then to be proud with us of our own special way on to the Great Range done, even to the punctuation [on the signage].”⁴⁹ Later that same month they “surveyed a new route to Mt. Adams [now called the Scar Trail], which will bring its summit almost as near to us as that of Madison. ... The rocks and ‘gate-ways’ along this narrow crest are very fine and it affords superb views of the Ravine, and the peaks of Madison, ‘John Quincy,’ and Adams.”⁵⁰

These women also followed some activities that were more expected of female tourists, as they sketched and wrote about what they saw. Her ability to sketch helped Marian to make a very accurate map. On July 31, 1884, Marian and a friend explored the top of Huntington Ravine during a visit to the summit of Mount Washington. “Reaching the edge after a short easy jaunt, we found ourselves somewhere near the middle of its length and in a very favorable position to view the grand headwalls. Thence we climbed the steep slope to the peak that dominates the northeast corner, always in view of the ravine. We [had] left our wagon at noon,



Isabella Stone
Photograph
Courtesy of Peter Rowan and
June Hammond Rowan



Frank Freeman
Harriet Freeman, Edith Hull,
Emma Cummings, Vyron
Lowe (guide)
1902. Photograph
Courtesy of Gordon Alan
Lowe, Jr.

On October 5, 1879, Marian Pychowska wrote to Isabella Stone: “It was delightful to be in pathless woods once more and to struggle with as fine a growth of hobble bush (familiarily known as ‘shin-hopple’) as we have ever seen.”⁴⁶ But their clothing could make some hikes more challenging than their male companions, as Marian explained to



and spent two hours looking and sketching, before we settled down to dinner behind a sheltering cairn, in view of Mounts Adams, Jefferson, and Madison.”⁵¹ But even when following the “usual” activities of women, the mountains could greet them with ferocity. “The wind, which was strong from the southeast, blew up the ravine with tremendous force so that we could hardly crawl along the edge in some places. Miss Barstow said it blew her eyelids down and I was fairly choked sometimes.”⁵² Like so many of the female visitors to the mountain heights, they were not deterred. They enjoyed being awestruck and relished the fear the mountain heights and potential drops could bring. “The views were wonderful and grew more so as we reached the westerly side.... Some of the cliffs are positively fearful to look over. Certain very sheer and solid smooth masses jut out over the immense depth, offering grand foreground. We climbed down to the top of one of these points. A sharp angle formed by the ravine wall and this long overhanging knife blade of rock, made a gutter

for a stream of clear water which rises in the Alpine Gardens above.”⁵³ They were drawn to the beauty of the mountain vistas.

Two years later Marian referred to that trip in a letter to Isabella. “You may remember my telling you about a very fine projecting crag that juts into the ravine, which Miss Barstow and I happened on when we made our first visit two years ago. I wished to revisit the place and see if my first impression would be justified. To reach the head of this projection it is necessary to descend two or three hundred feet of a very steep broken rock slide. This deterred my mother from following us. It is a dizzy, awesome place, so that even Mr. Peek and my aunt were not willing to investigate it thoroughly, but I found my remembrance of its impressiveness was not exaggerated.”⁵⁴ It turned out that the difficulty of reaching that place deterred even very experienced male explorers. “When we returned to dinner... Mr. Edmands asked me to show them the projection of which I had previously spoken to him

Lucia Cook Pychowska and Marian Pychowska
c. 1885. Photograph
Courtesy of Peter Rowan and June Hammond Rowan



Margaret E. Goodrich (Norton)
on Mt. Monroe, August 31, 1912
Photograph (detail)
Courtesy of Nathaniel
Scrimshaw

and Mr. Lowe. So in effect, I had the satisfaction of introducing our crag officially to the president of the A.M.C. He did not think it a safe place to invite the party to follow. Consequently Messrs. Lowe, Lawrence, Nowell and one other were the only ones to venture down the slide. I was surprised to find that the spot was new to all of them, as well as flattered by the enthusiastic interest they showed in viewing the great crag from all sides. Mr. Lowe was so impressed as to spout verse, and his enthusiasm as you may well think pleased me more than anything else.”⁵⁵

Often the Pychowska women hiked alone, yet their solo trips merited only cursory mention. In 1886 Marian wrote “June 29th, my mother and I climbed Durand Ridge with the object of securing certain plants, and thus lessening our prospective labor on Mt. Washington in getting specimens for the alpine books that I am now busy in putting together. When we gained the open part of the ridge, the wind blew ‘comme toujours’, so that my mother soon gave up the idea of getting to Star Lake. While she gathered Labrador Tea and some other things near treeline, I pushed on and found comparative calm as soon as I turned into the path through the shrub to Madison Spring. Between Star Lake and the cone of Madison the pale laurel was in perfection, and other beauties were to be had up the side of ‘John Quincy’. While climbing the lee side of the latter, myself wholly protected from the westerly gale, it was awesome to listen to the roar of the wind along the exposed face of Madison opposite. At 2:30 P.M., I overtook my mother at the lower junction of paths and we returned in company.”⁵⁶ Later that summer, Marian hiked up the last half of Mount Washington alone. She took “the old Glen bridle path ... There is a real historic charm for me in these old paths, disused, in part grown up with shrub, but still betraying the path by the well worn gully amid the rocks. It was, as I thought, a considerable saving of distance, for in spite of the time lost in finding the entrance, I emerged upon the road again just as the team came up. The breeze was now too stiff to allow me to keep up with the horses, so I took my own time, and lunched in a sheltered nook near the seven-mile post.”⁵⁷

The Pychowskas and Cooks often stayed late in fall, meeting the beginning of winter. On October 24, 1886, Marian and her aunt Edith Cook “climbed the ‘Air Line’ as far as timber limit. Winter in person forbade our going further.... The tree tops are all frosty.... I never saw our old friends [the mountains] so stern, for they were not merely rockbound, but icebound—ice and snow plastering the faces of cliffs and setting off their angles.... And such a breeze as greeted us when we reached the bare ridge!... Edith and I did not linger long on the ridge, but retreated to the Scar to lunch.”⁵⁸ How many other women in the 1880s were stretching themselves physically and mentally in the manner these women were? We cannot know; women’s letters and journals were not often saved. Only the more public exploits have been recorded in published materials.

In 1882, Augustus E. Scott, Councillor of Improvements in the Appalachian Mountain Club, decided to explore one of the last uncharted areas in the White Mountains: Twin Range, Guyot, Bond, and Bondcliff, to sketch out the best trail routes through it. The route was known for its difficult terrain and dense foliage. No male members of the AMC were willing or able to go with him, so he resolved to try to hire a local woodsman to help. He then received a letter from a friend asking if the reporter Charlotte Ricker could go along to report on the undertaking for the *White Mountain Echo*.⁵⁹ Scott agreed, but only if she could find another woman to accompany her. Two other women agreed to the trip. As Scott later explained in his *Appalachia* article, “I was fairly caught.... I had painted the probable difficulties of the proposed exploration in glowing colors, and had rather disdainfully expressed a willingness to invite ladies to accompany me if they dared attempt it; and here were three ladies who not only dared, but were eager to go. I would not retract, although I had many misgivings, and some doubts of their reaching even the first summit.”⁶⁰ Although Scott did not name the women who joined Ricker, research points to Dr. Laura Porter and Martha F. Whitman.⁶¹

Martha Fairfield Whitman was an experienced hiker, and, in 1882, Marian Pychowska described

her as “the sturdiest walker I have ever seen.”⁶² A visitor to the White Mountains from the mid-1870s, she had already published articles detailing her explorations in *Appalachia*, including “A Climb through Tuckerman’s Ravine” and “Camp Life for Ladies.” In 1882, during the time of the Scott expedition, she was studying medicine. She brought her friend Dr. Laura Porter. Less is known about Porter.⁶³

When she proposed going with Scott, Ricker claimed to have experience climbing and camping in the mountains. She was exaggerating. By the end of the first day, she lagged behind, as did the two men who accompanied Scott. But that did not dampen her enthusiasm. Ricker explained her reaction upon reaching the top of South Twin to her *Echo* audience: “I am well-nigh exhausted, but the scene outspread before me is of such exceeding glory and magnitude, and there is such an exultation in the thought that I, a woman, unused to privation and fatigue, have reached a height found unattainable by stalwart men because of the difficulties to be encountered along the way. I forget for a moment that I am suffering from pain and thirst and weariness, and in the contemplation of the world below me I quite lose my individuality.”⁶⁴ The seven-day trip across the Twin Range took its toll on Ricker and the two men Scott had employed to carry camp gear.⁶⁵ They did not climb the last peak. But Whitman and Porter reached the top of the final mountain with Scott. Ricker reported, with just a hint of envy, that at the end of the trip the other two women were “nearly as fresh and unwearied as at starting.”⁶⁶ These path breakers impressed other female hikers. For example, in a September 1882 letter to Isabella Stone, Marian Pychowska wrote, Whitman “is the most thoroughly good lady mountaineer I have ever seen... energetic and untiring. She seems to go through exposure, fatigue and campfood with unimpaired digestion, which certainly is not the case with poor Miss Ricker.”⁶⁷ Was she surprised by Whitman’s strength? Or simply admiring?

Before there was a trail, a trip across the Twin Range was arduous at best, requiring climbing under, over, and through underbrush, fighting



the elements, fatigue, heat, and, especially, thirst. These challenges point to the very real difficulties any explorer of the mountains faced even as late as 1882. Porter and Whitman worked on finding and laying out the best trail routes with Scott, while hacking through dense scrub—in skirts. Despite that sartorial difficulty, the small group of intrepid women were not deterred by the high peak experiences and their exploits encouraged other women.

Increasingly, the challenges women found in the White Mountains were of their own making. They sought out difficult climbs, botanical knowledge, and trail building skills. But American society was still not ready to accept that outdoor life or physical challenges were appropriate for women in general. Instead, “certain” women were allowed to lead and to gain recognition and even a bit of notoriety, not something most American women wanted. Most women purposely tried to stay in the background. After all, what woman cared to be known as one who would sleep in a space shared with strange men?

George N. Cross wrote about a trip he made with others to Madison Hut in 1898. His comments on the mixed sleeping arrangements were treated as simply a matter of course: “At last suppers

RMC Picnic at Cascade Camp, September 1913. Eugene Cook and others at picnic for rededication of Cascade Camp. Photograph Courtesy of Ginny Folsom Umiker



Engraver: R. Brandard
(after Bartlett)
*Mount Jefferson from Mount
Washington*
1839. Engraving, 4⁷/₈ x 7³/₈
inches
John Hession photograph
Courtesy of Michael Mooney
and Robert Cram

were all eaten and arrangements for the night all consummated. M[ary, his wife] and I had the double bunk at the left of the door, Miss Irvine and Miss Sawyer were in the single bunk above; three ladies in the other double bunk, two in the single; two gentlemen in each of the single bunks opposite, one man on a long bench, and the guide on the door shutter before the fire.”⁶⁸ But just as the hotels increased amenities and comforts, so did the huts. In 1906, Madison Hut was expanded with an addition “to provide separate quarters for the ladies.”⁶⁹ A woman known only as Mrs. James Cruickshank wrote in the 1904

Vacationers Guidebook of women who enjoyed “living the simple woods life, wearing old clothes, sleeping on balsam boughs with the sky for roof, photographing wild creatures, fishing for salmon or trout, or hunting big game.” These women were sure to tell their “story with all the enthusiasm of a school girl!”⁷⁰ The path had been made by early female hikers. More and more women followed their adventurous lead. Recreation in the White Mountains was open for both sexes. ■

“M[ary] and I had the double bunk at the left of the door, Miss Irvine and Miss Sawyer were in the single bunk above; three ladies in the other double bunk, two in the single; two gentlemen in each of the single bunks opposite, one man on a long bench, and the guide on the door shutter before the fire.”—George N. Cross, 1898



Left:
Guy Shorey
Beginning of four day tramp over White Mts—Flash lights kitchen [of Halfway House]
Photograph of two unidentified ladies working on snowshoes
Courtesy of the Mount Washington Observatory, Guy L. Shorey Collection

Below:
On the Start, Ravine House, Edith Hull, Harriet Freeman, Emma Cummings, Frank Freeman. Their weeklong hiking and camping trip started on July 9, 1902. They explored the Presidentials with guide Vyron Lowe.
Photograph
Courtesy of Gordon Alan Lowe, Jr.



Walter H. James
Homeward Bound, Campers walking to the train for home, 1905
Photograph
Museum of the White Mountains, English Collection





IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO TALK ABOUT nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century women hiking and climbing in the White Mountains without discussing clothing. Women's everyday garb was not suited to hiking, especially if the female hiker was bushwhacking. Not only did long dresses impede progress, but cinched undergarments impeded breathing. Nor were the materials used suitable for outdoor recreation. Louisa May Alcott's 1861 visit to the White Mountains involved walks through fairly open and relatively level territory. Yet she too complained about clothing inconveniences after a short walk near her hotel. Expressing it far better than most, Alcott envied the men's clothing, "wishing I too could be 'one of our fellows,' could wear a hat without any brim, tuck my trousers into my boots, and 'lark' off whenever I like... instead of being a martyr to haberdashery, smothered in coaches and cars, and handed about as gingerly as if I were labeled 'glass,—this side up with care'."⁷¹ Yet she made fun of women without their hoops as they entered the carriages or wagons to go see mountain sights. "Young ladies without hoops skimmed by, looking like limp ghosts of their former selves, old ladies compactly done up like plaid bundles going by some Arctic Express,... small girls with hats tied down fore and aft."⁷²

Everyday dress was not conducive to walks in any adverse weather. Alcott wrote, "I will descend to the grievances of a mundane woman. In spite of many warnings, I have spurned waterproof and rubbers, and have gone forth brave in new balmoral, boots and hat, not to mention a dandelion-colored gown, in a high state of starch. Thus regally arrayed, and more than usually comfortable in my mind, I sat innocently watching a pretty gray cloud come sailing up from the East, admiring its shadow on the green or purple fields below, and thinking no evil until it came just over me; then what did that scandalous vapor do but empty itself

like a bucket right down upon our heads; It was ... a personal affront. I felt it so, and in high dudgeon streamed away home.... It was dreadfully humiliating to return in such an ignominious manner, with my drapery more antique than was agreeable, my feet swashing in my boots, and my hat, oh my hat! A wreck, a ruin, with rain dripping from its brim and ribbons of price, leaving vivid green marks upon my agitated countenance."⁷³ Alcott recognized the inconveniences women in her time faced.

Occasionally, women's clothing found unusual uses, changing inconvenience to convenience. After a trip to Mount Washington, a wagon harness broke. Alcott's cousin, "Will [was] perplexed, Laura anxious, myself in secret anguish, though externally calm.... Despair predominated, an impressive pause ensued, then the colossal intellect of Miss A[lcott]. rose triumphantly above all obstacles of time, place, delicacy and inconvenience, for with her usual decision of gesture and tone, she—I pause to collect myself for the disclosure—she plucked off a stout green—excuse me if I say—garter, briefly observing, 'tie up the strap and come on.'" It was a "doubly useful article of dress" even if it left her stockings without a way to defy gravity.⁷⁴

With tight corsets, heavy and multi-layered skirts, and many pounds of material in their dresses, women at mid-century were hampered from enjoying a climb or even short hikes. Dress had to change for women to be able to lead the way in hikes or climbs. In an 1877 *Appalachia* article, Mrs. W. G. Nowell pointed out the dangers inherent in "accepted" garb for women hikers. Clothing "managed to come into contact with rocks, stumps, and ram's horn, and sometimes we have known the fair owners of these skirts to be so entangled and made fast, that jack knives had to be brought out to cut them adrift."⁷⁵ Further, long skirts with fashionable trim and ruffles could be dangerous. "There were three instances this summer where women came near receiving serious injuries because of

Ralph C. Larrabee
Mrs. F on the Basin Rim
North Chatham NH,
September 17, 1920
Photograph
Courtesy of the New Hampshire Historical Society

*Most of the Cardigan Party,
Margaret E. Goodrich on left,
September 23, 1911
Photograph (detail)
Courtesy of Nathaniel
Scrimshaw*



them.”⁷⁶ Nowell decided that a quite different suit was needed for “hard climbing.”⁷⁷ “Our dress has done all the mischief. For years it has kept us away from the glory of the woods and the grandeur of the mountain heights. It is time we should reform.”⁷⁸

Nowell decided to adapt the “flannel bathing suit” that was worn by some.⁷⁹ A bathing suit could be worn on a crowded beach and she thought it would be a better dress than traditional climbing clothing. She was right, but the suit she promoted was just too extreme for almost all women. It did not catch on, although, as Rebecca Browns notes, “one observer did report ‘beach costumed maidens’ cavorting about trails on Mount Washington in the late 1870s.”⁸⁰ Nowell’s suit became a point of ridicule among female hikers. By 1935, when Marjorie Hurd wrote about women’s hiking clothing, she included a drawing of the bathing suit costume that ridiculed Nowell’s bathing suit option.⁸¹

Despite the rejection of Nowell’s costume, Americans gradually accepted shorter, lighter hiking skirts. In 1879, Martha Whitman, an able member of the Twin Range expedition, wore skirts that reached only to the top of her boots for shorter hikes.⁸² For longer trips, Whitman suggested that

“every woman should have two full suits, even to boots—for a thorough drenching is not infrequent in mountain tramping—and a generous supply of thick stockings. We have tried many materials for dresses ... and have unanimously concluded that flannel is by far the best for comfort and convenience. It is cooler in the hottest part of the day, and warmer when the dampness of evening strikes a chill through other goods. It does not tear easily; if soiled, can be dipped in a brook, hung on a neighboring bush, and when dry will look as well as new. This should be made loose, with a short skirt about to the tops of the boots, with another longer if it is desired for wear in public conveyance. Boots should be a comfortable fit, and stout enough to stand wetting without losing shape. Gloves strong and loose, and the hat wide enough to shade, and so trimmed as not to require constant attention. Rubber boots and a waterproof are necessities for use in the dampness of morning and evening, as well as in stormy weather.”⁸³

Photos may make female hikers of this period appear to depend on the help of men. With several pounds of clothing and the problems of even the shorter skirts while hiking, women could carry little else. On an 1882 White Mountain trip, each woman carried “her own satchel, attached to a leather belt, and a small canteen,” but “all other luggage is delivered to the packman” who was hired specifically for that purpose.⁸⁴ It should be noted that male hikers also often depended on the same packmen to do the heavy work. Like their female hiking companions, they sought the physical challenge of hiking the peaks, and not a test of strength in long-distance packing.

Dress must have often been a topic of conversation between female climbers. The Pychowskas thought that “Miss Whitman must use something stronger than flannel” when she made an 1882 climb with Isabella Stone.⁸⁵ In 1883, Marjorie Pychowska advocated using an “untearable” material, “that very thick cotton stuff that workmen’s overalls are made of,” to make a “walking skirt.”⁸⁶ Her mother Lucia took on the question of dress in an 1887 article titled “Walking Dress for Ladies.”⁸⁷ She urged women to wear low-heeled

boots, woolen stockings, gray flannel, knee-length trousers secured with “loose” elastic, and, since “most ladies will find two skirts more agreeable than one,” two skirts. “The under one may be made of gray flannel, finished with a hem, and reaching just below the knee. The outer skirt should be of winsey ... or of Kentucky jean. Flannel tears too readily to be reliable as an outer skirt.”⁸⁸ The outer skirt was longer, so “a strong clasp pin, easily carried, will in a moment fasten up the outer skirt, washwoman fashion” for going up steep slopes or moving through “hobble bush.”⁸⁹ Thus outfitted, women could have “appeared at the end of these walks sufficiently presentable to enter a hotel or a railroad car without attracting uncomfortable attention.”⁹⁰ This outfit too attracted ridicule in 1935 when Marjorie Hurd included “a fanciful interpretation of Mrs. Pychowska’s costume” in her article, showing Pychowska, skirts gathered up “washer woman” style, hanging on the side of a very steep mountain slope, plucking flowers for her botany collection. However, for the time, the “walking dress” addressed many of the challenges for women who wished to enjoy time out of doors.

“You wonder how my aunt and I climb trees. ... The getting up is very easy as the skirts come naturally after. A graceful descent is more difficult, as the same skirts are apt to remain above.”
—Marian Pychowska, 1882

Thus arrayed, clothing did not impede the Pychowska women from exploring remote areas of the White Mountains or from doing things unexpected of women hikers. For example, at least occasionally, they climbed trees. From those heights they could see where their path was taking them. When Isabella Stone inquired in 1882 how “you manage to climb trees so readily without dropping your dress skirts?” Marian Pychowska replied, “You wonder how my aunt and I climb trees. Consider first that the middle sized spruce trees were conveniently branched down to the ground. The getting up is very easy as the skirts come naturally after. A graceful descent is more



difficult, as the same skirts are apt to remain above, but my uncle and Mr. Peek considerably left us, so that grace did not have to be considered.”⁹¹

Clothing reform continued as more women hiked. When Annie Smith Peck made a presidential traverse solo in 1897, she made sure her dress was appropriate for all possibilities. Newspapers described her hike: “at five in the morning on September 3, following a hearty breakfast, Peck left the Ravine House wearing the same costume she had worn on her Matterhorn ascent. She also carried a linen skirt. Peck said she ordinarily would have started her hike by wearing the skirt, but no guests at the Ravine House were up, so she rolled the skirt into a bundle and hung it from her belt. A small bag containing a sandwich, chocolate, raisins, and a small bottle of brandy also hung from her belt.” At the Summit House, “she immediately put on her skirt.”⁹² Even as bold a woman as Peck did not go into public areas without a skirt hiding her narrow bloomers. But she led the way to important sartorial changes for women.

Without changes in clothing, women would have remained on the sidelines of White Mountain history. Even into the twentieth century, hiking clothing was still a trial. Anna Flagg wrote an

Marjorie Hurd
“Fashion on the Peaks:
1876–1935,” *Appalachia* 20
(November, 1935), (detail).
Illustrated by Grace N. Azvine
and Ethel M. McKenna
Courtesy of the Appalachian
Mountain Club Library &
Archives



Above:
 Mary Safford
Mt. Kearsarge from Crystal Lake
 Oil on board, 9 x 15 inches
 John Hession photograph
 Museum of the White Mountains, Frances "Dolly" MacIntyre Collection

Right:
 Walter H. James
Ida Rachel Butterfield in her "regulation" outfit in 1904
 Photograph
 Museum of the White Mountains, English Collection



article in the *Boston Sunday Journal* following a July 1902 first ascent of the Great Gulf's headwall to the summit of Mount Washington. "Occasionally we found places where masses of logs were piled twenty-five feet high across the stream, making a barrier we were obliged to climb over. Sometimes it was treacherous footing. A man could crawl over

on his hands and knees, rather than walk a log at a dizzy height, but being a woman, in a women's garb, I could only look straight ahead and follow my husband."⁹³ Her observations point out not only clothing issues, but the societal understanding that wives unquestioningly followed their husbands where they led.

After 1900, hiking skirts made a rapid retreat. By the mid-1910s, skirts had all but disappeared and were replaced by pants, which gradually transitioned from bloomers to a Jodhpur style. In 1928, Mabelle Geddes was photographed standing on the Old Man of the Mountain's forehead wearing knickers, high socks, a collar shirt, knit cap, low boots, and a watch.⁹⁴ By the 1930s, women's hiking clothing differed very little from acceptable clothing today. Women wore everything from "long trousers" or jeans to shorts and a halter top.⁹⁵ As clothing changed, women's roles began to change as well. ■



Left:
 Walter H. James
Mr. and Mrs. Mitchell—Mrs. Hamlin. Mrs. Mitchell has her skirt tied up and is tramping in her petticoat, 1911
 Photograph (detail)
 Museum of the White Mountains, English Collection

Below left:
 Ralph C. Larrabee
Miss 'Pete' Mayer sits near a campfire on a trail in the White Mountains, North Chatham, New Hampshire, September 16, 1919
 Photograph
 Courtesy of the New Hampshire Historical Society

Below:
 Kilburne
Tip-Top House, Summit of Mt. Washington
 Stereoview card image (detail)
 Museum of the White Mountains



“Our dress has done all the mischief.

For years it has kept us away from the glory of the woods and the grandeur of the mountain heights. It is time we should reform.”

—Mrs. W.G. Nowell, *Appalachia*, 1877



Mary Safford
Stark Mountain, Fryeburg
Oil on board, 7 x 10 inches
John Hession photograph
Museum of the White
Mountains, Frances "Dolly"
MacIntyre Collection

“The most urgent desire, after an illness or an absence, is to climb a mountain again. And in occasional times of strain just to walk in the hills brings a strengthening of the spirit, a renewed courage and buoyancy.”

—Miriam O’Brien Underhill



ANOTHER GROUP OF WOMEN who led the way to the mountains for other women were artists and writers. Frances MacIntyre notes that female artists tend to fall “roughly into three categories: trained professionals, relatives of male artists and pleasure painters.”⁹⁶ She also points out that “at least a quarter of the American artists who submitted works to major urban exhibitions in the second half of the nineteenth century were women.”⁹⁷ Her words fit the work of literary artists as well. Male artists and writers are far better known today than the women who worked in the same genres, but there were female artists of note. These individuals helped give Americans a way to understand and deepen their relationship to nature in the decades before the Civil War. After the war, women gradually took their work public and some promoted it commercially. No matter what decade, women with young children found it difficult to maintain or promote their creative life in writing or art. Yet, like all artists, the women were path breakers. Not only were they some of the first women to sell art or publish poetry, but their work helped to introduce an interested public, especially the middle class, to the wonders of the White Mountains.

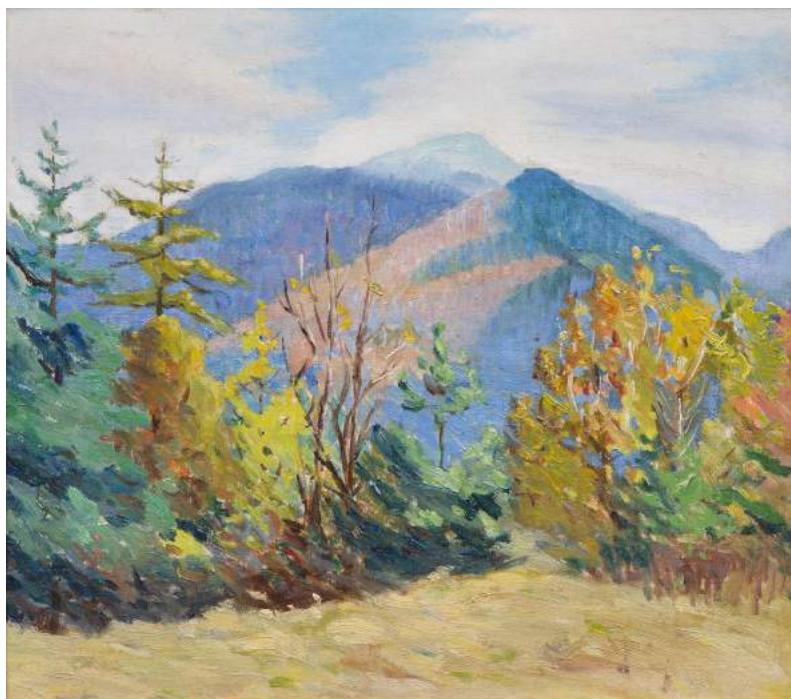
Women walked a very fine line between acclamation and denunciation. In 1828 Lydia Sigourney published a long, romantic poem about the 1826 Willey slide in Crawford Notch in *Ladies Magazine*.⁹⁸ She had been encouraged by fellow Hartford, Connecticut, resident Daniel Wadsworth, who also encouraged and supported White Mountain artists such as Thomas Cole. Sigourney’s work introduced many to the odd geography and romantic musings of life and, especially, death through the White Mountains. She inspired many female poets; she was so well known that Sigourney reading societies and literary clubs formed across the United States.

It was financial necessity that made Sigourney a household name. When her family fell on hard times in the early 1830s, she began to publish work in her name. Her work was immediately popular, widely read and shared. Her talent gathered a circle of poets around her whom she encouraged and promoted. One was John Greenleaf Whittier. After her death in 1865, Whittier wrote,

*“She sang alone, ere womanhood had known
The gift of song which fills the air to-day.
Tender and sweet, a music all her own
May fitly linger where she knelt to pray.”*

Perhaps returning the favor he received from Sigourney, Whittier encouraged budding poets, and invited them to join his White Mountain excursions. In 1859, poet and former Lowell mill operative Lucy Larcom joined Whittier and his friends in the White Mountains where she fell promptly fell in love—with the mountains. To a friend, she wrote, “To me there is rest and strength, and aspiration and exultation, among the mountains.... I will go, and get a glimpse and breathe of their glory, once a year, always.... But I must not go on about the mountains, or I shall never stop.”⁹⁹ She returned every summer for twenty years. Her personality and talent attracted mentors and patronage. Her romantic poetry focused on people’s understanding of and reaction to nature, generally using the White Mountains as her literary canvas. While her poetry does not tend to meet today’s sensibilities, it was very popular, so much so that when she asked, mapmakers named two peaks after the legendary Native American chiefs Passaconaway and Wonalancet, subjects of her poetry.

She never lost her love of the mountains. In the 1890s, she wrote, “There is a peculiar charm in New Hampshire hill scenery just at this season, before the roses have faded, or the hay is mown,



Elizabeth G. Jewell
Autumn, White Mountains
 Oil on canvas, 19 3/4 x 21 3/4
 inches

John Hession photograph
 Museum of the White
 Mountains, Frances "Dolly"
 McIntyre Collection

or the bobolinks have ceased singing among the clover blossoms, and while the midsummer-tide is rolling up over all, and blending all in haze and heat, a mingling of freshness and ripeness that is indescribably lovely. One should surely be among the hills before the Fourth of July, to catch the best of their beauty, as well as to escape the dust and distractions of the patriotic anniversary.¹⁰⁰ Soon after her death, Larcom Mountain in the Ossipee Mountains, right next to Whittier Mountain, was named for her. She popularized other mountains, such as Chocorua or Whiteface, with her writing and brought more tourists to the mountains.

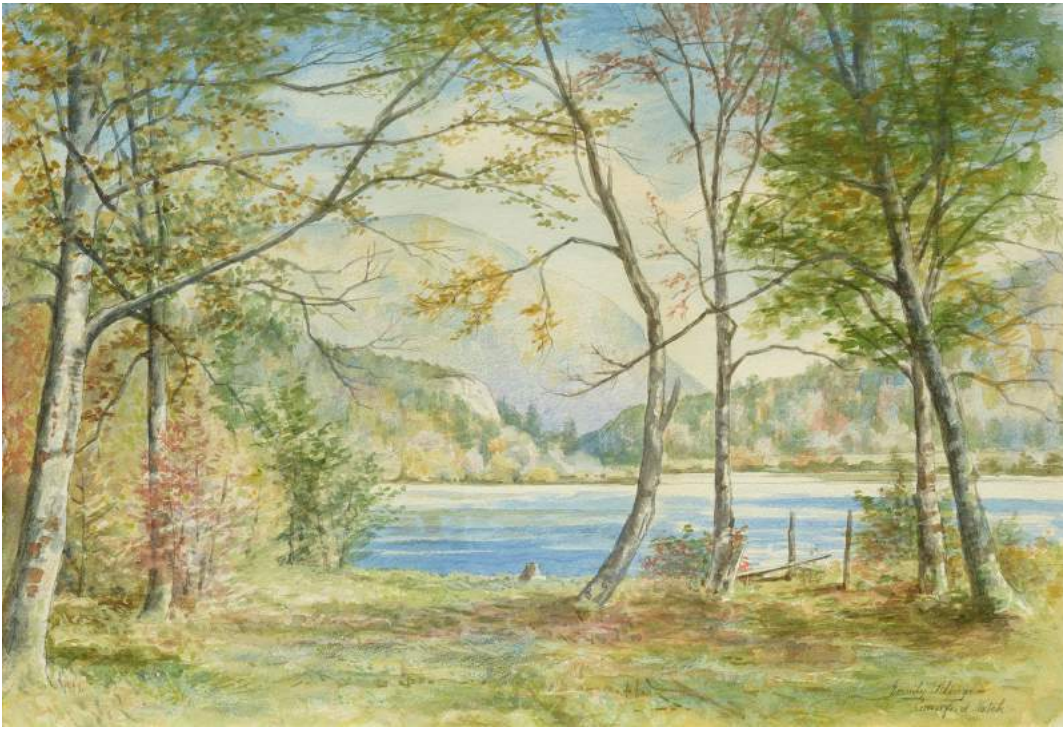
Another writer, the multi-talented Annie Trumbull Slosson, published *Fishin' Jimmy* later in her creative life. She enjoyed botany and entomology, and studied porcelain and writing. She was interested in almost anything and everyone. Her first trip to the Whites was probably in 1878 as a new widow of about forty years of age; she returned every summer for the next thirty. Her yearly stays in the Franconia Notch region made her "a White Mountain personality," primarily because her insect collecting became so well known.¹⁰¹ "Slosson found over 3,000 different insects on the bare summit cone [of Mount Washington], some of them entirely new species."¹⁰² In an article she wrote for the *Bulletin of the Brooklyn Entomological Society*,

Slosson noted the varied reaction to her work on Mount Washington. "I, happily and harmlessly following my beloved pursuit below the [cog railroad] platform, would hear such remarks as these: 'What in the world is that old woman about? What's she got in her hand?' 'Oh, it's a butterfly-net! Did you ever?' 'She must be crazy. Just think of a butterfly up here. Why do her folks let her do it?' ... I tell you I know from experience how it feels to be considered 'a rare alpine aberration.'"¹⁰³ Clearly, even in scientific literature, Slosson knew how to catch a reader's attention.

Annoyed by the busyness of the Profile House, Slosson and her companions began going to the Mount Lafayette House in Franconia Notch. Eventually, she purchased the hotel with her brother-in-law in the late 1880s. She turned to writing fiction around the same time with the very successful publication of *Fishin' Jimmy*. She wrote many other stories set in the region, but *Fishin' Jimmy* remained an audience favorite. In 1930, when the AMC made a new trail to connect Lonesome Lake with the Kinsman Ridge Trail, they named the trail Fishin' Jimmy Trail after Slosson's most popular story.

Women also came to the mountains to paint, sometimes mentored by other artists. For example, Benjamin Champney mentored a number of young artists, male and female. He connected them to visitors and to the Boston art market and the Boston Art Club, of which he was a member. One in his circle, Anna C. Freeland, taught art classes for the Boston Art Club in Jackson, New Hampshire, during the 1880s. Champney also taught artists Annie E. Mackey, Martha (or Mary) Safford, Gabriella Eddy White, and Anna Sophia Towne Darrah.¹⁰⁴

From the early 1880s through 1909, Emily Harris Selinger and her husband Jean Paul were artists-in-residence for the Glen House and, after it burned in 1893, for the Crawford House. The couple each appealed to different tastes in the art-buying public. Jean Paul specialized in landscapes and portraits, while Emily specialized in flower paintings and water scenes.¹⁰⁵ In August 1888, the *White Mountain Echo* reported in language befitting the subject that "Mr. and Mrs. Jean Paul Selinger's beautiful studio at the Glen House still



Emily Selinger
Crawford Notch
 Watercolor, 15 x 22 inches
 John Hession photograph
 Courtesy of Charles and
 Gloria Vogel

continues to be one of the chief attractions of that elegant hotel. Mrs. Selinger receives every afternoon, surrounded by her own beautiful pictures of roses and chrysanthemums, and great jars and vases of the gorgeous wild flowers that are now in bloom.”¹⁰⁶ Four years later, the *Echo* called Emily Selinger “the queen of the floral delineators.”¹⁰⁷ The Selingers also served as organizers and judges for cultural events.¹⁰⁸

It is worth noting that Emily Selinger was the only female artist-in-residence at any of the grand hotels in the White Mountains. There were women at some of the smaller hotels. For example, Anna Freeland had a studio next to Gray’s Inn in Jackson. “The daintily decorated salon in which she received these favored friends was hung with some of the choicest of this year’s paintings, although many of them having been purchased by summer visitors will find their way into distant city dwellings.”¹⁰⁹ But most artists-in-residence, such as Edward Hill and Frank Shapleigh as well as John Paul Selinger, were male.

Maria a’Becket’s artwork was widely known in her own time. Born Maria Graves Becket, she changed her name to a’Becket while studying painting in France. For a ten-year period, she spent three-quarters of the year living in nature, wanting

to get as close as she could to her subject. A professional artist, she took risks and experimented with her art, developing techniques that were years ahead of their time. She painted “landscapes in a Barbizon-Impressionist variant all her own.”¹¹⁰ She was described as “Bohemian yet delightful.”¹¹¹ More importantly, she was a pathbreaker. Art critic Sadakichi Hartmann recognized a’Becket as “a peculiar phenomenon in our art” with a “frail build” and “the vigorous touch of a man.” When he wrote, 1908, she wasn’t exhibiting often, “but various art lovers and critics have been attracted by her work.”¹¹² Working in the last 40 years of the nineteenth-century, her work was shown in Boston, New York, Pennsylvania, Florida, Washington, DC, and Portland, Maine.

While a’Becket was surprising the art world with her technique, other women simply made sketches and painted for a more general or a familial audience. On September 14, 1882, Marian Pychowska wrote to Isabella Stone: “Miss Barstow came along with us with the special desire of making sketches about the Frankenstein Cliff. She made a successful negotiation with the Portland and Ogdensburg Railroad officials, who were very obliging, letting her off where she wished and taking her in on a return trip. She returned a very wet

“I, happily and harmlessly following my beloved pursuit below the [cog railroad] platform, would hear such remarks as these: ‘What in the world is that old woman about? What’s she got in her hand?’ ‘Oh, it’s a butterfly-net!’... ‘She must be crazy.’ ... I tell you I know from experience how it feels to be considered ‘a rare alpine aberration.’ —Annie Trumbull Slosson, *Bulletin of the Brooklyn Entomological Society*



Above:
Mary Perkins Osgood Cutter
Photograph
Courtesy of the Cutter Family



Right:
Mary Perkins Osgood
1895–1900. Watercolor
journals
Courtesy of the grand-
children of Mary Perkins
Osgood Cutter

but very satisfied lady.” June Hammond Rowan and Peter Rowan, compilers and editors of *Mountain Summers: Tales of hiking and exploration in the White Mountains from 1878 to 1886 as seen through the eyes of women*, note that the Brooklyn resident Barstow “was an artist who disguised her identity by signing only her initials to her work, conceding that it would not sell as readily if known to be by a woman. She exhibited her paintings nationally for more than thirty years.”¹¹³

Many women used flowers as their main inspiration, ignoring the mountains behind them completely. Fidelia Bridges studied in Europe and established a respectable career painting primarily botanical still lifes upon her return. Botany was immensely popular. Flowers and close-ups of nature sold. Her mentor, William Trost Richards, introduced her to new techniques, studios, and vendors. In many ways, her careful work highlights

the many botanical sketches, watercolors, and oil paintings done by women who did not ever intend to exhibit their work. Mary Perkins Osgood (later Cutter) is a good example. She was a summer resident of Randolph, a skilled botanist and artist who spent time studying and sketching wildflowers. Between 1895 and 1900, she produced five sketchbooks containing 244 watercolors of wildflowers. “Most of the plates include information in Osgood’s hand on the date and location of the flower’s depiction, as well as the flower’s systematic name; she rarely indicated the flower’s common name.”¹¹⁴ She stopped her flower sketches after her marriage and the births of her children but the sketchbooks show the many talents of the private artist/scientist.

Women did take part in newer forms of commercial art. Frances (Fanny) Flora Bond Palmer of Brooklyn worked for lithographers Currier and Ives. An immigrant and accomplished artist, she



did not have the means to travel; she drew popular scenes, including the White Mountains, from descriptions. Currier and Ives respected her work so highly that they allowed her name to appear on their plates, one of the few artists so permitted.¹¹⁵ She was one of their “most prolific and talented designers.”¹¹⁶ Other women, such as the artist Gabriella Eddy White, turned to photography, a medium that gradually took over the informational role of poetry and art had previously played for viewers. In the twentieth century, Alice E. Cosgrove of Concord worked for the New Hampshire State Planning and Development Commission to promote tourism. She created “Chippa Granite,” a boy who first appeared in popular posters advertising New Hampshire ski resorts beginning in 1953. Her work also included a postage stamp with the Old Man of the Mountains, the design on the New Hampshire inspection sticker, and modern representations of New Hampshire tourism that often focused on the beauty of the mountains.¹¹⁷

A final note about women and art in the White Mountains: women were often the focal point of paintings in the late nineteenth-early twentieth

centuries. In analyzing Winslow Homer’s *The Bridle Path*, art historian Robert McGrath notes that using women as a focal point was a “radical shift from the face of nature to the facts of tourism.” Women made the mountain scenery “neither threatening nor spiritually elevating.” He feels that Homer focused on “human agency” in the mountains.¹¹⁸ Art historian Pamela Jane Sachant has a slightly different interpretation of the same painting. The female rider “embodies both the domesticity admired by the men who left home to fight in the [Civil] war and the independence they feared in the modern woman who emerged in its aftermath.”¹¹⁹ Other artists also made the mountains more appealing and accessible by placing women in the foreground. Frank Shapleigh used well-dressed corseted women taking in the view from Mount Willard in an 1877 painting. *Harper’s Magazine* did the same. Even Harry Fenn’s *The Descent from Mount Washington*, shows women facing the daunting ride down Mount Washington. The implication was that if a woman could take on the mountains, then the area was tame enough for anyone. ■



Alice Cosgrove
New Hampshire
 1954. Part of “Chippa” Granite silkscreen print series
 Issued by NH State Planning and Development Commission
 Courtesy of the New Hampshire Historical Society.

Top of page:
 Fidelia Bridges
Lupines
 1876. Watercolor on paper,
 5 x 8 1/2 inches
 John Hession photograph
 Museum of the White Mountains, Frances “Dolly” MacIntyre Collection



Guy Shorey
*Climbers at the White Cairn
on Lowe's Path, 1897*
Photograph (detail)
Courtesy of the Mount
Washington Observatory,
Guy L. Shorey Collection

“I was fairly caught....
I had painted the **probable difficulties** of the
proposed exploration in glowing colors, and had rather
disdainfully expressed
a willingness to invite ladies to accompany me if they
dared attempt it; and here were three ladies who
not only dared, but were eager to go.”

—Augustus E. Scott, 1882

UNENCUMBERED BY SKIRTS and heavy clothing, twentieth-century women took on ever more physical challenges. In 1916, young mother and college graduate Margaret Mason Helburn tried and fell in love with rock climbing. She and her husband, Willard Helburn, were leaders of the early New England rock climbing movement. They both loved the sport and began climbing year round. In 1923, they started the “Bemis Crew,” a winter climbing group.¹²⁰ Soon other women, generally college-educated and generally well to do, joined the sport. Vassar graduate Elizabeth Knowlton used the White Mountains as a training ground for trips to the European mountains.¹²¹ Attorney Marjorie Hurd began climbing in 1925 when she was already in her forties. Eventually Hurd’s climbing included the Matterhorn.¹²²

One of America’s most famous climbers, Miriam O’Brien Underhill, learned to love the White Mountains from her mountaineering mother. In early winter 1925, on a winter climb with her brother and two of his friends, she learned that she had more reserves and strength of muscle and will than she thought. She also discovered the joy of wilderness: “I felt myself a privileged intruder in a world not meant for human beings.”¹²³ The next year she took on the Alps. In Europe, she felt stymied until she realized that she could learn more by taking the lead. As she later wrote, “Very early I learned that the person who invariably climbs behind a good leader... may never really learn mountaineering at all.... The one who goes up first on the rope has even more fun, as he solves the immediate problems of technique, tactics and strategy as they occur. And if he is, as he usually is, also the leader, the one who carries the responsibility for the expedition, he tastes the supreme joys.... I did realize that if women were really to lead, that is, to take the entire responsibility for the climb, there couldn’t be any man at all in the



“Why is it that climbers feel uplifted in spirit as well as in body when they have climbed to heights?... Perhaps there is a relationship between the satisfaction gained and the effort expended.” — Miriam O’Brien Underhill

party.”¹²⁴ Miriam turned to “manless climbing” and, with one other woman, climbed the Grepon in 1929. After that feat, a famous French climber announced that “the Grepon has disappeared.... Now that it has been done by two women alone, no self-respecting man can undertake it. A pity too, because it used to be a good climb.”¹²⁵ What his reaction was when she climbed the Matterhorn in 1932 can only be imagined.

The White Mountains remained Miriam’s “first love.” After she married Robert Underhill in 1933, the two of them became an active part of the Randolph Mountain Club and the Appalachian Mountain Club. She began publishing articles about her climbs, including one in *Appalachia*, titled “Without Men: Some Considerations on the Theory and Practice of Manless Climbing,” in 1932.¹²⁶ In 1956, she wrote *Give Me the Hills*, an

Robert Underhill
Miriam O'Brien (Underhill)
ascends a chimney up a cliff
near Boston in 1929
Photograph
Courtesy of the Underhill
family collection



Blair Folts
Lions Head, 5/7
1992. Lithographic print,
created on paper, 9 3/4 x 12
1/2 inches
John Anderson photograph
Courtesy of Peter Rowan and
June Hammond Rowan

autobiography of her climbing life. In it she wrote, “Why is it that climbers feel uplifted in spirit as well as in body when they have climbed to heights? ... Perhaps there is a relationship between the satisfaction gained and the effort expended.”¹²⁷ Along with climbing and mountaineering skills, Underhill served as editor of *Appalachia* from 1956 to 1962 and again in 1968 and helped plan and build trails in the Northern Presidentials. She was a “bold, witty, adventurous climber whose personality came through in her writing and her editing.”¹²⁸ In the 1950s, Underhill discovered nature photography; she roamed the Whites with heavy equipment focusing on alpine specimens.¹²⁹

In 1960, the Underhills moved full time to Randolph.¹³⁰ Underhill was the first female member of the White Mountains Four Thousand Footer Club; she and her husband joined as charter members in 1957. They finished hiking all the 4,000 footer peaks in winter on December 23, 1960 when she

was 62 and her husband was 71. “Temperatures ranged from a high of seven degrees below zero and a low of minus eighteen, with winds reaching 72 miles per hour—‘cold weather,’ Miriam admitted.”¹³¹ She never lost her love of the mountains, the physical exhilaration of climbing, and what can only be seen as a need to be in the heights. She wrote, “The most urgent desire, after an illness or an absence, is to climb a mountain again. And in occasional times of strain just to walk in the hills brings a strengthening of the spirit, a renewed courage and buoyancy.”¹³² Underhill’s sheer delight in hiking and climbing was contagious. Her climbs and her writings made her a role model for the next generation of female climbers. Fewer female firsts became worthy of mention after that because there were fewer firsts to be had. But women hiking alone did and occasionally still do attract attention. ■



Above:
John Dunn
*Laura Waterman on the
exit moves on "Lakeview" on
Cannon Cliff*
Photograph
Courtesy of John Dunn and
Laura Waterman



Top right:
Harold Orne
Emilie Klug, circa 1930
Photograph
Courtesy of the Mount Wash-
ington Observatory, Gladys
Brooks Memorial Library



Bottom right:
*Miriam Underhill on alpine
photography trip, 1930s*
Photograph
Courtesy of the Appalachian
Mountain Club Library &
Archives

**“As one American newspaper quipped,
‘More and more, women alpinists are
making molehills of men’s mountains.’”
—Miriam O’Brien (Underhill), 1929**



Crowd on lookout platform
Photograph (detail)
Museum of the White
Mountains

WOMEN LIVING IN THE MOUNTAINS

were farmers, innkeepers, librarians, painters, and pathfinders, and part of their family's economy. The Depression changed the way Americans viewed working women, since there were fewer jobs for men and more jobs, albeit low paying, for women. Perhaps that is the reason a woman was chosen to be the editor of *Appalachia*, the AMC's multi-purpose journal, in 1935 when Ruth Gillette Hardy became editor for two years. She was succeeded by Christine L. Reid who also served a two-year stint as editor. Little is known about Hardy except that she was a writer who published a book and articles on White Mountain artists. Reid was a mountaineer, skier, sailor, photographer, and white-water canoeist who also studied art at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. She climbed mountains all around the world, including the first female ascent of Mount Columbia in the Canadian Rockies. She wrote articles for *Appalachia* and the *American Alpine Journal*; she may also have done some of the art in *Appalachia* during the late 1930s.¹³³

When the US entered World War II, the AMC turned to Reid's friend Marjorie Hurd to act as editor for the duration of the war from 1941 to 1946, and then again from 1962 to 1966. Hurd grew up in a family that emphasized the law, politics, female education, social service, and climbing.¹³⁴ Hurd earned her law degree in 1918 at age 32 and spent most of her legal career working for the Boston Legal Aid Society. She tackled some of the most difficult mountain climbs¹³⁵ around the world and was a national champion canoeist. She joined the AMC in 1910 when she was 24 and became a life member in 1940. As Francis Belcher wrote in his "A Remembrance of Marjorie Hurd," "The Appalachian Mountain Club, mountains, streams and the preservation of our environment were a part of Marjorie's fibre.... All of us, including myself, are better persons for her flint that sparked our steel."¹³⁶

Along with her editorial rigor, Hurd used humor in the magazine to get her point across. One example appeared in an article on the changing clothing of women, "Fashion on the Peaks, 1876–1935." The *Appalachia* piece includes witty comments and comic illustrations of women's fashions over time. Hurd's political savvy, legal expertise, climbing knowledge, and writing skills all made her an excellent editor. As World War II expanded and demanded more personnel, she became a committee of one, but one who maintained the quality of the magazine.¹³⁷ These three women helped the Club move from accounts of trailblazing to a new emphasis on environmentalism.

World War II brought unexpected, short-lived, but important opportunities for women in White Mountains work. Women took on new roles, separate from their families and in comparatively risky situations during World War II when women became fire lookouts for the National Forest and plane spotters for the Civilian Defense Agency. While a very few women had been lookouts before the war, the war brought a shortage of available men and made women's work a vital part of the war efforts.¹³⁸ Lumber was in increasing demand as part of the defense effort and needed safeguarding. In early 1943, Maude Bickford of Tilton became the first female fire lookout in New Hampshire. Assigned to Black Mountain in Benton, she was one of about nine women who worked as lookout and plane spotters in the White Mountain region. The women were nicknamed "WOOFs" or "Women Observers of the Forest" by local media. "During spells of rainy weather the women filled in at their district offices doing secretarial work."¹³⁹

World War II also provided women the opportunity to be hut caretakers for the AMC. Unlike the fire lookouts, they were not given the independence to work alone. They worked with their husbands, but their work went a long way to filling the gap during the war. During World War II, Calista and

In the mountains, the women who wanted to work in the huts were already comfortable breaking traditional roles. They enjoyed the rugged challenges of the mountains and sought the work the huts presented.



Whiteface Mountain,
Sandwich, NH
c. 1950. Photograph
Courtesy of the Appalachian
Mountain Club Library &
Archives

Slim [Stuart] Harris, Jan and John Ellery, and Florence and Bill Ashbrook were caretakers at Zealand Falls Hut during some of the war years. Slim, a professor of botany at Boston University, and Calista Harris brought their two young children to the hut with them during the summer of 1945.¹⁴⁰ However, allowing women to work was clearly a stop-gap measure; as soon as the war ended, so did female hut work, except in the Pinkham Notch Hut. Pinkham is accessible by road and has a “more traditional style of lodging.” Women ran the Trading Post as well as the Lodge. But even those limited roles were too much for some in the AMC leadership.¹⁴¹ Only men were hired to work in the huts and an all-masculine atmosphere dominated. Hidden in this were the wives of hutsmen who were still in evidence as unpaid, unrecognized labor and, of course, the many women who hiked and stayed at the huts. The post-World War II backlash against women working was part of a national trend. The women who had discovered that they loved working in the mountains wanted hut jobs to be open for women. They enjoyed the freedom of being outdoors and being part of a team.

These women began to seek ways to change AMC hut personnel policies using a back door route, the traditional female role of educator. In the early 1960s, women were hired as naturalists of various types to teach visitors. Even the old guard could accept women as teachers. Former hutsmen Calista and Slim Harris became teachers-in-residence at Lake of the Clouds in the early 1960s. They focused on alpine flowers and taught the hutsmen, and through them hikers, to respect and value the tiny flowers that survived in the alpine climate on the highest slopes. In 1964, the AMC published Slim Harris’ book *Mountain Flowers of New England*. The book included the work of his wife Calista, climber Miriam Underhill (who took the color photographs for the book), and future author Iris Baird (who often assisted Underhill).¹⁴² Their work relied on that of early naturalists including women like the Pychowskas. After her husband died in 1969, Cal Harris returned to the mountains and was an integral part of the “Education Squad” for the next twenty years, teaching new crews about plants and birds in the alpine environment.¹⁴³

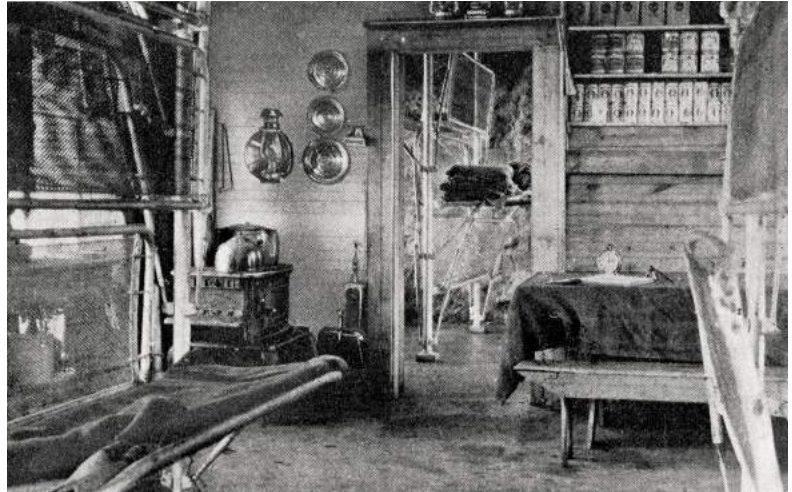
The first official “Education Squad” was created in the early 1970s and was made up of mostly women: Sandra (and Mike) Cohen, Vicki Van Steenberg, and Adele Joyes. AMC personnel used Wellesley College as a main recruitment source for the women naturalists. For example, Joyes was hired as a hut naturalist after an interview in a Wellesley dorm common area in 1972. Her roommate Sally Surgenor was hired for the first research crew. Surgenor later became the first Conservation Director for the AMC. Like Dartmouth, Wellesley was a source of outstanding personnel for the AMC.¹⁴⁴ The AMC expanded their offerings to include programs for classroom teachers as well as hut crews. In the summer of 1973, Sandra Cohen named the month-long clinic “A Mountain Classroom.” Information from the clinic was later turned into a teachers’ handbook. “The huts were exporting knowledge,” and women were leading the way as environmental educators and hiking guides.¹⁴⁵

“Wake up, Huts Committee! We women are good for much more than making babies and keeping house for ‘hubby.’ We too love the mountains and what ruggedness they offer and the people that are tuned into them. ... Have confidence in us.”—Cathy Ferree, 1971

The early 1970s was a time of tremendous social change and a time of acceptance of women as workers. Those changes played out on the trails and huts in the White Mountains. The AMC employed a woman as a hutsman on a trial basis in 1971 just as the Ed Squad began its work. Hut manager Kent Olson took the chance and hired Cathy Ferree to work six weeks that summer at Mizpah Hut.¹⁴⁶ But the AMC leadership in Boston, led by former male hutsman, refused to let the experiment go any farther that year. Ferree responded by penning an arresting log book entry: *Wake up, Huts Committee! We women are good for much more than making babies and keeping house for ‘hubby.’ We too love the mountains and what ruggedness they offer and the people that are tuned into them. It is possible to find some (many) of us who could maturely handle the co-ed situation and who know and respect ourselves well enough to save you any embarrassment. ... Have confidence in us.*¹⁴⁷

In 1972, “after considerable soul searching by the RMC board, the first trail ‘girl’ was hired,” Randolph teenager Betsy Rising. Rising “had spent a lot of time hiking and doing volunteer trail work with the Club.”¹⁴⁸ She knew the trails and the mountains. As RMC leader Judith Hudson notes, Rising “introduced the idea that women *could* function as well as their male counterparts.”¹⁴⁹

AMC hut manager Olson hired Nancy Thomas to run the Lonesome Lake hut in the summer of 1973.¹⁵⁰ As Thomas later noted, “There was a great sense of adventure in being the first woman in the huts. It was a period of change in the hut system and in society. Society was putting a great pressure on the Hut System.”¹⁵¹ But, after Olson hired Saundra Cohen to work the Zealand hut for the fall of 1973, AMC leadership discovered that she planned to work the hut by herself, without her husband. Olson revoked the job offer. Cohen remembers asking him



“if it was because I was a woman. He said Yes—that’s what I recollect. I don’t think that was his personal view; I think that was a position he was forced to take. ... It was the first time I had encountered... discrimination and for no apparent reason.”¹⁵² Cohen then contacted the New Hampshire Human Rights Commission. Her lawyer “determined that the Club’s hiring policies were, indeed, discriminatory, and set up a meeting with the Club’s legal representatives.” The AMC quietly backed down and rehired Cohen.¹⁵³ Finally, women could be full members of the AMC Hut System crews.

In 1977, the Randolph Mountain Club employed a woman they knew well as a hut manager: “trail girl” Betsy Rising “broke through the gender barrier” in the Randolph Mountain Club hut system “to become caretaker at Crag Camp.” The discussion among the RMC leadership preceding the decision was intense. Judith Hudson, RMC historian, recalled their fears: “Would a young woman be overly vulnerable if confronted by a belligerent male?” Unlike the AMC where there were multiple individuals in a crew, the RMC hut managers were the only crew in the huts, making the decision more difficult. Rising effectively managed the camp, kept order, and made hikers—and thus the RMC—happy.¹⁵⁴

Guy Shorey
Mt. Monroe Hut Interior
c. 1915. Photograph
From the Shorey Studio,
Museum of the White
Mountains



“We really felt like these were our mountains. You get a real sense of ownership when you work in the huts ‘cause you’re not visiting. You are a resident of the White Mountains and, and we really felt like we were of the White Mountains and the White Mountains were *ours*. It was our backyard. It was literally our backyard. And so it creates an indelible bond.... To this day, it’s emotional. When I go up to the White Mountains, ... I really feel like I belong there and I don’t have that feeling anywhere else I’ve traveled and I’ve traveled to a lot of places. It’s a very, very strong sense of identification.”—Margaret “Peggy” Dillon, 2014

Top left:
Harold Orne
Mt. Washington (detail)
c. 1950. Photograph
Courtesy of the Appalachian
Mountain Club Library &
Archives

Top right:
*Ann Dodge and Mary Louise
Sawyer with Donkey at Mad-
ison Spring Hut, 1945*
Photograph. (detail)
Courtesy of the Appalachian
Mountain Club Library &
Archives

Researcher and 2015 AMC huts crew member Grace Pezzella believes that many of the female hut crew members were drawn to the mountains to explore their identities and to better connect with the outside world. In the mountains they could try new roles, discover or stretch their physical power, and explore the heights. As Pezzella notes, “Perhaps this stems from the rich history of women in the region defying gender roles not to prove a point but because they could not bear to remain indoors.”¹⁵⁵ The mountains stoked their sense of adventure. It was far less to challenge gender boundaries and far more their love of the White Mountains that inspired women to take part in the hut systems. Increasingly, their desire to preserve the wilderness experience was the main motivating force. As former hutsman Margaret “Peggy” Dillon declared, “We really felt like these were our mountains. You get a real sense of ownership when you work in the

huts ‘cause you’re not visiting. You are a resident of the White Mountains and, and we really felt like we were of the White Mountains and the White Mountains were *ours*. It was our backyard. It was literally our backyard. And so it creates an indelible bond.... To this day, it’s emotional. When I go up to the White Mountains, ... I really feel like I belong there and I don’t have that feeling anywhere else I’ve traveled and I’ve traveled to a lot of places. It’s a very, very strong sense of identification.”¹⁵⁶

As part of the crew, women worked as hard as the men. In a 1974 *Backpacker* article, author Daniel Ford wrote that men and women packed at least 75 pounds and up to 100 on frames built especially for hut crews.¹⁵⁷ By the late 1970s and early 1980s, Peggy Dillon explained, “We did all the same work.... [S]ome of the guys packed more than the women did. I mean, they weighed more than us, you know ... but no, I would not say there was



Stuart H. Woodham
Rebecca Fullerton in 1915
hiking costume
Photograph
Courtesy of Fullerton and
Woodham

any kind of division of labor because we all had to pack a couple times a week. We all had to take turns doing what was called ‘Cook Day.’ So, if you were cook on a given day, you were in the kitchen all day.... There really wasn’t much of a distinction in terms of what men or women did.”¹⁵⁸ Despite the seemingly equal division of labor, women were still not completely accepted as leaders. In 1983 Barbara Wagner became the first and, thus far, only female huts manager of the AMC huts. She worked as a crew member for two summers before being hired as huts manager.¹⁵⁹

There are complex and multilayered reasons for the slow acceptance of women in the huts. For some men, there was no question that women were capable of the work. They encouraged potential female workers and helped others in the organization understand why women should be given roles in the huts. After all, women had done the work before, as evidenced by the solo female hikers and climbers and by the work of women during World War II. But it had been forgotten or was seen as an anomaly. Another reason lies in the legacy of American sexism: a belief that women simply were not capable of organizing a hut and maintaining order there; neither female body nor brain was suited for the job. Some feared that women, alone and “defenseless” at the huts would be victimized by a passing group of men.

Fear for and prejudice about women are perennial issues that any woman trying to break the

mold has faced. In the mountains, the women who wanted to work in the huts were already comfortable breaking traditional roles. They enjoyed the rugged challenges of the mountains and sought the work the huts presented. They wanted, or for some needed, to be deeply involved in the mountains. They knew they were capable, but it took a while for some in leadership to recognize the same. Today, Judith Hudson of the Randolph Mountain Club notes that “having had women as hut masters has civilized the whole experience for a lot of people because there aren’t a lot of people... getting out of hand when [there are]... women in charge.”¹⁶⁰

Having women as members of the hut crews brought almost no noticeable changes to hikers or even the hut crews. Liz Shultis, who was in the Zealand Falls hut in 1974 with an all-male crew, remembers no sexism. It was, instead, a positive experience for both the crew and the guests. Shultis said, “People would say things such as ‘It’s about time,’ or ‘It’s so nice to have a woman in the huts.’”¹⁶¹ According to Pezzella, during the 1970s, hut work was degendered since men and women shared all crew duties and received equal pay.¹⁶² Especially in terms of pay for women, the trail clubs were on the leading edge of change. The change made, hut crews and many others turned their focus once more to environmental activism, working to protect the mountains they loved from the impact of too many people who loved them as well. ■



Mary Perkins Osgood
1895–1900. Watercolor
journals
Courtesy of the grand-
children of Mary Perkins
Osgood Cutter

“And here may I be permitted to say a word as to the care that ought to be used that the rarer plants may not be exterminated by the reckless treading of pedestrians over the mountain ways, or by the still more reckless behavior of botanists in search of “specimens.” It may be that these lovely children of the rarer atmosphere and biting cold of the loftier regions may become so scarce that the above record will seem a mere tale of bygone times to the future explorer,—a consummation devoutly to be deplored!”—Lucia Cook Pychowska, “Botanical Notes,” *Appalachia*, 1883

WHEN THE APPALACHIAN Mountain Club was founded in 1876, the Club's initial mission was to explore and study the mountains. At the Club's second meeting on March 8, 1876, women were admitted to membership and twelve women joined the ranks of the total membership of 119. "A key factor in the success of the club was its early recognition that times were changing for women.... The decision not to remain an all-men preserve was a vital one for the AMC's success in becoming the dominant outdoor club of the Northeast."¹⁶³ The Club focused women's exploration, writing, and physical activities in the White Mountains. The mountains gave these nineteenth-century women freedom to explore new ideas, pursue intellectual goals, and take on physical challenges. Women came to recognize the importance of protecting what they had come to love.

As more and more people recreated in the mountains and as logging grew and fires spread, people began to realize that the mountains needed protection. Women were often quiet leaders of that movement. Lucia and Marian Pychowskas and Isabella Stone understood the need to defend the mountains. As an amateur botanist who developed an extensive collection, Lucia Pychowska recognized the fragility of the environment. In an 1883 *Appalachia* article, she wrote, "And here may I be permitted to say a word as to the care that ought to be used that the rarer plants may not be exterminated by the reckless treading of pedestrians over the mountain ways, or by the still more reckless behavior of botanists in search of 'specimens'. It may be that these lovely children of the rarer atmosphere and biting cold of the loftier regions may become so scarce that the above record will seem a mere tale of bygone times to the future explorer—a consummation devoutly to be deplored!"¹⁶⁴ How many other female amateur

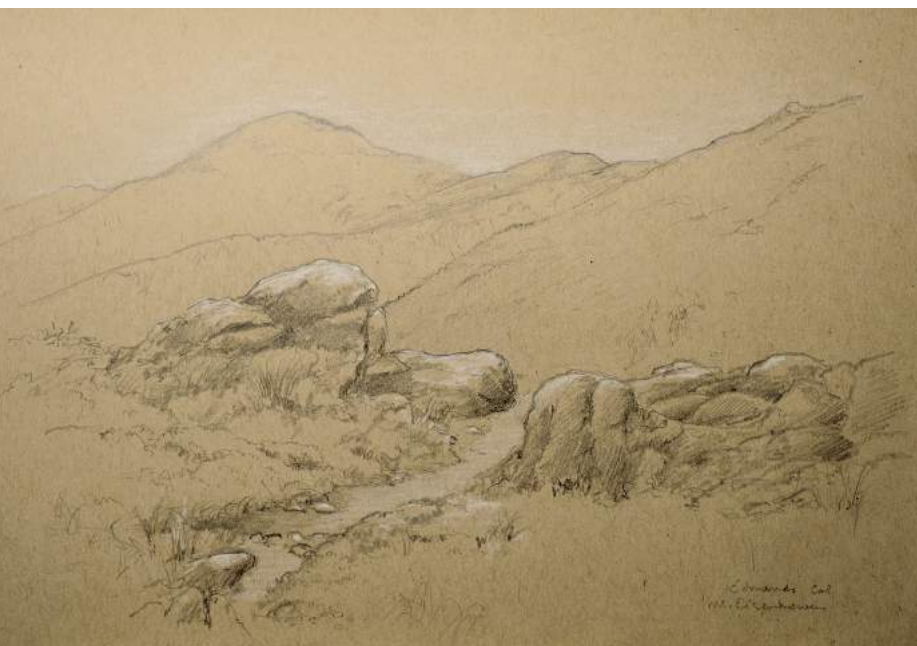
botanists were quietly urging their family and friends to protect the environment?

Isabella Stone recognized that her relationship to the mountains was different from that of many tourists.¹⁶⁵ She and her friends wanted seek out wilderness and see nature up close in all weathers, but most guests wanted something less wild. Along with increasing creature comforts, the late nineteenth century saw a dramatic increase in tourism. Stone asked her friend, Miriam, "have you heard the dreary news that a railroad up Mt. Lafayette has been determined upon and surveys will be commenced this summer? Alas!"¹⁶⁶ Stone and Pychowska were some of the first to recognize the detrimental impact of recreational use of the mountains. "Their" mountains were under attack.¹⁶⁷

There was an explosion of environmental activism in the early twentieth century. For women, activism was often accepted as a part of women's work to protect their families and, thus, larger society. Americans recognized, even applauded, female activism that provided broad protection for their families and communities, especially if it was done as part of an all-women's group. Their work is best seen through the New Hampshire Federation of Women's Clubs. Founded in October 1896, they took the motto: "In principle, like our granite; in aspirations, like our mountains; in sympathy as swift and far-reaching as our rivers," and chose gray and green for their colors and the Old Man of the Mountains as their symbol.¹⁶⁸

From her home, Ellen McRoberts Mason watched with increasing concern as logging denuded mountains sides and left slash that fed the increasingly frequent fires. Mason was a poet and writer and the wife of a Conway innkeeper, a progressive, and, eventually, a suffragist, and vice president of the New Hampshire Federation of Women's Clubs (NHFWC). In 1889, a friend reported that "as summer correspondent at North Conway [for the *Boston Herald*, *White Mountain Echo*, and

"Perhaps this stems from the rich history of women in the region defying gender roles not to prove a point but because they could not bear to remain indoors."—Grace Pezzella, 2015



Mary Cecile Graham
Edmands Col, Mt. Eisenhower
(sketch), August 2013. Graphite and chalk on brown paper, 11 x 14 inches.
Sketch was done *en plein air* on Mt. Eisenhower
Courtesy of the artist

other news outlets], Mrs. Mason has made known to the outside world the enchanting beauties of the region.” Conway was “imparadised among the great watching hills of the north.”¹⁶⁹ Her public concern for the White Mountains led her to be one of nine founders, and the only woman, of the Society for the Protection of New Hampshire Forests in 1901. Her passionate leadership within the Women’s Club helped the women focus on preservation of the White Mountains. She served as the “chairman” of the Forestry Commission for the NHFWC from 1897 to 1905 and convinced women to join the Society for the Protection of New Hampshire Forests as life members.¹⁷⁰ In 1910, her work and the work of New Hampshire’s Women’s Clubs convinced the national organization of Women’s Clubs to actively support the Weeks Act, the national legislation to create the eastern national forests. After the bill passed in 1911, the Forest Society and the NHFWC worked together to protect Crawford Notch and other threatened environmental treasures from logging and unrestricted use.¹⁷¹

Mason carved a trail for a cadre of environmental activists among New Hampshire’s women to follow. In 1923, just after the Profile House burned, it appeared that Franconia Notch was going to be cut over for development. Former NHFWC president Alta McDuffee was asked by the head of the Society for the Protection of New Hampshire

Forests to organize and lead the NHFWC’s efforts to raise \$200,000 to purchase Franconia Notch as a state park, to aid Forest Society’s efforts.¹⁷² Two years later, Dr. Zatae Straw helped that campaign by introducing a resolution into the state legislature to build a World War I war memorial in Franconia Notch. An ardent outdoorswoman and excellent fundraiser, she was very successful.¹⁷³ When the New England Women’s Clubs met in Burlington, Vermont, for their 1927 conference, New Hampshire delegate Eva Speare called for the “support of sister clubwomen” in their efforts to preserve Franconia Notch.¹⁷⁴ They voted in agreement and the national federation publicized the cause.

At the same time, because the effort to protect Franconia Notch seemed stalled, the New Hampshire Federation of Women’s Clubs took complete control of the campaign and moved the effort into the national spotlight. In a letter pitching an article to the *Clubwoman*: McDuffee noted that “Franconia Notch and the Old Man of the Mountain have assumed added national significance, due to a country-wide activity to save them from the effects of lumbering. This region has linked itself... with three national movements: the forest conservation movement, flood prevention through reforestation, and the drive to prevent the destruction of national landmarks.... The women of clubs in all parts of the country are asking for information and how they can aid.” In January 1928, McDuffee’s article “Franconia Notch in Danger,” appeared in *Clubwoman*.¹⁷⁵ The Franconia Notch campaign was successful; the Notch became a New Hampshire state park by the end of that year. The Notch saved and her passion found, McDuffee went on to become an assistant to the forester/president of the Society for the Protection of New Hampshire Forests in 1930.

Members of the Women’s Clubs were not the only ones working in conservation. In 1910, hiker Elizabeth E. Jones became one of the first four officers of the newly formed Randolph Mountain Club.¹⁷⁶ Their first task was to restore the trails. Jones was instrumental in the trail building and organization. She was, as RMC historian Judith Hudson recalls, an “indomitable volunteer” who

inspired the next generation of Randolph women with her conservation-minded activism.¹⁷⁷ Another inspirational environmentalist was hotel owner Katherine Sleeper Walden. She did not plan to be an environmentalist; she wanted to run a hotel and farm. In 1914, when Sleeper saw that the land near her hotel was in danger, she led an effort to have the “Bowl,” a large tract of land between Mount Whiteface and Mount Passaconaway, included in WMNF.¹⁷⁸ Her negotiation skills helped to convince the Conway Lumber Company to sell the 3,000 acres to the government for a good price.¹⁷⁹

Even as the national progressive spirit died out after World War I, conservation-minded women continued to work for their mountains. Geologist and Wellesley professor Katherine Fowler-Billings met her future husband Marland when she was part of the effort to map the Cardigan quadrangle; her work on that was published in 1937.¹⁸⁰ Fowler-Billings was a lifelong ardent conservationist and convinced her friend Anna Bemis Stearns to purchase the Green Hills near Conway in the late 1980s. A woman of wealth, Stearns discovered the White Mountains and climbing around 1920.¹⁸¹ It might be said that she wintered in Boston, but she lived in Randolph.¹⁸² She served on the RMC board for 13 years, including a two-year stint as its president, at various points in her later adult life. In 1951, she established the Anna Stearns Foundation “to make grants to help women, children, and the environment.”¹⁸³ When Fowler-Billings approached her friend and hiking companion about buying the Green Hills, Stearns decided to help. The sale was completed in April 1990 shortly after Stearns’ death. It is a lasting legacy to the efforts of both women. Fowler-Billings later wrote that the Green Hills Preserve “is a place to escape from the pressures of life in a busy, demanding world, an island of refuge, where one can still enjoy peace and solitude. Its value as a natural area will be its greatest appeal in the future when so few such places will be left.”¹⁸⁴ Her foundation has continued to support projects in Randolph, including the 10,000 acre Randolph Community Forest, and the RMC’s Stearns Lodge which provides housing for the Club’s employees.



Today, women continue the efforts of these conservationists. There are many examples but two will suffice. Former journalist Rebecca Brown helped to found and now leads the Ammonoosuc Conservation Trust (ACT). ACT aims to protect North Country lands of ecological, community, historic, or scenic value. The group seeks to protect working farmland and open lands from development.¹⁸⁵ The other example is Jane Difley. The Society for the Protection of New Hampshire Forests, led by Difley, is leading the efforts to stop proposed plans to bring high-power towers through the White Mountains regions, while she and the Society actively promote alternative ways to bring power to southern New England. In a 2013 editorial written with Carolyn Benthien, chair of the Society for the Protection of New Hampshire Forests’ Board of Trustees, Difley states that “this [development] proposal threatens our scenic landscapes and existing conserved lands, including the White Mountain National Forest, our own [state] forest reservations, and dozens of other lands protected by other organizations. This is unacceptable.”¹⁸⁶ Like earlier activist women, Brown and Difley understand the value of the mountains is not simply monetary; the mountains provide much more. ■

Jane Difley, President and Forester, Society for the Protection of New Hampshire Forests
John Anderson photograph



Dianne Taylor Moore
*Mt. Moosilauke—Harvest
the Light*
2011. Pastel on paper, 8 x 12
inches
Courtesy of the artist

“I think **I’ve gotten gradually more addicted** to them. I can’t imagine not being able to be here ... when I’m up above tree line, it’s sort of exhilarating. I guess **I try to live in the minute up there** and say, you know, maybe I’ll never be back again, but **let’s enjoy it to the fullest** while I’m here.”—Judith Maddock Hudson, 2014

THE CHALLENGES THE MOUNTAINS provided to women led them to careers and life opportunities. While there are many contemporary women who fit the mold, we will look at a few of them more closely: Jayne O'Connor, Rebecca Oreskes, Barbara Wagner, and Laura Waterman.

In the fall of 1960, New York-based Laura Johnson joined the AMC's beginner rock-climbing weekend at the Shawangunks. There she met Guy Waterman and the two began climbing together, making extended trips up to the White Mountains. They married and moved to Vermont in 1973, setting up an off-the-grid, self-sufficient life that gave them time for mountains. To support themselves, they began writing a column on camping and hiking for a Boston-based magazine called *New England Outdoors*. "In the late 1970s," Laura said, "we were approached by a publisher who offered to put these columns in a book, and that's how our Ethics books came to be."¹⁸⁷ *Backwoods Ethics* came first, followed by *Wilderness Ethics* in 1993. In between came the Waterman's detailed history of northeastern hiking and trail building called *Forest and Crag*, and their rock and ice climbing history, *Yankee Rock & Ice*.

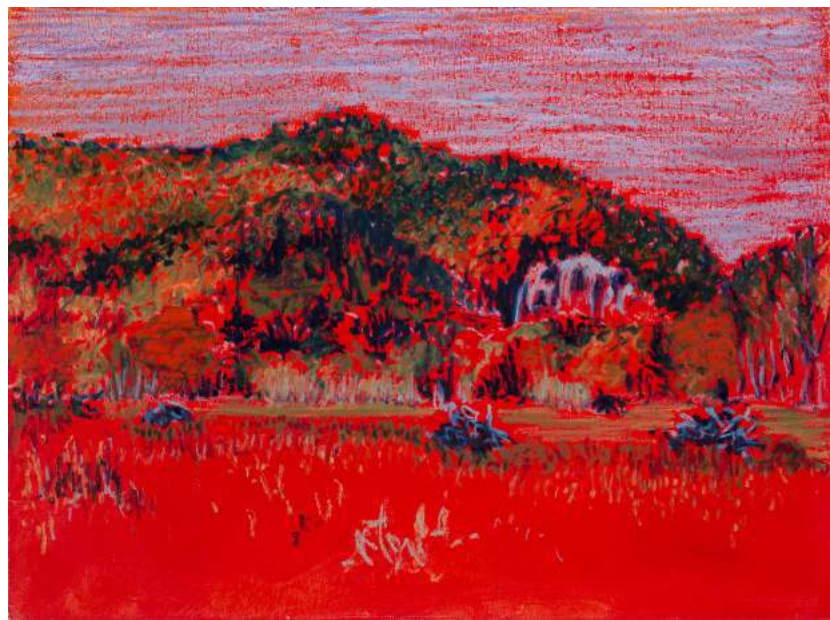
As environmental stewards, the Watermans began maintaining the Franconia Ridge Trail under the AMC's fledgling Adopt-a-Trail Program in 1980. For the next decade and a half, they repaired cairns, cleared waterbars, cut brush, and kept the treadway clear of rubble while answering questions from hikers who asked them what they were doing. It was the perfect opener to further discussion about the fragility of the alpine terrain and the necessity for every hiker to become a steward. "The Franconia Ridge," Laura said, "felt like an extension of our backyard; it felt like home."¹⁸⁸

The Watermans had set up their life well for mountain exploration, particularly in winter when the homesteading work tapered down. They taught

at the AMC's Winter Mountaineering School during the 1970s and 1980s, but their great love was the four- or five-day camping trips, often with friends, to explore hard-to-reach ridges, faces, and slides through steep snowshoe bushwhacks or ice climbs. In 1975, the couple made an early ascent of the Black Dyke on Cannon Cliff, making Laura the first woman to climb what ice climber and Patagonia founder Yvon Chouinard described as "a black, filthy, horrendous icicle 600 feet high." In February 1980, Laura, with fellow winter climbers Natalie Davis and Debbie O'Neil Duncanson, completed the first women's winter Presidential Traverse. After her husband died in 2000, Laura continued their work through the Waterman Fund, a nonprofit that supports stewardship, education, and research in the alpine regions of northeastern North America.¹⁸⁹

"The Franconia Ridge felt like an extension of our backyard; it felt like home."—Laura Waterman, 2015

Jayne O'Connor's family ran an inn in Franconia in the 1960s. She understood the draw of the mountains.¹⁹⁰ In the late 1970s, while she was in college, O'Connor worked as part of the ski patrol at nearby Cannon Mountains. There she encountered some discrimination but also a mentor. "Sometimes I was the only woman on the ski patrol... it was always a challenge to get equal treatment, let alone equal pay, but equal treatment was very difficult.... I was very fortunate that I had an older gentleman who sort of took me under his wing, he would partner with me, which was a good thing. If it was his day off, then it was tougher." O'Connor learned to take the discrimination from her co-workers in stride and discovered that she had the strength to do it.¹⁹¹ She also learned to be flexible. When being an engineer proved impossible because she was left handed in a pre-electronic



Betty Flournoy Brown
Cathedral Ledge Mt. Washington Valley Diptych
2015. Oil on birch panels,
18 x 48 inches
Courtesy of the artist

world, she turned to communication and discovered she loved it. O'Connor returned to the White Mountains and became the president of White Mountains Attractions, a job that incorporates her love of the mountains, her understanding of tourism, her flexibility, and her communication skills. Today, her job "is in a lot of ways like being the coach. I have a lot of pots on the stove, projects that are running. We work on a project basis, so I have five employees under me year round and then up to about thirty employees during the summer.... It's my job to keep the lids on all the pots, to coach the employees who are in charge of various projects, to make sure the deadlines get met, that people get taken care of, the marketing gets done, the reporting for the marketing gets done, the businesses that work with us are all kept happy."¹⁹²

At age fifteen, Rebecca Oreskes was drawn to the mountains during a three-week science trip that included time in the huts. Two years later, she applied to work in the huts. "I applied for a job to work in the huts thinking I would never, ever get the job because: a) I wasn't a man, and b) I didn't go to Dartmouth, and c) I was a kid from New York who'd never gone to the White Mountains. But I did get the job and... from then on I pretty much stayed."¹⁹³ She started working at

the AMC's base lodge in Pinkham Notch in 1979 and became manager for Lakes of the Clouds hut in 1983. One evening an "old hutsman" told her, "I'm gonna let you in on a little secret, don't tell no one I told you this," he said, "I think the huts are way better now that women are in them." She had fallen in love with the mountains and turned to the United States Forest Service for her career.¹⁹⁴ Early in her career, she was the only woman on a timber marking crew. "One day [we had]... bad weather.... The crew just wasn't going out and our boss brought us all together and said 'ok, we have tools that need to be worked on over at the equipment depot so all the guys can go there.' And then he looked at me and said, 'Rebecca, why don't you go work with the girls in the office?'"¹⁹⁵ The Forest Service adapted, she remained and was promoted. She ended her Forest Service career as part of the forest leadership team. "I was responsible for all the programs that have to do with [visiting] people.... I oversaw the recreational wilderness, heritage, public affairs, volunteers.... When you go hiking in the White Mountain National Forest, people don't think [about] trails and managing use and trying to find that balance between public use and protecting the land... managing those, being good stewards of those lands."¹⁹⁶ Retired from the

“So I fell in love with the mountains. Of course, I fell in love with them when I was skiing on them too. For me the mountains are my inspiration. When things aren’t going well/pretty crummy in my life I go out into the mountains. I go everyday anyway with the dogs, and we hike for an hour and a half—we go up a mountain around here. As often as I can then in the summer I drive up north and go into the Whites. I think I’ve celebrated every birthday since I was 15/16 on atop of a mountain in the White Mountains.”—Penny Pitou, 2014

Forest Service, Oreskes continues to work for the mountains. With a colleague at New Hampshire Fish & Game, she developed a hiker safety education program called Hike Safe. She is currently on the board of the Society for the Protection of New Hampshire Forests.¹⁹⁷

The first female huts manager, Barbara Wagner, took her White Mountain work into nonprofits and out of the White Mountains. “I reached a point where I was getting increasingly interested in what made great nonprofits, nonprofit organizations, work well, what made them tick.... How did the ones that were considered really successful or great places to work, what set them apart? And so, that led me to the idea of going to graduate school.”¹⁹⁸ After graduate school, Wagner began working as the director of finance and administration for the Trust for Public Lands in their Mid-Atlantic Regional Office. She oversaw financial management, banking relationships, information systems, staff recruitment, and training within the organization. After several years, she came back to New England to work for the Vermont Land Trust.¹⁹⁹ Wagner’s work continues the heritage of women’s conservation work.

“I think the White Mountains,” RMC member, historian, and long-time Randolph resident Judy Hudson said, “any mountains perhaps, but the White Mountains have a long history of enabling people to be independent and especially women.”²⁰⁰ Laura Waterman notes that, “It’s great for people to have fun in the mountains... [but] the environmental message is the most important thing.... I would hope that just by going to the mountains [people will] be led to take care of them.”²⁰¹ The generation of women who grew up after the 1960s have learned the joy of being outside and the self-sufficiency that can come from outdoor life.²⁰² When Randolph Mountain Club member Hudson was asked if her feelings about



the White Mountains have changed over time, she replied, “I think I’ve gotten gradually more addicted to them. I can’t imagine not being able to be here... when I’m up above tree line, it’s sort of exhilarating. I guess I try to live in the minute up there and say you know, maybe I’ll never be back again, but let’s enjoy it to the fullest while I’m here.”²⁰³ That exhilaration is at the core of our mountain experience. As Laura and Guy Waterman wrote, “life seems magnified, deepened, called up in voracious intensity among the high crags and deep coniferous forests of the mountains.”²⁰⁴

The White Mountains have given women the opportunity to discover their own strengths. Women have hiked through scrub, hauled timber, contemplated great heights, painted the valleys, sketched the flowers, written of their mountain summers, camped on the ground, and discovered immense joy in accomplishment. Women have taken the lead, making a welcome path for others to follow—and to take up the lead themselves.

Penny Pitou
Photograph courtesy
of Penny Pitou





Louisa A. Morse
Dolloff Farm, Pinkham Notch, NH
c. 1884. Oil on board, 9 1/2 x 12 1/2
inches
John Hession photograph
Private Collection

Mary Cecile Graham
Edmands Col, Mt. Eisenhower
August 2013. Oil on linen,
mounted on birch panel,
11 x 14 inches
Courtesy of the artist



Special Thanks

Many thanks to June Hammond Rowan '10CAGS, '12G for her editing, encouragement, and probing questions as well as her research; Laura Waterman for her enthusiasm and phenomenal editing; Al and Judy Hudson for their close editing, insightful analysis, and support; Chris Thayer, Grace Pezzella, Sarah Jordan, Chris Woodside, Becky Fullerton, Rebecca White '15, and Wes Balla for their assistance, research, and suggestions; and Catherine Amidon and Dolly MacIntyre for the inspiration.

Thanks also go to the following people for their time and willingness to be interviewed by Plymouth State students and faculty for this project: Arlene Bownes, Rebecca Brown, Jane Difley, Margaret Dillon, Jane English, Gisela Estes, Judy Hudson, Marianne Leberman, Rebecca More, Jayne O'Connor, Rebecca Oreskes, Alice Pearce, Penny Pitou, Lindsey Rustad, Mary Sloat, Barbara Wagner, and Laura Waterman.

TAKING THE LEAD ENDNOTES

- 1 Harriett Martineau, *Retrospect of Western Travel*, vol. II (London: Saunders and Otley, Conduit-Street, 1838), 111.
- 2 Lucy Crawford, *Lucy Crawford's History of the White Mountains*, Stearns Morse, Editor (Hanover, NH: Dartmouth Publications, 1966, originally published 1846), 177; chapter X.
- 3 Crawford, 50–51, quote on 50; Laura and Guy Waterman, *Forest and Crag: A History of Hiking, Trail Blazing, and Adventure in the Northeast Mountains* (Boston: Appalachian Mountain Club Books, 2003, originally published 1989), 119.
- 4 Crawford, 51; Waterman and Waterman, 120.
- 5 Crawford, 75.
- 6 Kimberly A. Jarvis, *Franconia Notch and the Women Who Saved It* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2007), 97.
- 7 Elizabeth Yates, *A Road through Sandwich Notch* (Brattleboro, VT: Stephen Greene Press, 1973), 57–58.
- 8 Eldena Leighton Hunt collection, Randolph Public Library Collection, Randolph, NH.
- 9 Page from *Gorham Mountaineer*, shared by Sarah Jordan, White Mountain National Forest headquarters, Campton, NH.
- 10 George N. Cross, *Dolly Copp and the Pioneers of the Glen* (Baltimore, MD: Day Printing Company, 1927; reprinted by the Jackson [NH] Historical Society, 1994), 12.
- 11 *Mountaineer*, shared by Sarah Jordan, White Mountain Nations Forest headquarters, Campton, NH.
- 12 Samuel Adams Drake, *The Heart of the White Mountains: Their Legend and Scenery* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1882), 165.
- 13 Drake, 165, 166.
- 14 Cross, 13.
- 15 Sarah Jordan; Dolly Copp Campground: 20. Homestead and Memorial.” Accessed June 26, 2015. dollycopp.com/dollycopp20.php
- 16 Maggie Stier, e-mail correspondence, March 20, 2015.
- 17 Julie Boardman, *When Women and Mountains Meet: Adventures in the White Mountains* (Etna, NH: The Durand Press, 2001), 29.
- 18 Thomas Starr King, *The White Hills: Their Legends, Landscape, and Poetry* (Boston: Crosby and Ainsworth, 1866), 290.
- 19 King 334–335.
- 20 Boardman, 36.
- 21 Boardman, ix, 30, 31.
- 22 Peter Rowan '04G and June Hammond Rowan '10CAGS, '12G, editors, *Mountain Summers: Tales of hiking and exploration in the White Mountains from 1878 to 1886 as seen through the eyes of women* (Gorham, NH: Gulfside Press, 1995), 53.
- 23 Philbrook Farm Inn, “History,” Accessed March 28, 2015. philbrookfarminn.com/history.html.
- 24 Boardman, 78, 79
- 25 Boardman, 80–81.
- 26 Boardman, xi.
- 27 Boardman, 81, 83; “Intervale Chinooks: Birch Intervale and Wonalancet Farm, The Birthplace of the Chinook Breed,” Intervale Chinooks. Accessed March 22, 2015. intervalechinooks.net/BirchIntervale.html
- 28 Robert and Mary Julyan, *Place Names in the White Mountains* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2007), 140.
- 29 Crawford, 78.
- 30 Crawford, 79, quote, 81; Waterman and Waterman, 121.
- 31 Mary Jane Thomas, “Reminiscences of the White Mountains,” *Historical New Hampshire* 28 (Spring 1973), 49.
- 32 Waterman and Waterman, 152.
- 33 Mary A. Hale, “A Trip to the White Mountains in 1840,” *Essex Institute Historical Collections* LXXXIII (1947), 28.
- 34 Hale, 28–29.
- 35 Waterman and Waterman, 121.
- 36 Louisa May Alcott, “Letters from the Mountains,” Transcribed and notes added by Charles Ireland, 1990. (New Hampshire Historical Society collections, Concord, NH), 7, 8.
- 37 Waterman and Waterman, 184.
- 38 Waterman and Waterman, 184–5.
- 39 Reported in “*White Mountain Echo*, a local newspaper that also served as a bulletin board for the AMC.” As quoted in Rebecca Brown, *Women on High: Pioneers of Mountaineering* (Boston: Appalachian Mountain Club Books, 2002), 122.
- 40 M.F. Whitman, “Camp Life for Ladies,” *Appalachia* (June 1879), 44.
- 41 Whitman, 45.
- 42 Judith Maddock Hudson, *Peaks & Paths: A Century of the Randolph Mountain Club* (Gorham, NH: Randolph Mountain Club, 2010), 10.
- 43 Rowan and Hammond Rowan, 4.
- 44 Rowan and Hammond Rowan, 5.
- 45 Details of their exploits are known because of two things: 1. The Pychowskas and Cook became friends with Isabella Stone of Framingham, Massachusetts, another female mountaineer and explorer with whom they exchanged letters sharing their discoveries. Stone saved those letters, which, along with Stone's diaries and draft copies of letters, were purchased at an auction in the 1960s by two White Mountain collectors. The collectors later shared the letters with Peter Rowan and June Hammond Rowan who analyzed, compiled, and published them in 1995. Stone spent most of her White Mountain summers in Waterville and Campton. See Rowan and Hammond Rowan.
- 46 Rowan and Hammond Rowan, 22.
- 47 Rowan and Hammond Rowan, 42.
- 48 Waterman and Waterman, 262.
- 49 Rowan and Hammond Rowan, 100.
- 50 Rowan and Hammond Rowan, 110.
- 51 Rowan and Hammond Rowan, 189.
- 52 Rowan and Hammond Rowan, 189.
- 53 Rowan and Hammond Rowan, 190.
- 54 Rowan and Hammond Rowan, 250.
- 55 Rowan and Hammond Rowan, 250. Peek, Edmands, and Lowell played major roles in early pathbuilding, especially in the Presidentials.
- 56 Rowan and Hammond Rowan, 240.
- 57 Rowan and Hammond Rowan, 241.
- 58 Rowan and Hammond Rowan, 257.
- 59 Boardman, 73. She did so in late August and early September in a series titled “The Wilderness: Wild Places and Rugged Peaks First Visited by Woman.”
- 60 Brown, 131; Boardman, 72.
- 61 Waterman and Waterman, 270–272.
- 62 Brown, 129; Rowan and Hammond Rowan, 80.
- 63 Laura Waterman, private correspondence, July 2015.
- 64 Brown, 135.
- 65 Waterman, correspondence.
- 66 Waterman and Waterman, 272.
- 67 Rowan and Hammond Rowan, 102.
- 68 Hudson, 15.
- 69 Hudson, 16.
- 70 Mrs. James A. Cruikshank, “The Woman's Standpoint,” *The Maine Woods: The Vacationers' Guidebook* (Bangor ME: Bangor & Aroostook Railroad Company, 1904), 125.
- 71 Alcott, 13.
- 72 Alcott, 15.
- 73 Alcott, 10–11.
- 74 Alcott, 23.

- 75 W. G. Nowell, "A Mountain Suit for Women," *Appalachia* (June 1877), 182.
- 76 Nowell, 182.
- 77 Nowell, 181.
- 78 Nowell, 183.
- 79 Nowell, 181.
- 80 Brown, 128.
- 81 Marjorie Hurd, "Fashion on the Peaks: 1876–1935," *Appalachia* 20 (November 1935), 373.
- 82 Waterman and Waterman, 264.
- 83 Whitman, 47.
- 84 Waterman and Waterman, 265.
- 85 Rowan and Hammond Rowan, 102.
- 86 Rowan and Hammond Rowan, 132.
- 87 L.D. Pychowska, "Walking Dress for Ladies," *Appalachia* (1887).
- 88 L.D. Pychowska, "Walking Dress," 29. Winsey was a "cloth composed of a cotton warp and a woolen weft of a fairly heavy type." See Aldred Farrer Barker and Eber Midgley, *Analysis of Woven Fabrics* (London: Scott, Greenwood & Son, 1914), 286.
- 89 L.D. Pychowska, "Walking Dress," 29.
- 90 L.D. Pychowska, "Walking Dress," 28–30.
- 91 Rowan and Hammond Rowan, 96, 103.
- 92 Boardman, 123–124.
- 93 Hudson, 58.
- 94 Frances Ann Johnson Hancock, *Saving the Great Stone Face: The Chronicle of the Old Man of the Mountain* (Canaan, NH: Phoenix Publishing, 1984), 56.
- 95 Hurd, 375–376.
- 96 Frances Sheffield MacIntyre, "Women Artists in the White Mountains, 1840–1940" (Thesis, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH, 1990), 1.
- 97 Frances Sheffield MacIntyre as quoted in *Consuming Views: Art & Tourism in the White Mountains, 1850–1900* (special edition of *Historical New Hampshire* 60, 1/2 (2006), 42.
- 98 Frederick W. Kilbourne, *Chronicles of the White Mountains* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1916), 86.
- 99 Kilbourne, 183.
- 100 Daniel Dulany Addison, *Lucy Larcom: Life, Letters, and Diary* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Company, 1895), 228.
- 101 Boardman, 45.
- 102 Boardman, 50.
- 103 Boardman, 51.
- 104 Donald D. Keyes, "The Great Gallery of Nature: Benjamin Champney in the Development of White Mountain Art," *Beauty Caught and Kept: Benjamin Champney in the White Mountains in Historical New Hampshire* 51, 3/4 (Fall/Winter 1996), 96; Catherine H. Campbell, *New Hampshire Scenery: a dictionary of nineteenth century artists of New Hampshire mountain landscapes* (Canaan, NH: New Hampshire Historical Society, 1985), 173.
- 105 Charles O. Vogel, "The Artists-in-Residence at the White Mountain Hotels," *Historical New Hampshire* 50, 1/2 (Spring/Summer, 1995), 89; Boardman, 146.
- 106 Vogel, 89; *White Mountain Echo*, August 18, 1888, 7.
- 107 Vogel 89; *White Mountain Echo*, July 30, 1892, 14.
- 108 Vogel, 89.
- 109 Vogel, 93; *White Mountain Echo* August, 26, 1893, 19.
- 110 Christopher Volpe, "One Artist/Art Historian's Random Take on the World's Great Paintings." Accessed June 16, 2015. christophervolpe.blogspot.com/search/label/women_painters
- 111 Kimberly Gross, "Paintings in Paradise: The Artists of the Ponce de Leon Hotel," accessed June 16, 2015. paintinginparadise.com.wordpress.com/biographies/maria-a-becket
- 112 Sadakichi Hartmann, *A History of American Art*, vol. 1 (Boston, LC. Page & Co., 1909), 105.
- 113 Rowan and Hammond Rowan, 107–108, fn on 107.
- 114 Mary Perkins Osgood, *Randolph Wildflowers from the Watercolor Sketchbooks of Mary Perkins Osgood, 1895–1900*, Compiled, edited and produced by Al Hudson and Judith Maddock Hudson (Randolph, NH: Randolph History Project, 2006), i.
- 115 Campbell, 124–125.
- 116 Keyes, 78.
- 117 Wes Balla, New Hampshire Historical Society curator, e-mail correspondence.
- 118 Robert L. McGrath, *Gods in Granite: The Art of the White Mountains of New Hampshire* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2001), 154.
- 119 Pamela Jane Sachant, "Winslow Homer in the White Mountains, 1868–1870: Portraits of an Uncertain Nation," *Historical New Hampshire* 54: 3/4 (Fall/Winter 1999), 146.
- 120 Boardman, xi, 95.
- 121 Knowlton was later the first assistant editor for *Appalachia* when the AMC created the position in 1933. Information from private correspondence with AMC Archivist Rebecca Fullerton.
- 122 Boardman, 97–98, 95.
- 123 Miriam O'Brien Underhill, as quote in Laura Waterman, "The Chronicle of Miriam Underhill: New England's Greatest Woman Mountaineer," *New England Outdoors* (Nov. 1978), 44.
- 124 Miriam O'Brien Underhill, *Give Me the Hills* (London: Methuen & Co, 1956), as quoted in David Mazel, *Mountaineering Women: Stories of Early Climbers* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 1994), 137–138.
- 125 Miriam O'Brien Underhill, "Manless Alpine Climbing," *National Geographic Magazine* LCVI, 2 (August 1934), 146; Sharon Hartman Strom, *Political Women: Florence Luscomb and the Legacy of Radical Reform* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2001), 104. See also O'Brien, Miriam. "Without Men: Some Considerations on the Theory and Practice of Manless Climbing." *Appalachia* 19 (December 1932), 187–203.
- 126 Christine Woodside, *Appalachia* editor, private correspondence.
- 127 *Give Me the Hills*, book review, *American Alpine Journal* 10, 2 (1957), 199.
- 128 Quote from Woodside, private correspondence. Waterman, "Chronicle of Miriam Underhill," 42.
- 129 Boardman, 106, 107.
- 130 Brown, 223.
- 131 Brown, 224.
- 132 Brown, 225.
- 133 Kenneth Henderson, "Marjorie Hurd, 1886–1977, In Memoriam," *American Alpine Club Journal* (1991), 345.
- 134 Marjorie "Bonnie" Hurd Smith, "The Undaunted Marjorie Hurd: Nomination to the Cambridge Women's Heritage Trail," Hurd Smith. Shared from the AMC Library files. hurdsmith.com/marjoriehurd.html
- 135 Hurd was quoted as saying, "But please ... let's not say 'hiking.' It's one of the most objectionable words I know! We ruled it out for a long time in *Appalachia*.... We prefer 'tramping' or 'climbing.'" In Frederick H. Guidry, "Hi, Hiker—Since 1910," *The Christian Science Monitor* (October 7, 1977). Courtesy of AMC Archivist Rebecca Fullerton.
- 136 C. Francis Belcher, "Personal: Marjorie Hurd," *Appalachia* (December 1977), 99.
- 137 Three other women have served as editors: climber Miriam O'Brien Underhill, mentioned earlier; Lucille Stott, a journalist and passionate supporter of the Concord, MA area, from 2000 to 2005, and Christine Woodside, author, environmentalist, and hiker, who is the current editor. Information courtesy of Christine Woodside and Rebecca Fullerton.
- 138 Iris W. Baird, *Looking Out for the Forests: The Evolution of a Plan to Protect New Hampshire's Woodlands from Fire* (Lancaster, NH: Baird Backwoods Construction Publications, 2005).

- 139 Baird, 85 (quote), 83, 84.
- 140 Grace Pezzella, "The Lady is a Tramp: The Integration of the Appalachian Mountain Clubs Hut System as a Distillation of the Women's Rights Movement" (Senior BA Honors Thesis, Bates College, March 30, 2015), 30.
- 141 Pezzella, 31, 33, 48.
- 142 Pezzella, 51; John Nutter and W. Kent Olson, "Huts as Classrooms: A Memoir," Part I, *The Resuscitator: The OH Association* (Spring 2013), 5. Accessed May 1, 2015. ohcroo.com/pdf/Spring2013.pdf; Kim Votta, "A Conversation with Iris and William Baird," *The Alpine Steward* No. 13 (November 2014), 10. Accessed March 12, 2015. watermanfund.org/news/alpine-steward-newsletter-archiv
- 143 Nutter and Olson, 5; many thanks to Chris Thayer, AMC Director of North Country Programming and Outreach for information on the Harrises.
- 144 Nutter and Olson, 7–8.
- 145 Nutter and Olson, 8.
- 146 Pezzella, 56.
- 147 Pezzella, 58.
- 148 Hudson, 78, 96; second quote from private correspondence with Judith Maddock Hudson.
- 149 Hudson, private correspondence.
- 150 Daniel Ford, "The Hut People of the White Mountains," *Backpacker* 3, 4 (Spring 1975), 36.
- 151 Pezzella, 59–60.
- 152 Pezzella, 62.
- 153 Pezzella, 63.
- 154 Hudson, 96.
- 155 Pezzella, 107.
- 156 Interview, Margaret Dillon, 15–16. Museum of the White Mountains, Plymouth, NH, Women of the Whites Collection.
- 157 Ford, 34.
- 158 Interview, Dillon, 15.
- 159 Interview, Barbara Wagner, 3. Museum of the White Mountains, Plymouth, NH, Women of the Whites Collection.
- 160 Interview, Judith Hudson, 15. Museum of the White Mountains, Plymouth, NH, Women of the Whites Collection.
- 161 Pezzella, 80.
- 162 Pezzella, 88, 97.
- 163 Waterman and Waterman, 191.
- 164 L.D. Pychowska, "Botanical notes made in the summer of 1882 at Randolph, NH," *Appalachia* III, 3 (December 1883): 168, 254.
- 165 Where else could urban women find the independence the mountains demanded from them? Neither Stone nor Pychowska could understand why all women did not love the mountains in the way they did. In the summer of 1881, Stone wrote to Pychowska: "What should you think of a lady of thirty ... who is so fond of gaiety that she exclaims, 'O dear! It is so quiet, so silent in the woods and fields and Flume, etc, it tires me. And the mountains make me nervous staying so still always in the same places. I wish they'd move about, I'd like to change them around!?' Isn't that funny? Stillness tires one! Well, tastes differ." Rowan and Hammond Rowan, 55.
- 166 Rowan and Hammond Rowan, 55.
- 167 Rowan and Hammond Rowan.
- 168 Jarvis, 88.
- 169 Georgia Drew Merrill, editor, *History of Carroll County, New Hampshire* (Boston: W.A. Ferguson & Co., 1889), 898; "Ellen McRoberts Mason." Carroll County New Hampshire. Ancestry.com. Rootsweb. Accessed June 26, 2015. rootsweb.ancestry.com/~nhcarrol/bios2/mason_e.htm
- 170 "Ellen McRoberts Mason."
- 171 Jarvis, 94.
- 172 Jarvis, 107, 126.
- 173 Jarvis, 108–109.
- 174 Jarvis, 114.
- 175 Jarvis, 129–130.
- 176 Hudson, 51.
- 177 Hudson, 55.
- 178 Boardman, xi, 86.
- 179 Boardman, 87.
- 180 [The] Granite State Geologist. "Marland P. Billings and Katharine Fowler-Billings Honored by the New Hampshire Geological Society." *Newsletter of the New Hampshire Geological Society* No. 3 (December 1992). Accessed June 26, 2015. gsnhonline.org/publications/TGSG.03.html
- 181 Hudson, 223.
- 182 The lodge where the RMC houses its crew is named after her. Hudson, 222.
- 183 "Mission [Grants page]," Anna B. Stearns Charitable Foundation. Accessed May 21, 2015. stearnsfoundation.grantsmanagement08.com/
- 184 Boardman, 142–143.
- 185 Interview, Rebecca Brown, 10. Museum of the White Mountains, Plymouth, NH, Women of the Whites Collection.
- 186 Jane Difley and Carolyn Benthien. "Northern Pass Op-Ed by Jane Difley and Carolyn Benthien: N.H. Can and Must Control the Northern Pass Process." Society for the Protection of New Hampshire Forests. September 18, 2013. Accessed June 24, 2015. forestsociety.org/press-release/northern-pass-op-ed-jane-difley-and-carolyn-benthien-nh-can-and-must-control-northern.
- 187 Interview, Laura Waterman, 7. Museum of the White Mountains, Plymouth, NH, Women of the Whites Collection.
- 188 Waterman, private correspondence.
- 189 Waterman, private correspondence.
- 190 Interview, Jayne O'Connor, 1. Museum of the White Mountains, Plymouth, NH, Women of the Whites Collection.
- 191 O'Connor interview, 12–13.
- 192 O'Connor interview, 7.
- 193 Interview, Rebecca Oreskes, 1. Museum of the White Mountains, Plymouth, NH, Women of the Whites Collection.
- 194 Oreskes interview, 6.
- 195 Oreskes interview, 7.
- 196 Oreskes interview, 3.
- 197 Oreskes interview, 4.
- 198 Wagner interview, 5.
- 199 Wagner interview, 5.
- 200 Hudson interview, 13–14.
- 201 Waterman interview, 12. Museum of the White Mountains, Plymouth, NH, Women of the Whites Collection; Waterman correspondence
- 202 O'Connor interview, 10.
- 203 Hudson interview, 16.
- 204 Laura and Guy Waterman in forward to *Mountain Summers*, Rowan and Hammond Rowan, xi.

TAKING THE LEAD BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Addison, Daniel Dulany. *Lucy Larcom: Life, Letters, and Diary*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Company, 1895.
- Alcott, Louisa M. "Letters from the Mountains." Transcribed and notes added by Charles Ireland, 1990. New Hampshire Historical Society, Concord, NH.
- Ammonoosuc Conservation Trust. "About ACT." Accessed April 13, 2015. aconservationtrust.org/about
- Anna B. Stearns Charitable Foundation. Accessed May 21, 2015. stearnsfoundation.grantsmanagement08.com
- Appalachia*, journal of the Appalachian Mountain Club, Boston, MA.
- Appalachian Mountain Club. "Outdoors." Appalachian Mountain Club website. Accessed numerous times. outdoors.org
- Baird, Iris W. *Looking Out for Our Forests: The Evolution of a Plan to Protect New Hampshire's Woodlands from Fire*. Lancaster, NH: Baird Backwoods Construction Publications, 2005.
- Baird, Iris W. and Chris Haartz. *A Field Guide to New Hampshire Firetowers*. First published for the Third Annual Conference of the Forest Fire Lookout Association, Weeks State Park, Lancaster, NH, August 8, 1992. Revised second edition, 2005.
- Balla, Wes. New Hampshire Historical Society curator, e-mail correspondence.
- Barker, Aldred Farrer and Eber Midgley. *Analysis of Woven Fabrics*. London: Scott, Greenwood & Son, 1914.
- Belcher, C. Francis. "Personal: Marjorie Hurd." *Appalachia* (December 1977), 99–100.
- Black, Jane Atwood. "Hutmen F: Pinkham Notch Camp in the Forties, Part I." *Appalachia* 46, no. 3 (1987), 52 and "Hutmen F: Pinkham Notch Camp in the Forties, Part II." *Appalachia* 46, no. 4 (1987), 36.
- Blaine, Marcia Schmidt. *Passing Through: The Allure of the White Mountains*. Plymouth, NH: Plymouth State University Museum of the White Mountains, 2013.
- Boardman, Julie. *When Women and Mountains Meet: Adventures in the White Mountains*. Etna, NH: The Durand Press, 2001.
- Brown, Rebecca. *Women on High: Pioneers of Mountaineering*. Boston: Appalachian Mountain Club Books, 2002.
- Buchanan, Rob. "A Natural Death." *Outside* (June 1, 2000). Accessed May 3, 2015. outsideonline.com/1907636/natural-death
- Campbell, Catherine H. *New Hampshire Scenery: a dictionary of nineteenth century artists of New Hampshire mountain landscapes*. Canaan, NH: New Hampshire Historical Society by Phoenix Publishing, 1985.
- Crawford, Lucy. *Lucy Crawford's History of the White Mountains*. Stearns Morse, editor. Hanover, NH: Dartmouth Publications, 1966 (originally published 1846).
- Cook, Betsy. "Mountains in the Rearview." *The Resuscitator: The OH Association* (Spring 2013), 1–2.
- Cook, Edith W. "A Reconnaissance [sic] of the Carter Range." *Appalachia* 3:4 (April, 1884): 299–314
- Cross, George N. *Dolly Copp and the Pioneers of the Glen*. Baltimore, MD: Day Printing Company, 1927 (reprinted Jackson Historical Society, 1994).
- Cruikshank, Mrs. James A. "The Woman's Standpoint." *In the Maine Woods: The Vacationers' Guidebook*. 125–127. Bangor, Maine: Bangor & Aroostook Railroad Company, 1904.
- Difley, Jane and Carolyn Benthien. "Northern Pass Op-Ed by Jane Difley and Carolyn Benthien: N.H. Can and Must Control the Northern Pass Process." Society for the Protection of New Hampshire Forests. September 18, 2013. Accessed June 24, 2015. forestsociety.org/press-release/northern-pass-op-ed-jane-difley-and-carolyn-benthien-nh-can-and-must-control-northern
- Dolly Copp Campground. "The Story of Dolly Copp Campground: 20. Homestead and Memorial." Accessed March 22, 2015. dollycopp.com/dolly-copp20.php
- Drake, Samuel Adams. *The Heart of the White Mountains: Their Legend and Scenery. Tourist Edition*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1882.
- "Ellen McRoberts Mason." Carroll County New Hampshire. Ancestry.com. Rootsweb. Accessed June 26, 2015. rootsweb.ancestry.com/~nhcarrol/bios2/mason_e.htm
- "Fire Lookouts." White Mountain History. Accessed March 2, 2015. whitemountainhistory.org/Fire_Lookouts.html
- Ford, Daniel. "The Hut People of the White Mountains." *Backpacker* 3, No. 4 (Spring 1975), 34–38.
- Fullerton, Rebecca, Appalachian Mountain Club Librarian and Archivist, private correspondence.
- Garvin, James L. and Donna-Belle Garvin. *On the Road North of Boston: New Hampshire Taverns and Turnpikes, 1700–1900*. Concord, NH: New Hampshire Historical Society, 1988.
- Give Me the Hills*, Book Reviews. *American Alpine Journal* 10, No. 2 (1957), 199. Accessed July 14, 2016. publications.americanalpineclub.org/articles/12195719900/Give-Me-the-Hills
- Gorham Mountaineer*, Gorham, NH. Courtesy of the White Mountain National Forest.
- [The] Granite State Geologist. "Marland P. Billings and Katharine Fowler-Billings Honored by the New Hampshire Geological Society" *Newsletter of the New Hampshire Geological Society* No. 3 (December 1992). Accessed June 26, 2015. gsnnonline.org/publications/TGSG.03.html
- Gross, Kimberly. "Painting in Paradise: The Artists of the Ponce de Leon Hotel." Accessed June 16, 2015. paintinginparadise.wordpress.com/biographies/maria-a-becket
- Guidry, Frederick H. "Hi, Hiker—Since 1910." *The Christian Science Monitor* (October 7, 1977). From files of AMC Library via Archivist Rebecca Fullerton.

- Hancock, Frances Ann Johnson. *Saving the Great Stone Face: The chronicle of the Old Man of the Mountain*. Canaan, NH: Phoenix Publishing, 1984 for the Franconia Area Heritage Council.
- Hale, Mary A. "A Trip to the White Mountains in 1840," *Essex Institute Historical Collections* LXXXIII (1947) p. 23–29. Found in New Hampshire Historical Society collections, Concord, NH.
- Hartmann, Sadakichi. *A History of American Art*, vol. 1, Boston, LC. Page & Co., 1909.
- Henderson, Kenneth. "Marjorie Hurd, 1886–1977, in Memoriam." *American Alpine Club Journal* (1991). Accessed June 19, 2015. publications.americanalpineclub.org/articles/12197867500/Marjorie-Hurd-1886-1977
- Hurd, Marjorie. "Fashion on the Peaks: 1876–1935." *Appalachia* 20 (November 1935), 372–379.
- Hudson, Judith Maddock. *Peaks & Paths: A Century of the Randolph Mountain Club*. Gorham, NH: Randolph Mountain Club, 2010.
- Hudson, Judith Maddock. Randolph Mountain Club Historian, private correspondence.
- "Intervale Chinooks: Birch Intervale and Wonalancet Farm, The Birthplace of the Chinook Breed." Intervale Chinooks. Accessed March 22, 2015. intervalechinooks.net/BirchIntervale.html
- Interviews. Women of the Whites Collection. Museum of the White Mountains, Plymouth, NH.
- Jarvis, Kimberly A. *Franconia Notch and the Women Who Saved It*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2007.
- Jordan, Sarah. White Mountain National Forest's Historical Archeologist, private correspondence.
- Julyan, Robert and Mary. *Place Names in the White Mountains*, Revised Edition. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1993.
- Keyes, Donald D. "The Great Gallery of Nature: Benjamin Champney in the Development of White Mountain Art." *Beauty Caught and Kept: Benjamin Champney in the White Mountains* in *Historical New Hampshire* 51, No. 3/4 (Fall/Winter 1996), 91–100.
- King, Thomas Starr. *The White Hills: Their Legends, Landscape, and Poetry*. Boston: Crosby and Ainsworth, 1866.
- Kilbourne, Frederick W *Chronicles of the White Mountains*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1916.
- Korzenik, Diana. "Face to Face: Fanny Appleton and the Old Man of the Mountain." *Historical New Hampshire* 63, 2 (Fall 2009): 120–139.
- Logging in Lincoln. Accessed September 12, 1913. logginginlincoln.com
- Longfellow National Historic Site: Museum Archives and Manuscript Collections; Frances Elizabeth Appleton Longfellow Papers, 1825–1961; Alice Mary Longfellow Papers, 1850–1965; and Longfellow Family Papers, c. 1650–1930. Longfellow House and Washington's Headquarters National Historic Site. Cambridge, MA.
- Martineau, Harriet. *Retrospect of Western Travel*. Vol. II. London: Saunders and Otley, Conduit-Street, 1838.
- MacIntyre, Frances Sheffield. "Women Artists in the White Mountains, 1840–1940." Thesis, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH, 1990.
- Mazel, David. *Mountaineering Women: Stories of Early Climbers*. College Stations, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 1994.
- McGrath, Robert L. *Gods in Granite: The Art of the White Mountains of New Hampshire*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press; 2001.
- Merrill, Georgia Drew, editor. *History of Carroll County, New Hampshire*. Boston: W.A. Ferguson & Co., 1889.
- New Hampshire Historical Society. *Consuming Views: Art & Tourism in the White Mountains, 1850–1900* in a special edition of *Historical New Hampshire* 60, 1/2 (2006).
- Nowell, W.G. "A Mountain Suit for Women." *Appalachia* (June 1877), 181–183.
- Nutter, John and W. Kent Olson. "Huts as Classrooms: A Memoir," Part I. *The Resuscitator: The OH Association* (Spring 2013), 4–9. Accessed May 1, 2015. ohcroo.com/pdf/Spring2013.pdf
- O'Brien, Miriam. "Without Men: Some Considerations on the Theory and Practice of Manless Climbing." *Appalachia* 19 (December 1932), 187–203.
- O.H. Association, ohcroo.com. Accessed April 10, 2015. Former crew ("croo") members of the Appalachian Mountain Club, Boston, MA.
- Osgood, Mary Perkins. *Randolph Wildflowers from the Watercolor Sketchbooks of Mary Perkins Osgood, 1895-1900*. Compiled, edited and produced by Al Hudson and Judith Maddock Hudson. Randolph, NH: Randolph History Project, 2006.
- Pezzella, Grace. "The Lady is a Tramp: The Integration of the Appalachian Mountain Club Hut System as a Distillation of the Women's Rights Movement." Senior BA Honors Thesis, Bates College. March 30, 2015.
- Philbrook Farm Inn, "History." Accessed March 28, 2015. philbrookfarminn.com/history.html
- Pickard, John B., editor. *The Letters of John Greenleaf Whittier*, vol. 1, 1828–1845. Cambridge, MA: Harvard College, 1975.
- Pychowska, L.D. "Botanical notes made in the summer of 1882 at Randolph, NH." *Appalachia*. III, No. 3 (December 1883): 168, 254.
- Pychowska, L.D. "Walking Dress for Ladies." *Appalachia* (December 1887), 28–30.
- Pychowska, M.M. "New Paths to Mts. Adams and Madison." *Appalachia* 3:2 (April 1883): 186–188.
- Pychowska, M.M. "Two in the Alpine Pastures." *Appalachia* 5 (December 1888), 184–194. (see letters, July 10, 1885, July 19, 1885, July 24, 1885, July 30, 1884.)
- Randolph Mountain Club Archives, Al and Judy Hudson. Randolph, NH.
- Randolph Public Library Collections, Randolph, NH.
- Reid, Christine L. "Photographs of Christine L. Reid, 1930–1965." Radcliffe College and Schlesinger Library Archives, Cambridge, MA.

- Rowan, Peter and June Hammond Rowan, editors. *Mountain Summers: Tales of hiking and exploration in the White Mountains from 1878 to 1886 as seen through the eyes of women*. Gorham, NH: Gulfside Press, 1995.
- Sachant, Pamela Jane. "Winslow Homer in the White Mountains, 1868–1870: Portraits of an Uncertain Nation." *Historical New Hampshire* 54: 3/4 (Fall/Winter 1999): 142–152.
- Smith, Marjorie "Bonnie" Hurd Smith. "The Undaunted Marjorie Hurd: Nomination to the Cambridge Women's Heritage Trail." Hurd Smith. hurd-smith.com/marjoriehurd.html. Shared from AMC Library files.
- Stier, Maggie. E-mail correspondence, March 20, 2015.
- Stier, Maggie and Ron McAdow. *Into the Mountains: Stories of New England's Most Celebrated Peaks*. Boston: Appalachian Mountain Club Books, 1995.
- Strom, Sharon Hartman. *Political Women: Florence Luscomb and the Legacy of Radical Reform*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press; 2001.
- Thayer, Chris. AMC Director of North Country Programming and Outreach, private correspondence.
- Thomas, Mary Jane. "Reminiscences of the White Mountains," *Historical New Hampshire* 28 (Spring 1973), 37–52.
- Underhill, Miriam O'Brien. "Manless Alpine Climbing." *National Geographic Magazine* LCVI, No. 2 (August 1934), 131–170.
- Underhill, Miriam O'Brien. *Give Me the Hills*. London: Methuen & Co, 1956.
- Vogel, Charles O. "The Artists-in-Residence at the White Mountain Hotels." *Historical New Hampshire* 50: 1/2 (Spring/Summer 1995), 80–94.
- Volpe, Christopher. "One Artist/Art Historian's Random Take on the World's Great Paintings." Accessed June 16, 2015. christophervolpe.blogspot.com/search/label/women_painters
- Votta, Kim. "A Conversation with Iris and William Baird." *The Alpine Steward*. No.13 (November 2014): 10. Accessed March 12, 2015. waterman-fund.org/news/alpine-steward-newsletter-archive
- Waterman, Laura. Private correspondence. July–August, 2015.
- Waterman, Laura. "The Chronicle of Miriam Underhill: New England's Greatest Woman Mountaineer," *New England Outdoors* (November 1978), 41–47.
- Waterman, Laura & Guy. *Forest and Crag: A History of Hiking, Trail Blazing, and Adventure in the Northeast Mountains*. Boston: Appalachian Mountain Club Books, 2003 (originally published 1989).
- White Mountain Echo and Tourist's Register*. Bethlehem, NH. 1878–1927.
- Whitemountainart.com. White Mountain Art. Accessed April 17, 2015. whitemountainart.com
- Whitemountainhistory.org. White Mountain History. Accessed March 1, 2015. whitemountainhistory.org
- Whitman, M.F. "Camp Life for Ladies." *Appalachia* (June 1879), 44–48.
- Whitman, M.F. "A Climb through Tuckerman's Ravine." *Appalachia* I: 3 (June 1877): 131–137.
- Woodside, Chris. PowerPoint: "Appalachia Journey." Appalachian Mountain Club annual meeting, 2008.
- Woodside, Chris. Editor of *Appalachia*, private correspondence.
- Yates, Elizabeth. *A Road through Sandwich Notch*. Brattleboro, VT: Stephen Greene Press, 1973.



New Hampshire Humanities programs are made possible in part by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH). Any views, findings, conclusions, or recommendations expressed in this catalog does not necessarily represent those of the NEH or New Hampshire Humanities.

Museum of the
WHITE MOUNTAINS

PLYMOUTH STATE UNIVERSITY