

Summer Camps:

The White Mountains Roots of
an Iconic American Experience





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May 1–September 13, 2017

This catalogue is dedicated to Laure Morris

by

Bea and Woolsey Conover

*Laure Morris has been critically important to the success of the
Museum of the White Mountains.*

*She has helped guide the museum from its fledgling days, working tirelessly and
closely with the museum staff, advisory council, members and supporters.
Laure is one of our very favorite people: calm, unflappable with an always quiet
center, quick to size up situations and defuse shaky ones, a skillful and persuasive
writer. Her positive outlook and wonderful sense of humor, coupled with an
unforgettable laugh, have made her an exceptional asset
to the museum and the vision of Plymouth State University.*

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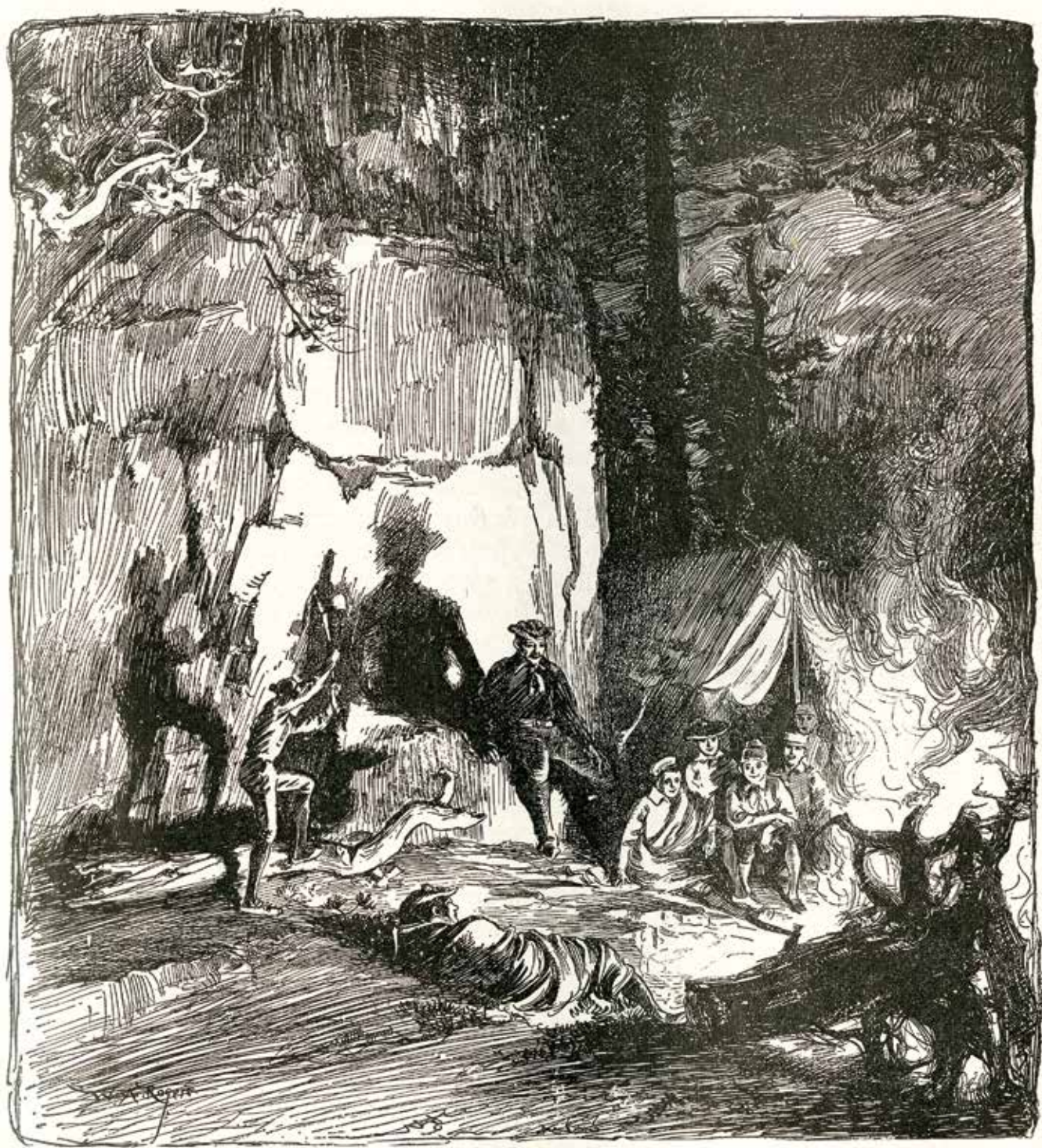
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On the cover:

Photograph courtesy of Camp Pasquaney

Museum of the
WHITE MOUNTAINS

PLYMOUTH STATE UNIVERSITY



Elizabeth Balch
"The Boys' Paradise"
St. Nicholas Magazine (June, 1886)
Illustrated by W.A. Rogers

Summer Camps

The White Mountains Roots to an Iconic American Experience

In the summer of 1880, Ernest Balch and a few friends set up camp on the shore of Squam Lake in New Hampshire. A recent dropout of Dartmouth, Balch paddled the lake, admired the mountain views, cooked over an open fire, slept in a rough-hewn shelter, and discovered his life's purpose. What he found was an island and an idea that would transform American childhood.

In the last half of the nineteenth century, New Hampshire's White Mountains were home to a rapidly developing tourist industry catering to the wealthy elites of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. Tourism was changing the landscape and improving the economy of the Granite State, but Balch believed it harmed the children kept in tow as their parents enjoyed the luxury of the fashionable resorts. Rather than let the self-indulgence of high society erode the character of these youth, Balch envisioned a different kind of resort; one where boys could find challenge, not champagne, canoes instead of crystal chandeliers, and an earthen bed instead of fine linen. He wanted the boys to learn self-governance, the value of money, and a strong work ethic while experiencing adventures like those portrayed in dime novels. On an island under the watchful gaze of the White Mountains, Balch created Camp Chocorua in order for boys to learn these lessons. With that he gave birth to an idea that would transform the lives of millions of American youth from all walks of life, the American Summer Camp.¹

I first thought of the boys' camp as an institution in 1880. The miserable condition of boys belonging to well-to-do families in summer hotels, considered from the point of view of their right development, set me to looking for a substitute. That year and 1881 I had thought out the main lines of a boys' camp. That year, also, with two boys I made a short camping trip to Big Asquam. In 1881 I occupied and bought Chocorua Island.²

The following summer, Balch enlisted the first campers by using his family networks, sending promotions to parents vacationing in nearby inns. In July, six boys and two adults landed on Squam Lake's Chocorua Island and began the process of converting it into an outdoor classroom, a living expression of the wilderness ideals that sparked adventure in the minds of young boys.³ At camp, the boys lived in tents and shanties, played baseball and tennis, swam, sailed, learned how to dive and paddle a canoe, performed music and theater, and worshipped at a rustic outdoor chapel they built themselves.⁴ They cooked their meals and cleaned their dishes, learning to serve each other without the presence of servants. As Balch later described to Porter Sargent, "The first theory was that there should be no servants in the camp; that the camp work must all be done by the boys and faculty. ... With the introduction of servants, you impair the service camp ideal, bring in caste injuring the main conception."⁵ The community these campers built, this rugged communalism, created the mold from which thousands of summer camps would be cast.

Pemigewassett camper,
John Wherry
Bugles at sunset, 1934
Photograph courtesy of
Camp Pemigewassett



Rather than let the self-indulgence of high society erode the character of these youth, Balch envisioned a different kind of resort; one where boys could find challenge, not champagne, canoes instead of crystal chandeliers, and an earthen bed instead of fine linen.

The experience of leaving home and family in the city to discover a new home and family in the forest at summer camp has become one of the most iconic experiences of American childhood. For over a century, children have spent their summers living in cabins, singing songs around campfires, practicing arts and crafts, building strong relationships, and connecting to the natural world. Summer camp presents a common ground for American youth. Camps serve the children of wealth and privilege, those in poverty, and those in between. There are boys camps, girls camps, and coed camps. Camps are often run by a single family for generations and camps are often run by national organizations like the YMCA, the Boy Scouts, or the Girl Scouts. There are secular camps and there are religious camps; camps that brought children together from areas around the world, and those that served children from a specific community. Only public school enrolls more children than summer camps.⁶ The American Camp Association (ACA), the nation's leading professional organization for summer camping, represents 2,700 camps in the United States and that does not include the numerous smaller programs that are not part of the ACA.⁷

The popularity of camp has also been well represented in popular culture for generations, from Allan Sherman's comedic song "Hello Muddah Hello Fadduh" to the 1966 Disney classic *Follow Me Boys!*, Bart Simpson's adventures at Kamp Krusty, and the 2001 cult comedy *Wet Hot American Summer*. Even Jimmy Stewart's character in Frank Capra's 1939 *Mr. Smith goes to Washington* was motivated to seek political office in order to create a national boys summer camp. A study of summer camps is a study of the diversity of American ideas, as diverse as its people. But for those who went to camp, whichever camp was "theirs," the experience was one that tied together generations of people with the common memories of adventure, friendship, and the transformational experiences that formed their characters.

The wellspring for this iconic experience flowed from the mountains and lakes of New Hampshire. Balch's Camp Chocorua was the seed that took root on the shores of Squam Lake and once planted, the idea of camp quickly spread across the landscape. New Hampshire's white pines sheltered and nurtured its ideals, while the White Mountains provided the inspiration for them to grow and expand.



From this fertile ground, the seeds of summer camp were carried off in the pages of children's magazines, in the academic writings of America's leading educators, and by the growing number of camp alumni who preached the transformational importance of summer camp with missionary zeal. Organic by nature, summer camps popped up across New Hampshire: some lasting for over a century and creating elaborate campuses of cabins, lodges, and sports fields while others existed for only a season or two, leaving no footprint in the forest and barely a mention in the historic record. Tracking down their stories is complicated by the interwoven network of people, places, and even names.⁸ For example, Camp Asquam for Girls, which was founded on Squam Lake in 1915 should not be confused with Camp Asquam, which was founded as Camp Harvard in Rindge, New Hampshire in 1885, then moved to Squam Lake and was renamed Camp Asquam in 1887, before closing in 1908 but whose physical buildings now make up Camp Deerwood, which opened in 1945.⁹

Summer camps are educational programs, but unlike the larger institutions of public school or private universities, they defy the construction of simple narratives. All an aspiring outdoor educator needed to create a summer camp was a number of willing parents who shared their values and a willingness to trust them with their children. As Camp Mowglis' director Alcott Farrar Elwell said in 1916, "It has been easy for a person having a free summer to start a camp – throw up a few tents – gather what children he could and while business was good, endure – to disappear if difficulties came."¹⁰ A sense of adventure and some army surplus equipment provided all the necessary conditions for the flourishing of the educational programs as diverse as the nation itself. Camps existed for the children of wealthy elites to prepare for Ivy League success and camps existed to bring classes together and break down the barriers of rich and poor. Camps existed to strengthen religious faith and camps existed to connect children to more secular and ecological relationships. Camps existed to reinforce the gender roles of boys and girls and

Photograph courtesy of
Onaway

camps existed to challenge those roles. Camps existed to uplift the urban poor and camps existed to provide a sheltered space for upper-middle-class whites escaping the anxieties of urbanization and immigration. But whatever their demographics and missions, summer camps shared a common foundation in romanticism and an unshakable faith that the best place for children was in the Eden of New Hampshire's mountains. As Elwell later commented, "From the physical side alone, children need time to grow under a less nervous environment than the strain of city existence. They need the experience of quiet and to see, to hear, to taste, and to touch things untarnished by the heaviness of the city."¹¹

The common bond among the summer camps that sprouted around the White Mountains was an experiential romanticism. The romantic ideals that drove the camps' founders and directors rested on two shared beliefs: the importance of connecting to the natural world and the inherent virtues of childhood. These beliefs had been developed and promoted through a circle of nineteenth-century New England writers known as the Transcendentalists. Centered around poet and philosopher Ralph Waldo Emerson, the Transcendentalists

included educators such as Elizabeth Peabody, A. Bronson Alcott, and Margaret Fuller, as well as the wilderness prophet Henry David Thoreau. These public intellectuals saw education as a vehicle for rebuilding society and rather than merely philosophizing, they put their ideas into action through numerous schools and educational programs. For example, George Ripley, a former minister, built the utopian community of Brook Farm just west of Boston, incorporating the ideals of Transcendentalism into a joint venture of authors, artists, and farmers living and working together while operating a school that connected children to nature and the arts. The school drew national attention even after it closed thanks to one Brook Farmer, Nathaniel Hawthorne, who used his experience as the basis for his 1852 novel *The Blithedale Romance*. Although the Transcendentalists had widely diverse opinions on the controversial issues of the day, they did agree learning came through an intuitive process that valued reflection on the natural world and stressed the importance of literature, art, poetry, and physical activity. Because of their popularity, both in print and on the public speaking circuit, the Transcendentalists were extremely influential in promoting the romantic ideals and the style of teaching needed to bring those ideals into reality.¹² As Camp Mowglis' director Alcott Farrar Elwell observed in 1925:

*The revival of nature consciousness occurring in Concord, Massachusetts, as it did under Emerson, Thoreau, and Alcott gradually brought about an awakening to natural values expressed in the national reservations, in the summer camps, and finally the state and municipal wilderness parks. Values are now seen which the cities cannot supply, values that nature alone can give.*¹³

Photograph courtesy of
Camp Mowglis



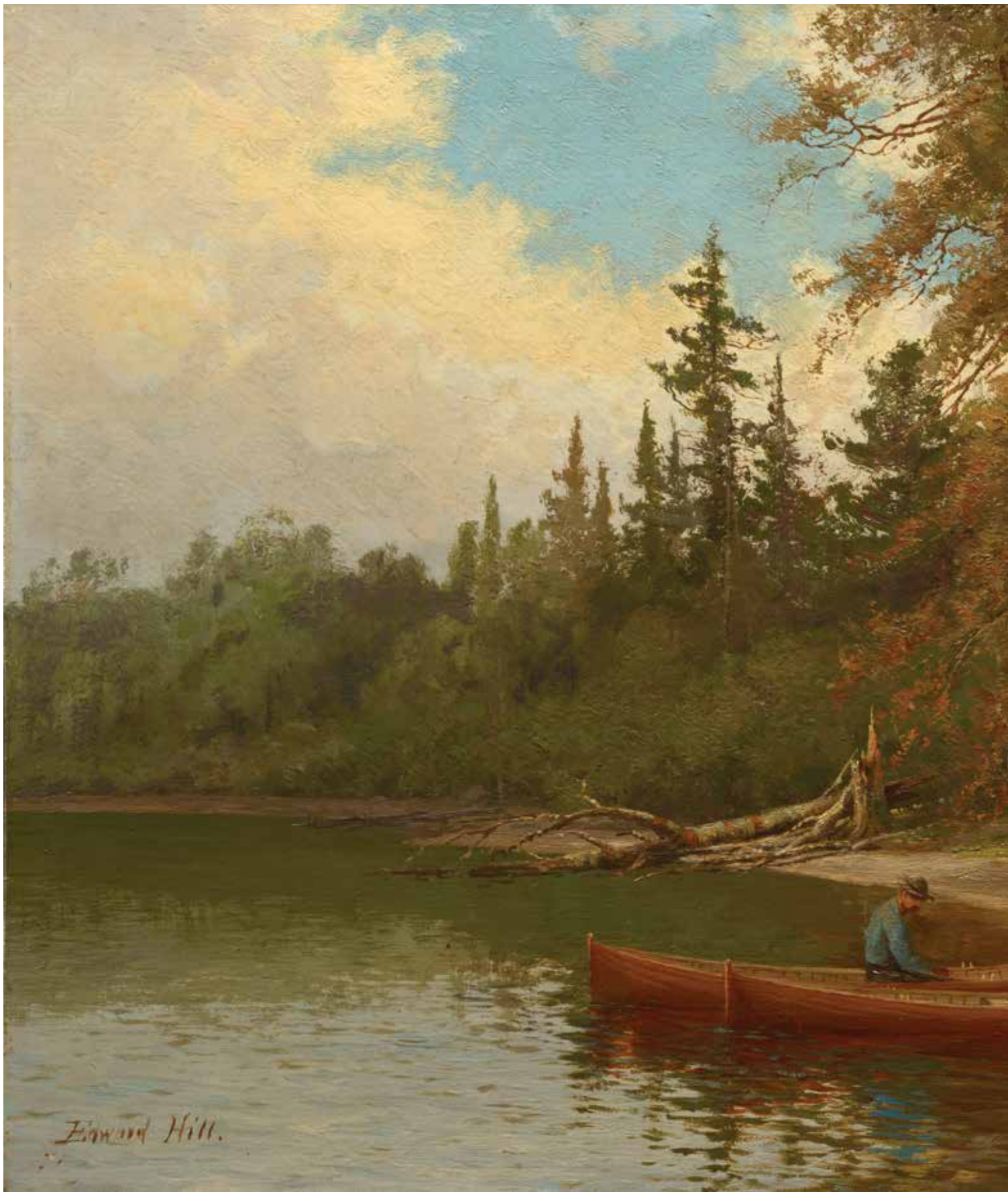
As the young spend less and less of their lives in natural surroundings, their senses narrow, physiologically and psychologically, and this reduces the richness of human experience.
—Richard Louv, 2008



The ideals of romanticism influenced the summer camp experiences in regards to race, class, and technology in the late nineteenth century and still drive camp culture in the twenty-first century. But these romantic ideals would not be left merely as abstract literary or artistic concepts; they had to be *experiential*: active physical and livable experiences. The importance of reflection on the wilderness evolved into lessons in nature study, where campers developed the skills to

identify flora and fauna as well as the ability to track animals through the forest. An appreciation of literature and the visual arts transformed into evening poetry readings and extensive arts and crafts programs. Emerson, Thoreau, and Hawthorne had been tourists in the White Mountains and found rich inspiration there for their writing and philosophy. In the decades that followed, it was fitting that generations of summer campers would discover inspiration there as well. ■

Woolsey S. Conover
Next Generation
Oil on canvas,
18 x 24 inches
John Anderson photograph
Courtesy of the artist





Edward Hill
Camping on the Lake Shore
Oil on canvas,
15 3/4 x 24 inches
John Hession photograph
Private collection



PENIKESSETT HOUSE, PLYMOUTH, N.H.

ON THE LINE OF THE BOSTON, CONCORD AND MONTREAL RAIL-ROAD THE MOST DIRECT ROUTE TO THE FRANCONIA AND WHITE MOUNTAINS

Cars leave for Lake Umbagog,
in the morning return in the afternoon.
Two trains daily to and from Boston.

Cars and Stages
leave for the Franconia and
White Mountains daily.

I first thought of the boys' camp as an institution in 1880. The miserable condition of boys belonging to well-to-do families in summer hotels, considered from the point of view of their right development, set me to looking for a substitute. —Ernest Balch, 1919.

Children's Resorts in the White Mountains

The birth of American summer camp movement was largely a consequence of the nineteenth-century White Mountain tourist industry. Starting in the 1820s, wealthy elites sought to escape the summer heat of Boston and New York and discovered the beauty of the White Mountains. After rail lines reached the White Mountains in the 1850s, the tourist industry blossomed. In 1840, there were only 22 miles of railroad track, but by the 1880s there were thousands of miles.¹⁴ Grander and more opulent hotels opened, creating a balance of rugged but increasingly tamed wilderness countered by black-tie dinners of lobster, steak, and champagne.¹⁵ The technological revolution brought on by the railroad opened the floodgates and allowed waves of urbanites to discover the mountain wilderness of New England. As the overgrazing of sheep and the overharvesting of timber led to environmental and economic collapse, the influx of seasonal residents and tourists helped shore up the economy. They became customers for the locals who ran hotels and many then purchased empty farmlands and abandoned homes.¹⁶

Drawn to the mountains for the fresh food, clean air, and close proximity to the lakes and mountains, these particularly wealthy elites, inspired by the romantic ideals of the Transcendentalists, began referring to their mountain homes as “camps,” stressing their rustic and spartan nature. These elite family summer camps, much like those that were also popping up in New York’s Adirondack Mountains in the 1870s, were meant to provide a restorative escape from the hard work demanded by city life. But the summer camps like Balch’s Chocorua served a more specific subset of that tourist population, its children.

The opulence of the resort hotels appealed to the wealthy adults who sought pampered vacations rather than rustic family retreats, but many were concerned that such luxury was destructive to youth. Balch sought to humble his wealthy campers by teaching them the value of hard work and self-government. Camp Chocorua’s “money system” serves as an example of the program’s educational aims:

An idea which began in our second summer was to teach the boys the use of money. A few of them were sons of wealthy parents and possessed vague conceptions of money and somewhat snobbish tendencies. I designed the camp to be of a really democratic spirit. The best method of teaching the value of money to a boy is to have him earn what he needs for his pleasures.¹⁷

His campers cleared trails, built their cabins, and managed a community legal system, allowing them to learn the responsibility of enforcing their own rules. Developing confidence on the water was central to the curriculum as the boys learned to swim, dive, sail, and canoe. The ultimate goal for all of the boys was constructing their own canoe, but they had to purchase the equipment through their own labor. A banking system at the camp provided the boys with the opportunity to wash dishes or clean brush in order to earn the funds needed to build a canoe. Boys were allowed to work during the winter and use their pay to cover the expenses of the boat, but only if they had personally earned their wages. No parental gifts were allowed.¹⁸ Without any servants at camp, the boys were responsible for all of the work to be done, including five hours per day committed to cooking-related tasks alone.¹⁹ The faculty, consisting of five men including Balch, adopted the belief

Opposite page:
Pemigewasset House,
Plymouth, N.H.
c. 1855, J.H. Bufford, Lith.
(Boston, MA)
John Hession photograph
Courtesy of Bryant Tolles, Jr.
White Mountain Collection

Were I a boy, the life at Camp Chocorua would be my idea of a thoroughly good time, combining as it does plenty of fun and a free, open-air life, with the acquisition of much useful knowledge for one's self, and helpfulness to others. —Elizabeth Balch, 1886.



Photograph courtesy of
Camp Pasquaney

that they should live the same as the boys, making sure to share in the challenges and the successes. They chose not to teach from books, but to focus on lessons learned through experience, from the natural consequences discovered when working in community in the outdoors. Together with their campers, they built their own chapel and organized Sunday services, put on plays, and enjoyed an adventurous summer outdoors.²⁰

Impressed by Balch's ideas, John F. Nichols founded Camp Harvard in 1885 on Lake Mono-monoc in Rindge, New Hampshire, staffing it with Harvard undergrads, including Winthrop T. Talbot.²¹ The two camps soon gained a national reputation when the popular children's magazine *St. Nicholas* ran stories on these innovative programs in their June 1886 issue.

They camp out at night and have many amusing adventures by day...[They are] jolly, brown-faced, red-capped lads, who make the hills ring cheerily with their songs and laughter... Were I a boy, the life at Camp Chocorua would be my idea of a thoroughly good time, combining as it

*does plenty of fun and a free, open-air life, with the acquisition of much useful knowledge for one's self, and helpfulness to others.*²²

The sudden popularity meant that Chocorua's enrollment went from 18 in 1886 to 28 in 1887. Camp Harvard also saw changes as it moved to occupy a new site on Squam across from Chocorua and new leadership under Talbot.²³ Although influenced by Balch's work, Talbot allowed more amenities in his newly renamed Camp Asquam. Campers had cots instead of sleeping on the ground and, because a cook prepared all of their meals, the boys were free to enjoy more recreation and adventure throughout the day.²⁴

In the White Mountains, the summer camp experience was interwoven with the summer tourist experience. Camps were located near popular inns and resorts and promotional brochures followed similar stylistic formats while catering to similar populations. New Hampshire business directories listed summer camps as "recreational schools," thereby differentiating them from resorts, inns, and family retreats.²⁵ Finding opportunity in an eager public and inexpensive waterfront property, the emerging summer camps looked to the model first formed on Chocorua Island in Squam Lake and over the next twenty years spread across New England, New York, Pennsylvania, and even as far as West Virginia's Greenbrier resort.²⁶

As the idea of summer camp expanded, it also diversified, moving beyond the role of serving wealthy boys. But whether they served rich or poor, boys or girls, the educational experiences of summer camp maintained certain similarities. Youth left home for an extended period of time in the summer to live in a rustic environment grounded in the landscape where their physical activity and adventures together taught them lessons they could not learn in the traditional academic classroom. ■

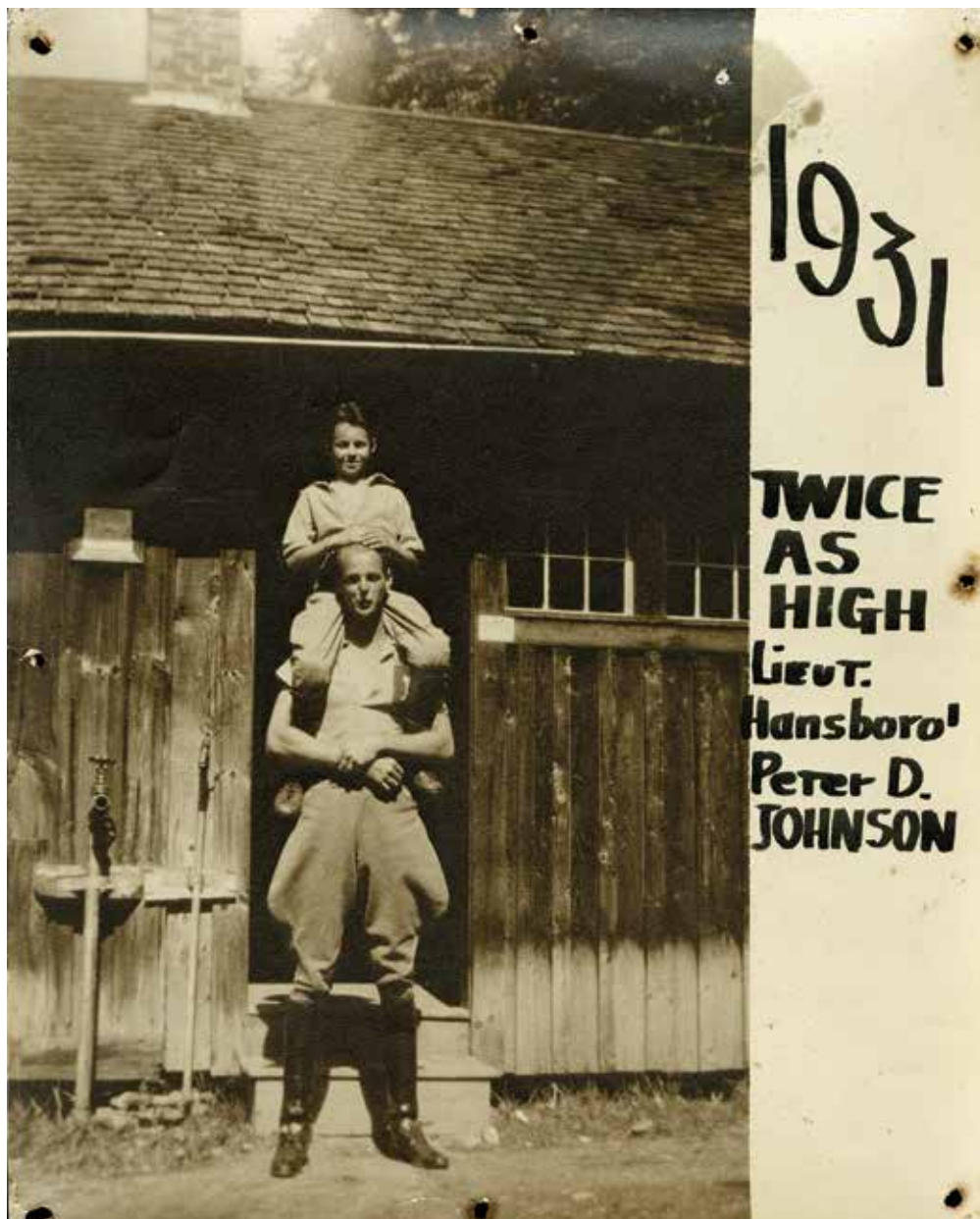


Left: Photograph courtesy of Camp Hale - United South End Settlements & Northeastern University Libraries, Archives and Special Collections

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Above: Photograph courtesy of Camp Pasquaney



Right: Photograph courtesy of Camp Mowglis



The Literary Links to Experiential Romanticism

The strongest thread that bound these diverse summer camps together was a deeply held belief in experiential romanticism. The parents who sent the first generation of children to summer camp longed for a connection to an America that they believed existed before the urbanization and industrialization that marked the late nineteenth century. This nostalgia was not rooted in any pioneering or frontier experience from their own youth; rather, it was based on the idealized image of America crafted by the romantic poets, authors, and artists popular during the period.²⁷ The romantic literature of the nineteenth century stressed a deep connection to nature, a rejection of modern life including technology, and the idealized image of the “noble savage.” The characters of James Fennimore Cooper’s *Leatherstocking Tales* hiked, camped, and paddled their way across the landscape, tracking animals, cooking over open fires, and demonstrating a keen knowledge of the natural world throughout. Cooper’s tales inspired the countless dime novels that proliferated throughout the nineteenth century and defined the wilderness experience for generations of youth. As early camp directors worked to craft a curriculum of activities, they turned to those same wilderness motifs, providing opportunities for hiking, paddling, campfires, and nature study while also fusing them with the Progressive ideals of the day.

Ernest Thompson Seton, who founded the influential Woodcraft Indian movement and who had a tremendous influence on the early outdoor education movement, saw Cooper’s representation of the Native Americans as the ideal hero for his educational model:

To exemplify my outdoor movement, I must have a man who was of this country and climate; who was physically beautiful, clean, unsordid, high-minded, heroic,

picturesque, and a master of Woodcraft, besides which, he must be already well-known. I would gladly have taken a man of our own race, but I could find none. Rollo the Sea-King, King Arthur, Leif Ericson, Robin Hood, Leatherstocking, all suggested themselves, but none seemed to meet the requirements, and most were mere shadows, utterly unknown. Surely, all this pointed the same way. There was but one figure that seemed to answer all these needs: that was the Ideal Indian of Fenimore Cooper and Longfellow.²⁸

Cooper’s Chingachgook and Longfellow’s Hiawatha were not the only literary heroes to inspire the growing camp movement. Nathaniel Hawthorne’s writing, especially his short stories based in the White Mountains, articulated a vital link between the landscape and the development of character. In *The Great Stone Face*, published in 1850, Hawthorne describes life in the shadow of the Old Man of the Mountains in Franconia Notch and relates the arrival of a series of businessmen, politicians, and old soldiers who visit and raise the hopes of the residents that a true leader has arrived, each leaving the community disappointed. In the end, it is Ernest, the boy who grew to be a man while working hard and reflecting on the natural world, who proved to be the true leader that everyone was waiting for.

Not a day passed by, that the world was not the better because this man, humble as he was, had lived. ... The pure and high simplicity of his thought, which, as one of its manifestations, took shape in the good deeds that dropped silently from his hand, flowed also forth in speech. He uttered truths that wrought upon and moulded [sic] the lives of those who heard them.²⁹

Opposite page:
Alvan Fisher
*Mt. Jefferson on Rte from
Gorham to the Glen House,
N.H.* (detail)
1859. Oil on canvas,
24 x 20 inches
John Hession photograph
Courtesy of Michael
Mooney and Robert Cram

Opposite page:
Samuel Lancaster Gerry
Old Man of the Mountains
(detail) c. 1886. Oil on
canvas, 20 x 14 inches
John Hession photograph
Private collection

Hawthorne's story was so effective in framing the ideal of developing character through reflection on the mountains that numerous camp directors made reading it a part of the camp experience. Margaret Styles, the longtime director of Camp Onaway on Newfound Lake, regularly shared the story and its moral with the girls at her camp.³⁰ In the 1924 brochure for Camp Ogontz, a full page was dedicated to a photo of the Old Man of Mountain and a quote from Hawthorne's text:

*It was a happy lot for children to grow up to manhood or womanhood with THE GREAT STONE FACE before their eyes, for all the features were noble, and the expression was at once grand and sweet, as if it were the glow of a vast, warm heart, that embraces all mankind in its affections, and had room for more. It was an education only to look at it. According to the belief of many people, the valley owed much of its fertility to this benign aspect that was continually beaming over it, illuminating the clouds, and infusing its tenderness into the sunshine.*³¹

Hawthorne's quote was of such importance that it was situated facing the application for admission to Ogontz, a closing thought to eager campers and interested parents on the significance of summer camp in New Hampshire.

Rudyard Kipling was also very influential in the formation and early years of the summer camp movement. One of the most popular writers of the period, especially with children, Kipling's work was more early modernist and imperialist than it was romantic, but the nostalgic tones of the Mowgli saga blended easily with the back-to-nature ideals of the camp movement. Mowgli's journey provided a popular image that resonated with youth in Robert Baden-Powell's expanded Boy Scout program in Britain.³² When Baden-Powell decided to create a branch of the Boy Scouts designed to cater to younger children in 1916, he took Kipling's

Jungle Books as the theme, organizing the boys into packs and framing the learning process of the young cubs as they moved from the ranks of Wolf to Bear. Kipling penned "The Boy Scout Patrol Song" and his novels *Kim*, *Captains Courageous*, and *The Jungle Books* were all recommended reading for scouts in the Boy Scout Handbook. But Scouting did not have a monopoly on the characters of *The Jungle Books*.

When Elizabeth Ford Holt founded Camp Mowglis in 1903, she did so with Rudyard Kipling's permission and blessing. Her idea was to create a summer camp built around the ideals expressed in Kipling's work, where the young boys between the ages of 8 and 14 would be able to discover the Law of the Jungle and the importance of the Pack.³³ To Holt, the aim of Camp Mowglis was to promote "primitive surroundings and not luxuries that make for sturdiness of body and character with thought for the other boy—a fundamental necessity of community life."³⁴ According to Porter Sargent's *Handbook of Private Schools*, one of the most widely used references for parents and children in the early twentieth century, she succeeded. At Mowglis, "something more than mere recreation is aimed at and the camp life is the result of long years of experience."³⁵

In Kipling's tale, the young boy journeys through adolescence by living close to nature and studying the practices of the animals around him. Through his adventures, he learns the importance of being part of the pack and of the Law of the Jungle. The idea that technology separates man from nature, best represented by Kipling in the animals' obsession with fire as "man's red flower," mirrors the anti-modern romanticism that influenced early American summer camps.³⁶

Kipling also contributed to the emerging proto-conservation ethic that camps formed during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. In *The Jungle Books*, Kipling represents Mowgli as a brother to his animal friends, an ideal more





Photograph courtesy of
Camp Mowglis

Eastern in sentiment than American or European.³⁷ He also repeatedly stressed the importance of killing other animals only for food, never for pleasure. Written while the author lived in Brattleboro, Vermont, and during a period when Americans were debating the ideas of conservation versus preservation, Kipling's *The Jungle Books* helped to frame the experience of summer camp by providing a literary guide book for how to best connect with nature, not just for Camp Mowglis, but also for Scouts and others who turned to the Scouting model as a resource.

Kipling and Holt maintained correspondences throughout the years and Holt annually sent him a copy of the *Mowglis Howl*, an account of the adventures from the summer written by the boys. In one letter, dated December 10, 1911, Kipling says of the *Howl*: "It is a very delightful picture that you give of the boys' doings and as the years go on and the result of the work begins to show in men who were the boys, you ought to be very cheered and happy."³⁸ In a later letter sent upon receipt of the *Howl*, Kipling remarked how much he admired "the spirit that made so magnificent and helpful a work grow out of such a tiny little seed of a name."³⁹

Camp directors regularly read poetry and short stories to their campers in the evening as

part of the moral education of the campers, but such literature was not just to be consumed. Most camps included some sort of writing as part of their curriculum, whether that was in recording the adventures from the day in a camp log, the publication of a camp newspaper, or through regular poetry contests. Camp Birchall, a short-lived Boy Scout wilderness camp on Lake Umbagog, required the boys to maintain a log of their adventures. A pair of scouts became "keepers of the log" and recorded the details of the day. At the end of the summer, the log was typed, bound with wooden covers and a copy given to each camper.⁴⁰ In the case of Ogontz White Mountain Camp, poetry readings were the focus of every Thursday night and highlighted the works of Emerson, Thoreau, Shakespeare, Tennyson, and Browning as well as the camper's own compositions. In many cases, community guests would come to judge the poetry including a local named Robert Frost, whose work was also often highlighted.⁴¹

Experiential romanticism continues to be a foundational building block for the summer camp movement, representing both nostalgia for a desired past and a refuge from the ever increasing stressors of modern life and technology. In the 1970s, Bill St. John, the director of Camp Onaway, captured this when he wrote that summer camp was a necessary alternative to the "sham, false measurement, glitter" of life. In language that echoed Balch, he continued: camp stressed "thoughtfulness and awareness. . . compassion, loyalty, integrity, and responsibility," as well as a deeper respect for the natural world.⁴² At summer camps across New Hampshire and beyond, children were not just being told about these values and warned about dangers; they were physically immersed in environments where those essentials were necessary parts of everyday life. At camp, they had opportunities to jump into the adventures they had only read about in books and poetry. ■



Above:
Photograph courtesy
of Onaway



Left:
"Pioneering: - Miss Elsie,
Patty McLane, Louise Berry."
1930-31. Marion Mooney
Camp Grey Rocks scrapbook
Courtesy of the Hebron
Historical Society



Holding to an egalitarian ideal that works to level social classes, humble the rich, and uplift the poor, summer camp creates a unique space for American youth.

Peter Ferber
Summer Hangout
2013. Watercolor on paper,
15 x 22 inches
John Hession photograph
Courtesy of Michael
Mooney and Robert Cram

Satellite Campuses for America's Top Schools

From their inception, summer camps were educational institutions working in large part to either supplement students' learning or to prepare the campers for their next stage of life. Because of this, early summer camps stressed a close connection to America's universities, especially the Ivy League. Many camps drew their counselor staff from elite colleges, helping to turn the camps into training grounds for collegiate life.

Like Ernest Balch, Ned Wilson came from wealth and privilege, but after graduating from Yale and then Columbia Medical School, he found himself without direction. Abandoning medicine and then creative writing, Wilson discovered Camp Asquam where he served as a counselor for the 1894 season. Asquam's director, Winthrop Talbot, was impressed by Wilson and helped him plan a camp of his own. Wilson acquired land from his father and opened Camp Pasquaney on Newfound Lake in 1895.⁴³ Pasquaney adopted numerous elements of Camp Asquam's curriculum, including daily duty lists, camping parties, and the Long Walk, an extended multi-day hiking and camping adventure in the mountains.⁴⁴

Pasquaney maintained close links with Yale students and alumni, reinforcing the aim of the camp: "to have Pasquaney lead to the better forms of higher education through which bodies grow and souls expand and men are made."⁴⁵ Naturally college traditions found their way into to daily camp life, including the attire, athletics, songs, dining hall practices, and the similarity of cabin décor and dorm room life.⁴⁶ The campers learned to play golf, because it was considered a "gentleman's game" and referred to their fleet of sailboats and canoes as the "Pasquaney Yacht Club."⁴⁷ Pasquaney also had its own honor societies, including Sigma Alpha, inspired by Yale's Skull and Bones.⁴⁸

Pasquaney worked to humble the sons of wealth and privilege so that they would be less elitist and become better citizens. Like Balch, Wilson felt that life at the summer resorts was too easy and luxurious to be healthy for young boys. Their concern was that children of privilege needed a focused educational experience that developed character and helped them to understand the debt of service they owed to society.⁴⁹ Although the close association with Ivy League traditions clearly delineated these boys as upper class, the camp life's code of rugged communalism and dedication to service anchored their character development and directed their energies to the service of others. Wilson started these lessons early. A camp alum from 1895–1900, Miff Frothingham, wrote that Wilson "taught us the simple code of Loyalty, Friendship and Honor, and the meaning of the word Character. It was from him that we learned to have ideals—and the necessity of holding them through life."⁵⁰ Throughout its long history, Pasquaney's campers and alumni have demonstrated that commitment to community through their trail work and their later efforts to help create and support other camps in the White Mountains.

Photograph courtesy of
Camp Pasquaney





Mowglis crew race, 1946
Photograph courtesy of
Camp Mowglis

Close by at Camp Mowglis, the young campers also learned the culture and rituals that were an important part of the Ivy League world. At the beginning of the camp season, campers were split into Red and Blue teams, reminiscent of the colors of Harvard and Yale. The most important event of the season was (and still is) Crew Day, where family and alumni return to camp to watch the Red and Blue crews race across the lake. The event was inspired by the Harvard-Yale Regatta, a race that first took place in 1852 on Lake Winnepesaukee and is considered the oldest intercollegiate competition in the United States. Not only do the camp's team colors pay homage to the venerable New England schools, but the camp follows the collegiate tradition of running the winning team's oar up the flag pole to celebrate and the Blue team borrows from Yale's alma mater by cheering "For God, Country, and Blue Crew."

Most early twentieth century summer camps stressed their links to American colleges and universities by specifically identifying their relationship in promotional brochures aimed at parents and potential campers. Camp directors and founders were often affiliated with elite schools and counselors' names were listed with their college affiliation as a way to stress the quality of the camp. Some camps even operated as a direct extension of a school or college. The

Groton School Camp was founded by Rev. Endicott Peabody, who also founded the Groton School in Massachusetts. Ogontz White Mountain Camp was an extension of Abby Southerland's all-women Ogontz School and Junior College in Pennsylvania. Camp Moosilauke was directed by the head of German Literature and Language at Pennsylvania's Dickinson College as well as teachers from the Horace Mann School. The Pine Mountain Association in Gorham, New Hampshire (now the Horton Center) was founded by Dr. Douglas Horton, dean of Harvard Divinity School.

Not all summer camps venerated New England's elite universities. In a possibly tongue-in-cheek swipe at the Ivy Leagues, the campers at Camp Belknap on Lake Winnepesaukee whose parents were more likely to be mill managers than mill owners, referred to their latrines as "Scollages," bestowing upon them the names of Harvard, Dartmouth, and Princeton.⁵¹

The academic affiliation of camps suggested the educational focus of the camp to parents. This was especially true for the camps stressing the Sargent method of physical development. Dudley Sargent, the director of Harvard's Hemenway Gymnasium from 1879 to 1919, was the nation's leading voice in physical education at the turn of the century. Having founded the all-women Sargent School in Cambridge, Massachusetts in 1881, Dr. Sargent used physical education as a means to address public health concerns of the late nineteenth century. As a normal school, specializing in training teachers, the Sargent School prepared women to be physical educators who would use nutrition and physical activity as tools to increase the health of America's youth. His position at Harvard and the birth of his own school were due in large part to the popularity of his "Sargent Method" which involved careful measurements of each student's physique and athletic ability.⁵² Based on the measurements, teachers assigned their students a personalized training routine and charted their progress over



The naturalist, the ornithologist, the botanist, have found in the summer camp an unequaled opportunity for interesting boys in every phase of nature study. —Porter Sargent, 1920

time. Sargent saw great potential in the summer camp movement and in 1912 he opened Sargent Camp in Peterborough, New Hampshire, so the entire student body of Sargent College could relocate to the shores of Half Moon Pond for two months of every academic year and study the educational methods of camp life.

Although the Sargent Method was extremely effective, it was considered too time intensive and specific to gain widespread use in America's industrialized public schools.⁵³ Sargent was published widely in the popular press, was active in the Playground Association of America, and was one of the original members of the National Council of the Boy Scouts of America. His approach greatly influenced the fields of physical and occupational therapy and found a home in numerous colleges

and summer camps. For example, Camp Asquam for Girls was headed by Sargent College alumna Mary A. Elcock, the director of Physical Training at Bryn Mawr School. The opening page of the camp's promotional brochure clearly identified Elcock as a graduate of Sargent School. A number of her fellow counselors were also graduates and the description of the curriculum anchors it in the Sargent System. Dudley Sargent himself was listed as a reference.⁵⁴ Ogontz White Mountain Camp, an affiliate of the all-women Ogontz School in Pennsylvania, also stressed the importance of physical health in the curriculum of the camp, noting which of its counselors and staff were Sargent College alumni as well.⁵⁵

Sargent was not the only medical doctor who turned to summer camps as a vehicle to promote

Edward Moran
Half-way Up Mount Washington
1868. Oil on canvas,
30 x 50 inches
John Hession photograph
Private collection

physical education. Camp Pemigewassett was started by three doctors, brothers Edgar and Edwin Fauver and their friend Dudley Reed. After serving as camp counselors at Camp Moosilauke in Orford, New Hampshire, they decided to open Camp Pemigewassett in Wentworth. Opening in 1908, Camp Pemigewassett allowed the directors to use their medical knowledge in order to help foster the physical health of the campers. To quote Edgar Fauver, “without the soundest physical basis it is impossible to have the best mental development.”⁵⁶

As the decades of camp life passed and generations of campers grew into young adults, another educational pattern emerged. Rather than stressing the link to collegiate membership, camps developed Leadership in Training (LIT) and Counselor in Training (CIT) programs by

the mid-twentieth century, allowing camps to cultivate their own future counselors while also stressing the leadership credibility of the camp’s curriculum. Instead of acculturating campers to specific campus communities, LIT and CIT programs provide leadership experiences well suited for college applications.

The educational purpose of summer camp strengthened throughout the first decades of the movement. The Transcendentalists envisioned an experiential romanticism that served as the basis of the camp curriculum, but those aims expanded and changed as technology and American culture evolved. As Porter Sargent observed in 1920: “The naturalist, the ornithologist, the botanist, have found in the summer camp an unequaled opportunity for interesting boys in every phase of nature study. Many camps have well-organized instruction in life-saving, in wireless telegraphy, in photography, and in shooting.”⁵⁷ These were intended to lay the foundation for the technical skills and moral qualities needed for twentieth-century Americans; they were becoming widespread in the first decades of that century. As Sargent continued: “There is little question that the summer camp is here as a permanent addition to our educational institutions. Already the camps have done more than save the boy’s summer, – they have made him a hardier, more resourceful boy, the promise of a more self-reliant, better disciplined man.”⁵⁸ Porter Sargent also included the thoughts of Dr. C. Hanford Henderson, the author and educator who founded Camp Marienfeld in 1898 in Chesham, New Hampshire, who observed: “Perhaps the highest office of the summer camp, would be to make itself unnecessary, by importing our whole scheme of education the saving idea that boys and girls ought to be brought up in the country and ought to live a simple, sturdy, open-air life twelve months out of the twelve. ... Already there are indications that the summer camp, instead of supplementing education, may end by transforming it.”⁵⁹ ■

l’Lee Counselor in Training, Naomi Krauzer, and Robert “Bob” Feinburg, a dishwasher at camp. 1933. The first date of a long marriage. Photograph courtesy of Diane Garfield





Above:
The championship ball
club of 1897
Photograph courtesy of
Camp Pasquaney

Left:
The first Pemigewassett
campers on the steps of
the original Mess Hall,
August 1908
Photograph courtesy of
Camp Pemigewassett



Camps for All, or The Egalitarian Worlds of Summer Camps

Although summer camps began as a supplement for the children of wealth and privilege, the value of a summer in a White Mountain summer camp was quickly harnessed by those working with children who didn't fit the stereotype of wealthy, white, and male. Progressives saw the potential of camp life as a means to uplift the poor, to Americanize immigrants, and to empower women. As a movement, the Progressives aimed to create a better and more just American society. Through camp, they could demonstrate that ideal as a livable reality on impressionable young minds. Scouting and YMCA camps targeted middle-class families while organizations such as urban settlement houses specifically developed programs for the most at-risk youth in the community.

The Groton School Camp opened as an outreach project of the Groton School's Missionary Society in 1893. Initially located on Willoughby's Island (now Groton Island) on Squam Lake, the camp had the unique goal of using summer camp as a tool to bridge the gap between New England's social classes.⁶⁰ Reverend Endicott Peabody, the founder of the school and the camp, believed that privileged Americans should work to solve the problems in society.⁶¹ He ascribed to a spartan muscular Christianity that involved physical activity, rigorous academic study, and cold showers—even in the winter.⁶² These beliefs fit well into his vision of a summer camp as an exercise in democratic living and social uplift, allowing the rich to provide positive experiences for the poor. The Groton School's Missionary Society also organized students to lead religious services in the Boston area, helped the Boys Club of Boston, and cared for Civil War widows.⁶³

The aim of the Groton School Camp was to bring together the wealthy elite students of the Groton School and the rough and ragged “street urchins” of Boston's tenement houses. By spending time at camp together, the Groton boys would be “working with them, playing with them, and they will soon discover that the feelings, the tastes, and even the manners of these little bootblacks are not so very different from their own.”⁶⁴ Through the egalitarian experience of summer camp on Groton Island, Peabody sought nothing less than the “regeneration of the world.”⁶⁵

Among the many children who learned formative lessons about the common ground between people at the Groton School Camp was a young Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Peabody's influence on FDR was significant: not only was he the future president's headmaster and camp director, but he was also the officiant at Roosevelt's wedding to Eleanor in 1905.⁶⁶ Roosevelt joined the Missionary Society in 1900 and that summer spent two two-week stints as a faculty member of the camp, as a counselor teaching swimming, paddling, and sailing. It was among the first experiences the young FDR had with the poor.⁶⁷

The faculty's role was as important to Peabody's vision of the camp as the experiences of the inner city campers. According to the camp's promotional circular:

For the Faculty, too, the fortnight is not without its lessons of simplicity, patience, and, above all, fraternal feeling for those who, with all the differences of environment and education, are yet moved by the same hopes and fears and temptations as they. The ultimate equality of human beings is impressed in a way not likely

Opposite page, top:
Camp Hale illustrated map
John Anderson photograph
Courtesy of Camp
Hale – United South End
Settlements

Bottom:
Photograph courtesy of
the Bethlehem Heritage
Society



Frank Henry Shapleigh
Swimming in the White Mountains
 Oil on canvas,
 12 x 20 inches
 John Anderson photograph
 Museum of the White Mountains. Gift of
 Douglas A. Nelson and
 Karin Cullity Nelson, 2016

*to be forgotten in the years when these members of the Faculty become men in the community.*⁶⁸

If the goal of the summer camp experience is to develop character, foster a sense of community, and an ability to rise in the face of adversity, the movement can count President Franklin Delano Roosevelt as one of its greatest success stories.

As the Groton School Camp grew larger and Squam Lake's residents wealthier, one of the Squam Lake summer residents offered Peabody a larger island on Newfound Lake if he would move the camp. Peabody accepted, and in 1920 the social project of the Groton School set up camp in their new home.

Although unique in its approach, the Groton School Camp was not alone in using summer camp as a means to uplift inner city youth. Boston's Home for Little Wanderers operated a camp for its young orphans on a small lake in Tuftonboro

that is now home to Camp Sentinel, while the city's settlement houses used the summer camp experience to serve a number of social purposes.

The settlement house movement began with London's Toynbee Hall in the 1880s, where volunteers served the same Whitechapel district then being terrorized by Jack the Ripper. The approach called on young, college-educated men and women to move into a home in the poorest and most densely-populated parts of a city. Once settled, they used that home as a base of operations to provide educational opportunities and services to the local community. The first and most famous such Settlement House in the United States was Jane Addams' Hull House in Chicago but the idea quickly spread to Boston with Robert A. Woods' South End House. Nineteenth-century Boston was fertile ground for the Settlement House movement, providing a large population of college-educated young people steeped in a culture of social justice and aspiring to build the "City upon the Hill."

One such program was the Hale House, which opened in 1895 when Unitarian Minister Dr. Edward Everett Hale inspired five young men to move into the South End.⁶⁹ Within five years, Hale House offered summer camp opportunities to South End boys as well. In the summer of 1900, Hale House sent 14 inner-city boys to Onset Island in Buzzards Bay for a one-week camp session, but the following year they shifted their camp to the shore of Squam Lake.⁷⁰ From the outset, Camp Hale approached its work with the belief that inner-city kids had the right to the same high-quality residential camp programs that wealthier children enjoyed. They wove educational support and a focus on personal growth and self-sufficiency into the camp curriculum. In 1903, they even took a page from the Groton School Camp, inviting campers from the wealthy Andover Academy to join them at camp.⁷¹

The sustainability of the camp rested on the success of its alumni. As former campers grew up and became lawyers, doctors, and businessmen, they gave back to the camp in order to keep its programs free for the next generation, even as the faces of those later generations changed. The population of Hale House's South End neighborhood changed throughout the twentieth century and the camp's demographics changed with it, as waves of Irish, Russians, Jews, Greeks, and Syrians became primarily Hispanics and African-Americans.⁷²

The counselors at Camp Hale also evolved over time. In the 1910s and 1920s, counselors were generally college students from affluent schools who could afford to spend their summers working for the low wages earned by camp staff. In the 1940s and 1950s, veterans on the GI Bill filled out the ranks, working for camp during the summer and deepening their impact on the youth by volunteering at church and other community programs in the South End throughout the rest of the year. As the GI Bill dried up, Camp Hale developed a junior counselor training program to build up their own leadership pool, to serve both



in the summer at camp and in the city throughout the year.⁷³ When single-parent and grandparent families became more the norm, the presence of counselors as strong male role models became a vital element in the lives of Hale's campers.⁷⁴ These relationships were of tremendous importance to the community's social fabric because the camp was run by a community-oriented settlement house whose social mission served the youth even when they were not camped on the shores of Squam Lake.

Settlement-house-sponsored summer camps served a public health purpose for the community in addition to an educational one. Camps often touted the health benefits of a summer in the woods by arguing that campers had fewer sick days and illnesses throughout the winter. In 1931, Hale House's Annual Report stated "The results of this winter will show themselves in fatigue, undernourishment, and nerve strain that only can be helped by a change from city streets and crowded homes to country air and outdoor living."⁷⁵ As part of the urban redevelopment process in post-war Boston, Hale House merged with other South End settlement houses and ultimately was demolished,

Photograph courtesy of
Camp Hale - United South
End Settlements & Mark
Bolton Photography

It was the first time I ever saw a rainbow. ... Also, having never seen anything but the short, stubby, withering trees that dotted the North End [of Boston] streets, I never imagined a tree could be so large and glorious. —Dante DeCristoforo, 1991

Opposite page, top:
Victor de Grailly
Lake Winnepesogee
from *Red Hill*
1860. Oil on board,
28 x 38 inches
John Hession photograph
Courtesy of Michael
Mooney and Robert Cram

but the camp lived on and continues to serve the children of Boston.⁷⁶ In the centennial history of the camp, the Camp Hale Alumni Association reminisced that:

*It is still a place where boys tread the path to manhood. Independence is still an experience that many enjoy for the first time. Learning to function within a group, both as an individual and as part of a community, is still an experience of camp. New skills are learned and challenges met. Opportunities are many, and accomplishments are rewarded. Friendships are established, mentors consulted, and values embraced.*⁷⁷

Another innovative type of summer camp developed by the settlement houses of Boston was caddy camp. Serving older boys, caddy camps were a partnership between the children from settlement house neighborhoods and elite country clubs in the White Mountains. As noted by Dante DeCristoforo, a caddy camper at the Maplewood Caddy Camp in Bethlehem, New Hampshire: “It was the first time I ever saw a rainbow. ... Also, having never seen anything but the short, stubby, withering trees that dotted the North End [of Boston] streets, I never imagined a tree could be so large and glorious.”⁷⁸

Campers learned about golf and how to work as a caddy and then spent their entire summer in a camp adjacent to the golf course. A camper’s day was generally split between working on the links and enjoying the traditional camp life: living in cabins, hiking, playing sports, and practicing arts and crafts. Campers were paid for their services, but they also were required to open a checking account in the camp bank and pay a small amount for room and board. By the end of the summer, campers had earned a profit and were urged to invest that money in their education when they returned to Boston. If invited, campers were allowed to have lunch or tea with their wealthy

patrons, following the pattern of success that was often illustrated in the popular Horatio Alger novels where bootblacks could rise to success after being discovered by a successful businessman. If nothing else, such contact exposed the campers to social situations outside their norm. Caddy camp alums often used their skills to help them work their way through college and on to later success. The North Bennet Street School in the North End and the South End House were two of the many settlement houses that continued this program from the early twentieth century into the 1960s, when golf carts gradually replaced caddies as the primary means of transporting clubs from green to green.⁷⁹

Decades after the caddy camps closed, caddy campers still gather together for reunions. Frank “Sonny” Piazza explained “we got a camaraderie, don’t forget, for over 60 years. And we always get together every Labor Day like this. We never stopped. ... We used to have over 200 guys and we used to cook down there. Right, and could they cook... What food!”⁸⁰ Golf carts may have replaced caddies, rising prices may have made camp more expensive to run, and the grand hotels may have closed, but the caddy camps made a lasting impact on the lives of many inner-city boys.

Camps began with boys, but soon evolved to include young women. From the beginnings of White Mountain tourism, women were able to find opportunity and adventure in the backcountry of New Hampshire. Both in the recreational opportunities and in the ways they were represented in the mass media, women were able to find a level of freedom and independence that was denied them in the cities and suburbs at lower altitudes.⁸¹ It is fitting that the first summer camp for girls also began in the White Mountains.

From 1902 to 1908, Elizabeth Holt directed Camp Redcroft, the first summer camp for girls. Located on Newfound Lake, Redcroft was modeled in large part on nearby Camp Pasquaney and the



two camps interacted regularly: the twenty girls often attended games and plays at the neighboring boys' camp. Holt had also founded the boys' Camp Mowglis in 1903 and found running both camps to be too much of a burden, so she closed Redcroft assuming there was a larger market for Kipling's little campers.⁸² In 1912, Mable Dodge Woodbridge Hollister leased the old Redcroft property to open Camp Onaway for girls—the same year that Dudley Sargent opened his outdoor education training

center for women at Sargent Camp and the same year that Juliette Gordon Low founded the Girl Scouts in America.

Girls summer camps both challenged and reinforced the dominant gender norms of early twentieth-century American society. National programs like the Camp Fire Girls stressed a traditional model of womanhood where campers learned to tend to the hearth and other trades of the home. The Girl Scouts and programs like Sargent Camp

Above left:
Photograph courtesy of
the Bethlehem Heritage
Society

Above right:
"Caddies in the Bunk"
Photograph courtesy of
the Bethlehem Heritage
Society



Photograph courtesy of
Camp Pemigewasset

challenged traditional norms by stressing the importance of physical education and women's empowerment.⁸³ In 1931, Camp Grey Rocks, a girls' camp in Hebron, offered riflery lessons and cricket games, as well as the more expected activities of boating, swimming, hiking, horseback riding, and crafts.⁸⁴ Practices also changed with the times in regards to gender roles and expectations. In the 1940s, Camp Onaway changed their curriculum to include observations of kitchen work and "some actual cooking" because, as a consequence of the Great Depression, fewer campers' families had domestic servants and girls were being expected to take on such roles in the home.⁸⁵

Camp Redcroft and Camp Onaway illustrate some of the challenges to girls' camps in the early years of the camp movement. Although the methods and outcomes of a summer camp program were as applicable for girls as for boys, directors often had to make difficult decisions: slim profit margins vs. societal expectations. Elizabeth Holt's decision to close Redcroft so she could focus on Mowglis was a case in point. The potential of success for a young boys' camp was considered greater than a camp for girls at the time. Onaway's shift from for-profit to non-profit status in the mid-twentieth century also illustrates a logistical challenge. As the camp sought the desperately needed funds for the upkeep of the camp, they turned to the alumni, but even finding former campers was a challenge because married alums changed their last names and camp records were often lacking.⁸⁶ Staffing issues were also a concern. Because girls' camps

were smaller in size and in number, there was a smaller pool of potential counselors to draw from. Camps like Ogontz, Sargent, and Camp Asquam for Girls could draw from the student body of their affiliated all-girls schools, but not all camps had this advantage.

By the late-twentieth century, a number of camps were expanding to offer coeducational camp experiences, but that required additional demands for staffing and bathing facilities which many camps either could not afford or did not have the requisite property for expansion. Instead, camps often formed sibling partnerships with other camps, such as Pasquaney and Onaway or Belknap and Huckins, with campers attending each other's events and maintaining an emotional affinity with the camp across the lake or down the road.

Amidst the changing times of the 1960s, the Groton School turned its focus to the school's campus and in 1966 chose to discontinue the Groton School Camp. Rather than abandon the legacy of the camp, the boys and alumni of Camp Pasquaney stepped in to create a new program to serve at-risk boys in New Hampshire. In 1969, the Mayhew Island Project began and by 1974 the Mayhew Program was working year round.⁸⁷

Mayhew serves 10–11-year-old New Hampshire boys who come from low-income, often single-parent households. A tuition-free preventative program, Mayhew works to provide positive social, emotional, physical, and behavioral education to boys so they can be successful in their communities. In addition to participating in after-school and mentoring programs, the boys each spend four weeks on Newfound Lake for the Island Challenge, a program to build self-confidence, healthy peer interactions, goal setting, and a sense of belonging.⁸⁸

By the 1990s, the Mayhew Program had a proven track record of success in serving at-risk New Hampshire boys and, as an homage to their historical relationship, Camp Pasquaney offered



Mayhew graduates full scholarships to continue spending their summers at Newfound Lake. The leaders of Camp Onaway wanted to follow suit and serve the girls of New Hampshire. As part of the capital campaign in the early 1990s, Onaway proposed the creation of the Circle Program, which would offer a two-week camp session for New Hampshire girls ages 9–11 as well as a year-round follow-up program. Onaway donors flocked to support the program, which ran at either Pasquaney or Onaway until 2005, when it moved to its own property in Groton, New Hampshire.⁸⁹

The experience of summer camp in the White Mountains has been a common ground for American culture since the inception of camps in the late 1800s. Holding to an egalitarian ideal that works to level social classes, humble the rich, and uplift the poor, summer camp creates a unique space for American youth. In creating a place where children can feel safe to express themselves and experiment with arts, sports, and leadership, summer camp works to develop character and a rugged communalism. Campers practice self-reliance, but always within the interdependent framework of

While the school disciplines the girl to habits of good daily adjustment, the camp does more than this: it also awakens her to her native air, the open, the woods and sky. As a camper, she is a citizen of two worlds, the man-made world of school, of art, and of society, and that great natural world of the trail, the woods and the sea.—Abby Sutherland, 1935

the community, serving each other and those less fortunate. Although camps are often segregated by wealth and class, the broad diversity of programs and the dramatic range of costs as well as scholarships allow children from all walks of life to have a chance to experience the unique transformational opportunities of summer camp.

As Abby Sutherland, founder of Camp Ogontz, described in 1935: “While the school disciplines the girl to habits of good daily adjustment, the camp does more than this: it also awakens her to her native air, the open, the woods and sky. As a camper, she is a citizen of two worlds, the man-made world of school, of art, and of society, and that great natural world of the trail, the woods and the sea.”⁹⁰ ■

“Campfire”
1930-31. Marion Mooney
Camp Grey Rocks scrapbook
Courtesy of the Hebron
Historical Society



Constructing Meaning and Finding Lessons from Native Americans

Camp Sentinel, a Baptist camp in Tuftonboro, New Hampshire, begins their camp history with the formation of the world and with it the Ossipee Mountain Range. Shortly thereafter the Indians arrived and “their impact on the land was in accord with their oneness in spirit with nature and their respect for the creativeness of the Great Spirit. Their respect for all the works of His hands made them excellent environmentalists. They used only that which was needed to provide for food and shelter, and considered the animals as brothers.”⁹¹ This story, which is acted out for campers every Sunday evening, continues to include the settlement of Europeans, the establishment of a camp for Boston’s Home for Little Wanderers, and eventually the founding of Sentinel in 1949. The story also shows the intimate links between summer camps and the romanticized culture of Native Americans. It is one of many examples of the complicated role of Native American imagery, philosophy, and ritual as a part of camp life.

Four key frames of reference are essential to understand the Native American elements of summer camp. **First**, Native Americans have maintained an iconic association with the idea of wilderness since Europeans first arrived in America. Those associations were central to the romantic literature of the nineteenth century, but they also exerted a strong influence on the theories popular with social scientists and anthropologists at the turn of the century, theories that formed the professional rationale behind summer camp as a valid educational approach. **Second**, Native American culture represented a relationship with the land that differed from the Euro-American tradition. The success of the Industrial Revolution and market society exposed the ecological limits in man’s relationship with nature. During

the Progressive era, Americans turned to their perceptions of Native American culture as the source of a newly forming conservation ethic that challenged the European ideals while also providing a deeper sense of tradition in a more balanced relationship with nature. **Third**, kids loved Indians. Stories about cowboys and Indians dominated entertainment and the imaginations of American youth, from dime novels to Buffalo Bill to silent movies and later talkies. Indians and the Wild West were popular with American children and they brought those interests with them to camp. **Fourth**, the associations with Native American culture gained a sanctity of their own as they were practiced by generations of campers, in some cases for over a century. Because of the focus on tradition and nostalgia within the culture of summer camps, the rituals created as a result of the previous three points gained meaning apart from the Native American images they were meant to simulate and honor. As camp became a truly intergenerational experience with children attending the same camps and participating in the same rituals their parents and grandparents had experienced, these rituals assumed a level of sanctity all their own. This sanctity of tradition has made these images and traditions difficult to abandon even as white Americans have come to recognize the injustices visited upon the nation’s original inhabitants.

The central issue in the way Native Americans are often represented in Euro-American culture is that millions of people and thousands of distinct cultures are generalized into a single term: “Indian.” Although the popular stereotypes shifted over the last five centuries from demonic brute to noble savage, from drunken or vanishing Indian to environmental steward, European-Americans

Opposite page:
Original Mowglis themed
painting by former staff
member and celebrated
Native American artist,
Richard West (Cheyenne
name Wah-pah-nah-yah).
Courtesy of Camp Mowglis



To save American society, children would need to learn the ways of the Indian so that they could grow up and build a country more in tune with the natural world. Exposure to the natural world would provide remedies to modern ills and preserve the nation.

Photograph courtesy of
Camp Pemigewassett

represented Abenaki, Iroquois, Lakota, Cherokee, Hopi, Navaho, and Mayan as if they all had the same religion, dress, and cultural practices.⁹²

The iconic association of the Native American with wilderness stems from European concepts of wilderness as a state of nature, rooted in early Christian theology, as well as the cultural beliefs of ancient Greece and Rome.⁹³ Jean Jacques Rousseau brought the notion of the “Noble Savage” into the Enlightenment, but it was James Fenimore Cooper who cast the native peoples of the northeast woodlands as the romantic ideal for nineteenth- and twentieth-century American audiences.⁹⁴ More than any other series, Cooper’s *Leatherstocking Tales*, including *The Last of the Mohicans*, crystallized an image of the vanishing Indian and the noble savage that went on to influence pulp literature, dime novels, theatrical performances, movies, and eventually television.⁹⁵ Cooper’s heroes, both

white and Indian, find adventure while travelling through the wilderness, hiking, paddling, tracking, cooking over campfires, sleeping under the stars, and learning from the natural world. Capturing the romantic understanding of what that involved, camp leaders infused these experiences into the core curriculum of summer camp.⁹⁶

Summer camps in the White Mountains and beyond often adopted Native American sounding names to promote their strong and intentional connections to this romanticized Indian culture. Both of the first two summer camps, Camp Chocorua and Asquam, assumed Indian place names. Camp Pasquaney took its name from the Abenaki word for “White Birch.” Camp Onaway’s name came from the scene in Longfellow’s *Song of Hiawatha* where Hiawatha marries Minnehaha.⁹⁷ In one of the most interesting examples of how Indian names found their way to New Hampshire, Camp Ogontz took

its name from an Ottawa chief who lived in what is now Ohio. Successful businessman Jay Cooke, who was born near where Chief Ogontz lived, decided to name his Victorian mansion near Philadelphia after the Midwestern chief. When Abby Sutherland rented the mansion for her girls' school, she adopted the name and when she opened her camp in New Hampshire in 1923, she took the name along with her. The lack of cultural connection between a Midwestern chief and the ancestral lands of the Abenaki didn't seem to be a major concern for the New Hampshire legislature either when they officially renamed the lake after the camp.⁹⁸ The presence of Native American-sounding names was well represented in the camps around the White Mountains including: Camp Algonquin, Camp Wigwam, Camp Massasoit, Camp Wawbewawa, Camp Penacook, Camp Agawam, Camp Hawkeye, Indian Acres Camp, and Camp Tecumseh, just to name a few. In the 1940s, Kingswood Camp in Piermont, New Hampshire, opened on the site of Camp Naidni, a camp whose name came from the word "Indian" spelled backwards.⁹⁹

Euro-American perceptions of Native American culture influenced more than just the naming of summer camps; they were also fundamental to the educational curriculum of camp and the social science used to support the camp movement. Academics in the 1890s pursued a more formalized and "scientific" study of native peoples than had been done in the centuries since first contact. But that research was still overgeneralized, assuming observations of tribes in the Pacific Northwest also applied to the Great Plains or the Eastern Woodlands.¹⁰⁰ With the battles of the Little Big Horn and Wounded Knee as well as the Ghost Dance movement in the very recent memory, American academics, many working in New England's prestigious universities, assumed Native American culture was approaching extinction and showed a strong interest in capturing the remaining elements of Native American culture, putting them on



The camps have done more than save the boy's summer, – they have made him a hardier, more resourceful boy, the promise of a more self-reliant, better disciplined man. —Porter Sargent, 1920.

display in museums, and categorizing them into a hierarchy through the emerging field of anthropology. Starting from the assumptions that the Old World was more developed than the New World, the Native Americans were classified as being a primitive people, similar to what Europeans had been thousands of years before. In their "scientific" understanding, whites held the top position in the cultural hierarchy, while Native Americans and Africans were at the bottom.¹⁰¹

G. Stanley Hall took this hierarchy one step further and applied it to child development.¹⁰² Hall's work was extremely influential, including his creation of the term "adolescence," but his "recapitulation theory" had the most direct impact on the research supporting summer camps. The recapitulation theory followed a cultural hierarchy model and argued that children were purely animalistic at birth, preferring to play with simple toys much like stone tools, before evolving into a

Photograph courtesy of
Camp Mowglis

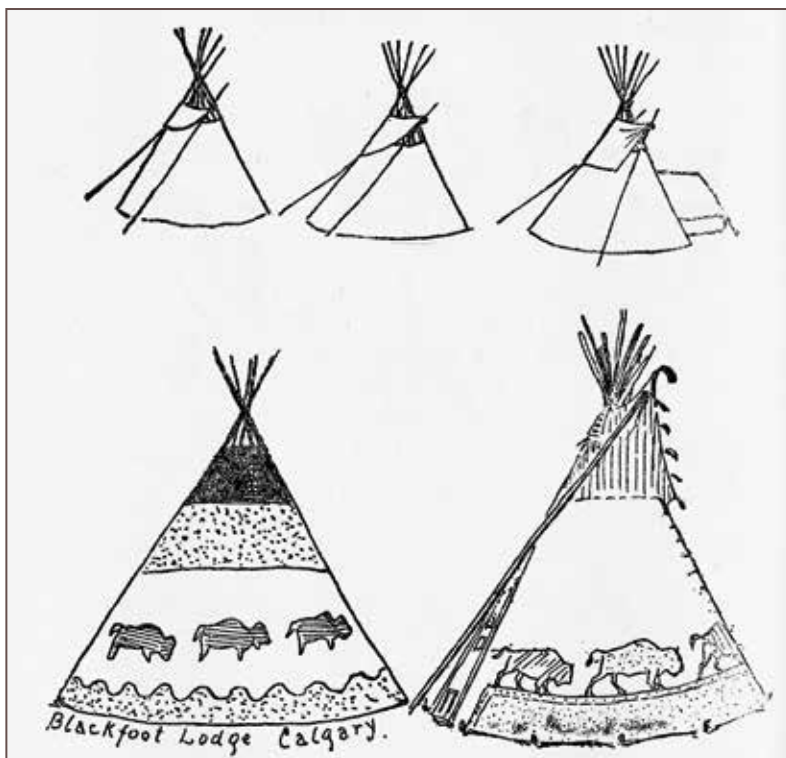


To exemplify my outdoor movement, I must have a man who was of this country and climate; who was physically beautiful, clean, unsordid, high-minded, heroic, picturesque, and a master of Woodcraft, besides which, he must be already well-known. ... Surely, all this pointed the same way. There was but one figure that seemed to answer all these needs: that was the Ideal Indian of Fenimore Cooper and Longfellow.
—Ernest Thompson Seton, 1921.

stage where they were deeply connected to the natural world much like the “savage,” turn-of-the-century stereotypical Indian. Only after moving through these and the later stages could children eventually develop the cognitive and technological skills needed to thrive in a modern industrial democracy.¹⁰³

By participating in activities that mirrored stereotypical Native American lives, summer camps guided campers into healthy adulthood. Camps used Indian-themed rituals and practiced Native American arts and crafts, often through a formalized curriculum whose impact lasted long after Hall’s theories were thoroughly discredited. As late as the 1990s, campers at Camp Hale completed their requirements for achievement in “Indian Craft” by demonstrating skills in archery, arts and crafts, canoeing, fishing, nature, swimming, and completing a number of adventure trips.¹⁰⁴

Another role for this romanticized Native American was as an icon for the emerging conservation movement and this also heavily influenced the environmental ethics taught at summer camp. The white American concept of the Native American as the ultimate ecologist emerged along with the myth of Vanishing Indian, the belief that Native Peoples were destined to die off and be lost forever, just as Cooper’s Chingachgook had been in *The Last of the Mohicans*. Late nineteenth-century Americans believed that the Indian, like the buffalo, would soon be extinct, leading to a fear that this



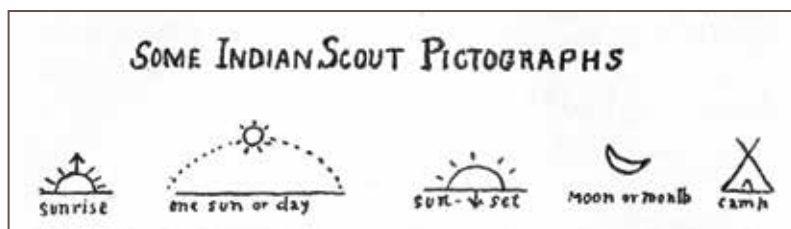
Top of page:
Ernest Thompson Seton
Photograph courtesy of YMCA Camp Belknap

ecological wisdom was also about to be lost. To save American society, children would need to learn the ways of the Indian so that they could grow up and build a country more in tune with the natural world. Exposure to the natural world would provide remedies to modern ills and preserve the nation.

This was a radical shift in the way that Euro-Americans viewed their Native American neighbors. New England's Puritan colonists had understood Native American religion as devil worship, assumed to be derived from Satan himself. New Hampshire had been a major battle ground for conflicts between colonists and Native Americans throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, often serving as the setting for colonial captivity narratives, a genre of literature wherein a Christian villager, captured by heathen Indians, faced an ordeal that tested their faith but in the end led to physical and spiritual salvation. By the late-nineteenth century, however, these views had softened.

The twentieth-century perception of Native American religion, as whites understood it, emerged in the 1870s and 1880s and was not described as Satanic by ethnographers, but rather as a mythic Goddess known as "Mother Earth."¹⁰⁵ As federal policies of reeducation devastated individual tribal beliefs, Native Americans began to embrace the concept of Mother Earth, along with Father Sky and the Great Spirit as part of a Pan-Indian Tribal Alliance finding common ground in the face of loss and oppression. As Indians lost their land, Mother Earth became more important and so this concept became part of a twentieth-century shared culture, even though it was often a departure from earlier tribal belief systems.¹⁰⁶ These generalized representations of Native American religion became the standard within the curriculum of summer camp, in large part because of the work of Ernest Thompson Seton.

Naturalist, author, and artist Ernest Thompson Seton translated the natural world and Native



American culture into an experiential romanticism where American children could immerse themselves. As summer camps looked for ways their campers could experience and learn about Native American culture, Seton's work became the primary resource. His 1898 book *Wild Animals I Have Known* followed a pattern similar to the fiction of Rudyard Kipling. Seton anthropomorphized the animals of the natural world to teach lessons to children.¹⁰⁷ Seton's direct work with children began in 1901 when he caught a group of boys trespassing and vandalizing his property in Connecticut. Rather than punishing the boys or referring them to the authorities, Seton responded by inviting them to come back the following weekend to camp, swim, climb trees, and play. Believing the boys needed stronger role models, he gathered them around a council fire and told heroic stories of the Native Americans.¹⁰⁸

In 1903, Seton wrote *Two Little Savages: Being the Adventures of Two Boys Who Lived as Indians and What They Learned*, approaching Native Americans from the same perspective as the wild animals in his earlier text and his experience with the errant boys.¹⁰⁹ In the story, a white boy grows by living as a Native American in the woods near his home. From the popularity of that text, Seton created the Woodcraft Indian Movement, a role-playing experience where white children could live out their fantasies of being an Indian as sure as the Lost Boys of Neverland. The Woodcraft movement was not limited to boys for long; Seton included girls in his programs as early as 1905.¹¹⁰

Seton described his Woodcraft movement as "outdoor life in its broadest sense. ... the first of all sciences. It was Woodcraft that made man out of brutish material, and woodcraft in its highest form may save him from decay."¹¹¹ This curriculum

Opposite page, bottom, and above:
Ernest Thompson Seton
The Book of Woodcraft and Indian Lore, (details)
Doubleday, Page & Company,
Garden City, NY, 1917

Many ills of the mind are forgotten when the sufferer boldly takes to the life in tents. Half our diseases are in our minds and half in our houses. —Ernest Thompson Seton, 1921

included lessons in riding, hunting, camper-craft, scouting, mountaineering, Indian-craft, first aid, astronomy, signaling, boating, outdoor athletics, and nature study.¹¹²

Seton based his representation of Native practices on the work of contemporary ethnologists and anthropologists, as well as popular perceptions of authentic Indians.¹¹³ Writing initially in the *Ladies Home Journal* and later in his *Birch Bark Roll* and the *Book of Woodcraft*, Seton wrote,

*This is a time when the whole nation is turning toward the outdoor life, seeking in it the physical regeneration so needful for continued national existence—is waking to the fact long known to thoughtful men, that those live longest who live nearest to the ground, that is who live the simple life of primitive times, divested, however, of the evils that ignorance in those times begot.*¹¹⁴

He described how children could build Native American woodcrafts and detailed attire, as well as play games and activities that were just like those the Indians played. He believed that children copying Indian art was akin to the copying of the European masters, a central piece to an artist's education. His designs and representations became

the standard attire for summer camps at the time, and are still the basis for the Indian crafts used at camp today.¹¹⁵

Seton organized and popularized the Woodcraft Indian theory and practice as a way for boys to gather and practice the ways of the Native American people as he saw them. Concerned with the negative image of Native peoples, Seton wanted to stress their ecological consciousness and close connection to the natural world. In his *Book of Woodcraft*, Seton credits Native American knowledge and wisdom for the colonists' victory over the British in the American Revolution. He then continues: "He can teach us the ways of outdoor life, the nobility of courage, the joy of beauty, the blessedness of enough, the glory of service, the power of kindness, the super-excellence of peace of mind and the scorn of death. For these were the things that the Redman stood for; these were the sum of his faith."¹¹⁶

Although his generalization of Native American cultures, his use of the past-tense to describe Native peoples, and his use of the derogatory term "Redman" suggest his racialized white bias, Seton spent the next fifty-one pages of his text arguing why the Native Americans have been unfairly treated and criticized in American culture, attacking white racism and prejudice as being unfounded and unjustified.

In 1910, when the Boy Scouts were introduced to the United States, Seton merged his Woodcraft Indians with Scouting and became the Chief Scout from 1910 to 1915, thereby giving the American Boy Scouts a more artistic and ecological influence that separated them from the militarism of the British Scout movement.¹¹⁷ By providing a structure, curriculum, and rituals in the guise of an ancient American ecology, Seton was able to provide summer camps with a means to teach ecology in a way that sparked the imagination of children and resonated with the romanticism of the day.

"New Hampshire."
Ballou's Pictorial VIII, No. 22
(June 2, 1855), (detail)
John Hession photograph
Courtesy of Bryant Tolles, Jr.
White Mountain Collection



The rituals of Woodcraft found their greatest expression in the construction of a Woodcraft Circle. In 1920, Seton came to YMCA Camp Belknap in Wolfeboro, New Hampshire, to construct what is now the most complete and oldest Woodcraft circle in continuous use. The camp joined Seton's Woodcraft League as the Bald Eagle Tribe and has continued to practice the tribal rituals that embody the idealized moral behavior of Seton's vision.¹¹⁸ The Laws of Woodcraft are organized around four "lamps" and address a code of chivalry and ecology that defined the camp:

The Lamp of Fortitude

1. Be Brave. Courage is the Noblest of all achievements.
2. Be silent while your elders are speaking and otherwise show them deference.
3. Obey. Obedience is the first duty of the Woodcrafter.

The Lamp of Truth

1. Word of honor is sacred.
2. Play fair. Foul play is treachery.
3. Be reverent. Worship the Great Spirit and respect all worship of Him by others.

The Lamp of Beauty

1. Be clean—both yourself and the place you live in.
2. Understand and respect your body. It is the Temple of the Spirit.
3. Be a friend to all harmless wildlife. Conserve the woods and flowers and especially be ready to fight wild fires in forest or town.

The Lamp of Love

1. Be kind. Do at least one act of unbargaining service each day.
2. Be helpful. Do your share of the work.
3. Be joyful. Seek the joy of being alive.



The Laws of Woodcraft were also central to camp life at Ogontz Camp. As he did at Belknap, Seton himself visited the camp to build the Woodcraft Circle in 1929 and to establish Woodcraft in the culture of the camp. Upon arrival, girls drew a brown or green feather to determine which team they were on for the summer. Throughout the summer they celebrated around council fires, slept in teepees, and practiced Indian arts and crafts.¹¹⁹

Although it did not follow the specific approach of the Woodcraft League, Camp Hale also relied heavily on its use of Native American imagery in the construction of its moral and ecological code. The "Camp Hale Indian Creed" reveals a strong influence of Woodcraft even as late as the 1970s. It read as follows:

I will keep clean mentally, morally,
and physically.
I will keep my word for it is sacred.
I will be obedient.
I will be kind and courteous, especially to
those weaker than I.
I will be helpful in all things.
I will be silent when my elders speak that I
may hear their words of wisdom.
I will not whine or grumble.
I will worship the Great Spirit according to
my faith and creed.
I will not boast.
I will be brave.
I will be honest and truthful in all things.
I will respect the land, the waters, the
forests and the creatures in them so that
all may enjoy them.¹²⁰

Photograph courtesy
of Camp Hale – United
South End Settlements &
Northeastern University
Libraries, Archives and
Special Collections



Photograph courtesy of
Camp Mowglis

These creeds, framed by Native American metaphors, infused camp life in many White Mountain summer camps with an environmental ethic. Camps were meant to maintain a pristine, wilderness state, and campers clearly saw how their actions could negatively impact their shared environment. Aligned with their romantic ideals, the curriculum of these camps ascribed a sense of the divine in the natural landscape of camp, whether that was through connections to God's Creation or the Great Spirit. Campers found a sanctity in their camp that they did not find in their home towns or cities. Because campers returned to the same piece of land year after year, they developed a relationship with the land and could witness the consequences of carelessness. This grounded an environmental ethic in a personal experience of cause and effect.

The development of an American environmental ethic was not unique to the summer camp experience, but rather was part of a larger national conversation. In 1893, historian Frederick Jackson Turner published his highly influential frontier thesis, outlining the consequences for the nation after the United States Census Bureau determined in 1890 that America had been fully settled and there was no longer a "frontier." Americans began to debate how land should be used, now that it was determined to be a finite resource. Conservation organizations formed, there was an increased push for national parks and forests, and policies developed around the competing ideals of conservation and preservation.¹²¹ As a probable reaction to the census findings, Congress passed the Forest Reserve Act in 1891, an act intended to save or "reserve" forests, paving the way for the later creation of National Forests. Not finding adequate philosophical or theological foundations for this new relationship to the land in European or Christian traditions, Americans turned to Native Americans and the myths that whites had created about them.

Apart from the Woodcraft and Woodcraft-inspired codes, the campers of Newfound Lake's Onaway created their own code of ethics in 1935 in order to protect and preserve their special place.

We do not strip bark from the live birch trees.

We do not trample on plants and we keep
our trails narrow.

We do not frighten the birds or destroy
their nests. We make them trust us.

We do not frighten wild animals.

We do not kill or destroy anything in
nature—only by permission.

We do not pull up and destroy the ground
plants and mosses that cover our forest
grounds.

We do not leave fires or start fires by
carelessness. Fire is the greatest
destroyer of plants and humus.

We keep our camp surroundings clean
and attractive.

We acquaint ourselves with methods of
conserving and protecting the lovely
nature gardens of Camp Onaway.

We observed and practiced the above code
and will continue to do so.

We inform and pass on to others these
important facts that we have learned at
Camp Onaway.

Signed, the Campers of 1935.¹²²

As Onaway's conservation code reveals, camp ecology provided a method for children to connect science and nature to the beauty and health of the land. Nature study was the bedrock in this element of camp curriculum and often included the student demonstrating that he or she could identify a specific number of flora and fauna at camp. Camp Belknap developed a nationally recognized program stressing plant and animal identification, grounding it in Native American imagery by giving the program the pseudo-Indian moniker of "Wantonoit" (pronounced like "Want To Know It")¹²³

The environmental ethic nurtured in generations of summer campers became important to the future of recreation in America. In the 1960s, as the popularity of backcountry travel increased dramatically in the White Mountains and across the United States, Americans were literally loving their wilderness to death. Firewood was stripped from campsites, vegetation was trampled near trails, and food scraps and trash littered the landscape. The over-used Old Bridle Path up Mount Lafayette in Franconia Notch developed a gully 4-feet deep and the nickname of the “Old Bridle Trench.”¹²⁴ Summer camps proved to be an essential institution in addressing this crisis. The Appalachian Mountain Club, the United States Forest Service, and other organizations worked with summer camps throughout New Hampshire to develop and strengthen outdoor ethics in an educational program called Leave No Trace. As each summer season drew to a close, another wave of outdoor enthusiasts knew how to “leave no trace” in the backcountry.¹²⁵

For most children, the excitement of camp had nothing to do with environmental ethics; it was about the pioneering adventure and the potential to play cowboys and Indians. From the late nineteenth and throughout the twentieth century, the American public craved a taste of the action of “real west.” The most potent symbol of this was the stereotypical image of the Native American, clad generally in the attire of a nineteenth-century Plains Indian. Even in camps that did not directly use Seton’s Woodcraft curriculum, Native American concepts impacted the experience of camp. Beyond the images in children’s magazines and dime novels, Buffalo Bill’s Wild West show traveled the country and the world, presenting what was purported to be the authentic look and feel of the west. When camps began, the images and experience of the Wild West show were a magnet to children. Summer camps used those same images and elements not only in their



In creating a place where children can feel safe to express themselves and experiment with arts, sports, and leadership, summer camp works to develop character and a rugged communalism. Campers practice self-reliance, but always within the interdependent framework of the community, serving each other and those less fortunate.

names and through programs like Woodcraft, but also in their promotional materials and marketing. Campers were drawn to the idea of Indian head-dresses and sleeping in teepees and perceived authenticity was key to a camp’s success. Summer campers revered the life they imagined was that of American Indians.

In some cases, summer camps went to great lengths to connect campers with Native American culture. Frank Punderson, who attended Camp

Top of page:
Photograph courtesy of
Onaway

Above:
Pemigewassett campers
and counselor at Gove’s
Falls, 1928
Photograph courtesy of
Camp Pemigewassett

Mowglis from 1941–1942 and 1945–1947, recalled Wah-Pah-Nah-Yuh, a full-blooded Cheyenne from Oklahoma who worked at camp as the archery instructor in the years before World War II. Wah-Pah-Nah-Yuh, whose Christian name was Richard West, was the “iconic American Indian. He was a handsome guy, athletic, beautiful body, he had no facial hair ... I remember he would come to give campfire talks. He would come in full Indian regalia. This wasn’t something that was dummied up down in a costume shop, this was his dress that he grew up in. Full length feathers going from

“Mr. Jim West”
Photograph courtesy of
Camp Mowglis



the war bonnet all the way down his back, and he would play a tom-tom and do Indian dances. And I’ll tell you it was powerful stuff.” During parent visitation days, Wah-Pah-Nah-Yuh would demonstrate his archery skills by effortlessly striking a playing card at fifty feet. In addition to his performances, he also told the campers the stories that had been passed down to him when he was growing up in Oklahoma. As Punderson reflected, “Talk about a change in culture. I saw something of America, and not every kid at that time had that kind of exposure... to see someone whose father had fought the white man.... Talk about a life experience. That I actually saw a full-blooded American Indian and watched him do his thing.”¹²⁶ When World War II broke out, Wah-Pah-Nah-Yuh joined the U.S. Navy and after the war became one of the most influential Native American artists of the twentieth-century. In addition to painting a mural at the National Post Office in Washington, D.C., he also painted the murals in Gray Brothers Hall at Camp Mowglis. His son, W. Richard West, Jr., attended Camp Mowglis and later on became the founding director of the Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian.¹²⁷

Not every camp was so fortunate or intentional in hiring their staff and crafting their curriculum to include authentic Native American cultural practices. By the late twentieth and early twenty-first century, Americans began to show a greater sensitivity to the racial assumptions, stereotypes, prejudice, and injustice visited upon Native Americans throughout the history of the United States. This has paralleled a political rise and resurgence of tribal organizations around the country.¹²⁸ Many of the racist stereotypes that had been common in film and television have been challenged and deemed inappropriate.¹²⁹ Summer camps changed their programs to meet this larger awareness, especially in regards to the racialized images and rituals that had been practiced in summer camps for over a century.

Aligned with their romantic ideals, the curriculum of these camps ascribed a sense of the divine in the natural landscape of camp, whether that was through connections to God's Creation or the Great Spirit. Campers found a sanctity in their camp that they did not find in their home towns or cities.



Above:
Photograph courtesy of
Onaway

Left:
Photograph courtesy of
Camp Pasquaney

One of those key rituals was the Pow Wow at Camp Hale, a ceremony held on the last night of camp that created a powerful shared memory for generations of campers since it began in the 1930s. Led by the camp director adorned in a full headdress, older counselors performed a circle dance, the staff wore buckskin pants, and every camper's face was emblazoned with war paint. In 1997, the camp staff discussed the tradition and whether it was appropriate going forward. They researched actual Native American rituals and, in 1998, recruited two Native American counselors to help with the process. In the end, the counselors decided they could not perform a Pow Wow that was respectful and authentic. They created a new closing ceremony and told the campers that the Pow Wow was being discontinued, so they could respect "all people of all cultures." Today the Closing Ceremony involves a bonfire, group singing, and time for each cabin group to stand in front of the fire as the staff talk about how special that group is. Then everyone sings "Camp Hale Will Shine" together.¹³⁰

Tradition and nostalgia are central to the summer camp experience. Many of the older camps have examples of four generations of campers attending the same camp. There are few experiences in American culture that can be shared by a child, parent, grandparent, and great-grandparent. In those cases, the magic and romanticism of rituals like Woodcraft have come to mean more than what Seton had initially adopted from the ethnologists of the day. Those rituals have become something sacred within the family and a tradition in themselves. Although they are most certainly not authentic to Native American practices, are they authentic to an emerging brand of early twentieth-century environmentalism, a lasting impact to early environmental education? What about camps that have kept Native American names or traditions for over a century? These are difficult questions for a complicated issue. ■





This page:
Camp Mowglis Crew
Bonfire, held the night
before the big Crew Races
Photograph courtesy of
Camp Mowglis

Opposite page, top:
Photograph courtesy of
Camp Hale - United South
End Settlements & Mark
Bolton Photography

Center:
Camp Pemigewassett Mess
Hall interior, 1937
Photograph courtesy of
Camp Pemigewassett

Bottom:
Photograph courtesy of
Camp Pasquaney



The Technology Needed to Reject Technology

The romantic wilderness ideals that attracted so many to recreate in the outdoors and to send their children to camp rested on an anti-modern belief that assumed technology was unnatural and destructive to human health. The fast-paced, hectic, and industrialized world of American cities in the 1890s seemed completely alien to the idealized rural lives of earlier times. In urban spaces, morals faced dissolution and bodies grew weak. The intrusive technology of trains, trolleys, and elevators and the noise they brought shook the nerves of urbanites. Physicians of the time believed this caused a physical and mental collapse generally described as neurasthenia. These changes impacted urban children as well, who no longer spent their time working in the fields or chopping wood, but instead played inside or spent time in school. The common concern was that modern life and its accompanying technology was having catastrophic effects on American culture. What people felt they needed was to retreat to a simpler and healthier environment free from modern technology. Summer camp appeared to be the perfect medicine for these societally induced diseases. Then, as now, the health benefits of unplugging from the technological influences of modern life seemed self-evident. Children would be safer and healthier if they spent their summer at camp than if they stayed at home among modern contrivances surrounded by the danger of technology.¹³¹

Yet paradoxically, summer camps have always relied upon the use of ever-expanding technologies in order to maintain that safe and healthy environment that parents desire. Rather than rejecting



technology outright, camps have selectively used technologies, incorporating the innovations of the space and digital ages in order to create a more secure wilderness experience for concerned parents while still maintaining the excitement for the campers.

The most important technological innovation in the history of summer camp was the one that made camp possible: the railroad. The introduction of the railroad in American society changed almost every facet of life. Never in the history of the world had people traveled over land faster than a horse, but with the railroad, people could travel farther, faster, and on a schedule. Towns along the railroad became economic centers, those that it passed by often disappeared into the landscape. Railroad companies standardized time itself in 1883 by dividing the nation into time zones in order to set consistent railroad schedules.

Above:
Photograph courtesy of
Camp Hale - United South
End Settlements & Mark
Bolton Photography

Opposite page:
Photograph courtesy of
Camp Mowglis

Rather than rejecting technology outright, camps have selectively used technologies, incorporating the innovations of the space and digital ages in order to create a more secure wilderness experience for concerned parents while still maintaining the excitement for the campers.



We can now assume that just as children need good nutrition and adequate sleep, they may very well need contact with nature. —Richard Louv, 2008.

Camp Wachusett
Litting & Co., NY
John Anderson photograph
Courtesy of Ross Deachman
and the Holderness
Historical Society

Not everyone was in favor of this disruptive technology. Nathaniel Hawthorne felt the idyllic peace of Concord, Massachusetts, was shattered when the first train whistle was heard in town.¹³² Fellow Concord author Henry David Thoreau, whose peaceful Walden Pond was regularly visited by the Fitchburg-to-Boston train observed, “We do not ride on the railroad; it rides upon us.”¹³³

Before the railroad, there was no efficient way to move large numbers of campers from the cities to remote mountain summer camps. With it, the iconic experience of camp began. Campers gathered at North Station in Boston or other similar urban terminals, often boarding special cars just for the campers. Camp Onaway arranged a special train that departed from Philadelphia and stopped in New York, Hartford, and then Boston before it headed north to the camp. Along the way, the girls dined together and sang songs of Camp Onaway, celebrating their return to camp and welcoming

new campers into the community.¹³⁴ Similarly, campers heading to Camp Pemigewasset in Wentworth, New Hampshire, gathered in Middletown, Connecticut; New York City; and Chicago before taking the train to camp with their camp directors and senior counselors.¹³⁵

Like the Hogwarts Express of a later fictional age, these children were whisked off to a magical world far from home. Once at the closest train station, campers generally experienced their first hike of the summer, as they walked from the platform to the site of the camp, often with their luggage following by wagon or truck. Train schedules were also important when camp closed for the season. At Camp Asquam, the girls left by train destination: the Baltimore group left camp for their train one evening, the Boston group caught their train the next morning.¹³⁶ By the 1960s, as cars took over from trains as the most important means of transportation, the age of the camp train was replaced

by the ritual of riding busses or of campers being dropped off by car, another in a long line of disruptive technologies.¹³⁷

Technology found its way into camp throughout the twentieth century. Electricity proved to be safer in tents and cabins than candles or lanterns. When Sargent Camp opened in 1912, every tent was outfitted with an electric light powered by a dynamo nearly ten years before the nearby town of Hancock was electrified. After both world wars, army surplus equipment became the most affordable route to equip campers with tents, outdoor clothing, and cooking supplies, all of which was technologically superior to the equipment available in the early years of the movement. The backpacking boom that began around 1965 saw a tremendous increase in summer camp participation but it also saw a great deal of technological innovation that transformed the experience of campers and other backcountry travelers. External-framed backpacks, down sleeping bags, portable stoves, and free-standing exoskeleton and dome tents hit the market through established New England outfitters like L.L. Bean as well as new retailers like Eastern Mountain Sports.¹³⁸

While some early camp founders might not have approved, campers hiking in the White Mountains now did so with greater ease, comfort, and safety.

Campers from numerous camps recall the summer of 1969 and counselors gathering the whole camp together around a black and white television to watch the Apollo moon landing.¹³⁹ The space age brought synthetic fibers such as nylon, Gore-Tex, fleece, and polypropylene, which provided lighter, warmer, and stronger clothing and tents. Dehydrated and freeze-dried food increased the nutritional value of meals taken on longer hikes and trips. The introduction of small camp stoves allowed campers an effective way to prepare hot meals in the backcountry without negatively impacting the landscape by collecting and burning wood for cooking fires.

These technological innovations lightened backpacks and the impact on the wilderness, but the age of camp stoves was a significant departure from the earlier Woodcraft programs. As Ernest Thompson Seton had asked “What is a camp without a campfire? – no camp at all, but a chilly place in a landscape where some people happen to have some things.”¹⁴⁰ Technological innovations also



Photograph courtesy of Camp Hale – United South End Settlements & Northeastern University Libraries, Archives and Special Collections



Above, left:
Photograph courtesy of
Onaway



Right:
Photograph courtesy of
Camp Mowglis

created entirely new types of adventure activities that commonly appeared in New Hampshire summer camps. In the 1970s, Massachusetts-based Project Adventure introduced the concept of ropes courses into the summer camp experience, utilizing galvanized aircraft cable anchored between trees or telephone poles to create physical challenges that boosted a camper's confidence, literally changing their point of view while strengthening team cohesion.

The digital age has brought its own waves of technology to the world of summer camps, even as camps are promoted as a means for campers to unplug from society. In addition to hand-held radios, camp staff use cell phones to text messages between the camp office and groups in the field. Smartphones allow for instructors to have real-time Doppler radar information as they decide whether or not to begin a ropes course or head

back to camp early from a hike. David Concannon, a camper at Camp Mowglis from 1977 to 1979 and a staff member in 1980 reflected on the impact of communication technology:

Part of the camp experience, being in the outdoors, being on the trails, being in the mountains, being on the lake involves kids doing things that they can get hurt, but now with technology you can get help a lot faster. I remember having one of my dorm mates slide down the side of a cliff and it took a two-day evacuation to get him out, it was an arduous experience. It was written up in the Appalachian Mountain Club's annual journal as being an example of an evacuation that worked well, but that type of thing doesn't happen today ... because we can have instant access to help. And that's a positive use of technology that I think makes the camp experience better.¹⁴¹

In addition to the changes brought on by telecommunications, camp visitors are able to submit to instant background checks as camps access national records through the Internet. Online portals allow parents to send messages to their children, while also viewing daily photos from camp. Parents also have the opportunity to order mugs or mouse pads with the image of their child at archery practice the day after that child first took up the bow. The primary way camps promote themselves today is through exciting and interactive websites, complete with embedded videos that highlight the advantages of a summer spent away from technology. ■



From their inception, summer camps were educational institutions working in large part to either supplement students' learning or to prepare the campers for their next stage of life.



Above:
Photograph courtesy of
Onaway

Left:
Photograph courtesy of
Camp Hale - United South
End Settlements & Mark
Bolton Photography



The Legacy of New Hampshire Summer Camps

The challenge of studying summer camps is that not only are they easy to open, but they are just as easy to move, close, reopen under new management, or transform into something completely different. They take many different forms and follow different traditions. Well over 450 camps have existed in New Hampshire since Camp Chocorua opened and over 100 are part of this study.¹⁴² There is no “one” camp experience. As essential as summer camps may be in the lives of campers, alumni, and many other Americans, they have never been free from market forces. The romantic landscape situated between mountain and lake that made the world of summer camp idyllic also made it ideal for summer homes or other development. With narrow profit margins and high expenses, the long-term survival of any particular summer camp is never assured.

America’s first summer camp provided the archetype that many later programs followed, both in its success and its demise. Camp Chocorua, the first program of its kind when it opened in 1881, found success early on. In addition to spawning numerous other camps inspired by Balch’s ideas, national attention from the popular children’s magazine *St. Nicholas* brought popularity and an increase in campers.¹⁴³ But the camp closed after the 1889 season, due to a combination of factors. The island camp had exceeded its carrying capacity and needed significant investments in water and sewage treatment if it was to continue. Although not meant as a money-making venture, the camp never even covered its expenses and so there were few resources for those investments. The end came after the passing of Balch’s sister Emily in April 1890; she had been very active in camp life and instrumental in its promotion.¹⁴⁴ Without the financial resources and charismatic leadership necessary, the camp folded. Yet after

The romantic landscape situated between mountain and lake that made the world of summer camp idyllic also made it ideal for summer homes or other development. With narrow profit margins and high expenses, the long-term survival of any particular summer camp is never assured.

only nine years, the campers’ attachment to the island camp was such that they revived a particular tradition of the Chocorua experience: a 4 p.m. service at their chapel that was open to the public. That service has continued and is now being run by the Chocorua Chapel Association, an organization founded in 1903 by a group of Balch’s family and former campers.¹⁴⁵ Visitors still gather each Sunday for worship throughout the summer.

Opposite page:
Benjamin Champney
Under the Willows
(detail) 1877. Oil on canvas,
20 x 16 inches
John Hession photograph
Private collection



“Sunday Service at the ‘Chapel’”

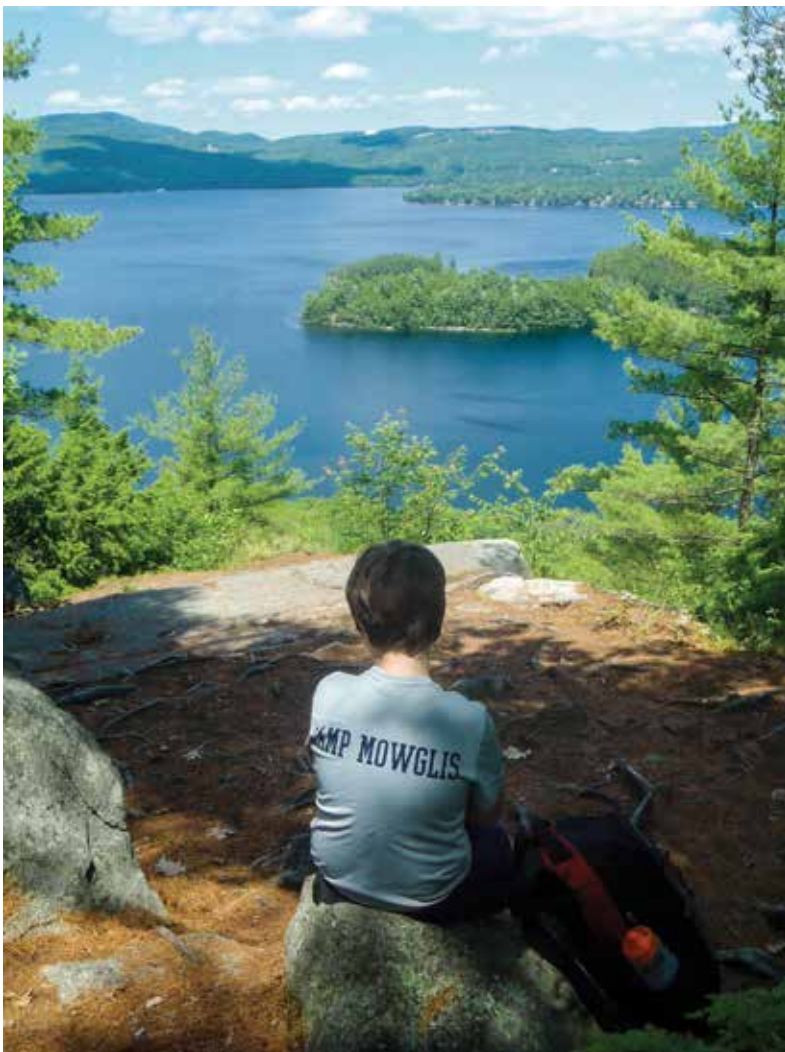
Elizabeth Balch

“The Boys’ Paradise.” *St. Nicholas Magazine* (June, 1886), (detail).

Illustrated by W.A. Rogers

Even after their demise, closed camps provide opportunity for others. Camp Deerwood was founded on the site of Camp Asquam, and Camp Onaway continued the tradition of summer camping for girls on the site of Camp Redcroft. Other camps transformed themselves to serve new educational goals such as the Suzuki Institutes at Ogontz, which began music education at the site of the girls camp in 1988 and has grown to include family and corporate gatherings.¹⁴⁶ But other camps have disappeared into the landscape, leaving memories found only in camper's memories, scrap books, brochures, and camp logs in

Photograph courtesy of
Camp Mowglis



historical societies, and the occasional road bearing a long-lost summer camp's name.

Although the idea of summer camp was born in the nineteenth century, it still maintains a strong twenty-first century appeal. In 2015, over five million children went to summer camp in the United States and 82% of camps reported that enrollment was either steady or rising.¹⁴⁷ Summer camp leaders have organized themselves into professional groups such as the American Camp Association and the New Hampshire Camp Directors Association in order to promote the ideals and programs of summer while providing professional development for those who have dedicated their lives to serving summer campers.

Few Americans are now concerned about the deleterious impact of the railroad on American youth, but fears for children still abound regarding too much screen time and too little time outdoors. This has led to the widespread popularity of groups like the Children in Nature Movement, spurred on by author Richard Louv's work on the consequences of "Nature Deficit Disorder."¹⁴⁸ As Louv observes:

For a new generation, nature is something to watch, to consume, to wear—to ignore. A recent television ad depicts a four-wheel-drive SUV racing along a breathtakingly beautiful mountain stream—while in the backseat two children watch a movie on a flip-down video screen, oblivious to the landscape and water beyond the windows. ...but as the young spend less and less of their lives in natural surroundings, their senses narrow, physiologically and psychologically, and this reduces the richness of human experience.¹⁴⁹

Louv's work highlights the research that shows the importance of time spent in the natural world to a child's mental, physical, and spiritual health.



Photograph courtesy of
Camp Pasquaney



Top of page and above:
Photographs courtesy of Onaway



Top left:
Photograph courtesy of
Camp Mowglis



Top right:
Photograph courtesy of
Camp Pemigewasset

He summarizes one scientist by saying “we can now assume that just as children need good nutrition and adequate sleep, they may very well need contact with nature.”¹⁵⁰ Such words echo Ernest Thompson Seton’s statement in 1921 that “many ills of the mind are forgotten when the sufferer boldly takes to the life in tents. Half our diseases are in our minds and half in our houses.”¹⁵¹ With all of the social and technological changes that have transformed America from the nineteenth century into the twenty-first, summer camp has maintained a unique role in our culture. That role is as vital today as it was when Ernest Balch founded Camp Chocorua, or when Alcott Farrar Elwell wrote of camp in 1925:

*School books are closed, social qualities should dwindle, and the out-door be teacher. The child has placed his finger on the pulse of life that throbs in the little wood-folk as lustily as it does in his own comrades. The birds sing above him, the stars shine at night, the wind rustles the treetops as it goes murmuring through the forest. All weave into the imagination of the child, yet it must be linked into meaning by the guidance of mature minds. It cannot be emphasized too often that camp can never be an escape from present day life – if it is to be worthy. It is preparation for life, teaching how to find peace and understanding in order to play the game of life better in the surroundings in which modern man finds himself.*¹⁵²



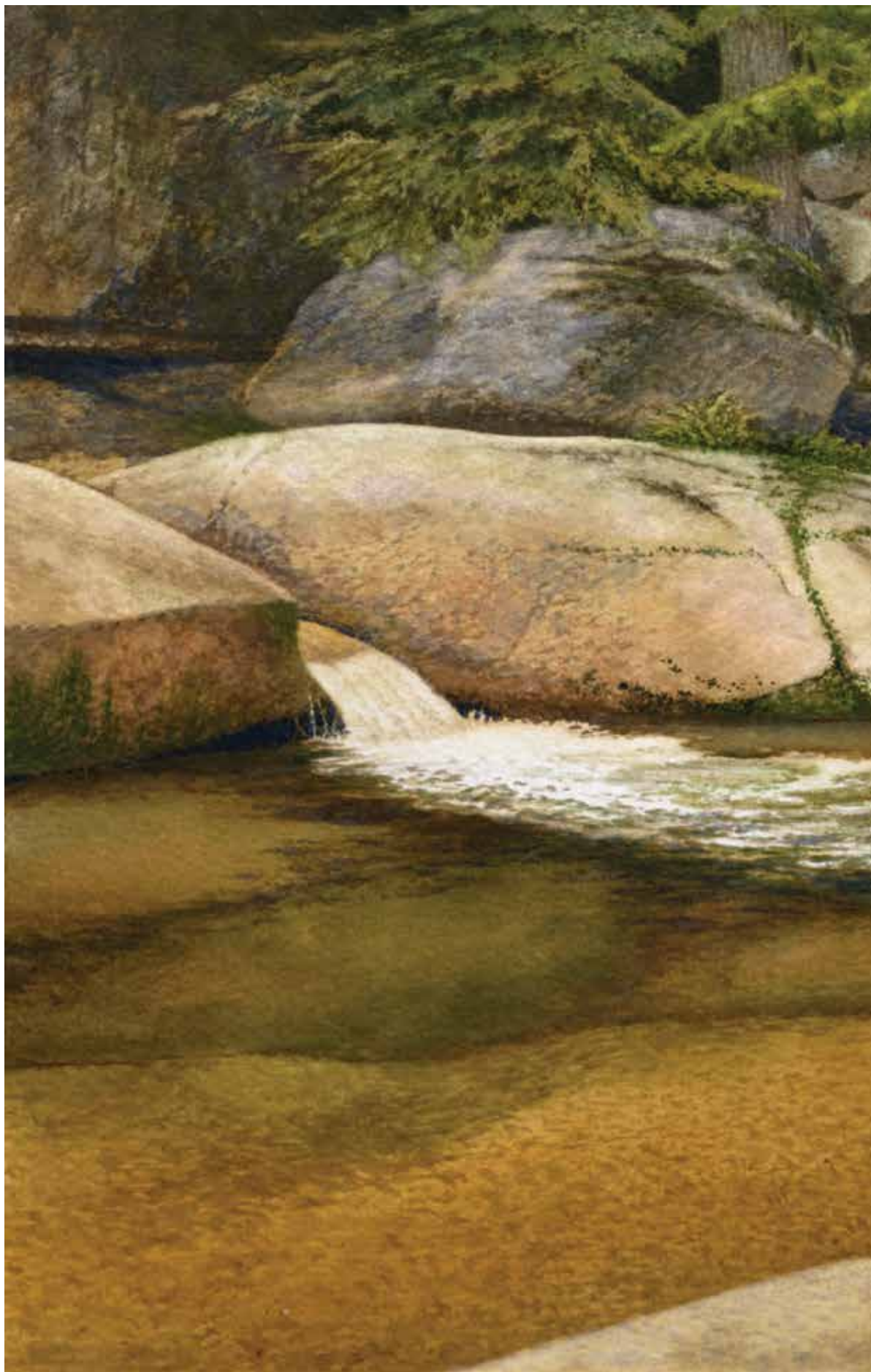
Above:
“Patsy and Ann Parker.”
1930-31. Marion Mooney
Camp Grey Rocks
scrapbook
Courtesy of the Hebron
Historical Society

Opposite page:
Photograph courtesy
of Camp Hale - United
South End Settlements &
Northeastern University
Libraries, Archives and
Special Collections

For those who went to camp, whichever camp was “theirs,” the experience was one that tied together generations of people with the common memories of adventure, friendship, and the transformational experiences that formed their characters.



Peter Ferber
Diana's Bath
2011. Watercolor on paper,
10 x 14 inches
John Hession photograph
Courtesy of Michael Mooney
and Robert Cram





This is a time when the whole nation is turning toward the outdoor life, seeking in it the physical regeneration so needful for continued national existence — is waking to the fact long known to thoughtful men, that those live longest who live nearest to the ground, that is who live the simple life of primitive times, divested, however, of the evils that ignorance in those times begot.

—Ernest Thompson Seton, 1907



Top of page:
Photograph courtesy of
Onaway

Above
Photograph courtesy of
Camp Mowglis



Right:
Lower Six cabin at Camp
Pemigewassett, 1988
Photograph courtesy of
Camp Pemigewassett

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Photograph courtesy of
Camp Mowglis



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SUMMER CAMPS APPENDIX

The following is a partial list of summer camps in the White Mountains and Squam and Newfound Lakes regions of New Hampshire as well as camps referenced in this catalog. An interactive wiki for all summer camps that have operated in New Hampshire can be found at the exhibit website.

CAMP NAME	LOCATION	FOUNDED	CLOSED	GENDER	AFFILIATION
Agawam	Rumney	1919	1923	Boys	
Algonquin	Holderness	1886	after 1935	Boys	
Allegro	Silver Lake	1909	closed	Girls	
Aloha Summer	Holderness	1904	closed	Boys	
Asquam	Holderness	1884/1887	1908/1912	Boys	
Asquam for Girls	Center Harbor	1915	closed	Girls	
Ataki	Conway		after 1960	Girls	
Barry Conservation	Berlin		open	Coed	4H and UNH Cooperative Extension
Belknap	Tuftonboro	1913	open	Boys	YMCA
Berea	Hebron	1945	open	Boys/Girls	Christian
Birchall	Errol	1938	1939	Boys	Boy Scout
Calumet Lutheran	Freedom	1925	open	Coed	Lutheran
Carter	Groton	1920	closed	Girls	
Cathedral Pines	Rumney	1931	closed	Girls	
Chatham Woods	S. Chatham	by 1917	1971	Girls	
Chickadee	Groton	before 1947	after 1954	Boys/Girls	Episcopal
Chocorua	Tamworth	1881	1889	Boys	
Circle Program	Groton	1991	open	Girls	
Cloyne	Holderness	1905	closed	Boys	
Cockermouth	Groton	pre 1920	before 1950s		
Cody	Freedom	1926	open	Coed	
Copp Knoll	Tuftonboro	1913	after 1924	Boys	
Copper Cannon	Franconia	1963	open	Boys	
Cragged Mountain Farm	Freedom	1927	open	Coed	
Deerwood	Holderness	1945	open	Boys	
Eagle's Cliff	Center Harbor	1996	open	Boys	Catholic
Eagle Point	Rumney	1905	closed	Girls	
Fessenden	W. Ossipee	by 1916	during WWI	Boys	
Forest Hills	Groton	1923	closed	Boys	
Grey Rocks	Hebron	1927	late 1930s	Girls	
Groton School	Squam to Newfound Lake	1893	1966	Boys	
Hale	Center Sandwich	1900–1901	open	Boys until 1912; now Coed	United South End Settlements
Hassan's Camp for Little Girls	Bristol	1904	closed	Girls	
Hampshire Lodge	Jackson	1960s	closed	Coed	
Hawkeye	Moultonborough	2005	open	Coed	
Horton Center	Gorham		open	Coed	UCC
Huckins	Freedom	1928	open	Girls	YMCA
I'lee	Holderness	before 1933	after 1945	Girls	
Indian Acres	Fryeburg, Me	1924	open	Boys	
Kaiora	Pike	before 1935	after late 1950s	Girls	
KeNesharim	Stinson Lake		closed	Boys	
Kingswood	Piermont	1947	open	Boys	
Larcom	Tamworth	1913	closed	Girls	Christian Scientist
Lauroweld	Pike		closed	Coed	
Luethi-Peterson	Freedom	1948	open	Coed	
Marist	Effingham	1949	open	Coed	Catholic
Marienfeld	Chesham	1898	1950s	Boys	
Masquebec Hill	Bridgewater		open	Boys	
Massasoit	Holderness	1920	closed	Boys	
Mayhew	Bristol	1969	open	Boys	
Mead Wilderness Base	Center Sandwich			Boys	Boy Scout
Merriwood	Orford	1949	open	Girls	
Morrowvista	Tuftonboro	1925	open	Boys/Girls	American Youth Foundation

SUMMER CAMPS APPENDIX

CAMP NAME	LOCATION	FOUNDED	CLOSED	GENDER	AFFILIATION
Moosilauke	Orford	1904	open	Boys	Christian Scientist
Mowglis	Hebron	1903	open	Boys	
Naidni	Piermont	by 1939	by 1947	Boys	
Newfound	Newfound Lake	1913	moved 1917	Girls	
Ogontz	Lyman	1923	1986	Girls	
Onaway	Hebron	1911	open	Girls	
Orinoke	Plymouth			Boys	
Ossipee	Ossipee/Freedom	1902	1938	Boys	
Pasquaney	Hebron	1895	open	Boys	
Pasquaney Nature Club	Bristol	1904	closed	Girls	
Pemigewassett	Wentworth	1908	open	Boys	
Penacook	North Sutton	1898	closed	Boys	
Pequawket	Conway	1921	closed	Boys	
Pine Knoll	Albany	1914	closed	Girls	
Pinehurst	Holderness		closed	Girls	
Pine Ridge	Rumney	1932	closed	Boys	
Pinnacle	Lyme	1916	1980s	Boys	
Quinebarge	Moultonborough	1936	open	Coed	
Raleigh	Rumney	1911	after 1960	Boys	
Redcroft	Hebron	1902	1908	Girls	
RedFox	Bristol	before 1950s	by 1977	Boys/Girls	
Robin Hood	Freedom	1927	open	Boys/Girls	
Sargent	Peterborough	1912	open	Coed	
Sentinel	Tuftonboro	1949	open	Coed	
Serrana	Piermont	1916	by 1939	Girls	
Sherwood Forest	Ashland	1903	1910	Boys	
Shiloh	Jefferson	1991	open	Coed	
Singing Eagle Lodge	Holderness	1917	open/short season	Girls	
Squamasee	Holderness	1947	1970	Boys	
Stinson	Rumney	1927	after 1960	Boys	
Sunset Valley	Gorham	by 1959	2011	Girls	
Tahoma	Pike	1915	closed	Girls	
Tecumseh	Moultonborough	1903	open	Boys	
Thorn Mountain	Jackson	1913/1914	closed	Boys	
Tohkomeupog	Madison	1935	open	Boys	
Tomahawk	Bridgewater	after 1930s	closed	Boys	
Wachusett	Holderness	1903	1986	Boys	
Waimea	Rumney	by 1935	closed	Girls	
Wakuta	Freedom	1954	1967	Boys	
Walt Whitman	Piermont	1948	open	Coed	Girl Scouts
Wamindi	Stinson Lake	by 1928	closed	Boys	
Wampineauk	Madison	1935	closed	Girls	
Waukeela	Eaton Center	1922	open	Girls	
Wawbewawa	Ashland	1920	closed	Boys	
Weetamoe	Center Ossipee	by 1935	after 1971	Girls	
Wellesley	Ossipee	1898	by 1920	Boys	
Wicosuta	Bristol/Hebron	1920	open	Girls	
Wigwam	Waterford, Me	1910	open	Boys	
Wikiva	Hebron	1914	closed	Girls	
William Lawrence	Tuftonboro	1913	open	Boys	
Winnemont	South Tamworth	1920	closed	Girls	
Winnetaska	Ashland	1903 or 1914	1975	Girls	
Winona Fields	Holderness	1906	closed	Girls	
Woodcrest	Squam	1911	closed	Boys	
Wunnegan	Rumney		closed	Boys	



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Photograph courtesy of
Camp Pemigewassett



Museum of the
WHITE MOUNTAINS

PLYMOUTH STATE UNIVERSITY