

Fatal Fashions and Caring Actions:  
Florence Merriam Bailey and the Rise of Bird Conservation

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*Introduction*

Frank Chapman, a pioneering ornithologist of the late nineteenth century, recorded forty different species of birds as he walked through downtown Manhattan in 1886.<sup>1</sup> None of the birds he observed moved on their own account; instead, they were all dead, stuffed, and mounted upon hats of wealthy, upper class women following the newest fashion craze. Decorative applications had begun humbly with a few feathers, but soon became increasingly extravagant and incorporated extensive arrangements of plumes, wings, entire birds, and even fruit, flowers, fur, mice, and small reptiles. Long, elegant, white plumes were especially sought after and between 1897 and 1911 more than one million heron and egret skins alone were sold to the millinery market.<sup>2</sup> As a result, hunters and “plumers” killed more than fifteen million American birds, ranging from small hummingbirds to large waterfowl, each year to meet the booming demands of the latest fashion trend.<sup>3</sup>

The widespread massacre of birds for this market elicited strong opposition and gave rise to two distinct approaches to avian conservation. One group of conservationists, among them Theodore Roosevelt, fervently believed that all birds should be “protected in every way.”<sup>4</sup> Beginning with Pelican Island in 1903, the last breeding colony of brown pelicans on the east coast of Florida and one of the hardest hit sites by feather trade hunters and plumer gangs, Roosevelt began to protect birds by safeguarding their habitat through a series of federally protected bird reservations, thereby physically separating birds from people on the basis of biological conservation.<sup>5</sup> While his efforts were successful in the sense that he set aside fifty-one such reservations, only a relatively small group of fellow conservationists, scientists, and ardent outdoorsmen shared his approach to bird conservation.<sup>6</sup> Indeed, Roosevelt’s decisions caused strong reactions and these became quite violent at times. In 1905, the actions of a gang of “plumers” escalated to the murder of an American game warden, Guy Bradley, who was single-handedly responsible for enforcing the ban on bird hunting throughout the Everglades.<sup>7</sup>

A second conservation approach—spearheaded by wealthy, upper class women, notably Harriet Lawrence Hemenway and Minna Hill—resulted in the establishment of National Association of Audubon Societies throughout the eastern United States beginning in 1896, with the aim of protecting native birds

and specifically discouraging the purchase and use “for ornamental purposes [of] the feathers of any wild birds.”<sup>8</sup> Unlike Roosevelt’s federal bird reservations, the Audubon Societies’ approach to avian conservation was not a consequence of environmental concern for birds nor even the inherent value of birds as one of “God’s creatures.”<sup>9</sup> Rather, the women who led this movement were motivated by their perceived role as chief proponents and defenders of moral and civilized behavior in American society. Killing birds for “vain” reasons to uphold their reputation (via feathered hats) directly threatened “higher womanhood;” for a “dead tern on a hat was ugly, a desecration of nature's beauty and a travesty of womanhood” whereas a live bird truly embodied beauty.<sup>10</sup> Thus, the Audubon Societies came to avian conservation not necessarily by scientific reasoning but by (re)defining the roles and social conduct of women in society.

As a budding, young ornithologist at Smith College, Florence Merriam Bailey (1863-1948) was appalled by the latest fashion trend common among her female friends and soon became involved in the rising bird conservation sentiment. However, bird conservation appealed to only a small, elite fraction of the American public- either the rich upper class or progressive conservationists. Through her writings, Bailey developed an important middle ground that incorporated both scientific arguments for conservation as well as moral and emotional ones, which not only made her oeuvre widely accessible, but in a practical way quietly spread the message of conservation to a much larger audience. In her books, Bailey described birds in an understandable manner so that all—“not only young observers but also laymen”—would be able to appreciate and identify the birds in their backyards and beyond, and as such produced the first “modern” bird guides.<sup>11</sup> In addition, by incorporating basic biology and ecological insights as well as encouraging interaction with nature through quiet observation of living birds in their natural habitat, her books helped establish a better public understanding of birds and their ecological importance. Finally, through her personal anecdotes of experiences with birds, Bailey created an emotional bond between her readers and the birds that she sought to protect, resulting in a new-found

morality against the massacre of birds for decoration. Ultimately, her contributions helped create an enduring and collective approach to bird conservation.

### *Of Goatsuckers and Chippies*

Prior to Bailey's books, only a narrow fraction of society had access to birding guides and ornithology texts due to the price and nature of the writings. Although detailed and beautiful, John James Audubon's *The Birds of America* (1827-1838) was an enormous eight-volume collection of 425 plates (illustrations) of birds with an equally hefty price tag of \$970 in 1839— neither a practical nor economically feasible option for identifying birds, whether in the backyard or the backcountry.<sup>12</sup> Other famous bird books of this period, such as Alexander Wilson's nine-volume *American Ornithology* (1808), followed the same trend of extravagant and expensive multi-volume works. It was not until the late nineteenth century that ornithological texts and guides became smaller and more affordable. Yet, these early identification guides, such as John B. Grant's *Our Common Birds and How to Know Them* (1891), were written and organized in a technical manner and relied upon scientific terminology, Linnaean taxonomy, and complicated identification keys—all of which required a pre-existing knowledge of ornithology.<sup>13</sup> Bailey, on the other hand, created the first "modern" bird guides by borrowing "only necessary statistics from the ornithologies," giving "untechnical descriptions," and illustrating "keys based on such colors and markings as anyone can note in the field."<sup>14</sup>

From the first page, Bailey's books differed from other ornithology publications. Simply stated, Bailey used common terms and a relatable style of writing to communicate with her audience: the public at large. Her writing style was romantic, simple, and flowing which was quite a contrast to the short and detached descriptions found in other bird books. Early bird guides, such as Grant's *Our Common Birds and How to Know Them*, devoted no more than one page to a particular species of bird. Grant's sentences were brief and focused on basic attributes and colors. For instance, he described Cedar Waxwings as

indistinct birds with a crested head, “forehead and sides of head black, indistinctly bordered with white; a small white streak under the eye,” and ventured to use only one metaphor when referring to the bird’s crest and back as “cinnamon” colored.<sup>15</sup> In *Birds Through An Opera Glass*, however, Bailey offered an equally detailed yet more engaging portrayal by noting the “soft fawn tone” of the Cedar Waxwing’s plumage, “lit up by touches of color” such as “a tipping of [a] bright red horny substance that look[ed] like sealing-wax on the shorter feathers of its wings.”<sup>16</sup> In contrast to Grant, she used anywhere from four to eight pages to complete the physical description of a species, and relied on the effective use of imagery (especially in her earlier birding books where colored plates were few and far between) to bring her birds “to life.”

In addition, Bailey used common (and preferably colloquial) names rather than official, scientific names of birds in her early identification guides, thereby drawing upon existing public knowledge. This was most evident in her first book (*Birds Through an Opera Glass*, 1889), in which she outlined basic ornithology and introduced seventy common backyard birds (such as the ubiquitous American Robin, Blue Jay, and Northern Flicker) so that all could participate with and understand birds in their surrounding environment, regardless of experience or knowledge. For example, when describing common, cryptically-colored ground birds such as the Eastern Whip-Poor-Will and the Common Nighthawk, she classified them under the colloquial term “goatsuckers,” a name based on the mistaken belief that these birds sucked milk from goats, rather than the scientifically accurate term of “Caprimulgiformes,” an order of nocturnal, insectivorous birds identified by their small, weak legs.<sup>17</sup> She called Chipping Sparrows by the well-known, friendly name of “Chippy” and referred to Bobolinks (sparrow-like birds widespread in grasslands) as “Rice-Birds” or “Reed-Birds.”<sup>18</sup> She also listed various colloquial names next to the common names when available, such as the Baltimore Oriole, which was also commonly known as the “Fire-Bird,” “Golden Robin” or “Hang-Nest.”<sup>19</sup> Latin names were conspicuously absent in her writings until the 1902 publication of her *Handbook of Birds of the Western United States*. While Linnaean taxonomy is useful for organizing

bird families, Bailey saw it as a “lion’s roar of technical terms and descriptions to warn [the reader] of raging dullness” that could discourage the public from becoming involved in bird watching.<sup>20</sup>

With birds separated into “seventeen orders, and divide[d] into numerous families and genera and species,” Bailey believed the classification system to be too complex and impractical for the common bird observer. In fact, in *Birds Through an Opera Glass*, Bailey jokingly added that, “we should have to turn pension-office clerks to get pigeon-holes enough for [birds]!”<sup>21</sup> Especially evident in her beginner bird guides, Bailey grouped common birds into fourteen such “pigeon holes” based on a given bird’s commonality and habitat. In the preface of her second bird guide, *Birds of Village and Field: A Bird Book for Beginners* (1898), she stated that “scientific classification has been disregarded, and the birds which readers are most likely to know and see are placed first.”<sup>22</sup> However, Bailey was neither ignorant of nor resistant to using scientific terminology. In contrast to her earlier books, she did employ the official “classification, nomenclature, and numeration... of the A.O.U. [American Ornithologists Union] Check-List of North American Birds” in the *Handbook of Birds of the Western United States*, a more technical publication aimed at professional birders and serious laymen/women.<sup>23</sup>

To aid identification, Bailey designed simplified field keys for her early bird guides. In *Birds Through an Opera Glass*, she included an extensive appendix to identify birds by various basic characteristics, such as range, size, plumage color, song, and behavior.<sup>24</sup> For size, she used America’s favorite bird—the American Robin—as a standard, and roughly categorized birds as larger, about the same size, or smaller than a robin. While other ornithologists, such as John B. Grant, included average measurements of birds in their descriptions, it was easier to imagine the size of a Ruby-Crowned Kinglet in comparison to an American Robin rather than a ruler. The field key for behavior, called “Marked Habits” in *Birds Through an Opera Glass*, contained the categories “phlegmatic, meditative, fond of sitting quietly,” “restless, constantly flitting about,” and “loquacious”—all practical descriptions absent in more technical bird guides of the same period.<sup>25</sup> With respect to song, Bailey categorized birds as either

“singers” or “trillers;” “singers” were then further spilt into more distinct groups, such as “particularly plaintive,” “especially happy,” “short songs,” and “long, loud songs.”<sup>26</sup> In *Birds of Village and Field*, she developed more thorough and detailed dichotomous keys which depended mostly on plumage color, but also incorporated various other characteristics such as overall shape, movements, flight, localities frequented, food, song, habits, and nest ecology.<sup>27</sup> Equipped with the basic tools for bird identification, Bailey’s audience was now ready for the next phase: observation and interpretation.

### *Awareness and Appreciation*

To place bird identification in a more meaningful context, Bailey included scientific explanations and ecological insights in her bird guides and encouraged the reader to interact with nature through quiet observation of living birds in their natural habitat. As she argued in her second bird guide, *Birds of Village and Field*, anyone and everyone could respectfully engage with their feathered neighbors; for “four things only are necessary... a scrupulous conscience, unlimited patience, a notebook, and an opera-glass.”<sup>28</sup> More importantly, Bailey wanted “birding” to transcend beyond a leisurely hobby. In the preface of *Birds Through an Opera Glass* she reemphasized the fundamental importance of quiet observation. Not only would a “student who goes afield armed with opera-glass and camera... add more to our knowledge than he who goes armed with a gun, but will gain for himself a fund of enthusiasm and a lasting store of pleasant memories.”<sup>29</sup> She was strongly opposed to bird hunting, whether it be by plumers, farmers, recreational hunters or even fellow ornithologists for scientific purposes. As detailed in the respected American naturalist John Burroughs’ essay collection *Wake-Robin* (1871), “the pursuit, the chase, [and] the discovery” resulting in the collection of birds was a common method of study at the time. With other means available, Bailey felt that more was to be learned from a live bird than a skin and that the most culminating event in ornithology was not the capture but rather “the moment at which the human

watcher [was] able to closely observe the social life of birds.”<sup>30</sup> Observation would then lead to the larger concepts that Bailey sought to convey to her readers: appreciation and conservation.

Bailey highlighted key relationships between birds and their surroundings by subtly introducing basic concepts of evolution and natural selection, adaptation, niche partitioning and ecology, even though many of these concepts were not formally known as such at the time. She added this scientific background in the form of colorful narratives. For instance, she referred to the Bobolink as an example of adaptation resulting from natural selection by describing the change in the male’s plumage between seasons: while the male donned a “jet-black shirt and vest” in the spring and summer to attract a mate, he adopted the “ochraceous tints of his wife” in the fall and winter in order to better match his surroundings and thereby avoid predation.<sup>31</sup> Rather than elaborating on the beauty of nature, Bailey explained that “Nature makes no meaningless display.” The intricate, speckled designs on eggshells, for example, came about through survival of the fittest, she noted, since “those whose colors best disguise them are most likely to escape the eyes of enemies.”<sup>32</sup> Her writing hinted at the idea of niches, that is to say that each bird species occupies a certain set of environmental conditions and functions in nature, and her illustration of niche partitioning was particularly effective: “different birds tak[ing] various levels-stories in their out-of-doors house.” One might find “sparrows and chewinks [towhees]... in the basement—on the ground-floor; the wrens and thrashers on the first floor in bushes and shrubs; the indigo-bird on the third floor—low trees; the vireos and tanagers and orioles on the fourth floor—high trees; while the swallows and swifts go above all—in the air.”<sup>33</sup> Her scientific insights in this sense, sought to reveal the intertwined connections in the natural world and awaken her readers to the often unbeknownst and unseen prevalence of birds in increasingly developed landscapes.

Beyond their ecological significance, Bailey also made the case for protecting birds by outlining their practical importance mainly through their role as insect and seed eaters, quite often as consumers of pests that plague food production systems. In fact, she devoted a thirty-page book to this single topic,



*How Birds Affect the Farm and Garden* (1896), with the long yet upfront subtitle, “A series of facts determined by investigation of the food habits of our common birds, showing their character as insect destroyers and their value as allies of the farmer and fruit grower.”<sup>34</sup> In this publication she meticulously detailed exactly which bothersome insects common birds species ingest and ways to attract these “natural” helpers by creating an appealing habitat. Cedar Waxwings, for example, were known as “cherry birds” because of their potential ability to ruin cherry crops. Yet, a group of thirty waxwings could destroy over 9,000 bothersome cut-worm caterpillars in one month. In order to “attract [Cedar Waxwings] and secure [their] help in destroying caterpillars,” one could plant a variety of commons shrubs and bushes such as blackberry, wild cherry, dogwood, and black elder.<sup>35</sup> Using many more examples, Bailey showed that the presence of birds could actually lead to economic benefits, even in production systems, where they were usually regarded as a nuisance.

Bailey agreed with Roosevelt and his fellow conservationists that birds needed protection from the millenary trade and thoughtless slaughter in the name of fashion, but she argued that everyone could and should play a role in this effort. While federal bird reservations set aside key habitats in order to protect birds, Bailey gave her audience the tools and knowledge to effectively create their own bird refuges—right in their own backyard; for “protection from enemies, food to live on, and suitable nesting sites are the three considerations... [that] determine a bird’s place of residence.”<sup>36</sup> Thus, Bailey elevated her audience to a position in which they could not only understand and appreciate the ecosystem and economic services birds provided, but from which they could begin to act directly as protagonists in the greater conservation movement.

### *Passion and Persuasion*

To solidify this new-found commitment to conservation, Bailey used her writings to develop an emotional bond between her readers and the birds she sought to protect. This was by no means a new

style of persuasive writing. Indeed, many of the women of the Audubon Societies had written emotionally charged articles that exploited feelings of empathy amongst sensitive readers. For instance, Audubon Society member Annie H. Nutty's article "Cruelty to Birds" in the *New York Times* described how one could hear the cries of an ostrich more than a mile away as its feathers were pulled and plucked one by one for use in the fashion trade.<sup>37</sup> Other popular articles, such as "Spare the Birds," depicted heart-wrenching stories of "motherless young [birds]" which were left to starve after the parents were shot by "cruel" plumer gangs.<sup>38</sup> And perhaps the most moving and popular piece, Mary Thatcher Higginson's "The Slaughter of the Innocents," illustrated the plight of birds by using human feelings of pain, loss, and despair: "the outspread wings have lost their magic power, and the little feet, instead of clasping some swaying bough, have been hopelessly entangled in the meshes of velvet and lace."<sup>39</sup> Interestingly enough, Bailey, as a member of the wealthy upper class herself, was a member of the Audubon Society and had even founded the Smith College Audubon Society. As a result, she utilized the same method of shaming her readers into rejecting the frivolous use of birds for fashion, especially in her earliest articles, such as "Bird Murder."<sup>40</sup> However, Bailey realized the shortfalls of this approach as it tended to leave her readers feel castigated. Instead she adopted a more positive, relatable writing style that emphasized the pleasure obtained from interacting with birds, and thus led by example: as detailed in Harriet Kofalk's thorough biography, Bailey "spoke out for *life*, rather than against injustice."<sup>41</sup>

Bailey, like other female authors of the Audubon Societies, gave a human face to birds, thereby creating less divisive lines between humans and birds.<sup>42</sup> She focused on social and cooperative behaviors, and highlighted specific activities that correlated most closely to the daily activities of her readers, such as raising a family. In *Birds Through an Opera Glass*, she transformed the songs of birds into sentences or conversations. For the Western Wood Pewee, she suggested that its song resembled "all the happiness of domestic love and peace."<sup>43</sup> The American Crow, whose "vocabulary" made him "a very Shakespeare among birds," often seemed to have complicated conversations between flock members, similar to

human dialogues at the dinner table or small quarrels between parents and children. As Bailey noted in a “conversation” between a father and son crow, “to everything he said, whether in a complaining or teasing tone, the same gruff paternal caw came back from the pasture. ‘Come along!’ it seemed to say. To this the refractory son would respond, ‘I won’t.’”<sup>44</sup> Beyond “speaking,” birds seemed to share other emotions with human beings. When describing the Cedar Waxwing, Bailey remarked upon “the gentle affectionate nature” of these birds and how they had even “adopted the human symbol of tenderness... kissing each other.”<sup>45</sup> At times, Bailey blurred the line between birds and humans to such an extent that her account of an American Robin family could have easily passed as a description of the ideal American family. In her eyes, American Robins exhibited such “human tenderness... in their family relations, not only in caring for their little ones, but in the small offices of daily happy companionship...as they work[ed] together for their brood.”<sup>46</sup>

Often writing from a first-person perspective, Bailey also shared her awe of nature through narratives of her personal experiences with birds. When Bailey discovered a Ruby-Throated Hummingbird sitting upon a bare branch, she could “scarcely appreciate what a wee mite of a bird it [was]... for it dart[ed] off and [was] gone like the flash of a diamond.”<sup>47</sup> Her writings captured the essence of coming across one of her feathered friends, almost like encountering an old acquaintance. Pygmy Nuthatches were her favorite and as the “fluffy, bob-tailed little pygmies [came] trooping in and alight upside down against the tips of the pine branches, talking in soft little liquid notes,” Bailey could hardly contain herself from exclaiming “Oh, you winsome little mites, how jolly it is to see you again!”<sup>48</sup> Her enthusiasm was infectious and she sought to ignite a similar fervor in her readers. Moreover, with a growing public interest in nature and transcendentalist writings, Bailey included poems and quotations from celebrated early conservationists and poets such as Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Henry David Thoreau, and James Russell Lowell in her publications. Perhaps used to “popularize” her writings, passages from these well-known figures brought in “modern” and developing ideas and attitudes towards nature, complementing

her own observations. Alternatively, they expressed her own sentiments better than she could herself. Lowell's poems appeared throughout *Birds Through an Opera Glass* and Bailey even cited a description from Thoreau for the song of the Bobolink: "It is as if he touched his harp within a vase of liquid melody, and when he lifted it out the notes fell like bubbles from the trembling strings... they are the most liquidly sweet and melodious sounds I have ever heard."<sup>49</sup> By using a positive approach in her personal observations and anecdotes, Bailey developed an emotional appeal which made the case for conservation even more powerful. This, in turn, established a moral shift away from the thoughtless exploitation of birds for vanity.

#### *In Conclusion and Beyond*

Florence Merriam Bailey became a strong advocate for avian conservation in response to the "feather trade" of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century that decimated bird populations only to cater to the fashion world. Riding on the rising tide of the conservation movement already set in motion by popular figures such as Henry David Thoreau and John Muir, conservationists and other special interest groups galvanized around this cause. Arguments against the senseless slaughter of birds ranged from passionate admonishments based upon morality (Audubon Society) to scientifically supported proposals for the preservation of natural resources, including birds, for the benefit of society (Roosevelt and fellow conservationists).

Bailey used both scientific reasoning and emotional appeal to further the cause of bird conservation. She was convinced that if a larger segment of society observed birds and studied their habits, they would join the ranks of ornithologists, conservationists, and bird-lovers alike to work for their protection. She felt that conservation should not be a luxury activity indulged in by few; rather, everyone could play a role in this growing movement, starting right outside of one's front door. Her popular writings and bird guides, although very much a product of the time as evident in the overly romantic

descriptions, made conservation accessible to all by using simplified terminology and drawing distinct parallels between the lives of people and the lives of birds. Bailey saw and contended that humans were in fact part of nature— just as much as birds. For, “wherever there are people there are birds, so it makes comparatively little difference where you live, if you are only in earnest about getting acquainted with your feathered neighbors.”<sup>50</sup> In a sense, she democratized ornithology with the objective to actively engage ordinary people in the process of conservation. Herein lies the strength and the current relevance of her message. Even today, the environmental education of the public and their active participation in the science of conservation as citizen scientists has the highest priority.

During her lifetime, Bailey was widely recognized both within as well as outside the scientific community for her indispensable contributions to the field of ornithology. Her book, *Handbook of Birds of the Western United States*, was considered by many her most important addition to the bibliography on birds. Published in 1902, it was subsequently reissued in seventeen editions and four revisions.<sup>51</sup> Her final bird identification book, *Birds of New Mexico*, was the culmination of a lifetime’s work of study and writing about birds and was long considered to be the standard in the field. In 1929, the American Ornithologists’ Union (AOU), the nation’s oldest organization devoted to the scientific study of birds, elected Bailey as the first woman fellow. Two years later the AOU honored Bailey with the Brewster Medal, an award given every two years to the author of the most important book on birds of the western hemisphere.<sup>52</sup>

Bailey was instrumental in creating the public foundation of the early conservation movement, although at the time she did not have such grand ambitions. Her intention was simple and straightforward: to share her passion for birds with the public at large, to spread the joy and appreciation for living birds in their natural habitat, and to shift the emphasis from fatal fashions to caring actions.

## Notes

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- <sup>1</sup> Jennifer Price, *Flight Maps: Adventures with Nature in Modern America*, (New York: Basic Books, 1999), 57-76.
- <sup>2</sup> Joan Boudreau (exhibition curator), "The Feather Trade and the American Conservation Movement," <http://americanhistory.si.edu/feather/> (accessed January 27, 2013).
- <sup>3</sup> Kathy S. Mason, "Out of Fashion: Harriet Hemenway and the Audubon Society, 1896-1905," *The Historian* 65 (2001): 1-14.
- <sup>4</sup> "To Protect the Birds," *New York Times*, March 24, 1899, <http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=F20A10FA3A5811738DDDAD0A94DB405B8985F0D3> (accessed January 27, 2013).
- <sup>5</sup> Douglas Brinkley, *The Wilderness Warrior: Theodore Roosevelt and the Crusade for America*, (New York: Harper Perennial, 2009), 492-4.
- <sup>6</sup> Stewart L. Udall, *The Quiet Crisis*, (New York: Avon Books, 1963), 144-5.
- <sup>7</sup> Brinkley, *The Wilderness Warrior*, 495-9.
- <sup>8</sup> Mason, "Out of Fashion," 1-14.
- <sup>9</sup> Price, *Flight Maps*, 90.
- <sup>10</sup> Price, *Flight Maps*, 78-82.
- <sup>11</sup> Florence A. Merriam, *Birds Through an Opera Glass*. (1889; Hathi Trust Digital Library, 2010), <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc2.ark:/13960/t02z1424x>, ix.
- <sup>12</sup> Raymond T. Korpi, "'A Most Engaging Game': The Evolution of Bird Field Guides and Their Effects on Environmentalism, Ornithology, and Birding, 1830-1998" (PhD. diss., Washington State University, 1999), 32.
- <sup>13</sup> Korpi, "'A Most Engaging Game'," 14-43.
- <sup>14</sup> Florence A. Merriam, *Birds of Village and Field: A Bird Book for Beginners*, (1898; Biodiversity Heritage Library, 1993), <http://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/113028#page/10/mode/1up>, iv.
- <sup>15</sup> John B. Grant, *Our Common Birds and How to Know Them*, (1893, Open Library, 2010), 147. <http://www.archive.org/stream/ourcommonbirds00grangoog#page/n3/mode/2up>.
- <sup>16</sup> Merriam, *Birds Through an Opera Glass*, 112-3.
- <sup>17</sup> Merriam, *Birds Through an Opera Glass*, 155.
- <sup>18</sup> Merriam, *Birds Through an Opera Glass*, 27-60.
- <sup>19</sup> Merriam, *Birds Through an Opera Glass*, 52.
- <sup>20</sup> Merriam, *Birds Through an Opera Glass*, v.
- <sup>21</sup> Merriam, *Birds Through an Opera Glass*, 60-1.
- <sup>22</sup> Merriam, *Birds of Village and Field*, xiii.
- <sup>23</sup> Florence M. Bailey, *Handbook of Birds of the Western United States Including the Great Plains, Great Basin, Pacific Slope, and Lower Rio Grande Valley*, (1902, Open Library, 2008), <http://archive.org/stream/handbookofbirds00bail#page/n7/mode/2up>, xxv.
- <sup>24</sup> Merriam, *Birds Through an Opera Glass*, 214-9.
- <sup>25</sup> Merriam, *Birds Through an Opera Glass*, 217.
- <sup>26</sup> Merriam, *Birds Through an Opera Glass*, 216.
- <sup>27</sup> Merriam, *Birds of Village and Field*.
- <sup>28</sup> Merriam, *Birds of Village and Field*, xiii.
- <sup>29</sup> Merriam, *Birds Through an Opera Glass*, v.
- <sup>30</sup> Vera Norwood, "Constructing Gender in Nature: Bird Society Through the Eyes of John Burroughs and Florence Merriam Bailey," In *Human/Nature: Biology, Culture, and Environmental History*, edited by John P. Herron and Andrew G. Kirk. Albuquerque, N.M.: University of New Mexico Press, 1999, 51-2.
- <sup>31</sup> Merriam, *Birds Through an Opera Glass*, 79.
- <sup>32</sup> Merriam, *Birds Through an Opera Glass*, 25-6.
- <sup>33</sup> Merriam, *Birds Through an Opera Glass*, 158.
- <sup>34</sup> Florence A. Merriam, *How Birds Affect the Farm and Garden*, (1896, Google eBook, 2012), <http://books.google.com/books?id=z1YbAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>.
- <sup>35</sup> Merriam, *How Birds Affect the Farm and Garden*, 10-11.
- <sup>36</sup> Merriam, *Birds of Village and Field*, xxiv.
- <sup>37</sup> Annie H. Nutty, "Cruelty to Birds," *New York Times*, July 20, 1897, <http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=FB0F15FC395811738DDDA90A94DF405B8785F0D3>.
- <sup>38</sup> Louisa J. Bruen, "Spare the Birds," *New York Times*, March 1, 1897, <http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=F30F17F63E5811738DDDA80894DB405B8785F0D3>.
- <sup>39</sup> Mary Thatcher Higginson, "The Slaughter of the Innocents," *Harper's Bazar*, May 22, 1875, 338.

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- <sup>40</sup> Florence A. Merriam, "Bird Murder," *New York Times*, May 9, 1896, <http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=F00C15F73D5C10738DDDA00894DD405B8684F0D3>.
- <sup>41</sup> Harriet Kofalk, *No Woman Tenderfoot: Florence Merriam Bailey, Pioneer Naturalist*, (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1989), xviii-4.
- <sup>42</sup> Vera Norwood, "Constructing Gender in Nature," 55-8.
- <sup>43</sup> Merriam, *Birds Through an Opera Glass*, 86-7.
- <sup>44</sup> Merriam, *Birds Through an Opera Glass*, 10-1.
- <sup>45</sup> Merriam, *Birds Through an Opera Glass*, 113-4.
- <sup>46</sup> Merriam, *Birds of Village and Field*, 17-8.
- <sup>47</sup> Merriam, *Birds Through an Opera Glass*, 36.
- <sup>48</sup> Bailey, *Handbook of Birds of the Western United States*, 454.
- <sup>49</sup> Merriam, *Birds Through an Opera Glass*, 32.
- <sup>50</sup> Merriam, *Birds Through an Opera Glass*, iii.
- <sup>51</sup> Madelyn Holmes, *American Women Conservationists: Twelve Profiles*, (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2004), 48-53.
- <sup>52</sup> Marcia Bonta, *Women in the Field: America's Pioneering Women Naturalists*, (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1991).