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A WILD WEB: THE TANGLED HISTORY OF ATTITUDES TOWARD WILDLIFE IN A DYNAMIC NEW ENGLAND CULTURE, 1945-1985

BY

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BS, St. Lawrence University, 1996

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DISSERTATION

Submitted to the University of New Hampshire

in Partial Fulfillment of

the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Natural Resources and Environmental Studies

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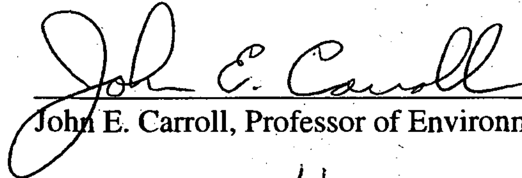

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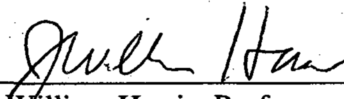

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For Willie

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On a more personal note, I must thank my family for being supportive and patient. My only regret is that my mother did not live to see this project completed, but I take comfort in believing that she already knows I am eternally grateful to her. Willie, you are my inspiration.

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ABSTRACT

A WILD WEB: THE TANGLED HISTORY OF ATTITUDES TOWARD WILDLIFE IN A DYNAMIC NEW ENGLAND CULTURE, 1945-1985

by

Mary H. Hopkins

University of New Hampshire, May, 2009

Attitudes toward wildlife are considerably more complex than one might suspect. This dissertation started with a hypothesis that population growth would correlate with increasing negative attitudes toward wildlife, but historical evidence only partially supports this hypothesis. Information about the frequency and types of wildlife references appearing in newspapers between 1945 and 1985 was gathered from a systematic sampling of six New Hampshire newspapers that represented towns with differing growth trends. While analysis of quantitative data minimized any correlation between growth and negative attitudes, qualitative data from newspaper articles, archival sources, government reports, books and articles, and other sources provided evidence that growth-related changes did have some effect on attitudes toward wildlife. Therefore, this research evolved to look more carefully at the effects of growth, and to identify what additional cultural elements played a role in shaping attitudes toward wildlife. Elements identified and explored include: growth, changes in agriculture, environmentalism, trends in outdoor recreation, and relationships with domestic companion animals. The general finding was that the history of local attitudes toward wildlife is a complicated web of intersecting cultural elements that have affected attitudes in diverse ways.

INTRODUCTION

A police officer in the town of Durham, New Hampshire remembers a phone call from a resident complaining of a turtle in his driveway.[1] In that resident's vision, the turtle represented an aspect of nature that was out of place and, therefore, caused enough distress to summon an armed officer. "Was it a snapping turtle?" I asked, trying to understand this person's motive for calling the police. "I don't even know," replied the officer, who admitted that after numerous calls for what he considered to be trivial, even "ridiculous" wildlife-related complaints, he refused to respond to the call.

Why *would* someone call the police on a turtle? Probably for some of the same reasons people have often called to report wildlife encounters to the state's Department of Fish and Game. Between September 1999 and September 2002, the department handled more than 1600 calls from citizens about wildlife. Many of these calls were about disappearing cats and concerns about the potential dangers of wild animals. One woman was said to be "scared to death" when she called about a bear in Holderness. Not long after this call, the woman's nephew placed an angry call, insisting that the bear be shot. In Keene, a fisher was supposedly "eyeing a small dog," and another caller said that a fisher "chased him into his house."[2]

There were also numerous calls about bears damaging bird feeders. In these cases, the Fish and Game operators routinely educated callers about the need to take down

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[1] Officer Frank Weeks, conversation with author, Dover, NH.

[2] New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game, call log data provided by Karen T. Cleveland, 28 October 2002.

birdfeeders when bears are about. Sometimes, however, the callers did not feel that they should have to curb their bird feeding. One man wanted to shoot a bothersome bear, saying that "his rights to feed birds" were "infringed upon by [the] bear." The resulting image of human beings intolerant of, inconvenienced by, and uncomfortable with the idea of coexisting with wildlife is repeatedly conjured up by the calls to the department. There were complaints about fishers, bears, and coyotes "hanging around" homes and property. A woman in Gilford called to report "fox everywhere." Foxes in Stratham left people "very worried," and the animals were "too close for comfort" in Marlboro. Calls poured in to report bears roaming in backyards, wandering through neighborhoods, and looking in windows. People were unnerved by the sounds made by animals at night. One woman wanted to know how to deter foxes from "pooping in her yard," and whenever wild animals seemed to be closer to humans than they should be, they were described as "becoming very bold."

Like the police officer's reaction to the call about the turtle, those entering data about calls to Fish and Game privately expressed their own criticisms and frustration with many of these calls. Entries sarcastically made reference to a "gang of coyotes" and "juvenile delinquent raccoons." One operator responded to a complaint about coyotes by simply telling the caller to enjoy all wildlife, and when a particular call came in about raccoons, the operator's entry read, "strange acting...yadayadayada." According to Karen T. Cleveland, a Data Manager in the Wildlife Division of New Hampshire's Fish and Game Department, operators were eventually instructed to begin differentiating between "nuisance" calls (threats to people or property) and "sighting" calls (everything else). "It's

not uncommon for people to call and either ask questions about every animal they see or be concerned any time they see a wild animal and call the department for reassurance."[3]

Thinking about these anecdotes, I wondered why the public so often found itself in need of such reassurance about wildlife. Had the population always harbored such fears and concerns? What are the roots of these attitudes toward wildlife, and if the attitudes were the product of evolution over time, what got them to where they are today? By concentrating on the state of New Hampshire, this research aims to show that the changes in one region's local attitudes toward wildlife cannot simply be attributed to a single source of influence. Rather, they are the products of intricate cultural matrices formed by the intersections of many elements of cultural structure. The number of these elements could be countless, as the question of what "matters" is subjective, but in this case, selection was guided by their prominence in historical references to wildlife. Here, I argue that population growth, agriculture, environmentalism, outdoor recreation, and relationships with domestic companion animals have been intersecting influences upon the formation of attitudes toward wildlife.

I did not set out imagining this lesson about complexity. I was looking for a *single* explanation for why attitudes toward wildlife are the way they are. While I was humbled to find that my initial theories were not supported by historical data, they did help me to delineate the parameters of this study's scope of time and place. What I fully expected to find is that booming growth in the post-World War II era correlated with a noticeable trend in types of attitudes toward wildlife. Steering me toward this assumption were the words of Kenneth Jackson, who wrote in *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the*

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[3] *Ibid.*

United States, "Suburbia symbolized the fullest, most unadulterated embodiment of contemporary culture; it is a manifestation of such fundamental characteristics of American society as…a reliance upon the private automobile, upward mobility, the separation of the family into nuclear units, the widening division between work and leisure, and a tendency toward racial and economic exclusiveness."[4] When applied to visions of nature, human beings designate themselves as separate, and the result is an image of – in the words of Jennifer Price – "nature as a place apart."[5] So, I wondered, did the changes in land use, and trends in property ownership that contributed to an increasingly built landscape nurture visions of nature, particularly wild animals, as belonging someplace *else*? Did the presence of more people, living a lifestyle that Jackson would define as suburban, lead to a growing sense that nature – and wildlife – belonged somewhere besides the suburbs?

New Hampshire was particularly well-suited for my initial interest in the effects of growth and development on attitudes toward wildlife. Many local communities experienced the high levels of development that could best test my assumption that attitude change over time had been strongly influenced by population growth. This focus also prompted me to select a time frame that encompassed periods of dramatic growth: 1945-1985. The end of World War II marked the beginning of national economic security and consequent consumerism that allowed people to move, by the millions, to the

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[4] Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 4.

[5] Jennifer Price, *Flight Maps: Adventures with Nature in Modern America* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1999).

suburbs.[6] David Halberstam explains that "[s]tarting in 1950 and continuing for the next thirty years, eighteen of the nation's twenty-five top cities lost population. At the same time, the suburbs gained 60 million people. Some 83 percent of the nation's growth was to take place in the suburbs. By 1970, for the first time there were more people living in suburbs than in cities."[7] High levels of growth occurred throughout the nation, but New Hampshire's growth was particularly remarkable. According to Ralph Jimenez, "[b]y 1987, New Hampshire was the second fastest growing state east of the Mississippi, its population increasing at 20,000 annually – twice the rate of neighboring New England states."[8] And yet at the same time, some New Hampshire towns experienced slower growth rates, which provided an opportunity to draw comparisons between them.

Sources

With New Hampshire chosen as my focus, I then put much thought into what sources of information about local attitudes toward wildlife were available to me. Without the luxury of being able to sit down and interview multitudes of long-time residents, or having at my disposal attitudinal survey data gathered systematically from 1945 to 1985, I turned to a handful of alternative sources.

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[6] William Graebner, *The Age of Doubt: American Thought and Culture in the 1940s* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1991), p. 19.

[7] David Halberstam, *The Fifties* (New York: Villard Books, 1993), p. 142.

[8] Ralph Jimenez in Rosemary G. Conroy and Richard Ober (Eds.), *People and Place: Society for the Protection of New Hampshire Forests, The First 100 Years* (Concord, NH: Society for the Protection of New Hampshire Forests, 2001), p. 70.

Legislative Committee Materials

The State Archives in Concord, New Hampshire contains records of legislative committees throughout my timeframe. The material is organized by boxes that contain the journals of various committees' meeting minutes, copies of actual bills, and letters and other communications (from both citizens and legislators) exchanged during the process of legislating certain items. Not surprisingly, information from Fish and Game sources tended to be most relevant to my topic. A general list of issues covered by Fish and Game includes (among numerous others) species protection, trap regulations, the killing of nuisance animals, habitat protection, and the setting of hunting, fishing, and trapping limits and seasons. While these Fish and Game materials yielded the greatest volume of information that was most pertinent to my needs, the journals and folders of other committees were also worth perusing. The Agriculture, Forestry and Recreation, Public Health, and Public Works committees all covered relevant issues.

Government Department Reports

Other sources of information included the regularly published reports of state departments.

Fish and Game. Fish and Game topics were naturally important to my research. A fire in the mid-1980s destroyed many of the records and correspondence of the Fish and Game Department, which meant that a significant obstacle for me was a distinct lack of this type of material. However, since its nineteenth-century beginnings, the department has published biennial reports that are easily accessible. The reports change in structure over time, but their general contents are fairly consistent. They begin with comments

from the sitting director of the department, which often provide summaries of general trends and major issues at hand. In the pages geared more toward administrative issues, there are itemized financial statements that include listed income from such sources as hunting license sales, and expenditures in areas like bounties, research, and education. This type of information was helpful for its reflection of both department priorities and the public's interactions with wildlife.

The reports are then essentially broken down by chapters that are submitted by each division of the department, and these all provide synopses of division activities. For example, some of the standard information provided by Law Enforcement includes the numbers of lost persons. This is an interesting statistic to observe in the 1950s, as increasing numbers of people engaged in outdoor recreation. The contributions of other divisions also typically include information about research projects, kill reports, wildlife monitoring, and education programs. All are reflective of their specific time periods, and despite their agency authorship, the reports do provide some indication of *public* concerns about, and encounters with, local wildlife.

Agriculture. The reports from the Department of Agriculture are set up very similarly – with directors' comments, followed by reports from separate department divisions. Most of the information from this department was less directly related to my research, but still beneficial for the insight it provided on land-use and ownership trends and changes in agriculture. Embedded in these reports is information that *was* immediately valuable. For example, the Division of Animal Industry includes comments from the State Veterinarian, who regularly wrote about animal diseases in the state. It was interesting to see references to rabies increase over time, and to read related anecdotes

about known wildlife vectors like foxes and bats. Also standard to these reports are notes on Rodent Control and Eradication. Among wildlife species frequently mentioned in this section are rats, mice, porcupines, foxes, woodchucks, and birds. These summaries provided specific information about wildlife conflicts and methods used to deal with them.

Newspapers

In the past, I have been intrigued by newspaper headlines like "Bad News Bears...Mom, Cubs Stroll Through Dover, Crash Barbecue" and "Coyotes Encroach on Newington, Causing Residents to Worry."[9] Knowing that local newspapers, which are highly accessible to the general public, occasionally feature such wildlife-related items, I wanted to include them as a source for my historical research. The use of newspapers for research, however, includes some challenges.

First, it is important to note that media are influenced by public opinion, just as public opinion is influenced by media. Does a newspaper's reference to wildlife imply that the public cares about wildlife issues, and that the media respond by covering them? Or, does it mean that upon reading about wildlife, a rise in public interest will follow? Perhaps the answer is both. By picturing newspapers as a medium for a public conversation, I could observe trends in what people were both reading and saying about wildlife.

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[9] Emily Zimmerman, "Bad News Bears, Mom, Cubs Stroll Through Dover, Crash Barbecue," *Fosters Daily Democrat*, 16 July 2004; and Michael Goot, "Coyotes Encroach on Newington, Causing Residents to Worry," *Foster's Daily Democrat*, 18 November 2002.

Second, how much influence does a single editor have over what is published? Within articles themselves, how one-sided is the information? These are valid concerns, but to try to control them would have detracted from this study's inquiry into the sphere of general dialogue about wildlife. The newspaper's presentation of wildlife was still half of the "conversation" in this public forum, and as such, it was valuable for research purposes.

There are also challenges posed by interpretation. Analysis of past newspaper references relies on "retrospective salience," suggesting that current research, as opposed to the actors from the time of the paper's publication, determines the importance of wildlife references.[10] For example, an advertisement for woodchuck cartridges might have originally been seen as a neutral item of data, but to my research, it would be valuable evidence of intolerance for the presence of woodchucks. I did not view this potential disparity as problematic, because while I was interested, to some extent, on priority – for example, whether wild animals were featured on the front page, versus the last page – information was gathered from each reference separately from its relative degree of importance to the editors who placed it.

Another challenge is the fact that (far more noticeably than the government reports) newspapers change in structure and format over time. For example, the numbers of pages increase, the amount of (and size of space devoted to) advertising also grows, the print generally becomes larger, and the articles become more spaced out on the pages. One issue was the difficulty in making comparisons (over time) between amounts of

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[10] For a discussion on "retrospective" versus "contemporaneous" issue salience, see: Lee Epstein and Jeffrey A. Segal, "Measuring Issue Salience," *American Journal of Political Science*, 44(1): 66-83 (2000).

attention to wildlife per number of pages. However, like "priority," amount of coverage was not as critical as the nature of *what* was said.

Last, but not least, was the challenge of the sheer volume of pages to be surveyed. It meant that data collection would take a great deal of time, and it demanded a detailed sampling schedule (see "Methodological Approach" section). Yet, regardless of the challenges associated with the use of newspapers for historical research, the newspapers remained a valuable source of public "dialogue," and a forum for a large segment of the population. Furthermore, their publication provided a regular and consistent source of data. In fact, their value has been demonstrated by previous content analyses, like those of Julia Corbett, and of Stephen Kellert and Miriam Westervelt.[11] Comments from Kellert and Westervelt reiterate the benefits of using newspapers:

> ...analysis of newspaper articles might constitute a good indicator of public opinion and concern. Despite the bias of newspaper to report on primarily "newsworthy" events, a number of factors recommended its use. First, most newspapers tend to be oriented to local constituencies, and, if judiciously selected, potentially reflect urban, rural as well as regional differences. Secondly, by using papers in continuous publication, one could conceivably trace changes over time relatively undistorted by interpretive recall. Most of all, because newspapers are locally published and on a continuous basis, they tend to reflect the experiences and concerns of a large fraction of the general public.[12]

I am confident that the combination of newspapers, archival material, and agency reports, in addition to town reports and miscellaneous interviews and correspondence, has

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[11] Julia B. Corbett, "Rural and Urban Newspaper Coverage of Wildlife: Conflict, Community and Bureaucracy" in *Journalism Quarterly*, 69(4): 929-937.

[12] Stephen R. Kellert and Miriam O. Westervelt, *Trends in Animal Use and Perception in Twentieth Century America* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, 1981), p. 5-6.

provided a sufficient basis for drawing conclusions about cultural influences upon attitudes toward wildlife in New Hampshire in the 40 years after WWII.[13]

Literature Review

Stephen Kellert has provided one of the few historical content analyses dealing directly with human-animal relationships. In the 1970s and early 1980s, Kellert, a professor at the Yale University School of Forestry and Environmental Studies, published a series of related studies. His work included one study entitled *Trends in Animal Use and Perception in Twentieth Century America*, which was co-authored by Miriam O. Westervelt. This study involved analysis of animal-related newspaper articles in four U.S. cities (Los Angeles, California, Hartford, Connecticut, Buffalo, Wyoming, and Dawson, Georgia), from 1900 to 1975. Kellert and Westervelt were motivated by widespread assumptions that American attitudes toward animals had changed since the first Earth Day (1970), or perhaps earlier with environmental legislation that was passed after World War II. "Do we presume too much?" asked the authors.

> The purpose of this research is to consider this issue of historical trends in wildlife use and perception during the twentieth century...An additional concern is not only have changes occurred, but how have they been distributed among major population groups and at what rate and in what fashion – spasmodically, in cycles, in a steadily incremental manner?[14]

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[13] *Combinations* of newspapers and government records are also noted for their usefulness in studying historical trends in public opinion by: Stephen R. Kellert and Miriam O. Westervelt, *Trends in Animal Use and Perception in Twentieth Century America* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, 1981).

[14] Stephen R. Kellert and Miriam O. Westervelt, *Trends in Animal Use and Perception in Twentieth Century America* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, 1981), p. 1-2. Another (previous) newspaper content analysis of human-wildlife relationships is W. Bos, L. Brisson, and P. Eagles, *A Study of Attitudinal Orientations of Central Canadian Cultures Toward Wildlife* (University of Waterloo, 1977). This report was not published, but it is in the author's possession courtesy of Paul Eagles.

This report contains numerous counts of animal-related articles (based on such factors as activity, species, and apparent attitudes), which are compared to multiple demographic variables, including place of residence ("urban" or "rural"). Kellert and Westervelt analyze a wider (but overlapping) time frame than I do, and they included both wild and domestic animals in their study. Their work was important to me for three major reasons. First, they have shown that newspaper content analysis may, in fact, be a reasonable method for researching historical trends in attitudes toward wildlife. Second, the technicalities of their study – like sampling, complementary sources, and other methodological details – provided guidance. And third, their findings yield a sample of comparison for other, similar research. For example, it is interesting to note that while Kellert and Westervelt found deer to be the most frequently mentioned wild species, data collected for this study showed references to fish vastly outnumbering references to any other species in all newspapers sampled.[15] Most of these fish references were in the form of advertisements (primarily relating to fish as food), but where Kellert and Westervelt did not include advertisements in their sampling, it is clear that the method of selecting newspaper data can have a significant impact on categorical findings.

The other reports that were authored, or co-authored, by Stephen Kellert are basically summaries of attitude surveys, which were conducted for the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service. As opposed to a look at historical trends, these surveys depict "snapshots" of attitudes toward animals in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The first three monographs in the series of reports were based on a national survey of 3,107 adult Americans, and they address a range of issues, like participation in various animal-related

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[15] *Ibid.*, p. 102.

activities (such as hunting, farming, photography, etc.), experience of animal damage, willingness to protect certain species and habitat, species preferences, and awareness of specific animal issues.[16] The fourth installment of the series is the previously mentioned content analysis, while the fifth report deals with attitudes of children toward animals. This last study was based on interviews of 267 second, fifth, eighth, and eleventh graders in the state of Connecticut.[17]

Naturally, surveys of attitudes toward wildlife are of interest to me, but similar surveys of human attitudes toward wildlife (or, animals in general) from 1945 to 1985 are not widely available.[18] Appreciation for how people view wildlife has only recently been recognized among wildlife professionals as "Human Dimensions." Respect for this new area of study has been hard-fought, largely due to its incorporation of diverse disciplines. As James Lyons has explained, "the human dimensions field...provides for cross-fertilization between the biological and social sciences."[19] The authors contributing to

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[16] Stephen R. Kellert, *Public Attitudes Toward Critical Wildlife and Natural Habitat Issues* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, 1982); Stephen R. Kellert, *Activities of the American Public Relating to Animals* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, 1982); and Stephen R. Kellert and Joyce K. Berry, *Knowledge, Affection and Basic Attitudes Toward Animals in American Society* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, 1982).

[17] Stephen R. Kellert and Miriam O. Westervelt, *Children's Attitudes, Knowledge and Behaviors Toward Animals* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, 1983).

[18] In addition to studies led by Stephen Kellert, examples of attitudinal surveys have been provided by Responsive Management, a research team led by Mark Damian Duda. This group has conducted hundreds of attitudinal surveys (mail, telephone, and in-person) since the mid-1980s, a few of which have specifically pertained to New Hampshire. Similar to other studies, these reports address awareness of wildlife-related issues (like Chronic Wasting Disease), participation in outdoor activities, familiarity with the New Hampshire Fish and Game Department, sources of information about wildlife, level of tolerance for wildlife damage, motivations to fish and hunt, and general interest in, and knowledge of, wildlife. See: Mark Damian Duda, Steve J. Bissell, and Kira C. Young, *Wildlife and the American Mind: Public Opinion on and Attitudes Toward Fish and Wildlife Management* (Harrisonburg, VA: Responsive Management, 1998).

[19] James R. Lyons in Daniel J. Decker and Gary R. Goff (Eds.), *Valuing Wildlife: Economic and Social Perspectives* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1987), p. 293.

Human Dimensions of Wildlife Management in North America, who define human dimensions as "how people value wildlife, how they want wildlife to be managed, and how they affect and are affected by wildlife and wildlife management decisions," also provide a comprehensive history of the field.[20] "Human Dimensions," which was certainly influenced by the research of Stephen Kellert, Cornell University broke ground in the 1970s with its Human Dimensions Research Unit (HDRU), the source of a great deal of survey research.[21] Drawbacks with these publications, as far as my own project was concerned, are that they are primarily focused on New York, and that they were conducted since the tail-end of my research time frame.

Apart from attitudinal survey data, previous research in the general area of human-wildlife relationships spans a wide array of perspectives, and (as "Human Dimensions" has demonstrated) its highly interdisciplinary nature is readily apparent in the variety of fields that are represented: history, anthropology, archaeology, biology, psychology, ethics, religion, law, folklore – surely, the list could go on. Furthermore, the human-animal relationship takes on countless forms. It is present anywhere on Earth where there are humans and animals, and it has existed from the start of human history. Several areas of this literature have been influential in shaping my own research objectives.

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[20] Daniel J. Decker, Tommy L. Brown, and William F. Siemer (Eds.), *Human Dimensions of Wildlife Management in North America* (Bethesda, Maryland: The Wildlife Society, 2001), p. 3.

[21] Kellert is recognized as an important contributor to the development of "Human Dimensions" in: Daniel J. Decker, Tommy L. Brown, and William F. Siemer (Eds.), *Human Dimensions of Wildlife Management in North America* (Bethesda, Maryland: The Wildlife Society, 2001), p. 12; Daniel J. Decker and Gary R. Goff (Eds.), *Valuing Wildlife: Economic and Social Perspectives* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1987), p. 327; and Mark Damian Duda, Steve J. Bissell, and Kira C. Young, *Wildlife and the American Mind: Public Opinion on and Attitudes Toward Fish and Wildlife Management* (Harrisonburg, VA: Responsive Management, 1998), p. 7.

First, there are works of environmental history, which make arguments based on ecological interconnectedness over time. One model example of the ways in which humans and wildlife have mutually affected the course of history is Andrew Isenberg's discussion of Americans and bison between 1750 and 1920. Isenberg argues that human-centered events, like encounters between Indians and Euro-Americans, had strong influences on the bison. The reintroduction of horses to America, for instance, brought tremendous changes to the methods used to hunt bison. In turn, the eventual over-hunting – and decline – of the bison affected human beings, by destabilizing certain Indian societies.[22]

Other research, instead of emphasizing a general human-animal dynamic (reflecting various perspectives toward wildlife through time), has dealt directly with specific attitudes. Many scholars have studied historical trends in wildlife protection. Animal "protection" itself can take different forms – generally, either "welfare" (concerning the humane treatment of animals in the context of assumed utilitarian human-animal relationships), or "rights" (arguing against utilitarianism altogether). In the less voluminous category of animal rights, some works offer extensive histories of ideas, chronicling the contributions of particular people to the development of this philosophy. One example is Tom Reagan and Peter Singer's *Animal Rights and Human Obligations*, which offers a history of the idea of animal rights since biblical times, and notes the influence of such people as Jeremy Bentham, Charles Darwin, and Albert Schweitzer.[23]

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[22] Andrew C. Isenberg, *The Destruction of the Bison: An Environmental History, 1750-1920* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

[23] Tom Reagan and Peter Singer, ed., *Animal Rights and Human Obligations* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1976).

In *Saving America's Wildlife*, Thomas Dunlap puts forth a more philosophically inclusive history, considering milestones in the histories of both rights and welfare concerns. His work is important to my own research, as it demonstrates an evolution of attitudes and presents this evolution as strongly tied to cultural changes that paved the way (like, for example, the effect of war on the public's attention to wildlife issues).[24] It emphasizes the more unidirectional progress of wildlife protection, while my intention is to show the dynamic push-pull of conflicting feelings about wildlife, but its approach supports my argument that changes in attitudes are rooted in a web of cultural trends.

Other works addressing the cultural factors that have led to *change* over time include Paul Schullery's investigation into the perception of grizzly bears at the time of Lewis and Clark's exploration. It is actually more of a snapshot in time, rather than a chronicle of change, but Schullery does look retrospectively at the cultural roots of some of the attitudes that surface in his research: "Without question, Euro-Americans included in their own diverse cultural baggage thousands of years of experience with the brown bear. Lewis's own inheritance as a British descendant included the folkloric sources of *Beowulf* and the Arthurian legends, among other bear-related elements in Britain's mythic and literary heritage."[25] The point here is that specific elements of culture can help to explain the evolution of attitudes toward a particular species.

In a similar way, Thomas Lund's *American Wildlife Law* lays out a summary of changing influences on attitudes. It refers to a mix of cultural elements that seem to have

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[24] Thomas R. Dunlap, *Saving America's Wildlife* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1988), p. 84.

[25] Paul Schullery, *Lewis and Clark Among the Grizzlies: Legend and Legacy in the American West* (Guilford, Connecticut: Falcon, 2002), p. 195.

had a hand in the development, and underlying perspectives, of wildlife law. On the subject of over-hunting, Lund lists changes in fashion, technology, transportation, and land-use as contributing factors to human-wildlife relationships.[26] Each of these important forces can be seen as leading prevailing attitudes in slightly, or in some cases, vastly different directions.

An article by Stephen Kellert, Matthew Black, Colleen Reid Rush, and Alistair J. Bath also recognizes the significance of cultural factors. "Human Culture and Large Carnivore Conservation in North America" speculates, for instance, about why American attitudes toward mountain lions have traditionally been less intense than those toward other predator species. "Europeans have not been historically exposed to this animal. Because many of our current North American perceptions about predators originated in Europe, this may also explain why mountain lions failed to generate attitudes as strong and consistent as those directed at wolves and grizzly bears."[27]

Meanwhile, Stephen Kellert has also been among those whose research has highlighted more timeless human traits as influential constants in the formation of attitudes toward other animals. Kellert and Edward O. Wilson edited *The Biophilia Hypothesis*, which consists of contributions from numerous writers who attest to an innate interest (often manifested as attraction) of human beings in other animals.[28] Therefore, as shown by previous literature, the origins of attitudes and the forces acting upon attitude formation are influenced by both human traits and cultural history.

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[26] Thomas A. Lund, *American Wildlife Law* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), p. 59-60.

[27] Stephen R. Kellert, Matthew Black, Colleen Reid Rush, and Alistair J. Bath, "Human Culture and Large Carnivore Conservation in North America," *Conservation Biology*, 10(4): 977-990 (August 1996), p. 983.

[28] Stephen R. Kellert and Edward O. Wilson (Eds.), *The Biophilia Hypothesis* (Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 1993).

In the process of identifying cultural factors influencing local New Hampshire attitudes toward wildlife, I had to remain aware of the timeless characteristics of human beings (like those affecting some species preferences) that limit the power of cultural factors. Ultimately, attitudes come together to form broader visions of nature – the types of visions that determine whether or not a turtle in your driveway is "out of place." Such visions, which have swayed my own research toward considering how human beings are perceived in nature, have also provided common and comparative themes in previous literature.

William Cronon describes a pervasive inclination among Colonial Americans to impose order on the natural world: "Whereas the natural ecosystem tended toward a patchwork of diverse communities arranged almost randomly on the landscape – its very continuity depending on that disorder – the human tendency was to systematize the patchwork and impose a more regular pattern on it."[29] Ideas of what nature *should* be, along with accompanying philosophies of management, are the soil from which interpretation and definitions of wildlife "conflict" emerge – through history, and in modern times. Conflict itself covers a spectrum of challenges to visions of nature – challenges that range in severity from minor inconvenience to immediate physical danger. Previous research addresses historical human-wildlife conflict at various points on this spectrum. While some writers have concentrated on the history of "pests," other authors have focused on animal attacks, a subject that strikes fascination with its

[29] William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983), p. 33.

oftentimes frightening details.[30] In each case, such research on the incidence of human-wildlife conflict has been relevant to my attempt at pointing to visions of nature as the standards by which human-wildlife interactions have been deemed negative or positive.

Questions about how people envision nature include one that enters the work of many researchers on the history of attitudes toward wildlife: are human beings separate from, or a part of nature? The perspective that humans are a part of nature is obvious in such titles as *Nature in the Urban Landscape: A Study of City Ecosystems*, *The Animals Among Us: Wildlife in the City*, and *Wildness is All Around Us: Notes of an Urban Naturalist*.[31] In contrast, other writers report on visions of human beings as separate from nature. The term "nature as a place apart" comes from Jennifer Price, whose look at the overexploitation of passenger pigeons, the glamorization of birds in fashion, and the fascination with plastic pink flamingoes suggests that nature has, indeed, been viewed as a place apart from human beings. Nature's being somewhere else helps to explain the collective lack of awareness of the effects of over-hunting on pigeons, and, it helps to make sense of the Victorian desire to have trinkets from "nature" (in the form of birds) stuck onto hats.[32]

Issues raised by previous research on attitudes toward wildlife, as well as the history of human-wildlife relationships – like how human beings and wildlife affected

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[30] For an example of a history of "pests," see: George Ordish, *The Constant Pest: A Short History of Pests and Their Control* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1976). For examples of works about animal attacks, see: Stephen Herrero, *Bear Attacks: Their Causes and Avoidance* (New York: Nick Lyons Books, 1985); and Edward R. Ricciuti, *Killer Animals* (New York: Walker and Company, 1976).

[31] Don Gill and Penelope Bonnett, *Nature in the Urban Landscape: A Study of City Ecosystems* (Baltimore: York Press, 1973); John C. McLoughlin, *The Animals Among Us: Wildlife in the City* (New York: The Viking Press, 1978); and Eugene Kinkead, *Wildness is All Around Us: Notes of an Urban Naturalist* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1978).

[32] Jennifer Price, *Flight Maps: Adventures with Nature in Modern America* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1999).

each other's histories, the strengthening and organization of specific attitudes (such as those inspiring protection of wildlife), how both timeless human and more time-sensitive cultural factors have played a part, and major characteristics of differing visions of nature – have all contributed to the development of my own ideas and research goals. This study is a contribution to the discourse on human-wildlife relationships.

New Hampshire is a particularly useful place to study, because much of the eastern half of the United States has been neglected in studies on the history of human-wildlife relationships. There are exceptions, of course. Richard Judd's *Common Lands, Common People: The Origins of Conservation in Northern New England*, within its broader look at perspectives of natural resources in early America, includes changing attitudes toward wildlife.[33] However, the exceptions are far outweighed by the volume of scholarship about attitudes in the West. Some of this is probably due to the relatively sudden transgression of boundaries between humans and wildlife on the frontier, providing for fascinating stories about first-time encounters, and the impressions and violence that came along with them. In research centered on conflict, the Western U.S. also serves up plenty of historical information about wildlife damage to large-scale agricultural interests.

Aside from concentrating on a location that is not often investigated, my research, unlike many other inquiries, emphasizes popular opinion. According to Louis Galambos,

> [a]ll too often, historians...have focused on power, wealth, and formal organizations, leaving values and belief systems in the hands of the sociologists and anthropologists...Social variables are inherently more difficult to specify and analyze than the behavior of a leader or an organization. But this limitation should

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[33] Richard W. Judd, *Common Lands, Common People: The Origins of Conservation in Northern New England* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1997).

> be seen as a challenge to further examination, not an excuse for ignoring the social dimensions of change.[34]

It is easier to orient research toward the histories of certain people – leaders of organizations, agency representatives, noted outdoor writers. However, they are not the "general public." My goal has been to recreate the past "word on the street" about local wildlife, what two neighbors might have said about a deer who crossed through their yards, to piece together the "Human Dimensions" of an era that had yet to recognize such a discipline. While leaders and experts are included here, it is the *every* person who ultimately forms opinions about wild animals and whose subsequent actions have affected the wildlife around them. So, this is a study of the evolution of popular opinion and attitudes.

Finally, my timeframe distinguishes my research from previous work, like that of Julia Corbett, whose wildlife-related content analysis – similarly conducted in a single state (Minnesota) – was relatively current and clearly not historical.[35] Timeframe also distinguishes this research from that of Richard Judd, though it is similar to Judd's research in some ways. His emphasis, like mine, is on common, grass-roots attitudes (versus bureaucratic elites), and like Judd, I believe that "these traditions should be understood in the context of a dynamic and conflictive" society.[36]

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[34] Louis Galambos, *The Public Image of Big Business in America, 1880-1940: A Quantitative Study in Social Change* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), p. 264.

[35] Julia Corbett, "Rural and Urban Newspaper Coverage of Wildlife: Conflict, Community and Bureaucracy," *Journalism Quarterly*, 69(4): 929-937 (1992).

[36] Richard W. Judd, *Common Lands, Common People: The Origins of Conservation in Northern New England* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1997), p. 6.

Methodological Approach

I have defined "wildlife" as any animal species – from mosquitoes to bears – not considered to be domesticated, and not excluding confined or tamed undomesticated species. With this in mind, use of most sources involved thorough reading of all available publications, and making note of any references to wildlife. Use of newspapers, however, required a carefully planned sampling schedule. To begin the process of paper selection, I first had to determine which New Hampshire papers were published throughout my timeframe, and whether or not their publications were accessible. I compiled a list of 20 New Hampshire towns that had such continuous and available newspapers. The next step was town selection.

There is probably no "magic number" of samples that would have been required for adequate comparison. Kellert and Westervelt selected four newspapers, while Corbett selected six.[37] I also decided on six papers, and because my original objective was to compare attitudes toward wildlife as they related to growth, I selected towns that represent differing growth patterns between 1945 and 1985 (See Appendix A for a map of selected towns). I used Census data, along with data from the Office of State Planning, to determine each town's populations and population densities at both the start and end of my timeframe.[38] It is important to note that each town showed a clear trend, but that the trend was not necessarily constant. Though consistency of growth pattern was certainly a

[37] Stephen R. Kellert and Miriam O. Westervelt, *Trends in Animal Use and Perception in Twentieth Century America* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, 1981); and Julia Corbett, "Rural and Urban Newspaper Coverage of Wildlife: Conflict, Community and Bureaucracy," *Journalism Quarterly*, 69(4): 929-937 (1992).

[38] Unless otherwise noted, the following information about population statistics and trends was obtained from the New Hampshire Office of State Planning: "Selected Characteristics of New Hampshire Municipalities" and "Population Figures," http://www.state.nh.us/osp/sdc.html, 8 October 2004.

consideration in narrowing 20 towns down to six, there is still, from decade to decade, variation in the strength of these growth trends.

The town of Derry was selected, because it was the only one (of the 20 towns with suitable papers) that experienced a high level of growth. It went from a 1940 population of 5,400 to a 1985 population of 22,830. According to the New Hampshire Economic and Labor Market Information Bureau, "Derry has had the second-highest numeric population increase between 1950-2000, maintaining above-average growth rates each decade and growing nearly six times larger."[39] In addition, each of Derry's surrounding towns (and presumably part of the readership of the Derry paper) experienced medium to very high growth. Derry, therefore, stood out as a "high-growth" town.

In contrast, Portsmouth is one of a handful of New Hampshire towns that experienced "negative" growth. Between 1940 and 1985, its population increased by 11,844, but the city experienced a period of actual population *loss* – a long-running decline caused the city's 1985 population to remain below that of 1960. Portsmouth, then, is an example of a town that, in 1945, had one of the highest populations and densities in the state, but through 1985 (with the exceptions of 1956-1960) it experienced minimal growth.

Like Portsmouth, Keene was also a high population/density town in 1945 (though not quite as populous as Portsmouth). A potential problem with selecting Keene is that its immediately surrounding towns come nowhere near its high population level, suggesting potential disparity among the communities that were covered by Keene's paper.

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[39] New Hampshire Economic and Labor Market Information Bureau, "New Hampshire Community Profiles," www.nhes.state.us/elmi/communpro.htm, 8 October 2004.

However, compared to other possible towns with a similar growth pattern, Keene and its surrounding area proved to be most collectively consistent. Dover, Concord, and Laconia are all comparable to Keene, but their surrounding towns were much more variable in their growth patterns. Because I was more concerned with the effects of growth than initial population size, I decided to keep Keene on my list of towns.

Both Newbury (the smallest town selected) and Peterborough experienced average growth, as did the town of Wolfeboro. The suitability of Wolfeboro may be questionable, due to the distinction that could be made between tourist and "residential" culture. Because Wolfeboro borders Lake Winnipesaukee, its year-round population has traditionally been a small fraction of its typical summer population. Thinking in terms of cultural trends, it would seem that evidence of local attitudes could possibly be diluted by the more sporadic and temporary influx of visitors. This is also part of the rationale for keeping many northern New Hampshire towns, known for attracting skiing tourists, off this list. (Another reason for trying to keep selections somewhat confined to one region of the state is, for the sake of comparison, to maintain a fairly consistent array of wildlife species that could be referenced. It was the levels of growth that dictated that the selected region be the southern part of the state). On the other hand, Wolfeboro remained worthy of consideration particularly from fall to spring, when seasonal effects were minimized.

Figure 1 illustrates the population trends of Portsmouth, Wolfeboro, Newbury, Keene, Peterborough, and Derry. Selection of these towns dictated that the following newspapers be surveyed for references to wildlife: *The Derry News* (Derry), *The Argus-Champion* (Newbury), *The Portsmouth Herald* (Portsmouth), *The Keene Sentinel* (Keene), *The Peterborough Transcript* (Peterborough), and *The Granite State News*

(Wolfeboro). Sampling was then as systematic as possible, although additional articles from both these pre-selected papers, as well as other New Hampshire papers, were also used to gather qualitative data. (See Appendix B for detailed information about sampling design and how newspaper data was collected. Appendix C contains sample scoring sheets used to collect and code data.)

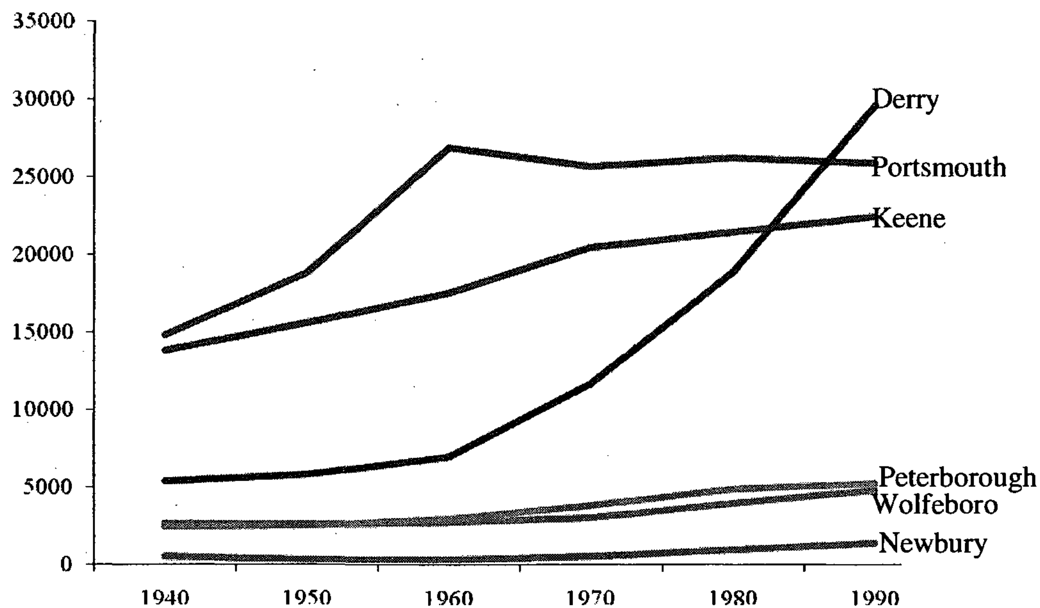

Fig. 1. Populations of Selected Towns

Initial Findings

Embarking on this research, I theorized that with growth over time, direct interactions with wildlife would more frequently be characterized as negative, assuming that "nature" would be viewed as more distant, and hence, wildlife viewed as more out of place among human beings. I soon found that this was not necessarily the case (see Appendix D for a summary of quantitative data). Analysis of quantitative data from newspapers revealed few obvious trends over time, but there was still some value in this

data. One of two important findings was this: whether geographic or psychological, distance alone has not automatically led to unfavorable views of wildlife. In fact, lack of familiarity with certain species has sometimes been associated with positive views, as was reflected in the naming of New Hampshire's minor league baseball team in 2003. By popular vote, residents selected the name "New Hampshire Fisher Cats." Immediately following the announcement of voting results on the state's news channel, came the next headline: "What *is* a Fisher Cat?"[40]

A related finding was that despite varying levels of growth, all papers showed an increase in the percentage of positive references over time (see Figure 2). This suggested one of two possibilities: either growth was not significant (helping to explain why this trend would appear regardless of growth level), or it *was* significant, but as part of a larger set of historical elements that were influencing the formation of attitudes at the same time (helping to explain varying, not just negative, feelings about wildlife over time). Given the incidence of current complaints about coyotes "hanging around" yards, foxes "too close for comfort," bears looking in windows, and turtles in driveways, it seemed counterintuitive to simply dismiss the effects of suburbanization.[41] So, I turned my attention to the task of identifying what additional historical trends played a role in shaping attitudes, and the varying ways in which attitudes were influenced by them.

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[40] WMUR news broadcast, 3 December 2003. (In all fairness, fishers are elusive, and few people are familiar with either sight or sound of these creatures. Nevertheless, it is perplexing that the name was still chosen by a voting public that may be largely unfamiliar with this animal.)

[41] New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game, call log data provided by Karen T. Cleveland, 28 October 2002.

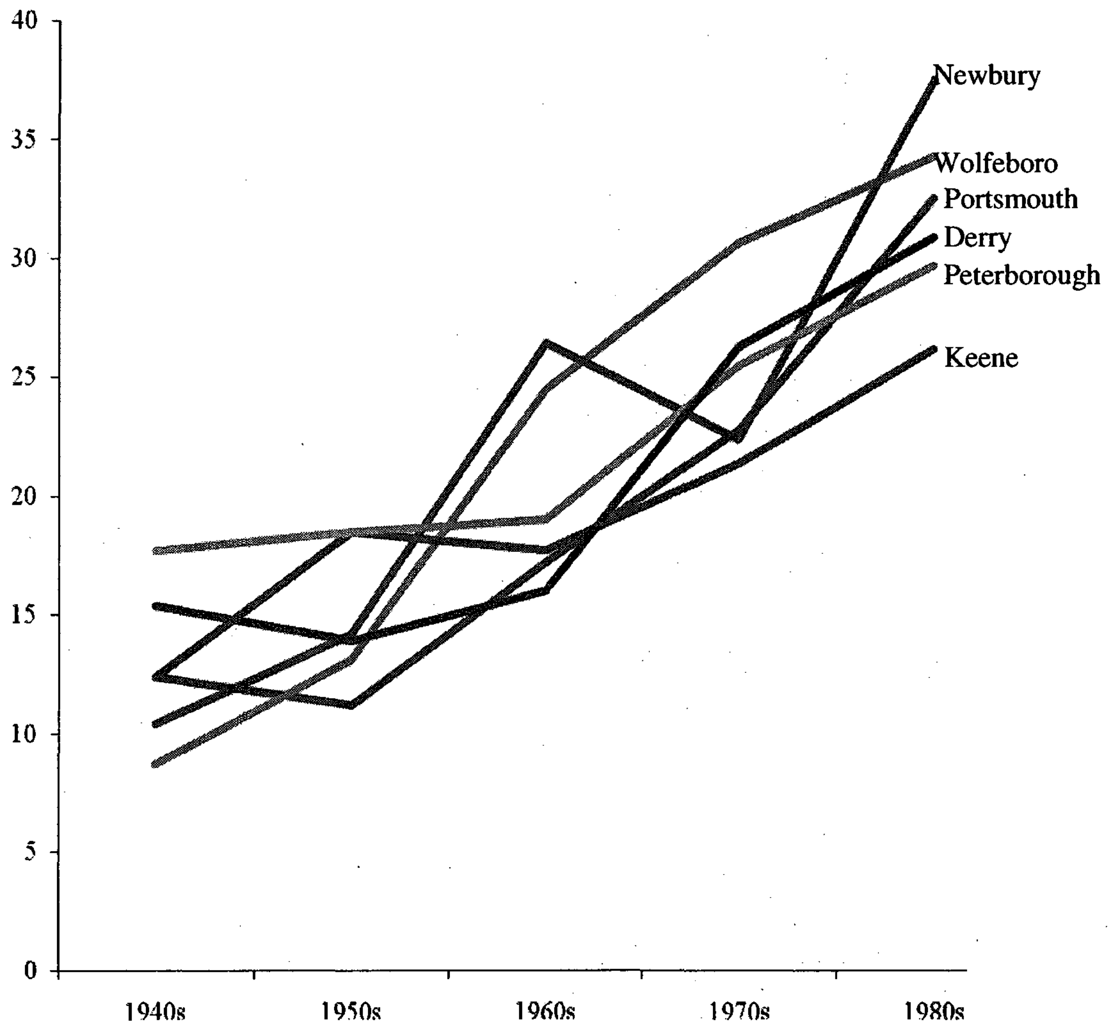

Fig. 2. Percentage of Wildlife References Categorized as "Positive"

With deeper appreciation for the complexity of attitudes toward wildlife, I focused on producing a survey of historical attitudes toward wildlife as they were affected by broader cultural contexts. The extensive collection of data gathered from archival sources, and systematically from newspapers, was full of valuable qualitative notes on human-nature and human-animal relationships over time, which helped in identifying influential historical trends. In addition to growth, I have explored the issues of agriculture, environmentalism, outdoor recreation, and relationships with domestic

companion animals. These issues are examined as separate chronologies, but their occasional overlaps, and the common questions they raise, speak to their ultimate relatedness. Thus, while I was initially curious about the isolated effects of growth, I now aim to present local attitudes toward wildlife as part of a web of historical variables that has affected these attitudes in various ways. Attitudes toward wildlife are complex, deeply-rooted, influenced by intersecting cultural trends, and as such, are deserving of extensive patience and open-mindedness from those who seek to understand them.

CHAPTER 1

ANIMALS IN THE WAY: HOW GROWTH AFFECTED ATTITUDES TOWARD WILDLIFE

At the middle of the twentieth century, the last known confirmed sighting of a panther in New Hampshire was nearly a century old, but that fact did not eliminate rumors that panthers continued to roam the area. Most people doubted their existence, and the reactions of Fish and Game officials ranged from bewilderment over how badly a species could be misidentified, to ridicule of the "panther myth" as "phony."[1] However, as claims of sightings poured into one local newspaper in 1949, its outdoor columnist suggested, "[o]ne hundred and thirty people can't be wrong."[2]

Among those believing the more recent panther sightings, there circulated mixed reactions. There was the hope that hunters would soon rid the local woods of the creature: a columnist wrote in 1947, "Better get in touch with some of those cat dog men, and see if this fellow cannot be brought to a tree," and in 1951, hunters were still "after that black panther."[3] At the same time, many other references to the panther were simply laden with excitement and intrigue. It was noted that "This panther story is getting hot," as the tally

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[1] See: "Sportsmen's Column," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 12 August 1948, p. 3; Helenette Silver, *A History of New Hampshire Game and Furbearers* (Survey Report No. 6., Concord, New Hampshire: New Hampshire Fish and Game Department, 1957), p. 299; and "Darts Join Panther Club, See Animal at West Rindge," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 24 March 1949, p. 1.

[2] "Sportsmen's Column," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 24 March 1949, p. 10.

[3] See, respectively, "Sportsmen's Column" in *The Peterborough Transcript*: 24 July 1947, p. 9; and 25 January 1951, p. 9.

of local witnesses grew with much public fanfare.[4] It was reported in 1949, for example, that "[o]fficial membership in the 'I saw the Black Panther Club' increased by two this week…"[5] Referencing both the uneasiness and widespread interest associated with reported sightings, one newspaper featured the following front page announcement: "In an earnest effort to take all the mysticism and hocus-pocus out of the 'black panther' *The Keene Sentinel* announced Saturday a 'Panther Sweepstakes' in which they will pay $25 to any person who can produce the mysterious animal, dead or alive – preferably very much dead."[6]

Real or mythical, New Hampshire's twentieth-century panther stirred the public's fear of the unknown, while simultaneously feeding the obsessive curiosities of those caught up by the mystery. What made the panther story so powerful was the long-held assumption that panthers no longer inhabited the state. They were not *supposed* to be there. It was the idea of the panther's transgression of society's expectations that generated a barrage of diverse emotional responses.

This same type of transgression of expectation similarly unleashed varying responses to wildlife in general, as human communities expanded. Where the panther had been "distanced" by its assumed extinction, all wild animals became physically and psychologically distanced by the growing reach of urbanization into nature. Even when in plain view, and not shrouded in mystery, most wild species rapidly came to be unexpected among human beings. Therefore, while statistics do not support the premise

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[4] "Sportsmen's Column," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 16 December 1948, p. 9.

[5] "Darts Join Panther Club, See Animal at West Rindge," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 24 March 1949, p. 1.

[6] "Endorsing The 'Panther Sweepstakes,'" *The Peterborough Transcript*, 16 December 1948, p. 1.

that negative attitudes toward wildlife in post-war New Hampshire correlated with increased growth, there is much evidence to suggest that growth did, indeed, have some effect on human-wildlife relationships. They were effects too diverse for perfect trend lines, but the history of regional growth shows that increasingly built landscapes similarly impacted human views of each other, nature, and other species.

This chapter shows that attitudes toward wildlife were diversely affected by the distance and disconnection from "others" that accompanied growth and development. Growth widened this gap by both designating "nature" as someplace else, and creating the illusion that the world (social *and* ecological) should be controlled and managed for the sake of convenience and order. In both cases, the focus is on human, or even individual interests: in one, the subjective definition of nature dictates that wildlife does not belong; in the other, a priority on human comfort and designs for the world sets the standard for defining wildlife "conflict." Ironically, it is the self-centeredness proliferated by accelerated growth that also resulted in a sense of loneliness and isolation which, in turn, made it fun and exciting for people to reconnect with wildlife.

Every little town has its own story. In each case, the details of history entwine to form unique blends of identity and character. Among growing New Hampshire communities, some experienced enduring traditions of industrialism, others agriculture, and still others tourism. With inevitable overlaps and more subtle factors, New Hampshire communities represented variety in demographics, economic stability, and architecture and infrastructure. However, in 1945, most towns shared a current or, at least, very recent memory of ruralism. The mid-twentieth century saw these communities

consciously enjoying the quiet way of life and identifying themselves as havens from city life. Even in Portsmouth, one of the more populous towns, appreciation for a relatively quiet existence was evidenced by stories of Fresh Air kids visiting the area for temporary relief from the city.[7] Such a lifestyle lent itself to close-knit communities, in which many people knew each other by name.

The year 1945 also marked another significant common thread: the many ways in which society was stirred by World War II. In January 1945, local newspapers were understandably dominated by articles about war, reports on the injuries and deaths of local soldiers, and patriotic efforts to rally the public to "do your part" by, for example, buying war bonds or growing victory gardens. As the year unfolded, attention turned toward healing the country with robust growth. Despite the ongoing challenge of limited construction materials, ambitious postwar plans looked toward development, new homes, and road improvements.[8] And, indeed, towns grew.

The most obvious signs of growth are reflected in population numbers and densities. While most New Hampshire towns maintained at least some undeveloped, open space, A.E. Luloff and K.A. Taylor explained the following in a 1978 report on the state's population trends:

> Historically, New Hampshire had not been one of the fastest growing states. Between 1900 and 1950 its average decade growth rate was 5.3% which was about one-half that of New England...during this time period only the state of Vermont grew at a slower rate...As of the 1970 census, New Hampshire was the fastest growing state in this region, outstripping both New England and the national rate by a considerable margin. Since 1940, New Hampshire has increased

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[7] Enjoyment of rural living was a topic of *The Peterborough Transcript's* collection of local news stories in "Odds N'Ends," 31 March 1955. Also, see: "49 Fresh Air Children Arrive," *The Portsmouth Herald*, 7 August 1954, p. 1.

[8] "Derry and Postwar Plans," *The Derry News*, 23 March 1945, p. 2.

in absolute population by almost one quarter of one million people or by almost 50%.[9]

Between 1930 and 1975, birth rates increased, but only moderately. Almost every 5-year interval shows New Hampshire with a lower crude birth rate than the rate of the entire U.S., so much of the population growth that took place in this period can be attributed to "high in-migration" from other states, the solid plurality (38.1-43.7% between 1965 and 1990) from Massachusetts.[10]

As populations grew, much of the state became increasingly abuzz with the activity and movement of such numbers. In this time of suburbanization, the masses began to demonstrate their willingness to spend more time traveling farther distances to work and school in order to continue spreading out geographically. This significant social and environmental phenomenon did not go unnoticed or unanticipated by commentators. One 1947 newspaper editorial asked,

> What will be the urban pattern of the future? The commuter is probably the biggest human factor and he is the creature of modern transportation. Many commuters in Keene, for instance, travel more than 50 miles daily to and from work. The impetus of current trends will result in suburbs getting bigger, while the population of their parent cities probably will shrink.[11]

It is likely that the same mentality that motivated people to find their own space in which to live also nurtured their desire to live, as much as possible, independently of the

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[9] A.E. Luloff and K.A. Taylor, *New Hampshire's Population: Trends and Characteristics* (New Hampshire Agricultural Experiment Station, University of New Hampshire, Durham, NH, Research Report number 73, December 1978), p.1-2. Also, it is noted in *A Second Glimpse of Derry*, pamphlet, 1969: "With much of its rural character as a part of its past, Derry still features hundreds of acres of conservation land, where foxes, deer, and other wild animals live" (p. 67).

[10] A.E. Luloff and K.A. Taylor, *New Hampshire's Population: Trends and Characteristics* (New Hampshire Agricultural Experiment Station, University of New Hampshire, Durham, NH, Research Report number 73, December 1978), p. 24 and 2, respectively; and, NH Office of State Planning and Energy, "*New Hampshire Interstate Migration 1965-2000*," http://www.nh.gov/oep/programs/DataCenter/Popultion/documents/state_mig.pdf, 15 August 2005.

[11] Editorial, *The Keene Sentinel*, 19 November 1947, p. 6.

lives of other people. This redistribution of population was accompanied by a decline in public transportation. While the 1950s still witnessed some fluctuation in the popularity of passenger rail travel, there were already signs of its impending disappearance. In 1951, the Boston and Maine Rail Road looked to limit its business to freight transport, citing decreasing profits in passenger service.[12] According to a history of Derry, "Steam powered passenger trains ran on Sundays till the late 1940s. Passenger service ended in June, 1953." [13] Many additional newspaper articles made related forecasts, and by the 1970s, the few advertisements for rail service were mainly billed as "scenic."[14]

Instead of public transportation, more people were opting to travel their own routes, according to their own schedules, by driving their own cars. In 1945 and 1946, town governments, to varying degrees, enjoyed some income generated by the sales of vehicle permits, but a true car culture had still not quite taken shape.[15] In contrast to the extensive proportion of exclusive space that newspaper classifieds would eventually provide for automobile advertisements, one small city's 1945 classifieds still listed cars under "Livestock and Vehicles."[16] So, automobiles certainly did not debut as predominant or pervasive, but town reports show that the amounts made through license

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[12] "B&M Seeks End of Rail Service – Says Light Passenger Use Causing Deficit, Freight Not Included," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 24 May 1951, p. 1.

[13] *A Second Glimpse of Derry*, pamphlet, p. 28.

[14] For example, *The Argus-Champion* featured a story entitled "Local Rail Road Passenger Service is Threatened as Post Office Discontinues Use of Trains for Mail," 31 March 1955, p. 1. An example of an advertisement for scenic rail service can be found in *The Granite State News*, 27 March 1975, p. 7.

[15] According to the town report of Newbury for 1945 (p. 14), $292.11 was made on the sale of vehicle permits. The Wolfeboro Town Report for 1946 (p.24) shows that $3,218.24 was made. And, the Town Report for Portsmouth 1945-1947 (p. 30) showed that $12,072.00 was made in 1945.

[16] This category was listed in *The Keene Sentinel*. One specific reference can be found in the issue for 30 March 1945, p. 11, but the category appeared regularly through the summer.

sales noticeably increased over a span of just a few years. In Newbury, income generated through such sales jumped from $292.11 in 1945 to $1,366.64 in 1949.[17] Just between 1945 and 1947, amounts generated in Portsmouth climbed from $12,072 to $29,850.06.[18] Granted, sales figures alone do not reflect accurate *numbers* of automobiles, but in 1953, numbers of Portsmouth auto registrations were expected to hit an all-time high.[19] It is clear is that in most towns, the increase in privately owned automobiles was rapid.

Such drastic change did not come without consequences. Very quickly, local towns had to adjust to the practical realities of having so many more cars on the road. First of all, it was dangerous. By 1955, the *Portsmouth Herald* reported "Accident Damages Soar to New High," and newspapers also soon reported yearly milestones in the numbers of highway deaths.[20] There were the occasional cries to make roadways safer by lowering speed limits, but society was already addicted to the convenience of speed, and slowing down was equated with a digression in individual quality of life.[21]

Headaches also developed over the sheer volume of traffic. A soldier returning to Portsmouth in 1953 could not help noticing the increase in traffic, but the home front had already been contending with traffic issues for several years.[22] Even in 1945, despite the relatively lower numbers of cars, Dover's mayor proclaimed that the parking situation in

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[17] Newbury Town Reports, 1945, p. 14; and 1949, p. 16.

[18] Portsmouth Town Report, 1945-1947, p. 30 and 33.

[19] "Auto Registrations to Hit New High," *The Portsmouth Herald*, 9 March 1953, p. 5.

[20] "Accident Damages Soar to New High, Turnpike Traffic Up," *The Portsmouth Herald*, 9 March 1953, p. 5; and, for an example of reporting on highway accidents, see: "Highway Death 101st of Year," *The Derry News*, 5 November 1959, p. 7.

[21] For example, the question "What can be done to control the speed limit of automobiles…?" was raised at a Town Meeting described in the Newbury Town Report, 1962, p. 52.

[22] "Dangerous Traffic," *The Portsmouth Herald*, 14 July 1953, p. 4.

"our business streets has been a troublesome and serious problem for years. With the advent of hundreds of new local automobiles and the increasing tourist travel through our city, it is bound to become even more serious."[23] Similarly, a 1952 editorial in the *Portsmouth Herald* lamented

> the great increase in traffic density which is making driving, particularly in and around the larger cities, a painful ordeal. A man who has to crawl into town in a bumper-to-bumper caravan of cars and hunt maybe 15 minutes for a place to park may question whether that kind of transportation is worth what it costs...His weekend of 'fun' often turns out to be a worse experience, with fancy parkways jammed to the guard rails as he fights his way in and out of the city.[24]

Concerns about congestion motivated efforts to improve traffic flow with better roads, and roads were "bettered" two primary ways. One consideration was adequate maintenance of existing roads. According to a 1949 newspaper editorial,

> The country's roads took an unmerciful pounding during World War II from the transport of men and materials. And little has been done since prewar days to repair or modernize them...On top of this, our battered highways are carrying their heaviest load in history. More passenger vehicles and more trucks and buses are in use than ever before. Most of them are bigger too.[25]

This same editorial also spoke of a second, related consideration in road improvement. It explained that the Public Roads Administration was calling for "construction of four-lane, divided highways mainly in city and suburban areas where the crush of traffic is heaviest."[26] In short, the call was for more and bigger roads, and this call was echoed through numerous New Hampshire towns. In 1947, selectmen were already addressing this issue in the town of Newport, and in 1949, Keene's Planning

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[23] Mayor's Inaugural Address of F. Clyde Keefe in Dover Town Report, 1945, p. 25.

[24] "Danger on the Road," *The Portsmouth Herald*, 7 February 1952, p. 4.

[25] "Realistic Road Plan," *The Portsmouth Herald*, 19 July 1949, p. 4.

[26] *Ibid.*

Board reported on the need for more parking, and called for "[b]y-passes to eliminate through traffic…[which] would loosen up downtown congestion for the benefit of business and good appearance."[27]

Expanding roadways were just part of a changing infrastructure reflecting the levels of growth occurring in New Hampshire. In Portsmouth's 1957 town report, it was noted that "During the past few years we have witnessed a marked change in the physical environment in, and surrounding the City of Portsmouth."[28] Growth in industry accounted for many of these changes throughout the region. For example in 1957, Derry saw the opening of a new shoe factory, and Peterborough witnessed the expansion of the New Hampshire Ball Bearings Plant.[29] Other types of growth included airports and military establishments, and, in the meantime, utilities like those providing phone service were busy keeping up with the pace of local development.[30] However, particularly reflective of the levels of growth, and associated changes in the built environment, was the amount of residential development that took place between 1945 and 1985. Growth during the first years of this time period was most noticeable in areas that were already more populous, like Keene and Portsmouth, where increases in the numbers of building permits for single family homes was drastic. Between 1947 and 1948, permits in

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[27] "Selectmen to Institute Better Roads Program," *The Argus-Champion*, 18 November 1947, p. 1; Keene Town Report, 1949, p. 14.

[28] Portsmouth Town Report, 1957, p. 6.

[29] *Derry News*, 16 May 1957, p. 1; and Ann Eneguess, "Peterborough Industry is Expanding," *The Keene Sentinel*, 12 September 1957, p.4.

[30] Report on the proposed Wolfeboro Municipal Airport in the Wolfeboro Town Report, 1956, p. 81. Reference to Pease Air Force Base can be found in the Portsmouth Town Report, 1957, p. 27. Rapid expansion projects of the New England Telephone and Telegraph Company are cited by an advertisement in *The Portsmouth Herald*, 28 March 1955, p. 10.

Portsmouth almost doubled (from 40 to 75), and while Keene issued only 6 permits in 1945, 1950 marked an increase of more than 1600%.[31]

Patterns of increasingly clustered development gradually affected many New Hampshire towns, but growth in single family homes did not cease.[32] Despite what might eventually be seen as the conveniences of apartment and condominium living, there was early pressure on Americans to own their own homes, as true symbols of success. An advertisement for Associate Builders conveyed this message in 1949: "Your only real Security...A Home of Your Own...A message to the Man with a Family...It is at once the badge of solid citizenship and the mark of a man who is striving to provide security for his family."[33] Therefore, while changes in types of residential growth cannot be ignored, it is reasonable to focus on single-family home building over time.

Keene was still experiencing high rates of growth in 1947, when Mayor James C. Farmer noted that "[d]uring the 2 years in review a new home has been built on the average of every 10 days."[34] A 1954 notice informed Derry residents of the potential value of their rural property: according to the Benway Agency, "Buyers are coming in our office daily looking for neat, small properties for retirement homes in and out of town. Must be modern or nearly so. Demand is particularly high for 5 and 6 room homes

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[31] Portsmouth Town Reports: 1945-1947, p. 64; and 1948-1950, p. 25. Keene Town Reports: 1948, p. 12; and 1950, p. 20.

[32] "Demand for Apartment Living Reflected in Building Permits," *The Keene Sentinel*, 8 January 1969, p. 3; Derry Town Reports: 1971, p. 18; and 1983, p.18.

[33] Advertisement, *The Derry News*, 25 March 1949, p.2.

[34] Keene Town Report, 1947, p. 7-8.

and small farm properties…"[35] Where homes did not already exist in these desirable locations, they would be constructed. By the 1970s, Derry selectmen boasted of an "outstanding" year as one "marked with the greatest number of Building Permits ever issued."[36]

The record-breaking would continue into the next decade. In 1972, building permits in Newport were double their number for the previous year.[37] Despite fluctuating sales in other areas, New London witnessed significant growth in 1980.[38] Overall, these types of reports make two points. First, they make clear that growth in single-family homes did, indeed, skyrocket. As a *New York Times* writer claimed in 1979, "America [was] in the midst of its biggest single-family housing boom in history."[39]

The other point is that this type of residential growth, depending on time and place, occurred in steps. One factor affecting home building was the health of local economies, which saw some variability. In the 1940s, home-builders faced high construction costs, which were likely linked to shortages of materials diverted to military efforts.[40] Later slowdowns were clearly linked to economic issues. In 1973, the building inspector in the town of Newbury stated, "New construction of homes was only about seventy percent of what it was in 1972, probably due to costs of materials, and money at

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[35] Announcement, *The Derry News*, 8 April 1954, p. 1.

[36] Derry Town Report, 1971, p. 1.

[37] "Newport Building Permits This Year Double Last Year," *The Argus-Champion*, 6 December 1972, p. 1.

[38] Anna Garber, "Home Building Up 50 Percent in New London," *The Argus-Champion*, 13 February 1980, p. 9.

[39] Robert Lindsey, "First Time Buyers Smaller Part of House Sales, Despite Boom," *The Keene Sentinel*, 7 July 1977, p. 10.

[40] According to *The Granite State News*, 16 April 1948, p. 4: "Today's home-builders are coping with over-all construction costs about double those of 1939."

the banks was a little harder to come by. Without a doubt, construction in 1974 will probably drop off considerably due to the Energy Crisis and inflation."[41] Similarly, Peterborough's building inspector claimed that "[t]he National economic situation has had a decided dampening effect on development" in 1974. After a period of strengthening economy and coinciding resurgence of growth, another slowdown was experienced in the early 1980s, and again, the near "collapse in the construction field" was widely attributed to high interest rates and inflation.[42]

Regardless of the peaks and valleys, the larger trend was toward growth. In 1956, a survey was conducted by Boston University in the town of Peterborough, and its findings pointed toward a surge of people: "One out of every three residents of this town have come here within the past six years, and only 27.3% have been here more than 30 years."[43] The influx of new neighbors kept the local Welcome Wagon organizations busy. A 1960 advertisement read, "Newcomer?...Have you, or has someone you know, just moved to a new home?...Your Welcome Wagon Hostess will call with gifts and friendly greetings from the community."[44] Newcomers found a warm reception, and they had immediate opportunities to socialize, but it would not take long for this initial cheer and support to turn to concern and even resentment, as the effects of dramatic growth began to be felt on more personal levels.

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[41] Newbury Town Report, 1973, p. 33.

[42] Peterborough Town Report, 1982. p. 75; Newbury Town Report, 1982, p. 62.

[43] *The Peterborough Transcript*, 25 October 1956, p. 1.

[44] Advertisement, *The Derry News*, 25 August 1960, p. 2.

Growing Pains

The growth that took place in New Hampshire in the 1940s and 1950s had its complications. In many ways, some more subtle than others, it affected life as most people had come to know it. First, development was not just a matter of building more houses, but also of building a new *kind* of house. Home modernization was one way in which lifestyles were altered.

In the 1950s, newspaper advertisements for "modern homes" were common.[45] The luxuries associated with the idea of "modern" homes coincided with a relative increase in the average family's expendable income.[46] Opportunity to spend money on fancy new home appliances, for example, arrived at a time when technology was advancing by leaps and bounds. Nevertheless, at the very moment in history when families discovered the wonders of such home luxuries, there was a general uneasiness about the prospects of an ever more technological world. On the very same day in 1948, one local newspaper printed the humbling headline "New Robot Hands Caress or Smash at Will of Atomic Energy Scientists," while another's columnist predicted grim consequences of investing too much trust in science and technology.[47] According to Hal Boyle,

> The day is drawing nigh when machines will overthrow mankind and rule the world...year by year man and his civilization are growing more dependent on the machine...deluding himself with the idea that machines can make his life easier. They only make it more complicated...Who is best fitted to survive the atom world of tomorrow – man or machine? The machine, of course.[48]

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[45] Examples can be found in *The Derry News*: 20 February 1954, p. 4; and 9 July 1959, p. 5.

[46] "Statistics Indicate Local Population Stands at 20,1000," *The Portsmouth Herald*, 9 April 1954, p.2.

[47] *The Portsmouth Herald*, 15 April 1948, p. 11.

[48] Hal Boyle, "Roving Reporter," *The Keene Sentinel*, 15 April 1948, p. 6.

This change in lifestyle took some adjustment, which was further challenged by general ambivalence about science in the wake of the atom bomb's debut, but the public's simultaneous addiction to fancy new gadgets was already set in motion. While there were adjustments to be made to human concepts of work, nature, and necessity, there was also a period of physical adjustment. The "modern" home now had to be equipped to handle all of the technology that would fill it:

> Housepower is probably a brand new word to you. But it won't be for long. It is the key-word in a pending national campaign aimed at the wiring bottleneck in American homes...in this age in which householders want and buy more and more time-saving, labor-saving, and pleasure-providing electric appliances...the chance is strong there won't be enough juice back of those outlets to efficiently and safely power all the equipment you may have or be planning on.[49]

The rise of home modernization proved to be one minor complication in growth, but its further-reaching ramifications revolved around a single word: convenience. A new emphasis on the high value of convenience in a modernized world is evident in the changes that permeated all aspects of people's lives. As early as 1945, home use of hot water on demand had gone from relative luxury to a commodity being touted as a necessity. An advertisement for water heaters described its product as "Guardian of your Family's Health."[50] Meanwhile, people had more reason to stay home, as television not only became available, but also quickly grew more attractive. First came color, then cable T.V. vastly broadened viewing choices. In the home, convenience greatly influenced ideas about chores and fun. According to one town's Municipal Electric Department,

> Each customer uses more electricity each year. The efficiency of new appliances, and the cleanliness of electricity make housekeeping an easier chore and consequently more household appliances are used. Color television,

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[49] "Housepower!" *The Derry News*, 23 February 1956, p. 2.

[50] *The Argus-Champion*, 3 May 1945, p. 3.

automatic defrosters on refrigerators, self cleaning electric ovens, home workshop tools are only a few of the recent new appliances considered to be almost essential.[51]

Home life, in addition to the business world, was also significantly affected by expanding telephone service and advancements in phone technology. Between 1945 and 1948, the number of telephones in the town of Derry increased 53%.[52] As service rapidly increased, the method for using a telephone also was updated. This called for some adjustment and a little *in*convenience to those who were set in their ways. For example, one newspaper columnist complained about "the New-Fangled Dial Telephone System."[53] But, this type of development in communication brought further convenience, with the ability to talk to people without going anywhere, and to interact indirectly. This is one important way in which a focus on convenience began to affect the ways in which people actually related to each other.

Along with these technical developments came changes in business hours and locations that further catered to the consumer. In 1954, a café in Portsmouth offered "Meals 'Til 1 AM...For Your Convenience."[54] By the early 1970s, the speed and predictable uniformity of fast food was finding its way into even the smaller communities, and by the 1980s, malls and plazas could boast of their "one-stop" shopping for consumers who did not want to be bothered with having to go out of their

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[51] Wolfeboro Town Report, 1972, p. 8.

[52] Advertisement for New England Telephone and Telegraph Co., *The Derry News*, 13 August 948, p. 6.

[53] "Hank Writes About The New-Fangled Dial Telephone System," *The Granite State News*, 18 March 1955, p. 1.

[54] Advertisement for Rosa's Café, *The Portsmouth Herald*, 6 February 1954, p. 10.

way.[55] In short, the public found more and more opportunity to insist on immediate, personal gratification, and one must wonder how significant this emerging self-centeredness was in the growing pains that accompanied the development experienced by New Hampshire after World War II.

Some of the challenges of growth were simply a product of people scrambling to adjust to a rapidly changing world and to secure their own shares of the pie. For example, both intense growth and increased sense of entitlement to consumption meant rather sudden extra demands on water supplies. By 1949, some towns were already witnessing new highs in water consumption, and by the mid-1960s, the town of Derry was looking for additional sources of water.[56] Conveying the challenges of not only increased water consumption for the town, but also a new high in use per capita, the following statement appeared in Derry's 1966 town report:

> At the request of the Board of Water Commissioners, we have conducted an engineering investigation relative to locating an additional water supply for Derry. While the present supply has been able to meet the demand for water without the necessity of imposing restrictions on usage the drought conditions of the last few years has shown that little if any surplus is available to serve to an increase in population or to provide an assurance of any quantity of water for prospective industry...It is our opinion that the usage will continue to increase due to increases in both individual consumption and in population growth.[57]

In fact, concerns over water availability became so significant that town officials felt the need to force a slow-down in growth. One newspaper article explained that "due to inadequate water facilities, the selectmen have for a year been discouraging new

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[55] There was talk of a McDonald's coming to the Town of Peterborough, as reflected in *The Peterborough Transcript*, 21 February 1974, p. 4. For an example of "one-stop" shopping, see advertisement for NeWest Mall in *The Peterborough Transcript*, 21 November 1985, p. 19.

[56] Keene Town Report, 1949, p. 3.

[57] Derry Town Report, 1966, p. 44.

apartment construction. No permits for this type of construction have been issued to date in 1972, where apartment construction was a major activity a year ago."[58]

Use of water was just one illustration of the effects of growth and consumption on town resources. Sewer systems needed updating, and electric departments struggled to keep up with demand. According to one town's department, "As the 1970's end, the demand for energy keeps rising faster than supply. The increasing cost of fuel, federal regulations, the cost of new generating plants challenges our ability to maintain our high standard of living. We must conserve, and develop new energy sources."[59] Meanwhile, public works and roads departments were stretched thin, as more people buying house lots somewhat removed from town roads expected the towns to provide snow plowing in the winter and regular road maintenance.[60] Even local post offices had to adjust, as growing populations meant having to increase numbers of mail routes.[61]

Another test of local resources was the rate at which schools were literally outgrown. By the mid-1950s, Portsmouth officials were excited to be opening a brand new high school in an effort to "relieve our over-crowded schools."[62] Growth in the town of Derry was so dramatic that the quality of local schools was affected by overcrowding. Derry's town report in 1964 linked overcrowding to worsening conditions, and by 1985,

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[58] "Home Permits Increase 83%" *The Derry News*, 6 April 1972.

[59] Wolfeboro Town Report, 1979, p. 87.

[60] Newbury Town Report, 1974, p. 9.

[61] For example, see: "Windham Post Adds 3rd Mail Route," *The Derry News*, 27 March 1975, p. 5.

[62] Portsmouth Town Report, 1956, p. 2.

local headlines read, "Derry Schools' Rating Drops Due to Crowding."[63] Public services were clearly under pressure to meet rising demands, and no one would be content with any less in the way those services were delivered.

With ever-increasing expectations and feelings of entitlement, without regard for the pressures on shared resources, the individual begins to emerge as particularly self-centered. Self-serving behavior underlies the rise in crime that occurred in this time of accelerated growth. While burglaries, DWIs, shoplifting, rapes, and the work of con artists increased, what was most noticeably on the rise was juvenile delinquency and related vandalism and criminal mischief.[64] In the 1960s, most towns were dealing with vandals on a regular basis. Derry's Recreation Director lamented, "Vandalism has...been a continual maintenance problem...[It] is costing us more tax dollars every year."[65] Police in the small town of Newbury reported multiple calls about "destruction of property by teenagers," while Parks and Playgrounds officials in Wolfeboro were baffled: "it is hard to believe that vandals can destroy the recreation facilities that their parents have provided for them."[66] At the same time young people were engaging in such behavior, it seems that their free time was also devoted to more drug use and parties that were routinely reported for disturbing the peace.[67]

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[63] "Derry Schools' Rating Drops Due to Crowding," *The Derry News*, 5 December 1985, p. 1.

[64] For example, the town of Keene witnessed a rise in "the number of complaints and arrests involving juveniles" as well as "[a] great deal of vandalism," as indicated in the town report for 1949, p. 3 and 29 respectively.

[65] Derry Town Report, 1965, p. 39.

[66] Newbury Town Report, 1962, p. 56; Wolfeboro Town Report, 1969, p. 74.

[67] Many local headlines suggested that drug use was on the rise. One example: "Drug Use Growing Danger Here?" *The Peterborough Transcript*, 10 October 1968, p. 1.

It was not long before this type of behavior began to polarize local communities, as crime became increasingly associated with certain *types* of people. The judgment of, and blame for, emerging ills of society were quickly linked to changes in local populations. Fights and "boisterous parties" were seen as the result of poor parenting and an influx of values that were believed to have come from someplace else. The author of a newspaper article published in 1955 wrote,

> Suburban delinquency is on the rise in America...[an expert] finds the same kind of delinquency we once thought of as originating mainly in the slum areas of cities appearing more and more often in our middle-class and upper-class suburbs. He thinks that 'the children of these people may be relatively free from social and economic deprivation, but they sometimes suffer the deprivation of parental guidance and attention – caused by their parents preoccupation with competitive striving for success'...is there so much difference if the suburban child and the slum child are both lacking in love, supervision, an example of sound moral values, and a wholesome family life?[68]

Such deteriorating conditions were associated with a sense that local communities were being corrupted by urbanized values. This led to heightened tendencies among native residents to cling tightly to a more familiar and rural way of life, and to shun city life. Feeling defensive about assumptions made by city people about rural life, a local columnist suggested, "the next time you're asked, 'But what do you DO all the time?' no reason to be flustered...you don't need to explain or excuse yourself to anyone...specifically the City Dweller who expects you may be bored with life."[69] At the same time, however, the city transplants to more suburban life were sometimes impatient with what they considered to be outdated, old-fashioned attitudes. A 1950 headline read "Rollinsford Boils with Opposition to 'Old Time' Officials," and the article detailed

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[68] Ruth Millet, "There are Delinquents in Best Suburban Homes," *The Portsmouth Herald*, 17 January 1955, p. 5.

[69] "Her Point of View," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 23 March 1967, p. 11.

complaints from the town's "Citizens' Civic Association or, as described by the town's fathers, 'newcomers to the Town'."[70]

The growing rift between native and newcomer was a fault line in a polarization that left many longtime residents with deep concern about threats to local charm, the need to preserve small town character and identity, and the appeal of a slower pace of life. As local editorials warned of the "Perils of the Big Cities," there was pride in the fact that Peterborough, for example, "lacks the 'rush, rush' attitude of many communities."[71] In general, city ways were considered by many to be unwelcome signs that a simpler, safer life was slipping into the past. This conflict between urbanization and protectionism was articulated by Nicholas Mahoney, who became the editor of *The Argus-Champion* in 1950: "one person in town frowns on me, because he says I'm trying to run *The Argus-Champion* like a city newspaper. It could be. He insists that we're a small town and that we don't do things here like the city. He may be right, but it sounds pretty provincial and smug to me."[72]

It is not as if these small New Hampshire towns became urbanized overnight. In 1972, 85% of Peterborough was still open space.[73] But, relative to what life had been like for residents of such towns, growth-related changes in lifestyle were almost too quick to notice. One 1958 editorial noted the connection between urbanization and a new attitude toward geography and varying landscapes:

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[70] "Rollinsford Boils with Opposition to 'Old Time' Officials," *The Portsmouth Herald*, 9 February 1950, p. 1.

[71] "Perils of the Big Cities," *The Portsmouth Herald*, 31 March 1965, p. 4; "Head of New Peterborough Industry Praised in Town," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 25 October 1956, p. 1.

[72] Nicholas Mahoney, Editorial, *The Argus-Champion*, 6 June 1950, p. 4.

[73] Peterborough Town Report, 1972, p. 106.

> Change has a habit of sneaking up on us before we realize what has actually happened…we used to think of a barrier of time and space as separating metropolitan Boston from the lakes and mountains of Carroll County…Now with the completed Spaulding Turnpike, the trip north is a very easy one and one half hour run…Here is a new mobility and fluidity of movement that we never knew before.[74]

Perhaps a cognitive adaptation to such change was a heightened attempt to conceptualize "rural" and "urban" as two distinct places. One way this type of separation was evidenced was in the increasing numbers of advertisements for "Country Places" among classifieds and real estate pages.[75] Similarly, in a 1955 listing of Real Estate Transfers in Keene, entries were clearly identified as "city" or "country."[76] Along with these psychological borders, and especially in the wake of a perceived homogenization of landscape and lifestyle, came genuine appreciation for rural life and unspoiled nature. In 1949, local newspapers ran an advertisement for the Boston and Maine Railroad, which featured a man resting beneath a tree full of singing birds while casually fishing. Pointing not only to the detrimental effects of stress on personal health, but also to nature as a source of healthy peace and quiet, the ad read, "Relax, brother you'll live longer!...Take it easy – take the train!"[77] The beauties of nature were often heralded in ways that drew sharp contrasts to life disconnected from such beauties. Haydn Pearson, whose editorials frequently appeared in local newspapers, wrote in 1958:

> to him who senses the great symphony that is America, there is music in the pulsing roar of factory machinery, melody in the cranking presses and meaningful

[74] *The Granite State News*, 20 June 1958, p. 2.

[75] There are numerous examples of such references in newspapers, one of which can be found in: *The Portsmouth Herald*, 6 June 1952, p. 11.

[76] "Real Estate Transfers," *The Keene Sentinel*, 13 July 1955, p. 10.

[77] This advertisement appeared many times, in multiple papers. One such example can be found in: *The Portsmouth Herald*, 21 March 1949, p. 2.

tunes in the swish of wheels that speed along the nation's roads...But there is another kind of music – music that is soft and sweet – music that is in tune with the ages-tested verities that govern all life...We do not listen enough to Nature's music.[78]

Resurgence in local nature appreciation, no doubt bolstered by national attention to Earth Day and awareness of environmental issues, turned the focus from simply admiration and enjoyment to stress over the recognition that "nature" may actually be a finite resource.[79] In the 1970s, a Jeep advertisement read, "Don't leave your mark on America!...There are parts of our country where birds still outnumber people...Unspoiled refuges from the world of concrete and steel. Today, more than ever before, we need them."[80] People were becoming increasingly cognizant of, and concerned about, the effects of human beings on nature, and the growth that was once encouraged and applauded began to be seen by some as problematic. A newspaper in Derry, in the midst of dramatic growth and development, stated: "Pressured by growth, southern New Hampshire may loose [*sic*] natural, scenic, or wildlife values."[81]

It is important to remember that this concern about saving nature was not entirely motivated by science, or by awareness of biodiversity or threats to endangered species. It was largely the result of concern over how a disappearing nature would detrimentally affect people's daily lives and the well-being of human communities. As those resistant to the changes accompanying growth clung to the way life used to be, the virtues of nature and limited growth were central to an emerging definition of small town charm,

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[78] Haydn Pearson, "Listen to June's Music," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 19 June 1958, p. 6.

[79] The word "nature" is difficult to define. In this particular case, however, I am specifically referring to "nature" in the context of this historical separation from human influence.

[80] Advertisement, *The Peterborough Transcript*, 6 April 1972, p. 2.

[81] *The Derry News*, 21 February 1974, p. 11.

which was just as important to many people as the trees and wildlife themselves. In 1957, plans for a by-pass around the town of Hancock "won enthusiastic endorsement at a public meeting...Sentiment was strong against building the new road through the village, in fear of spoiling the town's New England charm."[82]

With similar fear, newspaper editor Edward DeCourcey wrote the following in 1963:

> How long can Newport retain the warm friendly character of the American small town?...Will a day come when Newport will be a city, and we'll all become things instead of persons, things that work and walk, but go unrecognized, unknown and anonymous?...Will a day come when the Newporter will not feel himself involved in the joys, sorrows, triumphs and defeats of his neighbors, or even worse, feel that his neighbor is not involved in his?...If that day comes, Newport will have lost much of what attracted many of us to make it our home town...Newport, and every American small town, lives under a threat. All over the nation, small towns are disappearing. They are not becoming ghost towns. They are becoming suburbia, or worse, cities, where faceless, nameless people come and go and no one cares.[83]

DeCourcey named some of the specific elements of the otherwise vague concept of charm: identifiable character, recognition and familiarity (versus anonymity), and a general sense of community in which people feel connected to each other.

This attention to less tangible elements of the environment, both built and unbuilt, inspired some discussion about the actual meaning of "progress." In the 1950s, general consensus associated progress with continued growth. A newspaper column in Peterborough pointed to the town's first one-way street as a sign of "progress."[84] The Newbury Development Committee announced, "No Town or City can afford to stand on

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[82] "Hancock Doesn't Want Village Charm Spoiled," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 17 January 1957, p. 1.

[83] Edward DeCourcey, "The Spectator," *The Argus-Champion*, 9 May 1963, p. 4.

[84] "Odds N' Ends," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 1 December 1955, p. 1.

its Laurels forever, we must expand to some extent with the times. This is a must to help carry on the cost of maintaining a Town that you want to call your Town."[85] Meanwhile, *The Derry News* boasted that "Derry has progressed much in recent years with its new schools, new homes, new factory and shortly to come – new sewer systems. We should all be proud."[86]

However, by the 1960s, consensus over the meaning of "progress" began to weaken, as growth-oriented definitions raised questions. An editorial appearing in Keene decried the results of a long-time emphasis on newness and continuous change, suggesting that many Keene residents

> have felt twinges of regret in recent years at seeing old and pleasant landmarks fall under the crowbars of wrecking crews…the whole complexion of West Street has undergone a substantial change in the past ten years…With the recent completion of the widening project, the street is now a neat, clean thoroughfare which handles a steadily increasing traffic flow very efficiently…But it now looks like Gasoline Alley, and could be a highway in Paramus, New Jersey, or any other neon-sign lined street in any suburban community far removed from picturesque New Hampshire…Is progress necessarily something new and shiny and chrome-plated?...Is progress more and more acres of black-topped desert uncluttered by the presence of a tree?...We doubt it…new roads, new residential developments, new parking lots, new shopping centers, new public buildings do not have to be ugly. They can be designed with an eye to beauty as well as function; they can be properly landscaped, and can be located as to enhance rather than destroy aesthetic values…In general, this area has been spared much – though not all – of the outrages which have been perpetrated in so many other places in the name of progress…It would be nice if we could keep it that way.[87]

More public concern about aesthetic values and quality of life followed, but this alternative perspective simply served to mix up the debate, as contingents of those viewing major change as inevitable seemed to tip the scale. Despite pleas to preserve

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[85] Newbury Town Report, 1957, back cover.

[86] *The Derry News*, 16 May 1957, p. 8.

[87] Editorial, *The Keene Sentinel*, 3 June 1968, p. 4.

elements of small town communities, time marched on, and so did building and development. Unable to suspend their towns in time, champions of charm had to focus their efforts not on shielding their towns from outside forces of growth and change, but on working to steer growth in ways that would least harm their communities. By the mid-1980s, much thought was given to patterns of development and how growth might actually be controlled. For example, one Keene resident wrote, "We don't want Keene to become a Currier and Ives museum piece. As our population grows, there is surely going to be commercial development and expansion. But why not place this development where it will be accessible to the most people, and where it will do the least amount of economic, environmental and aesthetic damage?"[88]

Reflective of the social, as opposed to strictly ecological, motivations for growth control, there were clear indications that some people wanted a say in determining what type of community would materialize from more planned growth. Amidst increasing public participation in meetings over growth ordinances and rejections of plans for condominiums, were concerns like those which arose in Newbury in 1965. At a Town Meeting, it was asked, "Will zoning help to avoid 'Honky Tonk' conditions?"[89] Increasing control was exerted over both environment and human society, which contributed to an atmosphere of ever more engineering and design through the use of categories and stereotypes. The result, in both realms of growth control, was even more delineation of boundary lines between people and between human and "nature."

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[88] Richard Clark, Letter to the Editor, *The Keene Sentinel*, 21 July 1983, p. 5.

[89] Newbury Town Report, 1965, no page listed.

Control and Disconnection: Effects on Wildlife

Just as an increasingly built environment ultimately affected the workings of human society, so too did growth and planning define the place of nature and other species in relation to human society. Whether following the flow of people moving out from more congested areas, or confronting the stricter controls imposed upon growth and development, people were faced with having to figure out how to deal with nature. They frequently decided that nature had to be tamed or removed, that wild animals did not belong in certain, if not most, places. Even the dump was too human a place to allow bears to scavenge there.[90]

This view of wildlife becomes dynamic, in light of the varied consequences of building and sprawl on both the sizes and ranges of wildlife populations. In many cases, human presence actually made life easier for certain species. For example, with the conveniences of central heating and more far-reaching transportation systems came conditions that were ripe for many insects to thrive in areas previously less suitable for their survival.[91] Suburbanization also encouraged the success of some bird species, like robins: "In the treeless suburban subdivisions…all the shrubbery around the new houses form their nesting domains…[there are] many adjustments that robins have made over the centuries as they followed man's conversion of New England forests into houses and lawns."[92] Meanwhile, some of the state's larger species also benefited. The availability of open garbage dumps and bird feeders laid out a welcome mat for black bears. By 1976,

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[90] The Fish and Game Department's Bear Kill Report for 1968 recorded the killing of a bear for being in/near a dump (no page listed).

[91] This point is made in an advertisement for pest control in: *The Keene Sentinel*, 31 March 1975, p. 10.

[92] Wayne Hanley, "Nature's Ways," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 23 March 1967, p. 3.

Fish and Game reports acknowledged that increased kills in southern counties could be "interpreted as evidence that the bear is extending his range southward."[93]

Despite these ways in which wildlife benefited from growing human presence, there are also numerous illustrations of how the growing and expanding human population hurt other species. Even without direct intent, human-related harm to wildlife has been a frequent occurrence. First, there are perhaps the most unintended incidents, in which wild animals were the ones to quite literally come colliding into the presence of human beings. Anecdotes include multiple accounts of owls being electrocuted upon flying into power lines, as well as wildlife crashing into buildings, like the time a partridge flew through a local woman's kitchen window.[94] The following account describes another unintended casualty of humans and wildlife crossing paths:

> Earle was in particularly good form as he stepped up to the third tee. He was relaxed, in perfect balance, and he generally felt good. He swung with vigor and accuracy. The ball lifted perfectly and sailed high and true. But suddenly there was a collision high in the air...Plop. A fairly large bird dropped straight down. It was a night hawk, and when it hit the turf it was dead as a mackerel.[95]

More directly the result of human activity was the frequency of wildlife being hit by cars. As more roads were built, more people drove cars, people drove their cars more often, and they drove them faster, hazards to wildlife skyrocketed. Deer kill reports published by the New Hampshire Fish and Game Department over the years show a particularly noticeable jump in the number of deer killed by cars between the early 1950s

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[93] New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game, Bear Kill Report, 1976, p. 1.

[94] Two reports about owls flying into power lines include: photograph, *The Keene Sentinel*, 23 November 1949, p. 1; and photograph, *The Argus-Champion*, 26 June 1958, p. 1. The story about a partridge flying through a window was not an isolated case, as noted by Nancy Adams, "Partridge Makes a House Call," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 24 March 1983, p. 11.

[95] Edward DeCourcey, "The Spectator," *The Argus-Champion*, 5 September 1963, p. 4.

(152 killed in 1951) and the mid-1960s (572 killed in 1966). Even as deer populations fluctuated over time, the ratio of kills by car to kills by hunter more than quadrupled.[96] These numbers do not include the handful of deer killed almost yearly by other human machinery, like trains and agricultural equipment, but unlike railways and agriculture, the prevalence and behavior of motorists directly reflect growth and related changes in values and priorities. Furthermore, as a "game" animal, deer (and a few other select species, like bear) have been of particular interest to the Fish and Game Department. Therefore, while careful record-keeping has provided mortality statistics for these animals over time, deaths to other species are unknown, though likely to be at least as staggering.

Aside from automobile collisions with wildlife, humans harm wildlife by directly threatening habitat. On this subject, the effects on wildlife were often recognized, but the winning out of human interests over non-human interests shows that growth and development were driven by a perspective that human beings must take precedence over other species. Consistent with the timing of emerging nature appreciation, concern about a disappearing nature, and preoccupation with planning, recognition of habitat loss did not become commonplace until the late 1960s. By 1970, the Fish and Game Department made gloomy observations about waterfowl habitat areas: "the number seems to dwindle each year. Many are grabbed up by land developers and turned into low quality recreation developments, others are dredged and filled for everything from parking lots [to] industrial expansion and even dumps."[97]

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[96] This is data compiled from a series of Deer Kill reports published by the New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game, 1951-1982.

[97] New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game, Annual Report, 1969-1970, p. 13.

Such sentiment could be found in mainstream media as well. In his regular column entitled "Nature's Ways," Wayne Hanley brought the issue to the attention of the general public: "What seems to have happened to our rattlers is that we have not heroically slaughtered them en masse but rather that we have become too neat and civilized. Rattlesnakes are not happy living with us if we persist in living as we do. For instance, some of the better rattlesnake winter denning areas have been obliterated by ski towns."[98] By 1985, even local animal control officers were trying to make this point. The town of Derry's officer, Florence Oullette, explained that in tackling challenges involving human-wildlife conflict, "wild animals that are being driven from their homes by the building" are a "great concern."[99]

The issue of habitat loss gained increasing attention and seriousness over time, while human beings continued to live carelessly enough, on a daily basis, for wildlife to suffer the consequences. Skunks getting their heads stuck in glass jars, for example, were sometimes seen as newsworthy items, but rarely inspired any guilt over human causes of their struggles. So, examples of negative effects of growth on wildlife have, thus far, focused on these unintended sources of harm, but a brief historical survey of more direct conflicts between humans and wildlife taps into the more contentious side of human-wildlife relationships.

In the 1950s, a regular feature of some local newspapers was called "Farm and Home," written by county agricultural agents. Hillsboro County agent Perley D. Colby once wrote the following: "For the past few weeks we have been receiving numerous

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[98] Wayne Hanley, "Nature's Ways," *The Granite State News*, 11 June 1970, p. B-1.

[99] Florence Oullette, Report on Animal Control, Derry Town Report, 1985, p. 37.

requests to identify a small insect that homeowners have suddenly found in their homes…We don't know of any actual damage they do in the house except for the nuisance they create."[100] This particular comment about what was identified as the Elm Leaf Beetle illustrates an important distinction between conflict that involves damage or injury of some sort, and that which is based on proximity alone. "Conflict" tends to encompass a range of severity. On one end of the spectrum are situations in which wild animals pose a direct, immediate threat to human life. These would include cases of wild animal attacks, especially attacks that seem unprovoked. On the other end of the spectrum are cases in which the mere presence of wildlife simply bothers people. This was the case with the elm leaf beetle, whose presence was not associated with any damage…just the "nuisance" of being in the same space that human beings had blissfully intended for themselves.

Public commentary about nuisance wildlife encounters over time covered a variety of species. Many people kept pet cats to serve as mousers, for instance, but even the huge moose, with potential to be so much more of a direct threat to a human being, could also be seen as just a "nuisance." *The Portsmouth Herald* once ran a story about a bus driver who was stuck behind a moose. Implying that the moose, described as a "road hog," was deliberately (or, at least, knowingly) causing trouble, the paper reported that the animal "paced ahead of the bus, refusing to get out of the way."[101]

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[100] Perely D. Colby, "Farm and Home," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 16 May 1957, p. 9.

[101] *The Portsmouth Herald*, 16 April 1966, p. 21.

Birds have also frequently been considered "nuisance" animals. Some examples would be situations in which power outages have been attributed to birds.[102] However, birds are particularly noteworthy for causing many types of conflict. In addition to being considered a general nuisance, they have also been blamed for much damage over time. In 1977, the Department of Agriculture's Wildlife Service division reported that "[f]or the past two years this station has handled over 1600 animal damage complaints each year...Songbirds depredating small fruits is still the foremost problem."[103]

The bear is another species that, over time, was often implicated in damage-related conflicts. Bears regularly were killed specifically for this reason. Between 1964 and 1979, a handful of bears were reported killed each year.[104] Important to consider is the fact that bears were protected as game animals by this time, so these damage kills were probably carried out in spite of efforts by wildlife damage officials to first resolve problems non-lethally.

Beyond damage, on the conflict severity scale, are the threats to human health and safety. Health issues may be disguised by the fact that they do not usually pose immediate threats. To some extent, with the notorious exception of the centuries-old stereotype of rats as carriers of the plague, knowledge of zoonotic disease has more recently improved with advancements in medical research. Issues of wildlife and human health will be discussed in more depth later, but for now, it is relevant to point out two things. First, health concerns certainly existed under the umbrella of human-wildlife

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[102] "Birds Nesting on Transformer Bring on Blackout," *The Derry News*, 21 July 1983, p. 3.

[103] New Hampshire Department of Agriculture, Annual Report, 1976-1977, p. 31.

[104] New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game, Annual Bear Kill Reports.

"conflict." Second, there are clear examples of such concerns arising in New Hampshire. By the early 1950s, issues of mosquito and rodent control were routinely addressed by municipal Health Departments, and as years passed by, people continued to worry about the possibility that illness could be spread by animals – as vectors, or just by being dirty.[105] For example, a report of Wildlife Services in the mid-1970s blamed pigeons for causing "sanitation problems."[106]

In another critique of birds as being unhealthy, a speaker at a meeting of the Audubon Society (of all groups) talked about "the pollution caused by the large population of gulls." But, the speaker also went on to discuss "the hazards they may cause to jet planes."[107] This speaker was not alone in his concern about the role of birds in a potentially more direct threat to human safety. In his 1969 response to the idea of stocking pheasants in the vicinity of an airport, "Gordon Bunker of the New Hampshire Aeronautics Commission said his agency is more concerned about the people in airplanes. He recalled an incident in Boston several years ago when starlings lodged in the jet engines of an airliner causing it to crash...killing many people."[108]

Then, of course, at times people experienced direct physical attacks by wildlife. Such incidents may be relatively rare (making them newsworthy), but as the following account suggests, perhaps they were not so unusual that certain officials did not sometimes anticipate them:

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[105] See: Portsmouth Town Reports, 1953, p. 29; and 1955, p. 24.

[106] New Hampshire Department of Agriculture, Annual Report, 1974-1975, p. 28.

[107] "Audubon Society Hears Talk on Pheasant Stocks," *The Portsmouth Herald*, 19 November 1971, p. 12.

[108] "No Bird Stocking at Airport," *The Keene Sentinel*, 26 September 1969, p. 1.

> Mrs. Armena Belgarde, Croydon, was badly bitten last week by a raccoon which attacked her when she tried to remove it from her property. Bites on her back, legs and arms required several stitches at Newport Hospital...Conservation Officer Clayton Phillips, called to the scene, shot the animal which had to be pulled from Mrs. Belgarde by a neighbor...Officer Phillips said it was an isolated case at this time of year, but that he had many similar cases in the summer.[109]

Exactly how Mrs. Belgarde was trying to "remove" the raccoon from her property is not disclosed, so questions about provocation may remain. Regardless of circumstances, however, such images of wildlife as dangerous – along with those of wild animals as unclean, destructive, or simply in the way – were critical to the ways in which human society has approached the challenge of sharing its domain with other species.

One way people could psychologically reconcile themselves to the thought of wildlife in their world was to further attempt to organize their world views with stereotypes, and to bring order to what seemed like boundary transgression by solidifying their existing attitudes toward wild animals. Where the lives of human and non-human intersected, often unpredictably and despite people's efforts to neatly plan and organize their growing communities, many of the emerging attitudes toward wildlife were negative. Through the decades, indications of the public's instinct of caution and recoil abound, and reflective of the rigidity of these attitudes, many of these examples involve wild animals that did little more than show up (or, in some cases, human beings were the ones to suddenly show up). In 1965, this story made front page news:

> When Insurance Man Harry Woodard returned to Newport this week from two weeks in Florida he brought a trophy of an adventure he does not want to repeat. It is a two-foot long deadly coral snake – in a bottle of formaldehyde. Mr. Woodard was golfing...[in] St. Augustine, when he saw the snake slither in front

[109] *The Argus-Champion*, 23 January 1969, p. 1.

of him. He grabbed a rake, hooked the snake as it started down a hole, and killed it with a golf club.[110]

The business of cohabitating with other species was proving to be a challenge. A 1960 advertisement for Jack Weiner Hardware and Plumbing read: "Do you have...moles in your lawn...bats in your belfry...spiders in your attic...hornets in your eaves...dogs in your shrubbery...cats in your favorite chair...ants in your plants...Be sure to consult Jack Weiner the 'Do it Yourself' cauldron mixer...come in and see our supply of insecticides...[and] pesticides."[111] Animals seemed to be ruining *everything*. Local animal control and police officers routinely reported their handling of all kinds of species in response to complaints about wildlife. In addition to their exhaustive task of dealing with dogs and other domestic animals, Portsmouth animal control "handled" bats, rats, raccoons, skunks, gulls, woodchucks, squirrels, chipmunks, foxes, rabbits, muskrats, snakes, ducks, and pigeons on a regular basis.[112]

Animal Control officers continued tending to wildlife proximity calls in the 1970s, and as newspapers branched out to include a growing number of non-local stories, they confirmed that local discomfort with the presence of wildlife existed throughout the continent. Naturally, what does prove to be somewhat dependent upon geography are the species that were most often targeted by attitudes of fear, skepticism, distrust, and possibly resentment. It was reported that in British Columbia, grizzly bears frequenting a golf course were "giving golfers a bad case of the jitters," and a story about Florida's

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[110] "Woodard Brings Coral Snake Home," *The Argus-Champion*, 25 March 1965, p. 1.

[111] Advertisement, *The Argus-Champion*, 21 April 1960, p. 9.

[112] Portsmouth Town Reports for the years: 1965, p. 31; 1966, p. 33; 1968, no page listed; and 1969, no pages listed.

alligator "removal program" told of the Florida Game and Fresh Water Fish Commission's responsibility for "catching nuisance alligators that wind up in back yards, swimming holes and drainage canals."[113]

What may be one of the most targeted local animal species throughout time is the skunk. Frequently appearing in multiple local papers in the 1940s was a cartoon that depicted a rural-looking character running away in horror, as a naïve looking child reaches to pet a skunk. The caption read, "Little cousin from the city stopped to pet the pretty kitty...What a pity!"[114] This cartoon is particularly telling for two reasons. First, it speaks to the idea that people from the city lacked familiarity with wildlife and were, therefore, liable to be foolish in their responses to wild animals. A second, more subtle message is that, as quickly as some people were repelled by an animal well known for his occasional offensive smell, other people could not help finding the skunk a little irresistible.

Over time, skunks would consistently be thought of as mostly undesirable, but occasionally with some affection or sympathy. In 1945, the author of a regularly featured "Sportsmen's Column" commented on the number of skunks he had recently been called upon to trap, especially since, at that time, there were "[n]o men folks to tend the traps." But, he went right on to add that "[a] skunk will never scent you unless you frighten it or suddenly hurt him."[115] Nevertheless, skunk animosity would largely win out. Skunks were chased away by housewives with brooms, and even a "Wildlife Group" providing

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[113] "Fore, Bear!" *The Portsmouth Herald*, 12 July 1973, p. 7; *The Keene Sentinel*, 19 December 1978, p. 9.

[114] "Our City Cousin," *The Granite State News*, 15 December 1946, p. 6.

[115] "Sportsmen's Column," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 10 May 1945, p.3.

gardening tips for attracting wild creatures offered "plans for virtually every animal but the skunk – which, it concedes 'is one animal which is simply incompatible with suburbia.'"[116]

At one point in the 1980s, skunks were assumed to have been the suspects in an "attack" on a nearby recreation area. Though no one actually witnessed any skunk mischief, selectmen announced that the cause of damage to a ball field "has to be skunks," presumably rooting for grubs.[117] Even when skunks were acknowledged as being "highly beneficial to farmers, gardeners, and landowners" for their predation on other "pest" animals, county agricultural agents continued to get inquires from numerous homeowners about how to get rid of skunks.[118]

Mephitis mephitis may be a species that experienced a disproportionate amount of human disdain, but just as feelings were never quite black and white (so to speak) about whether skunks were a threat or actually kind of cute, people's general responses to direct interactions with wildlife were also summarized with some measure of ambiguity. While the problems, whether real or perceived, caused by wildlife tended to be received with seriousness, it was also common for surrounding stories to be laced with a sense of humor that poked fun at human beings who seemed to be either outsmarted or driven to exasperation by animals. This too appeared over multiple decades.

In 1959, a local paper carried a story, initially reported in Kansas City, about carpenters working on an apartment complex. The workers "found themselves stymied by

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[116] For reference to a farmer's wife driving a skunk away with a broom, see: "Reports from Washington," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 31 March 1955, p. 3. Also see: "Wildlife Group Proposes New Gardening Concept," *The Derry News*, 16 January 1975, p. 27.

[117] "Skunks Attack Rindge Recreation Area," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 17 June 1982, p. 6.

[118] Perley Colby, "Relocate Skunks Carefully," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 16 October 1980, p. 21.

a wasp nest...They set fire to a rolled up newspaper and tried to burn out the nest. The fire quickly spread along the roof of the three-story building...But all was not lost. The carpenters got rid of the wasps."[119] An article appearing in 1975 recounted the author's frustration over woodchucks in her garden, referring to one particular animal who was said to have "outwitted three adults with, let's say, average intelligence."[120] And, a 1985 report on the local fire log told of another landowner with a woodchuck problem: the man threw a smoke bomb into a hole, igniting dry grass, "and reports have it that the woodchuck was observed leaving the scene."[121]

Whether the humor was in the storytelling, or if there was something funny about the story itself, people seemed to find some entertainment in thoughts about animals getting the last laugh. Perhaps, despite whatever real conflict situations existed between humans and wildlife, this subtle detection of sympathy or sense of identity reveals a simultaneous, underlying affection. Human beings were struggling to stake out their expanding territory, and to further modernize, organize, and civilize their evermore convenient homes, but they were doing it in ways that sometimes pitted negative reactions against other perceptions of wildlife as somewhat appealing. Even in the case of the wasps in Kansas City, involving a species that seldom wins anyone's affections, the poking fun at the carpenters makes the wasps seem slightly less evil, maybe just a little more entitled to a place in the world. The point is that even with species that are difficult

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[119] *The Keene Sentinel*, 5 November 1959, p. 13.

[120] "Her Point of View," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 17 July 1975, p. 15.

[121] "Fire Log," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 28 March 1985, p. 23.

for most people to like, some minute measure of tolerance could be found. This means that there was still room in society for those animals to exist.

For a while, the New Hampshire Fish and Game Department authored a newspaper column called "Sportsmen's Topics," and one 1956 edition said that "[s]kunks are sociable animals. They aren't too proud to live around people."[122] This comment on the skunk's sociability and adaptability presents them as a species that is worthy of some respect. The general public, as well, found ways to be respectful, or at least fair, to skunks who were at the center of wildlife proximity issues. Mrs. Clark Davis seemed to be giving skunks the benefit of the doubt when she wrote, "[m]any skunks have been reported in South Newbury Village area. People who feed pet cats and dogs outdoors and leave the uneaten food out, may be one cause of the appearance of the skunks."[123] By shifting partial blame for the skunks' presence to human beings, Mrs. Davis took some of the deviousness out of the image of an animal who might otherwise be perceived as a plotting intruder.

These examples of tolerance for wildlife living among humans morph into later examples of even more affectionate responses to individual animals whose proximity was about as close as it could have been. Despite one family's discovery of several raccoons inside their home, their story contains no hint of inconvenience or resentment:

> We had seen no evidence of raccoons around last autumn, but when tearing up a portion of our garage flooring, what looked like two grey rocks, proved to be two big fat coons, sound asleep for the winter. Turning over another patch of flooring nearby, what appeared to be a great big fur rug started to undulate, then disintegrate, and then there were coons scurrying all over the place – big fat great

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[122] "Sportsmen's Topics," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 23 February 1956, p. 8.

[123] Mrs. Clark Davis, "Newbury Notes," *The Argus-Champion*, 9 August 1972, p. 6.

> grandaddies, pappas, mammas, coon kids of all sizes, hunting for new winter quarters. We counted an even dozen...[124]

Instead of revulsion or horror, the people in this story responded with interest, awe, and a tendency toward likening the raccoons to a human family. This is not to say that other people were not having more negative experiences with raccoons during the very same year (recall the raccoon attack on Mrs. Belgarde), but such accounts suggest that human society was certainly conflicted, with both positive and negative feelings about wildlife, sometimes for the very same species. The people who found the raccoons in their garage were not alone in their type of response. Another undoubtedly light-hearted account of wildlife in close proximity appeared in the same newspaper 10 years later: "Bunny and Harry Eastman have entertained or been entertained by an unusual and uninvited guest in their home. A flying squirrel found its way down the chimney...It made itself right at home by running around rooms, climbing and gliding. Eventually Harry cornered it into a paper bag. He planned to let it free at the dump."[125]

These particular accounts hint at affections for wildlife even in the face of some minor inconveniences, whether the possibly unsettling thought of a dozen raccoons under your floor, or the task of having to catch a flying squirrel. Collectively, all references show that interactions with wildlife were met with both negative and positive responses. In very general terms, people were upset by the thought of wildlife intruders in what seemed like an increasingly humanized world, but torn by their inclination to be excited about wild animals, and to even feel some fondness for them.

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[124] *The Granite State News*, 23 January 1969, p. 4.

[125] Eleanor Eastman, "Union," *The Granite State News*, 7 March 1979, p. 20.

Examples of both positive and negative feelings toward various species suggest that growing communities and the accompanying changes to their landscapes may not be associated with any clear trends in attitudes toward wildlife, but there are reasons to believe that human-wildlife relationships were affected by such growth. Growth simply may have acted upon this dynamic in diverse, counter-balancing ways.

One very likely effect of growth was a tendency to view the world as ever more compartmentalized: city was distinct from "country," natural separate from unnatural, and even within human communities, people became increasingly focused on planning and designating where certain structures and people belonged. The psychological attempt to organize and control the world left human society vulnerable to feeling unsettled by the presence of wildlife. In 1977, one newspaper columnist asked, "Is the wilderness encroaching?... Howard Gilman hit a bear one day last week. He has the dents to prove it...But on our heavily traveled highway in broad daylight! That's sort of scary."[126] Such sentiment supports the image of wildlife as being out of place among humans. As unexpected intruders into human ideas about nature, wild animals could almost be seen as trespassers, and this would surely cause people to react negatively to their presence. This was an idea more recently explored by Laura L. Jackson, who wrote, "the human notion of private property rights is at odds with the biological realities of wild animals and plants."[127]

Could it be that, at the same time, the mental compartmentalization associated with growth simply made people feel isolated? There is no doubt that over time, a sense

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[126] Harriet Atwood, "Chocorua," *The Granite State News*, 6 July 1977, p. 24.

[127] Dana L. Jackson and Laura L. Jackson (Eds.), *The Farm as Natural Habitat: Reconnecting Food Systems with Ecosystems* (Washington: Island Press, 2002), p. 48.

of isolation and anonymity crept into the lives of many, as local communities were transformed and, in some cases, flooded with strangers. One result may have been a further disintegrated spirit of community that contributed to an infectious apathy. A 1977 editorial sadly pointed out, "In years past we used to have a lot of fun around here...nowadays the town has grown so big nobody seems to care for it like their own anymore."[128] Unlike a time in the late 1940s, when people noticed and appreciated a sense of community, the following decades were marked by a population of humans who were increasingly disconnected from others.

Radiating outward to affect relationships with other species, this outcome could have contributed to negative attitudes toward wildlife – attitudes based on a sheer lack of interest and empathy. Meanwhile, in addition to compartmentalization of the world, other social and technological changes further distanced most individuals from work, nature, and each other. As evidenced by the extension of café hours to meet the needs of customers, the transformation of hot water from luxury to necessity, and the increased per capita use of water despite supply shortages, the developing emphasis on convenience led to a refocusing onto individual interests. It is easy to imagine that with this preoccupation with personal convenience, the lack of interest and empathy for wildlife was only magnified.

While these growth-related changes in lifestyle could have hurt human-wildlife relationships, there are ways in which they also could have worked in the opposite direction, toward more positive attitudes. It is possible that disconnection and isolation left some people with a general feeling of emptiness. In 1979, a local newspaper

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[128] Editorial, *The Derry News*, 10 November 1977, p. 24.

spotlighted an upcoming psychic seminar, where activities like dream analysis and Reiki would celebrate the notion that there was more to life than the mundane and the routine.[129] In 1985, the following headline appeared in *The Keene Sentinel*: "Yuppies Feel Guilt Pangs Over Lifestyle of Plenty…a shallow life centered around image."[130] Such impulses may be perceived as a reaction to the connection that Donald Worster has observed between a "materialist revolution" and secularism.[131] While selfishness may have strained human-wildlife relationships in one way, the conscious or subconscious feeling of regret over being so disconnected, and the consequent feeling of emptiness, may have also caused the pendulum to begin swinging toward more favorable, considerate views of "others."

Another possible outcome which would have had a positive affect on human-wildlife relationships relates to the concept of "Biophilia." Edward O. Wilson, who developed this hypothesis, defined biophilia as, "the innate tendency to focus on life and lifelike processes." It is suggested that this focus on life instinctively motivates interest and fascination with other creatures. According to Wilson, "we are human in good part because of the particular way we affiliate with other organisms. They are the matrix in which the human mind originated and is permanently rooted." Such a theory posits a natural tendency for human beings to seek out other living things, and to enjoy some

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[129] "Psychic Seminar," *The Portsmouth Herald*, 9 November 1979, p. 22.

[130] "Monadnock Living," *The Keene Sentinel*, 26 July 1985, p. 6.

[131] Donald Worster, *The Wealth of Nature: Environmental History and the Ecological Imagination* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 210.

nearness to animals.[132]

Illustrating this concept have been innumerable newspaper references to bird watching and feeding, followed with such interest in one town that an ongoing "Battle of the Birds" made a game of who observed the most birds and the most unusual species.[133] Such excitement has been related to other species as well. Reporting on news in the town of Sandwich in 1981, Eva Fellows wrote about one Harold Bonnyman who, after seeing 19 moose in the previous year, said "'several people have asked me to telephone them if they appear, so they can come see them.' In responding to one of his moose customers last year, Bonny was told, 'I just came out of the shower but I shall be right up,' and sure enough, the woman (bathrobe, slippers and hair wrapped in a towel) arrived in time to see the moose show."[134] Similarly reflective of not only the excitement to see deer, but also the fact that they were a stirring topic of conversation, one columnist wrote: "a pair of deer crossed Broadway at 5:00 in the center of town the other morning and never bothered to look left or right. They were sighted by the owner of Derry Donut, so we understand from the bank clerk who learned it from her cashier who learned it from the owner. That's how we know!"[135]

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[132] Edward O. Wilson, *Biophilia: The Human Bond with Other Species* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1984), Prologue and p. 139.

[133] Such references to birds can be found in multiple papers throughout time, but for a specific example of reference to "Battle of the Birds" see: Orissa Rines, "East Alton," *The Granite State News*, 6 June 1968, p. 10.

[134] Eva Fellows, "Sandwich," *The Granite State News*, 6 May 1981, p. A15.

[135] Conrad Quimby, "Off the Cuff," *The Derry News*, 12 June 1980, p. 22.

Anecdotal accounts suggest that changes associated with growth did affect attitudes toward wildlife, but given the lack of strong statistical support for any clear correlations, it is important to note two things. First, growth had divergent effects on human-wildlife relationships. However the effects of growth manifested themselves in the realm of attitudes toward wildlife, there seems to have been many opportunities for effects to be felt in various ways. Second, there were other things going on in the world that helped to shape attitudes. Any effects of growth are convoluted by the fact that growth itself was connected to other major changes in local society which also influenced human-wildlife relationships. In the following chapters, the ways that changes in agriculture, environmentalism, outdoor recreation, and relationships with domestic companion animals influenced attitudes are explored in more detail.

CHAPTER 2

ANIMALS ON THE TABLE: HOW CHANGES IN AGRICULTURE AFFECTED ATTITUDES TOWARD WILDLIFE

In the mid-1960s, a New Hampshire author named Elizabeth Yates chronicled a day in the life of Peterborough veterinarian Forrest F. Tenney. Between his farm calls, Tenney found himself in a discussion about changes in agriculture with his friend Pete:

> "You're not for the milking parlor?"
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> "Of course I am!...But I don't like to see a cow become a unit of production *only*, the way so many things are in this technological age we're living in. A cow's an individual, and the farmer who treats his herd as individuals gets better results."
>
> "you think a man should be able to call his cows by name?"
>
> "In a manner of speaking, yes. Most people live too fast today to get any real pleasure out of their animals. Some of the present-day barns aren't even equipped with calving pens. A cow drops her calf and gets on with her milk production. If we get too far away from Nature, we're going to miss something essential to our well being...So much of what we do today is contrary to Nature – we cut hay too soon before it's been allowed to absorb minerals from the soil...We keep cows in a tie-up the year round...but if we get too far away from Nature we may lose a necessary partnership"[1]

The exchange between Dr. Tenney and his friend Pete was not just about cows, but about how the treatment of cows, on the verge of major change, was symbolic of shifting attitudes toward nature. In the midst of a rapidly changing pace of life, technological advancements, and an increasing emphasis on convenience, agriculture had begun to define a new human-nature dynamic in which human beings were

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[1] Elizabeth Yates, *Is There a Doctor in the Barn?: A Day in the Life of Forrest F. Tenney, Veterinarian.* (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1966), p. 122-123.

occupying an ever more controlling role within nature, as well as in relation to other species. By emphasizing the many challenges of farming, this chapter focuses on three primary ways in which attitudes toward wildlife were affected. First, the difficulties and hardships faced by farmers are presented as motivating intolerance for wildlife species that have been considered agricultural "pests." Second, among challenges to farmers have been economic concerns, which rapidly undermined the viability of small farms in an age of modernization. The changes in human-animal relationships that came along with industrialized, larger-scale agriculture are described as part of a more controlling and convenience-oriented human-nature relationship that also helped to shape attitudes toward wildlife. Third, as one source of social and economic challenges to agriculture, an increasingly urbanized non-farming public lost sight of its dependence upon farming, and the added isolation and illusion of independence that followed further weakened connections to the world of other living things.

General Challenges of Farming

One of the ways in which attitudes toward wildlife were most directly influenced by agriculture was in the use of the word "pest." It was a label that may have been more benign, or less frequently used, if farming was not such difficult work, but one thing that united the lives of farmers was the many challenges they faced. Even with technological advancements, agricultural science, and the virtual industrialization of farming in some areas, the business of growing food has always fundamentally been at the mercy of larger forces.

The most immediate challenge to farming may be the risk of physical danger. Job-related accidents ranged from minor to tragic. Sometimes, a farm worker sustained very treatable injuries while working with equipment, like a man who injured his foot with a pitchfork while cleaning out a poultry pen, or a worker who was hurt while working on a hay wagon.[2] Other times, the news was far more serious, as when a North Hampton farmer was "fatally injured…when struck on the chest and hurled 10 feet by an eight-pound chunk of metal, which flew off a machine feeding corn into a silo."[3] While there is no doubt that farming has always entailed physical tasks that have proven to be hazardous, the grueling daily physical demands also left little rest for the weary. This spelled disaster for those who had grown too old or too sick to keep up with their work. Newspapers occasionally announced that a farmer, "due to illness and advanced age, must discontinue farming" and sell all animals and equipment.[4]

To add insult to injury, there are almost constant economic hardships (or, at least, concerns) faced by farmers. A farm living is anything but predictable. In 1945, a Farm Security Administration official quipped, "Buy a farm and retire on it? It's a good trick – but don't try it!"[5] The 1950s saw noticeable drops in local agricultural income, while some farmers struggled to simply reach their nearby markets.[6] As state legislators discussed the possibility of using a gasoline tax to fund highway improvements, those

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[2] *The Peterborough Transcript*, 24 March 1949, p. 5; *The Keene Sentinel*, 14 July 1955, p. 1.

[3] "Metal Fragment from Silo Machine Kills Farmer, 62," *The Portsmouth Herald*, 19 September 1951, p. 1.

[4] See, for example: "Livestock and Farm Auction," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 5 June 1952, p. 7.

[5] "Quotes of the Week," *The Derry News*, 7 September 1945, p. 3.

[6] New Hampshire Department of Agriculture, Annual Reports: 1951-1952, p. 19; and 1955-1956, p. 22.

with agricultural interests came out with strong support. According to Richard Hall, who was treasurer of the Farm Bureau Federation in 1951:

> The New Hampshire Farm Bureau Federation, which is comprised of approximately 5000 farm families in the State of New Hampshire, has consistently worked for the improvement of our entire highway system, with our efforts especially directed toward the improvement of our so-called farm-to-market roads...For a long time our Federation felt that we needed a more adequate program to get our rural people all out of the mud.[7]

In 1963, the U.S. Department of Agriculture reported that "Farm families have an average money income amounting to about half that of urban and rural nonfarm families."[8] For a struggling farmer, it did not help that losses could pop up in unexpected ways. For example, local newspapers contain numerous reports of cows being struck and killed by lightning, and not even rural farmers were immune to theft.[9] Meanwhile, there were always risks of loss posed by less surprising challenges. Disease, for instance, is an issue that all livestock farmers must pay attention to. The Department of Agriculture's annual reports routinely included commentary from the State Veterinarian on the prevalence of certain diseases, while "suppression and control of diseases" was a major focus for the Division of Animal Industry.[10]

Another ongoing challenge to agricultural prosperity is weather. Over time, New Hampshire farms suffered the havoc wreaked by hurricanes, heavy spring rains, colder

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[7] House Public Works Committee, 1949-1951, Legislative Notes on House Bill 137, 1 February 1951, Box # 9084, New Hampshire State Archives.

[8] *The Keene Sentinel*, 5 September 1963, p. 20.

[9] Some examples of references to cows being struck by lightning include: "Lightning Kills Two Cows in Epping," *The Portsmouth Herald*, 19 July 1949, p. 1; "New London News," *The Argus-Champion*, 5 August 1954, p. 9; and "Windham," *The Derry News*, 14 June 1946, p. 4. Derry experienced a string of chicken robberies around 1930, as reported in: "25 Years Ago in Derry," *The Derry News*, 12 November 1953, p. 2.

[10] New Hampshire Department of Agriculture, Annual Report, 1978-1979, p. 14.

than normal temperatures, and drought – occasionally to the point of requiring emergency loans.[11] Weather was often associated with the sometimes financially crippling effects of feed shortages, like in the 1940s, when New Hampshire poultry farmers were particularly hard hit by shortages that forced drastic downsizing of flocks.[12] Certainly, such events show the economic vulnerability farmers experienced at the hands of nature.

At the same time, creating another challenge to agriculture was the shortage of farm labor. In the 1940s, labor shortages were largely attributable to the effects of wartime. One of these effects was an actual absence of man-power, which, in some cases, led to Canadian neighbors coming to New Hampshire to help with farm work.[13] Not surprisingly, as local soldiers retuned to the area, agricultural employers were quick to present job opportunities to both them and anyone else willing to work. While employers advertised for "Men and Women, Girls and Boys" to come work, newspapers reported that farming was one of a few areas offering "the biggest openings for job-hunting veterans and laid-off workers."[14] However, even with the end of the war, good agricultural labor was hard to come by. Each decade between 1950 and 1970 saw a smaller percentage of the state's population working as farm laborers, and in the late

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[11] "Farmers May Get Emergency Loans," *The Derry News*, 28 March 1975, p. 4.

[12] Numerous local articles report on the affects of feed shortages. One example is: "Poultrymen are Slashing Flocks...Grain Shortage, Price Cuts are Blamed," *The Keene Sentinel*, 14 February 1946, p. 1.

[13] "Newfoundland Men Arrive to Aid in Farmwork," *The Keene Sentinel*, 30 March 1945, p. 7.

[14] There are numerous newspaper advertisements for agricultural help wanted in the 1940s. Examples can be found in: *The Derry News*, 7 September 1945, p. 1; and "Opportunities for Job Hunters," *The Keene Sentinel*, 5 September 1945, p. 7.

1960s, the state's Department of Agriculture reported that the "[l]abor shortage is responsible for many farms having been forced to liquidate."[15]

Problems with Wildlife

Whether due to natural or social forces, farming is a tough way to make a living. With a level of frustration, and sometimes desperation, already existing among New Hampshire's farmers, a source of added aggravation has been the innumerable challenges posed by wildlife. As was the case with human-wildlife conflicts brought about by growth and development, one of the most pervasive wildlife issues for farmers was dealing with insects. Like the weather itself, agricultural problems caused by insects are timeless, and there have always been people willing to pull out all stops in waging war against them.

For the years 1944-1946, the Department of Agriculture reported good potato production, and that "[t]he use of the new insecticide material commonly known as D.D.T. appears not only to kill most of the potato insects but also stimulates growth."[16] The use of such chemicals proved both miraculous and disappointing, as D.D.T would repeatedly be lauded for aiding crop growth, but its effectiveness against insects was soon questioned. For example, one area enjoyed a few weeks of relief before "black flies rapidly became troublesome again. The demonstration indicates the need for repeated

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[15] A.E. Luloff and K.A. Taylor, *New Hampshire's Population: Trends and Characteristics* (New Hampshire Agricultural Experiment Station, UNH, Durham, NH, Research Report number 73, December 1978). New Hampshire Department of Agriculture, Annual Report, 1967-1968, p. 13.

[16] New Hampshire Department of Agriculture, Biennial Report, 1944-1946, no page listed.

application..."[17] Questions about effectiveness, however, only led to more experimentation. Even when the safety of poisons like D.D.T. later became a topic of conversation, chemicals allowing for mass annihilation and zero tolerance seem to have become the first line of defense in coping with insect problems.

Struggles with insects left many farmers looking upon a few select species of wildlife as allies. The Department of the Interior reported in 1950 that many farmers were putting up nesting boxes to encourage the "desirable birds" who "eat great quantities of insects," and one local newspaper offered advice in an article entitled "Friendly Robin Is a Valuable Ally to Farmer, Gardner, Conservationist":

> While the Robin may do some damage to fruit trees and vegetable gardens, his constant war against insects and other pests makes him a valuable ally...In fact, in the North and in some parts of the west the Robin is one of the most cherished of our native birds and is considered a welcome and helpful visitor...The wise farmer...will not shoot the robin for what might well be called a bad trait. Rather he will cultivate in his orchard or near his fruit trees, small patches of wild berries...If the farmer does this, he...will have a well trained, fleet winged policeman.[18]

Despite the benefits of such "winged policemen," birds have also long been among a number of species causing headaches for local farmers. To some extent, birds were even perceived with the kind of warfare mentality applied to insects, but this mentality focused on only certain birds. Crows were one particularly disliked species. The following passage reflects not only a preference for other birds over the shunned crows, but also the malicious intent and plotting vindictiveness attributed to the crow:

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[17] New Hampshire Department of Agriculture, Annual Report, 1953-1954, p. 92.

[18] "Around the State with the Conservation Officer," *The Argus-Champion*, 10 February 1950, p. 2; "Friendly Robin is a Valuable Ally to Farmer, Gardner, Conservationist," *The Argus-Champion*, 25 May 1951, p. 3.

A few moments ago there was a sleepy trill from a woodthrush in the woods, and it was answered at once by another, and soon there was a whole symphony of thrush music...Now a little phoebe gets into the act, and you can see her sitting on a limb flicking her tail each time she lets out her cheerful note...A little Maryland yellow throat adds his two cents worth; you can just picture him with his black mask peering in a friendly manner...All at once there enters a sour note: 'caw, caw, caw' comes the raucous rasp of a busybody quarrelsome crow...I suspect what he said was this:...we are going to raid Farmer Jones cornfield. I was over there yesterday and watched him plant a field of corn. The old buzzard saw me and took a shot at me...Now we are going to clean him out and teach him a lesson...the air seemed sweeter after they left.[19]

There is no doubt that birds were the cause of much agricultural damage in the state. In 1964, Fred Courtsal, reporting on the state's Predator and Rodent Control Program, announced that "[d]amage, by birds, to agricultural crops increased sharply during the past several years."[20] As noted in the previous chapter, the depredation of blackbirds on vegetable, fruit, and berry crops was considered to be "the foremost problem facing growers" for many years.[21] Yet birds elicited some variety in human response.

Perhaps reflective of the sheer diversity of bird species, birds could be loved and admired as easily as they were cursed. These mixed feelings made way for a range in tactics, and some degree of controversy, in finding ways to stem agricultural damage caused by them. Some people, even those experiencing bird-related losses, retained a sympathetic understanding. In 1958, Haydn S. Pearson, with more admiration than bitterness, wrote "the countryman wonders whether he raises cherries for himself, or for

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[19] "The Old Fisherman," *The Argus-Champion*, 17 July 1953, p. 1.

[20] Fred Courtsal quoted in: New Hampshire Department of Agriculture, Annual Report, 1963-1964, p. 47.

[21] This line was repeated verbatim in: New Hampshire Department of Agriculture, Annual Reports: from 1963-1964 to 1976-1977.

the cedar waxwings, robins and catbirds. It proves that some birds, like some people, appreciate one of the world's good fruits."[22]

The state's Wildlife Services division seemed cognizant of this inclination to *like* most birds, as numerous experiments with scaring devices, nets, and traps (as alternatives to lethal control) were ongoing in the 1960s and 1970s.[23] At the same time, there were also those not opposed to poisoning birds. While federal laws helped to regulate which species of birds could be taken, and the manner in which they could be killed, state legislators convened in 1961 to discuss the definition of "unprotected" birds, and they found disagreement among farmers over the use of poison for the control of certain species.[24]

For some other wildlife species, the use of poison stirred less controversy. As in the case with insects, people have historically found the numbers of rodents, especially rats and mice, too overwhelming to experiment with methods of control less sweeping and definitively lethal. As with the debut of D.D.T. in insect control, the local agricultural world was excited about the availability of poisons like Antu and Compound 1080.[25] The rat and mouse situation was serious, and therefore, a regular topic of conversation among local farmers in the1940s. A columnist wrote in 1949, "[t]he farmers tell me this is the

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[22] Haydn S. Pearson, "Country Flavor," *The Granite State News*, 24 October 1958, p. 3.

[23] New Hampshire Department of Agriculture, Annual Reports: 1963-1964 to 1974-1975.

[24] House Fish and Game, 1961-1965, Legislative Notes on House Bills 98 and 261, 6 April 1961, Box # 004044, New Hampshire State Archives.

[25] New Hampshire Department of Agriculture, Biennial Report, 1944-1946, p. 70.

worst year for rats and mice. These vermin are doing thousands of dollars worth of damage to grain bins, corn cribs, and poultry. It's a case of fight all the time."[26]

Through the decades, the Department of Agriculture responded with equally serious efforts to control the situation, publishing yearly reports of its Rodent Control Activities. The department began with lectures and demonstrations to assist farmers, but in the wake of feed shortages, no time was lost in making the program more aggressive, "a permanent farm program rather than a sporadic attempt to poison rats."[27] The program went on to include the yearly treatments of hundreds of premises with rat poison, management of thousands of acres for orchard mouse control, and the use of thousands of gas cartridges for woodchuck control as well. The number of pesticides, or "economic poisons" being registered began to break previous records on a regular basis, and even when the wisdom of using such poisons was looked upon with some criticism in the late 1960s and 1970s, attention was turned toward finding "new and safer toxicants."[28] Just as the warfare had played out against insects, the response to rodents was clearly entrenched in chemicals.

The species-specific nature of such a tactic surfaces when considering how agricultural conflicts with other wildlife species were handled. With some animals, there was the option of eating your foe. "Rod and Gun News" once read, "[i]f a particular

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[26] "Sportsmen's Column," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 24 November 1949, p. 6.

[27] New Hampshire Department of Agriculture, Biennial Report, 1944-1946, p. 80.

[28] According to the New Hampshire Department of Agriculture, Annual Report, 1955-1956, p. 30: the "total number of economic poisons registered during each of the two years broke our Department's record again." Also, see New Hampshire Department of Agriculture, Annual Reports: 1969-1970, p. 66; and 1971-1972, p. 20.

rabbit becomes a nuisance in your garden, try him in your skillet."[29] This would have been one major reason to think beyond poison in dealing with nuisance wildlife, but even some species considered to have some value as food were faced with a variety of tactics. A 1947 edition of "Farm Topics" devoted much of its space to instructions in exclusionary methods for keeping rabbits and other creatures away from young trees, and commenting on behalf of UNH Extension in 1976, Doug Routley wrote, "Don't forget to anticipate woodchucks and raccoons. I am finally convinced that an electric fence is the answer to both varmints."[30] Increasing options were likely the result of two related changes: growing concern about the safety of poisons, and the busy work of the Agriculture Department to experiment with creative ways to deal with wildlife. Doug Routley later alludes to these changes, in addition to spelling out the reality that options would not necessarily mean less frustration:

> Some animals find it difficult to coexist with man. Others thrive on the food and shelter that man generously provides. Rodents of all kinds have found this kind of coexistence a powerful weapon for survival...The solution to these pests is not simple because, unlike insects and diseases, a simple spray will not do the trick. Poison baits are risky for the average gardener and wire tree guards and bulb protectors are only partially effective. For the larger rodents, a dose of lead often works...for the smaller ones a few hungry cats might do the trick...rodents will be around for a long time so be prepared for a long battle. Whatever you try, lots of luck. You'll need it.[31]

Whatever the plan of attack, there have been virtually no limits on the types of species considered to be agricultural "nuisances." Aside from usual culprits like woodchucks, raccoons, rats, and mice, others were implicated as well. Chipmunks were

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[29] New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game, "Rod and Gun News," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 5 March 1959, p. 12.

[30] "Farm Topics," *The Granite State News*, 25 July 1947, p. 6. Doug Routley, "Chore Time After Planting the Garden," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 24 June 1976, p. 10.

[31] Doug Routley, "Yankee Gardener," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 20 April 1978, p. 19.

blamed for ruining carrots, squirrels linked to corn damage, and bears repeatedly associated with losses to apple orchards and the "[r]aiding of cornfields."[32] Even snakes were not safe from the suspicions of one frustrated farmer, who wrote to a columnist in 1949 to ask if snakes drink milk from cows. (The same farmer also wondered if "fawn deer tap the cows.") The author of "The Sportsman's Column" replied, "we have heard of snakes stealing milk from cows but we never quite believed the story."[33]

Regardless of the boundary line between myth and reality, strong opinions about nuisance wildlife swirled. As the Department of Agriculture continually worked to streamline, modernize, and expand its Wildlife Services Division, there were rarely any shortages of anecdotal complaints about wildlife.[34] Very common were reports like: "Dave Hall in East Washington said his garden…'must be good as the coons are feasting on it nightly'…Animals from the surrounding woods are plentiful and there is the constant struggle to keep deer, coons, woodchucks and squirrels out of the garden patch."[35]

For the most part, the responses of farmers to nuisance wildlife were not questioned by society in general. It broadly went without saying that farmers needed to take some measures to protect their vulnerable livelihoods, but when it came to certain species, agricultural interests did begin to find increasing resistance from a hunting

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[32] Doug Routley, "Yankee Gardener," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 10 November 1977, p. 17. Doug Routley, "Yankee Gardner," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 20 April 1978, p. 19. New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game, Annual Bear Kill Reports: 1968, p. 1; and 1978, p. 1.

[33] "Sportsman's Column," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 21 July 1949, p. 5.

[34] See: New Hampshire Department of Agriculture, Annual Report, 1965-1966, p. 79.

[35] "Hillsboro Survey Shows Rain Adequate There," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 12 September 1957, p. 7.

community that was becoming ever more vocal about protecting "game" animals.[36] In the 1940s and 1950s, problems with deer led to little more social tension than passing commentary about how burgeoning deer populations were having detrimental effects on crops. In 1948, a Bradford man wrote, "It's surprising more men haven't gotten their deer this year when you remember all the gardens they demolished this summer."[37] Three years later, a columnist noted, "[d]eer have invaded the peach orchards and done a lot of real damage. Who said we didn't live in a hunter's paradise?"[38] The digs at hunters were slight, sarcastic at best. Some of the most direct criticism of hunters leveled by farmers was related to fears about the safety of livestock at risk of being mistakenly shot, and given the overlaps in who was a farmer and who was a hunter, disagreement over how to handle deer problems was not always well defined.[39]

Debate, however, became a bit more polarized with later legislation. Though attempts to pass temporary "Buck Only" laws intended to grow deer herds were unsuccessful and inspired many within the sporting community to come to the defense of farmers, any attempt to further increase the deer population highlighted the self-serving competition between the opposing interests of hunting and farming.[40] These opposing interests were just as apparent in legislation over raccoons. Repeatedly through the 1960s, attempts by farmers to preserve their rights, with more relaxed hunting laws, to stop

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[36] A more in-depth discussion of hunting in post-war New Hampshire can be found in Chapter 4.

[37] Jack Reardon, "With Reardon in Bradford," *The Argus-Champion*, 17 December 1948, p. 15.

[38] "Sportsmen's Column," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 20 September 1951, p. 6.

[39] For an example of a reference to the dangers of hunting to livestock, see: Mary E. Witham, Letter to the Editor, *The Granite State News*, 17 December 1948, p. 2.

[40] See: House Fish and Game, 1965-1967, Legislative Notes on House Bill 350, 28 April 1965, Box # 004041, New Hampshire State Archives; and House Fish and Game, 1971-1973, Legislative Notes on House Bill 262, 11 March 1971, Box # 007023, New Hampshire State Archives.

raccoons from damaging crops competed with the desire of hunters to maintain, through stricter laws, plentiful numbers of raccoons to hunt. For example, the Senate Fish and Game Committee convened in 1963 to deliberate over a bill pertaining to an open season on raccoons. Among those showing up in favor of an open season was a representative of the New Hampshire Farm Bureau Federation, while those arguing for more regulation included members of the White Mountain Coon Hunters' Association.[41] In 1967, another bill was discussed "because of extensive damage caused by coon." Representative Terril of Goffstown said, "corn is impossible to raise because of coon damage," but again, those sympathetic with hunters protested.[42]

To some extent, this kind of tension was also brought about by agricultural conflicts with bears. State bear kill analyses reported on bears killed for being in or near livestock pens, including "[t]wo 'damage' kills [that] were made by one resident landowner who feared that the bear might bother his livestock, and another by a landowner who was convinced that bear were bothering his stock."[43] However, damage-related bear kills were not without controversy. In 1975, legislators considered a bill which required the Fish and Game Department to destroy bears who "damage persons or livestock." It was introduced by a Grafton Representative, who had had a sheep killed several months earlier. He spoke of the "rumor" that the same bear had killed cattle and had been caught in the act of killing "several times." Others, in disagreement, spoke of

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[41] Senate Fish and Game, 1953-1963, Legislative Notes on House Bill 377, 23 May 1963, Box # 009031, New Hampshire State Archives.

[42] House Fish and Game, 1965-1967, Legislative Notes on House Bill 52, 25 January 1967, Box #004041, New Hampshire State Archives.

[43] New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game, Bear Kill Reports: 1968 (no page listed) and 1977, p. 1.

the "need to protect bears" as game animals, and Fish and Game Director Henry Laramie said that such legislation would "deplete [the] bear herd," as he pointed to a study in which only a single tagged bear returned to kill again.[44]

Despite disagreement over the behavior of certain species, attacks on livestock were a real issue for farmers. A 1949 newspaper article reported on the struggles of Miss Edith Pike, who was a local turkey farmer: "Skunks seems to pester the birds the most...Miss Pike, who lives in a trailer in the center of the six-acre farm keeps a shotgun and a rifle on hand to keep away animal and human marauders."[45] Meanwhile, poultrymen were bothered by mink, and another article reported that a weasel had "killed half a flock" of chickens belonging to an area farmer.[46] "Foxes killed more than fifty nice chickens at Mr. Simms'" in 1952, and in 1956, *The Keene Sentinel* noted that "[a]lthough eagles are too small to carry off calves, they have been reported as making successful attacks on cattle in rare instances."[47] With rare exceptions, farmers viewed wildlife as a nuisance to be controlled.

Growth-Related Pressures on Local Farming

Despite the seemingly endless hardships faced by farmers, agriculture in New Hampshire did emerge from a relatively prosperous past. Times were good for farmers in

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[44] House Fish and Game, 1975, Legislative Notes on House Bill 232, 13 February 1975, Box # 007023, New Hampshire State Archives.

[45] "Turkey Troubles of Miss Edith Pike End as Thanksgiving Holiday Nears," *The Argus-Champion*, 22 November 1949, p. 4.

[46] "Sportsmen's Column," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 10 May 1945, p. 3; "Lempster," *The Argus-Champion*, 1 December 1955, p. 6.

[47] "Sanborn District," *The Granite State News*, 6 June 1952, p. 4. *The Keene Sentinel*, 24 February 1956, p. 8.

the 1940s and early 1950s, and while success varied with the types of crops and products, there were many signs of prosperity.[48] In 1946, the Department of Agriculture announced that "[d]uring the biennium New Hampshire Agriculture has been in an overall condition of prosperity. In the war years our farm families operated their farms to full capacity. In spite of handicaps of scarcity of labor, lack of new equipment, breakage of old equipment, transportation restrictions...their will to aid in the war effort never slackened."[49] This assessment was corroborated by other sources as well, like a local newspaper article that said, "[b]eset with crippling manpower shortages, despite the end of the war, dairy production still far exceeds pre-war years."[50]

The survival of farming, despite the odds, was partly attributable to the sense of community and cooperation that existed within the agricultural community. There also existed a more encompassing farm-friendly culture at the time. For one thing, farming was still very visible within mainstream society, and this served as a regular reminder of the local importance of agriculture. Newspapers contained numerous farming-related items, like features devoted to agricultural topics, advertisements for supplies and equipment, and specialized sections of the classifieds pages.[51] Meanwhile, farm-oriented

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[48] For example, comments on the particular success of the egg industry in New Hampshire can be found in: *The Peterborough Transcript*, 17 November 1955, p. 5; and New Hampshire Department of Agriculture, Annual Report, 1949-1950, p. 36.

[49] New Hampshire Department of Agriculture, Biennial Report, 1944-1946, p. 21.

[50] "Dairy Industry Unites to Observe June Dairy Month," *The Argus-Champion*, 11 June 1946, p. 6.

[51] Examples of agricultural features include: "Rural Front Digest," *The Argus-Champion,* 18 October 1946; agricultural section in *The Granite State News*, 15 February 1946, p. 6; and *The Granite State News*, 12 January 1945, p. 3. An advertisement highlighting "Everything for the Farm" can be found in: *The Peterborough Transcript*, 24 November 1949, p. 7. In its classified section, *The Portsmouth Herald* included categories for "Farm and Dairy Products" (see 19 October 1946, p. 9) and "Feed and Fertilizer" (see 22 May 1951, p. 9).

programming was carried by other media as well. According to the Department of Agriculture, "[f]our radio stations in the State...broadcast the Market Review on farm programs each week."[52] Another radio program was "Dairy Chat," and when television became available, early programming included such titles as "Farm, Home Digest."[53]

Such visibility likely strengthened the respect for farming that could already be found amongst the general population. Farmers benefited from the neighborliness that still thrived in the days before extensive growth and development (versus the orientation with self and social withdrawal that, the previous chapter argues, was a result of growth). The benefit to farmers who remained well connected to their communities is illustrated by a public call to aid a farmer who lost all possessions in a fire: "all the men of Chester, and friends of Mr. and Mrs. English are requested to gather at his new hen house...There is a lot to be done and it is hoped that we can complete the work on building if everyone able, turns out and helps."[54] In addition to this kind of personal support, farmers also had much respect from a public that viewed farming as a patriotic duty. In the wake of World War II, when rationing and food shortages lurked in recent memory, farmers were seen as somewhat heroic. In fact, one advertisement referred to farmers as "An Army That's <u>Never</u> Been Beaten."[55] The public's image of farming was extremely positive. In one newspaper's promotion of Dairy Month, a picture of dairy cows grazing was

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[52] New Hampshire Department of Agriculture: Biennial Report, 1946-1948, p. 26; and Annual Report, 1949-1950, p.19.

[53] See these programs listed, respectively, in: "Radio Network Guide," *The Portsmouth Herald*, 6 June 1952, p. 10; and "TV Schedule," *The Portsmouth Herald*, 28 March 1955, p. 8.

[54] "Chester News," *The Derry News*, 9 October 1952, p. 4.

[55] Advertisement, *The Argus-Champion*, 11 June 1946, p. 3.

accompanied by the following: "Emblematic of peace in a peace loving nation, and quietly remindful that dairying is America's greatest industry...[are] cows that never heard the roar of hostile guns that never saw the ravages of war. Such a scene, somehow symbolizes the American love of peace, home, and good eating."[56]

Respect for farming was accompanied by widespread awareness of the public's daily dependence upon agricultural products and interest in farming in general. Advertisements for milk sold at nearby farms named the breeds of cattle from which the milk came, as consumers seemed to genuinely care about such particulars. For example in 1945, Old Town Farm advertised "Golden Guernsey Milk for sale."[57] This helps to explain why newspapers also found it fitting to announce the arrival of individual animals to local herds. Another advertisement for Old Town Farm read, "Introducing...Gunstock Hill Farm Diana," appearing beside a picturesque photo of a dairy cow.[58] The public had an interest in the details of local dairy herds, and an appetite for notable farm stories.[59]

All of the makings of a farm-friendly culture in the 1940s and 1950s allowed for the general prosperity of comfortably small-scale farming. This is not to say that local agriculture was not receptive to advancements in science and technology. On the contrary, like businessmen in other markets, local farmers sought improvements like electrical service to their farms, and they embraced the convenience of certain farm

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[56] "June is Dairy Month," *The Argus-Champion*, 11 June 1946, p. 1.

[57] Advertisement, *The Peterborough Transcript*, 4 January 1945, p. 6.

[58] Advertisement, *The Peterborough Transcript*, 5 August 1954, p. 3.

[59] One example can be found in: *The Keene Sentinel*, 14 February 1946, p. 8. A similar story was printed in: *The Peterborough Transcript*, 17 March 1955, p.1.

machinery.[60] The availability of milk coolers enhanced production, high tech roofing for chicken houses was sold with the promise that "Proper housing can *boost* egg production," and Farm Master Milkers and other dairy and farming supplies could be purchased at Sears.[61] Reflective of the popularity of such items, *The Granite State News* printed the following in 1945: "More cows to milk – fewer hands to do it. Result...American dairy farmers are using 50 per cent more milking machines than in pre-war days."[62]

Local agriculture clearly had a place for improving technology, but, for a while at least, such advancements seemed to fall within the confines of respect for the natural limitations of farm animals. This was a time when cows continued to be bought and sold individually, or even as a "good family cow."[63] The manageable number of farm animals at this time was a characteristic of local agriculture that enabled somewhat personal relationships with individual animals. This dynamic contributed to an initially gradual integration of technology into farming, but all of this was at the threshold of major change. The effects of significant growth would soon grip the agricultural community, and this grip would bring about a drastic transformation.

With a boom in growth came dramatically higher valuation of unbuilt land, which

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[60] Advertisement for Public Service of New Hampshire in: *The Argus-Champion*, 4 January 1945, p. 2.

[61] Milk coolers were advertised by Neal Hardware in: *The Derry News*, 11 May 1945, p. 8. An advertisement for chicken house roofing can be found in: *The Derry News*, 11 May 1945, p. 9. For an advertisement for dairy supplies sold at Sears, see: *The Argus-Champion*, 11 June 1946, p. 2.

[62] *The Granite State News*, 12 January 1945, p. 2.

[63] For example, see: classifieds, *The Argus-Champion*, 11 June 1946, p. 4.

made farmland a potential prize for those interested in building and development.[64] The 1950s saw land buyers scramble for prospective development sites, hence advertisements like those from the Benway Agency seeking farm properties in Derry.[65] In the years to follow, thousands of acres of New Hampshire farm land were swallowed up by builders.[66] Perhaps, at first, this trend offered opportunities to individual farmers looking to downsize or retire, but by the 1960s, the state's Department of Agriculture began to express concern about the long-term effects of such a trend:

> Conservation of natural resources, urban development programs, restoration of open space as well as agricultural stabilization programs are becoming of vast interest to agricultural people as well as all other citizens of New Hampshire interested in orderly development programs to conserve the natural resources and natural beauty of New Hampshire...Since New Hampshire is not a self-sufficient State, the production of large quantities of agricultural products becomes increasingly important with the expanding development of industrial and urban areas.[67]

Likewise, even town officials eventually concurred that the security of local communities may be jeopardized. In Wolfeboro, industry, housing, and recreation were among the factors identified as threats to farming and forestry:

> Conflicting interest in seeking an ideal growth community, offering desirable employment, living quarters, communication, commercial services and entertainment can become destructive of vital community values. With present energy problems, curtailed transportation and shrinking natural resources, a community in time can be forced to become increasingly self-sufficient and more dependent on its local assets...Thus the preservation of areas of prime agriculture,

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[64] The following is quoted from an Editorial in *The Portsmouth Herald*, 7 October 1950, p. 4: "Farm land prices, after dropping slightly from their postwar peaks, are now headed toward all-time high levels."

[65] Advertisement, *The Derry News*, 8 May 1954, p. 1.

[66] For example, it was reported in the Wolfeboro Town Report, 1963, p. 116, that 30 acres of Nedlar Farms, Inc. were conveyed to LaRoche Land Development Corp.

[67] New Hampshire Department of Agriculture, Annual Report, 1967-1968, p. 13 and 30.

> of prime forestry, of essential water resources, our wetlands and other natural reserves may again become essential to this and every other community.[68]

Meanwhile, the increased valuation of farmland for potential development also posed such a tax burden to farmers that the Department of Agriculture became keenly interested in "Taxation of Open Space and Agricultural Lands." A department report noted, "We will recommend to the 1967 Legislature a forward looking program in taxation of lands giving emphasis to present use, recreational use, and preservation of natural resources and natural beauty."[69]

The effort to protect farmland as a valuable local resource, however, largely went ignored. For many, the long-term consequence of voracious conversion of farmland to development was obscured by the dollar signs in their eyes. This ongoing land grab contributed notably to the significant changes in agricultural land use. Between 1949 and 1974, the amount of New Hampshire land in farms had decreased more than 68%, and the amount of total cropland decreased more than 61%.[70] For farmers intending to continue production, this meant an increase in pressure on remaining farmland.[71] The pressure on the land, in combination with a growing population, created a rising demand for more food to be produced on less acreage, and the result was a shift in the very traditions of local agriculture.

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[68] Wolfeboro Town Report, 1979, no page listed.

[69] New Hampshire Department of Agriculture, Annual Report, 1965-1966, p. 13.

[70] D.E. Morris, *Agricultural Land Use Changes in the Northeast, 1949: A Statistical Guide* (Durham, NH: New Hampshire Agricultural Experiment Station, University of New Hampshire. Research Report Number 53, January 1977).

[71] According to the New Hampshire Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1949-1950, p. 25: "As acreage declines, plantings are restricted to the best adapted soils, increasing applications of fertilizer have been used in recent years, and the general use of more effective insecticides gives vines better protection..."

One effect of the growing economic pressure on agriculture was a new focus on boosting sales of local farm products through various promotional campaigns. Among those agricultural sectors campaigning most vigorously were members of the dairy industry, whose promotional objectives were initially geared toward highlighting the health benefits of drinking milk. In the late 1940s, local newspapers regularly printed advertisements that said things like, "Fresh Buttermilk...The Daily Health Drink" and "Drink Milk for Health."[72] At the same time, there were efforts simply to bring attention to the industry. For example, June was celebrated as "Dairy Month," and by the mid-1960s, the state's Dairy Princess program was well-established.[73] Princess and queen contests, however, were not limited to dairy promotion. In 1950, Poultry Queen contests were open to "girls whose fathers, brothers, cousins or employers are poultrymen"..."the only things you have to do to be eligible is to either live or work on a poultry farm that raises twenty-five or more chickens – or if you are a 4-H Club member raising poultry."[74]

The state's Department of Agriculture soon had its own Agricultural Promotionist, who touted the effectiveness of such campaigns. According to George Kittredge, princess programs in "the dairy, poultry, maple, apple, and blueberry industries and the use of princesses in store promotions and personal appearances has provided

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[72] Advertisements for: Page Homestead Farm, *The Keene Sentinel*, 15 April 1948, p. 7; and Newport Dairy, *The Argus-Champion*, 22 November 1949, p. 7.

[73] "Dairy Month" was announced in an advertisement for Newport Dairy in *The Argus-Champion*, 6 June 1950, p. 2. See a photo of a Dairy Princess in: New Hampshire Department of Agriculture, Annual Report, 1967-1968, p. 11.

[74] See: *The Derry News*, 10 February 1950, p. 4; and *The Granite State News*, 10 February 1950, p. 1.

much additional attention to our agricultural enterprises."[75] At some point, however, the promoters had to surrender to the notion that perhaps agriculture would have to begin accommodating a changed society. As promotional efforts continued to evolve with advertising strategies, the strength of market forces could not be ignored. In 1954, an article in *The Portsmouth Herald* asked,

> Is an old New England preference going out with the changing world?...Miss Eleanor Bateman, manager of the New England Poultry & Egg Institute reports a new color trend in New England eggs…New England has been known for generations as a 'brown egg' area. New York City, on the other hand, was 'white egg' territory. The respective colors once drew premium prices in their markets.[76]

Just as tastes for egg color changed, so did expectations for how other agricultural produce should be made available to the buying public. A 1950 report on New Hampshire marketing trends noted the following:

> Consumer preference for pre-packaging has made a change in marketing methods for our fruit, vegetable and poultry farmers. The retail trade has required that the potato grower pack potatoes in ten and fifteen-pound paper bags. Apples sell best in one to three-pound cartons…Packaging in small units has required more careful attention by the producer to better grading, processing and branding of his product…Washing, waxing and peeling methods are in the experimental stage. These trends should be watched carefully and perhaps adopted by our growers.[77]

Such marketing trends illustrate how agriculture was forced to change with evolving concepts of home life and convenience. There was a growing emphasis on the need for proper grading, packing, and marketing of produce, because these were the things that the buying public had come to value: "This is the age of the supermarket. Emphasis is on 'eye appeal' both of the container and of its contents…package units are

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[75] George Kittredge quoted in: New Hampshire Department of Agriculture, Annual Report, 1965-1966, p. 31.

[76] "New Englanders Now Prefer White Eggs," *The Portsmouth Herald*, 19 April 1954, p. 2.

[77] New Hampshire Department of Agriculture, Annual Report, 1949-1950, p. 19.

being made smaller and more attractive. Today consumers have more limited facilities in the home to store large supplies of produce and cellophane covered trays offer the amount the shopper desires."[78] The resulting pressures placed on local farmers by such market forces are best described by an excerpt from The Department of Agriculture's 1981 Annual Report:

> Direct marketing outlets are an important channel of food distribution for local farmers. However, supermarkets and neighborhood stores remain the major outlets for consumer food supplies. Convenience remains an important factor in consumer shopping patterns. Obstacles preventing local food from entering this wholesale avenue include sufficient supply with consistent quality, acceptable distribution method, equitable price, willingness to coordinate between producer and merchandiser...The sophistication of the present food marketing system has prevented ready access by local producers.[79]

For farmers determined to make it through this transformative time, the task of updating their operations in order to supply quantitative demand, meet consumer expectations for consistent quality and equitable price, and streamline storage and transport methods, became do-or-die.

Changes to Agriculture

In 1945, the *Argus-Champion* ran an advertisement that asked, "Why is a telephone like a pitchfork?" The answer was that "both are farm necessities."[80] That was actually a bit debatable at the time – it remained the subject of some discussion in local farm columns, and in 1949, only 42% of farms in the U.S. had telephone service – but, it

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[78] New Hampshire Department of Agriculture, Annual Report, 1959-1960, p. 64.

[79] New Hampshire Department of Agriculture, Annual Report, 1980-1981, p. 17.

[80] Advertisement, *The Argus-Champion*, 19 July 1945, p. 2.

was a concept that certainly did qualify as one of the first steps in farm modernization.[81] Happening at around the same time was the introduction of electricity to farms.[82] As mentioned earlier, this too was a somewhat gradual change; in 1947, 2½ million American farm families were reportedly still without electricity.[83]

There were reasons – other than the issue of availability – why some farmers may not have embraced such changes with enthusiasm. Electricity, after all, did come with some problems, the most devastating of which was the increased risk of barn fires, which were reported on regularly and frequently in news articles printed during the late 1940s and 1950s.[84] Although not all fires could be attributed to wiring (for example, lightning was still a real concern to many), there was widespread agreement that faulty equipment and overloading often linked barn fires to the use of electricity.[85] The fires represented the sometimes messy and difficult adjustments that are made during transitional times, but as was seen with the ongoing press of growth, any drawbacks did not stop the momentous march of modernization. Electricity was seen as basic to living *and* farming

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[81] Telephone service to farm homes was discussed in: "Farm Topics," *The Granite State News*, 7 December 1945, p.6; see also: *The Granite State News*, 22 July 1949, p. 7.

[82] An advertisement for Public Service of New Hampshire offered service to farms in: *The Peterborough Transcript*, 4 January 1945, p. 5.

[83] *The Granite State News*, 25 July 1947, p. 10.

[84] Some examples include: "7,000 Chickens Die in Epping Fire," *The Portsmouth Herald*, 8 January 1945, p. 1; "Two AM Fire Destroys Hen House," *The Derry News*, 21 November 1947, p. 3; and "Burns 700 Hens," *The Keene Sentinel*, 19 September 1951, p. 6.

[85] In one report, it was specified that "There was no wiring in the barn near the spot where the fire broke out and it is thought that the barn may have been hit by lightning." See: "Fire Levels Valley Barn," *The Granite State News*, 10 October 1952, p. 5. Also, see: S.W. Colby, "County Agent's Corner," *The Argus-Champion*, 23 January 1951, p. 3.

"the modern way," and the extension of electricity was credited by the Department of Agriculture as making important farm "improvements" possible.[86]

Another significant change to local agriculture came about with the growing use of tractors. Like the changes that came with delivering electricity and telephone service to farms, there was a period of transition in this move toward mechanization. In the year 1929, there were already hundreds of thousands of tractors in use on American farms, but horsepower was still far more prevalent. Well past the end of World War II, newspapers advertised work horses – "Farm Chunks" – and horses widely remained on the job through the 1950s.[87] At this time, it was common to see advertisements for tractors-for-hire, before they were owned by many local farmers.[88] Yet, the quickened pace of mechanized production must have been hard to resist. Unlike other aspects of farm modernization, the transition to tractor ownership was relatively fast. According to one report, "[a]bout half of the nation's hay crop was cut with tractor mowers in 1946 as against 15 per cent in 1939."[89] By 1948, there were 3,250,000 tractors in use on U.S. farms – almost double the number from 1940.[90] Of two immediate consequences, one was the phasing out of work horses. In the 1940s, the complete liquidation of horse-drawn equipment by the Hood Farm in Derry was in response to the farm's having

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[86] An advertisement for Public Service of New Hampshire highlights service to homes and farms as the means to "Go all electric…the modern way." See: *The Argus-Champion*, 25 July 1947, p. 3. Also, see: New Hampshire Department of Agriculture, Annual Report, 1949-1950, p. 49.

[87] According to *The Granite State News*, 22 July 22 1949, p. 5: 827,000 tractors were used on U.S. farms in 1929. See classified advertisement, *The Portsmouth Herald*, 17 March 1947, p. 7.

[88] For examples, see classified advertisements in: *The Granite State News*, 16 April 1948, p. 7; and *The Peterborough Transcript*, 8 June 1950, p. 12.

[89] *The Granite State News*, 16 April 1948, p. 3.

[90] See *The Granite State News*: 22 July 1949, p. 5; and 13 August 1948, p. 4.

"purchased the latest mechanical farm equipment," and in 1956, the Department of Agriculture verified that "[h]orses continue to disappear from New Hampshire farms as the tractors continue to replace horses as a source of power."[91]

Another consequence was the ever faster pace of farm work, which reset standards at unprecedented levels. Commenting on current trends in agriculture, David Kline has written:

> The Amish have maintained what I like to think is a proper scale, largely by staying with the horse. The horse has restricted unlimited expansion...With horses you unhitch at noon to water and feed the teams and then the family eats what we still call dinner. While the teams rest there is usually time for a short nap. And because God didn't create the horse with headlights, we don't work nights.[92]

The huge step in mechanizing agriculture that was made possible by tractor power only meant that other steps in the food production process had to be streamlined in order to keep up. In 1945, it was well-noted that modernization would soon widely affect agriculture – one edition of "Farm and Home News" published that year was devoted to the subject of new electric farm equipment and high-tech milking.[93] This was also the same year in which another farm column sang the praises of advanced design milking stools, so perhaps the earliest post-war years felt more anticipation in this arena than any earth-shattering changes, but it was not long before notable advancements in farm technology did begin to further transform the nature of local agriculture.[94] In 1947, hay driers were becoming popular on farms, and just a few years later, the idea of using

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[91] See: "Hood Farm Selling Farm Equipment," *The Derry News*, 21 November 1947, p. 8; and New Hampshire Department of Agriculture, Annual Report, 1955-1956, p. 66.

[92] David Kline, "Great Possessions," in *The New Agrarianism: Land, Culture, and the Community of Life*, ed. Eric T. Freyfogle (Washington: Island Press, 2001), p. 192.

[93] "Farm and Home News," *The Argus-Champion*, 29 March 1945, p. 7.

[94] "Farm Topics," *The Granite State News*, 7 December 1945, p. 6.

conveyors to feed and bed cows was discussed at a meeting of the American Society of Agricultural Engineers.[95] Such advancements were generally embraced as being among "the marvelous machines which swiftly and economically do the farm jobs today."[96]

Meanwhile, in its 1946-1948 biennial report, the Department of Agriculture announced that the milking machine "has become a great labor saving service and is in very wide use on our farms. It would...have been impossible for most of our producers to carry on the work of making milk these last few years without the help of these machines."[97] The milking machine, though, like the tractor, brought far-reaching implications. First, it altered some basic animal husbandry traditions, as it facilitated a trend toward milking "parlors." It was believed that "removing the cows from the stable at milking time...does away with stable and feed odors contaminating the milk," but this belief would also begin to decentralize human-animal relationships on farms, as divisions of mechanically-assisted labor began to minimize contact with the animals.[98]

Another important consequence of technology like that of the milking machine was an increasing focus on production *quantity*. Compared to earlier years, production became a process of growing, transporting, and selling bulk quantities of food. According to a 1954 Department of Agriculture report, "[f]arm bulk cooling tanks are being installed on a few farms and tank truck pick-up routes from the farm to the plant are just beginning to start with more such routes planned for the near future. This change in milk handling

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[95] See: *The Granite State News*, 25 July 1947, p. 5; and "Describes Conveyor to Feed, Bed Cows," *The Keene Sentinel*, 6 December 1954, p. 2.

[96] Editorial, *The Derry News*, 12 September 1957, p. 2.

[97] New Hampshire Department of Agriculture, Biennial Report, 1946-1948, p. 70.

[98] New Hampshire Department of Agriculture, Annual Report, 1951-1952, p. 60

may mean that some small producers will lose their market and many medium sized producers will likely increase their production."[99] As the years passed, more and more bulk milk tanks were installed on New Hampshire farms – by 1960, the Weights and Measures Bureau of the Department of Agriculture had calibrated 760 tanks since the first was installed.[100] This technology not only hampered the ability of "small producers" to compete with the farms more able to expand, but also required further advancements in storage technology. With the need for larger means of keeping greater quantities from spoiling came developments in "controlled atmosphere storage."[101] Thus, milking machines and storage technology provide examples of how some farm technology was automatically linked to other, related advancements.

At the same time that bulk and quantity came to define agricultural output, it also necessarily determined what initially went *in* to animal agriculture. Feed itself followed a similar progression. The first bulk delivery of feed in New Hampshire took place in December of 1951, and this development would have powerful effects on smaller-scale players within the local agricultural economy.[102] By 1960, the Department of Agriculture was publishing lists of numerous local feed stores being forced out of business each year.[103] It is easy to see how technological advancements, and their accompanying changes in methods of production and business, both contributed to the decline in the cost

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[99] New Hampshire Department of Agriculture, Annual Report, 1953-1954, p. 37.

[100] New Hampshire Department of Agriculture, Annual Report, 1959-1960, p. 18.

[101] New Hampshire Department of Agriculture, Annual Report, 1969-1970, p. 16.

[102] New Hampshire Department of Agriculture, Annual Report, 1951-1952, p. 51.

[103] For an example, see: New Hampshire Department of Agriculture, Annual Report, 1961-1962, p. 36.

effectiveness of small-scale farming and perpetuated the upward spiral in expectations for agricultural production.

When it came to plants, efforts to aggressively boost production largely fell within the realm of fertilizer use, which was already rapidly increasing by the end of the war. By 1948, U.S. farmers were using more than twice the amount of commercial fertilizer used between 1935 and 1939, but a similarly aggressive approach was also becoming prevalent among animal agriculturalists.[104] Like the use of fertilizers in plant growth, the practice of supplementing animal feed for maximum growth and production spread quickly. In 1949, the Merrimack Farmer's Exchange recommended the use of Vampros pellets to increase egg production, and many advertisements for "milk replacer," "Calf Starters," and "Chick Starters," soon followed.[105] A 1955 advertisement for feeds from Farmers Feed & Supply assured that "[w]hether you are producing milk, eggs or meat, the animals or bird, as the case may be, can do no better by you than its inherent capacity – and *it can only reach that point of maximum income worth when you correctly feed for it...*"[106] This philosophy was supported by the Department of Agriculture, when it admitted that the "liberal use of concentrate feeds...contributed to setting the new record-high milk production per cow in 1951."[107]

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[104] *The Granite State News*, 13 August 1948, p. 4.

[105] Advertisement for the Merrimack Farmer's Exchange in *The Peterborough Transcript*, 21 July 1949, p. 9. Also, see advertisements for: Kaff-A Milk Replacer in *The Argus-Champion*, 23 January 1951, p. 7; Hood's Calf Starter in *The Argus-Champion*, 18 September 1951, p. 5; and chick starter at Farmers Feed & Supply in *The Argus-Champion*, 8 April 1954, p. 8.

[106] Advertisement for Farmers Feed & Supply in *The Argus-Champion*, 17 March 1955, p. 7.

[107] New Hampshire Department of Agriculture, Annual Report, 1951-1952, p. 45.

The concept of high-tech feeds crossed into another realm of quickly evolving attitudes toward animal husbandry: the widespread use of drugs. In 1954, an advertisement in *The Keene Sentinel* read, "Calves grow bigger now because of new fortified Wayne Calf Starter. Contains antibiotics. Get Wayne at Sunshine Feed Store."[108] Indeed, antibiotics were seen as "wonder-drugs," and with their locally noted effectiveness in treating a variety of farm animal ailments, their use became routine in both preventing disease and even stimulating growth.[109] The Merrimack Farmer's Exchange announced that a "High Level Antibiotic Mash" had "raised the health status of poultry flocks in New Hampshire," while *The Derry News* announced: "Chickens laid up with sniffles cost U.S. farmers millions of dollars each year!...Now science has found that adding the earth-mold drug, terramycin, to the poultry feed stops [Chronic Respiratory Disease] – also increases growth!"[110]

Veterinary medicine was correspondingly becoming more high tech in its own right. In the 1940s, emphasis on controlling Bangs' Disease (Brucellosis) in dairy cattle was already well-instituted, but it was in the 1950s that a new benchmark in disease control was recognized.[111] It was heralded by the Department of Agriculture in its 1955-1956 annual report: "Fortunately Veterinary Science and disease control work has progressed to a degree that even our seasonal diseases...can and are being prevented by

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[108] Classified advertisement, *The Keene Sentinel*, 6 December 1954, p. 9.

[109] Aureomycin was referred to as a "wonder drug" in *The Peterborough Transcript*, 8 June 1950, p. 6. In 1947, *The Granite State News* published at least two articles about the effectiveness of antibiotics: "Penicillin Effective in Treatment of Mastitis," 21 March 1947, no page listed; and "Penicillin Saves Turkeys," 25 July 1947, p. 8.

[110] See: advertisement for the Merrimack Farmer's Exchange in *The Derry News*, 25 October 1956, p. 1; and *The Derry News*, 5 August 1954, p. 3.

[111] See: Letter to the Editor, *The Argus-Champion*, 18 March 1947, p. 1.

the use of vaccines and serums."[112] Brian A. DeVore has written of the capacity of "chemicals, machinery, drugs, and all the other trappings of industrial agriculture" to "bludgeon into submission."[113] In some sense, this control over "nature" seems to have been related to the control that people attempted to impose upon the environment, wildlife, and other people as, local communities grew. Yet, this parallel becomes even more obvious when considering the ways in which modernizing agriculture literally transformed the farm animals themselves.

A major objective of agriculture had become the maximization of production, and while this was achieved, in part, with drugs and feed supplements, it was also realized through the manipulation of the very DNA of farm animals. This extension of control over nature was exercised in two related ways. First, just as local researchers investigated ways of hybridizing plants for greater agricultural yields, science was now making it easier to control livestock breeding in ways not widely seen before.[114] A growing use of "artificial breeding" made possible animal reproduction on farmers' schedules. It was a matter of convenience, both in terms of time and husbandry, where bulls, for example, no longer had to be kept on site. According to one local paper, this trend quickly set a precedent but further separated economically viable farms from those unable to modernize in such ways: "Dairy farmers who own several hundred cows will find it economically practical to form an artificial breeding association and have their cows bred

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[112] New Hampshire Department of Agriculture, Annual Report, 1955-1957, p. 40.

[113] Brian A. DeVore, "When Farmers Shut Off the Machinery," in *The Farm as Natural Habitat: Reconnecting Food Systems with Ecosystems*, ed. Dana L. Jackson and Laura L. Jackson (Washington: Island Press, 2002), p. 84.

[114] "Experiments at U.N.H. Show Hybrid Corn Yield As Help For Farmers," *The Argus-Champion*, 23 January 1951, p. 3.

to proven bulls by artificial insemination but the cost of such service is too high for one farmer unless he owns a large number of cows."[115] Despite the competitive setbacks to smaller-scale farmers, this practice swept the state, and there were soon active local artificial breeding associations.[116]

Second, even more invasive in the control of animal DNA was the selective breeding intended to create virtually new kinds of animals. A film promoted by a local cattle club in 1948 was entitled "Man Made Miracles," and it "showed how man has through the years bred animals to suit his specific needs."[117] In the next decades, this attempt at manufacturing designer farm animals was well illustrated by the "Chicken-of-Tomorrow Contest." It was a nationwide contest that drew interest from many local farmers. In 1951, *The Keene Sentinel* announced: "A Westmoreland Poultry farmer is one of two New Hampshire breeders who have entered flocks in the National Chicken-of-Tomorrow contest at Fayetville, Ark…in the contest for development of better meat-type chickens."[118] Even children involved with local 4-H clubs participated in such contests. According to one newspaper, more than 250 New Hampshire children entered the 1950 4-H Chicken-of-Tomorrow Contest.[119]

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[115] *The Granite State News*, 10 February 1950, p. 6.

[116] References to meetings of the N.H. Artificial Breeding Association can be found in the Wolfeboro Town Report, 1951, p. 50-54.

[117] "Kiwanis Members See Colored Sound Film," *The Derry News*, 17 December 1948, p. 1.

[118] "Westmoreland Man Entered in Contest," *The Keene Sentinel*, 22 May 1951, p. 10.

[119] *The Granite State News*, 9 June 1950, p. 5.

Results of Modernized Agriculture

One result of all of these efforts to boost agricultural output was, indeed, much higher production efficiency. The numbers of farms, and the amount of acreage in agriculture steadily declined, but the output of surviving operations increased markedly.[120] According to *The Granite State News*, "[a]verage egg production by all pullets and hens in the U.S. increased from 101 in 1940 to 117 in 1946," and it reported in 1949 that "The average efficiency of the United States farmers has increased 70 per cent in the past 25 years."[121] Meanwhile, newspapers carried numerous stories about individual local farm animals breaking production records.[122] In 1962, the Department of Agriculture claimed that "it would be hard to pick out any other two years in our agricultural history when there has been such an increase in general efficiency," and this change in efficiency was largely associated with American agriculture "rapidly becoming a scientific and complex industry."[123]

In addition to a dramatic increase in efficiency, there were also other consequences to local agriculture's push to modernize farms and maximize production. First, there were some immediate practical complications. For example, one newspaper raised the following issue in 1951: "Farmers buying chemically treated seed grains for planting are warned of the danger of using leftover amounts in livestock rations. Seed

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[120] This is an observation made repeatedly over time by the New Hampshire Department of Agriculture in its Biennial and Annual Reports. For examples, see reports for the years: 1946-1948, p. 21; 1951-1952, p. 37; and 1959-1960, p. 18 and 22.

[121] See *The Granite State News*: 13 August 1948, p. 9; and. 22 July 1949, p. 8.

[122] For examples, see: "UNH Cow Sets Record in Milk Production," *The Argus-Champion*, 22 July 1949, p. 7; and "Hood Cow Beats Milk Record," *The Derry News*, 9 May 1963, p. 5.

[123] New Hampshire Department of Agriculture, Annual Reports: 1961-1962, no page listed; and 1963-1964, p. 9.

grains treated with fungus-killing chemicals, such as mercury, have caused many deaths in farm animals."[124] Here was one situation in which efforts to boost production actually hindered other areas of agriculture.

Then, there were the new practices that came with inherent problems. With the emphasis on convenient and stream-lined agriculture, many farmers turned to more confinement-oriented animal husbandry. The appeal of this approach was so widespread, that it even translated as a selling-point to consumers, as indicated by one 1960 classified advertisement for "fresh killed confinement raised turkeys."[125] However, any experimentation in genetic engineering had yet to create farm animals truly suited to lives of confinement, so the animals themselves bore the brunt of this shift in philosophy. Aside from the welfare issues at stake, there were business-side challenges that made confinement counterproductive. In 1950, for instance, it was noted that "[d]eficiencies of iron and copper, resulting in anemia are common in pigs raised without access to soil."[126] Such an outcome illustrates Joseph E. Taylor's observations about challenges to the emergence of increasingly industrialized and scientific aquaculture: "In each case they defined the problem as essentially technical…Culturists and managers were treating symptoms. They had been layering technology on technology for so long that they lost sight of the underlying social roots of the problem."[127]

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[124] *The Granite State News*, 26 December 1951, p. 4.

[125] Classifieds, *The Portsmouth Herald*, 19 December 1960, p. 21.

[126] *The Granite State News*, 6 October 1950, p. 8.

[127] Joseph E. Taylor III, *Making Salmon: An Environmental History of the Northwest Fisheries Crisis* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999), p. 230.

A longer-term consequence was the transformation of fundamental human-animal relationships. It is no surprise that as farming became so intensively business-focused, livestock came to be seen as living dollar signs. Chicks began to be sold by the hundreds, and poultry farms advertised them as coming with the potential for "Long Productive Life and Meat PROFITS."[128] As with the concept of keeping animals in confinement, other new profit-oriented practices ultimately changed the way farmers interacted with their animals. For example, it was reported in 1963 that "[o]ne of the most dramatic developments in livestock production is the use of slotted floors. Producers of nearly every class of farm animal are showing interest...[slotted floors] simplify waste removal, eliminate need for bedding, permit higher concentrations of livestock and keep animals cleaner and free of parasites."[129] This new industrialized version of agriculture was, philosophically, a major turnaround from those earlier transitional years, when it was believed that a "cow has to be in the mood to milk right...Gentleness and kindly care have marked effects on milk production too. Cows which are brushed for a few minutes each day respond with more milk..."[130] As the expanding use of such things as slotted floors allowed for an increase in the average size of dairy herds, farmers – even if they wanted to – no longer had the opportunity to spend time brushing and bonding with individual animals. The significance of this change is captured by Donald Worster's comments about a distancing in the human-land relationship that led to the indifference

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[128] See: classifieds, *The Argus-Champion*, 22 July 1949, p. 5; and advertisement for Hardy's Poultry Farm in *The Derry News*, 5 June 1952, p. 1.

[129] "Slotted Floor For Livestock Pens Favored," *The Keene Sentinel*, 5 September 1963, p. 20.

[130] "Specialists Find Old Moo Cow Temperamental Creature," *The Derry News*, 21 March 1947, p. 6.

and even "abuse" responsible for America's Dust Bowl conditions of the 1930s.[131] Related to animals, as explored in the previous chapter, the same type of disconnect could be seen as nurturing similarly strained relationships.

Such a seismic shift in husbandry practices could not have occurred without *some* outrage and resistance from both farmers and the general public. In 1949, a local columnist made the following commentary about both modern agriculture and the prospects of agricultural science tinkering with genetic engineering to excess: "We were bothered, yes perturbed by the horrid idea of breeding wingless chickens. There was a long story in one of the magazines with a lot of illustrations of the poor critters dressed and undressed. We call it a mean way to treat chickens...We want our roosters to have wings to flap when they crow!"[132] Similar concern resurfaced in another column published in 1956:

> big farming operations are more efficient in turning out products at low cost... However, a recent announcement that a scientist has developed a breed [of chicken] without feathers should stir many good citizens to articulate protest... Efficiency is a good thing, by and large; although we occasionally, feel there is a logical division somewhere between pleasant, comfortable living and the high, impersonal plateau envisioned by cold-blooded efficiency experts. A hen without feathers would obviously be easier to prepare for the pot [but]...[b]efore there is widespread adoption of this featherless hen, we hope poultrymen will carefully consider all related factors. Sometimes man's bright ideas for improvement do not turn out to glow with the anticipated color.[133]

Such comments were not coming from animal rights activists – just local writers who seemed to feel that what was happening to agriculture was simply not right. Sometimes it was a vague uneasiness about the morality of treating animals as commodities or things,

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[131] Donald Worster, *Dust Bowl* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), p. 63.

[132] "Goose Quills," *The Granite State News*, 22 July 1949, p. 10.

[133] Haydn Pearson, "Hens Without Feathers," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 23 February 1956, p. 6.

and other times, regret about the direction of modern farming was more rooted in a reminiscence about earlier traditions (similar to the initial responses of many local people to a changing way of life in the wake of accelerated growth):

> We are not opposed to progress and probably zero pasturage is a forward step in the dairy business. In this new plan, cows are kept confined and all the feed is brought to them...But zero pasturage will deprive farm boys of a fundamental right. Along in the afternoon if work were not unduly pressing, Father was likely to say, 'son, we're pretty well caught up. Why don't you go for the cows?' Going for the cows, as many men now working in city offices remember, involved much more than bringing the cows to the barn for milking...There were woodchuck holes to explore...A lad always had his eye on a few hornets' nests that needed cautious investigation. At the low end of the field...one could expect to see the famous six-foot black snake. In the hedgerows there were bird nests...Going for the cows may not be very exciting in terms of contemporary avenues of activity. But there are those who remember the long-ago days on the farm and who are glad that they could go for the cows on a pleasant summer afternoon.[134]

This passage is particularly reflective of the many-faceted aspects of more traditional farming and how it entailed interaction with nature and wildlife. It also makes direct reference to unwelcome changes in the nature of farm work. Such sentiment was not lost in even the Department of Agriculture, which sadly acknowledged that modernized agriculture had changed the farmer's relationships with his or her animals. By 1970, the department's Dairy Services Supervisor wrote, "Dairying, like all other industry, continues to decline in number of individual herds but the remaining herds grow larger. Maybe this is for the betterment of the industry, but I dislike to see the old personal relationship between man and animal disappear as it is doing with the expansion of these herds."[135]

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[134] Haydn Pearson, "Going for the Cows," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 9 July 1959, p. 4.

[135] Dean Hammond, Dairy Services Supervisor, quoted in: New Hampshire Department of Agriculture, Annual Report, 1969-1970, p. 32.

In addition to direct human-animal issues, one other major consequence of modernized agriculture was the difficulty in adjusting to a wildly swinging pendulum between successful farming and overproduction. In the mid-1950s, the Department of Agriculture announced that "[b]oth the poultry and dairy business is presently suffering from an overproduction of meat and animal products...due to technical and economic improvements." Just a few years later, the department followed with: "Poultry operations continued to produce the largest cash income [but]...A general poultry overproduction, nationwide brought about a very unfavorable economic situation and a lot of business was carried on with costs greater than income."[136]

Overproduction, especially in the wake of losses to investment in modernization, showed that farmers suffered sporadic economic downturns that, ironically, followed steps toward modernization. On a larger scale, however, there were other, more peripheral agriculture-related businesses that also suffered from the intensive specialization that separated viable farmers from those who could no longer compete. In 1966, the Department of Agriculture's Dairy Services Supervisor announced that "in the past ten to fifteen years, the number of farms producing milk has continued to decline. This is also true of the number of receiving plants and processing plants. With improvements in the highway system and the methods of transportation, the two receiving stations that we still have will in time disappear with the rest of them."[137] Just as the feed stores were forced out of business, so were other links in a chain that was fast becoming outdated.

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[136] New Hampshire Department of Agriculture, Annual Reports: 1955-1956, p. 22; and 1959-1960, p. 18.

[137] Dean Hammond, Dairy Services Supervisor, quoted in: New Hampshire Department of Agriculture, Annual Report, 1965-1966, p. 31-32.

Given the added challenges that came as a result of modernization, it is evident that "efficiency" emerged as a subjective agricultural term. In 2006, an editorial in *The New York Times* opined, "[a]ny American history of pork…shows a steady concentration of more and more hogs in the hands of fewer producers. That is what modern agricultural 'efficiency' looks like. It's good for the bottom line of the big industrial players, but bad for farmers, hogs, the environment, and, ultimately, consumers."[138] This observation raises the question: efficient for whom? Recognizing that agriculture is not only about large-scale producers, a more comprehensive definition of efficiency would also consider how maximizing production while minimizing cost might also benefit farm animals, the environment, other agricultural producers, and the larger community. While efficiency in post-war farm modernization seems to have been preoccupied with minimizing costs immediately associated with labor, land, and capital, its inattention to "costs" exacted on the welfare of other living components of agricultural production contributed to the many side effects of an industry weakened by dysfunction.

A Widening Gap: Agriculture and Growing Communities

All of the unintended negative consequences of farm modernization were painful side-affects of "agribusiness," but in their day-to-day lives, the members of an increasingly urbanized public also presented challenges to local farms with their growing disconnect from agriculture in general.[139] As early as 1946, the Department of

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[138] "The Ultimate Agricultural Efficiency," editorial in *The New York Times*, 23 September, 2006, online: www.nytimes.com/2006/09/23/opinion/23sat3.html (15 April, 2009).

[139] "Agribusiness" is defined in the New Hampshire Department of Agriculture, Annual Report, 1971-1972, p. 8: "Agribusiness is the combination of agriculture plus all its related industries including transportation and processing of farm products, farm supplies, labor, etc."

Agriculture could see that "with the disappearance of the family cow...the source of milk supply faded farther and farther away" both geographically and psychologically.[140] The growing distance set the stage for people to feel less reliant upon local agriculture, a trend that was likely pushed even further along by development of manufactured, man-made alternatives to certain products, like DuPont's "synthetic wool."[141] So, not only was agriculture slipping away from most people's daily lives, but in some way, so were its products. This development spurred some people – both within the local agricultural community and among the general public – into action. In addition to the various promotional and outreach efforts already mentioned, there arose attempts at rekindling the public's awareness of, and appreciation for, local farming. For example, newspapers helped to publicize the state's "Farm-City Week" in November of 1959, which

> aimed to build better relationships between town and country neighbors...a variety of projects that will, help to illustrate the inter-dependence of the farm and the city...'Farm-City Week,' said [Harold Todd of the Merrimack Farmer's Exchange] 'not only aims to bring about a better understanding between rural and urban people and increase knowledge and appreciation for the American way of life, but also to recognize the symbolism of Thanksgiving Day – an expression of gratefulness to God for the bounty of nature and the strength of man-made institutions.[142]

It was clearly noted that disconnection from agriculture had something to do with growth and urbanization and the widening psychological and physical distance between

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[140] New Hampshire Department of Agriculture, Biennial Report, 1944-1946, p. 60.

[141] Mentioned in: *The Portsmouth Herald*, 7 October 1950, p. 4.

[142] "New Hampshire to Observe 'Farm-City Week' Nov 20-26," *The Keene Sentinel*, 5 November 1959, p. 14.

the public and local agriculture.[143] Unable to stop, let alone reverse, the growth trends that continued to widen this gap, anyone wishing to change the course of the public's relationship with local farming understood that education was a last hope. By 1973, while some of the agricultural princess programs continued, the Dairy Princess program had been "phased out in favor of Dairy Farm Open Houses where the general public is invited to visit a dairy farm and learn first hand where milk and dairy foods come from."[144] Efforts had turned overwhelmingly to the task of encouraging appreciation through awareness and knowledge.

In 1975, the Department of Agriculture reported that "[f]or the last two years, a trailer with a cow and calf have been transported to those schools requesting them. The children are given information on the dairy cow and they are allowed to pet the animals. There have been 135 schools visited and well over 15,000 school children given facts on the dairy animals."[145] The trend was truly reflective of the waning prominence of agriculture in a formerly farm-friendly culture. Earlier promotional efforts had relied upon girls who were, to some extent, involved in agriculture, while later efforts were simply about disseminating information to a public whose familiarity with agriculture was minimal.

Meanwhile, teachers, who were aware of the growing novelty of farm life to so many children, sometimes incorporated additional farm-related lessons into their curricula. For example, baby chicks were now hatched in classrooms for the benefit of the growing

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[143] According to a report on Agricultural Promotion, "Through the news media, much is done to tell our urban dwellers what agriculture is all about in the Granite State." New Hampshire Department of Agriculture, Annual Report, 1978-1979, p. 17.

[144] New Hampshire Department of Agriculture, Annual Report, 1972-1973, p. 12.

[145] New Hampshire Department of Agriculture, Annual Report, 1974-1975, p. 14.

numbers of children who had never seen such a thing, as many children's familiarity with a farm setting was limited to the occasional field trip.[146] Yet, despite such efforts, some people could not help noticing the continued slipping away of agriculture from the grasp of New Hampshire children. In 1968, Polly Bradley, writing on behalf of the Audubon Society of New Hampshire, commented on the effects of a disconnect that was brought about by a combination of urbanization and more industrialized agriculture:

> Now a fish is only a sleek goggle-eyed blob on ice behind a glass case, and people have almost forgotten which fish live in rivers and which live in oceans...Children think milk comes in plastic covered cartons...Nature is something rather distant, like a red wood tree or a polar bear, which only the soft-hearted...care about...and people have forgotten that they eat food, breath air, drink water, and must have a living source for all the goodies that dump trucks so generously dump in their laps.[147]

It could not have helped that even among those with a genuine interest in agriculture, many stereotypes of more traditional farms were no longer quite consistent with what modern farming had become. As Bradley pointed out, though, so much more was at work here: people no longer felt connected to a rural life, and they were losing some intimacy with nature itself, and their appreciation for the source of their food and other basic necessities.

It is true that over time, there were occasional spikes in the number of people interested in raising their own food – growing gardens, and keeping small numbers of animals – but, their involvement was often still blunted by the facts that other people could be hired to do the uncomfortable work of slaughtering, that cow manure could

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[146] "They Hatched," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 23 March 1967, p. 8; Derry Town Report, 1965, p. 101; Wolfeboro Town Report, 1968, p. 99; and "Kindergarten Children See Farm Animals," *The Argus-Champion*, 14 November 1973, p. 11.

[147] Polly Bradley, "Back-Yard Frontier," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 6 June 1968, p. 16.

eventually be purchased conveniently at drug stores, and that they learned more from books than any personal experience.[148] Because these sporadic returns to backyard food production rested on human-land and human-animal relationships that were increasingly mediated, they did little to mend the relationships that were generally dissolving between the public and the world around them. Such a disconnect, as suggested by the previous chapter, allowed individuals to grow ever more isolated, and in turn, more focused upon themselves.

As farmers continued to struggle without the support or understanding of many people, it was the non-farming public that made things even more difficult with their growing number of complaints about the proximity of farm animals. Just as wildlife had come to be seen as belonging someplace else, farm animals belonged on farms – places now assumed to be distant enough to be out of sight and out of mind. No one wanted to be bothered by the smells, the sounds, or any other issue that came with sharing space with other species. Farm animals were thought to be out of place if anywhere other than within the confines of a barn, stable, barnyard, pen, or fenced pasture. In 1945, one local resident was caught off guard by loose cattle – "This seems to be the time of year when cows start roaming...When I looked down the road my heart almost stopped – four-footed creatures seemed to be heading right for my garden...Cows certainly do scare me!"[149] Similarly, a loose steer in Keene put police "on the trail of this dangerous creature," and

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[148] For references to a renewed interest in farming, see: "The Garden Path," *The Derry News*, 17 July 1975; and New Hampshire Department of Agriculture, Annual Report, 1980-1981, p. 20. An advertisement for slaughtering services can be found in *The Argus-Champion*, 22 November 1953, p. 9. An advertisement for cow manure sold at Osco Drug can be found in *The Derry News*, 24 March 1983, p. 11. "Library Corner" in *The Peterborough Transcript*, 4 December 1975, p. 17 reviews a book entitled *The Forgotten Arts*, in which "How to maintain a small back-yard chicken flock, keep a cow, raise geese or sheep are described."

[149] "Cotton Valley," *The Granite State News*, 7 September 1945, p. 2.

when the same thing happened in Peterborough the following year, a newspaper columnist asked, "Has anyone seen that wild steer that got away...?"[150] *Wild*? When livestock was securely in place, they were generally seen as participants in an organized production process (not to say, of course, that farm animals are always *cooperative* participants), but when they broke free from their confines, they were dangerous, wild, and scary.

In the following decades, newspapers seemed to print fewer stories about runaway farm animals – probably, in part, because more intensive confinement afforded fewer opportunities for animals to wander off. In turn, public complaints moved from the dangers of animals, to the inconveniences. By 1969, the investigation of odors from pigs and other livestock was routine work for some town health officers.[151] In 1984, Derry's Animal Control Officer, Florence Oullette, said that she had responded to complaints about "geese honking, ducks quacking, dogs barking, horses neighing, and roosters crowing...I don't know which was worse, the animals making the noises or the people complaining about them."[152] In this respect, people's objections to the proximity of other species were clearly not limited to wildlife – just animals they did not expect to encounter in a world that had otherwise been made so much more predictable by human planning and engineering.

Last, but not least, such objections posed yet another source of difficulty for farmers. There were also objections to the proximity of the farms themselves. Just like

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[150] "White-Faced Steer at Large in West Keene," *The Keene Sentinel*, 1 December 1945, p. 1; and "Sportsmen's Column," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 7 February 1946, p. 3.

[151] For example, see: Wolfeboro Town Report, 1969, p. 46.

[152] Florence Oullette, Animal Control Officer, quoted in the Derry Town Report, 1984, p. 23.

the wildlife and the farm animals, agriculture in general also crept into the category of things that seemed, to some people, incompatible with growth and development. Objecting to the overlap of agriculture and residential life, a Derry resident wrote the following in 1953: "Why has grain storage been allowed in the very heart of Derry Village without any action being taken by the Zoning Board? This will in time constitute a serious health menace to the surrounding property owners and will also create a hazard to all local pets [due to traffic]...This is entirely out of place in this residential section and creates a blow to the valuation of all property in this area."[153] The view of agriculture as out of place became the source of even more outrage as awareness of environmental issues grew. The Department of Agriculture, understandably, responded with frustration:

> Complaints of drift from agricultural operations by homeowners are becoming more commonplace. The attractiveness of the country setting among the farmland as a location for a home along with a lack of understanding of the needs of the producers of agricultural commodities, lends to these difficult problems...It is anticipated that environmental contamination and the health effects of pesticides will continue to be an important issue in the minds of people in the years to come. This, coupled with greater demand for higher agricultural production on diminishing acreage will present a great challenge for us.[154]

This look at the history of local farming highlights the ways in which human-wildlife relationships were affected by changes in agriculture. The sometimes precarious ways of a farming life have always involved challenges from various wildlife species, which were viewed as obstacles, challenges, enemies. Conversely, those species that preyed upon agricultural "pests" were looked upon with favor. These preferences surely

[153] Marion J. Krecik, Letter to the Editor, *The Derry News*, 12 March 1953, no page listed.

[154] New Hampshire Department of Agriculture, Annual Report, 1980-1981, p. 28-29.

affected local attitudes toward wildlife, but likely diminished in influence as the number of farms, and the personal involvement of most people with agriculture decreased over time, both predominantly the result of urbanized, convenience-oriented living and a loss of agricultural land to development. Nevertheless, the farmers who survived economically faced an uphill battle – their previous stereotypes about nuisance wildlife probably all the more hardened, given the many challenges they faced.

As the public's relationship with farming grew ever more distant, their concept of the origins of food became muddied. Blissful ignorance about the importance of local agriculture enabled and nurtured their addiction to the conveniences of food coming in neat, small packages from user-friendly supermarkets. As discussed in the previous chapter, this emphasis on personal convenience, on a philosophical level, made way for further isolation of the individual from surrounding communities – human and biological. To some degree, this too must have had some effect on attitudes toward wildlife and nature. The simple lack of involvement and interaction probably caused many people to be disinterested in wildlife, and possibly tend toward feeling inconvenienced by its occasional appearance in their lives.

In the meantime, changing relationships with farm animals were also a potential influence on the attitudes of both farmers and the non-farming public alike. Among non-farmers, farm animals were viewed as belonging on farms, which suggests the presence of a compartmentalized vision of the world. Such a vision would only enhance the level of inconvenience experienced when unexpected interactions with wildlife took place. While this vision spread with urbanization, farmers were also coming to view their animals very differently from how they had viewed them in the past. Individual attention

to the needs of limited numbers of animals had once been seen as important to success, but with modernization (in great part, brought about by the pressure of growth), the animals became "things" confined both literally and figuratively by the needs of agribusiness. On the one hand, associated changes were seen by a few as regrettable, if not "mean," suggesting some sensitivity to the needs of the animals. This concern may have been an empathetic sentiment that, for some people, extended to wild species (and possibly to other people as well).

On the other hand, where the farm animals could not meet the needs of agribusiness, they were changed, transformed by genetic engineering and selective breeding. This progression may be seen as influencing broader attitudes toward wildlife and nature in two ways. First, it may have minimized the ability of people to see any animal species as having value outside of its use to human beings. If attitudes toward livestock were, in any way, translated to wild animals, then wildlife too lost their identities and inherent importance in the biological community. Second, the use of science to invasively alter living creatures displayed a truly blatant attempt at control over nature. Just as control emerged as an issue with accelerated growth – and led to human society trying to define roles for nature, animals, and other people – control over DNA suggested a sense of complete mastery over nature. If this sense of mastery was also translatable to wildlife, then no animals had a right to interfere with human designs.

Here again, the overall effects of these influences upon human-wildlife relationships are conflicting and contradictory, but they are made more understandable in light of the complexity of the human experiences that were taking place during this historical snapshot. What is clear is that growth had a major impact on local agriculture

over time, and the subsequent changes to agriculture presented numerous opportunities for attitudes toward wildlife to be affected both positively and negatively.

CHAPTER 3

ANIMALS SHARING THE PLANET: HOW ENVIRONMENTALISM AFFECTED ATTITUDES TOWARD WILDLIFE

In writing about the Progressive Era Conservation Movement, Samuel P. Hays observed that "Conservation in practice meant vastly different things to different people. The movement's unity, as exhibited by the intense emotional fervor between 1908 and 1910, proved to be false...As concrete issues became clarified, diverse interests revealed this superficial unity and shattered the unified crusade into particularistic groups."[1] The related "Environmentalism" that emerged as the century unfolded may have been characterized by increasingly cohesive grass-roots campaigns, but a division in underlying motives behind the collective movement endured.

People have embraced environmentalism for two main reasons, to benefit other species and to benefit themselves. Anthropocentric motives, or those focused on human interests (like health, aesthetics, or resources), are associated with the idea that environmental protection is ultimately for the sake of human wellbeing. In contrast, while deemphasizing the role of human beings in nature, ecocentric motives are focused on the idea that other species deserve protection for their own sake. The difference centers on the questsion of humanity's place in nature: are human beings a part of, or separate from nature? By defining humanity's place, or *importance*, in relation to other species, how

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[1] Samuel P. Hays, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency: The Progressive Conservation Movement, 1890-1920* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press), p. 175.

this question has been answered over time has determined its impact on human-wildlife relationships.

Given the significance of such a distinction to perspectives of other species, it is fitting to critically analyze the different motives behind what is collectively called "environmentalism." This chapter considers the role of environmentalist thinking in human-wildlife relationships and argues that modern environmentalism, with its distinctly ecocentric and anthropocentric motives, has yielded a mixed set of attitudes toward wildlife.

Anthropocentric Motives for Environmentalism

Appreciation for nature has often come with conditions that define the beautiful, important, and good as that which benefits human interests. One human-centered approach toward environmental protection has been motivated by aesthetic appreciation for nature. This perspective defines what is, and what is not, "beautiful" or pleasing, and then prioritizes protective efforts accordingly.

In New Hampshire's post-war history, few issues have fit into this aesthetic perspective as perfectly as people's love for trees, especially in the fall when some change colors. Evidence of appreciation for the beauty of trees is plentiful. In describing the dogwood tree in 1945, a state publication entitled *Forest Notes* claimed that its "name 'dogwood' is one of those unfortunate common names fastened without good reason upon a family of beautiful trees and shrubs...an inferior name."[2] Similar tree appreciation was not lost among the general public at the time, as one columnist wrote, "[w]hile the

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[2] *Forest Notes*, 1945, p. 20.

community Christmas tree is a thing of beauty, we kind of wish we could have a living tree which indeed would be a joy forever. Makes us sort of sad to see a beautiful tree chopped down and then cast aside so soon."[3]

In light of society's general appreciation for trees, it went without question that organized tree planting campaigns were seen as a good thing. In the mid-forties, tree planting was a priority for city mayors throughout the state. In his inaugural address, Keene's mayor, James C. Farmer, assigned great importance to "the preservation of, and planting of shade trees throughout the city." In Dover, Mayor F. Clyde Keefe stated that "[i]n each of the years 1942, 1943 and 1944, fifty young trees were planted on city streets under the direction of the Park Department. In the year 1945 one hundred trees were planted. I recommend planting one hundred new trees in 1946 and one hundred in 1947."[4]

As growth and development became more of a concern to those with particular fondness for the aesthetic quality of trees, tree propagation was soon equaled in importance by tree *protection*. In 1962, the *Peterborough Transcript* featured a front-page photo that showed a beautiful tree-lined street. The caption read: "They're Safe! – The furor over whether a petition to 'widen and make uniform' Cheney Ave. might involve removing the line of maple trees which border the avenue was dispelled... when the selectmen pledged that 'I love those trees' and they will not come down."[5] In 1966, Peterborough's Town Warrant mentioned the attempt to prevent the

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[3] "Goose Quills," *The Granite State News*, 17 December 1948, p. 10.

[4] For each of these mayors' addresses, see town reports for: Keene, 1946, p. 9; and Dover, 1945, p.31.

[5] See photo and editorial in: *The Peterborough Transcript*, 18 October 1962, p. 1.

widening of a particular road, which would have required the cutting of trees, in order to protect scenic beauty.[6] Similar efforts were made in other towns as well. In 1972, Derry's Conservation Commission proposed designation of "scenic roads": "This designation preserves the shade trees and stone walls along these roads...The roads may be improved and surfaced but the trees and stone walls cannot be removed unless a public hearing is held by the Planning Board. The purpose of this is to preserve the rural atmosphere."[7]

These examples of local tree planting and protection draw a sense of aesthetic value into an overarching conservation ethic. People simply liked trees for the ways they kept the beauties of nature within the reach of increasingly built communities. In many of these cases, however, it was the *beauties* of nature that people liked, not nature in general. Along with love for trees, and a tendency to want to protect them, came disdain for things that threatened them. This sometimes meant backlashes against builders, but it also meant great intolerance for insect species whose eating habits led to defoliation and other compromises to tree health. Thus, insects once again turn up as unpopular wildlife, and the extents to which people fought tree-eating insects should be some indication of just how important aesthetics have been.

As in agriculture, the 1940s saw chemical tactics of protecting trees from insects employed at full tilt. While the Department of Forestry and Recreation was one of few voices advocating approaches relatively more in line with letting nature take its course, most towns reported annually on their spraying activities for "extermination" or

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[6] Peterborough Town Report, 1966, p. 7.

[7] Derry Town Report, 1972, p. 5.

"suppression" of moths.[8] It was a significant aspect of town business, with hundreds of dollars going to each town's contracted tree services each year. In the 1950s, it was no different, except perhaps for references to an expansion beyond moths in target species.[9] Regardless of tactics employed, there also seemed to be some increase in participation and concern among the general public. In 1952, the following was reported on the activity of Boy Scouts in the Peterborough area:

> Eight scouts braved the weather...to wage war on tent caterpillars and over 1000 nests were destroyed in two hours, the contest time limit...The winner and lucky Scout was 'Cheeko' Cunningham, who captured 211 nests. His prize will be $5 worth of Scout equipment...This contest was in connection with a Conservation Program and will be carried on from year to year until the war is won.[10]

In the 1960s, there seemed to be growing seriousness about the extent of possible insect damage to trees. This was also a time when people were especially sensitive about the prospect of losing trees to Dutch Elm Disease, so like the frustrated farmers pushed to minimal tolerance for wildlife pests, those concerned about trees were willing to take

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[8] Between 1945 and 1948, the New Hampshire Department of Forestry and Recreation certainly did not ignore concerns about insect damage to trees. It reported on the prevalence of various insect tree pests throughout the state, and while it did acknowledge the success of using such chemicals as D.D.T., it doubted its ultimate effectiveness as a magic bullet in tree protection: "Maintenance of healthy trees and stands by forest management, working to keep natural conditions, appears to be the best policy for permanent reduction of insect and disease loss at minimum expense"..."While some good results have been secured by spraying the buds in early spring, and more recently by airplane spraying with DDT, such measures will never be employed on a wide enough scale, uniformly, or repeated with sufficient regularity by all adjacent owners...What is needed is a long-time, well-financed program of biological control by means of parasites and predators, coupled with education of owners in proper silvicultural control." See: New Hampshire Department of Forestry and Recreation, Annual Reports, 1945-1946, p. 48; and 1947-1948, p. 32.

[9] For example, in 1950, it was reported that in Keene, "1,550 trees were sprayed against injury by the elm leaf beetle and other leaf eating insects in the early summer. 375 trees were sprayed in the late summer to control the fall web worm." See: Keene Town Report, 1950, p. 35.

[10] "Scout War on 'Nests,'" *The Peterborough Transcript*, 5 June 1952, p. 9.

extra steps to protect them from insects.[11] In a warning to all of New England and New York, the Department of Agriculture declared:

> A marked buildup and spread of gypsy moth populations in many areas of northeastern United States this season greatly increases the hazard of spreading this destructive pest through the shipment of Christmas trees and holiday greens...Such products must be inspected and certified before they can be shipped or carried from any area regulated under quarantine.[12]

To some extent, the extra effort seemed to work. Pointing to a slight improvement in the situation, *The Portsmouth Herald* reported:

> Federal and state inspectors will launch a six-county search and destroy mission...against the brown tail moth – an insect which infests and destroys fruit and hardwood trees...The moth has been called one of the state's most serious insect pests. It has been on the decline for the past two years – a drop attributed to pest control work, adverse climate conditions, and disease.[13]

Despite any progress made, though, hindsight shows that it was only a single step forward before many more steps backward in the struggles against moths. By the 1980s, the situation had reached near-critical proportions, drawing much of the public into individual battles with the insects. Reflecting the prevalence of private citizens taking up arms against gypsy moths were advertisements like those for Repel'M Tape, sold locally by hardware stores warning, "The caterpillars are coming! Protect your trees..."[14]

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[11] Through the 1950s and 1960s, there were many references to worries about Dutch Elm Disease. For example, it was stated that concerns about gypsy moths were rivaled by those about Dutch Elm Disease and White Pine Blister in the Peterborough Town Report, 1959, p. 46. Several years later, state entomologist, J.G. Conklin, made an offer to assist the public where requested: "Is your Community interested in having [the Department of Agriculture's Division of Insect and Plant Disease Suppression and Control] examine your elm trees for evidence of Dutch elm disease?" See the Newbury Town Report, 1965, p. 62. By 1974, local elm trees were said to be showing "distressing devastation by the Dutch Elm Disease" in the Peterborough Town Report, 1974, p. 99.

[12] *The Keene Sentinel*, 9 November 1961, p. 10.

[13] "Moth Hunt," *The Portsmouth Herald*, 22 January 1969, p. 7.

[14] Advertisement, *The Granite State News*, 6 May 1981, p. A4.

Meanwhile, the reports of town administrators admitted to their own sense of helplessness in protecting trees in their respective communities. Portsmouth officials resorted to appointing a city entomologist simply for the sake of having some leadership and expertise in local research and educational outreach related to moth problems, and according to Derry's Town Manager, "[o]ne problem occurred in 1981 that the Town was virtually helpless in solving. The Alfred Hitchcock-like invasion of the gypsy moths caught us all off guard."[15]

Making the struggles against (primarily) gypsy moths even more interesting at this time was the simultaneous rise in concern over the environmental and human health effects of chemicals used to kill insects. In trying to decide how best to handle the moth problems, Wolfeboro's Conservation Commission shed light on the Department of Forestry and Recreation's perspective from decades earlier, when it explained that "[m]any foresters feel that widespread aerial spraying will interfere with the natural collapse of the gypsy moth population and may actually create a greater public nuisance...[and furthermore] Pesticides are non-selective and can destroy bee colonies as well as caterpillars."[16] This conflict between moth suppression and growing awareness of the dangers of chemicals became apparent in the market for pesticides made available to the general public. Eventually, some advertisements promised a pesticide with the best of both worlds: "Kill even full grown caterpillars on contact. Daily application of organic, biodegradable, nonpoisonous product, effective even in rainy weather."[17] So, discussion

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[15] See: Portsmouth Town Reports, 1981-1982, p. 9; and 1982-1983, p. 8. Also see: Derry Town Report, 1981, p. 35.

[16] Wolfeboro Town Report, 1981, p. 93.

[17] Advertisement, *The Granite State News*, 11 June 1982, p. A15.

about how to handle gypsy moths became a bit more complicated over time, but the frustration of individuals, and their disdain for tree-eating insects, found little relief. While one local columnist reported on extensive damage to apple and crabapple trees in Epsom, where "folks even hesitate to hang out clothes," another referred to gypsy moth caterpillars as "those creepy crawlers that seemed bent on defoliating everything above water."[18]

Aside from the value placed on certain aspects of nature for their aesthetic qualities, another measure of value has always been usefulness. The degree to which something holds some utilitarian value has consistently been a force in determining who or what is worthy of respect and protection. This too can be seen as another human-centered motive for environmental thinking, and in New Hampshire's post-war history, one of the best illustrations is an overwhelmingly positive attitude toward forests. (Note that in this context, trees are not just ornamental figures of beauty, but sources of useable goods.)

Because of the value of forests, and in light of people's reactions to the effects of leaf-eating insects on trees, it should come as no surprise that those most protective of forests also bristled at the thought of certain threats to forest health. For example, in the 1940s and early 1950s, the fear of forest fires was significant. In addressing the desperate attempts to limit fire damage, the reports of Forest Fire Warden John H. Gillingham spoke to the concept of fires causing a waste of resources rendered useless: "Let's reduce

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[18] See: Harriet Atwood, "Chocorua," *The Granite State News*, 11 June 1982, p. A9; and Conrad Quimby, "Off the Cuff," *The Derry News*, 17 June 1982, p. 6.

the number of forest fires and eliminate our most shameful waste... New Hampshire faces a real forest fire problem and challenge!"[19]

Where the vast majority of fires causing this waste of resources were believed to be "man-caused," efforts quickly turned toward forest fire prevention education, and since the 1950s, no icon has been more synonymous with forest fire prevention than Smokey the Bear.[20] Making appearances in parades, advertisements, and for hire in various educational settings, Smokey was a character who enjoyed much public appeal. Embodying the best of all worlds, he was cute (with his Teddy Bear features), human-like with his donning of clothes and in his ability to speak, and friendly as he, for example, greeted people in local reports of the Forest Fire Warden: "Howdy Folks. This is your friend Smokey the fire prevention bear talking for Guy L. Foss, your local forest fire warden..."[21]

Reflective of his power as an icon is the way in which his character and fire prevention message endured into the1980s, even after philosophies in forest management had somewhat softened on fires. By 1975, the preoccupation with forest resources was rivaled by growing concern about wildlife habitat, which paved the way for the notion that fighting fires too successfully was hurting wildlife. Hilbert Siegler, the Department of Fish and Game's Chief of Game Management and Research

> noted that many animal species need open fields to survive but that heavily-forested New Hampshire has few such open spaces...Siegler doesn't recommend

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[19] John H. Gillingham quoted in Newbury Town Reports: 1949, p. 59; and 1951, p. 107.

[20] In the Newbury Town Report, 1953, p. 35, it was stated that 86% of 135 fires were "man-caused." According to the Peterborough Town Report, 1961, p. 96, "Ninety-eight percent of our forest fires result from human carelessness."

[21] Wolfeboro Town Report, 1954, p. 67.

> that forest fires be allowed to burn freely, but he does say that 'so-called controlled or prescribed burning has been used...with considerable success in various southern states...the time may have been reached when we can at least start talking about the subject in the Northeast without fear of being lynched.'[22]

It was a new way of thinking that was hardly a flash in the pan, yet Smokey the Bear continued to make his rounds.[23]

Meanwhile, Smokey's popularity took on a life of its own in a short-running comic strip in the 1950s. The cartoon featured Smokey as its hero, along with other animal characters, although not all animals in this cartoon were presented with such appeal. In one edition, Smokey bravely confronts a dangerous tiger, and in another he vilifies wolves as "cunning" in their predation upon apparently more innocent animals.[24] This portrayal reveals at least two things about attitudes toward wildlife. First, speaking to the general appeal of a wild animal character – specifically a bear – the public seemed cheerfully receptive to receiving information and warnings from him. Second, related to the link between valuation of natural "resources" and attitudes toward wildlife, Smokey's heroic status in the mission to prevent forest fires was similarly heralded by his role in fending off comic strip wolves and tigers. In this way, a very resource-oriented view of environmental protection can be linked to subjective judgments on the value of certain wildlife species.

Smokey was also representative of the potential for general conservation education. Such educational programming, in the context of nature as a source of

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[22] "Successful Forest Fire Fighting Hurting Wildlife in New Hampshire," *The Granite State News*, 15 May 1975, p. 3.

[23] Another article appeared the following year: Peter Pohl, "Foresters Hear About Fire as a Tool," *The Granite State News*, 21 October 1976, p. 18.

[24] See "Smokey the Bear," *The Keene Sentinel*: 3 March 1959, p. 8; and 5 November 1959, p. 24.

resources, already had a solid foundation in New Hampshire by the end of the 1940s. In 1948, the Department of Forestry and Recreation reported that hundreds of children had the "favorable opportunity to become better acquainted with the forests, soil, water, and wildlife resources of New Hampshire" at the Youth Conservation Camp at Bear Brook State Park:

> Under the guidance of an excellent faculty young people from various parts of our state gained a more tangible and conscious appreciation of the need for the wisest utilization of our state's natural resources. The results were most gratifying... Certainly, the location of Bear Brook State Park and its 7,000 acres offer a splendid opportunity to youth and adults as a training ground for more healthful living and better citizenship.[25]

In 1949, *The Granite State News* announced a nation-wide essay contest sponsored by the National Grange and the American Plant Food Council, which called upon young people for essays on "Conservation of Our Soil Resources."[26] There was clearly a move to educate children about the importance of resource conservation, a movement that only seemed to strengthen over time. Teachers eventually found training opportunities that allowed them to incorporate related lessons into their own curricula, as opposed to outsourcing such lessons to field trips and guest speakers. By the late 1970s, teachers' conservation workshops were available to teach educators about soils, forestry, wildlife habitat improvement, and water conservation.[27]

The establishment of conservation education programs evidenced a growing awareness of, and concern about, natural resources in general. However, there also existed specific concern about the protection of wildlife resources. In 1971, Newbury's

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[25] New Hampshire Department of Forestry and Recreation, Annual Report, 1947-1948, p. 7 and 19.

[26] "Essay Contest," *The Granite State News*, 25 March 1949, p. 8.

[27] "Attend Conservation Workshop," *The Granite State News*, 4 July 1979, p. 13.

Conservation Commission noted that the "State Fish and Game Department has been approached to study stream improvement to assure better fishing." Facing the possible development of a local oil refinery six years later, Maine State agencies argued that "the refinery would threaten the state's fish, wildlife and marine resources."[28] Such references make this important point about attitudes toward wildlife: in some ways, wild animals were seen as useable commodities, which, as extensions of the land and other natural resources, became increasingly frequent topics of conversation about protection. So, in regard to attitudes toward wildlife, this focus on the importance of natural resources suggests that while wild species may have lost some inherent individual worth in the minds of people who saw them chiefly as walking goods, they ultimately may have gained some protection as species. It is difficult to say that this development made attitudes more positive or negative, but it no doubt made them more complicated.

What may be the most directly self-centered motive behind environmental awareness is concern about environmental affects on human health. Between 1945 and 1985, there was much evidence pointing to the likelihood that the public's understanding of such effects became increasingly fine-tuned. At first, newspapers were plastered with headlines about polio. Its prevalence in the news media through much of the 1950s suggests that people were genuinely scared of the disease – so scared that playgrounds were closed, the number of children visiting the library was significantly reduced, and general participation in social and recreational activities was severely affected.[29] It is

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[28] Newbury Town Report, 1971, p. 31; and *The Portsmouth Herald*, 7 July 1977, p. 7.

[29] See the following references to local social affects of polio: Peterborough Town Report, 1946, p. 61; Wolfeboro Town Report, 1955, p. 85; and the New Hampshire Department of Forestry and Recreation, Annual Report, 1945-1946, p. 8.

clear that people were well aware of the fact that their health could be compromised by an unsafe environment. Even if the spread of such a disease was primarily associated with close human contact, the point is that the world was already recognized as a potentially unhealthy place

While disease always has been, and always will be, a source of fear, there emerged increasing concern about the health effects of a polluted natural environment. It is not as if people in the 1940s were not worried about pollution. On the subject of air pollution, a doctor from the State Board of Health talked about "industrial hygiene" in 1949, saying that "respiratory conditions are increased by such irritants." This was a view shared by others as well, like Marion Alexander, Legislative Chairman of the Business and Professional Women's Clubs, who favored strict pollution legislation "for the protection of the people of New Hampshire."[30]

There was also much discussion of water pollution at this time. Derry residents attended a meeting to discuss complaints about motorboats on Beaver Lake, where "the discharge of oil scum into the lake" was among the highest concerns.[31] In Peterborough, there was ongoing debate about the pollution of local waters and the fatal affects of pollution on fish, and on the seacoast, people were well aware that the reopening of clam flats for digging was dependent upon the success of pollution clean-up.[32]

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[30] House Public Health, 1949-1953, Legislative Notes on House Bill 111, 1 March 1949, Box #006022, New Hampshire State Archives.

[31] "Many Attend Hearing On Motorboat Complaints," *The Derry News*, 25 July 1947, p. 1.

[32] "Continue Hearing on Pollution of Nubanusit Headwaters After Lengthy Debate Here Tues.," in *The Peterborough Transcript*, 16 December 1948, p. 1.

Later, in 1958, a Newington resident claimed that the waters of Great Bay were "unfit for almost any use," while attempts at reassuring the public seemed to mask actual warnings for people to enjoy recreation cautiously:

> True these streams are polluted to a degree; however, the New Hampshire Fish and Game Department offers assurance that this pollution does not generally affect the quality of the fish! In all but a few areas of rather limited extent, fish caught from these waters are perfectly eatable when they are thoroughly cooked...Exceptions occur close to the source of pollution...before it has become sufficiently diluted by mingling with the main body of the river.[33]

In the 1960s, the public continued to talk about water pollution as "an ever increasing problem" and the reason for local shellfish becoming "dangerous for human consumption," while air pollution also remained a topic of conversation.[34] In 1967, legislators talked about the role of polluted air in the prevalence of respiratory ailments, and a 1969 editorial cartoon revealed the public's growing disgust: alluding to the choking pollution caused by cars and industry, the cartoon read, "I certainly hope that life as we know it doesn't exist on Mars."[35]

By 1970, *The Portsmouth Herald* carried the headline, "Battle Cry Sounds on Pollution." With growing numbers of people now speaking out about the health problems associated with pollution, the president himself had to address the issue: "President Nixon called...for 'total mobilization' against air and water pollution...'If we don't act

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[33] House Resources, Recreation, and Development, 1957, Legislative Notes on House Bill 38, 10 April 1957, Box #006022, New Hampshire State Archives. "Fishermen Make Mistake Ignoring Big State Rivers," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 19 June 1958, p. 4.

[34] See: Newbury Town Report, 1967, p. 82; and *The Granite State News*, 22 May 1969, p. A-Seven.

[35] Public Health, 1965 & 1967, Legislative Notes on House Bill 352, 22 March 1967, Box #10024, New Hampshire State Archives; and editorial cartoon, *The Keene Sentinel*, 26 September 1969, p. 4.

now, we will not have an environment fit to live in the next 10 to 15 years.'"[36] Locally, town governments were addressing these issues with warrants for "pollution control and protection of the environment," and by charging health officers with inspecting water pollution complaints.[37] In 1976, the Portsmouth City Council stated its opposition to a proposed industrial plant "without guarantee that such conversion will pose no health risk in terms of regulated and unregulated pollution."[38]

The end of the 1970s, and through the mid-1980s, marked a peak in public awareness of pollution issues. Thanks, in part, to a globalization of the media and general access to information, it was no secret that industry was contributing to acid rain, which was having local effects. Articles in the *Argus-Champion* referred to the economic losses in tourist income from fishermen who no longer had fish to fish for, like at one lake "contain[ing] no trout as acid rain has killed them."[39] Later, in response to news of a deadly poisonous gas leak from an American pesticide plant in India (which killed more than 2,000 people), a Walpole resident wrote:

> Let's face it: Poison is poison...The more we contact toxic chemicals, the more we associate ourselves with death...While an occasional flea bath for the family pet may be justifiable, do we really need to spray insecticide into the air at a backyard picnic? If planting marigolds deters the cabbage moth, is it right to poison the earth for our failure to plant them?[40]

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[36] "Battle Cry Sounds on Pollution," *The Portsmouth Herald*, 7 February 1970, p. 1.

[37] See, respectively, town reports for: Derry, 1970, p. 7; Wolfeboro, 1970, p. 39; and Peterborough, 1974, p. 95.

[38] Portsmouth Town Report, 1975-1976, p. 7.

[39] See the following articles in *The Argus-Champion*: Anna Garber, "Acid Rain Threatening Quality of Area Lakes," 10 September 1981, p. 1; and "Where to Fish," 16 June 1982, p. 25.

[40] Celeste Longacre, Letter to the Editor, *The Keene Sentinel*, 11 December 1984, p. 5.

As consensus grew, so did the defensive retorts of those whose priorities conflicted with increasing pollution controls, and the backlash against gathering environmentalist thinking was not limited to marginalized voices. As a presidential candidate in 1980, Ronald Reagan was an example of a high-profile critic of the passionate anti-pollution cause, but Reagan's critique did not go without its own degree of local controversy. In response to Reagan's comments on air pollution, Edward DeCourcy wrote:

> Mankind has gone blithely along for generations in the happy deception that Mother Earth was the great healer, that running streams would purify themselves in a few hundred feet, that anything dumped in the ocean would be swallowed up and rendered harmless, that buried garbage and poisons could be forgotten and that some unidentified 'they' would find a way to take care of all these things if Mother Earth didn't...So it didn't matter if the tall industrial chimneys of Gary, Ind. poured clouds of black, blue, green, red, yellow or brown poison into the sky...that smoke meant industry was prospering and producing paychecks that went into the commercial pool and helped us all...We watched census figures, hoping that our town or state would show the greatest growth. Growth was good...Slowly and painfully we are becoming aware that Mother Earth can't heal everything... The overriding issue of this campaign ought to be the survival not only of our republic but of mankind...In the end we may find that the air pollution index is more important than the Dow Jones Index.[41]

The evolution of local awareness of pollution shows a consistent and growing focus on human-centered concern with the effects of pollution on health, and one way in which this focus directly affected attitudes toward other species was in its influence upon the use of pesticides. Even in 1945, pesticides were seen as potentially dangerous, but by in large, any potential dangers were vastly overshadowed by the celebration of chemical pesticides as near miraculous.[42] Their use in agriculture was widespread. They were frequently recommended by gardening experts, and dusting with DDT was even

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[41] "Edward DeCourcy, "The Spectator," *The Argus-Champion*, 15 October 1980, p. 4.

[42] For example, see: *The Granite State News*, 7 December 1945, p. 3; and the New Hampshire Department of Agriculture, Biennial Report, 1946-1948, p. 78-79.

described by one local entomologist as "a 'must' if farmers want insurance against the corn borer."[43] Use of chemicals like DDT was no less mainstream among animal agriculturalists, who routinely used it to protect their livestock from pests like lice.[44] Companion animals were also treated with similar products. An advertisement for Pulvex flea powder showed an image of three dogs singing the words, "Fleas don't bother me…I'm dusted with Pulvex DDT."[45]

For themselves, human beings found some physical comfort with chemical pesticides as well. At one elementary school, "Mrs. Josephine Richardson sprayed [the] school room for flies. It seems so good to work without being bothered by those pesky flies." Meanwhile, as the end of the war brought much anticipation over renewed access to goods and services, one local paper said, "[i]t's going to be good to be able to buy…some DDT to knock off the flies and bugs that infiltrate through the played out screens."[46] As reminders of just how bothered human beings are by insects, these references also suggest that people went to great length, and expense, to enjoy relief from them. People were more than willing to buy products like Black Leaf Mosquito Fumer, which was sold with the slogan, "Mosquitoes Ha! Ha!...You can laugh at mosquitoes when you use 'Black Leaf.'" All the while, though concerns about the safety of such poisons seemed like whispers in the background, the public enthusiastically embraced

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[43] For examples of recommendations, see: *The Granite State News*, 18 October 1946, p. 3; and J.R. Hepler, "Granite State Gardner," *The Argus-Champion*, 10 August 1948, p. 4. Also, see: "War Against Corn Borers Started in Carroll County," *The Argus-Champion*, 22 July 1949, p. 4.

[44] See: W.J. Dryden, "Rural Front Digest," *The Argus-Champion*, 18 March 1947, p. 4; and *The Granite State News*, 25 November 1949, p. 3.

[45] Advertisement for C.F. Bamford & Son in *The Granite State News*, 22 July 1949, p. 8.

[46] See, respectively: "Goshen Village School," *The Argus-Champion*, 18 October 1946, p. 8; and "It Will Be Good," *The Granite State News*, 7 September 1945, p. 2.

chemical pesticides: in a reference to garden parties it was once said, "If they'd serve DDT with every cocktail, so you could defend yourself against the mosquitoes and bugs, it would be a good idea."[47]

While the 1950s began with equal enthusiasm for chemical pesticides, the decade marked the beginning of doubts that gradually emerged amongst the public. At first, the ongoing use of insecticides, in addition to other pesticides, remained standard procedure. Towns were treating their dumps with poison, local Dime Stores advertised "Fly Ded" and "Gulf Tag Spray DDT," and there was constant research into the development of even more effective pesticides:

> Remember when fly killing was a simple procedure of hanging strips of fly paper to catch flies? Of course, you missed a lot of flies that way, and it didn't add much to the décor – but it was simple...Now scientists [have] come up with a variation of Mother Nature's 'lure'em to death' principle...All you do is walk around an area where flies are a problem and shake a granular fly-killing bait out of a canister...The granules are the size that extensive fly-breeding studies show, flies like to pick up in their 'fore-paws' and nibble...these granules are impregnated with malathion, a chemical that has a high rate of kill even for 'resistant' flies.[48]

There had always been those who doubted the complete safety of these products, but concerns were minimized by apparent benefits. However, overlapping with the ongoing celebration of chemical pesticides was growing skepticism. Still without much public concern, the New Hampshire Department of Agriculture had begun keeping close tabs on the availability and sales of "economic poisons." These efforts incorporated legislation that required all economic poisons to be registered, which allowed for some troubling

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[47] See, respectively: advertisement, *The Derry News*, 25 July 1947, p. 7; Wolfeboro Town Report, 1947, no page listed; and *The Portsmouth Herald*, 19 July 1949, p. 8.

[48] Portsmouth Town Report, 1951, p. 3; Wolfeboro Town Report, 1955, p. 10; advertisement for Gould's Dime Store in *The Granite State News*, 21 September 1951, p. 8; and "Fooling Flies Now Made Easier," *The Derry News*, 17 November 1955, p. 5.

findings. In 1951, the department found that "over 60% of the Economic Poisons exposed for sale in New Hampshire were unregistered and approximately 25% were incorrectly labeled."[49]

As the Agriculture Department became ever more diligent in its oversight and regulation of the local economic poisons industry, the dangers of such substances would really not become clear to the public until they appeared in more mainstream publications like newspapers. Perhaps some awareness was raised in 1951, when the *Granite State News* announced:

> Veterinarians have issued a fresh warning that the insecticide, BHC, must be used with caution around farm animals and around the feeds they consume. Careless or untimely use of this parasite-killing chemical, which has a slight musty odor, may produce a moldy hay flavor in hog meat, poultry, eggs, and milk, according to the American Veterinary Medical Association. The association adds that farmers will do well to investigate 'the disadvantages as well as the advantages of benzene hexachloride (BHC), and the specific indications for its use.[50]

If anything, this warning may have indicated that the mere presence of BHC was transferable – from application on farms to human mouths – through livestock products. Still, emphasis was on little more than a compromise in flavor, which did not do much to underscore any pressing safety issues. It was not until a few months later, that New Hampshire newspapers carried a much more sobering story.

In May of 1951, a 16-year-old high school student named Philip Healey was working part-time at Woodmont Orchards in Londonderry. It was there that "the youth collapsed and died suddenly while preparing to do spraying in the orchards" one afternoon after school. An autopsy soon established that "death resulted from a poison

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[49] New Hampshire Department of Agriculture, Annual Report, 1949-1950, p. 56.

[50] "Handle 'BHC' with Care," *The Granite State News*, 26 January 1951, p. 4.

known as NEPP, [a] deadly chemical widely used to spray apple trees, either inhaled or swallowed." The shocking nature of this incident, which was well publicized by newspapers around the state, and the immense local loss indicated by Healey's notably large funeral, suggest that it was a critical lesson in the more serious effects of economic poisons.[51] Although people would continue to use these products, awareness of their possible dangers had certainly reached significantly elevated levels. By 1955, certain products were being unambiguously labeled as "toxic" solutions, and there was increasing familiarity with the concepts of resistance and transference of such toxins through the food-chain. By 1959, there was also widespread concern about the dangers of such poisons to unintended targets. Wolfeboro residents were assured that the poison used to rid the town's dump of rodents had been engineered for safety – "an ingredient has been added which makes it impossible for house pets and human beings to keep it on their stomachs."[52]

With concerns about chemical pesticides now brewing amongst the public, the 1960s came with a new cynicism about investing confidence in the ability of "science" to truly lead the way in pest control while keeping human safety at heart. Sitting at a local lunch counter in 1960, one "old timer" quipped, "[t]hey spend billions to learn how to blow up the whole damn world but they can't even find a medicine to cure the sniffles. They find a poison to kill flies and the first thing you know the flies are bigger and fatter and stronger than ever and are eating up the DDT like honey. I'm telling you, the

[51] "Autopsy is Planned on Pinkerton Pupil," *The Keene Sentinel*, 22 May 1951, p. 1; "Large Funeral Held For Poison Victim," *The Derry News*, 25 May 1951, p. 1.

[52] Advertisement, *The Granite State News*, 15 July 1955, p. 3; *The Keene Sentinel*, 24 February 1956, p. 4; "Wolfeboro Rids Dumps of Rodents," *The Granite State News*, 6 November 1959, p. 6.

scientists have got no right to interfere with Mother Nature."[53] The sentiment opened up avenues for the ideas that, first, some alternative approach to pest control must be found, and second, if science could not be fully trusted, the public would have to play a more active role in legislation that would ensure standards for product safety.

The gradual nature of the shift in philosophy on these issues was attributable to at least two major conflicts preoccupied with insect control over pesticide safety. First, having become a society quite dependent upon convenience, it was too much for some people to fathom having to muster up a bit more tolerance for insects in the name of minimizing the need for poisons. The *Peterborough Transcript* noted, "Insecticides may have bad side effects, but they don't fly in clouds, buzzing and biting."[54] A second conflict arose from equally passionate concern about another threat to human health: injury and disease caused by the insects themselves. When the House Resources, Recreation, and Development Committee met to discuss the "mosquito problem" in the seacoast area, their deliberation included the input of a Rye resident who was concerned about a "child whose body was covered with welts," a Portsmouth resident whose son had to be hospitalized for bites, and a general concern about the risk of encephalitis.[55]

Despite this resistance, the tide of worries about poisonous pesticides had gathered enough energy, by this point, to truly advance efforts to regulate pesticide use and safety standards. In 1963, it was emphasized to the House Public Health Committee by a Keene resident that it was "to[o] easy for people to purchase these pesticides without knowing

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[53] Nicholas Mahoney, "Nick's Knacks," *The Argus-Champion*, 25 August 1960, p. 4.

[54] *The Peterborough Transcript*, 6 July 1961, p. 12.

[55] House Resources, Recreation, and Development, 1963, Legislative Notes on House Joint Resolution 26, 11 May 1965, Box #4021, New Hampshire State Archives.

very much about them." Similarly, a 1965 meeting of the House Resources, Recreation, and Development Committee considered the pleas of numerous residents, including a woman named Mrs. Ruth Gray, whose husband died from "over exposure to insecticide."[56]

Significantly, this decade also marked the publication of Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring*. Carson's 1962 critique of DDT's effect on the health of human beings, wildlife, and the environment in general brought the issue to the forefront of many people's concerns in New Hampshire as elsewhere. While in the challenging position of having to defend previous choices to encourage agricultural use of DDT, the Inspector of the Pesticides Control Division of the New Hampshire Department of Agriculture could not ignore the awareness raised by *Silent Spring*. According to Durwood French, the "benefits" of pesticides:

> have been passed on to the world's human population that desperately needed increased quantities of food...[but] These unquestionable benefits and needs of pesticide use on the one hand are balanced by the threat to life that is not the target of pesticide use...the hazards of pesticide use were documented and published by a talented and persuasive biologist...In one fell swoop Miss Carson was able to arouse an apathetic public to the horror of an alleged chemical annihilation of life on earth. Thankfully, Miss Carson's original prognostications have not been borne out, however she did stimulate a public awareness of the potential dangers involved and the need for a sane program of pesticide use.[57]

French's recognition of Carson's work seems to veil a conflict of interest. In the face of such recent criticism of chemical pesticide use, French could not simply imply that all was perfectly well. He did publicly admit to "threat[s]" and "hazards," but with words

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[56] See, respectively: House Public Health, 1959-1961, Legislative Notes on House Bill 510, 24 April 1963, Box #4021, New Hampshire State Archives; and House Resources, Recreation, and Development, 1963, Legislative Notes on House Bill 577, 2 June 1965, Box #4021, New Hampshire State Archives.

[57] Durwood French quoted in: New Hampshire Department of Agriculture, Annual Report, 1965-1966, p. 34.

like "alleged" and "potential dangers" – along with his pointing out that Carson's forecast for the future was not exactly accurate – he seemed to be minimizing the warning of *Silent Spring*. Though certainly not speaking for all New Hampshire farmers, such voices of the Department of Agriculture were, to some extent, reflective of some of the more institutionalized philosophies among farmers throughout the state. In this way, it is easy to see a connection between the latent message of the 1966 remarks of Durwood French and the heated debate that arose in 1969 between local conservationists and, primarily, farmers. In response to the conservationists' call to end the use of DDT, one farmer claimed that "DDT has done more good for people than harm," while another capped off the argument with: "You have no business telling us what chemicals we can use."[58] Whether these farmers liked it or not, the push by concerned citizens to change pesticide use was, by this time, too strong to resist. In the 1970s, pesticides (particularly DDT) were cast into the center of public discourse, and controls imposed like none seen previously.

By the early 1970s, the hold-out champions of pesticides had become lonely voices on this subject. An editorial in the *Portsmouth Herald* conveyed frustration with the push for restrictions on pesticides, but at the same time, it also reflected a sense of hopelessness in the fight against it: "It's difficult to quarrel with the high idealism of the 'New Breed': They are those who seek to protect the environment from us...However, and not entirely without venom, we hope that all the mosquitoes in Portsmouth will be

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[58] "Region Directors Split Over DDT," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 25 September 1969, p. 4.

given the names and addresses of those who are desirous of stopping anti-mosquito spraying..."[59]

As the public increasingly voiced its concerns, the Department of Agriculture continued to struggle. Stuck between a genuine interest in continuing to promote some use of pesticides and the fear of public condemnation, the approach of the department was to lobby hard for increased controls over pesticides. In 1972, its commissioner stated that enforcement of the Pesticides Control Law "has become an increasingly important function...as the public demands greater control over the use of pesticides, herbicides, and fungicides."[60] While the public did not have complete control, it was making waves with its buying power. A 1970 edition of the *Granite State News* included a barrage of advertisements for bug zapping machines – offering an alternative to pesticides, which, in one case, was specifically highlighted as harmless to children, birds, butterflies, honey bees, and pets. These trends were important to markets focused on insect control, and they were instrumental in encouraging ongoing research to find methods of control that could promise to prevent damage without pesticides.[61]

One momentous result of this decades-long public protest was the eventual banning of DDT for general use in the United States in 1972.[62] Referring to the banning of DDT in other countries as well, *The Keene Sentinel* carried a 1974 headline which read, "DDT

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[59] Editorial, *The Portsmouth Herald*, 15 July 1971, p. 4.

[60] New Hampshire Department of Agriculture, Annual Report, 1971-1972, p. 8.

[61] For example, see: "Soil Insect Control Studied," *The Derry News*, 15 November 1973, p. 21.

[62] New Hampshire Department of Agriculture, Annual Report, 1971-1972, p. 15.

Doomed."[63] It was a major development, considering how heralded DDT had been in the 1940s. Complaints about the use of other pesticides persisted into the 1980s, as attested to by the Department of Agriculture: "The people we serve today are much more knowledgeable about pesticides, probably due to increased media coverage and more availability of information. We see evidence of this through the many inquiries and complaints that come to our office."[64] The public was now acutely skeptical about pesticides, and it was a skepticism that occasionally peaked with dramatic local stories in the same spirit with which the death of Philip Healey served as an awakening in the 1950s. For example, it was reported in 1983 that eight horses had died of unknown causes on a Londonderry farm, and a civil suit was being brought against a nearby orchard that was suspected of "causing the deaths through drift from pesticide spraying."[65] This particular case was controversial, but it serves as one illustration of the type of occurrence that, literally, brought home reminders of pesticide dangers.

New Hampshire's history of public backlash against chemical pesticides is relevant for two reasons. Most apparent is its emphasis on society's dislike for insects: even in the face of potentially serious effects of poisons on human health, there were people willing to debate the significance of such threats and argue for continued use of pesticides. Some people were so bothered and inconvenienced by insects that the known risks were seen as a worthy compromise.

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[63] "DDT Doomed," *The Keene Sentinel*, 23 February 1974, p. 9.

[64] New Hampshire Department of Agriculture, Annual Report, 1982-1983, p. 25.

[65] David Raposa, "Attorney General Investigating Pesticide Link," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 21 July 1983, p. 1.

Second, while concerns about human health had significantly factored into reasons for spraying campaigns, they had also come to justify bringing about major restrictions on the use of pesticides (though not before a shift in philosophy that took decades to unfold). In this sense, anthropocentric concerns can be seen as motivating both the spraying and the non-spraying for insects, but both cases reiterate the strong negative attitudes toward insects. One defined insect nuisances as more intolerable than any threats associated with pesticides, while the other showed that curbing the use of pesticides would not come without controversy. Thus, dislike for insects is marked by very deep-rooted feelings and very convention-bound approaches to dealing with them. As species of animals that have rarely enjoyed much human respect or appreciation, this is not surprising. With attitudes toward insects changing very little over time, there has been almost no excuse *but* health issues for changing any insect control protocols.

New Hampshire's post-war attitude toward chemical pesticides simply highlights the importance of human issues to a strain of environmentalism that might otherwise blend in perfectly with those philosophies built around greater ecosystems or concerns for other species. As history has shown, the ultimate demands to reduce or eliminate environmental toxins may have been a common goal among environmentalists, but the motivations have often been limited to human-centered causes. Such anthropocentrism is important to note as a factor in influencing attitudes toward wildlife over time. Though their activism may have benefited wildlife in some ways, either purposely or by default, their vision of human beings as being top priority would have minimized the level of importance of specifically wildlife-related issues, except of course, where wildlife were viewed as "resources."

(Semi) Ecocentric Motives for Environmentalism

Preoccupation with aesthetics, natural resources, and human health help to explain how a certain brand of environmentalism could arise from anthropocentric motives. In contrast, though its boundaries have occasionally been blurred throughout time, another type of environmentalism was born from visions of nature that value the interests of other species as equal to those of human beings. This more ecocentric approach has created an alternative pathway to increasing local environmental awareness and activism.

For those whose visions of nature have been based on the concept of "ecology," there has, since before "ecology" was a familiar word, been evidence of appreciation for integrative, working, natural systems. Central to this idea is the notion that such systems exist through vital connections and interrelationships among all living things. The concept took some time to be clearly identified and defined, but even in the 1940s, it stirred within certain circles. In 1945, the Audubon Society of New Hampshire reprinted, in one of its own regular publications, an article that originally appeared in *The Saturday Evening Post*. "Hunger at the Peace Table" was written by William Vogt, whose perspective of a balance of nature and web of life would also be the subject of his 1948 best-seller, *Road to Survival*.[66]

> Man, though he is apt to forget it, is a creature of the earth...We may, some unhappy day, substitute a pill for a T-bone steak but we shall still be unable to live far from the earth...Both the intensity and extent of our use of land have increased at a growing rate. First railroads, the roads, now the airplane, open new areas to use by man. Unfortunately, as man applies his new techniques to the earth, he often sets in motion forces he does not understand...And unless we have the answers to these problems, we are likely to find ourselves nearer and nearer to the end of the limb...Man's relationship with the earth is in such a state of maladjustment that it would be ample grounds for divorce, if such divorce

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[66] William Vogt, *Road to Survival* (New York: W. Sloane Associates, 1948).

> existed...It is inconceivable that a stable and durable peace can be achieved as long as man ignores the basic facts of his own biology.[67]

Few other local references from the 1940s speak so directly to such ecological awareness, although the airing of a radio show called "Mother Earth" also indicated some appreciation for the value of a natural environment worthy of respect.[68]

In the 1950s, the precursors of contemporary ecological thought were all about a "balance" of nature. This was apparent in legislative committee meetings that took place throughout the decade. In 1959, House Bill 220 was presented as a means of providing for an open season on fisher, but strong opposition was mounted by those who foresaw consequent rises in populations of the porcupine.[69] Thus, fishers were seen as important predatory checks on the balance of other species. Predator-prey relationships were also highlighted by legislation pertaining to "protected" and "unprotected" birds. In support of 1959 legislation that proposed protection of predatory birds, many concerned citizens generally cited the need for preserving a balance in nature, while a representative of the Audubon Society specifically referred to western states, "where coyotes and predatory birds were decreased. Rats and mice and gophers multiplied to the extent that deserts were made of good country."[70]

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[67] William Vogt, "Hunger at the Peace Table," *Audubon Society of New Hew Hampshire Newsletter*, June-August 1945, p. 49-50. (Originally published in: *The Saturday Evening Post*, 12 May 1945.)

[68] "On the Air," *The Keene Sentinel*, 18 December 1948, p. 5.

[69] Fish and Game, 1959- , Legislative Notes on House Bill 220, 25 March 1959, Box #009042, New Hampshire State Archives.

[70] Fish and Game, 1955-1959, Legislative Notes on House Bill 180, 12 March 1959, Box #009042, New Hampshire State Archives; Senate Fish and Game, 1953-1963, Legislative Notes on House Bill 180, 26 March 1959, Box #4021 New Hampshire State Archives; and Senate Fish and Game, 1953-1963, Legislative Notes on House Bill 180, 26 March 1959, Box #009031, New Hampshire State Archives.

As the focus on a balance of nature endured, ecological thought in the 1960s expanded to fully acknowledge the broader relationships that were both the reasons for, and products of, such balance. In the process, the growing emphasis on environmental education and awareness meant for noticeable proliferation of this type of thinking amongst the general public. Overall, newspapers included more and more outdoor and nature columns at this time – columns like "Back Yard Frontier," which was authored by a representative of the Audubon Society and which appeared in multiple papers. While devoting much of her focus to local nature, its author, Polly Bradley, also sometimes discussed the effects of pollution coming from other parts of the country. In this way, a wider vision of "environment" was coming to include whole landscapes and global systems.[71] Meanwhile, Peterborough began annually reporting on the activities of school children attending Sargent Camp: "The purpose of the school camping program is to provide an outdoor study situation as a rich supplement to the school's natural and social science program…The theme of this year's program will be 'Interrelationship of Community Life' and will be studied in relation to the forest, farm, meadow, swamp, and pond."[72]

Such education-oriented approaches only furthered ecological understanding in the 1970s and beyond. Local schools continued their enthusiastic participation in programs like the Environmental Protection Agency's school ecology contest: "an Elementary Education Poem and Poster Program…designed to bring about a greater awareness and

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[71] Polly Bradley, "Back Yard Frontier," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 8 February 1969, p. 13.

[72] Peterborough Town Report, 1963, p. 120.

concern of the environment on the part of the young people."[73] On TV, Jacques Cousteau talked of the wonders of the natural world.[74] *The Derry News* announced that an area women's club met to hear a talk on ecology, while the very same edition also featured a variety of "Ecology Tips."[75] Another newspaper talked about a nearby nature center's goal to teach "[t]he inter-relationship between all living things and their environment, with special emphasis on local flora and fauna...Our responsibility for all of these relationships...[and] our need to adjust to rather than to 'conquer' nature."[76]

One important outcome of this growing appreciation for ecology was a greater respect for elements of nature that had previously been either barely recognized, or respected only in relation to how they benefited human beings. Among a greater segment of the population, nature had begun to carry some inherent worth, valuable in its own right. This evolution of respect is well illustrated by the change in attitudes toward swamp, marsh, and wetlands, which very clearly unfolded between 1945 and the 1980s. The generally low regard for these types of land in 1945 was undeniable, as Dover's mayor contemplated suitable sites for a city dump: "Under the will of J. Belknap Guppy the city acquired many areas of low swampy land...which might be used for this purpose."[77] By the mid-1950s, however, at least a new way of looking at things (if not quite a new trend) had emerged with the early publications of Rachel Carson. Achieving notoriety in local

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[73] "EPA Sponsors Ecology Contest in Schools," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 16 January 1975, p. 13.

[74] "TV," *The Keene Sentinel*, 8 June 1970, p. 10.

[75] "Junior Woman's Club Hears Ecology Talk" and "Ecology Tip" in: *The Derry News*, 18 November 1971, p. 3 and 4, respectively.

[76] John and Aino Kulish, "Out of the Woods," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 21 October 1976, p. 4.

[77] Mayor F. Clyde Keefe, quoted in the Dover Town Report, 1945, p. 31.

media, Carson's *The Sea Around Us* helped to shed light on the "strange life at the bottom of the ocean," while in a book review by a Peterborough librarian, *The Edge of the Sea* was noted for its message about the richness and complexity of shore life, and its description of "the world of teeming life where the sea meets the land."[78] Both publications helped make accessible to the public the idea that land which might otherwise have been overlooked was important and fascinating.

In the 1960s, the Department of Fish and Game reported that, among new additions to the department's film library, was one entitled *Marshland is Not Wasteland*. The department emphasized its good fortune in being able to acquire salt marsh land donations, pointing out that "a salt marsh is a natural irreplaceable resource that has become increasingly valuable and unfortunately, rare."[79] Fish and Game's Hilbert Siegler, arriving armed with charts to convey the importance of salt marsh to a food energy chain, brought this message to a meeting of the House Resources, Recreation, and Development Committee to add to the already abundant support for a wetlands conservation bill.[80] Conditions were ripe for an excellent reception of these ideas – while the agencies and legislators largely concurred on the need to protect marsh and wetlands, the public was also becoming increasingly receptive to the idea that wetlands could actually be beautiful. Just one indication of this shift in perspective is the fact that the Everglades were quickly becoming a popular destination for travelers. According to *The*

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[78] For a reference to *The Sea Around Us*, see: Erskine Johnson, "In Hollywood," *The Portsmouth Herald*, 7 February 1952, no page listed. For a review of *The Edge of the Sea*, see: Allan J. Bertrand, "Town Library," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 21 June 1956, p. 12.

[79] New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game, Biennial Reports: 1962-1964, no page listed; and 1964-1966, p. 20.

[80] House Resources, Recreation, and Development, 1963, Legislative Notes on House Bill 540, 5 May 1965, Box #4021, New Hampshire State Archives.

Keene Sentinel, "[v]isitors to Everglades National Park are expected to exceed 1 million in 1966. This compares with 266,960 visitors 10 years ago."[81]

Despite the occasional conflicting resentment of landowners feeling that their rights were being infringed upon, the 1970s and 1980s saw a wave of efforts to conserve swamp, marsh, estuary, and wetland.[82] Even more impressive than the concerted nature of these efforts were the justifications people were now using to call for increased protection. Speaking in favor of a wetlands conservation bill in 1970, a Seabrook resident took issue with those preoccupied with monetary (versus ecological) value of marshland: "Mr. Sheridan Dodge of Seabrook…commented that most of the arguments he has heard have been economic in his opinion. The web of life [has] to be protected. Says once you destroy these lands – that they can't be replaced. Man he believes is a part of the web of life and if he destroys a part of life, then he destroys himself." Increasingly macroscopic visions of the environment were also apparent in the comments of those most concerned with future generations. While speaking of a fundamentally human interest, Mrs. Frances Halway of Rye still showed a thinking beyond one's own immediate interests when, in expressing her support for preserving marshlands, she asked, "'should the heritage of thousands be sacrificed for the profit of a very few?'" Likewise, the president of the Seacoast Anti-Pollution League offered: "at the present rate of planned destruction, New Hampshire's salt marshes will be totally gone by the end of this decade…the time is here

[81] "Everglades Park More Popular," *The Keene Sentinel*, 22 March 1967, p. 10.

[82] For example, see: House Resources, Recreation, and Development, 1969, Legislative Notes on House Bill 199, 29 January 1969, Box #10024, New Hampshire State Archives.

when law makers of N.H. must realize that they have an obligation to unborn generations that far outweighs their obligation to short sighted developers."[83]

Individual towns were also becoming actively engaged in protecting wetlands. In 1974, the town of Derry included a section in its town warrant which read, "a wetland and watershed Protection Area is established to prevent the destruction of watershed areas and wetlands."[84] The Conservation Commission in Portsmouth later went on record as opposing the rezoning of an area known as Great Bog (from residential to industrial) "In order to insure the integrity of the Bog as a whole."[85] Considering that these comments were recorded in their respective town reports, it is worth noting that the 1945 comments of Dover's mayor, F. Clyde Keefe were also immortalized by a town report. Within a span of just a few decades, swamp-type lands had gone from "city dump" potential to worthy of serious protection for the sake of both human beings and the greater ecosystem.

The turn-around in attitudes toward wetlands is an important illustration of how the significance of a certain aspect of the natural world underwent widespread reassessment and subsequently came to be viewed as having value independent of human interests. This trend is important to a history of human-wildlife relationships because of its expansion of the idea of inherent worth to other species. Consider the words of Edward DeCourcy, who talked of an unpopular species in terms that were very unanthropocentric:

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[83] House Resources, Recreation, and Development, 1969-1970, Legislative Notes on House Bill 15, 31 March 1970, Box #10024, New Hampshire State Archives.

[84] Derry Town Report, 1974, p. 4.

[85] Portsmouth Town Report, 1978-1980, p. 55.

> Does the mosquito have a brain?...Some evidence indicates not only that the mosquito does have a brain, but that it is a devious creature...Some of us have wondered what good the mosquito is. We know of course, that she's food for some birds and fish...It's a rather arrogant question, though, because, the mosquito (if she happens to have a brain) could wonder what good is man, who invents things like DDT and porchlight electrocution machines.[86]

While these words, written in 1980, were not enough to inspire any efforts to protect mosquitoes, they were reflective of an awareness that even an otherwise unpopular species had its own purpose and right to exist. As such, they are an intriguing extreme in a line of thinking that did, indeed, inspire a history of increasing protection for some wildlife species.

It is true that some of these earlier protection efforts were more rooted in human interests. For example, while a 1956 edition of the New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game's newsletter discussed the ecological importance of animals like hawks, owls, snakes, skunks, weasels, foxes, and mink, the praises were clearly in the context of these species' roles in controlling the much disliked rat.[87] Essentially, certain carnivores were only "friends" to human beings because they were enemies of an "enemy," but over time, protective efforts seemed more sincerely motivated by desires simply to protect species. Making local news was the fact that legislation had been proposed to save Florida's Key Deer from extinction, and showing that a general lack of appeal was not necessarily an obstacle to protective efforts, a local article about efforts to save the rhinoceros warned that without protection, "the ungainly beast of little intelligence and capricious

[86] Edward DeCourcy, quoted in *The Keene Sentinel*, 9 June 1980, p. 4.

[87] New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game Newsletter, 1956, no page listed.

disposition could be tomorrow's fossil."[88]

Concern about species welfare was linked to more generalized interest in conserving land specifically for the purpose of ensuring good wildlife habitat. In the 1960s, the Department of Fish and Game helped to lead this charge. Working closely with other state departments on a newly inaugurated Highway Program aimed at protecting habitat, Fish and Game announced:

> Starting in the fall of 1963, New Hampshire's Department of Public Works and Highways worked out a memorandum of agreement with our Department in which the Public Works Department indicated its willingness to submit all future highway construction plans to Fish and Game for review...To date, 57 sets of plans have been reviewed and 19 modifications have been carried out.[89]

Habitat remained a priority to wildlife protection in the 1970s and 1980s. However, it was not only seen as essential to save land for this purpose, but to improve it and make it more attractive to wildlife as well. In 1970, Wolfeboro's Conservation Commission announced, "[t]he Commission is considering purchasing about 1,000 Autumn Olive seedlings in the spring to be distributed without charge to Wolfeboro residents who agree to plant them as a source of food for wild birds. The Autumn Olive bears a heavy crop of red berries which are a favorite food of more than 30 varieties of song and game birds."[90] In 1971, the state's Resources and Environmental Control Committee held a discussion about banning motorboats on a pond in Concord, when one resident speaking in favor of

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[88] New Bill May Save Key Deer from Extinction," *The Keene Sentinel*, 12 September 1957, p. 20. "Rhinoceros in Battle for Survival," *The Keene Sentinel*, 16 February 1962, p. 7.

[89] New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game, Biennial Report, 1962-1964, no page listed.

[90] Wolfeboro Town Report, 1970, p. 104.

the bill cited the many species of wildlife that are disturbed by boat wakes.[91] By 1985, when the pace of development had become a major concern, a number of Peterborough residents voiced their apprehensions about a proposed development. Among them was John Calihan, who pointed to vulnerable populations of geese, blue herons, deer, and beaver: "When you start to develop, these could disappear easily...it's a responsibility of the town to look at that."[92] And, towns *did* continue to consider the issue. The town of Derry, for example, noted that a wildlife biologist had been consulted, specifically for the purpose of improving and preserving the wildlife habitat in the Joshua More Conservation Area.[93]

As concerns about wildlife habitat were addressed, there were also efforts underway to bring people's attention to the plight of certain species. As in the previous decade, the media were central in raising awareness. For example, in 1970, ABC aired a special documentary entitled "The Return of the Sea Elephant." It was intended to highlight both the triumphant comeback of sea elephant populations after a period of intensive over hunting, and the problems with a new threat posed by pollution.[94] Meanwhile, advertising itself tapped into an apparent concern for endangered wildlife. In 1978, Burger Chef advertised a promotion in which the purchase of a medium 69¢ soft drink came with a free glass that pictured an endangered species on it. With every glass given away, Burger Chef promised to make a donation to the World Wildlife Fund, while the consumer could

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[91] Commentary from Robert Johnson in Resources and Environmental Control, 1971, Legislative Notes on Senate Bill 216, 18 May 1971, Box #1032, New Hampshire State Archives.

[92] *The Peterborough Transcript*, 18 July 1985, p. 1.

[93] Derry Town Report, 1985, p. 37.

[94] *The Keene Sentinel*, 7 February 1970, p. 9.

go home feeling just a little more important – as the ad said, "keep the glass and help save an endangered animal."[95]

People's longing to be helpful in the preservation of threatened species was admirable, but their concentration on *species* points to an interesting caveat in their overall attitudes toward wildlife. Making their approach toward environmentalism *semi*ecocentric, their focus on the survival of species (as opposed to the welfare of individuals) is less about extending empathy towards "others" than it is about maintaining a natural order perceived to be ideal for a healthy ecosystem. So, there is ecocentrism, in the sense that people grasped the concept of ecology, valued it as something worth protecting, and cared enough to make personal sacrifices for the good of the ecosystem.

On the other hand, there were still elements of selfishness, because these attempts at environmental protection were based on human ideas of what nature *should* be, leaving room for an imposition of biases and stereotypes against species that were equally naturally occurring. As Donald Worster has noted, "[o]nly human subjectivity can decide which state of the earth is preferable to another."[96] A 1956 "Sportsmen's Times" column written by the Department of Fish and Game declared that "Rats are 'No Good'...No animal in New Hampshire is so bad but that we find some good in it. We are hard put, however, to do this for the Norway, the common house rat."[97] Another column submitted by Fish and Game in 1965 described the problem of mussels inhabiting the more desirable clam's habitat in Seabrook. Apparently, the problem was that the process of

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[95] Advertisement for Burger Chef in *The Keene Sentinel*, 21 August 1978, p. 16.

[96] Donald Worster, *The Wealth of Nature: Environmental History and the Ecological Imagination* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), p.176.

[97] New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game, "Sportsmen's Topics," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 25 October 1956, p. 8.

using a mussel grinding machine was proving to be too long and tedious, so instead, sand would be pumped into the mussel bed: "this method suffocates the mussels and at the same time provides 'new' habitat in which clams may reseed."[98] How convenient, though not for the mussels.

Activism

The positive side to an emerging environmental awareness, whether truly human-centered or semi-ecocentric, was that it really did inspire people to take action, and to get involved in community and global issues. By the early 1950s, towns were organizing "clean-up" days, and participation in similar acts of environmental vigilance was seen as a badge of good citizenship.[99] Some people took every opportunity to spread this environmentalist message. At a Fourth of July parade in 1959, a local Garden Club's float was "designed to carry the message of Conservation to the multitude of viewers. The Conservation Pledge, subscribed to by all Garden Club members was featured at the sides of the float:...'I give my pledge as an American to save and faithfully defend from waste the natural resources of my country...waters...and its wildlife.'"[100]

With the 1960s came more community lectures on responsibility for the environment and increased engagement of the public in controversial environmental

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[98] "Fish and Game Column," *The Keene Sentinel*, 26 November 1965, p. 7.

[99] See: announcement, *The Granite State News*, 25 May 1951, p. 10; and public service announcement, Derry Town Report, 1955, p. 32.

[100] "Conservation Theme of Garden Club Float," *The Granite State News*, 10 July 1959, p. 6.

issues, but it was not just the environment that inspired a spirited activism.[101] By the 1970s, environmentalism was thriving in a culture that had, much more generally, become open to activists speaking out and taking action on a variety of issues. For example, "War and Dissent Main Topic on U.S. College Campuses" was a front page headline in *The Portsmouth Herald* in 1970.[102] It was a time when people thought not just to question, but also to challenge, the government and the status quo, and their banding together, in the process, was contagious. People felt empowered to make a difference in the world, and their participation did not go unnoticed on the smaller, local scale. Newbury selectmen reported that 1970 was "a year of superb citizen participation in the affairs of our Town."[103]

Such social and civic activism contributed all the more to a social atmosphere conducive to charged environmental activism. The New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game noted, "[t]he past biennium will forever be our witness to an American people aroused and concerned about their environment."[104] With such an air of participation in the 1970s, activism evolved from being a simple measure of willingness to a more subtle measure of sincerity. According to a 1973 editorial:

> What America is facing is not an energy crisis but a character crisis...We are about to discover the depth of our conviction. Suddenly now we find ourselves facing the harsh choice whether we are willing to put up with some mild discomfort and inconvenience, even perhaps to give up some of the luxuries we have been conditioned to accept as part of our lives so that we conserve our

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[101] For examples, see: announcement, *The Peterborough Transcript*, 23 January 1969, p. 11; and "Conservation Groups Oppose Road Through Franconia Notch," *The Argus-Champion*, 14 April 1966, p. 1.

[102] "War and Dissent Main Topic on U.S. College Campuses," *The Portsmouth Herald*, 8 June 1980, p. 1.

[103] Newbury Town Report, 1970, p. 3.

[104] New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game, Annual Report, 1969-1970, p. 31.

> sources of energy while at the same time protecting our earth...for the generations yet unborn.[105]

The emphasis on personal choices helped to make environmental protection the responsibility of both a collective society and individuals in their daily lives. Another local editorial made a point not to let the individual off the hook:

> A lot of people in Wolfeboro were upset last week because of the oil slick which washed up on Brewster Beach following the storm. In light of the intensive nation-wide publicity campaigns informing the public of the present danger to our environment, everyone seems to be aware of pollution problems. Everyone agrees that those who are polluting must be stopped. THEY must be forced to change their habits...it is time to admit that WE are THEY and that there is something every one of us can do to limit pollution...If you really mean all those good things you say about not polluting the world around you, start now by exercising your power as a consumer and choose a non-polluting laundry product...Let's stop waiting for 'THEY' to act.[106]

While communities may have come together to discuss legislation, or even make a "clean-up" day a success, the message was clear: every person has the right and duty to make responsible choices that, small as they may seem, contribute to overall environmental well-being. For instance, despite the grumblings of soap manufacturers, the buying public pressed the issue of phosphates, keeping the subject in the news and in the spotlight.[107] This was just one example of how the public found and used its voice for a cause that had come to be seen as important. Having been empowered by finding a voice, the public would continue to use it, like a student who wrote a letter to the editor of the *Argus-Champion* in 1983: "I am a junior in Newport High School, and I would like to express my opinion on acid rain...I have done a little research on the subject, and I've

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[105] Editorial, *The Argus-Champion*, 14 November 1973, p. 4.

[106] Editorial, *The Granite State News*, 11 June 1970, p. B1.

[107] See: list of laundry detergents and their phosphate contents in *The Granite State News*, 11 June 1970, p. 2; and Jack Anderson, "Soap Makers Lobby," *The Portsmouth Herald*, 8 April 1972, p. 4.

learned a great deal...Acid rain kills our plants, animals, and fish...if it gets too bad it will kill us. I would like people to become aware of this problem..."[108]

People came to environmentalism via many different paths, some which might be called ecocentric and some which might be called anthropocentric. While some people were motivated by their concerns for other species or whole ecosystems, others were primarily concerned with human well-being. And many cared about both. The contrast in the way they prioritized the importance of human beings and other species is what helps to answer the question: are human beings part of, or separate from nature? In the case of the former perspective, humans would be viewed as part of a bigger ecological community, and as such, more as equals to wildlife sharing the world. One might assume that greater tolerance for wildlife, therefore, came with this view of nature and brand of environmentalism. On the other hand, humanity being seen as separate from nature would have justified more human-centered concerns about the effects of the natural environment on human health and well-being. In this case, a distinction between human and non-human realms might have further designated wildlife as belonging elsewhere. It might then be assumed that this form of environmentalism would have been associated with a potential decrease in tolerance for the presence of wildlife.

Meanwhile, there were also people who recognized that, with humanity being seen as a part of nature, ecocentric concerns were human concerns. In 1970, Bernard Corson, who was then Director of the New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game, commented that "[u]nless...New Hampshire's environment is protected and saved, there is no hope

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[108] Kris Beauchaine, Letter to the Editor, *The Argus-Champion*, 23 March 1983, p. 4.

for social problems. Remov[e] a natural environment and you've done a pretty good job of emasculating the American dream."[109] Edward DeCourcy similarly noted in an editorial, "there is a fallacy about the concept of man against nature...[human beings] are a part of nature. We ought to be aware that the ideal of Man Against Nature really means man against himself..."[110] This especially encompassing viewpoint left room for specific focus on human issues, but without ignoring the importance of environmental concerns. One possible result of such thinking, as far as wildlife are concerned, is that such a sense of interdependency might focus more on wildlife as resources. In this way, one might speculate that wild animals were primarily viewed as useful.

In any case, the point is that a general understanding of "environmentalism" cannot automatically be linked to one specific vision of wildlife. "Tree Hugging" did not always go hand-in-hand with "Bambi Loving," and this has been illustrated by the growing emphasis on the protection of *species*. Interest in saving species reflected an interest in preserving a concept of the way nature should work, or the way an ecosystem should be structured. As noted by the mention of mussel killing for the sake of improving clam habitat, this species-specific value system was bound to leave some other species and individuals out in the cold. So, as ecocentric as this may seem at first glance, it is also a worldview infused with self-interest. Consider the historical hatred of poison ivy, and the regular attempts at its eradication.[111] This reflects a human-centered system of valuation that determined which species were worth saving and protecting, a system that has

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[109] Bernard Corson quoted in Resources and Environmental Control, 1971, Legislative Notes on Senate Bill 244, 1 June 1971, Box #1032, New Hampshire State Archives.

[110] Edward DeCourcy, "The Spectator," *The Argus-Champion*, 14 January 1981, p. 4.

[111] For an example of such a reference, see: *The Derry News*, 7 September 1945, p. 6.

endured over time. In 1969, in the heyday of local environmental awareness and activism, an outdoor column portrayed cowbirds, starlings, and blue jays as pests, saying that they "are making life busy for the other acceptable birds."[112] Acceptable for whom?

The ways in which these human-centered values fail to go completely veiled by "environmentalism" leads to another observation of human-wildlife relationships. Even under the guise of environmentalism came suppositions about humanity's ability – and, perhaps, responsibility – to control nature. As shown by the control of growth, and agriculture's mastery and manipulation of the earth and animal life, human-nature relationships were imbued with a certain level of assumed control. In the field of medicine, humanity was, to an extent, removing itself from nature with increasing immunity to, and protection from, a variety of afflictions. Science also helped human beings to defy nature in other ways. In the 1950s, there were admittedly ambitious, but serious ideas about controlling weather – for example by using guided missiles to "kill" tornadoes.[113]

Possibly most obvious in the human struggle with nature for control was the eventually realized goal of giving human beings the ability to actually leave the planet. With the town of Derry being the hometown of Alan Shepard, known locally as the "Nation's First Astronaut," space exploration was something downright celebrated. As a final "frontier," it was one more way of conquering nature. Mystery and impossibility were replaced by scientific explanations and proof of humanity's ability to turn ideas

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[112] "Out of Doors," *The Granite State News*, 22 May 1969, p.9.

[113] "Guided Missile May Kill Tornadoes," *The Portsmouth Herald*, 12 November 1953, p 28; and "The Weather War," *The Derry News*, 20 February 1958, p. 2.

about space travel into reality, and human beings took yet another step toward controlling their existence in nature.

It is this defiance of nature's previously accepted authority that depicts humanity as assuming charge of the world. This is a concept that is relevant to human-wildlife relationships, because it opens the door to the idea that wild animals, whether challenging everyday convenience, or failing to conform to preset notions of what "nature" or a healthy ecosystem should look like, can and should be controlled. Thus, for all of the glory that "environmentalism" may have been increasingly bestowing upon certain wildlife species, larger visions of nature were still confusing actual attitudes toward wild animals.

There is no doubt that as environmentalism proliferated, society's appreciation for the natural world increased. Judging from the level of activism that sprouted from this movement, it was a way of thinking that became a passionate priority to many, and served as common ground at a time when neighbors might otherwise have been drifting apart. So, it became a force to be reckoned with, and one that brought with it some new ways of thinking about wildlife and general human-wildlife relationships as they were affected by visions of how human beings fit into grander visions of "nature." The complexity comes with the fact that different people apparently arrived at environmental awareness in different ways, and the diversity in approaches is what led to further ambiguity in attitudes toward other species.

CHAPTER 4

ANIMALS OUTSIDE: HOW TRENDS IN OUTDOOR RECREATION AFFECTED ATTITUDES TOWARD WILDLIFE

> John Sirois of Dublin shot [a] 300-lb. male black bear near Moose Brook Park in Randolph. He knocked the animal down with his first shot, but it required three more blasts to make the kill...He will have the bear's head mounted and the hide made into a rug for his wife.[1]
>
> \- *Peterborough Transcript*, October 23, 1958

> We were so appalled when we read your 'front page news' describing the murder of a bear by Robert and Annie Whipple of Bradford...We can't figure out why you felt this tale of torture was so important that it should be made public.[2]
>
> \- Letter written in response to a bear hunting article printed by *The Argus-Champion* in 1980

The story of a bear killed by a hunter in 1958 was conveyed to the public as a story of interest, and its portrayal of the hunter as somewhat heroic seemed likely to generate respect, if not a little envy. By 1980, a bear killing story was received with notable anger and disgust at the suffering inflicted upon a wild animal by hunters. The hunter was no longer automatically the hero, and the bear was a more sympathetic victim. In little more than 20 years, public attitudes toward hunting had become dramatically transformed.

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[1] "Big Grizzly is Trophy From No. Country Weekend," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 23 October 1958, p. 6.

[2] Letter to the Editor, *The Argus-Champion*, 24 December 1980, p. 5.

While hunting was unique among other forms of outdoor recreation, in that it was one of the only activities to decline in popularity during the post-war years, the fact that its meaning in society had changed so dramatically makes it emblematic of the significant changes experienced in outdoor recreation in general. Activities were as diverse as swimming, picnicking, snowmobiling, horseback riding, golf, camping – the list could go on. However, an underlying current affecting most recreational outlets was a changing idea of how human beings fit into nature. It was an idea that, over time, came to embrace very diverse expectations for nature experiences, varying beliefs about how much control should be used to ensure that expectations would be met, and a mix of opinions about the degree to which wildlife enhanced or spoiled these experiences. This chapter shows that attitudes toward wildlife were complicated not only by differing perspectives among those engaging in outdoor recreation, but also by the fact that the changing popularity of specific forms of recreation determined the fluctuating weight of such ideas upon the general public.

The period between 1945 and 1985 marked major changes in local growth and associated changes in agriculture and attitudes toward the environment, as people generally became less connected with nature but also more sympathetic to it. Another trend was a general increase in outdoor recreation. Throughout the decades, an increase in leisure time helped to make this possible. In 1966, the director of Derry's Recreation and Parks Commission commented on this "ever-increasing leisure of the general public" and corresponding "demands for facilities to enjoy their leisure."[3]

[3] Gerald H. Cox quoted in the Derry Town Report, 1966, p. 50.

While increased leisure time afforded more opportunities to engage in various recreational pursuits, there were aspects of the post-War era that also specifically encouraged outdoor recreation. One such influence was the great change in road systems, automobiles, and social acceptance of car ownership and "motoring" habits. By the early 1950s, "motoring" was a common pastime, and the overwhelming adoption of cars as a means of local, in-state transportation allowed vastly greater opportunity for people to visit parks and to seek other natural destinations to satisfy recreational pursuits.[4] *The Granite State News* reported that "[t]he number of visitors to the national parks and other areas administered by the national park service again broke all records in 1949."[5] It was not long before the frequency of this type of travel became overwhelming to some local town officials. In 1951, Dover's Chief of Police stated, "I would like to recommend that a study be made so that a through-way can be built by the state of New Hampshire outside the City of Dover so that traffic traveling North, going to the lakes and mountains, would not have to go through our Main Street."[6] This is evidence that the growing ease of accessing outdoor destinations encouraged people to get outside for fun.

With mounting interest in outdoor activities came a romanticized view of the outdoors as healthy, relaxing, and a source of adventure and idealism. In the 1950s, movie theaters showed many films with romantic views of the outdoors, such as *Young*

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[4] Reference to locals going "motoring" can be found in: *The Granite State News*, 8 February 1952, no page listed. "Tips on Touring" was carried 3 times per month in *The Keene Sentinel*. For an example, see: "Tips on Touring," *The Keene Sentinel*, 12 November 1953, p. 7.

[5] "National Park Travel," *The Granite State News*, 9 June 1950, p. 4.

[6] Andrew H. McDaniel quoted in the Dover Town Report, 1951, p. 7.

Daniel Boone and *Tarzan Triumphs*.[7] A 1965 Jeep advertisement touted the vehicle's ability to "bring out the adventurer in you," while another newspaper article talked of how "roughing it" in the outdoors "Does Kids Good."[8] In 1971, Derry's MacGregor Park was described as "a place...where you can rest or run barefoot in the grass along with the flower children."[9]

This mix of influences fostered interests in outdoor recreation that were more than theoretical. Statistics provide evidence that such attitudes were borne out by actual participation. In Newbury, records of inquiries made by visitors to the town's information booth reflected the level of interest in activities like camping, picnicking, fishing, and hiking. In the eight years following the war, information booth attendant, Grace E. Hall, noted more and more cars stopping for information about outdoor recreation venues.[10] Meanwhile, the Department of Forestry and Recreation was also observing similar increases. According to the department's 1952 report, the use of state parks "has grown rapidly in the past few years...The number of patrons who visited all areas during the calendar year 1952 was 1,940,602 – an increase of 271,357 over the previous year."[11] While weather was always a factor in the popularity of outdoor recreation, a string of successive years made previous records seem small. A 1955 headline in *The Argus-Champion* heralded the "biggest" weekend in the history of Pillsbury State Park. The

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[7] See movie listings in: *The Derry News*, 9 June 1950, p. 8; and *The Keene Sentinel*, 19 July 1955, p. 3.

[8] Advertisement, *The Granite State News*, 26 March 1965, p. 2; and *The Peterborough Transcript*, 15 July 1965, p. 2.

[9] Derry Town Report, 1971, p. 50.

[10] See Newbury Town Reports for the years: 1949, p. 61; 1951, p. 82; 1952, p. 54; and 1953, p. 53.

[11] New Hampshire Department of Forestry and Recreation, Annual Report, 1951-1952, p. 95.

Fourth of July weekend "brought droves of weekenders out to the popular Washington Park. They were even 'matching' for picnic tables, the wilderness park was so popular."[12]

General interest in outdoor recreation boomed after World War II, but as suggested by the types of inquiries made at Newbury's information booth, "outdoor recreation" took on a variety of forms. This variety contributed to differentiated degrees of closeness to the "nature" that people were seeking. In 1945, parks and playgrounds commissions concerned themselves with pastimes as diverse as horseback riding, boating, fishing, golf, swimming, skiing, and skating.[13] Of course, towns oriented around lakes, for example, took special interest in water-related activities.[14] The multiplicity of activities reveal sometimes competing priorities – generally, those more focused on the activities taking place in nature, such as golf and water skiing, and those more specifically centered on actual interaction with nature, like hiking and fishing.

Two examples make this distinction clear. One issue arose as local waters became increasingly motorized. Power boats rapidly grew in popularity and prevalence, but they quickly clashed with views of waterways as outlets for relaxation and general appreciation for natural beauty. When restrictions on the use of power boats were sought in 1953, one man complained, "one can't water ski at 25 mph." Critics of power boats were more concerned that water resources were being spoiled for their *multiple* users. The sponsor of a bill to prohibit power boats on one lake stated:

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[12] See: New Hampshire Department of Forestry and Recreation, Annual Report, 1953-1954, p.84; and "Pillsbury Records Biggest Weekend in Park's History," *The Argus-Champion*, 14 July 1955, p. 2A.

[13] Wolfeboro Town Reports: 1945, p. 86-87; and 1946, inside back cover.

[14] For example the town of Wolfeboro held an annual water "carnival," which featured a boat parade, water skiing/jumping, powerboat races, etc. See: "First Annual Wolfeboro Water Carnival," *The Granite State News*, 25 July 1947, p. 4.

> this lake...is the only recreational outlet of the town and attracts people from all the nearby towns...The water is used by lakeside property owners for drinking purposes...The motor boat problem is as follows: a large number of motor boats, including large ones, and as many as fifteen at a time, are brought in on trailers by transients are run on the lake at all times of the day and night...They leave an oily slide on the water; they hit the water pipes; they stir up mud; they disturb the natural peace of the lake; they hurt the business of the property owners, and they are depreciating the value of all the lake front property. They endanger the lives of children playing or swimming on the beaches...[15]

A related controversy also involved motorization of activities in settings that had long provided an escape from the mechanized world. While the use of power boats riled numerous opponents in the 1950s, the 1970s and 1980s brought similar conflict over the use of snowmobiles, off-highway recreation vehicles (OHRVs), and all-terrain vehicles (ATVs). At a 1973 town meeting held in Newbury, one resident inquired, "what controls are planned to restrict snowmobiles violating private property and killing wildlife."[16] The sense that nature was being deconstructed by this modern form of outdoor recreation stirred some emotional responses. Reacting to an impending proposal for OHRV trails in 1985, a resident of Effingham wrote:

> I awoke this morning with tears in my eyes. Listening to the birds singing and realizing that when those trails open I will no longer hear them with silence as their background...The quality of my life, and the life of the animals that live in Pine River Forest will be destroyed by our decision...They cannot fight for it, for they do not even know what may be lost. I do...[17]

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[15] See, respectively: Senate Judiciary Committee, 1951-1953, Legislative Notes on House Bill 119, 1 April 1953, Box # 009041, New Hampshire State Archives; and House Resources, Recreation and Development, 1951, Legislative Notes on House Bill 5, 24 January 1951, Box #00602, New Hampshire State Archives.

[16] Newbury Town Report, 1973, p. 43.

[17] Maureen A. Schact, Letter to the Editor, *The Granite State* News, 20 March 1985, p. A2.

The issue generated much back-and-forth, but while people continued to express their concerns, particularly about the loss of peace and quiet in "nature," OHRV registrations steadily increased.[18]

These types of controversies show that preferences for outdoor recreation embodied wider concepts of "nature" derived from two separate paths, as laid out by activity-oriented and nature-oriented recreationists. However, even among outdoor pursuits which, being less mediated by machinery and technology, are inherently more in tune with nature and conducive to actual interaction with wildlife, there are varying degrees of intimacy with outdoor surroundings. Hiking and photography were means of viewing wildlife up close, and such opportunities were frequently viewed positively or, at least, with notable interest. For example, in 1955, young moose "tame as horses startled people in the Swift River area, but paused for a Massachusetts tourist to snap a photo."[19] On the other hand, a rise in more nature-oriented outdoor recreation also led to some instances of increased negative feelings. In 1965, an unsuccessful attempt to impose a bounty on rattlesnakes was supported by a state senator who, in pointing to an expansion of activities at state parks, suggested that "cases of people being killed by rattlers [were] apt to occur."[20]

This two-sided view of nature and wildlife indicates that even within the realm of these non-mechanized activities, different people brought with them differing underlying

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[18] "Protect Forest From Noise" and "Sentiment Split on ATV Trails" in: *The Granite State News*, 27 March 1985, p. A2 and 1 respectively. For data on OHRV registrations, see: the New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game, Annual Report, 1986-1987, p. F-3.

[19] "Sportsmen's Topics," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 14 July 1955, p. 6.

[20] House Fish and Game, 1965-1967, Legislative Notes on House Bill 297, 13 April 1965, Box # 004041, New Hampshire State Archives.

views of the role of human beings in nature. Perhaps most illustrative of such duality is the evolution of camping, which came to include essentially two different breeds of camper. There is no doubt that camping, in general, became increasingly popular during post-war years. The Department of Forestry and Recreation reported that the "[u]se of camping areas is expected to increase, and it probably will be necessary to continually enlarge the areas and expand facilities to adequately and efficiently serve the public."[21] According to a 1949 edition of "The State House Journal," published regularly in *The Argus-Champion*, "outdoor camping has become a major factor in the recreational habits of postwar America. State campgrounds enjoy a bigger patronage every year."[22]

As the popularity of camping grew steadily, camping came to mean different things, from using a tent in the wilderness to setting up an RV in a crowded campground. As improved transportation systems and increased leisure time allowed more people to take part in camping, more philosophies and view points were brought into the picture. In fact, as early as 1948, the Department of Forestry and Recreation had observed a demand for more accessible means of enjoying nature in small doses at a time. Speaking on subsequent action to meet this demand, the department explained that "[a] new type of public recreational facility to our state was undertaken in the biennium. This was the development of wayside picnic areas adjacent to main highway routes."[23] A growing disconnect between outdoor recreationists and nature, enabled by a variety of accommodations, ensued in the following years. In the early 1950s, Bear Brook State

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[21] New Hampshire Department of Forestry and Recreation, Annual Reports, 1945-1946, p. 17.

[22] "The State House Journal," *The Argus-Champion*, 22 November 1949, p. 1.

[23] New Hampshire Department of Forestry and Recreation, Annual Report, 1947-1948, p. 19.

Park saw construction of a show ring, so that horse shows could be held on site. Pops concerts "with orchestras and artists" had also become "a regular feature" of Mt. Sunapee State Park.[24] In his 1954 report, Director of the Division of Recreation, Russell Tobey, noted a rising interest in merchandise and souvenirs among those using state parks.[25] All of these subtle developments contributed to a growing divergence among park users that likely led to the distinction made by the Division of Recreation between camping in general and "'wilderness camping' for those desiring primitive-type accommodations."[26]

By the late 1960s, this distinction among campers had become not only obvious, but also the subject of much lamenting by critics of the higher maintenance camper seeking what seemed like a watered-down nature experience. An editorial published in *The Granite State News* noted:

> Campers and sportsmen turned out in throngs last week to see the wonders on display at the annual New England Sportsmen and Camping Show in Boston...there was little to remind the rucksack set of the apparently passé mode of roughing it in the woods...Nary a tent was to be found among the dozens of displays – the bulk of space was filled with exhibits of trailers...Gone was campfire equipment – the old black iron skillet and no doubt the campfire too – four burner gas stoves with ovens in decorator colors had taken their place...Perhaps this is an example of 'the good life' but we always thought the joy of camping came from the closeness of man to nature. We wonder how close one gets with TV set, full-length mirror and Venetian blinds.[27]

In 1976, outdoor writer Ken Webb wrote of the need to:

> set aside...some areas in which true camping would be allowed...By true camping I mean simple tenting. No vans, no campers, no trailers...There really ought to be areas in the state which can be used by campers who don't figure that they've got to take all of suburbia with them into the woods, who don't need

[24] New Hampshire Department Forestry and Recreation, Annual Report, 1951-1952, p. 101 and 104.

[25] New Hampshire Department of Forestry and Recreation, Annual Report, 1953-1954, p. 87.

[26] New Hampshire Department of Forestry and Recreation, Annual Report, 1953-1954, p. 99.

[27] "Roughing It," *The Granite State News*, 23 January 1969, p. A-One.

laundromats, dance pavilions, shuffleboard, water skiing, programmed entertainment and junk food stores.[28]

Questioning the quality of the human-nature relationships that were unfolding, critics had to acknowledge people's desire to be outside, but they remained painfully cognizant of the way images of "nature" were becoming transformed. As reported in a 1977 newspaper article:

> The camping business is booming in the Newport-Sunapee area...Still, most campers don't seem to mind crowds...Rather than 'getting away from it all,' camping for them is like moving to a neighborhood playground bordered by trees instead of buildings...Campground owners are only too eager to supply the demand. Badminton, shuffleboard, horseshoes, softball, basketball, laundromats, even pinball machines, as well as a vast array of vending machines and well-stocked food stores provide virtually all the amenities campers have at home.[29]

Camping is an example of an outdoor activity that, within the realm of all outdoor recreation, may at first seem more conducive to meaningful interaction with nature and wildlife, but it was complicated by a variety of attitudes. While those prone to "rough it" might have been more likely to encounter wildlife (and possibly encounter it in more positive ways, assuming animals were not seen as spoiling neat little reconstructions of homes away from home), those opting for more luxurious camping experiences probably neither sought nor (in turn) experienced many wildlife encounters. So, what about the types of activities that, one might assume, are explicitly intended to provide close encounters with wild animals? Hunting and fishing are significant to this investigation, not only because their very objectives are to seek out wildlife, but because they were also activities that, in post-war years, enjoyed a great deal of popularity.

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[28] Ken Webb, "Outdoors in the Granite State," *The Granite State News*, 21 October 1976, p. A1.

[29] James Halbe, "Campground Owners Welcome Big Start for '77," *The Argus-Champion*, 7 July 1977, p. 1.

Newspapers give some indication of hunting and fishing's collective prevalence in local culture, as they highlighted their sheer visibility. For example, in the 1940s, papers included classified columns exclusively devoted to "Fishing and Hunting Equipment," and a regular feature on *The Portsmouth Herald's* sports page was a column entitled "Gunnin' and Fishin.'"[30] It was noted in 1946 that "[o]ne of the most widely read columns carried by the [Peterborough] Transcript has without question been the Sportsmen's Column written by that able Conservation Officer of Wilton, George Proctor." Even when Proctor was asked by editors to "make it short" one week in 1949, his column still took up much of page six.[31]

In addition to newspaper references, there are other bits of information which show the importance of hunting and fishing. Town reports include records of local sportsmen's clubs making use of the town halls and community centers to hold their respective club meetings and other functions, reflecting just how active these clubs were (at least into the 1960s).[32] Then, there was also the high degree of interest in annual sportsman's shows. These events were typically held in Boston or New York, but attendance by many New Hampshire residents was often reported by local newspapers.[33] Further mainstreaming such "sporting" activities were the fishing and rifle teams

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[30] The classifieds headings were printed repeatedly, but an example can be found in: *The Portsmouth Herald*, 23 November 1949, p. 9. Also, see a sample of "Gunnin' and Fishin'" in: *The Portsmouth Herald*, 19 October 1946, no page listed.

[31] Editorial, *The Peterborough Transcript*, 17 October 1946, p. 4; and "Sportsmen's Column," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 24 November 1949, p. 6.

[32] For examples, see Peterborough Town Report, 1949, p. 49; and Portsmouth Town Report, 1964, p. 8.

[33] Examples of such reporting include: "Goose Quills," *The Granite State News*, 10 February 1950, p. 10; and "Local News," *The Argus-Champion*, 8 February 1952, p. 2.

organized by schools.[34] Most telling of the popularity of hunting and fishing, however, were the numbers of actual participants. While these numbers have fluctuated over time, there were periods in which conservation officers dealt with noticeably more people out in the field. The Department of Fish and Game reported in 1952, for example, that its conservation officer force was dealing with "ever-increasing hordes of hunters and fishermen."[35]

To some extent, participation in hunting and fishing was very much drawn along gender lines. It is not as if women had never had a significant role within sporting circles. In *American Sportsmen and the Origins of Conservation*, John F. Reiger discusses the involvement of "Victorian ladies" in hunting and fishing, and the research of March McCubrey specifically highlights the prominent role of Cornelia "Fly Rod" Crosby in the sporting world of turn-of-the-century New England.[36] However, well into the post-WWII era, hunting and fishing were popularly portrayed as male-dominated. In the 1940s, Derby's Department Store clearly marketed its fishing tackle to men, suggesting that it would make an ideal Father's Day Gift.[37] Clukay Pharmacy advertised fly rods under "Gifts and Sets for Him" (along with razors and pipes), and in advertising its own line of fishing tackle, the Western Auto Associate Store announced, "Ladies...we have what

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[34] Dover Town Report, 1950, p. 18.

[35] New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game, Biennial Report, 1950-1952, p. 11.

[36] John F. Reiger, *American Sportsmen and the Origins of Conservation* (Corvallis, OR: Oregon State University Press, 2001), p. 66; March McCubrey, "Diana of the Maine Woods: An Analysis of Cornelia 'Fly Rod' Crosby's Involvement in Women's Outdoor Sporting Culture" (masters thesis, Bowling Green State University, 1995).

[37] Advertisement, *The Peterborough Transcript*, 13 June 1946, p. 2.

your Boyfriend or Husband wants."[38] Meanwhile, it was seen as noteworthy when women did become involved themselves, like when it was reported that the Greenville Sportsman's Club voted to admit women to membership in 1948.[39]

The 1950s saw very little change in this gender dynamic. Similar Father's Day ads were carried by sports shops, and as in earlier years, women's participation in hunting or fishing – especially when successful – brought notice and surprise.[40] In 1954, Hal Pierson reported on a fishing trip for a group of New England outdoor writers, pointing out that "attractive and personable…Barbara McNeill, was the only member of the fair sex on board. She rode the high seas without casualty and had a willing group of outdoor writers ready to bait her hook or take off the fish when she caught them…There was always someone ready to jump to the rescue."[41] Perhaps, up to this point, any involvement of women was seen as an entertaining novelty, but over time, though women's participation remained relatively limited, it came to be taken more seriously. The point here is that a true measure of the collective popularity of hunting and fishing over time is complicated by the gradual changes in gender roles that took place throughout society.

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[38] Advertisements in: *The Peterborough Transcript*, 16 December 1948, p. 2; and *The Derry News*, 17 December 1948, p. 8.

[39] "Sportsman's Column," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 16 December 1948, p. 9.

[40] Advertisement, *The Derry News*, 5 June 1952, p. 8.

[41] Hal Pierson, "Gunnin' and Fishin,'" *The Portsmouth Herald*, 7 August 1954, p. 5.

A Closer Look at Fishing

Another complicating factor in discussing hunting and fishing is the fact that there are some important distinctions to make between them, and – as seen in the world of camping – distinctions among those taking part in each of these individual activities. A closer look at fishing alone must first recognize the difference between recreational and commercialized fishing. This is especially important when considering seaside communities, like the town of Portsmouth, where references to fish as primarily food (versus the subject of recreational pursuit) are abundant.[42]

Fishing as a pastime is more immediately relevant to this look into the effect of recreational trends on attitudes toward wildlife. As an outdoor activity, it has enjoyed steady appeal and popularity over time. In the 1940s, "Fish News" was broadcast over local radio, the opening of fishing season seemed to correlate with increases in traffic "100 per cent on the back roads," and a local school principal even had to get creative in convincing students not to skip school in order to go fishing instead. *The Keene Sentinel* reported on the "plan to lure hookey-playing fishermen to school on the day of the season's opening" of Principal Lester 'Pop' Dyer, who "offered prizes to the young anglers, male and female, who brought in the largest fish caught in the morning hours before school-time...Dyer revealed that for the first time in many years there were no absentee fishermen."[43] Each of these references contributes to the image of fishing as a widely popular, mainstream, and fun activity. Capturing the common excitement over

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[42] For examples, see advertisements in *The Portsmouth Herald*: 8 January 1945, p. 8; 19 November 1947, p. 10; and 24 November 1967, p. 9.

[43] See, respectively: Radio Schedule, *The Portsmouth Herald*, 28 March 1945, no page listed; "Brookfield," *The Granite State News*, 11 May 1945, p. 2; and *The Keene Sentinel*, 15 April 1948, p. 1.

fishing, an article printed in the 1950s read, "[w]ith the first warm days of spring approaching there is a new tingling in the blood, an impatient rattle in the old tackle box, and the ever popular topic on the street corner and over the coffee cup is fishin'…a real sport – and a real experience. What could be more pleasing to the ear than the whine of the reels and the yell, 'I've got one!'"[44]

Among some people, there was a passionate sense that fishing was sacred enough to be seen as an inalienable right. Moved by charity and pity, they could not bear the thought of there being children in the world without an opportunity to go fishing: "Jim Newcomb, leader of the Explorer Scouts, has sent us in this suggestion about a take-a-boy-fishing-plan which sounds like a good idea. The Transcript will be glad to cooperate and serve as a clearinghouse for any boys who haven't got an adult fishing partner, and who would like to know how and where to get the 'big ones.'"[45] Meanwhile, popular portrayals of the pastime tended to concentrate on the relaxing and (paradoxically) exciting elements that were accessible and understandable to the greater masses. An advertisement for equipment sold at Zimmerman's read, "Tired…Nervous Run-Down?...Why not try fishing…nature's remedy? The perfect all-family sport!"[46]At the same time, excitement was the draw in promotions for a movie entitled "Fishing, USA" – featuring "America's No. 1 Sportsman Gadabout Gaddis" and billed as "'The Flying Fisherman's' first full-length Outdoor Spectacle!"[47]

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[44] "Wolfeboro C of C Will Sponsor Fishing Derby Starting April 1," *The Granite State News*, 18 March 1955, p. 3.

[45] *The Peterborough Transcript*, 5 June 1952, p. 6.

[46] Advertisement, *The Keene Sentinel*, 5 July 1961, p. 3.

[47] Movie Listing, *The Portsmouth Herald*, 22 May 1969, p. 2.

In 1962, a third grader wrote,

> My favorite thing to do
> might be yours too.
> I like to catch fish
> And see them on my dish...[48]

"Her Point of View" was a regular column that also once celebrated the deeply meaningful role of fishing to iconic elements of local culture:

> This fishing business is intriguing. Young and old, male and female, rural and urban, rich and poor – once the fascination strikes, it's fatal. The tousle-headed boy with willow pole balanced on his shoulder, bait in hand, and Bowser the Hound at this heels, is a familiar and heartening sight. By the time the young angler reaches manhood, it's a sure bet that each springtime will find him restless, fretful and uneasy until he answers that 'call of the wild'...Like cheese and wine, time has ripened his love for fishing; it makes a boy of a man.[49]

This passage reflects not only the widespread cultural embrace of fishing as wholesome, but the belief that the need or desire to fish was almost instinctive. In the 1970s and 1980s, references to fishing echoed some of these earlier feelings. In 1985, Conrad Quimby wrote, "What the heck, if a guy can't go fishing when the itch needs scratching, life wouldn't be much fun...it's such a joy to gently lay a fly in the eddy and watch for the flash of a feeding trout as it makes a pass at it."[50]

While so many fishing references were sentimental and sometimes philosophical in nature, there have also been ever-present discussions of fishing as a cause for human beings to control nature through technical engineering. Throughout the postwar period, there were numerous references to such engineering of nature for the purpose of ensuring successful fishing. In the 1940s, the maximization of desirable fish populations took the

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[48] Donald Janik, poem featured in: "This Week at Carpenter School," *The Granite State News*, 16 February 1962, p. 4.

[49] "Her Point of View," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 22 May 1969, p. 9.

[50] Conrad Quimby, "Off the Cuff," *The Derry News*, 25 July 1985, p. 6.

form of two primary tactics: fish stocking, and the control of predators. Town reports offer insight into the priority placed on stocking various waters with fish, as annual expenditures frequently included amounts spent for this purpose.[51] Newspaper references are also insightful. For example, it was reported in 1948 that Congress was considering funds for a fish hatchery in Nashua. According to a state representative, "[t]he maintenance of the fish and wildlife is not a mere added luxury or attraction, but is the very livelihood of the region."[52]

As propagation efforts were carried out with systematic devotion, challenges posed by predators riled reactions of anger and urgency. Blue herons, for example, were looked upon with resentment as their opportunistic fishing of well-stocked waters seemed to undo the steps taken to enhance fish populations.[53] In 1950, attitudes toward snapping turtles were colored with similar negativity…though muddled. The author of *The Peterborough Transcript's* "Sportsmen's Column" reported that "the state of Connecticut realized that this turtle was enemy No. 1 to fish and waterfowl so they had a contest and in the past four years have taken 7553 of them." Yet, just a few months earlier, the same author had praised snapping turtles for the very same reasons – seen as cleaning out the waters for desirable game fish, by killing off competing fish species.[54] From both sides of the fence, however, the priority is squarely on protecting the game fish.

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[51] For examples, see Newbury Town Reports for the years: 1945, p. 39; 1948, p. 44; and 1949, p. 15.

[52] "Funds Requested for Nashua Hatchery," *The Portsmouth Herald*, 15 April 1948, p. 8.

[53] "Sportsmen's Column," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 15 April 1948, p. 9.

[54] See, respectively: "Sportsmen's Column," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 9 February 1950, no page listed; and "Sportsmen's Column," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 21 July 1949, p. 5.

The idea of "cleansing" the waters in order to accommodate game fish species was applied routinely throughout the 1950s. Mainly, this took the form of pond reclamations and stream improvements, motivated by the thought that "improvement of natural waters grows more fish and provides more fishing."[55] Pond reclamation serves as one of the best illustrations of the desire to control nature in the name of human interests, as it entailed essentially poisoning water with a chemical called rotenone, killing off much of the existing pond life in order to make way for the stocks of game fish that then took its place. This practice raised some concern in 1955, when the Senate Resources, Recreation, and Development Committee considered the possible dangers of rotenone, but at the time, concerns were smoothly allayed by the Fish and Game Department's Bernard Corson, who promised "no harmful effects." Representatives were further swayed by what Mr. Corson portrayed as the admirable intention of killing "entire" existing populations in order to replace them with "proper fish."[56]

Despite any slight reservations about rotenone, the Department of Fish and Game took great pride in pond reclamation at the time. In a biennial report, the department stated that the "[r]eclamation of ponds...continued to play an important part in making more and better fishing waters available to the angler...our state stands second in the nation in the extent of pond reclamation...with a grand total of 89 ponds."[57] The irony in these reclamation projects was that with humanity's assumption of control over nature in these ways came a responsibility to then maintain it. While the whole point was to

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[55] New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game, Biennial Report, 1948-1950, p. 83.

[56] Senate Resources, Recreation, and Development, 1955, Legislative Notes on House Bill 68, 11 March 1955, Box #009041, New Hampshire State Archives.

[57] New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game, Biennial Report, 1952-1954, p. 46.

increase populations of desirable fish, propagation then resulted in those same populations needing some control. In a 1958 newspaper column, the Department of Fish and Game pointed to its reclamation sites, saying "[g]ood sportsmen are urged to cooperate by fishing them hard in the interests of keeping them in balance."[58] It was a clear example of people assuming authority in defining what nature *should* be, and the obligations they were saddled with as a result. Nevertheless, the tradeoff was deemed worth any enhancement of recreational fishing.

Reclamations carried out in the 1950s were complemented by the work of raising fish and stocking waters with them. As in the previous decade, there is no shortage of references to hatcheries, stocking, and appropriations of town funds to have local waters loaded up with fish. Over time, and with advancements in science and research, the hatcheries worked to perfect their product. According to the Department of Fish and Game, the "establishment of a co-ordinated Fisheries Division has resulted in continuous efforts towards the improvement of fish cultural techniques, all directed towards the production of a better quality hatchery fish for stocking purposes."[59] High-tech fish-keeping was following the direction of increasingly automated, scientific, and pharmacological agriculture. The state's Fisheries Division stated that "[p]revention and control of diseases and parasites at our hatcheries and rearing stations is being accomplished through better use of water supplies, improved diets, sanitation measures, and the application of new drugs – sulfanilamides and antibiotics."[60]

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[58] New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game, "Rod and Gun News," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 19 June 1958, p. 4.

[59] New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game, Biennial Report, 1950-1952, p. 39.

[60] New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game, Biennial Report, 1952-1954, p. 42.

Another practice was to capture lake fish, harvest their eggs for fertilization and rearing in a hatchery, and then set them loose. It was a spectacle that the public was encouraged to witness, which undoubtedly drew added attention to fishing in the state. In 1950, Wolfeboro's town report explained:

> Each fall, fish crews from the State Fish and Game Department set up operations on Winnipesaukee, at Wolfeboro and Melvin, to take eggs for hatchery rearing to two-year-olds. By this means the big salmon which live in the lake are used as brook fish, saving the expense of carrying a separate hatchery stock...Parent fish are returned unharmed to the lake...visitors who are welcomed to watch the stripping operations get a preview of the very fish they will be catching next summer.[61]

Into the next decade, the distinction between desirable and undesirable species continued to help shape the attitudes of the sporting community toward fish. One outdoor column reported that several kinds of fish had been caught from a brook in northern New Hampshire: "The trout were released above the trap, while the 'trash' fish were taken into the woods and deposited."[62] Such attitudes justified the continued commitment of the Fish and Game Department to its reclamation program. The practice of rearranging and manipulating nature for the purpose of ensuring good fishing remained so widely accepted that it was carried on well past the resurfacing of concerns about the safety of rotenone. In 1967, Jack Kamaan, the Director of the Department of Fish and Game, was compelled to explain that "[s]portsmen often refer to rotenone as 'poison,' but the term is not a good one since it may be misunderstood to mean dangerous to human life. This is not the case in the form and concentrations we use, as has been shown by several

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[61] Wolfeboro Town Report, 1950, p. 77.

[62] "Fish and Game Report," *The Portsmouth Herald*, 16 June 1962, p. 15.

dedicated workers in the field who have drunk it to prove their point…I don't recommend this."[63]

At this time, hatcheries were becoming ever-more scientific in their increasingly laboratory-like settings.[64] However, even among those with an interest in maintaining fish populations by micro-managing nature, there was growing awareness of the role of fish within encompassing ecosystems. A more macroscopic vision of fish as part of an ecosystem brought more scrutiny to the taking of certain species and greater emphasis on the need for more regulation.[65] The attention and "teeth" given to the kind of fishing laws and legislation that followed in the 1970s is evident in the reporting of fishing violations by police reports.[66]

In the meantime, egg-stripping efforts, which were well publicized and portrayed as fun-spirited, remained the more light-hearted approach to fish propagation. *The Derry News* referred to the process as a "Strip Show for the Whole Family," while encouraging interested parties to "[b]ring the kids, dress warm, and pack a big thermos of hot 'whatever' and a camera." The wintertime spectacle became such a custom that, in one community, a "Salmon Stripping Committee" organized by a community church, was charged with advanced planning for providing "hot coffee and snacks for the flood of visitors that come from all over New England to watch the stripping." Over time, this tradition in Melvin Village even came to include an Annual Salmon Stripping Food Sale.

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[63] Jack Kamaan, "Sportsmen's Column," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 23 November 1967, p. 6.

[64] New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game, Biennial Report, 1958-1960, no page listed.

[65] For examples, see: "Haddock Fishing Drops," *The Portsmouth Herald*, 22 May 1969, p. 7; and Editorial, *The Portsmouth Herald*, 12 July 1973, p. 4.

[66] This type of reporting was very common, but one example can be found in the Peterborough Town Report, 1975, p. 87.

It was a tradition best summarized by *The Granite State News* in 1979: "'Stripping Sunday' has become very popular with fishermen and non-fishermen alike and many families look forward to it each year, taking picnics and pictures."[67]

It is clear that over time, those who partook in fishing as a form of outdoor recreation were largely dependent upon a manipulated version of nature, one that created the most ideal conditions for their success. Their vision not only viewed nature as imperfect and in need of improvement, but also consequently fair game for management. This vision may have trickled into the non-fishing sectors of the population, simply because fishing itself was such an important and deeply-rooted element of local culture. Even those who did not fish could not escape the sentiment that it was a wholesome, fulfilling past time. However, fishing was not the only pervasive form of outdoor recreation that embodied such attitudes about managing nature and prioritizing species value. Hunting, too, was a form of outdoor recreation with an important role in shaping local attitudes toward wildlife.

A Closer Look at Hunting

The state's post-war history of hunting alone is laden with complexity and multiple layers. As with fishing, there is a need to begin by distinguishing between hunting motivated primarily by the intent to secure food, and hunting that satisfies mainly recreational pursuits. References to the former are relatively few, but they did exist, particularly just after wartime limits on meat consumption. For example, in 1946, "Alvah

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[67] "Strip Show for the Whole Family," *The Derry News*, 15 November 1973, p. 8; Carter MacMillan, "Melvin Village," *The Granite State News*, 21 October 1976, p. 13; Carter MacMillan, "Melvin Village," *The Granite State News*, 6 July 1977, p. 9; and "Striping Sunday," *The Granite State News*, 14 November 1979, p. 26.

T. Longley made two meat-on-the-table hunting trips to the Canadian wilds and was back home today with edible portions of a 1,500 pound moose – only to find local meat counters fairly well supplied...While he was gone, meat controls were lifted." In 1947, it was said that successful deer hunters were "not only proud but very happy that there won't be any worries about high meat prices for a while."[68]

In contrast to this view of hunting as a sort of necessity (an idea that seemed to fade during post-war prosperity), a view of hunting-for-fun is more pertinent here, because it has entailed the freedom to make choices based on preferences and attitudes. References to this type of hunting are far more prevalent over time. Between 1947 and 1950, the Department of Fish and Game, through analysis of hunting license sales, determined that "interest in hunting was very high," and it was an interest with a familiar face.[69] Speaking to the sheer popularity, and acceptance of hunting, 95 Keene High School students were excused from class in 1955 so that they could go hunting.[70] It was also popular enough for churches to hold special hunters' masses that offered not only worship times that accommodated hunting schedules, but also the "blessing of men and guns."[71]

Like fishing, hunting was invested with great sentimental meaning. For example, the author of a 1956 newspaper article wrote, "[t]here is perhaps no finer outdoor sport than upland bird hunting, where the crisp Autumn weather and the companionship of a

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[68] "Concord Hunter Returns with Canadian Moose," *The Keene Sentinel*, 19 October 1946, p. 6; and *The Derry News*, 21 November 1947, p. 3.

[69] New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game, Deer Kill Analysis, 1974, no page listed.

[70] *The Keene Sentinel*, 1 December 1955, p. 1.

[71] "Hunter's Masses," *The Keene Sentinel*, 1 December 1955, p. 5; and "Hunter's Mass in East Jaffrey," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 1 December 1955, p. 1.

dog and trusted gun give us days of pleasure we long remember."[72] Yet, mixed into the emotions associated with this pastime are many complexities that came with ambiguous attitudes toward game animals. An article in 1949 noted an interesting anecdote about a hunter pursuing a green-winged teal: "there's nothing daintier or prettier than this tiny duck…But a duck's a duck, the hunter was about to stand up and flush the teal for a shot when he noticed it was in mortal trouble." He noticed that the duck had been caught by a snapping turtle, so "[p]utting down his gun, he went to the rescue...He said he just wanted to get the duck away from that blankety-blank turtle so it could fly away!...One moment he was intent on shooting [the teal], the next moment on rescuing it."[73] In another account from 1967, it was reported that Gregory Kendall shot a pheasant, put it in his car, and drove home only to find the pheasant still alive and apparently not badly hurt. So, "he put it in the children's toy box, and for a week, he fed and cared for it. After the season closed, he released the bird in the back of the house. For days the pheasant stayed around and was fed by Greg and his neighbors. Greg tells us that every now and then the bird stops by for a brief visit."[74]

In addition to this pull between affection for game animals and the objective of hunting them, there was a sense of competition between human and animal. It is interesting to note the tendencies of some to attribute qualities like cleverness and vindictiveness to animals as they were seen to outsmart their human pursuers. In the 1940s, it was not uncommon to find self-debasing anecdotes of hunting failures and

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[72] "Hunters Should Remember They Are Guests of Woodland Owners," *The Derry News*, 25 October 1956, p. 10.

[73] "Torpedoed Teal," *The Portsmouth Herald*, 23 November 1949, p. 4.

[74] Carl Akerley, "Tracks 'N Trails," *The Portsmouth Herald*, 10 February 1968, p. 8.

embarrassing stories about the "wisdom" of the deer.[75] One columnist predicted, "next fall will find us still persevering, hunting the elusive deer that are, likely as not chuckling gleefully behind the next bush."[76] It was a tendency not unlike that emanating both anger and a sense of identity in certain human-wildlife conflict situations, which also may be said to be competitive in some way. Such attributions were not only reflected in the sentiments expressed in the early post-war years. In 1982, outdoor writer Tim Jones noted "the tricks that the creatures I fish or hunt for pull to keep from getting caught."[77]

While commentary about animal trickery and sneakiness was more common in earlier hunting references, later references often focused more seriously on the excitement of pure, physical competition. In 1970, a movie listing for *World Safari* showed the image of a fierce looking bear, and read "YOU are the hunter."[78] Collectively, the notion among hunters that there existed some competition between hunter and game was linked to additional variables in attitude formation. First is the concept of a "sporting ethic," which has roots much deeper than the post-war era. In 1933, Aldo Leopold asked the question, "What is Sport" and noted that "[i]n the development of sporting methods, there arise from time to time groups of individuals who voluntarily limit their armaments to simple or primitive weapons, with the idea of making sport more difficult."[79] Reiger writes about 19th century sportsmen as having

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[75] For examples, see: Hal Pierson, "Gunnin' and Fishin,'" *The Portsmouth Herald*, 18 December 1948; and "Chesham," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 6 December 1945, p. 4.

[76] "Brewster Briefs," *The Granite State News*, 17 December 1948, p. 5.

[77] Tim Jones, "The Outdoors," *The Keene Sentinel*, 20 February 1982, p. 31.

[78] Movie listings, *The Peterborough Transcript*, 15 February 1970, p. 8.

[79] Aldo Leopold, *Game Management* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933), p. 391 and 225.

"looked upon themselves as members of a fraternity with a well-defined code of conduct and thinking."[80] There were examples of those who seemed less familiar with the idea: reporting on a 1946 hunting trip in South Dakota, Hal Pierson wrote, "We started a big red fox out of the corn which we popped at without success...When a bunch of birds was spotted, we stopped the car and jumped out – grabbed a gun – loaded it and blazed away."[81] The image of such impulsive shooting undermines any notion of written or unwritten rules of sportsmanship, but there are numerous examples of those within the sporting community working to ensure that a measure of fairness was extended to game animals.

One such example was a 1956 editorial appearing in *The Derry News*. Making the argument that bow hunting could be used as a way to preserve wildlife, it read, "We have long believed that if big game is to be preserved in the United States – over the long term – the increasing destructiveness and accurateness of man's weapons will have to be countered in some way. If hunters will use bow and arrow, game will have a better chance, and the hunter will be required to learn his skill a little better."[82] Similarly, in the late 1960s and 1970s the state legislature discussed multiple bills attempting to prohibit the use of snow traveling vehicles (like snowmobiles) by hunters, and one of the arguments for such a measure was that it is "unsporting" for winter deer yards to be made

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[80] John F. Reiger, *American Sportsmen and the Origins of Conservation* (Corvallis, OR: Oregon State University Press, 2001), p. 3.

[81] Hal Pierson, "Gunnin' and Fishin,'" *The Portsmouth Herald*, 19 October 1946, p. 8.

[82] "Arrows for Big Game," *The Derry News*, 23 February 1956, p. 2.

so accessible to hunters.[83] One interesting caveat to this extension of respectful fair "play," however, is its conditionality – applicable to valued game animals only. A newspaper announcement in 1980, for example, reminded the public that it was illegal to use lights to find and hunt wildlife, except raccoons.[84]

Another part of the concept of hunting as an exciting competition between human and animal was a general thrill and fear of dangerous wildlife. The program for one of the very popular sportsmen's shows being held in 1951 included performances by "Tuffy Truesdale, former wrestling champion, who now wrestles a real man-eating alligator."[85] Similarly appealing to those with interests in hunting, a listing for *World Safari* said, "You will...stalk a Bengal tiger...harpoon a 60 ft. whale...face the ferocious grizzly bear."[86] This apparent fascination with dangerous animals among certain fans of hunting permeated from the depths of mainstream society. In a 1953 general news article, a photographer recounted his attempt to get "pictures of rhino, preferably charging." According to Robert Ruark's dramatic account, "[f]orty feet is awful close to a charging rhino, which weighs three tons, and looks like all the unpleasant relatives you ever disliked...his little pig's eyes were red and he seemed very surly."[87] Another movie

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[83] Senate Agriculture and Fish and Game, 1969, Legislative Notes on House Bill 197, 9 April 1969, Box #010041, New Hampshire State Archives; and House Fish and Game, 1975, Legislative Notes on House Bill 520, 26 March 1975, Box #007023, New Hampshire State Archives.

[84] Announcement, *The Portsmouth Herald*, 14 October 1980, p.11.

[85] "Green Mt. Sportsmen to Open Big Show Tomorrow," *The Argus-Champion*, 25 May 1951, p. 7.

[86] Movie listing, *The Keene Sentinel*, 7 February 1970, p. 10.

[87] Robert C. Ruark, "Close Call With a Rhino," *The Portsmouth Herald*, 9 March 1953, p. 4.

listing also glamorized to the general public the danger of wild animals, as advertisements for *Grizzly* promised "18 feet of gut-crunching man-eating terror!"[88]

Indicative of the widespread, mainstream fascination with dangerous animals, has been the enduring popularity of zoos. Certainly not all zoo animals were popular for their ferocity, but the thrill and danger of certain animals was a selling point to the public. Such thrill-seeking brought many New Hampshire residents to Benson's Animal Farm, which offered such special entertainment as panther shows, in addition to its collection of wildlife species.[89] Meanwhile, another illustration of widespread cultural fascination with dangerous wildlife was the appeal of circuses, which not only offered close encounters with captive species, but actually dramatized the danger underlying human attempts at mastery over such wild creatures. This image was also locally present throughout the decades, as advertisements highlighted the spectacle of "Clyde Beatty Battling 20 Lions and Bengal Tigers," and "Rajah, the Killer Tiger."[90]

As cultural fixtures, zoos and – even more so – circuses were emblematic of the thrill people found in tempting fate with close encounters with dangerous wildlife. The images of people controlling and dominating them brought added excitement. The control and domination of animals – as seen in various forms in science, agriculture, and land development – was also a central theme of post-war hunting. Control, in this context, came in the form of maximizing hunting opportunities by, paradoxically, managing wildlife. Like the reclamation of ponds for optimal fishing, deer and other game have

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[88] Advertisement, *The Portsmouth Herald*, 21 June 1976, p. 2.

[89] "Sportsmen's Column," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 5 October 1950, p. 7.

[90] Advertisements in *The Portsmouth Herald*: 5 July 1961, p. 12; and 16 June 1962, p. 2.

long been counted, harvested, and in some cases, culled and planted so that hunters could have their fun. While this type of manipulation of nature may have already been in play by the end of World War II, the advancements in scientific techniques and growth of wildlife sciences surely increased the capacities of such management in the post-war decades.

One of the clearest demonstrations of this control over nature through wildlife management was the raising and stocking of pheasants. While the rules of good sportsmanship made it acceptable to shoot at wild animals but not domestic ones, the tradition of pheasant hunting in New Hampshire has been curiously justified. The Department of Fish and Game reported in 1946: "Now in the planning stage is the establishment of a Game Farm for the propagation of ring-necked pheasants, and experimentation with game birds and animals which the Department desires to use for stocking purposes."[91] Not only does this plainly state that a supposedly "wild" species was being farmed, but later statements even reveal the role of selective breeding and commercialization in the raising of pheasants intended to be hunted: in 1950, the department announced that its game farm "has already begun to provide substantial benefits by giving us both cheaper and better pheasants than we could buy, and by making available the proper number of pheasants at the time they are needed…an interesting by-product of this farm's production has been 140 *mutant* pheasant, a larger, sportier, more beautiful bird."[92]

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[91] New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game, Biennial Report, 1944-1946, p. 11.

[92] New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game, Biennial Report, 1948-1950, p. 73.

Despite the counter-intuitiveness of raising animals to be hunted in the "wild," the Department of Fish and Game became ever-more involved in this project. According to the Department, "annual game farm production increased from 12,896 in 1956 to 13,535 pheasants in 1957."[93] It was seen as such an important venture, that members of the general public were welcomed as "cooperators" in the raising of pheasants. In fact, the Department published a pamphlet entitled *How to Raise Pheasants*, and those who did raise them treated them as coveted goods.[94] In 1953, Willis Higgins "rescued a flock of 115 pheasants from possible destruction...when he grabbed a mink barehanded from the bird's pen...Higgins climbed the fence surrounding the pen, and quietly grabbed the mink and crushed it on the ground."[95] Ultimately, the specific intention for these highly managed animals was well-articulated in a letter to the editor of *The Keene Sentinel* in 1959:

> The Fish and Game Dept. policy of releasing pheasants as close to the gun as possible seems to have paid off handsomely. Very few hunters went home empty-handed the opening day of the season...it is much more satisfying to see hunters take 90 percent of the birds released, than to have the foxes, owls and house cats depreciate by half or two-thirds the number of pheasants planted....Pheasants lost in that manner will never be placed under glass.[96]

One must understand that it was in the business interest of the Department of Fish and Game to make hunters happy. Given that the department's income was almost exclusively generated by the sales of hunting, fishing, and OHRV licenses, there is no question about what steered management objectives. Even with growing recognition of a

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[93] New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game, Biennial Report, 1956-1958, no page listed.

[94] New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game, *How to Raise Pheasants*, pamphlet, 1970.

[95] "Barehanded Grab Saves Pheasants from Mink," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 12 March 1953, p. 6.

[96] John Lankhorst, Letter to the Editor, *The Keene Sentinel*, 5 November 1959, p. 4.

funding crisis over time, the general goals of the department changed very little. In 1958, the department announced that "[f]aced with ever-increasing hunting and fishing pressure, we have had no choice but to intensify and expand programs...We are, therefore, laying long-range plans to accelerate those services deemed most vital to maintaining good hunting and fishing...as a duty to resident sportsmen who buy licenses and expect it."[97] By the 1970s, the Department of Fish and Game was struggling against ongoing funding problems, on top of tending to expanding responsibilities. According to Director, Bernard Corson:

> The past biennium has seen the Department become deeply involved in a rapidly changing environmental scene which spans a host of responsibilities. Pesticide control, dredge and fill permits, pollution control and environmental impact statements are something more than ideological pie slices in the sky. They constitute, in fact, full-time commitment to several Department game and fisheries biologists. Preventing alteration of fish and game habitat by hasty, ill-conceived development is their business...The gradual evolution in the responsibilities of 'the old fish and game outfit' have extended to include other complex programs...Amidst all these exploding responsibilities, however, our basic legislative mandate – which calls for protection, propagation and preservation of all fish and wildlife resources of the state – remain the same.[98]

The post-war history of Fish and Game's management activities consistently represented the department's dependence upon hunters. From the start, priority was placed on the research and management of *game* animals, like pheasant, grouse, and deer.[99] Even the beaver, who was winning mixed reactions from a public whose civil engineering was sometimes hampered by this animal, had Fish and Game on its side. According to the department, "[b]eaver was chosen for our first furbearer study not only

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[97] New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game, Biennial Report, 1956-1958, no page listed.

[98] New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game, Biennial Report, 1970-1972, p. 7.

[99] New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game, Biennial Report, 1946-1948, no page listed.

because of the value of its pelt, but also because of the importance of its relationship to agriculture, timber, and to other species of wildlife."[100] "Other" species of wildlife, in this case, meant those with direct game value. In 1958, a Fish and Game official "credited beaver with doing more for ducks than 'we can ever do.'"[101] In short, one reason beavers were looked upon with such favor was because their effect on ponds was seen as enhancing waterfowl habitat.[102] Because waterfowl meant hunting licenses, beavers were good for the department.

Of all species, one in particular demonstrates best the importance of hunting to the Department of Fish and Game. The department's 1966-1968 report said, "[d]ue to their value as New Hampshire's No. 1 game animal, both from a sporting and an economic standpoint, deer have continued to receive our major consideration."[103] Deer were a focus from early on in the post-war period. In 1950, it was reported that:

> at least 69,780 sportsmen, of whom 11,570 come from out-of-state, purchase licenses annually...Through their appeal to hunters and others, their influence in drawing business to this state, their place in filling the family larder, and their effects on agriculture and lumbering production, it seems clear that deer have greater economic importance to our state than any single wildlife species.[104]

What followed were efforts to carefully keep track of deer populations in the state through such means as checking stations and other data about deer mortality, and policies to directly control numbers of deer. With "manipulation of hunting pressure" or the

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[100] New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game, Biennial Report, 1948-1950, p. 49.

[101] Hilbert Siegler quoted in: "Deer Herd in Excellent Shape, F&G Official Says," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 23 October 1958, p. 6.

[102] See biennial reports of the New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game for the years: 1958-1960, no page listed; and 1966-1968, p. 25.

[103] New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game, Biennial Report, 1966-1968, p. 23.

[104] New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game, Biennial Report, 1948-1950, p. 37.

planting of crops or the use of supplemental feedings, human beings assumed much control over an otherwise "wild" species.[105]

Understandably, given such extensive efforts, deer mortality resulting from anything other than hunting was seen by both Fish and Game and the general hunting community as wasteful. In the department's 1958-1960 report was a photo of two interlocked dead bucks, which was captioned, "Woodland Tragedy."[106] This type of sentiment led to efforts to limit losses of deer to starvation. When the deer population on Rattlesnake Island in Lake Winnipesaukee surged beyond the capacity of food sources to sustain it in the mid-1960s, special hunts were made available to paraplegics and bow hunters. Meanwhile, much time was spent feeding the deer: "many man hours of effort were required to save these deer so that the sportsmen would have the opportunity to utilize this resource. Without this effort the deer faced the sure fate of lingering death from starvation."[107] The only acceptable way for deer to die, according to those interested in or dependent upon hunting, was by hunting. Under threat from anything else, the deer were staunchly protected.

A challenge for anyone so loyally protecting and defending game animals was in trying to calm tensions and ease animosity when those species became involved in conflict situations. As deer and other game were frequently associated with conflicts, the Department of Fish and Game took on the responsibility of managing an entire Game

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[105] New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game, Biennial Report, 1952-1954, p. 21.

[106] New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game, Biennial Report, 1958-1960, no page listed.

[107] New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game, Biennial Report, 1966-1968, p. 36 and 23. For newspaper references to the overpopulation of deer on Rattlesnake Island, see: Carl Akerley, "Tracks 'N Trails," *The Portsmouth Herald*, 10 February 1968, p. 8; and "Looking Back in the Files of Granite State News," *The Granite State News*, 6 July 1977, p. 4.

Damage program (known by various names over the years) to help prevent and compensate for damages caused by protected game animals. Deer caused agricultural losses and troubled home gardeners, so the department spent extensive time researching ways to minimize this type of conflict. In the 1940s, much work was carried out at an experimental orchard to test different methods of deer damage prevention, like crop buffers, alternative food sources, fences, and even repellents and other scaring devices. This effort was summarized in the department's 1950-1952 report: "Due to the importance of deer as a game animal in New Hampshire, much thought and effort by the Fish and Game Department is devoted to maintaining or increasing the deer herd. This in turn creates problems with agriculturists. Our department is devoting considerable time and money to alleviate this situation."[108]

By the 1960s, cooperation between farmers and the Department of Fish and Game was formalized by a Memorandum of Agreement, which was said to provide both Fish and Game and the Farm Bureau with "the working basis upon which to co-operate to our mutual advantage in resolving game damage problems."[109] It was an arrangement, affecting numerous other species in addition to deer, that helped to keep peace between competing agricultural and hunting interests. This is not to say that game damage adjusters were not kept busy with calls to investigate formal complaints.[110] In addition to calls about deer, beavers and eventually (when they became classified as "game") bears also consumed much of the Game Damage Adjuster's time.

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[108] New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game, Biennial Report, 1950-1952, p. 27.

[109] New Hampshire Department of Fish Game, Biennial Report, 1960-1962, no page listed.

[110] For example, see: New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game, Annual Report, 1983-1984, p. II, i.

The position of mediator inevitably drew criticism from all directions. Part of the department's approach to building a positive image was to reach out to the general public through educational programming to win support for its hunting- and fishing-oriented agenda. Its Education Division got off the ground in the 1940s, as little more than part-time work for a technician and a secretary. Over time, the division grew, as did its ability to reach more people. Through camps, speaking engagements, news releases, radio shows, a weekly newsletter, and public service announcements, the Education Division worked toward its mission: "To ensure a continuing force of sportsmen sharing the outdoor resources of New Hampshire."[111]

This glimpse into the history of New Hampshire's Department of Fish and Game helps to shed light on its role in making hunting in the state (as it is in other states as well) solidly based on the assumption that nature could be manipulated for the sake of the hunter's pleasure. This reveals the complicated, paradoxical attitude that hunting should be both engineered to meet expectations, and yet based on sporting principles of fair competition between humans and wild animals. It also helps to explain another whole element to the state's hunting history. Bounties had a significant part in hunting for two main reasons. First, when applied to species that were problematic for their predation on game, they further illustrate attempts to maximize the hunter's success. Second, while "game" was the traditional target of most hunters, bounties were once an incentive for a different kind of hunting – a less "sporting" pursuit of "nuisance" animals.

In post-war years, the predator most frequently killed in New Hampshire for bounties was the bobcat. From 1945 to 1950, an average of 254 bobcat bounties was paid

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[111] See Biennial and Annual Reports of the New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game for the years: 1946-1948, p. 11 and 79; 1952-1954, p. 59-60; and 1990-1981, p. V, a.

each year.[112] Intolerance for bobcats, primarily based on their alleged predation on deer, persisted through the 1950s. In 1959, a conservation officer commented that, "[d]uring the winter...wildcats feed on wounded deer and other helpless animals."[113] Into the 1960s, some people were still busy blaming deer mortality on bobcats. In 1963, one state representative asserted that the "bobcat does a job on the deer. There is no question about it."[114]

From 1950 to 1966 the Department of Fish and Game paid an average of more than $5,700 annually for bobcat bounties only, but individual towns also kept records on payments made for all bountied species.[115] Town reports offer concise listings – often of named individuals, how much they were paid, and for what type of species. These listings show that, despite the central role of bobcats in the history of bounties on predators, the vast majority of payments made by individual towns were for porcupines (or, "hedgehogs" as they were frequently called in the reports). Porcupine bounties never amounted to much individually, but there were a fair number of people who were paid for multiple porcupine heads or noses (whatever body part was required for sufficient proof). In 1949, the town of Keene reported that 479 porcupine heads were produced to the City

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[112] For a record of bobcat bounties paid through 1954, see: Helenette Silver, *A History of New Hampshire Game and Furbearers* (Survey Report No. 6: Concord, New Hampshire: New Hampshire Fish and Game Department), p. 308-309.

[113] "Takes Wildcat in Jaffrey Swamp Instead of Rabbits," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 5 November 1959, p.1.

[114] Senate Fish and Game, 1961-1967, Legislative Notes on House Bill 234, 11 April 1963, Box #004031, New Hampshire State Archives.

[115] New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game, Biennial Reports: 1950-1952, p. 5 and 7; 1952-1954, p. 7 and 9; 1956-1958, no pages listed; 1958-1960, no pages listed; 1960-1962, no pages listed; 1962-1964, no pages listed; and 1964-1966, p. 10 and 11.

Clerk that year; in the previous year, the town of Newbury paid for 156 "hedgehog" heads procured by one man alone.[116]

Porcupines were of little threat to the game animals so protected by those who sought to rid the world of bobcats, but their tabulated noses and heads reveal a subset of hunters who apparently spent much of their time hunting "nuisance" species. The interesting contrast here is that "game" animals were supposed to be respectfully hunted with a code of sporting conduct, while non-game pests were hunted with little ceremony. A 1959 article in *The Peterborough Transcript* instructed,

> In order to establish a solid claim, the hunter must produce at least the head – no noses please!...Officer John Sweeney, town house custodian, is the official 'head counter' for Peterborough. Mrs. Connell does not want any carcasses in her office...Once the hunting season gets into full swing, and the gunners are sharpened up to the bounty rules, there shall be a rush of porcupine heads to town offices. This area is well loaded with the pests.[117]

Bounties were significant because they advanced the hunting community's attempt to manage wildlife populations to ensure good hunting (by minimizing predation on game animals), while also justifying a different brand of hunting that was more focused on "pests" than "game." However, in the decades following World War II, the very concept of bounties – both as a means of controlling wildlife, and whether wildlife should even be so controlled in the first place – became the subject of lively debate.

With ongoing scientific research, there arose a new question about whether bounties even work. Commenting on bounty legislation in 1963, Fish and Game's Hilbert Siegler said, "[i]t has been found that normally a bounty system crops off the surplus of a

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[116] See, respectively: Keene Town Report, 1949, p. 5; and Newbury Town Report, 1948, p. 40-41.

[117] "Porcupines are Worth 50¢ Again, See Big Business," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 5 November 1959, p. 1.

species and does not get into the breeding stock...We are paying a lot of money for something that isn't doing the job."[118] Furthermore, in 1965, legislators considered the findings of stomach content analyses, which suggested that perhaps bobcats were being unfairly blamed for deer mortality.[119] These arguments did not go uncontested. For example, legislative notes on a 1965 bill to eliminate the bobcat bounty stated, "George Merrill of Ware not in favor because of deer killed by cats...Believes cat hunters more valuable than game wardens."[120]

There was one more argument against bounties, however, that only seemed to gain strength over time. As early as the 1950s, it was realized that lynx, once considered to be threatening enough to game to deserve a bounty, had become exceedingly rare in the state.[121] A growing sensitivity to the idea that whole species should not be eliminated also inspired some people to defend the bobcat, as its numbers began to fall too. Thus, discussion of bounty legislation in the 1970s brought with it warnings of the danger of extinction. One representative said that he was an outdoorsman who had never seen a bobcat in the wild: "I would hate to see them eliminated...I think everything on earth has a certain use and I would hate to see anything eliminated." Another citizen noted that where tracks had formerly been seen was now a housing development.[122]

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[118] *Ibid.*

[119] House Fish and Game, 1965-1967, Legislative Notes on House Bill 121, 10 March 1965, Box #004041, New Hampshire State Archives.

[120] House Fish and Game, 1965-1967, Legislative Notes on House Bill 121, 10 March 1965, Box #004041, New Hampshire State Archives.

[121] Fish and Game, 1959 –, Legislative Notes on House Bill 221, 25 March 1959, Box #009042, New Hampshire State Archives.

[122] See House Fish and Game, 1971-1973, Legislative Notes on: Senate Bill 291, 15 June 1971; and House Bill 8, 1973, Box #007023, New Hampshire State Archives.

Appreciation for the permanence of extinction was part of the increasingly popular ecological vision of nature as a vital system. In a 1963 critique of bobcat bounties, one sportsman claimed, "Cats keep nature in balance as it weeds out rodents."[123] Similar sentiment was expressed over legislation in 1965, when Henry Lamay of the Department of Fish and Game, stated that "nature [i]s the best control."[124] That same year, in a pamphlet entitled *Some Pros and Cons About the Bounty System*, the department emphasized that "Nature never lets predators multiply beyond certain limits," and it also spoke out against the problem of having whole species labeled as "no good."[125] In 1973, Hilbert Siegler said, "A bounty tags an animal as being undesirable...actually, a bobcat is an interesting animal and is an important part of our wildlife."[126]

The result of the substantial discussion about bounties during the post-war decades was the gradual phasing-out of their use in wildlife management. In its 1965 pamphlet on bounties, the department reiterated that bounties "[h]ave little or no place in modern concepts of game management....[and] are becoming a thing of the past." Noting support on this stance from groups like the National Wildlife Foundation, the Audubon Society, and Defenders of Wildlife, it stated that the only reasons bounties still existed

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[123] House Fish and Game, 1965-1967, Legislative Notes on House Bill 121, 10 March 1965, Box #004041, New Hampshire State Archives.

[124] House Fish and Game, 1965-1967, Legislative Notes on House Bill 121, 1 April 1965, Box #004041, New Hampshire State Archives.

[125] New Hampshire Department of Fish Game, *Some Pros and Cons About the Bounty System*, pamphlet, 1965, p. 3; and House Fish and Game, 1971-1973, Legislative Notes on Senate Bill 291, 15 June 1971, Box # 007023, New Hampshire State Archives.

[126] Legislative notes on House Bill 8, 1973, New Hampshire State Archives.

were because people either did not care about them, or did not know any better.[127] The history of bounties in New Hampshire not only points to changing attitudes toward wildlife and concepts about wildlife management, but also chronicles a major change both affecting, and affected by the hunting community. While bounties were once relied upon by many of those seeking game, as well as anyone seeking payment for hunting "pests," by 1967, it was noted by one resident that "[t]rue sportsmen will welcome the no bounty system."[128]

The prototypical hunter may have influenced attitudes in both negative and positive directions, but as hunting-related attitudes became increasingly ecocentric over the years, their impact was complicated by fluctuations in the prevalence of hunting itself, and by a growing swell of hunting critics. As mentioned at the start of this look into the history of hunting in the state, the early post-war years saw a significant rise in hunting's popularity. From 1941 to 1945, the number of resident hunting licenses issued rose from 56,706 to 76,683, and the next year surged to 96,495.[129] The Department of Fish and Game reported in 1948 that "fish and game business has tripled in the last decade in New Hampshire."[130] This period was truly a heyday for hunting, and it seemed to endure for several years.

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[127] New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game, *Some Pros and Cons About the Bounty System*, pamphlet, 1965, p. 3.

[128] Senate Fish and Game, 1961-1967, Legislative Notes on House Bill 62, 27 April 1967, Box #004031, New Hampshire State Archives.

[129] New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game, *A History of Fish and Game Licenses and Revenue*, 1973, no page listed.

[130] New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game, Biennial Report, 1946-1948, p. 9.

Over time, however, the record of license sales shows that the numbers leveled off and remained fairly consistent from the mid-1950s through the early 1970s (see Figure 3). There were no major *decreases*, and in 1973, it was reported by the Audubon Society of New Hampshire that the nationwide number of hunters continued to increase by 100,000 annually.[131] In light of a growing population, these numbers were relative. In 1975, the Department of Fish and Game's Bud Corson informed legislators that "[o]n a national scale, while the population climbs, the number of licensed hunters in the United States remains almost constant...It appears that the hunters and the fishermen who support the State Wildlife Programs with their license fees, and when necessary their vote, are now a diminishing minority."[132]

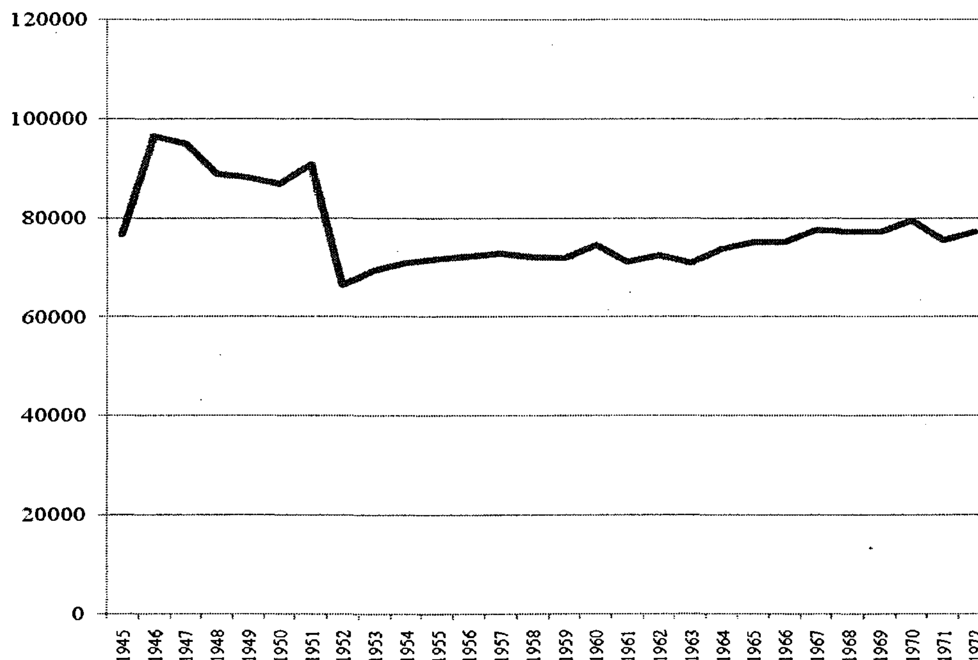

Fig. 3. Number of Resident Hunting License Sales in New Hampshire, 1945-1972

[131] *The Granite State News*, 15 November 1973, p. 2.

[132] Senate Recreation and Development, 1975, Legislative Notes on Senate Bill 77, 5 March 1975, Box #18112, New Hampshire State Archives.

A changing local culture unleashed a handful of factors that may have contributed to a post-war decline in hunting. One significant social factor was an increasing anti-hunting sentiment among the public. Articulation of such feelings in the public forum largely began as disapproving comments found in various columns authored by women. For example, Mrs. A.T. Hatch, the author of a column entitled "Goose Quills," wrote in December of 1954, "[p]ersonally the sight of a dead deer joggling along on the fenders of an automobile is a nauseating spectacle!" Perhaps such commentary would be of little consequence in an otherwise very hunting-friendly stretch of years, but the same sentiment was also expressed in "Her Point of View" several years later: "Any abuse of children or animals infuriates me. A deer draped over the hood of a car makes me ill. I have to rationalize a great deal to understand a hunter's motives."[133]

These early public critiques of hunting were often attacked with charges of hypocrisy. In 1945, a columnist belittled a woman's complaints about deer hunting, as she made them over a dish of veal, but in later years, general disgust with the graphic details of hunting was replaced by more pointed and forceful arguments.[134] For example, on the prevailing philosophy toward pheasant hunting and management, a Hancock resident wrote in 1970, "we feel that it is pitiful to see tame birds set out just a week before the big 'opening' day, walking peacefully by the side of the road, and practically wiped out two or three days afterward."[135] By the mid-1970s, the author of "Outdoors in the Granite State" felt compelled to defend hunters in the wake of mounting criticism:

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[133] See, respectively: A.T. Hatch, "Goose Quills," *The Granite State News*, 10 December 1954, p. 10; and "Her Point of View," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 18 October 1962, p. 12.

[134] "Hank," *The Granite State News*, 30 March 1945, p. 1.

[135] Augusta B. Dillon, Letter to the Editor, *The Peterborough Transcript*, 8 October 1970, p. 4.

"[t]hose who attack hunting and fishing seldom come up with explanations of how they would fund management of programs which would enhance conditions for wildlife."[136] But, if the hunting community was already feeling a bit defensive, it would soon be in for a shock.

In 1958, *The Peterborough Transcript* reported, "John Sirois of Dublin shot [a] 300-lb. male black bear near Moose Brook Park in Randolph. He knocked the animal down with his first shot, but it required three more blasts to make the kill...He will have the bear's head mounted and the hide made into a rug for his wife."[137] At the time, such a story generated little controversy. Yes, there was some affection and appreciation for bears, but it was tempered. On the one hand, bears were becoming "highly prized by sportsmen," so by the mid-1950s, they had value and protective status as game animals.[138] In addition, the public's opinions about bears could be emotional. For example, in the late 1960s and 1970s, legislators discussed multiple bear bills which brought up people's distaste for the killing of cubs. A Concord resident wanted to "see cub shooting prohibited as people resent it," and even the Department of Fish and Game expressed its intent to "reduce the senseless slaughter of cubs and family groups of bear."[139]

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[136] Ken Webb, "Outdoors in the Granite State," *The Granite State News*, 19 February 1976, p. 17.

[137] "Big Grizzly is Trophy From No. Country Weekend," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 23 October 1958, p. 6.

[138] New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game, Biennial Report, 1962-1964, no page listed.

[139] See: House Fish and Game, 1965-1967, Legislative Notes on House Bill 231, 22 February 1967, Box #004041, New Hampshire State Archives; and New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game, Bear Kill Report, 1971, p. 1.

On the other hand, the story of John Sirois killing a black bear also appeared at a time when "Davy Crockett's bear shooting booth captured the youngsters' fancy" at a local church fair.[140] The Department of Fish and Game's Helenette Silver had recently written, "New Hampshire people have always reckoned the bear an enemy…it has been almost as popular a subject for bounties as the wolf."[141] In addition, sentiments expressed over agricultural losses were sometimes quite accusatory and unforgiving. In 1965, for instance, an article in *The Keene Sentinel* stated, "the search is still on for two killer bears that have been prowling the West Milan area…The bears are believed responsible for the killing of more than a dozen sheep in the area since the weekend."[142] With related thirst for justice, a bill was brought to legislators in 1975 to require Fish and Game to "destroy bears which damage persons or livestock."[143] Recall, also, the dramatized movie listings for films about vicious bears.

Attitudes toward bears were complicated, but the public's inclination to sympathize with them had found a strong enough voice by 1980 to shed a different light on the type of hunting stories that had once found glory and admiration in the press. This was a lesson learned by *The Argus-Champion*, which published an article entitled "Bear Refuses to Die After Shot 15 Times." The article was about a Bradford couple who went hunting in November 1980

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[140] "Melvin Village," *The Granite State News*, 15 July 1955, p. 6.

[141] Helenette Silver, *A History of New Hampshire Game and Furbearers* (Survey Report No. 6. Concord, New Hampshire: New Hampshire Fish and Game Department, 1957), p. 236.

[142] *The Keene Sentinel*, 21 July 1965, p. 5.

[143] Senate Recreation and Development, 1975, Legislative Notes on House Bill 232, 11 March 1975, Box #18112, New Hampshire State Archives.

> when they came upon a 300-lb. bear. Mr. Whipple started shooting...The bear still did not die. The couple started dragging it from the woods but had to stop because it was late afternoon and a stormy day. When they returned the next day with a man to help them, the bear was still alive sitting up against a tree, so they killed it...[Mrs. Whipple said] 'We are going to have the head mounted. We are also going to have the paws mounted, one for a lamp base and one for a thermometer.'[144]

The article seemed to be written with the sincere intention of singing the praises of yet another local hunting success, but the reaction it stirred brought out far more public outrage than praise.

One of the first letters written in response appeared in the following week's paper:

> To the Bradford Bear killers and Argus:...It is with great distaste that we read your item about the bear that was in the woods last week. Was he about to charge you or was he yards away minding his own business?...To think you're going to mount the head and paws is revolting. May you forever be reminded of the suffering and agonizing death of that creature. We suggest you target practice and check your guns before you venture into the woods again. On the chance that you do 'meet' another bear then let us all pray you will kill it quickly and humanely with the proper size gun so it won't go through the misery of its predecessor...To the Argus – we're amazed that you would even print such an item and we're hoping more people will answer it as we did.[145]

"Answer," people did, but not before Robert and Annie Whipple jumped at the chance to angrily defend themselves. In the following week's edition of the paper, they claimed that while "[e]veryone likes to kill an animal as quickly as possible," multiple shots are sometimes necessary, and they had no need for target practice or better guns. They tried to fend off charges of cruelty by saying, "[w]hen the bear was shot through the lungs and, seconds later, in other parts of the body, we feel he wasn't conscious long." They also defended their pride in their trophy: "We feel having the head and paws mounted is rewarding...We can look upon it and think how rebelling it could have been.

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[144] "Bear Refuses to Die After Shot 15 Times," *The Argus-Champion*, 10 December 1980, p. 1.

[145] Fred and June Feeley, Letter to the Editor, *The Argus-Champion*, 17 December 1980, p. 5.

We achieved what we started without being killed. Had it been better if we were killed...?" Finally, after praising the newspaper's reporting of the story, the Whipples made a dig at the critics of their hunting: "We enjoy hunting, and use our meat. For those who don't hunt, they probably eat beef and other meats. Do you know the suffering and agony they go through?"[146]

On the very same page, there appeared another letter supporting the Whipples. Robert Burdette also called into question the meat-eating habits of "people that believe hunting is revolting...I suppose you sit and eat chicken, and beef and ham and think nothing of it. How do you know what horrifying death they went through?" He defended Mr. Whipple's hunting skill, saying "[i]t is almost impossible to shoot a 300-lb. bear with one shot," and he expressed his hearty approval of such stories being printed by the local paper. "I hope the Argus continues to write articles on people that are proud of what they've done, like shooting a bear, or a trophy buck, or catching a good-sized bass or lake trout." Despite this defense of hunting, however, three additional letters appearing right beside Mr. Burdette's livened up the debate. A Goshen resident wrote, "Shame on you. I was astonished by the front page coverage you gave the Whipples and the great bear hunt...The Whipples ought to be ashamed of themselves...But the Argus equally disgraced themselves by bringing attention to this deplorable incident." Passionately echoing these feelings, Philip and Andrea Mygatt wrote:

> We were so appalled when we read your 'front page news' describing the murder of a bear by Robert and Annie Whipple of Bradford that the poor creature's suffering will stay in our minds for a long time to come...We can't figure out why you felt this tale of torture was so important that it should be made public...The act these brave hunters committed was so cruel and inhuman that they should be ashamed of themselves instead of bragging about it...It was horrible enough that

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[146] Robert and Annie Whipple, Letter to the Editor, *The Argus-Champion*, 24 December 1980, p. 5.

> they murdered the bear, but did they have to make its remains into such cheap trinkets? Shame should be their game…and yours, too, for making heroes out of them.

Meanwhile, Paul Krause chimed in sarcastically, "To Mr. and Mrs. Whipple: If only the bear had known that you loved him so much you wanted parts of him decorating your home, he would have died happy."[147]

The letter-writing battle over the ethics of hunting had only just begun. In the week of December 31st, the continuous outpouring of criticism of the bear killing began to show the deep philosophical roots of human-wildlife relationships, as well as the notion that wildlife had the *right* not to be disturbed. A New London resident wrote:

> We also reacted angrily to the story of the Bradford hunter couple, and cries of 'horrible,'…'why would the paper print such a thing,' rang through the house…I hope the image of [the] bullet-riddled bear hanging onto his precious life slumped against a tree all night remains with the killers a long time…Perhaps we all need to be sensitized to certain truths and ask ourselves: what is man without the beasts?...If all the beasts were gone, men would surely die from a great loneliness of spirit. For whatever happens to the beasts, soon happens to man. All things are connected.

Salley Halley of Wilmot wrote:

> I find it hard to understand how any one person can have such little respect for life. Do people like the Whipples enjoy telling their friends how they made a beautiful animal suffer helplessly overnight, only so they could return the next day and make a final attempt to end his life?...In my eyes, they are not hunters, but poachers, in pursuit of the almighty trophy. I wish there were laws set up to punish people like this, but until the day comes when there are, I, for one, will bring up my children to love, respect and appreciate all wildlife, and their rights to life…I am saddened and shocked that you did not use better judgment before allowing this story to go to press.

A letter from Evelyn Lammert also spoke out against the Whipples, but rather than being anti-hunting in spirit, the letter expressed anger that the Whipples had provided so much

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[147] See: Letters to the Editor, *The Argus-Champion*, 24 December 1980, p. 5.

ammunition to the increasingly anti-hunting sentiment affecting more respectable hunters:

> Due to revulsion over the bear slaying and self-righteous attitude of the Whipples in failing to admit their horrendous, shocking deed in taking two days to kill the creature into which they had pumped 15 shots, I must give vent to my own reaction other than the formal protest which I have already personally delivered to Director Charles Barry of the N.H. Fish & Game Department...Over a period of 30 years in the field, woods and marshlands, I am unable to recall one such instance of behavior as the Whipples are defending. I am offended that they carelessly allude to themselves as 'hunters,' and reject any culpability in a misdeed...Failure to condemn this act as cruelty provides the anti-hunters with fodder for their crusade. In this case it would be warranted! Unless this barbaric act is strongly denounced, it will serve to soil the image of all hunters.[148]

The following week, Fay Osborne of Sunapee, shared her support for the anti-hunting camp:

> I am glad there are some people who do not condone the killing of the few beautiful wild animals we have left. My congratulations to...all of whom have written articles for The Argus deploring the brutal slaughtering of a bear by Robert and Annie Whipple...He says hunting is a sport. I suppose it is to someone who has so much ego that they can only satisfy it with a high powered rifle. He says people have to hunt to eat. Possibly the Indians did, but I wonder if the Whipples were that hungry.

But, other letters appearing that week did not leave the commentary one-sided. In addition to another letter supporting the Whipples, was a second letter from the Whipples themselves – fighting back with diminished patience: "To the illiterate people concerning the Whipples bear article...We feel sorry for the rock heads and or illiterate people who are writing these nasty distorting articles...People should keep their noses clean, and out of other people's business...Mr. Whipple has hunted for over 35 years and feels he needs no advice from immoderate people especially females." This late remnant of sexism among hunters aside, it is interesting to note that the Whipples, who so proudly told their

[148] See: Letters to the Editor, *The Argus-Champion*, 31 December 1980, p. 5.

story to *The Argus-Champion* in the first place, were now demanding the public to mind their own business.

The letters began to dwindle, but Betsy Soper of New London still felt the need to point out the futile and disrespectful nature of what had become a very public debate:

> Ever since Dec. 10th when the Argus article on the Whipples' bear hunting appeared on page one, I have read all letters relating to this affair and have spoken to many people about it. Now I would like to add my two cents...There will always be those who wish to hunt game animals and birds just as there will always be those who love to fish...This, after all, is part of our heritage. On the other side are those who will not hunt, who feel it is cruel to kill wild creatures especially as they become increasingly threatened by human encroachment on what was once their exclusive territory. I do not think the article nor ensuing letters will change any minds...I am disturbed that the letters seem to be degenerating into mud-slinging and name-calling...[149]

Six weeks after the highly controversial bear article was first printed, one more letter voiced disapproval.[150] The entire exchange obviously entailed much back-and-forth between people with strong differences of opinion, but more important is that the debate occurred at all. In 1958, the reporting of the story about John Sirois killing a bear was uncontroversial – perhaps interesting, and even entertaining enough to some to make such reporting marketable to a newspaper's readership. In 1980, the reporting of the Whipple bear "incident" suddenly stripped the typical hunting story of its automatic glory. Hunting stories still appeared in newspapers after 1980, but there no longer existed a social atmosphere that generally allowed for hunting stories to be reported without some controversy.[151] One might guess that later stories brought to light the realities of hunting to a public increasingly uninvolved with the pastime and otherwise unaware of

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[149] Betsy Soper, Letter to the Editor, *The Argus-Champion*, 14 January 1981, p.4.

[150] Barney Laber, Letter to the Editor, *The Argus-Champion*, 21 January 1981, p. 5.

[151] For example, see: "Child Bags 8-Point 187 lb. Buck," *The Granite State News*, 4 December 1985, p. A13.

the details that they would find troubling. The growing influence of passionately anti-hunting activism also became a significant influence in the post-war history of hunting. Ken Webb reported on a 1983 meeting of outdoor writers, at which the directors of Fish and Game agencies throughout New England were present: "it appears that in just about every state...wildlife and fisheries management people are being made targets for harassment by anti-hunting, anti-fishing, anti-management people."[152]

While anti-hunting sentiment may have been partly responsible for a decline in hunting participation, there were also some practical issues that posed additional problems for sportsmen. One such issue was the painful prevalence of hunting accidents, which cast an enduring pall on hunting. Early post-war years saw much caution and concern over the dangers to domestic animals (no doubt, related to a much more agriculturally oriented society at the time). In 1947, one columnist announced the opening of "the deer and cow hunting season."[153]

Livestock were not the only nonhuman victims of careless shooting. Lamenting the death of a dog killed by a gunshot in 1948, one resident wrote, "There lies Old Faithful. He was only a dog but someone loved him."[154] So common were deaths and injuries to dogs that people had to take an active role in protecting them. In 1952, *The Granite State News* reported that "a collie was seen nonchalantly wearing a small red jacket or blanket, securely strapped on. That is one way to keep a careless hunter from

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[152] Ken Webb, "Outdoors in the Granite State," *The Granite State News*, 23 March 1983, p. A10.

[153] "Hank," *The Granite State News*, 21 November 1947, p. 1.

[154] Jane Headley, Letter to the Editor, *The Granite State News*, 3 December 1948, no page listed.

shooting at the family pet."[155] (This was a tactic similarly employed by someone who, in 1971, turned a horse out wearing a blanket which boldly read "HORSE" to protect him from hunters.)[156] By 1965, the issue began to draw the attention of legislators who discussed penalties for hunters shooting domestic animals.[157]

While the dangers to domestic animals would persist, human safety very quickly became a central concern.[158] Just in the year 1948, several related references appeared in local newspapers. One outdoor columnist attributed a smaller number of deer hunters to the fact that "everyone is afraid to go into the woods and drive them out. The many shooting accidents in the state has put fear into the heads of the deer hunters." Another sarcastically made reference to deer hunting by announcing that "[t]he kill – except on human beings, of course – is running far behind last year's."[159]

The dangers became such a cause for concern that they led to a slew of advertisements for insurance marketed to both hunters and those potentially affected by it, offering "complete protection for yourself, family & Pets."[160] Ambitious safety campaigns were also launched. Earlier efforts to promote hunter safety were largely limited to clever little messages buried between the articles of local papers, like a 1948

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[155] "Hunting Season," *The Granite State News*, 10 October 1952, p. 8.

[156] Photograph, *The Argus-Champion*, 24 November 1971, p.1.

[157] House Fish and Game, 1965-1967, Legislative Notes on House Bill 426, 25 May 1965, Box #004041, New Hampshire State Archives.

[158] For a later reference to the danger of hunting to dogs, see: Eleanor Eastman, "Union," *The Granite State News*, 6 July 1977, p. A6.

[159] See, respectively: "Sportsman's Column," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 16 December 1948, p. 9; and Hal Pierson, "Gunnin' and Fishin,'" *The Portsmouth Herald*, 18 December 1948, p. 5.

[160] Advertisement, *The Peterborough Transcript*, 9 October 1952, p. 4. For additional references to hunting-related insurance, see advertisements in: *The Derry News*, 23 October 1958, p. 3; and *The Keene Sentinel*, 9 November 1961, p. 16.

cartoon printed by *The Keene Sentinel.* It showed a deer bounding away as a man lay dead on the ground, and it read, "The Mighty Bunyan says:...You can't put your tag on HIM, boys!...Let's make hunting a sport...not a heartbreak!"[161] As the incidence of hunting accidents increased, however, so did the focus and reach of safety campaigns. The Department of Fish and Game became active in trying to instill precautions in school aged children with showings of films like *The Careless Hunter.*[162] Newspapers began carrying more visible public service announcements for safe hunting, like one in *The Derry News* urging people to "See and be seen...wear bright clothes...keep hunting a safe sport."[163] At the same time, recreation departments began offering regularly scheduled courses in hunter safety.[164]

The safety campaigns became so serious, in fact, that legislators soon found themselves addressing the matter of hunting accidents. In 1967, an Exeter representative recounted "an incident in Exeter...When a group of so called hunters entered a large Trailer Park, shot up two trailers narrowly missing a five year old child, and then dragging out three deer." Another representative said, "[w]e had to dispose of a valuable show horse because of a careless shot from a hunter's rifle. Numerous times over the years we have had broken window panes...This has also happened to other residents."[165]

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[161] Cartoon, *The Keene Sentinel*, 18 December 1948, p. 6.

[162] See: New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game, Biennial Report, 1956-1958; and "Carpenter School Parent Council," *The Granite State News*, 10 December 1954, p. 1.

[163] Public service announcement, *The Derry News*, 17 November 1955, p. 8.

[164] For references to hunter safety courses offered by town recreation departments, see the town reports for: Derry, 1969, p. 82; and Peterborough, 1974, p. 102.

[165] Senate Fish and Game, 1961-1967, Legislative Notes on House Bill 338, 1967, Box # 004031, New Hampshire State Archives.

Reiterating a connection between hunting dangers and growth, an Alton resident later commented:

> I am not opposed to hunting, but...I have seen this area subjected to intense growth of seasonal and year-round dwellings...To continue to permit hunting along this highly populated lake front would be unacceptable to the tax paying residents. Further, it would be an act of negligence by the Fish and Game Comm. to continue to subject these landowners to the obvious hazards of hunting in a congested area.[166]

In addition to the many dangers, another practical issue putting a negative spin on hunting was the sometimes bad behavior of hunters (other than general carelessness). In 1948, Brookfield resident, Mary Witham, wrote a letter to the editor that criticized hunters for both the dangers and disrespect that had come to be associated with them:

> Many of us are wondering about what can be done about the problems deer hunters are causing. The problems seem to be getting greater each year as the hunters become more numerous and less respectful of property...the situation is becoming unbearable. It is not safe for a man to go into his own woods to cut wood...or do any of the things around the farm...We do not dare to turn our cattle out to feed, and are in fear for our pets...Deer in many cases are not being hunted in a sportsman-like manner, but are driven by crews.[167]

Witham was not alone. Alongside her letter was another decrying hunter behavior and the fact that it seemed to have worsened since the end of the war. Orman T. Headley wrote:

> Previous to the late war, when hunters called at my place in North Wakefield, I would not only welcome them but would tell them as best I knew, where the best chances for getting deer were. Since the war the matter of hunting has been complicated by the number of hunters in a given space in the woods, making the hunting much more dangerous to the hunters, but also the character of the hunters seems largely to have changed – much for the worse. Many of these hunters take advantages of the landowner's property that he would not himself take...of my 300 acres, I decided to post 'No Hunting' signs on 75 acres for my own hunting...At the entrance of this 75 acres, I posted a polite letter...This notice was torn down by some criminal hunter, who then slipped up to my house and fired

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[166] Fish and Game, 1977, Legislative Notes on House Bill 118, 1 February 1977, Box #396014, New Hampshire State Archives.

[167] Mary E. Witham, Letter to the Editor, *The Granite State News*, 17 December 1948, p. 2.

> his gun seven times. Then another hunter had to be ordered not to shoot at a tame animal almost within the yard – and when the tame animal was standing by a 'No Hunting' sign…my only conclusion is now that 300 acres will be forbidden to hunters next year…If posting becomes general in this section, and it soon may be – the blame can be placed where it belongs – on impudent hunters.[168]

Into the 1950s, hunter behavior was no better, if not worse. As evidence, legislators were presented with a bill that would require hunters to offer killed game to the owners of damaged property in an effort to achieve "improved relations," while *The Derry News* ran the headline "Hunters Should Remember They Are Guests of Woodland Owners."[169] There is some indication that, by the 1960s, hunter behavior was improving, but the typical hunter had already gained the reputation as being careless and inconsiderate.[170] It was far from the earlier image of hunting as a wholesome pastime helping to create good, solid citizens. Even those hunters who were upstanding citizens were often stuck with the rap for the misdeeds of others. In 1980, outdoor writer Ken Webb wrote of hunters and fishermen: "however unjustly, they are stuck with much of the blame for littering. No matter what picnickers, parkers or passersby may actually be responsible for pond and streamside litter, it is always the sportsman who gets the blame. In many hours outdoors, I've seen more sportsmen picking up litter…than I have seen actually littering."[171]

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[168] Orman T. Headley, Letter to the Editor, *The Granite State News*, 17 December 1948, p. 2.

[169] See: Legislative notes on House Bill 205, 1953, New Hampshire State Archives; and "Hunters Should Remember They Are Guests of Woodland Owners," *The Derry News*, 25 October 1956, p.10.

[170] A 1959 letter said, "A tip of the hat for sportsmen in general when each year reveals them better and better behaved, and more deserving of the title 'sportsmen'…" See: John Lankhorst, Letter to the Editor, *The Keene Sentinel*, 5 November 1959, p. 4.

[171] Ken Webb, "Outdoors in the Granite State," *The Granite State News*, 15 October 1980, P. A7.

While both danger and an increasingly negative public image contributed to a decline in hunting, yet another issue was the dwindling number of places left to hunt. As communities grew, changes in land ownership and attitudes toward land use became highly influential in forcing limits on hunting. In 1980, Conrad Quimby wrote in *The Derry News*, "[a]ll the good places are being taken...When we first came to Derry 17 years ago, some of the old timers were crying even back then about how the open spaces had disappeared in Derry. Dell Whitney showed us his boyhood favorite grouse and trout covers, but they've all now since gone to neighborhood developments."[172] Certainly, the mere carving up of land for ever more building made hunting less and less practical.

Growing isolationism and appreciation for privacy, in combination with the image of hunters as being both dangerous and disrespectful, led a flood of landowners to cut off even more hunting opportunities by posting their land. In 1972, Alexander Lincoln, Jr. wrote the following:

> There was nothing unusual about encountering short-tempered, dangerously violence-prone hunters. Twice before I have even had guns pointed at me on my land...With conditions still so bad in this state, it seems foolish to preserve private open space here for the public benefit. Isn't it much better to chop up the land into small lots for better protection against lawlessness...?[173]

Not surprisingly, with ongoing interest in promoting hunting, the Department of Fish and Game took the lead in trying to halt the cascade of land being closed to hunters. It activated programs to acquire land and to assist landowners with management practices in exchange for land being kept unposted. It also became a voice in legislation over the growing issue of "trespassing." Commenting on such legislation in 1969, the

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[172] Conrad Quimby, "Off the Cuff," *The Derry News*, 16 October 1980, p. 22.

[173] Alexander Lincoln, Jr., Letter to the Editor, *The Granite State News*, 7 December 1972, p. 15.

department's Joe Cram expressed his concern over removing a 50 acre limit on posting uncultivated land. According to Cram "[m]any newcomers to N.H. have come in and bought up land...but they don't understand New Hampshire's way of life."[174] However, proponents of this and other related legislation pointed to the unconstitutionality of keeping tax payers from posting their land.[175] With fewer people hunting anyway, the population was increasingly becoming indifferent toward the hunter's problem of having no place to hunt, and the Department of Fish and Game found itself more and more desperate to sway public opinion.

The post-war rise and decline of hunting in New Hampshire embodied the effects of a growing, and correspondingly, changing populace on one particular form of outdoor recreation. Summarizing this evolution, Gary G. Gray has written, "Antihunting sentiment has grown as people are further removed from their rural roots...Loss of habitat to urban sprawl deprives hunters of places and things to shoot...provokes antagonism leading to posting of land and trespass violations, and creates political and social pressure for artificial stocking."[176] Between obstacles to hunting brought about by changing philosophies toward land use, and gradual cultural detachment from hunting as a pastime, the attitudes of the hunter toward wildlife became minimized in the grander scheme. While the popular appeal of zoos and circuses represent the enduring and more widespread fascination with close encounters with wildlife and the thrill of dangerous

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[174] House Resources, Recreation, and Development, 1969-1970, Legislative Notes on House Bill 907, 29 April 1969, Box #10024, New Hampshire State Archives.

[175] *Ibid.*; and, House Fish and Game, 1971-1973, Legislative Notes on House Bill 628, 13 April 1971, Box #007023, New Hampshire State Archives.

[176] Gary G. Gray, *Wildlife and People: The Human Dimensions of Wildlife Ecology* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), p. 167.

interactions, these venues were safely mediated. Animals in such settings are usually presumed to be securely behind bars, or the people at least mentally protected by their separated position as "audience." (Hence, the public shock and outrage that follows episodes in which zoo animals get loose, or circus animal attack or rampage.) The comparatively "hands-on" (whether literal or nearly so) experience and understanding of wildlife among hunters became relatively unfamiliar to a growing segment of the collective population.

Looking at the changes in outdoor recreation reveals at least three important elements of human-wildlife relationships. First, whether related to camping, hiking, fishing, or hunting, there is a spectrum of closeness to nature, and the degree of intimacy experienced with nature and wildlife has largely seemed to decrease over time. Each year, numerous lost hikers needed to be rescued because they could not navigate the woods.[177] Camping became increasingly luxurious and more representative of suburbanized life. Even fishing lost its challenge and unpredictability. In 1969, conservation officer Ken Warren was quoted as saying, "the age of the true fisherman is past…'We're all lazy,' he said, 'we like to troll with our outboard motors…[true fishing] takes someone with more patience and skill than are found now.'"[178] Conrad Quimby had earlier lamented

> Opening day of fishing season in New Hampshire has come and gone, and with it has also gone most of the stock trout which were so conveniently dropped into roadside pools for the 'enjoyment' of April anglers…It seems a shame that the

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[177] Records on lost persons can be found in the biennial and annual reports of the New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game.

[178] "Ice Anglers Hooked on Sport," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 23 January 1969, p. 8.

> New Hampshire Fish and Game Department does not show more ingenuity than to stop its hatchery trucks at every brook crossing in the state and dump in several buckets full of lily white brookies...Ralph Carpenter and his men in Concord cannot really be blamed for this, except for their lack of courage in forcing upon fishermen a more challenging stocking program...There are people who call themselves fishermen and yet scream bloody murder if they don't catch their limit on opening day. These are the people who phone the local wardens around the state and insist upon knowing which pools are to be stocked and with how many fish. After all, they pay the bills of the Fish and Game Department...they demand $3.50 worth of fish in return...[179]

The crutches upon which outdoor recreationists seemed to grow increasingly reliant enabled people to venture into the "wild," yet grow further apart from nature and unfamiliar with wildlife in its wild state. It is interesting to note that hunters, despite the shame of carelessness and bad behavior, may have remained the most closely in touch with nature and wildlife.[180] Ironically, those who were most closely in touch were killing the animals rather than embracing them, and those who embraced the animals out in nature had the hardest time when nature came too close to them. Also interesting is that while camping, fishing, and other forms of recreation have grown (or remained steady) in popularity, hunting is one outdoor pastime that has declined. This may be the truest indication that society itself was changing. However, hunting's past was not completely lacking in barriers between human and wildlife. The pheasant rearing and stocking programs are an example of how convenience-oriented recreation extended its influence among hunters as well.

The stocking of pheasants, the management of deer herds, and the reclamation of ponds all illustrate a second important element of human-wildlife relationships: the

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[179] Conrad L. Quimby, "'Put and Take' Fishing," *The Derry News*, 9 May 1963, p. 2.

[180] As a measure of intimacy with nature, it is worth noting that hunters annually comprised only a fraction of the "lost persons" rescued by the New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game. References to this distinction include the biennial and annual repots of the New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game for the years: 1956-1958, 1958-1960, and 1969-1970 (no pages listed).

increasing efforts invested in "engineering" nature. The control of nature and wildlife to suit the recreational whims of human beings was another manifestation of the perspective that wild animals are like props in a forced, inauthentic view of nature. Perfectly kept hiking trails, manicured and snake-free campgrounds, and reliable stocks of fish and game all were attempts to control. Each trend shows that human beings have indeed grown apart from wildlife, and that wild animals were expected to fill roles assigned to them by humans. A breach of such expectations could mean human reactions of frustration or surprise. These demonstrations of control over nature and the assigned place of wildlife seemed to become more frequent over time, and as increased growth and development came with more demands to keep the world organized and tidy.

Finally, one is left wondering what the word "wild" actually came to mean. When people went camping or hiking in such crowds that real solitude could no longer be found, were they experiencing nature in an untamed state? In 1974, Edward DeCourcy wrote:

> When the doomsayers were warning us that unless human beings slowed their prolific breeding, the world would have Standing Room Only...there was always the comforting knowledge that there would always be the forest, through the foresight of our national and state governments, which had preserved large tracts of park and forest land, where we could always drink deeply of the solitude and beauty of nature...Now I'm not so sure...The forests are crowded...[181]

With wildlife falling under the power of ever more management and planning, attitudes may have changed simply because the meaning of "wild" changed. When the non-native pheasant began to be intensively produced in hatcheries and then stocked in strategic locations, were they still considered to be "wild"?

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[181] Edward DeCourcy, "Our Forests – An Endangered Species," *The Argus-Champion*, 23 October 1974, p. 4.

As the interplay of growth and outdoor recreation suggests, feelings about wildlife were affected by multiple factors which produced a variety of attitudes. To many people, wildlife became ever more appreciated, but at a distance. Consumptive activities, like hunting and fishing, fostered protective feelings toward valued species, but "game" animals were still seen as commodities, while those animals who preyed upon them stirred resentment. With the decline of hunting, which involved more direct interaction with wildlife, there may have been a loss of familiarity and intimacy with wild animals in general. This decrease in intimacy alone could have sprouted opposing attitudes, both fear and romanticism of the unknown. Meanwhile, the control of nature and wildlife set wild animals up for human disapproval when they failed to meet expectations.

Diverging attitudes were again drawn by species lines and human interests. While growth can be tied to the historical development of human interests in outdoor recreation – whether by inspiring people to seek in nature a respite from hectic society, or by emphasizing the boundary lines that would severely restrict the freedoms people once had to access unbuilt land and the animals inhabiting it – it is linked to the many related social factors that also influenced recreational interests. It was this collection of contributing factors that ensured that attitudes toward wildlife would remain complicated.

CHAPTER 5

ANIMALS AT HOME:
HOW RELATIONSHIPS WITH DOMESTIC COMPANION ANIMALS AFFECTED ATTITUDES TOWARD WILDLIFE

It is natural, and sometimes appropriate, to make a firm distinction between domestic and wild animals, but the history that human beings have shared with domestic animals should not be overlooked as an influence upon attitudes toward wildlife. This aspect of cultural history is no minor footnote, as the practice of keeping "pets" has affected the lives of most people. In the early 1980s, Stephen Kellert conducted a study of attitudes toward animals, and he found that 84.3% of Americans surveyed had owned a pet at some time in their lives, while 66.6% had owned one in the previous two years.[1] There is no question that experience with domestic companion animals marks a pervasive element of post-war history.

Though relationships with domestic animals might be seen as a cultural fixture, in fact, they have not been fixed. Human-companion animal dynamics have evolved with many of the changes that occurred in the areas of growth and development, agriculture, and outdoor recreation between 1945 and 1985. It is the intention of this chapter to show how these changes in the relationships that people shared with domestic animals affected attitudes toward wild species. A focus on dogs, the quintessential American pet, suggests

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[1] Stephen R. Kellert, *Activities of the American Public Relating to Animals (Phase II)*, paper presented to the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, 1982, p. 131.

that fluctuating human impulses to love, protect, and control them were important influences upon human-wildlife relationships in three ways. First, growing attachment to dogs came with an inclination to protect them from harm. Whether the spray of a skunk, porcupine quills, or rabies, perceived threats would be cause for critical judgment of wild species. On the other hand, with the dawn of leash laws, the proximity of dogs within family life became much closer. An emerging philosophy about possessing pets would influence temptations to approach and handle wildlife, while the strengthening of the emotional bond with dogs would enable generalized feelings of affection for wild animals.

Love for Dogs

Certainly, dogs have not been the only objects of affection as companion animals. Particularly in post-war society, cats have been a fixture as well, and as the need for horses on farms evaporated, they too were embraced more as companions. However, survey data has found that horses and dogs are the best liked species, and that the popularity of cats is considerably lower.[2] While horses are very well-liked, the number of people who actually experience regular first-hand encounters with them is much smaller than the numbers enjoying direct relationships with dogs (most likely due to economic factors and factors related to restrictions on space).[3] These survey findings help to

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[2] Stephen R. Kellert and Joyce K. Berry, *Knowledge, Affection and Basic Attitudes Toward Animals in American Society (Phase III)*, paper presented to the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, 1982, p. 31.

[3] Stephen R. Kellert, *Policy Implications of a National Study of American Attitudes and Behavioral Relations to Animals*, working paper presented to the Fish and Wildlife Service of the United States Department of the Interior, 1978, p. 103.

identify human-dog relationships as most representative of society's attitudes toward companion animals.

In post-war New Hampshire, references to dogs were often related to work. They were guardians and protectors, and their presence on local police forces and at military posts was well publicized.[4] When it came to dogs being called upon to assist human beings, however, post-war references to hunting dogs are most abundant. For example, a 1946 classified advertisement offered hunting dogs as a "nice gift for Father's Day."[5] *The Argus-Champion* featured a front-page photo of a local bobcat hunter and his two dogs in 1962, and a classified advertisement for Brittany Spaniel pups in 1980 announced that "Only hunters need call."[6] *The New Hampshire Sportsman* also once sang the praises of a dog named Weary Willy, who was clearly a working dog: "Now Willy wasn't much to look at; his feet were as big and flat as his ears and the feathers along his running boards gave you the uneasy feeling that his stuffing was coming out...But for pure hunting technique, Weary was hard to beat."[7]

Despite the prevalence and celebration of hunting dogs in the early post-war years, hunting itself would eventually begin to fade in local culture, while public attention to a different kind of human-dog relationship flourished. There were always "pet" dogs around during the time when most dog references were about hunting dogs, but as these references declined along with hunting, discussion of dogs became

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[4] See: photograph in the Portsmouth Town Report, 1974; "Police Dog Aides in Jaffrey PD Swamp Rescue," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 16 August 1984, p. 15; and "Major is 'Drafted,'" *The Peterborough Transcript*, 16 April 1966, p. 1.

[5] Classified advertisement, *The Portsmouth Herald*, 14 June 1946, p. 11.

[6] Photograph, *The Argus-Champion*, 21 February 1962, p. 1.

[7] "That Ain't No Dog-Mac!" *The New Hampshire Sportsman*, June 1947, no page listed.

dominated by references to dogs as primarily companion animals. While the records of dog licenses do not reflect exact numbers of dogs, they do show that the numbers of dog licenses very noticeably follow trends in human population and growth levels.[8] More people meant more dogs, which is especially recognizable in the town of Derry, where growth was so dramatic (see Figure 4).[9] Through the years of hunting's decline, this

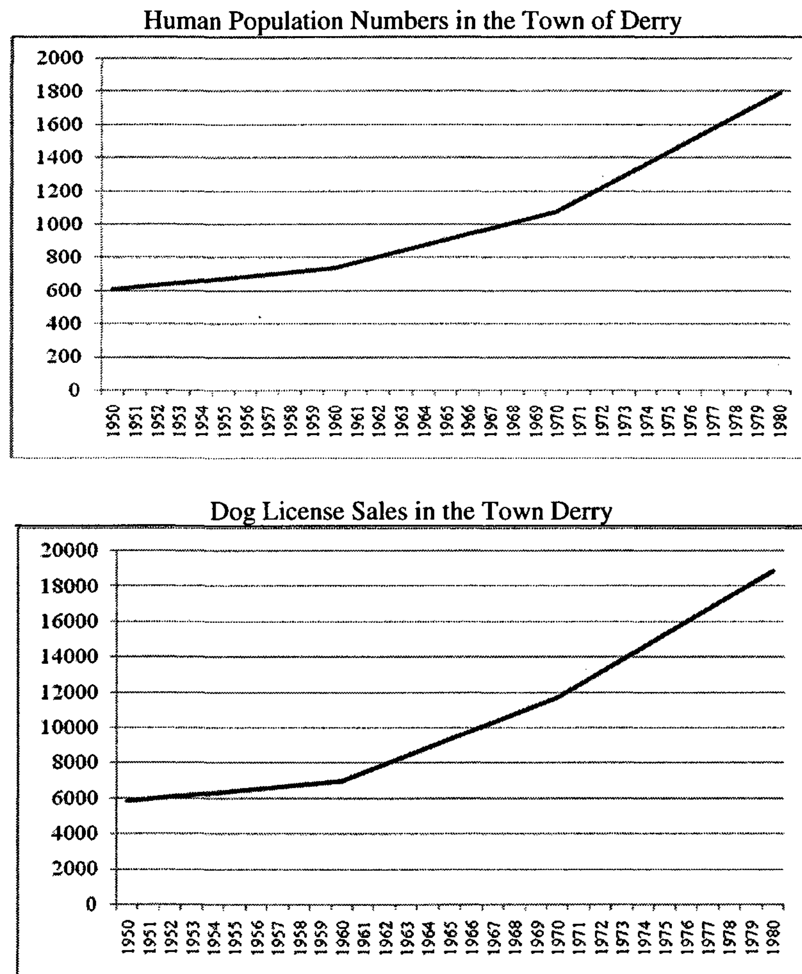

Fig. 4. Comparison of Human and Dog Populations

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[8] This information is available from Town Reports. The reports for every town, and for almost every year, include counts of dog licenses issued.

[9] Derry Town Reports: 1952, p.8; and 1982, p. 13.

correlation held true. These statistics give some idea of just how many dogs came to populate communities around the state, and they provide supporting evidence that the human-dog relationship had become mainly about companionship.

One conclusion is that more people were experiencing some kind of emotional feelings toward dogs. This dynamic seemed to strengthen over the post-war decades, as growth and corresponding changes to views about nature and community transformed the human-dog relationship. Of course, such emotions were not new. In the 1940s, *Lassie* popularly filled both airwaves and movie theaters.[10] Dogs were embraced as mascots, and there were stories about local dog heroes.[11] *The Derry News* reported on an attempted carjacking, in which one man "reached inside through the open window and was trying to open the door...when the Cooper's dog 'Muggsie,' a fox terrier with bull dog blood in his veins, came to life and leaped at the man's hand...This discouraged the man...his efforts being hampered by 'Muggsie.'"[12]

Dogs appeared in local news stories, often stories that allowed for expression of the emotional nature of human-dog relationships. The tug on emotions was especially prominent when newspapers featured sad, moving photographs of dogs looking very forlorn over the deaths of other dogs. One caption read, "Keeps Vigil Beside Dead Puppy – A German Shepherd dog keeps a long and heart-breaking vigil beside her dead offspring, a victim of a hit-and-run driver in Los Angles. It took four hours for Humane

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[10] Popular references to "Lassie" can be found in: movie listings, *The Keene Sentinel*, 1 December 1945, p. 6; and "On the Air Tonight," *The Keene Sentinel*, 13 August 1948, p. 7.

[11] Two references to dogs as local mascots can be found in: "Sportsmen's Column," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 1 January 1945, p. 2; and *The Granite State News*, 18 October 1946, p. 4.

[12] "Thwart Attempted Hold Up on Trip," *The Derry News*, 25 July 1947, p. 2.

department officials to coax the mother dog away from the little puppy's body."[13] Under another photograph, appeared the words "Tragedy Separates dog buddies – You can almost see the grief on the face of the white dog, whose pal, a black cocker spaniel was killed...The white dog guards his dead buddy, while onlookers see the little tragedy unfold."[14] Emphasis is clearly on the emotions of dogs, speaking to the ready ability of people to empathize with them. The fact that such photos were published across the country is a testament to the wide occurrence of this type of empathy.

Deep, emotional bonds between humans and dogs were prevalent in newspaper items appearing through the following decades. In 1952, Hadyn Pearsyn wrote, "[o]ne of the few affirmative signs of an improving society is the fact that the dog population is on the increase. We have believed for a considerable period that if a family is willing to be ruled by a dog, purebred or mutt, the family is better adjusted to the vicissitudes of life than a group of people who have nothing to do but follow their self-centered inclinations for pleasure."[15] Meanwhile, listings for TV and movies included the likes of Lassie, Rin Tin Tin, and Benji.[16]

Dogs remained the subject of local news stories. They sometimes noted the deaths of locally known dogs: "Died – Heidi, the 11-year-old German Shepherd of

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[13] Photograph, *The Portsmouth Herald*, 19 November 1947, p. 5.

[14] Photograph, *The Portsmouth Herald*, 13 August 1948, p. 5.

[15] Hadyn Pearsyn, "Country Flavor," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 7 February 1952, p. 4.

[16] For examples of such references, see: "TV," *The Portsmouth Herald*, 15 July 1955, p. 11; movie listing, *The Argus-Champion*, 26 March 1975, p. 3; and "TV," *The Portsmouth Herald*, 28 March 1975, p. 21.

Mr. and Mrs. E.B. Armstrong, a well-known character around town."[17] Other times, they carried on the tradition of publicizing the feats of heroic dogs. For example, "Tragedy was averted" when a poodle and a Weimaraner alerted people of a fire in 1968.[18] Even more abundant were stories about human beings rescuing dogs, like the numerous reports of people attempting to save dogs who had fallen through thin ice, or the reports of dogs being rescued from fires.[19] In 1984, witnesses to a fire were worried and anxious about seeing two trapped samoyeds trying to escape, but "[f]riends and neighbors who gathered to watch the dog-rescue sighed relief in unison" when the second dog to be rescued "was lifted though a window by a firefighter."[20]

Concerns About Rabies

Accompanying the growing significance of dogs as companion animals was awareness of and concern about their health. Increasing focus on rabies, in particular, would have important ramifications on human-wildlife relationships. Even at the beginning of the post-war period, rabies in dogs was a major issue to the state's Department of Agriculture.[21] Through the 1950s, the department was vigilant about testing animals suspected of carrying rabies, but there seemed to be no actual outbreaks

[17] See, respectively: "New London News," *The Argus-Champion*, 14 July 1955, p. 4A; and "It Was in the Transcript," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 27 March 1975, p. 4.

[18] "Dogs are Life-Savers," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 8 February 1969, p. 1.

[19] For examples of these stories, see: "Dog Rescue," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 18 March 1971, p. 7; "It Was in the Transcript," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 27 March 1975, p. 4; and "FPC Student and Dog Rescued from Pearly Pond," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 28 March 1985, p. 15.

[20] Donna Greene, "Handicapped Woman Rescued from Fire," *The Derry News*, 12 April 1984, p. 1.

[21] New Hampshire Department of Agriculture, Biennial Report, 1944-1946, p. 56.

(since a few cases in the town of Errol were reported in 1934).[22] However, by the early 1960s, the epidemiology of rabies revealed the disease to be appearing ever closer, which opened up new conversations about wildlife carriers of the disease.

The Department of Agriculture reported that, "[i]n the Spring of 1963...test[s] confirmed the diagnosis of rabies in our wild fox." By the end of that year, rabies was also found in four skunks and one bat. One result was a concerted effort to get as many dogs and cats as possible vaccinated against rabies, but because cases were thus far limited to extreme northern towns, organized rabies clinics were also more regionally emphasized.[23] The severity of rabies threats, however, would very quickly motivate expanded efforts to protect domestic animals.

In October 1965, cows in Lisbon were diagnosed, and it was reported that "in the Bethlehem area a puppy about eight months of age was diagnosed as positive to rabies...this puppy was bitten by a fox."[24] By 1967, public awareness was acutely heightened. In one year (1966-1967), rabies had been confirmed in 4 bats, 1 cat, 3 cows, 2 dogs, 33 fox, 1 raccoon, and 6 skunks. These findings strongly supported adoption of a state rabies control act, the passage of which "made it mandatory that on or after July 1, 1967, all dogs three months of age or over shall be vaccinated."[25] Indicative of the

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[22] New Hampshire Department of Agriculture, Annual Reports: 1953-1954, p. 47; and 1955-1956, p. 45.

[23] New Hampshire Department of Agriculture, Annual Report, 1963-1964, p. 34.

[24] New Hampshire Department of Agriculture, Annual Report, 1965-1966, p. 40-42.

[25] See: New Hampshire Department of Agriculture Report, 1967-1968, p. 39-40; and Public Health, 1965 & 1967, Legislative Notes for House Bill 213, 7 February 1967, Box #10024, New Hampshire State Archives.

public's cooperation, one subsequent headline read, "Canines Crowd Vaccination Clinics to Receive Rabies Shots."[26]

Efforts were overwhelmingly effective. By decade's end, there were virtually no known cases of rabies in domestic animals. Though cases would eventually begin to increase noticeably among cats, the widespread practice of immunizing dogs had paid off.[27] According to the Department of Agriculture, "[b]y mandatory vaccination of dogs and proper education by the veterinary profession of the general public, it would appear that this disease is under control."[28] As good as this news was, rabies would remain very much present among wild species, and this, in turn, left lasting impressions on the public's attitudes toward wildlife. It was also partly in attempting to minimize the spread of rabies through mandatory vaccinations, that the human-dog relationship literally grew closer.

If You Love'em, Leash'em

Of the numerous references to dogs, many allude to the fact that, until later in the 1945-1985 period, most dogs were allowed to run loose. Oftentimes, references to familiar dogs making their rounds were expressed with fondness. The following appeared in *The Peterborough Transcript* in 1966:

> Fear not if you hear a large footstep at your door, and when you open the door, a huge fawn-colored great dane walks in...it is 'Zorro'...He wears a red leather

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[26] "Canines Crowd Vaccination Clinics to Receive Rabies Shots," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 20 July 1967, p. 1.

[27] Two references to increasing incidence of rabies in cats include: *The Argus-Champion*, 15 August 1984, p. 5; and "Disease Control Center Reports Rise in Rabid Cats," *The Keene Sentinel*, 20 February 1982, p. 18.

[28] New Hampshire Department of Agriculture, Annual Report, 1976-1977, p. 24.

> collar, a loveable grin and a happy whacky tail. Until his New Boston master comes for him, he will be happy to have a piece of meat…a drink of water and a rug to sprawl on…He likes people, especially children.[29]

As relaxed as local, post-war society once was toward free-roaming dogs, there were always some serious consequences. Annual reports of city dog officers indicate that the number of reported lost dogs sometimes exceeded 100 each year, and many of these lost dogs were never found. The issue of lost dogs existed right through the time period between 1945 and 1985, but there was also an escalation in the number of dogs hit by cars. The danger of roadways had rapidly outpaced philosophies about allowing dogs to continue to roam. In this respect, growth instilled some painful lessons in why existing human-dog relationships would be forced to change.[30]

With rising numbers of dogs (many of whom ran loose) and growing emphasis on the need for rabies vaccinations, cities and towns began to crack down on licensing laws. Depending on the town and dog officer involved, action was sometimes severe. In the 1950s, *The Peterborough Transcript* published a notice from officer Albert J. Piccard: "under authority of a warrant from the board of selectmen, I have been ordered to pick up and destroy immediately all dogs not properly licensed."[31] Through the decades, Animal Control reports routinely listed the many numbers of dogs "picked up," "confined," "quarantined," "impounded," or taken into "protective custody."[32]

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[29] "It's Only Zorro," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 15 December 1966, p. 5.

[30] Reports of dog officers (or constables) or Animal Control can be found in the annual reports of almost any city or town.

[31] "Note on Dogs," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 16 July 1953, p. 1.

[32] These are various terms found in annual Animal Control or Dog Officer reports.

Leash laws were enacted gradually across the state. Evidence of society's slow acceptance of such a mandate on its human-dog relationships is in the resistance to proposals for these laws. In the 1950s, one editorial in *The Keene Sentinel* read,

> There are always stray dogs whose living habits and diets are not calculated to keep them healthy...The licensing law enables the dog constable to separate these from the owned-and-cared-for dogs which are your pets. It enables him to remove them before they infect your dog and you with some disease...Lots of cities solve this by denying all dogs the privilege of free run during the hot months when the danger is greatest. Keene, to the everlasting happiness of pets and their owners, has not taken this drastic step....But unless the cooperation of dog owners can be obtained to a greater degree than is now apparent, something drastic will have to result.[33]

In the 1960s, the issue was still contested, a thorny subject riling much opposition at public hearings.[34] Even into the 1970s, some towns were finding it difficult to get leash laws passed, while "dog control" remained a "hotly debated issue."[35] Eventually, leash law rationale did win out, though it could never bring perfect order or predictability to human-dog relationships. In 1985, one columnist wrote, "[l]ast week I sounded off a bit about how we should all obey the leash law. You can probably guess who chose that morning to slip his chain and be absent from his dog house when we got up Thursday morning."[36]

Despite challenges to proposed leash laws, general complaints about dogs – one reason such laws ultimately were passed – were abundant. After all, wandering dogs were

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[33] Editorial, *The Keene Sentinel*, 6 June 1952, p. 8.

[34] "Free-Running Dogs Win Respite from Tight Reins of Control," *The Portsmouth Herald*, 8 January 1963, p. 3.

[35] For example, see: the Peterborough Town Report, 1970, p. 13; and "TM Action this Week," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 10 March 1977, p. 6.

[36] Ferne Schmidtchen, "Gussie the Gossip," *The Derry News*, 21 March 1985, p. 14.

very much free to get into all sorts of mischief.[37] The 1963 debate over a leash law in Portsmouth raised the issues of dogs "run[ning] wild, chasing cars, upsetting garbage cans and ruining lawns."[38] Aside from the increasing danger of roadways to loose dogs, dogs were also blamed for causing accidents.[39] Their unchecked presence in more populated areas became associated with sanitation problems as well. In 1960, the town of Derry provided dogs with access to a diversionary tree to keep them away from the town's Christmas tree, but "So far it hasn't worked. A 'No Dogs Admitted' sign is being prepared."[40] Meanwhile, as indicated by town reports, Animal Control officers were regularly inundated with complaints about dogs. Some of these complaints were about barking, which could have been caused by securely confined animals. In 1964, however, Portsmouth Dog Officer, Robert E. Reynolds, made a point to distinguish that, while 36 complaints about barking dogs were investigated, there were also 194 non-barking complaints.[41]

A more serious reason for complaints about dogs was the potential for them to cause injury to people. Many residents were primarily concerned about children being vulnerable to dog bites, concerns that brought much attention to the problem of dogs frequenting school playgrounds. In Derry, Animal Control Officer Florence Oullette wrote, "[t]he problem of dogs on school grounds is becoming of increasing concern; the

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[37] Examples of related references include: "Sportsmen's Column," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 10 May 1945, p. 3; and *The Derry News*, 6 October 1950, p. 4.

[38] "Free-Running Dogs Win Respite From Tight Reins of Control," *The Portsmouth Herald*, 8 January 1963, p. 3.

[39] For examples, see *The Derry News*: 12 November 1953, p. 2; and 9 December 1954, p. 12.

[40] "Yule Tree for Dogs in Derry," *The Derry News*, 22 November 1960, p. 5.

[41] Portsmouth Town Report, 1964, p. 39.

number of children being bitten by dogs on the school grounds or on the way to school is also on the increase."[42] Such concerns prompted the school board in the town of Newfields to request "an ordinance which would...bar dogs from running free on school days between 8 A.M. and 3 P.M."[43]

Of course, it was not only children who were sometimes bitten by free-roaming dogs. As a group, postal workers had become all too acquainted with the pain of dog bites. All over the country, including small New Hampshire communities, mail carriers suffered when dogs had free run; more than 5,000 postal workers were bitten by dogs in 1955.[44] In general, the dangers of loose dogs became more problematic over time, until the enactment and enforcement of leash laws. In Portsmouth, the annual numbers of bites from the mid-1950s to the mid-1960s ranged from 7 to 36. In the following decade, the numbers ranged from 26 to 77. It was Portsmouth's mayor, John Wholey, who "chastised the 'stupid, ignorant, doting dog owner who thinks his dog will not hurt anyone.'"[45]

While injuries to human beings were of obvious concern, dogs were also responsible for numerous attacks on other domestic animals. A survey of local newspapers chronicles some of these dog-related attacks. In 1949, it was reported that

> A Happy Valley farmer, Clayton W. Spaulding, has filed suit against the town of Peterborough seeking to recover $53 which he alleges was the value of a breeding ram killed by dogs...The ram, part of a flock of seven...was driven from the front yard of [Spaulding's] home by dogs at night...and about a week later was found dead in a field...According to Dr. Forrest F. Tenney, the town's largest sheep

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[42] Florence Oullette, Letter to the Editor, *The Derry News*, 10 March 1977, p. 15.

[43] "Newfields Stirred Over Ordinance to Control Dogs," *The Portsmouth Herald*, 5 November 1959, p. 1.

[44] Editorial, *The Derry News*, 21 June 1956, p. 2.

[45] See, respectively: Portsmouth Town Reports, 1955-1976; and "Free-Running Dogs Win Respite from Tight Reins of Control," *The Portsmouth Herald*, 8 January 1963, p. 3.

> breeder…several hundred dollars in damages were paid by the town in recent years for sheep killed by dogs.[46]

Another article appeared in *The Portsmouth Herald* in 1950:

> Wanted, dead or alive!...A pack of canine rabbit killers is on the warpath in Eliot and while hutchery owners are not offering rewards they would welcome the news that the dogs are in another 'Happy Hunting Ground'…The dogs in their hunger for bunny meat, are not stopped by fences, windows, or…other obstructions…At Town Clerk Helen MacDonald's hutchery…they added 40 pairs of long-ears to their collars…The next night the pack – believed to be at least three dogs strong – ravaged the hutchery of Wilbur Whittaker in East Eliot. Here the canine rabbit slayers ended the happy existence of 50 pedigreed rabbits, valued by their owner at more than $300.[47]

According to a 1955 article in *The Peterborough Transcript*, "[a]nother dog story this week, which will not have a happy ending, involves a pack of four that killed over 80 hens in a raid on the poultry yard of Lewis Burnham."[48] These newspaper accounts of dog attacks on other domestic animals illustrate the anecdotal reporting of events that were tabulated in town reports. Under the heading of town "expenses," each town's reports listed the amounts paid to individuals for losses caused by dog "damage." For example, in 1945, the town of Keene paid $51.25 to Walter L. Hale for chickens killed. The stories of Clayton Spaulding's sheep and Lewis Burnham's chickens were also documented in their respective town reports.[49]

Just as domestic animals were not safe from pursuit by free-roaming dogs, neither were wild animals. Given the importance of deer to local society, it is not surprising that

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[46] "Spaulding Sues Town for $53, Seeks Damages in Ram Killing," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 21 July 1949, p. 1.

[47] "Dog Pack Destroys 90 Rabbits in Eliot; Loss Set at $500," *The Portsmouth Herald*, 9 February 1950, p. 1.

[48] "Odds 'n Ends from the News Desk," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 17 November 1955, p. 6.

[49] See, respectively, the town reports for: Keene, 1945, p. 36; Peterborough, 1949, p. 39; and Peterborough, 1955, p. 39.

most human concern was directed toward the issue of dogs chasing, maiming, and killing deer. In 1970, a seacoast area conservation officer wrote:

> We have been keeping an eye on the deer inside the air base...there are about 20 deer wintering there. There are also about 20 dogs just waiting to get at them...One deer has been killed by dogs so far in this area. In Durham, dogs have killed eight deer so far this winter. The last incident...when we arrived a big dog was sitting on a large buck that it had just killed and was ripping great hunks of raw flesh from its body. This dog was killed, as will be others found in the act of killing deer.[50]

Angry and graphic accounts, reflecting the disgust over the gruesome killing of deer, were supported by statistical records of deer killed by dogs. In its annual Deer Kill reports, the New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game summarized all known causes of deer mortality, and as early as 1951, dogs were determined to be the cause of many of the deer killed in ways other than hunting, accidents, drowning, etc.[51]

The numbers of deer killed by dogs varied by year. For example, a high of 238 in 1971was followed by a relatively low 88 the following year.[52] However, it had long been understood that predation by dogs was dependent upon a combination of fluctuating variables. In a 1954 report entitled, *Influence of Dogs on the New Hampshire Deer Herd*, the Department of Fish and Game's Robert M. Wilson noted,

> It appears that more activity occurs where human populations are more dense, as they consequently provide a greater number of dogs and greater opportunity for observation and reporting...these same areas appear to receive more than their share of sleet or rain which permit the formation of crust conditions...As one progresses toward northern New Hampshire, human and consequently dog populations thin out...The geographical distribution of dog kill is apparently a

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[50] Carl Akerley, "Tracks 'N Trails," *The Portsmouth Herald*, 7 February 1970, p. 8.

[51] New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game, Deer Kill Report, 1951.

[52] New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game, Deer Kill Reports, 1971 and 1972.

> manifestation of human and animal populations, weather conditions and complex ecological effects.[53]

Despite variations in the number of deer killed by dogs, "self-hunting" dogs were regularly regarded as a serious problem. In 1954, the situation was described as "very critical" in some areas, and even after many towns had already enacted, or were in the process of enacting, leash laws in the late 1970s and 1980s, dogs remained the source of some of the most commonly observed tracks in the woods.[54] Track census data repeatedly ranked the frequency of dog tracks as behind only those of deer and fox.[55]

There were likely few people who would not be disturbed by the thought of deer being killed by dogs, but people also loved and defended their dogs. First, there was a common tendency for dog owners to deny that *their* dogs could possibly be involved in the killing of deer. The Department of Fish and Game expressed its frustration in 1962:

> 'You must be wrong. It couldn't be my dog...he wouldn't harm a flea!'...How often have Conservation Officers heard these words...In many instances the owner is partly right...the dog wouldn't think of chasing deer, not by himself – but in the company of several less honorable canines all his good traits are abandoned...One could perhaps be more forgiving if these dogs killed for food, but they kill for the thrill of it...Officials of the Department recognize the value which people place on their dogs; most of them are themselves dog owners. For this reason they urge that owners cooperate...by keeping their dogs under control and know where they are at all times.[56]

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[53] Robert M. Wilson, *Influence of Dogs on the New Hampshire Deer Herd* (New Hampshire Fish and Game. Job Completion Report, Project No. 12-B-7, Work Plan II-C, Job No. 1, 1954), p. 6.

[54] New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game, "Sportsmen's Topics," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 18 April 1954, p. 6.

[55] New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game, Annual Reports: 1978-1979, p. II, d; and 1981-1982, no page listed.

[56] New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game, "Sportsmen's Topics," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 15 February 1962, p. 8.

Despite such pleas, an outdoor writer noted more than a decade later, "[s]everal misconceptions about deer killing dogs…[like] the idea that a good, obedient dog, friendly and gentle cannot be a deer killer. It is impossible to convince some owners that their little Fluff is a killer in the woods."[57]

Second, even when there was no denial of a dog's more vicious capabilities, there was still plenty of controversy over the severity of the actions that should be taken against offending dogs. An editorial printed in 1957 described the heart wrenching predicaments dog owners sometimes found themselves in, and the related resentment toward Fish and Game officials that percolated from such controversy:

> This is a message to all who own dogs as family pets, dogs that are loved by the entire family from the toddler to dad. Our own sad experience showed us that the law as it stands is full of booby-traps for the dog owner…Without previous warning, without any indication that our Sandy had been chasing deer, a conservation officer came…and demanded that we have him put away at once or he would shoot the dog and we would be taken to court…We do believe that most dog owners would not condone the harassing of deer by their pets. We do, however, feel strongly that the conservation officer should not be Judge, Jury and Executioner…Should the power to decree the death of a dog, or to force the dog-owner to agree to its destruction depend solely on the 'say so' of a conservation officer or law enforcement officer? We think not!...There must be some common ground on which a law can be based that will permit a boy to have 'his pal' without fear of having him run into the woods never to return, and at the same time protect our game. If the deer requires protection, does not the dog deserve equal protection?[58]

The author of these words was not alone. In ensuing years, action would be taken to restrict the official right of conservation officers to kill dogs found chasing game animals.

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[57] Roger Heath, "The Carroll County Whitetail – A Natural Resource," *The Granite State News*, 6 July 1977, p. A3.

[58] "Dog Owners – Beware," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 16 May 1957, p. 6.

A reactionary attempt to preserve the authority of conservation officers in these circumstances, discussed in 1967, was deemed by some to be a "vicious" law.[59]

As leash laws became more widely implemented and accepted, the dilemma for dog owners was increasingly limited to those who chose not to obey these laws, but vigorous campaigns to stop self-hunting dogs did not cease. In the late 1970s, the Department of Fish and game vowed to continue enforcing dog laws, while the town of Bradford "appointed four men to kill dogs…'in the pursuit of deer.'"[60] In the meantime, an editorial in *The Derry News* candidly alluded to the enthusiasm, among certain people, to do away with offending dogs. Conrad L. Quimby wrote,

> I understand that there has not been any deer recorded as killed by dogs in the Derry area this winter, but plenty of dogs have been seen chasing deer. No one will say anything official about it, but I get the impression that between the game warden, local sportsmen, and the dog officer, such dogs have been known to turn up missing for good around the kitchen stove. And frankly, I approve.[61]

"Dog? Wolf? Coy-dog?"

Predation on deer is just one way in which human-dog relationships affected attitudes toward wildlife; depending on whether offending dogs were chastised or defended, feelings about deer were characterized by either protection or resentment, respectively. As noted, rabies was another issue in which relationships with domestic animals heightened fear and concern about wildlife proximity. A third route for such

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[59] See: House Fish and Game, 1965-1967, Legislative Notes on House Bill 21, 7 February 1967, Box #004041, New Hampshire State Archives; and Senate Fish and Game 1961-1967, Legislative Notes on House Bill 21, 27 April 1967, Box #004031, New Hampshire State Archives.

[60] See, respectively: New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game, Annual Report, 1978-1979, p. III a; and *The Argus-Champion*, 7 March 1979, p. 19.

[61] Conrad L. Quimby, "Off the Cuff," *The Derry News*, 7 February 1970, p. 10.

relationships to affect attitudes toward wildlife was the possible transference of generalized affection from domestic companion species to wild species.

One way of exploring this third possible connection is to compare relationships with dogs to attitudes toward coyotes. Why coyotes? Essentially, because this clearly wild creature is otherwise very doglike. Where dogs are being referenced as a sort of measuring stick for human affection, the easiest way to determine whether transference of affection to wildlife actually occurred is to look to the wild animal that is most similar. (Comparison to a very different species, like an insect or fish, might be a truer test of the strength of affections bridging from domestic to wild species, but this approach would likely yield very little evidence to even consider.)

It is believed that coyotes in New Hampshire were first observed in 1944, in the town of Holderness.[62] Through the 1960s, coyote sightings remained relatively spotty and scarce, but in the 1970s, their presence became much more common and widespread. By 1984, "game wardens in southern New Hampshire confirm[ed] that 'the coyotes are here'" and the Department of Fish and Game reported a "significant increase in coyote."[63]

It would take many years and some extensive research to determine the newcomer's actual identity. By the early 1960s, Fish and Game reports were making reference to the department's study of "wild canids." In 1962, it was reported "[s]ince it was the good fortune of our Department to obtain a litter of the wolf-like animals which

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[62] This claim was made by John and Aino Kulish, "Out of the Woods," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 20 June 1974, p. 4; and corroborated by Eric Orff, "The Golden Age of Wildlife In New Hampshire," lecture given in Concord, NH on October 24, 2006.

[63] "Coyotes Here: Dogs Running Deer," *The Derry News*, 13 December 1984, p. 16; and the New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game, Annual Report, 1984-1985, p. II, a.

have been showing up recently at various locations in the Northeast, these have been under scrutiny and study by members of our research staff to learn more about their habits and identity." The staff members leading this research, and conducting breeding experiments, were Walter and Helenette Silver, whose work was highlighted by *The Portsmouth Herald*:

> In Boscawen, at the home of Walter and Helenette Silver...live five animals of the canine family...species undetermined! The four-month-old 'dogs,' as the Silvers call them for simplicity's sake, were found in Croydon when only one day old...It has been suggested that the animals are coyotes, coy-dogs...wolves, and even just plain dogs. The Silvers frankly admit they don't know. They are inclined to dismiss the coy-dog theory, however, since all five are almost the same size and their markings are nearly identical. Veterinarians and people who know both dogs and wolves can see no external dog characteristics...The Silvers also feel that if these animals were coy-dogs, their 'dog half' would have come to the fore after four months of human companionship. While they are affectionate toward their keepers, their actions are typical of wild animals and they are becoming wilder...Eenie, Meenie, Minie, Moe, and Boris, at about 25 pounds each, are approximately three times the size of Peanuts – a coyote from Wisconsin of about the same age. There are many differences other than size. Peanuts' tail has a feather like a setter dog, while the 'dogs' have a brush similar to a fox. The 'dogs' have extremely large front feet and walk very softly; the coyote has small feet and light leg structure...However, they do seem to have the high-pitched voice of the coyote...None of the descriptions in the literature seem to fit these animals...Thus the mystery of identification continues.[64]

Clearly, there was a temptation to call these mystery animals "coyotes" but they were not like coyotes typical of more western regions. At the same time, they were – at least to the more trained eye – also distinct from domestic dogs. However, alluding to the enduring ambiguity over this distinction, a 1965 article reported on the observation of a "Dog? Wolf? Coy-dog...? Not a Dog...the fox-like bushy tail, narrow nose, and slanted eyes

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[64] See: New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game, Biennial Reports, 1960-1962 and 1962-1964 (no pages listed); and *The Portsmouth Herald*, 27 August 1960, p. 13.

mark it as definitely not a dog…But hunters are warned not to shoot, lest they mistake someone's beloved pet."[65]

As coyotes remained somewhat elusive through the 1960s, so did their true identity remain unconfirmed. It was reported that in Temple, "A wild dog – like those written up in the TRANSCRIPT recently – ran up the center of town last night. Mervin Willard and others took after the animal, but with no luck. A similar beast was seen here a week ago."[66] A year later, Andrew Rothovius referred to "the coydogs, canids, wolves or whatever" as "odd creatures," and he wrote at length about Helenette Silver's updated research on New Hampshire's captive wild canids. According to Rothovius,

> The results are interesting – but still unproductive of a final answer. They do, however, indicate that there is no such things as a coy-dog…the animals always bred true, thereby proving that there could not have been any recent hybridization between dogs and coyotes…In short, our canids are a distinct species, and the term coy-dog can definitely be discarded. That still leaves the question, what really are they?...Mrs. Silver's conclusion….is that our 'canids' are a distinct species of coyote, with several wolf-like features…right here in New England where everything is familiar and unchanged, and has been so for centuries, we find ourselves confronted with a wild animal that two generations ago no one had ever seen or heard of.[67]

Even as the wild canids were more firmly identified as coyotes in the following years, and as the public came to partially accept that these animals now inhabited the area (despite the ongoing research, people would long continue to call coyotes "coydogs"), there was lingering confusion over how to distinguish coyotes from other animals. A 1984 newspaper article included pointers on how to identify a coyote, and in 1985, John Franklin recounted his admittedly questionable coyote-sighting: "Suddenly, a gray shape

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[65] "Temple Bags 'Coy-Dog,'" *The Peterborough Transcript*, 25 November 1965, p. 1.

[66] "Temple," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 15 December 1966, p. 12.

[67] Andrew Rothovius, "'Coy Dog' Fable Exploded, But Mystery Still Surrounds Their Identity," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 30 November 1967, p. 1.

darted up the path. I didn't get a clear look at it but my first impression identified it as a coyote. The longer I thought about it, though, the less sure I became...After long and careful consideration, I decided it was probably a rabbit."[68]

While "Eastern Coyote" remained difficult both to define and identify, there emerged plenty of negative local feelings about the species, once described as a "vicious animal."[69] One reason for coyote's bad press was its association with predation on livestock. In 1975, Commissioner of Agriculture, Howard Townsend, wrote of the need to:

> give our livestock farmers some protection against financial losses caused by...the coydog or eastern [coyote]...Lest anyone think the reports of...damage caused by the coydog are only unsubstantiated rumor, let me assure you that nothing could be further from the truth...I have a neighbor who has shot three coydogs in the past ten months; all three within 200 yards of his farm yard...My point in calling this to your attention is to impress upon you the rapid increase in numbers as well as the boldness of this threat to our domestic animal population.[70]

Another strike against coyotes, as with domestic dogs, was their predation on game animals. Deer kill reports included yearly data on the number of deer killed by coyotes, while related anecdotal references brought these statistics to life.[71] For example, in 1980, Carl Akerley wrote about a coyote being "caught in the act...a coyote was seen killing an

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[68] See, respectively: "Coyotes Here: Dogs Running Deer," *The Derry News*, 13 December 1984, p. 16; and John Franklin, "On the Only Beach," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 25 July 1985, p. 5.

[69] Fish and Game, 1977, Legislative Notes on House Bill 68, 26 January 1977, Box #396014, New Hampshire State Archives.

[70] House Fish and Game, 1975, Legislative Notes on House Bill 556, March 1975, Box #007023, New Hampshire State Archives.

[71] New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game, Deer Kill Reports: 1972-1979, 1981, and 1982.

adult deer on the ice at a pond in Stark. The animal left the scene before the wardens arrived."[72]

Attitudes toward coyotes were not all negative. In addition to some trappers coming to appreciate them for their pelts, there were also, amidst all of the coyote's bad publicity, several occasions in which people actually defended, or at least attempted to better understand, this creature.[73] The Department of Fish and Game reported on numerous autopsies and stomach content analyses to suggest that coyote's effect on deer herds was likely minimal. According to a 1981 report,

> Vegetation was the most frequently consumed item found in coyote stomachs. Raccoon and skunk, insects, rodents, apples and deer were the next most frequently found items. One in 5 coyotes examined had consumed deer. This would be expected because most coyotes are taken in the fall during the hunting season when deer parts discarded by hunters and wounded deer are available.[74]

One newspaper article quoted conservation officers as suggesting that "domestic dogs are far more ruthless in their killing of deer."[75]

When an effort was made to impose a bounty on coyotes in 1973, representatives of both Fish and Game and the New Hampshire Humane Society appeared in opposition. Reflective of increasingly negative sentiment toward bounties in general, legislative notes indicate that the "evidence presented stressed keeping a balance in nature. The coyote being a predator didn't mean they killed off the deer herd."[76] In his outdoor column, John

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[72] Carl Akerley, "Tracks 'N Trails," *The Portsmouth Herald*, 16 February 1980, p. 11.

[73] "Coyotes Here: Dogs Running Deer," *The Derry News*, 13 December 1984, p. 16.

[74] New Hampshire Department of Fish and Game, Annual Report, 1980-1981, p. II, c.

[75] "Coyotes Here: Dogs Running Deer," *The Derry News*, 13 December 1984, p. 16.

[76] House Fish and Game, 1971-1973, Legislative Notes on House Bill 247, 8 February 1973, Box #007023, New Hampshire State Archives.

Kulish reemphasized coyote's limited threat to game and livestock. "Much of the coyote's bad press is due to the fact that they relish carrion. Therefore, they are often blamed for kills of animals, particularly domestic livestock that were killed in other ways or by other predators." He talked of their "beautiful" physical characteristics, and on their history of being persecuted in the West, he opined:

> Yet this resilient, talented, tough canine continues to flourish in the face of adversity, adding credence to Darwin's theory of the survival of the fittest...For myself, this 'latter-day-Indian' wishes the coyote well in our region. It arrives at a time when it is needed. With the red fox practically extirpated by the mange, the fisher once more trapped to near extinction, the bobcat non-existent, and hawks and owls an ever increasing rarity, who is going to control the rodent population?...So if you think you see a coyote, don't be afraid. Be grateful.[77]

Then, there were the science and nature centers offering educational programming on coyotes. In 1974, a newsletter published by the Squam Lakes Science Center included an informational article about "Nature's Wonder Dog," and in 1985, the Harris Center hosted a lecture on the "often maligned and misunderstood" coyote.[78]

So, did people like coyotes or dislike them? Well, both. Actually, a better answer is that some people generally liked them, while others did not. Analyzing this ambiguity in 1982, Kellert and Berry explained that "nearly the same proportion of persons expressed negative views as positive views of coyotes."[79] It is this very ambiguity that may be the key to determining whether human-dog relationships actually influenced attitudes toward coyotes.

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[77] John and Aino Kulish, "Out of the Woods," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 20 June 1974, p.4.

[78] See, respectively: Harriet Atwood, "Chocorua," *The Granite State News*, 20 December 1978, p. 9; and "Learn About the Eastern Coyote," *The Peterborough Transcript*, 5 December 1985, p. 17.

[79] Stephen R. Kellert and Joyce K. Berry, *Knowledge, Affection and Basic Attitudes Toward Animals in American Society (Phase III)*, paper presented to the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, 1982, p. 35.

People have always loved dogs, but the relationship, in general, did not really grow in intimacy until dogs lost their freedom to run loose. In *The Lost History of the Canine Race: Our 15,000-Year Love Affair with Dogs*, Mary Elizabeth Thurston quotes Dr. Michael Garvey, chairman of the Department of Medicine at the Animal Medical Center in New York: "'The urbanization of America has put pets and their owners in closer confinement than ever before, and so the status of the pet has increased...It was easier to ignore the needs of your pet when it was roaming outdoors.'"[80] The collective leashing of canine companions – brought about by fears of rabies, predation on game and livestock, a deemphasized population of hunting dogs, and other growth-related factors like increased traffic and greater numbers of people to be bothered by dog bites and upset garbage cans – is what moved the place of dogs in human society. Dogs were welcomed further and further into the heart of family life – from literal chains outdoors to jeweled collars and medical insurance.[81] Through this venue, companion animals like dogs taught people how to feel emotional closeness to other species. A 1984 classified advertisement seeking a lost collie stated, "I can't live without him."[82]

The effects of urbanization also optimized conditions for the expansion of Eastern coyote, so people became locally "acquainted" with coyote at a time when dogs were becoming more integrated into family life. The particular timing of this intersection may be an important reason for why coyotes were received with both positive and negative responses. Coyotes had their critics, some of whom had such a strong dislike for the

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[80] Mary Elizabeth Thurston, *The Lost History of the Canine Race: Our 15,000-Year Love Affair with Dogs* (Andrews and McMeel: Kansas City, 1996), p. 225.

[81] See advertisements in: *The Keene Sentinel*, 6 June 1952, p. 7; *The Derry News*, 11 May 1945 (no page listed); and *The Peterborough Transcript*, 2 May 1963, p. 12.

[82] Classified advertisement, *The Portsmouth Herald*, 14 April 1984, p. 12.

animal that they talked about bounties at a time when bounties had become uncommon. That such ideas were even entertained suggests the possibility that attitudes might have continued along a trajectory toward more unanimous disapproval.

Instead, coyotes found a few friends in those who wanted to understand them and who defended their place in the ecosystem. There were even those who tried to minimize and explain such misdeeds of the coyote as killing deer and livestock. The fact that people did the same for dogs sometimes committing the same crimes is all the more reason to suspect that a strengthening human-dog relationship was transferred to coyotes, tempering more negative attitudes. Increasingly intimate relationships with dogs (and pets in general) exercised the human capacity to feel affection for other species, so the image of dogs acting as a "bridge" to coyotes, for example, may help to justify the contention that growing affection for domestic animals radiated outward to influence attitudes toward wildlife in a more positive direction.

Changing relationships with domestic animals significantly influenced attitudes toward wildlife in multiple ways. One of the most direct ways was through society's growing concern about rabies, and associated efforts to keep beloved pets safe. As the threat of rabies increased, so did fear of, and intolerance for, the wildlife presumed to be carrying it. Another image of wildlife posing a direct threat to companion animals is of them plotting to attack and eat people's pets. This was not a common type of reference, but it is clear that such fears did exist: recall the Department of Fish and Game fielding a complaint about a fisher "eyeing a small dog."

These fears, contributing to the development of negative attitudes toward wildlife, would diminish over time, mainly because pets – specifically, dogs – came to find safety inside the home. The change in both the physical and emotional place of dogs in human society was very much the result of other historical trends. A fading agricultural tradition and decline in the popularity of hunting not only helped to transform the role of a large segment of the early post-war dog population (from primarily worker to primarily friend), but also lessened the number of free-roaming dogs. Where leash laws were once shunned, the growing dangers of roadways, the hassles of keeping track of greater numbers of dogs, and the swelling population of human beings who were vulnerable to dog bites and frustration over damage, further justified the end to the permissiveness that had previously dominated feelings about loose dogs.

This change in the proximity of dogs to humans had at least two additional effects on attitudes toward wildlife. First, a new idea about pet-keeping, where animals were increasingly confined and tethered, doted upon and loved, was also applied to wildlife pets. The keeping of wildlife pets was discouraged by Fish and Game and Animal Control authorities. According to one article,

> You are breaking the law and are subject to a stiff fine if you pick up a baby deer or any other wild creatures...There is urgent need to make the public acquainted with this fact at once, since during the past weekend, the Fish and Game Department has received no less than three calls from perfectly well-meaning people who have found fawns wandering around – apparently deserted – and tried to take them home.[83]

That such warnings made perennial appearances in local newspapers, however, suggests that they often fell on deaf ears. There was clearly a temptation among the public to approach and handle wildlife. Under the right (animals not perceived as threatening)

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[83] "Picking Up Fawns Prohibited By Law," *The Argus-Champion*, 6 June 1950, p. 6.

circumstances, many people seemed to derive enjoyment from physical contact with wild animals.

From a survey conducted in 1982, Stephen Kellert noted that "A remarkable 13.3% of the national sample reported owning a wildlife animal pet other than a bird during the preceding ten years."[84] Representative of this finding, there are numerous examples of people seeking to fit captive wild animals into the role of "pet." For example, despite its otherwise spotty popularity as a wild animal, the skunk was apparently a trendy pet. A Hollywood actress once said in an interview, "[s]he plans to buy one of the deodorized skunks which a fashionable market now sells to anybody who cares for such a pet. She hears they're really very gentle."[85] Skunks were not the only wild species claimed as pets. In 1950, *The Portsmouth Herald* printed an article about a pet woodchuck named "Woody":

> 'Woody' Woodchuck certainly has done well for himself...'Woody' has a blue ribbon from a pet show, a cozy home in Rye Beach, plenty of new friends and an inexhaustible supply of milk, cookies and greens to grow on...What more could a lowly woodchuck ask for?...Six weeks ago, 'Woody' and his mother were munching on tasty greens near the Pennell home when an unfriendly dog chased the parent home, leaving 'Woody' all by his lonesome...Too young to find his way back to the hole, the woodchuck stayed in the bushes until discovered by one of the Pennell children, who took it into the house. 'Woody' immediately made a big hit with the Pennells...His antics kept the Pennells laughing the whole day long...Proud of their new pet, the Pennell children decided to enter him in the annual Rye School pet show...There were dogs, cats, goats, rabbits...but only two woodchucks...The other woodchuck named 'Chuckie,' was the entry of 10-year-old Thomas Jameson.[86]

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[84] Stephen R. Kellert, *Activities of the American Public Relating to Animals (Phase II)*, paper presented to the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, 1982, p. 103.

[85] This reference quotes Constance Collier in: Gene Handsaker, "The Hollywood Scene," *The Keene Sentinel*, 14 June 1946, p. 6.

[86] "'Woodie' the Woodchuck Leads a Gay Life," *The Portsmouth Herald*, 9 June 1950, p. 1.

Another newspaper reference sadly reported on the death of a local man's beloved pet raccoon, shot by a neighbor:

> Sorry to hear that Pine 'Water' Johnson's pet raccoon has died of lead poisoning from a gun in the hands of a neighbor who said he was shooting in self defense against a fierce intruder. The lil fella was anything but vicious and a great favorite in the neighborhood...Very popular, too, up and down the Broadway Beat. It rode everywhere in Pine's station wagon along with his pet pup. Used to be quite a sight around Nelson's News Store, watching the kids shake paws with the pet coon while feeding it candy. Sympathies, Pine, on the loss of a good friend.[87]

The second way in which increasing closeness to companion animals affected attitudes toward wildlife is how affections could be transferred from pets to wild species. Chapter 2 suggested that growing disconnection from farm animals possibly contributed to negative views of other species; this transfer of affection could be seen as operating in a similar way, but in an opposite direction. The concept would seem challenged by Stephen Kellert's finding in 1978 that "the affection of companion pet owners was largely restricted to pets and not wildlife."[88] On closer inspection though, this finding does not necessarily conflict with the contention that affections for animals could be transferred from domestic to wild. The population of pet owners (representing a majority) was still a subset of the population that, in the midst of urbanization, was growing increasingly disinterested in wild species that were encountered with less frequency, and more intolerant of wildlife seen as out of place.

So then, what about a place where wildlife was expected? Zoos not only seemed like a place where wild animals did belong, but the animals there are viewed as

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[87] *The Derry News*, 18 October 1962, p. 8.

[88] Stephen R. Kellert, *Policy Implications of a National Study of American Attitudes and Behavioral Relations to Animals*, working paper presented to the Fish and Wildlife Service of the United States Department of the Interior, 4 November 1976, p. 103.

nonthreatening, being safely behind bars. Would pet-lovers be more likely to feel affection for *those* wild animals? The answer seems to be yes. Kellert also found that the tendency of zoo enthusiasts toward affectionate responses were "impressive." According to Kellert, "These results suggested that zoo enthusiasts may have been motivated by generalized affections for animals, particularly pets."[89] In 1982, his analysis of human-animal relationships concurred: "people's experiences with domestic pets can substantially affect their perceptions of wildlife."[90] Ultimately, perhaps it is instinctive, timeless, nonnegotiable emotion that domestic animals helped add to the mix of changing public attitudes toward wildlife.

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[89] *Ibid.*, p. 94.

[90] Stephen R. Kellert, *Activities of the American Public Relating to Animals (Phase II)*, paper presented to the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, 1982, p. 109.

CONCLUSION

A newspaper once reported that a resident of a suburban neighborhood killed a raccoon in order to stop it from attacking her dog. The article was brief, but it generated much discussion. What is especially interesting about this story is not just the extensive public commentary that followed, but the fact that the feedback represented so many opposing opinions. Some comments praised the woman for her actions, or responded with disdain for raccoons. According to one person, "We have a big problem...This was a dog, what happens when it is a child?" Someone else wrote, "Good for her! I applaud her determination in saving her beloved pet and she should be held up as a hero." At the same time, other people expressed sympathy for the raccoon. One comment read, "I'm sad for the dogs and the raccoon. I'm sad that we've forced animals into suburban and urban areas with our continued encroachment on their original territory." Another just said, "RACCOON KILLER!!!!!!!!" Then, there were the people who simply did not care: "Also, a...third grader spilled glue on his desk; and...an elderly woman's cat coughed up a hairball. Thanks for the compelling reading."

The variety of responses to the raccoon story embodies the main lesson imparted by this research: that the influences of intersecting cultural trends, like growth and relationships with domestic animals, had divergent effects on attitudes toward wildlife. It was a lesson that has been illustrated by the evolution of attitudes in New Hampshire

between 1945 and 1985, but the fact that the raccoon story was reported in Los Angeles in 2009 speaks to its relevance across time and space.[1]

The complexity in the evolution of attitudes stands in contrast to what initially motivated this study, the simple hypothesis that trends toward increased growth would correlate with negative attitudes toward wildlife. This hypothesis was based on the idea that, with growth over time, people would come to see "nature" as distant, someplace removed from human society. With wildlife then being viewed as out of place among human beings, most direct interactions would be portrayed as inconvenient, unsettling, intrusive. That neat correlation between increased growth and negative attitudes, however, never appeared. Instead, several separate but intersecting cultural trends emerged as factors in the development of varying attitudes.

While statistical analysis of newspaper references showed no clear associations between growth and negative attitudes toward wildlife, anecdotal accounts provided evidence that growth-related changes did have some effect. A central theme in these accounts was the idea that the physical and psychological distance and disconnect from "others," and corresponding self-centeredness, that was brought about by the growth of local communities presented numerous opportunities for divergent attitudes to form. First, providing some support for my original hypothesis, was evidence of ever more organization and compartmentalization of the world. As William Cronon has noted, "we carefully partition our national landscape into urban places, rural places, and

[1] Nathan Olivarez-Giles, "Dog Owner Shoots Raccoon as it Attacks her Pet," *The Los Angeles Times*, 7 January 2009, online: http://latimesblogs.latimes.com/lanow/2009/01/a-pasadena-woma.html.

wilderness...we rarely reflect on how tightly bound together they really are."[2] With blissful ignorance, wildlife was relegated to a "nature" that was distinct from an urbanizing human society. When wild species did appear to have crossed the conceptual boundary between nature and society, they were out of place, "bold," perceived as intruders and trespassers.

Compartmentalization and the tendency toward mentally dividing up the world in terms of who – human or non-human – should live where, also likely contributed to an increased sense of isolation. Where close-knit communities, marked by familiarity and charm, once encouraged the interest and involvement of individuals, anonymity brought about by growth led to the social withdrawal of individuals. Increasingly focused on their own homes and property lines, their own places in the world, and their own problems, interest in and empathy for wildlife and other human beings was freer to dwindle. This effect was probably magnified by the rising emphasis on technology and convenience – both facilitating and facilitated by urbanization – which further allowed people to focus on themselves.

While, in these ways, my original hypothesis was reinforced by the observation that growth encouraged negative or indifferent feelings, I soon came to appreciate that growth itself also swayed attitudes in other directions. That very same isolation that gradually deconstructed the sense of place and community likely encouraged positive attitudes as well. The idea of "Biophilia" suggests that the loneliness and emptiness that could have come from feeling so disconnected would inspire heightened interest in other species and drive people to seek ways to interact with them. Thus, the period of

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[2] William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1991), p. xvi.

accelerated growth and development in New Hampshire is marked by depictions of wildlife as both unwelcome intruders and as a source of great excitement, even joy. What may have simply been the deciding factor is *where* wildlife encounters took place: in the midst of a bustling human society, where they were troubling; or in "nature," where they were supposed to be.

The effects of growth had divergent influences on attitudes toward wildlife, but it is clear that any effects were convoluted by their embedded connection to other things going on in the world, like the transformation of a traditionally farm-friendly culture into one that had become disconnected from its agricultural heritage. Thus, agriculture was another aspect of local culture that was permeated by the changing pace of life, advancement of technology, and increasing emphasis on convenience. It responded with changes that further defined a new human-nature dynamic.

In three ways, attitudes toward wildlife were affected by the changes to agriculture in an urbanizing world. First, a non-farming public, under the influence of increasing physical and psychological distance, lost sight of its dependence upon local agriculture. The illusion of independence, in which food simply appeared in grocery stores, impaired their ability to recognize the importance of the plants, animals, farmers, and hard work that went into making food so convenient. Theirs was a failing connection to the world of other living things, and symptomatic of this generally failing connection, was lack of interest in wildlife. At the same time, with agriculture (like "nature") increasingly assigned to places removed from suburbia, farm animals came to be seen as belonging only on farms. Complaints to animal control officers and health departments about the smells and sounds of livestock suggest that certain species had become foreign

to a population that did not want to be bothered by their presence. The idea that other species did not belong was the same motivation for many complaints about the presence of wildlife.

Second, the farmers who were able to stay in business by keeping up with modernization and the growing demands on agricultural output infused an additional element to attitudes toward nature and wildlife. Along with industrialized, larger-scale agriculture came the kind of changes to human-animal relationships that prompted Dr. Forrest Tenney's friend Pete to ask the question, "you think a man should be able to call his cows by name?" While individual attention to the needs of limited numbers of animals was once seen as a key to successful farming, agricultural modernization and the idea of "agribusiness" turned animals into mere units of production. This controlling and convenience-oriented view of living things appears to have had some hand in bolstering the image of wildlife as either out of place, disruptive, or worth little more than whatever use they might be to human beings.

Third, especially in the wake of growing economic challenges, agricultural attitudes might have been most directly affected by an intensifying intolerance of wildlife "pests." While attitudes toward these species would be largely negative, there would be approval of, and appreciation for, species that preyed upon "pests." In this case, conflicting attitudes are drawn along species lines. Meanwhile, diminishing the power of these attitudes is the fact that farms were disappearing. Between farm land being lost to development, and the economic forces that began to weed out the farms that could not continue to thrive, the weight of agricultural perspectives on attitudes in general became minimized over time.

As the business of agriculture frequently found itself at odds with a non-farming public, one specific issue that pitted certain farming interests against those of expanding residential areas was the use of pesticides. Issues like pollution and the dangers of toxic chemicals, along with reactionary emphasis on the value of saving land in the midst of accelerated growth, were part of a growing environmental consciousness. With historical roots much deeper than 1945, environmentalism was rekindled in the post-war era, but it was a movement and a perspective that attracted people for different reasons. While some people were primarily motivated by their concerns about human health and well-being, the concerns of others extended to other species and whole ecosystems. Surely a product of the multiple cultural influences upon the formation of attitudes, the difference between anthropocentric and more ecocentric motives for environmentalism, highlighted a recurring question: are human beings a part of, or separate from nature?

For those who thought of human beings as separate from nature, human-centered concerns about environmental effects upon human health and well-being were a priority. The focus on human issues, in addition to reinforcing a distinction between human and non-human, may have further designated wildlife as belonging someplace else. In contrast to this human-centered view inspiring intolerance for wildlife, the perspective of human beings as a *part* of nature conveyed the image of a more encompassing ecological community. With a view of human beings and wildlife more as equals in sharing the world, came justification for greater tolerance for, and more positive feelings toward, wildlife. On the other hand, even within this more ecocentric brand of environmentalism, there have been suppositions about the role of human beings in controlling nature by attempting to enforce visions of what nature was meant to be. Thus, as positive feelings

were stirred by the endangered species that were to be saved by the sales of glasses from Burger Chef, the mussels interfering with the success of clams in Seabrook were so devalued that they were fed to a grinding machine.

The idea that human beings had a right and responsibility to ensure that nature fulfilled a particular image, and met certain expectations, reached well into the world of outdoor recreation, which also experienced tremendous change after World War II. The result was equally conflicting attitudes toward wildlife. For one thing, these attitudes were complicated by the many forms of outdoor recreation, as this umbrella term refers to activities as diverse as golf, swimming, hunting, horseback riding, picnicking, and snowmobiling. Most forms of recreation enjoyed exploding popularity immediately following the war, as people found themselves with more leisure time, and the post-war prosperity that allowed suburbanites to become hikers and nature enthusiasts. However, differences would emerge, as their respective popularities fluctuated over time and their objectives changed.

Especially as new technologies and conveniences became available, the degree of intimacy with nature, in many cases, decreased. A good example is the difference which emerged among campers: the "primitive" tent campers versus those who parked gigantic motor homes in R.V. parks equipped with all the comforts of home. In this way, activities, which were diverse to start with, came to embrace differing expectations for experiences with the outdoors. As intimacy with nature declined, interactions with wildlife would seem surprising, at least, if not troubling for its presence in an otherwise controlled and well-managed nature experience.

Management of wildlife was a major point of interest, specifically in the histories of fishing and hunting. Expectations of "successful" experiences have traditionally been of such importance to participants in these activities that the Department of Fish and Game was entrusted with the mission of stocking and propagation. Efforts to "engineer" nature in such ways were not new in the post-war era. Writing about fish culture techniques in the nineteenth century, Joseph Taylor noted, "Using poisons and dynamite, they eradicated undesirable fish and replaced them with exotic species...These exotic fish were a crucial component of anglers' pastoral vision."[3] The general mindset persisted, but with advancements in technology and the study of wildlife biology, control was more thoroughly exerted upon nature and wildlife.

Consumptive activities fostered protective feelings toward valued species, and "game" animals were seen as commodities, while the species that preyed upon them were resented. Adding to these conflicting feelings about wildlife is that, even though other forms of recreation remained popular, the significance of hunting to local society began to fade. The comparison of John Sirois' bear hunting story in 1958 to the Whipple bear "incident" of 1980 speaks to the public's reassessment of hunting. Ultimately, it meant that the influence of hunting, like agriculture, on attitudes toward wildlife declined during the post-war decades. This decline provides yet another illustration of the many historical layers and conflicts relating to ideas about wildlife just within the realm of outdoor recreation.

At least one other area demonstrating similar complexity in its effects on attitudes toward wildlife is the history of relationships with domestic companion animals. These

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[3] Joseph E. Taylor III, *Making Salmon: An Environmental History of the Northwest Fisheries Crisis* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999), p. 171 and 173.

relationships, in some cases, were dramatically transformed between 1945 and 1985. Dogs have always been popular, and human affection for them explains responses to some of the more direct ways in which wildlife related to dogs. Animals like skunks and porcupines were disliked for the problems that they caused to dogs, and wildlife in general came to be seen as threatening in the midst of widespread fears about rabies.

Some of these responses diminished in severity, as leash laws decidedly limited the once routine practice of allowing dogs to run loose. Their confinement evolved as a necessity at a time when roads were becoming increasingly dangerous, and as the number of loose dogs became overwhelming to the animal control, conservation, and police officers trying to maintain order. An important result of leash laws, however, was a general strengthening of the human-dog bond. In combination with the effects of changing agriculture and declining popularity of hunting, both of which decreased the prevalence of dogs in working roles, dogs were promoted to friend and family member. This was important for its effect on people's temptation to approach, handle, and try to possess wildlife assumed to be capable of responding to humans like domestic animals. Also, affections for animals like dogs were possibly translated to wildlife species. Having experienced an emotional, affectionate experience with one animal, why couldn't people feel the same for another?

The major historical trends in growth, agriculture, environmentalism, outdoor recreation, and relationships with companion animals influenced attitudes toward wildlife in multiple ways, sometimes in opposing directions. These trends also relate to each other, creating a complicated, multidimensional web of events. For example, growth trends were partially steered by farmlands becoming free to build on, as small farms were

forced out of business. And, ideas about land ownership – namely the inclination to post land and vilify "trespassers" – was partly motivated by bad hunter behavior and waning sympathies for the hunter's struggle to find places to hunt.

Meanwhile, changes in agriculture were affected by the loss of a farm-friendly culture to a suburban population increasingly unfamiliar with farming and growing concerns of environmentalists about the use of pesticides. Environmentalism itself gained momentum as people found themselves with the increased leisure time and expendable income to justify their activism, while interest in a cause like land conservation both reflected a response to intense growth and gave room for a united effort with outdoor enthusiasts to protect natural resources. In turn, the popularity of outdoor recreation boomed, offering an escape from an urbanizing lifestyle. Hunting, in particular, came under fire from those with increasingly sentimental, affectionate feelings about animals in general. These generalized feelings were very much influenced by the transformation of the human-dog relationship, which was strengthened by suburbia's demand for leash laws and promotion of dog status, from working hunting and farm dogs to members of the human family and household.

These are just a few examples of the many and complex ways in which elements of culture have crossed paths over time, contributing to the multidimensional nature of human-wildlife relationships. Like Joseph Taylor's history of salmon fisheries, the purpose of this research is to show the complexity of the issue. According to Taylor, "[t]he more muddled reality is that fishery management developed from a tangled alliance of politics, science and technology."[4] "Tangled" is a good way to describe the

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[4] *Ibid.*, p. 68.

history of attitudes toward wildlife in New Hampshire as well, and as part of such a tangled web, current attitudes toward wildlife can be appreciated for their complexity. Allen Rutberg has commented, "Unfortunately for the resolution of deer controversies, the public is not a single constituency...people vary widely in the value they place on oak seedlings...azaleas, and the lives of deer...In the end, a solution that satisfies 51% of the public and doesn't offend most of the rest, may be the best that can be achieved."[5] Recognizing the complexities helps to explain why values vary so widely. It does not offer a miraculous way of resolving differences of opinion, but it does assist with placing opposing interests into context, and that is a good first step.

This study has sought to put attitudes toward wildlife into historical context, and while its focus has been on post-war New Hampshire, its relevance beyond these parameters rests on two points. First, in many ways, post-war New Hampshire resembled much of the rest of the country between 1945 and 1985. The wildlife species encountered by people may have varied, but the trends influencing attitudes were probably similar. Human demographics (primarily race) also might have varied, and while a predominantly white, middle class New Hampshire population was representative of much of the country at that time, a closer look at the effect of demographic variables would offer an interesting comparison. Also worth contemplating are additional historical trends. This study focused on changes in growth, agriculture, environmentalism, outdoor recreation, and relationships with domestic companion animals, because these are the trends that

[5] Allen T. Rutberg, "The Science of Deer Management: An Animal Welfare Perspective," in *The Science of Overabundance: Deer Ecology and Population Management*, ed. William J. McShea, H. Brian Underwood, and John H. Rappole (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997), p. 51.

surfaced most often during analysis of qualitative data. However, there could be many more.

At the same time, underlying the possible effects of historical trends is an enduring theme of human beings seeking to define their place in the world by controlling nature, wildlife, and other human beings. Manifested in different ways over time, this constant theme suggests that similar histories in attitudes toward wildlife unfolded in other regions and at other times. As shown by the Los Angeles raccoon story, public commentary was reminiscent of some of the references noted in this study: comments like, "I love Raccoons…but in the city? They simply do not belong here."[6] That such evidence of enduring themes in human-wildlife relationships exist across time and place indicates that the findings of a regionally specific study may still be widely applicable.

In the end, with heightened respect for the tangled web of historical influences upon attitudes toward wildlife, it seems fitting to return to the question: why would someone call the police on a turtle? The easy answer is that the caller was uncomfortable with the turtle's presence and did not want it near his home…but, the possible roots of his belief that the turtle did not belong there? For that, there is just no easy answer.

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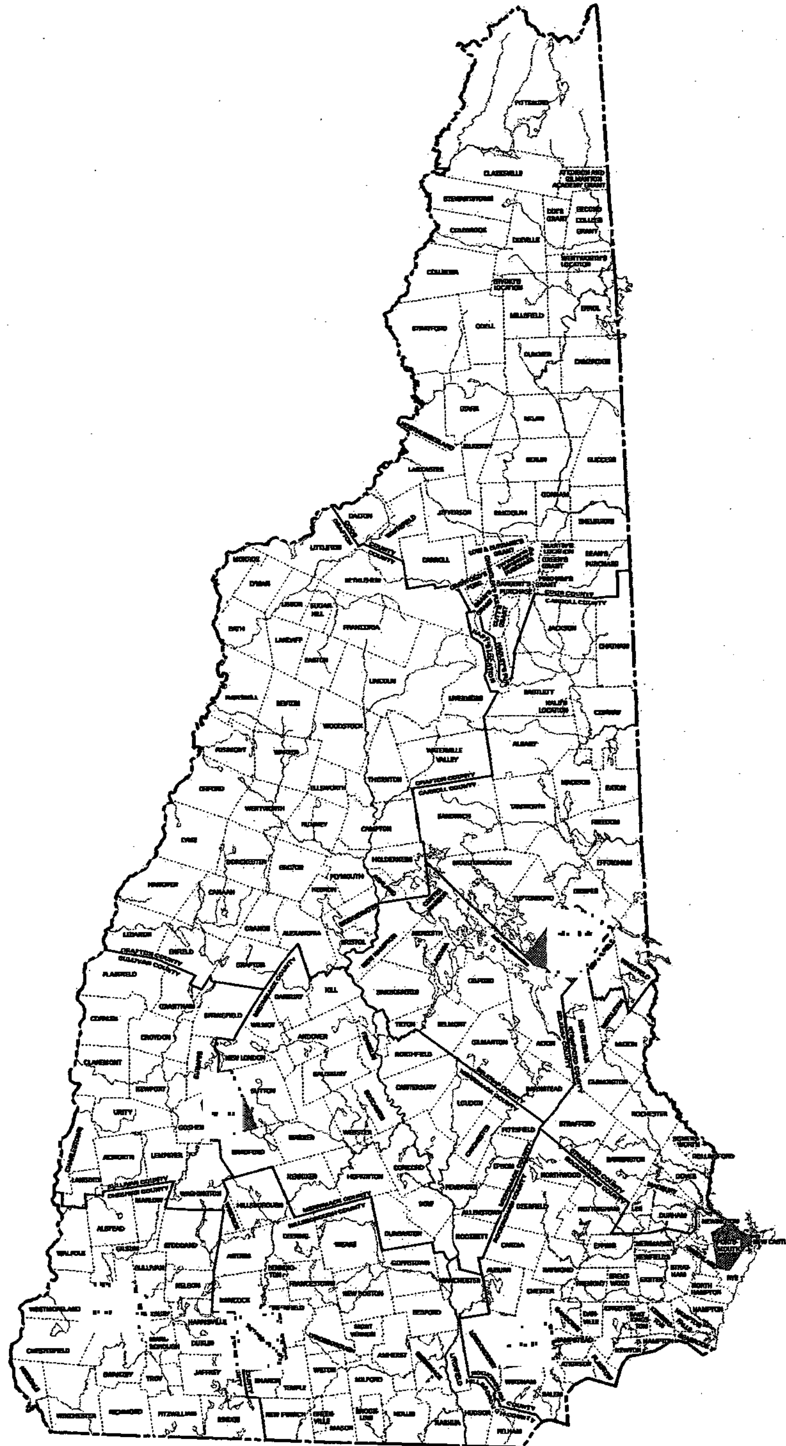
[6] Nathan Olivarez-Giles, "Dog Owner Shoots Raccoon as it Attacks her Pet," *The Los Angeles Times*, 7 January 2009, online: http://latimesblogs.latimes.com/lanow/2009/01/a-pasadena-woma.html.

APPENDIX A

MAP OF SELECTED TOWNS



APPENDIX B

METHOD USED FOR THE COLLECTION OF QUANTITATIVE NEWSPAPER DATA

Sampling

With newspapers identified, a sampling scheme was outlined. On issues related to content analysis, Franzosi has warned: "if the phenomenon under study is characterized by cyclical behavior – which is the nature of many historic processes – cycles could slip through the sampling grid, coming out with cutoff peaks here and shorter troughs there."[1] This was, indeed, a concern because of the cyclic behavior associated with not only human history, but that of wildlife as well. To minimize this potential problem, sampling was as systematic as possible – evenly spread out across the research timeframe, in order to limit the effects of anomalous events.

I decided to look at one daily installment ("edition") of each newspaper, 3 times every year. This was done for each of the 41 years in the time frame, yielding 123 scans of each paper over time (738 scans total). In an attempt to ensure equal representation of various seasons, I devised a month schedule to be applied – rotated through on a yearly basis. The schedule consisted of trios of months that were evenly spaced apart: January-May-September, February-June-October, March-July-November, and April-August-December. A key point is that on the fifth year, after the cycle of 4 trios had been applied once, the cycle then continued in reverse. The purpose of going back-and-forth through the cycle was to eliminate any consecutive months (i.e., December-January). This would otherwise upset the system of spacing scans apart. And, the avoidance of back-to-back months was important in addressing another concern raised by Franzosi. According to Franzosi, "the distribution of events in the phenomenon under study may be bounded in strategically linked chains of events. In such cases, the chains of events, rather than the

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[1] Roberto Franzosi, "The Press as a Source of Socio-Historical Data: Issues in the Methodology of Data Collection from Newspapers," *Historical Methods*, 20(1): 5-16 (1987), p. 11.

single events, constitute the real units of analysis."[2] An ongoing story might easily have spilled over into the next month – meaning that if consecutive months were sampled, "trends" could have been unevenly weighted by a more exceptional event.

I felt it was also important to regularize when, during each month, papers should be scanned. This was partly motivated by social schedules, like the monthly meetings of clubs, or the specific dates associated with various wildlife regulations (like hunting seasons). Another concern was the possibility that newspapers themselves (especially those published on a weekly basis) would include certain features during different weeks of the month. For example, I did not want to consistently include or miss a paper's "Outdoor" column. This rationale explains why I devised a week schedule as well: 1st full week of the month, 2nd full week, and 3rd full week. For the three times during the year that papers were scanned, they were selected from the same week of the month. However, again with the goal of equal representation, this weekly schedule cycled through the year schedule with alternating start weeks. If year 1 included scans from the 1st full week of each month, and year 2 included the 2nd full week, then year 4 (after the week schedule cycled one time) included the second full week. Basically, the cycle alternated weeks (on a yearly basis) as follows: 1-2-3…2-3-1…3-1-2… 1-2-3…and, so on. I freely admit that this aspect of the sampling scheme is complicated, but given the previously established system for looking at various months, this was the only week pattern that would prevent certain months from consistently being assigned the same weeks.

Finally, for the sake of fair comparison, I had to somehow equate the daily, bi-weekly, and weekly published newspapers. Here, the solution seemed straightforward. Obviously, for the weeklies, the same day of the week was selected for each scan. To select days for papers published more than one day per week, I simply alternated the day of the week with each edition scanned.

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[2] *Ibid.*

Unit of Analysis

Most basic here was a definition of "wildlife." It is common, especially from a management perspective, for certain wildlife species to be excluded from a general "wildlife" category and placed in other categories, like "pest" for instance.[3] But, because my goal was to summarize perspectives of all wild animals, my definition had to be most inclusive: any animal species not considered to be domesticated, and not excluding confined and/or tamed undomesticated animals.

Next, there was the question of what qualifies as a wildlife "reference" – the unit of analysis. The following describes the criteria used by Corbett: "The unit of analysis was each news story longer than one column inch in all sections of the newspaper. A story was included if it was about or was primarily concerned with wildlife or if wildlife played a significant role in the story, either as the cause or recipient of an action."[4] I similarly used the latter half of that description, but I did not require references to be of any specified length. Weighing all references – regardless of length – as equal to one unit of analysis, my approach was more aligned with that of Galambos.[5] I saw value in this approach, for its ability to capture both manifest and latent content – where, for instance, an advertisement for fur coats was as much of a wildlife reference as a lengthy editorial on coyotes. What this implied (also as shown by Corbett) was that all areas of a paper could potentially contain noteworthy references. Therefore, it was necessary to browse each edition in its entirety.

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[3] Nancy Langston notes this phenomenon from an historical perspective: "By calling them varmints, managers excluded predators from the category of wildlife." See: Nancy Langston, *Forest Dreams, Forest Nightmares: The Paradox of Old Growth in the Inland West* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995), p. 242.

[4] Julia Corbett, "Rural and Urban Newspaper Coverage of Wildlife: Conflict, Community and Bureaucracy," *Journalism Quarterly*, 69(4): 929-937 (1992), p. 929.

[5] Louis Galambos, *The Public Image of Big Business in America, 1880-1940: A Quantitative Study in Social Change* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), p. 32.

APPENDIX C

SAMPLE SCORING SHEETS

The following are samples of scoring sheets used to code and document wildlife references found in the newspaper sample. For the sake of comparison, the three samples included here show the differing attitudes conveyed by an uncontroversial bear hunting reference in 1958 and two opposing viewpoints raised by a bear hunting reference printed in 1981.

"He will have the bear's head mounted and the hide made into a rug for his wife. This is not John's first bear as he shot two while on a similar trip two years ago"

The Peterborough Transcript (Peterborough)
Editor: Paul C. Cummings, Jr.
Date: 6/23/58 Page: 6/16 Copy (Y): □yes □no
Headline: Big Grizzly Is Trophy From No. Country Weekend
Source: □paper (local) □AP □other □unspecified Reporter:
Location: □news □town □event □editorial □letter □sporting □outdoor □column □log □entertainment media □graphic □classifieds □ad □other:

SPEAKER	GENDER	VOICE	SPECIES	FAMILIARITY	TONE	SPECIFICITY	PROXIMITY
#1	□male □female	□individual □gov/agency □science □business □organization □reporter/paper	#1: bear	□local □non-local	□use □conflict □protection: ___human ___animal □interest	□direct □indirect	□town □New Hampshire □New England □U.S. □N. America □World
			#2:	□local □non-local	□use □conflict □protection: ___human ___animal □interest	□direct □indirect	□town □New Hampshire □New England □U.S. □N. America □World
			#3:	□local □non-local	□use □conflict □protection: ___human ___animal □interest	□direct □indirect	□town □New Hampshire □New England □U.S. □N. America □World
#2	□male □female	□individual □gov/agency □science □business □organization □reporter/paper	#1:	□local □non-local	□use □conflict □protection: ___human ___animal □interest	□direct □indirect	□town □New Hampshire □New England □U.S. □N. America □World
			#2:	□local □non-local	□use □conflict □protection: ___human ___animal □interest	□direct □indirect	□town □New Hampshire □New England □U.S. □N. America □World
			#3:	□local □non-local	□use □conflict □protection: ___human ___animal □interest	□direct □indirect	□town □New Hampshire □New England □U.S. □N. America □World
#3	□male □female	□individual □gov/agency □science □business □organization □reporter/paper	#1:	□local □non-local	□use □conflict □protection: ___human ___animal □interest	□direct □indirect	□town □New Hampshire □New England □U.S. □N. America □World
			#2:	□local □non-local	□use □conflict □protection: ___human ___animal □interest	□direct □indirect	□town □New Hampshire □New England □U.S. □N. America □World
			#3:	□local □non-local	□use □conflict □protection: ___human ___animal □interest	□direct □indirect	□town □New Hampshire □New England □U.S. □N. America □World

"Plenty of bear meat..."

Context: photo: Dublin man posed beside bear killed in Randolph — Sarkis

Quotes: "John Sircis of Dublin shot this 300-lb. male black bear near Moose Brook Park in Randolph. He knocked the animal down with his first shot, but it required three more blasts to make the kill"

Notes:

"To the illiterate people concerning the Whipples bear article. Some people believe the bear was alive, unconscious when dragged from the woods. How ridiculous... The bear was shot, woods dressed, and dragged from the woods... We feel sorry for the rock heads and or illiterate people who are writing these nasty distorting articles... People should keep their noses clean, and out of other people's business... The article on the bear was not put in the paper to agitate, but to let people know what to expect when you come upon a bear... Mr. Whipple has hunted for over 35 years and feels he needs no advice from immoderate people especially females." ... ref. to a previous plea (12/31/86) "asking concerned people to please send an expression of concern to" F+G's Charles Barry... "The Fish and Game Dept. knows no one drags a bear out of the woods unconscious. How ridiculous can some people get?"

The Argus-Champion (Newbury)

Editor: DeCoursey

Date: 1/12/87 Page: 7 1/6 Copy (?): □yes □no

Headline:

Source: ☑paper (local) □AP □other □unspecified

Reporter: Robert B. and Annie E. Whipple

Location: □news □town □event □editorial ☑letter □sporting □outdoor □column □log □entertainment media □graphic □classifieds □ad □other:

SPEAKER	GENDER	VOICE	SPECIES	FAMILIARITY	TONE	SPECIFICITY	PROXIMITY
#1	□male □female	☑individual □gov/agency □science □business □organization □reporter/paper	#1: bear	☑local □non-local	☑use □conflict □protection: ___human ___animal □interest	☑direct □indirect	☑town □New Hampshire □New England □U.S. □N. America □World
			#2: ______	□local □non-local	□use □conflict □protection: ___human ___animal □interest	□direct □indirect	□town □New Hampshire □New England □U.S. □N. America □World
			#3: ______	□local □non-local	□use □conflict □protection: ___human ___animal □interest	□direct □indirect	□town □New Hampshire □New England □U.S. □N. America □World
#2	□male □female	□individual □gov/agency □science □business □organization □reporter/paper	#1: ______	□local □non-local	□use □conflict □protection: ___human ___animal □interest	□direct □indirect	□town □New Hampshire □New England □U.S. □N. America □World
			#2: ______	□local □non-local	□use □conflict □protection: ___human ___animal □interest	□direct □indirect	□town □New Hampshire □New England □U.S. □N. America □World
			#3: ______	□local □non-local	□use □conflict □protection: ___human ___animal □interest	□direct □indirect	□town □New Hampshire □New England □U.S. □N. America □World
#3	□male □female	□individual □gov/agency □science □business □organization □reporter/paper	#1: ______	□local □non-local	□use □conflict □protection: ___human ___animal □interest	□direct □indirect	□town □New Hampshire □New England □U.S. □N. America □World
			#2: ______	□local □non-local	□use □conflict □protection: ___human ___animal □interest	□direct □indirect	□town □New Hampshire □New England □U.S. □N. America □World
			#3: ______	□local □non-local	□use □conflict □protection: ___human ___animal □interest	□direct □indirect	□town □New Hampshire □New England □U.S. □N. America □World

hunting

Content:

Quotes:

Notes:

on bear-killing issue – "I am glad there are some people who do not condone the killing of the few beautiful wild animals we have left. My congratulations to ... all of whom have written articles for The Argus deploring the brutal slaughtering of a bear by Robert and Annie Whipple... The article in the Dec. 24 Argus by Robert Burdette defending the Whipples was just about as obnoxious to me as the killing of the bear by the Whipples... He says hunting is a sport, I suppose it is to someone who has so much ego that they can only satisfy it with a high powered rifle. He says people have to hunt to eat. Possibly the Indians did, but I wonder if the Whipples were that hungry"... the Whipples responded (on 12/24/80): "Everyone likes to kill an animal as quickly as possible.' Thank God most people do not like to kill an animal at all"

The Argus-Champion **(Newbury)**

Editor: DeCourcy

Date: 1 / 7 / 81 — Page: 7 / 16 — Copy (?): □ yes □ no

Headline:

Source: ☑ paper (local) □ AP □ other □ unspecified — Reporter: Fay H. Osborne (Sunapee)

Location: □ news □ town □ event □ editorial ☑ letter □ reporting □ outdoors □ column □ blog □ entertainment media □ graphic □ classifieds □ ad □ other:

SPEAKER	GENDER	VOICE	SPECIES	FAMILIARITY	TONE	SPECIFICITY	PROXIMITY
#1	□ male ☑ female	□ individual □ gov/agency □ science □ business □ organization ☑ reporter/paper	#1: bear	☑ local □ non-local	□ use □ conflict ☑ protection: ___ human ___ animal □ interest	□ direct ☑ indirect	□ town □ New Hampshire □ New England □ U.S. □ N. America □ World
			#2:	□ local □ non-local	□ use □ conflict □ protection: ___ human ___ animal □ interest	□ direct □ indirect	□ town □ New Hampshire □ New England □ U.S. □ N. America □ World
			#3:	□ local □ non-local	□ use □ conflict □ protection: ___ human ___ animal □ interest	□ direct □ indirect	□ town □ New Hampshire □ New England □ U.S. □ N. America □ World
#2	□ male □ female	□ individual □ gov/agency □ science □ business □ organization □ reporter/paper	#1:	□ local □ non-local	□ use □ conflict □ protection: ___ human ___ animal □ interest	□ direct □ indirect	□ town □ New Hampshire □ New England □ U.S. □ N. America □ World
			#2:	□ local □ non-local	□ use □ conflict □ protection: ___ human ___ animal □ interest	□ direct □ indirect	□ town □ New Hampshire □ New England □ U.S. □ N. America □ World
			#3:	□ local □ non-local	□ use □ conflict □ protection: ___ human ___ animal □ interest	□ direct □ indirect	□ town □ New Hampshire □ New England □ U.S. □ N. America □ World
#3	□ male □ female	□ individual □ gov/agency □ science □ business □ organization □ reporter/paper	#1:	□ local □ non-local	□ use □ conflict □ protection: ___ human ___ animal □ interest	□ direct □ indirect	□ town □ New Hampshire □ New England □ U.S. □ N. America □ World
			#2:	□ local □ non-local	□ use □ conflict □ protection: ___ human ___ animal □ interest	□ direct □ indirect	□ town □ New Hampshire □ New England □ U.S. □ N. America □ World
			#3:	□ local □ non-local	□ use □ conflict □ protection: ___ human ___ animal □ interest	□ direct □ indirect	□ town □ New Hampshire □ New England □ U.S. □ N. America □ World

Sympathy

Context:

Quotes:

Notes:

APPENDIX D

SUMMARY OF QUANTITATIVE DATA

One of the first ways to look at the quantitative newspaper data was to consider the frequency of wildlife references over time. Because decade categories do not represent equal numbers of years, and due to the fact that newspapers varied in length (both by town and over time), it made sense to count references per number of pages.

Table 1
Average Number of Wildlife References per Number of Pages for Each Decade

	1940s	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s
Portsmouth	0.96	0.65	0.49	0.48	0.32
Wolfeboro	0.98	0.83	0.94	0.71	0.66
Newbury	0.67	0.68	0.63	0.63	0.70
Keene	0.77	0.58	0.46	0.47	0.37
Peterborough	0.58	0.63	0.59	0.41	0.37
Derry	0.66	0.52	0.54	0.44	0.35

"Tone entries," or the notation of specific attitudinal tones, were noted for each wildlife "reference." Where tones were not clearly indicated, references were categorized as "neutral." Every reference contained at least one tone entry (with the most basic categories being: positive, negative, use, or neutral), but there was no upper limit to how many tone entries may have been entered for each reference. While some references contained only a single tone, others contained multiple tones representing the numerous possible combinations of attitudes, speakers, species, and contexts. Table 2 shows the total numbers of tone entries made for each town over time.

Table 2
Total Number of Tone Entries for Each Town

Portsmouth	Wolfeboro	Newbury	Keene	Peterborough	Derry
2632	3158	2336	1769	2417	1935

Tables 3, 4, and 5 show the percentages of wildlife references categorized as "use," "negative," and "positive" respectively. Where each reference could be categorized in more than one way, these tables show the percentages of references clearly noted to contain these attitudinal tones. A reference was categorized as "use" if it focused on the use of wildlife for any physically consumptive activities or products. The category

included reference to any activity having a direct and intended impact on the condition or behavior that would be typical of a wild animal in the absence of human beings. For example, wild species in captivity for display or circus performances would indicate a "use" tone. "Negative" was used to describe references to fear, danger, damage, or any other type of conflict or general dislike. "Positive" (originally coded as "protection") references were those containing any elements of sympathy, affection, appreciation, or admiration.

Table 3
Percentage of References Categorized as "Use" for Each Decade

	1940s	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s
Portsmouth	66.7	68.4	67.3	59.6	52.9
Wolfeboro	50.7	51.7	51.8	48.1	43.5
Newbury	56.5	66.4	58.7	58.9	45.2
Keene	62.8	57.9	55.8	55.5	53.3
Peterborough	38.3	46.7	50.7	48.0	49.7
Derry	64.8	62.9	60.4	52.9	47.9

Table 4
Percentage of References Categorized as "Negative" for Each Decade

	1940s	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s
Portsmouth	9.9	8.9	7.4	8.3	6.3
Wolfeboro	21.7	13.9	7.1	6.4	7.3
Newbury	19.1	9.1	5.3	5.6	5.9
Keene	15.9	12.7	11.9	8.6	13.3
Peterborough	23.4	12.8	11.0	12.2	7.2
Derry	15.4	15.9	14.2	8.4	14.0

Table 5
Percentage of References Categorized as "Positive" for Each Decade

	1940s	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s
Portsmouth	12.4	13.0	17.2	22.8	32.5
Wolfeboro	8.7	13.1	24.5	30.7	34.3
Newbury	10.4	14.2	26.4	22.4	37.5
Keene	12.4	18.5	17.7	21.4	26.2
Peterborough	17.7	18.5	19.0	25.5	29.7
Derry	15.4	13.9	16.0	26.3	30.9

The most direct test of this study's original hypothesis (that growth would correspond with increasingly negative attitudes toward direct interactions with wildlife), was a comparison of the relative numbers of references clearly described as both "direct" (in interaction) and "local" that could be categorized as "negative." While the increase in

these references for the town of Derry did mirror the town's increase in population, no other towns reflected notable correlations with their growth patterns.

Table 6
Average Number (Per Year) of Direct and Local References Categorized as "Negative"

	1940s	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s
Portsmouth	0.2	0.1	0.4	0.2	0.2
Wolfeboro	1.2	0.8	0.7	1.5	1.3
Newbury	1.2	0.5	0.2	0.2	1.0
Keene	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.7
Peterborough	1.8	1.7	0.4	0.5	0.8
Derry	0.0	0.2	0.2	0.5	1.2

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