DEER HUNTING AS A FOLKLORIC ACTIVITY IN THE NORTH COAST OF OREGON:
TYPOLOGY AND INITIATION-MATURATION
DISSERTATION
Volume I
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by
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* * * * *
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DEER HUNTING AS A FOLKLORIC ACTIVITY IN THE NORTH COAST OF OREGON:
TYPOLOGY AND INITIATION-MATURATION

INTRODUCTION

The blacktail deer of the North Coast (NC) of Oregon are more numerous than any other big game species in the subregion. They number approximately 30 thousand, and over 2 million dollars is spent annually hunting the species. In the state hunting unit which includes all of the study area, but which also extends a few miles further south, hunters numbered 5,800 in 1986. They took 1,500 blacktails, 805 bucks and 695 does, for a 26% hunter success ratio which approximately equals the state’s blacktail hunter success average (John Johnson). Nevertheless, relatively little has been written about deer hunting in the NC of Oregon (Taylor and Knispel). Also, in terms of folklore, logging and commercial fishing have been the subjects of the bulk of NC folklore collection, study, and analysis. The essence of hunting, the killing of prey, always creates significance in and of itself, but hunting deer is now an even more “serious,” complex, and negotiated activity in this era of conservation, preservation, and animal rights.
The term "North Coast" is defined in Chapter 11, but "hunting" is more difficult to define. Initially, it can be stated that the frequently used, so-called neutral definition of hunting as the "pursuit of animals for the purpose of killing them" is inadequate and incomplete. There are various interpretations of hunting, but virtually all NC observers would agree that this avocational folk activity, which is akin to a folk genre, has significance for individuals, families, small groups, and the entire NC subregion. NC blacktail hunting is not formally taught in classes, nor is it commonly learned via media sources. Rather, it is predominately learned in face-to-face encounters and by word of mouth, in pairs, or in small groups, often within families. It is also generally agreed that hunting plays only a very limited role in the NC in terms of social class, orthodox religion, and subsistence livelihood. On the crucial question of hunting as a necessary means of controlling the NC blacktail population, there is no consensus.

From the 1950's to the 1970's, recreational and folk activities were generally viewed as being a part of the expanding role of free time pursuits in American life, but since major economic restructuring, beginning in the 1970's and continuing up to the present, the time that Americans spend on recreation has declined, so that the relative importance of such high-quality recreational experiences as hunting may very well have increased. While this declining pattern of recreational
activities may seem to apply more to urban areas than rural subregions such as the NC, as the NC becomes more highly-integrated into the greater Portland metropolitan area, not only does the pace of NC life quicken, but there is an expansion of vicarious participation in mass media, spectator sports, new forms of recreation, and cyberspace. For many NC hunters, such developments as these, while they may enhance the value of deer hunting, also threaten it by undermining new hunter recruitment and by preempting the recreational time available for hunting.

Probably the most basic fact about the current folk activity of blacktail deer hunting in the NC of Oregon is a shift in its status as a “natural,” unquestioned, traditional activity towards its position as an institutionally regulated, rationalized, and questioned activity. Such considerations about NC deer hunting are found among NC residents and, to some degree, among many NC hunters, so that NC deer hunting is now increasingly negotiated. However, NC deer hunting continues to function as a “local lie,” Bingham’s term for a localized fiction or interpretation which is told in order to allow residents to adapt to present situations.

Much of this dissertation can be classified variously under the four headings of folklore studies, recreation, cultural anthropology, or wildlife management, although the material could not always be contained under these separate headings, due to complex interactions between or among these areas of interest.
Folklore is seen in the collection and examination of local hunting knowledge, behavior, and values, in the emphasis upon personal experience narrative as the major means of representing hunting, and in the consideration of hunting as a social drama. Since the focus of this study is on hunting as a folkloric activity, local, emic terminology and categories were isolated for special examination, for example “Meat Hunter,” “Road Hunter,” “Portland Hunter,” and “Calico-Pinto Deer.” The first three terms come under the rubric of “Hunter Type,” one of two major themes in the study, the other theme being “Initiation-Maturation.” The fourth term “Calico-Pinto Deer” is a local designation for a deer with an unusual type of coloring. This type of deer is discussed in Chapter II. The discussion of hunter types, including informants’ self-classifications, required a consideration of the ludic aspect of hunting, hunting as recreation.

A hunter profile system useful for classifying NC hunters is developed in Chapter VII, in addition to a typology of NC hunters. In the material gathered under the heading of cultural anthropology, another theme, a human-land theme, comes into play within the examination of the hunter’s relationship to the hunting site. The human-land theme is also seen in the designation of the NC as a distinct subregion of Oregon and the Pacific Northwest. The current state of NC deer hunting is frequently presented by residents and hunters as an argument that an era of natural abundance in the NC has come to an end. In this argument, current deer hunting is
compared to deer hunting in such peak deer-producing periods as the pioneer era, the post logging era, c. 1890’s, and the only documented high productivity period, the years following massive clear cutting and the Tillamook Burn, in the 1940’s to the 1960’s. Thus, hunting is sometimes seen as being a part of era interpretation—reinterpretation, a part of the change in land ownership and land use, especially in terms of logging roads. It is an undeniable fact that there are a variety of interpretations of blacktail deer and deer hunting among residents and hunters. Nevertheless, even if with proper management, NC blacktail populations were to reach such numbers that hunters could legally take several deer per season, as is the case in Georgia, Alabama, Kentucky, and a few other states, NC deer would not be the fully “wild,” naturally-occurring deer of earlier times.

The key point regarding blacktail in the NC is that in earlier times, humans were not acting as powerful managers, closely orchestrating the blacktail population. Nor were people immune to natural forces—the landform, weather, flora, and fauna; they shared the impact of these forces with wildlife. Local residents believed themselves to be basically participants in nature, and they were “mindless” in the sense that classic heroes are “mindless”; that is, they reacted to natural forces as participants within a larger story, as did the pilgrims, first settlers, and pioneers on the Oregon Trail. Even in the modern era, at key junctures in a hunt, the hunter who is stalking, shooting, gutting, and packing out the deer
may still experience psychological, “mindless” states of pure action. In such experiences, the intensity of the events may create an uncommon sensitivity or “feeling-tone” (Jung’s term). However, such personal experiences should not be confused with the “naturalness” or “participation” experienced by premodern hunters.

Following the wildlife management theme, NC deer hunting demonstrates, according to many informants, that wildlife species can rebound when they are properly managed, as in the case of elk and razor clams. Probably a majority of the informants believed, for example, that the blacktail population will dramatically increase when the logging cycle calls for major NC cuts. They often argued that since deer are largely a product of open spaces and young vegetative growth, that, ordinarily, deer are “naturally” abundant because NC vegetation, under current geologic, climatic, and economic conditions, is naturally and cyclically abundant.

A minority of NC obscurist hunters of various ages further claimed that, once the NC is left alone to “rebound,” its natural abundance will create a huge surplus of wildlife and game animals; however, as local realists and cynics will quickly point out, the main consideration about current and future eras is that the NC will never again operate as a basically natural system, free from the exacting management of humans. Residents and hunters who await the return of the old days are tragically reminiscent of Lakota ghost dancers who patiently expected nature to push
back the whites and to lead the buffalo back to the people of nature. The belief in the rebound of the natural abundance of earlier times appears to include the suppressed premise that people who do not abuse nature, including “genuine” NC hunters, should be able to live off of nature’s bounty. Innocence, on this view, is more than its own reward. Such views follow the stereotypic thinking of American rugged individualism and NW populism.

Resting on such a religious or romantic faith in nature and human rights, these NC optimists are actually visionaries, hoping for the return of the freedom and nobility of a life of raw action, manifested in part in the killing and eating of superabundant wildlife. The quest for, or insistence upon, a less rationalized and ego-dominated, naturally flowing daily life is not unique to would-be natural hunters. Compare, for example, the “floating world” of pleasure in Japanese literature or the 19th century American West’s free trapper, a figure of supposed self-sufficiency and mobility. While some very committed NC hunters may seek such a flow in daily life, including intense experiences which “spontaneously” arise, most experiential hunters, as described in this study, are content to function in an everyday, efficient, routine manner, but seasonally, hunting provides them with peak experiences or “reality checks,” which they define as a part of really being alive. Therefore, NC deer hunting may be more fully integrated into a lifestyle or, oppositely, it may provide
isolated peak experiences. Both as lifestyle and peak experiences which reject the self-monitoring, self-controlled, atomization of experience in favor of the quest for a “flow” or “magic,” hunting holds potential as a possible initiation or maturational experience.

American hunting and NC deer hunting can be exaggerated to the point of becoming a beautiful dream vision or myth, but local realists often stress certain dominant facts, especially that Portland, ever encroaching into the former NC enclave, has dramatically altered local hunting. Judging from informant comments, a major aspect of NC hunting as a “reality check” is also its presentation of humans as dependent upon natural resources and animals in order to live—humans kill other forms of life in order to live themselves.

Realists have their own dream, that of a managed utopia, with ecotourism, limited access to natural areas, habitat restoration, and stricter and more effective law enforcement against poachers—the dream of conservation and preservation. This dream is based on knowing and appreciating wildlife, rather than upon the glory of being subsumed into a totally natural system greater than oneself and greater than even one’s own species. Greater realism might lead NC hunters to entertain the possibility that NC timber companies may eventually initiate hunting fee or lease programs, which would sever yet more ties to past hunting, ancestors, and local history.
Thus far, the NC and the whole of Oregon has resisted European or Texas-style private hunting business operations, but if gambling and state lotteries are any indication, when the profits and tax relief funds are high enough, old patterns can quickly change. As for the expected rebound of blacktails which would follow increased cutting, perhaps the toll of road accidents and poaching will need to be considered in some areas of the NC where there is prime blacktail habitat, but apparently less than an over-abundance of deer.

A significant number of NC residents and hunters who claim that the NC subregion is still basically wild, just as are the beaches and the ocean, are troubled by the realization that the world they were born into no longer exists. A new world which does not appear kind, giving, or secure, is evolving, propelled by seemingly non-natural, non-given, and non-orderly forces. It is questionable whether or not this new world will even be sustainable. This perspective, a basically modern point of view, has its beginnings in the Middle Ages, but the speed and thoroughness of modern change can be frightening. The rate of change in the NC has always been high, but the changes occurring now seem more fundamental. For example, the possible extinction of many NW and Columbia River drainage salmon stocks has seriously discredited scientists, politicians, and even the voters themselves.
The new conditions of life in the NC entail more tourists, fewer salmon, smaller trees, in terms of commercial crops, and only a few park-like groves of giant trees. While some of the former wild things, such as the Columbia River, the ocean beaches, and winter storms are still present, they are now charted, studied, and forecasted by satellite. However, such new developments cannot be easily cursed because they may save lives. While some of the risks of NC outdoor employment and recreation have been reduced, the 1996 above average hunting and hiking accident rates document that deer hunting retains an undeniable risk factor.

The idea that humans can participate in hunting vicariously by observing natural predators is another idea which was formerly taken as absurd, but which now appears more popular and feasible. This type of "hunting" actually undermines most hunters' justification for hunting. On the one hand, it is tempting to ban hunters to dramatically restrict their numbers by means of a highly-demanding, European qualification system, so that natural areas are returned to natural predators. On the other hand, a nagging fear remains that hunting has served participants well. It has afforded people direct, biological interactions with nature, including killing for food acquisition. Hunting has also served to maintain the deer's world and the deer's body as a model and metaphor for human pleasure and knowledge, both in the field and in memories and in shared stories.
Perhaps work-related, traditional, folk activities, such as hunting, have a shelf-life of relevance, after which they appear too arcane, since they are based on too few shared values and are lived out only by a minority of the citizenry. Compare, for example, rodeo skills. Unless traditional blood sports are emphasized for their philosophical-religious, symbolic, or aesthetic value, they will increasingly be seen by many people, even in rural areas, as unnecessarily cruel or delusional.

There are some indications that a conservation-based, "New Hunter" is emerging in response to the numerous changes that are significantly affecting NC deer hunting. Local hunters are participating in conservation activities and increasingly are rejecting the gun lobby's exaggerated claims regarding the right to bear arms and to hunt. New hunters generally favor earning a hunting license through conservation activities and educational contributions to hunting, so that hunting would be a reward, not a right. This new perspective favors tighter hunting management to maintain quality hunting, but state politics still favor high participation and non-localized hunting. Furthermore, since the majority of Oregonians live in urban areas, their political power will probably insure state-wide, unearned hunting licensing. In addition, those NC businesses which profit more from non-local hunters would be expected to support the continuation of state-wide hunting and the use of lotteries, when the limitation of hunters is required.
The second major theme of the study, cultural anthropology's long-standing topic of initiation, is treated in terms of an adolescent rite of passage into adulthood, but also in terms of a maturation into post-adolescent life stages. Given an appreciation for the value of NC hunting as an initiatory or maturational vehicle, researchers would probably prefer to defend the folk activity of hunting by all available scientific means. The claims of Charles Taylor, Gadamer, and Ricoeur, as well as others, that cultural interpretation is more validation than verification, more like literary interpretation than hard science, are less than totally reassuring. To actually trust intuitions, holistic judgments, and inter-subjective values and ideas without the qualified supports of science would be unsettling. However, it does ring true that culture is best understood, not through quantified data alone, but through a variety of cultural activities or contexts.

Contrary to popular belief and persistent claims in hunting publications, hunting, specifically, the first kill, does not generally serve as a significant rite of passage for most NC adolescents. However, based on the typology of hunters developed from informant interviews, other hunting milestones are significant among older hunters, for example, killing a big buck, having an intense aesthetic experience, becoming a hunting mentor, or becoming a non-kill hunter. One wonders whether or not post-adolescent maturational aspects are enhanced, while fully public
adolescent maturational aspects are deleted or diluted, partly, at least, because of the NW and the NC’s anti-traditionalism and anti-ritualism, which are described as constituting rugged American individualism and NW popularism in the literature of regionalism.

As for the practical implications of this study, several informants, one an officer in the North Coast Game Association and another, the Oregon State Marine Extension agent, have requested a summary of the project’s findings. This type of local interest points up Hufford’s claim that encyclopedic, “horizontal,” or life world studies have their place and may even be indispensable for professionals who are dealing with folk activities. In addition, several local residents have requested that a copy of the dissertation be placed in the Astoria Public Library, in order to provide factual data and discussion points on current local deer hunting and on hunting in the “old days.” But rather than present this text as factual data or summary, the author would much rather see NC residents and hunters correct and expand the data and discussion by including their own knowledge, stories, and photographs, using this text as a starting, not an end point, not an easy target of ridicule, but a text of ongoing negotiation to edit and complete. For all the possible changes that NC hunting is facing, it appears unquestionable that some sort of blacktail hunting, no matter how circumscribed, will continue in the area, often referred to as “Giant Country.”
Wildlife management is a very contentious topic in the examination of NC deer hunting. It emerged repeatedly in relation to the major theme of hunter type and the less important theme of the NC as a subregion. Many residents believed that Clatsop County (CC) was being abused by outside forces, e.g., timber corporations, realtors, the National Park Service, the State Fish and Game Service, and local state biologists. State Fish and Wildlife regulations, timber company land practices, and the access hunters are allowed to timber company lands are at the core of the political context within which hunting, hunting rituals, and personal experience hunting narratives occur.

Somewhat surprisingly, most local NC residents appeared to exempt tourism from this critique of external threats, probably because most tourist operations are owned or franchised by NC residents, and regardless of ownership, such businesses usually hire local residents and generally constitute the region's major business enterprises. Another element which differentiates tourism from outside businesses and institutions is the fact that the tourist trade constitutes a de facto praise of the subregion, a recognition of its beauty, power, and history. This recognition undoubtedly contains at least some element of the subregion as a "wild" area, or, at least, as a significantly natural area with an abundance of wildlife, much of which is easily seen from county roads.
While geology, geography (as manifested in climate and weather), flora, and fauna (other than deer), are often cited in the literature on deer hunting, these influences are just as often included only as background material and virtually dismissed. This tendency has produced an underestimation of the importance of these factors for many hunters. Admittedly, geology, geography, flora, and other fauna may be secondary for most hunters, but they may be major influences for others. This is particularly true in "Giant Country" which is so notable for its dramatic geological, climatic, and vegetative features, as well as for its high populations of a variety of wildlife.

The local natural environment is at the core of hunting as a folk activity or of hunting as a cultural expression, since the environment largely determines the prey species, the conditions, and, often, the outcome of a hunt. While it would be ludicrous to claim that the ocean and the weather serve merely as background or backdrop for the commercial fisherman, the simplification of the full hunting context is rather common. It is as if the NC landscape-setting, which is presently largely under human control, were being taken as a given or as a neutralized setting for the human-wild animal drama. We could take as an analogy the proscenium stage which is largely a neutral or abstract space for Western drama. If it is true that the natural environment is the functional equivalent of a folklore participant, then we are reminded that the local environment can
be a factor or "story" that is partly or largely played out in the lives of people, if not totally, as in a Levi-Straussian perspective, then, at least, as a major component of human culture.

Despite the interdisciplinary approach taken in this study, some unifying questions emerged. In general terms, what is the meaning and viability of deer hunting in the NC, its psychological or social roles and functions? Also, what is the significance of deer hunting in the culture of this particular subregion?

In order to answer these questions, a initial field project consisting partly of interviews on the topic of deer hunting in the NC of Oregon was undertaken. Thirty-eight informants were interviewed for 1-3 hours, on the average. While not all were hunters, all were present or past residents of Clatsop County, Oregon (CC). In a few cases, the data collected from informants described hunts conducted outside CC and/or hunts for other species. When data from such sources were used for illustrative purposes, they were noted as such and included because of their relevance to NC deer hunting. Writings and photographs in local libraries and museums were also reviewed in order to gather the background material necessary for a geographical and historical overview of the county, as well as for a history of deer hunting in the NC. Research after the field work has been ongoing—in the popular and scholarly literature, the local newspaper, telephone
interviews with other NC residents, and telephone interviews with researchers elsewhere.

As for the type of field work carried out and the nature of the dissertation, since I lived in the NC as an adult for seven years, hunted deer for three years, and knew several of the informants prior to the field work, this project can be termed "experiential." It shares the research tenets of both Rowles and Bruner, which allow for personal and interpersonal input from a Participant-Observer-Reporter. While the project can also be described as "qualitative" in Glaser and Strauss' sense, it makes only a very limited effort to be reflexive, as championed by a host of anthropologists, such as James Clifford, Rabinow, and also by feminist literary critics. The decision to limit the reflexive element of the study is partly due to the nature of the project, namely, that this is an early or initial study of NC hunting.

Largely because published material specifically about NC deer hunting does not exist, and because material about the NC is generally limited, a goal of this study is to explore and discover the broad outlines of NC hunting; its goal is not to verify an existing theory or to reconcile existing data. Although it is tempting to bypass the empirical examination of hunting in order to focus on hunting narratives per se, for example, for their narrative structure, it seems that without a good deal of empirical data about local hunting, the required context for understanding the
hunters' narratives would be lacking. Thus, profiles of NC geology, geography (climate-weather), flora, and fauna, including wildlife other than deer, as well as deer themselves, are presented. These profiles are divided into the physical and human dimensions, except in the section on fauna other than deer, where this division is not relevant. A specific example which shows that a certain amount of background knowledge is necessary for an understanding of the informants' narratives is the word "Deer." In the NC, this term refers to blacktail deer, not the much larger and more imposing mule deer of Eastern Oregon, nor does it represent the Eastern whitetail which dominates American deer hunting literature and research. Empirical data about the NC and its blacktail hunting also offers an invaluable check on the informants' own interpretations of their means of representing hunting, their personal experience narratives.

Personal experience hunting narratives were especially helpful in understanding the two major hunting themes of hunter type and initiation-maturation. They were also helpful in understanding the theme of regionalism, which received less emphasis. While the majority of the informants, and probably a great majority of NC deer hunters, have never analyzed hunting in terms of hunter type, initiation, or the regional aspects of hunting, and would be reluctant to do so, the informants' hunting narratives often displayed ideas, emotions, and values regarding these themes. Hunting seems to be a "key text" or major cultural
metaphor, a "genre," story, or social drama acted out and narrated by local hunters.

The question of the value and meaning of hunting is very much under review in American culture. Not only are hunting practices undergoing study and change, but the basic legitimacy of hunting is also currently being examined in the mass media, commonly under the headings of "Animal Rights" and "America as a Violent Society and Culture." For example, Ortega's atavistic view of hunting, as updated by Shepard, is frequently discussed in hunting publications. On the other hand, psycho-sexual interpretations of hunting are also presented by those opposed to the killing of ten million deer annually in the United States.

American hunting is also presently the subject of a virulent political and ideological debate between staunch anti-hunters, "the anti's," and hunters and pro-hunting elements. This highly polarized debate is continued not only in hunting magazines, a few movies, conservationist and preservationist publications, but also in many scientific journals, principally those dealing with ecology, forestry, and game management. While in-depth treatments of hunting issues are rare in the popular national culture, in the discussions that do appear, the hunter is often presented as a sadistic country bumpkin. To further politicize the issue, state fish and game commissions and departments have been drawn into the general discussion through local hunting controversies over the
state's wildlife management responsibilities. Therefore, the politics of hunting is a part of the context necessary for an understanding of NC blacktail hunting as a folk activity. It seems likely that hunting provides a window on the NC. For example, the NC is clearly the most adamant anti-dee hunting area in Oregon, as it has a relatively new, 800 member hunting association to lobby this cause.

**Goals**

One of the goals of this study is to provide an overview of the NC's history and people, in order to contextualize the meaning of deer hunting in this subregion. Background information on the NC was located, reviewed, and compiled from local written sources, which included 19th and 20th century unpublished diaries and letters, local newspaper articles, and publications of Oregon historical associations.

Another goal is to provide an overview of the relationship between deer hunting and such contextual factors as geology, geography (climate-weather), flora, and fauna, and to provide an overview of local blacktail deer hunting history. To this end, some very specific topics were pursued, as in the direct questionnaire approach of Kiessig, Rosonke, and Shaw. However, some open-ended questions were also asked, especially regarding areas of special interest, expertise, or experience. See Appendix A for a list of interview topics.
In the interviews and in the popular and scholarly literature, the theme of NC deer hunter type was largely, but not exclusively, studied to determine how the informants classified themselves as hunters, for example, whether or not informants considered themselves "Meat Hunters," "Social Hunters," "Buck Hunters," "Drive Hunters," "Serious Hunters," or any other other type of hunters. An attempt was also made to determine whether or not the informants classified themselves or other hunters according to a single factor or according to multifactored criteria, that is, according to a typology versus a profile. A goal was to provide a context for the major NC hunter types by establishing how an informant becomes a specific type of hunter, how he or she operates as a certain type of hunter, and the value or meaning a special type of hunting holds for him or her.

For example, an examination of the "Portland Hunter" as a folk category may help to reveal what role hunting plays in the North Coast residents' consciousness of regionalism. To a lesser degree, "Portland Hunter" relates to the theme of initiation-maturation since the process of an adolescent becoming a local adult, or the process of an adult NC immigrant becoming a local person, involves differentiation from outsiders. The rather negative category, "Portland Hunter," serves as an example for local youths and adults, of a type of hunter they should avoid becoming. A comparison of the "Portland Hunter" with the "typical" North
Coast hunter may help to clarify whether or not deer hunting relates a NC hunter to the local landscape, thereby serving as a vehicle for making that hunter into a “local person.” Portland is Oregon’s “central place,” and as the NC’s economy increasingly turns away from local extractive industries towards tourism and a larger and more national and international economy, the subregion is coming to be viewed as a part of the Portland metropolitan area. While a perception of Portland hunters as destroyers of the largely local and clearly populist hunting of the NC was not strongly voiced by informants, the realization that outside hunters may dramatically alter the nature of local hunting was, however, hinted at by informant opposition to any aspect of hunting elitism, such as is seen in European hunting.

The second major focus of this study, the question of North Coast deer hunting and initiation-maturation, is also investigated on several levels, first as an adolescent’s initiation into adulthood. Naturally, Turner’s analysis of initiation is relevant here, as is Myerhoff’s work on the creation of new rites of passage. Myerhoff shows insight into how personal rites of passage lack a primary orientation towards a wider, public audience.

From another point of view, since a hunting career can span twenty to forty years, as was the case with many of the informants, several transitions into different hunter types or different hunting stages seem possible. However, the topic of maturation into adult life stages in
hunting is not frequently discussed in the literature, which usually focuses on initiatory and final stages.

Yet, regarding hunting as initiation, hunting initiation rites are not common among NC deer hunters, causing one to wonder whether or not there is a bias, an anti-ceremonialism or anti-structuralism, in the NC. Despite the status of the blacktail deer as an iconic epitome of the NC landscape, the hunting, killing, and consuming of the blacktail deer, rarely creates an initiatory experience for adolescents.

This study also attempts to determine the nature of NC deer hunting as a tradition. Although the main force of Handler and Linnekin’s dominant critique of the concept of tradition, that tradition is not “natural,” ahistorical, timeless, or based on an essence, seems unassailable, their qualification, which is perhaps somewhat understated, may well apply to NC deer hunting—-that some aspects of rural life are possible exceptions to the constant and relatively facile metamorphosis of tradition. NC deer hunting could, until recently, be described as a rather “naively inherited, unselfconscious activity, containing much that is handed down from the past” (282).

To give Handler and Linnekin their due, it should be emphasized that this study supports their conclusion that all traditions are diachronic; that is, they are continually being reinterpreted. Further, Handler and Linnekin point out the fact that traditions are often erroneously presented as
organic metaphors; they are taken as growing, living things (275) or as personified entities (278). Nevertheless, it also appears that many NC residents and some informants viewed deer hunting as a “genuine” or “living” tradition, unlike more thoroughly commercialized, market-dominated (versus market-driven) traditions. That is, popular usage pointed out the belief or fact that there are different stages or eras of a tradition. Consequently, hunting may change by degrees and at different rates. Presently, NC blacktail hunting is seen by local people as being less traditional than in earlier times, since it has relatively weak links to the past (continuity) and to daily and seasonal life (integration).

In short, when considering the complexity of the informants’ ideas and feelings regarding their hunting, one suspects that Handler and Linnekin may overemphasize the arbitrariness of the adaptability of a tradition. One is tempted to follow Hobsbawm’s somewhat less didactic view of traditions. He maintains that traditions are invented, but that they often adapt more in degree than in total, identity-altering revisions. Hobsbawm also stresses that traditions often maintain continuity or linkage to older cultural materials (11). Thus, it is vital to view traditional folkloric activities as present interpretations of current situations, but as having links to the past. The continuity of traditions, whether in contents, processes, or values, should be recognized, not as being based on fixed essences, but, in some cases, as constituting a
functioning core within which various degrees and types of change are possible. Such change includes addition, amalgamation, diffusion, absorption, or fusion (Kroeber, quoted in Handler and Linnekin, 276).

Specifically, this study attempts to determine whether or not NC deer hunting is presently in a relatively stable or inactive period-stage, or whether it is in a rapid transitional period, leading towards a new integration, or, possibly, a disintegration. Yet another possibility is that NC deer hunting may be functioning merely as a traditional display activity, as is discussed by Handler and Linnekin.

Examining the status of NC deer hunting as a tradition is a difficult task, since institutional complexities and expanding tourism are affecting NC big game hunting at this time when NC isolation is being diminished by improved communication and transport links to the Portland metropolitan area and beyond to world-wide cyberspace. While NC deer hunting can easily be taken as a “traditional” activity, it remains to be seen whether or not the changes in the last 25 years have not dramatically altered or, perhaps, even splintered, the formerly slowly-evolving, but fairly stable, local deer hunting traditional core practices, beliefs, and values. In earlier years, NC deer hunting was largely practiced by loggers and a significant number of advanced master woodsmen and mentors with many years of experience in the woods.
While it may be argued that NC deer hunting is largely a tradition or ritual of the individual or the family, rather than of larger social units, individuals and small group hunters are also under increasing pressure from the rationalization of hunting through institutional regulation and the large number of Portland hunters in the NC. The common avoidance, or the overt rejection, of forming larger social units for hunting as a folk activity, with their resulting group norms and customs, hearkens back to the "code of the Old West," according to which each man was a law unto himself. That is, each individual hunter or personal group, i.e., family, will develop its own personal hunting code. The NC hunting pattern or tradition generally consists of such a development and is not a definite set of "external" rules imposed upon the individual hunter or small autonomous hunting group by others.

For this study, the concepts of a more "genuine folk activity tradition" or a more "authentic folk activity tradition" are taken to include a degree of articulation or development well beyond everyday practice. In addition, within the larger American context of hunting, a local hunting tradition would require a degree of skill and knowledge beyond that of non-hunters. Other factors to be considered in the determination of whether or not NC deer hunting constitutes a living, identifiable, socially active, or actual folkloric tradition is the nature of its generational transmission and its degree of connection to the past.
There is more than a little truth in the fact that the past contained the seeds of the present, and that the present contains much more of the past than is popularly recognized or admitted, but this view of continuity should also be balanced with the realization that unique periods and folk activities arise, flourish, and pass away. NC residents may continue to hunt blacktails, but the link to the pre-contact, largely natural world in their hunting can never be re-established, as is expressed by two NC old timers and hunters who had similar views about the irrevocability of change:

Though it would take years, a new tree-crop could replace the empty, barren regions defaced by man. But nothing could even recapture the setting as the pioneers had found it—natural and undisturbed for centuries (Maddox 1976, 164).

"I’ve seen the best of...[hunting in the past]" (Informant 14--45).

Informants were questioned about the two general themes of hunter type and initiation-maturation and encouraged to supplement, clarify, and verify their comments about such contextual factors as geology, geography (climate-weather), flora, fauna, and blacktail deer. The informants’ general and theoretical comments were compared with their more specific and concrete statements about hunting lore, factual matters, such as the type of rifles they used, their preseason activities, their hunting tactics, and their strategies. Universal hunting terms and categories were not
assumed and imposed upon the data, and any local hunting terms used by the informants are discussed in order to isolate local hunting categories.

The data collected and generated in this study will hopefully prompt NC hunters, amateur historians, and local academics to add to the collection of primary materials cited here. This dissertation may seem overly detailed on some topics, for example, in the presentation of specific geologic formations, as well as in the presentation of specific floral and faunal species which influence NC deer hunting. However, this level of specificity is useful both to maintain the biological-cultural connection and to spark reactions from those in the NC subregion whose expertise would otherwise remain unutilized. To this end, in the hope of placing this project within the literature on NC deer hunting as a folk activity, a copy of the dissertation will be presented to the Astoria Public Library in Astoria, Oregon. Such a suggestion has come from some local residents. The data may also serve to elaborate upon relevant themes and to correlate themes with other local folklore genres.

Methodology

Review

The popular and scholarly literature on deer hunting in America was reviewed, as was, to a more limited degree, the literature on deer hunting in American literature.
Interview

Based on the review of the literature and my own experience as a NC resident and hunter, an initial set of interview topics and specific questions were developed. This format included opportunities for the informants to volunteer information and to add topics not raised by the interviewer. A broad range of NC hunters was selected by a "theoretical sampling," not a random sampling (Glaser and Strauss, 45-46, 49). Following the lead of oral literature researchers, in an attempt to include the full scope and variety of activity, the informant selection purposefully avoided limiting itself to the most expert practitioners. See Connelly for a similar approach and justification.

Topics and questions were modified to fit the informants' expertise and experience. Additionally, some topics and questions were adjusted according to the informants' responses, especially following the points they volunteered and stressed. Informants' comments on factual points were especially elicited to verify and clarify their discussion of the two major themes of hunter type and initiation-maturation. These comments also provided an opportunity for "chance remarks" which were pursued. Cf. Freud's parapraxis and Derrida's aporia.

Compilation and Transcription

Interview indexes, notes, and informant profiles were compiled. Generally, genre distinctions were drawn between the informants'
"personal experience narratives" and their "stories." The distinction between these two types of accounts generally follows Stahl. The informants were quite aware of the fact when they were giving accounts, often for the first time, of personal experiences, usually in answer to a specific question, as opposed to when they were telling a "story" of a hunt, a more or less set piece. These latter were somewhat refined narratives which they had clearly related before.

The titles of these set pieces, such as "Freida's Deer" and "Deer Shot in Ear," are purely descriptive and supplied by myself for easy reference, since few informants had preexisting story titles or even descriptive titles. Personal experience narratives, generally ad hoc accounts, invariably lacked formal titles or even generically descriptive titles.

The transcription of the informants' comments used in the text is not unusual. Direct quotes and quotes within quotes, both for single and multiple speakers, are treated conventionally, and summary-paraphrases are left unmarked. In cases where ellipses and/or additions are used to aid understanding, ellipses are marked conventionally, and additions are enclosed within square brackets. The transcription system used was a part of the attempt to present the basic style and usage of the informants' speech, but, in addition, ellipses placed at the beginning and end of informant transcriptions signal that only excerpted material relevant to
the point being made is presented from a longer text which covers other topics. Transcriptions of verbatim accounts were generally avoided, since the focus is on the hunt activity, not the performance of the hunter as narrator. The direct quotes hopefully provide enough context to clarify potentially misleading points and to offer interpretive clues for readers.

As for genderlect in the text of the study itself, an attempt was made to avoid the absurdities of an overly zealous politically correct diction, as well as the repulsiveness of the grosser forms of patriarchy embedded in the language. Three terms remain in use despite a search for more gender neutral replacements. "Fisherman," "Sportsman" and "Sportsmanship" await replacement. "Hunter" should not be assumed to refer only to male hunters.

Analysis

Published literature on the topics which emerged for the first time in the interviews were reviewed to help create a geographical overview and a historical overview of the NC and NC deer hunting. The interview findings on the two major themes of hunter type and initiation-maturation were interpreted in an attempt to form conclusions and generalizations about these themes.

Other Themes

Unfortunately, due to time constraints, other themes which arose in the interviews besides the major themes of hunter type and initiation-
maturation, and the secondary themes of subregion and the human-land relationship, could not be analyzed in detail, even though some aspects of these topics are directly related to important themes in the deer hunting literature, and possibly to important points in NC history. Such themes included: “Early Hunting Experience,” “Quality Hunt,” “Old Days in CC,” and “Informants’ Ending Comments.”

Theoretical Implications

The theoretical implications of the project and its findings were examined. A reevaluation of the data and findings was performed in the light of the unforeseen emergence of theoretical issues in the analysis. The themes of “Nature versus Culture,” “Hunting as a Tradition or Traditional Activity,” and “The Role of Physical Experiences in Hunting versus the Social Creation of Self-Reality” were highlighted. The importance of this text as a NC community document was also reevaluated.

NC deer hunting appears to fall within the general case of modern fragmentation, as least if the prospect of a major populist versus elite hunting group split develops. Within the local groups, both populist and elite, the rise of the Conservation Hunter may also signal a fragmentation, or from a more positive perspective, an increasingly differentiated hunter identification. “Fragmentation” may be the more accurate term to describe the weakened unifying force of NC deer hunting, its diminished capacity as a locally unifying and regionalizing metaphor.
Even though NC regional identity may be weakened by current socioeconomic developments, as is reflected in the rationalization of deer hunting, this study did document the fact that hunters, as participants in a folk activity, are not merely passive figures. The rise of bow hunting, and the Conservation Hunter, and possibly a “New Hunter,” indicate that participants can adopt dramatic modifications in their attempts to retain the essence or functionalism of their activities.

**Finalization**

Project materials and texts were finalized: field materials, audio and video interview tapes, indexes, notes, profiles, primary materials, and reading notes. The bibliography was finalized, and archive deposition continues to be considered.
CHAPTER I

THE NORTH COAST AND DEER HUNTING,
HISTORICAL, SOCIAL, AND ECONOMIC SKETCH

Introduction

A history which would record the dramatic changes that have taken place in the NC, in terms of its human populations and activities, landscape, and wildlife, would include discussions of the following topics or periods:

1. Pre-contact—Native Americans
2. Euro-American exploration
3. Fur trading
4. Pioneer settlement
5. Logging and fishing; development of towns
6. Contemporary—relative decline of fishing and timber; rise of tourism; inclusion into the Portland orbit.

Generally, such a history would document the conversion of a pre-contact NC into the human dominated NC of modern times. In terms of deer hunting in the NC, changes occurring during the latter periods also generated dramatic developments. To take one example, during the contemporary period, particularly in the past 50 years, the nature and quality of hunting have been altered by such specifically modern factors as increased hunter
competition, restricted access, and the probable decline of the blacktail population, which may have resulted from poaching, as much as from Fish and Wildlife Service sanctioned doe hunting.

A "time line" which would give a broad outline of the history of the NC may be devised. In such a schematization, other details regarding contemporary deer hunting may become clear, for example, that new types of hunting or new roles and meanings for hunting are being developed during this period of rapid change, so that hunting in the NC cannot be given a "remnant" interpretation. As is probably the case regarding many American folk activities, hunting has become more complex, specialized, and rationalized than it was in the pre-World War II era.

Direct historical influences on current hunting may also be indicated; for example, the NC Ku Klux Klan's interpretation of hunting as an "American," self-reliant, and masculine pursuit in the 1920's, a tolerant attitude toward poaching during the Depression, and the post WW II improvements in firearms and optics, which had influenced clear cut hunting and techno hunting by the 1960's.

**Time Line-Sketch of NC History and Deer Hunting**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event/Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pre-1700</td>
<td>Chinookian culture Amerindians' economy based on salmon and trade;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Clatsop and Tillamook Indians burn forest areas to create browse for blacktail;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Blacktail hunted for food, hides, and probably other uses;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Elk hunted with great difficulty;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Elk pits utilized;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Klaskanie Indians of Eastern CC may have used black-tails more extensively than other groups; Deer, elk, and other animal characters in Chinook tales; Forest spirits evidenced by stone site markers and initiation trips to Saddle Mt.

1790-1832 Diseases decimate Lower Columbia Indian people

1792 Captain Robert Gray, USN, "discovers" the Columbia River and crosses the bar

1803-1804 Lewis and Clark at Ft. Clatsop; deer and especially elk critical for food and hides; Drewyer often cited as the best Lewis and Clark hunter who significantly contributed to supplying the expedition

1810 Age of fur trade begins

1814 Astoria returned to U.S. sovereignty following War of 1812

1810-1840 Fur trade hunters based in Astoria; Hudson Bay Company employees include some French Canadian-Indian hunters

1850 Oregon population: 12,093; CC population: 462; Astoria population: 250
Several attempts to establish commercial farming fail, due to weather, limited transportation, and market competition

1850's Age of pioneers; venison a significant food item for some families, but domestic meat, especially beef, was dominant; Some Indian market hunters sold venison locally; Bear hunting common; for meat/oil, but also because of fear and damage;
Cullaby, noted Clatsop hunter and guide for a few local pioneers in Cullaby Lake area of North CC

1857 Major displacement of NC Indians to reservations outside of area

1859 Oregon statehood

1860 Oregon population: 52,465; CC population: 496

1870 Oregon population: 90,923

1870's Age of logging-fishing; logging camps rely almost exclusively on domestic meat; Indian George Dunkin in North CC, one of few Indian CC residents, trades elk meat for settlers' supplies

1880 Oregon population: 174,768

1880's Often little or no hunting; CC population: 10,000; Chinese population (cannery workers) peaks at 2,000

1890 Oregon population: 317,704

1900 Rapid expansion of NC tourism following train linkage to Portland
Oregon population: 413,536

1910 Oregon population: 672,765

1920 Oregon population: 783,389; Significant influx of Scandinavians into NW and NC

1920's KKK dominates NC politics; glorification of self-reliance, hunting, and firearms; Expansion of logging roads and clear cuts; Day hunting increases in popularity
1930  Oregon population: 953,786

1930’s  Depression, probable increase in meat hunting and poaching;  
         Rise of logger-hunter;  
         Tillamook Burns (huge and destructive forest fires)

1940  Oregon population: 1,089,684

1940’s  WWII;  
         Baker boys--poachers and market bear hunters in Olney area

1945  More and better rifles, optics, and cars;  
         Day hunting dominates

1950  Oregon population: 1,521,341

1950’s  Jinx Parker, noted NC hunter;  
         Tillamook Burn areas reopened for hunting--"Golden Age" of NC blacktail hunting;  
         Increased number of hunters from Portland drawn to area;  
         Bow hunting increases in NC;  
         Bounties in place for varmints, including cougar

1960  Oregon population: 1,768,667

1960’s  Probable expansion and refinement of the popular category, "Portland Hunter";  
         Expansion of tourism;  
         Rise of Eastern Oregon hunting by NC residents--split seasons (hunting both areas)

1970  Oregon population: 2,091,385

1970’s  Rise of bow hunting;  
         Herbicide spraying common on forest lands;
Increased hunter crowding and competition; 
Increased Fish and Wildlife regulation and controversy; 
Blacktail population debate begins--doe hunting vs. buck only hunting

1980 
Oregon population: 2,633,321

1980's 
Juvenile hunts by Fish and Wildlife Service; continued improvement of firearms, optics, and radios; rise in techno hunting; 
End of split Eastern/Western Oregon deer hunting by Fish and Wildlife

1900 
Oregon population: 2,842,321

1991 
Cavenham, British Corp., purchases Crown Zellerbach's NC timberland

1990's 
Restricted access to timberland; 
Collapse of most salmon runs; 
Increased local concern about timberland herbicide spraying; 
Several NC species placed on endangered list; 
Increase in nonconsumptive wildlife and natural area use; 
Ecotourism examined and initiated in NC; 
Development of new hunter types: conservation hunter and new hunter; 
High technology surpasses wood products as Oregon’s leading industry

1996 
British-American conglomerate, Hanson PLC’s subsidiary Cavenham Forest Industries, sells all its CC forest holdings and the Warrenton Mill to Oregon-based Willamette Industries; 
A popular NC reaction is to hope for better cooperation between residents, including recreational-hunting uses of CC’s timberland;
A discussion of current social and economic conditions in the NC follows, but some general historical observations regarding deer hunting in the NC may be noted here. Despite the fact that the literature erroneously dismisses the importance of hunting in NC Indian cultures, during the pre-contact era, hunting was still important to native peoples; however, the NC Indians were not as dependent upon hunting as other North American peoples were, due to the dominance of salmon, abundant seafood, and Indian trade in the NC. Also, the Indian influence on white settlers was minimal. The devastation of the local Indian populations by disease, the forced removal of nearly all the remaining Indians, and the whites' general disdain for Indian culture prevented any widespread viable transmission of Indian hunting lore to the new NC residents; there are a few glimpses of Indian hunters, but they are usually not named, nor are they the source of lore transmission:

The honored guests of the Summer House came by way of the mail stage from the boat landing at Skipanon. The mail stage also brought groceries for the hotel, but much food was secured locally. Indian men with two-wheeled, springless, pony-drawn carts peddled elk, venison and salmon. Salmon was sold only to customers who cut the fish lengthwise of the body. Indian women, with pineroot baskets on their backs, sold clams, crabs, sheep toes (barnacles), blackberries and cranberries. No doubt, many wild duck and goose dishes were served (Seaside Chamber of Commerce).
Regarding other eras in NC history, an accurate assessment of the role of hunting in the age of Euro-American exploration and during the period of the fur trade is presented in the literature; however, the role of hunting among the local pioneers and loggers is exaggerated by many NC residents.

This study did not review a sufficient amount of material on possible immigrant Scandinavian hunting lore in the NC to determine whether or not it has functioned as a significant influence. However, it can be stated that if such lore exists, it is not in general circulation.

--Contemporary Social and Economic Factors--

Population

Recent statistics for CC reveal that the population of the subregion is not expanding; in 1991 the population was 33,200, and in 1992, it was 33,100; only two other Oregon counties lost population during this period (Kennet 18 Nov. 1992).

The non-growth areas included Warrenton and Cannon Beach, both of which were formerly the fastest growing areas in CC, with numbers in excess of the state growth rate (Kennet 18 Nov. 1992). Seaside and Cannon Beach do not appear to be following the pattern set by Lincoln County for new retirees, as seen in the leveling off of growth in these South County areas. One explanation is that although CC has often been predicted to be a retirement zone for Portland, the rain and overcast skies seem to dampen
this prospect. In 1988, area residents 65 year-olds or older made up 16% of the population, which was above the Oregon state average for persons 65 years or older (13.7%). CC's "livability" may be high, but it must compete with other areas near Portland with similarly appealing characteristics.

Another explanation for the lack of population growth in CC is that the county has frequently experienced a net out-migration, due to a lack of local job opportunities. This population factor would seems to affect CC deer hunting in that, while hunters among the emigrants might return to CC to hunt with friends or family, it is more probable that they would visit CC in the summer, the traditional family holiday period and the salmon fishing season.

The seasonal aspect of the NC also has important economic implications:

Seasonal unemployment plays a major role in...Clatsop [county]...Lumber and wood products, construction, fishing, canning, agriculture, and tourist-related activities typically have seasonal components based for the most part on weather (OSU Extension Service, 10, 12).

However, periods of rapid population increase have also occurred in the NC. For example, between 1980 and 1989, CC's population rose by 8.3%. In this same period, in the growing retirement area of Lincoln County, the population rose by 16.4% (OSU Extension Service, 1). Nevertheless, CC, following the national trend, especially for the white population, had a
declining birth rate and smaller sized families throughout the 1970's and 80's. Over 97% of CC’s population is white, and as of 1980, the Asian population was 2%, based on labor force statistics (OSU Extension Service, 11). However, a significant increase in Hispanic-Americans has occurred in Astoria since the late 1970’s. The Indian population in the greater North Coast area is restricted to approximately 100-200 individuals who mainly reside in Washington, across the river from CC. They consider themselves the Chinook people, but have failed to gain official U.S. recognition.

While CC’s population is not racially diverse, it is diverse in other ways. For example, in Warrenton, the average age is 32.7 years, in Astoria, 34.7, and in Cannon Beach, 40.3. CC’s rate of college graduates (16.7%) is higher than that for neighboring counties, but it is significantly lower than the Oregon state average of 20.5% and the national average of 20.3%. The college graduate figures for both Gearhart and Cannon Beach were above the state and national averages. These statistics have implications for deer hunting in that a lower average age and a higher number of rural college graduates both tend to raise the hunting rate.

While Astoria has the highest poverty rate, this factor too is concentrated in a few Astoria neighborhoods. Astoria also contains some pockets of old money (LaBounty 6 Jan. 1993)
Urbanization

The map entitled "Population--1980," in Northam (20) gives a reader an appreciation for the dominance of Portland in relation to CC. The map also shows the dominance of Astoria and Seaside in CC; it shows as well, that the county's population is located almost exclusively along the northern border, the Columbia River, and along the western border, the coastline where it meets the Pacific Ocean.

Land Use

Land use in CC is dominated by forestry as the following chart shows (Ruttle, 9):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Land Use</th>
<th>Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Forests</td>
<td>90.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grazing</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intensive agriculture</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parks</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-productive land</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military</td>
<td>.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dryland farming</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Land use is also largely determined by the terrain. As the Oregon State University Extension Service reports, "outside of logging operations, the rugged interior does not generally lend itself to other economic activities" (1).

The second most common use for land in CC, grazing, accounts for only 3.2% of the land in CC, but much of it is along roadsides and is highly
visible and important in deer hunting. Grazing lands generally lie in the area north-west of a line running from Tillamook Head to Westport (Pease, 35). The average CC farm size is less than 200 acres (Philip Jackson, 88).

The majority of the land in CC is also privately owned; approximately 30% is in public hands. State lands are comprised of forest, parks, and ocean beaches (Ruttle, 9):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Land Ownership</th>
<th>Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Private (residential and corporate)</td>
<td>.68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public: Federal</td>
<td>.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State</td>
<td>.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local</td>
<td>.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Economy**

Regarding economic factors, there is a movement toward gender equality in the work force. The percentages for all persons over the age of 16 years in the work force were as follows in the 1970’s and 1980’s (OSU Extension Service, 7):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1970: Oregon</th>
<th>Clatsop County</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.74%</td>
<td>.73%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.41</td>
<td>.41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1980: Male</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>.75</td>
<td>.67</td>
<td>.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.50</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Regarding the relative decline of the timber industry, the lumber and wood products industries have always been cyclical, but the many high paying jobs lost to new technology and log exports will never be regained. The OSU Extension Service’s report (10) supports this. It states that
employment in such traditional manufacturing industries as lumber and wood products and seafood processing remains well below pre-1980 levels." Also, environmental issues have become a factor. The projected major increase in CC logging, as second growth timber reaches maturity, beginning in the year 2000, has been thrown into question by the debates over northern spotted owl, marbled murrelet, and salmon endangerment.

Boom and bust logging and fishing cycles undercut local stability and also have their effects on deer hunting activity, because as young CC residents leave to establish themselves and start families outside the county, they tend not to return. However, the extremely high unemployment periods in CC, due to the boom and bust cycle in the fishing and timber industries, have moderated since 1985 (OSU Extension Service, 8-9):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Unemployment Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>12.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>10.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Oregon Employment Department reported in April 1996 that the unemployment rate in Clatsop County was 6.6 percent in February 1996 and
6 percent in March 1996 ("Unemployment Falls with Floods." Daily Astorian).

Nevertheless, the basic structure of the local economy has changed; as Ruttle reports, "most of the sustained growth originated within the trade and services industry groups" (7-8). The standard of living may have stagnated for many CC residents since the decline of logging and fishing, and many families have maintained or improved their economic standing only through a spouse's second income.

The significantly reduced and stabilized unemployment rate may also be a significant factor in the current local attitude toward poaching. During the Depression, poaching was accepted by some as necessary to feed one's family, but it is not now the case. In the last 10 years, Oregon's income gap between rich and poor has been wider than what is has been nationally ("In Oregon, Rich Get Richer, Poor Get Poorer," Daily Astorian). This pattern may help to explain the continued popularity of big game hunting in the state since both the affluent and the lower income groups tend to hunt at a higher rate than do middle income groups.

By 1988, the gap in incomes for residents of the NW Coast counties of Columbia, Clatsop, Tillamook, and Lincoln, compared to incomes nationally, increased beyond $4,300. The trend had been unabated and dramatic (OSU Extension Service, 20):
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Income Differences, District 1 : U.S Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>$708</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>988</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>1,453</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>2,157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>2,348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>2,579</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>3,019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>3,549</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>3,910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>4,314</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A question to be asked is whether or not the various economic factors at work in the NC help to maintain a "mentality" or perception of poverty in CC.

There is ongoing discussion and sometimes a debate over the economic future of CC. Tourism and second retirement homes will probably continue to increase in importance, based on assessments of tourism in the NC, such as the following:

The importance of tourism to the future of the District 1 economy is the primary driving force behind the regional economic development strategy program...Its objective is to market the region as a destination resort area centered on a large Portland convention center now under construction...Communities within District 1 sponsor a variety of events to attract visitors. Typical examples include...the Sandcastle Day festivities at Cannon Beach" (OSU Extension Service, 21, 23).

The annual Miss Oregon pageant in Seaside is also the type of event which planners strive for.
Despite the emphasis being placed on the tourism industry, the James River Corporation's Wauna mill remains the county's largest single employer, and fishing and fish processing constitute 17% of the county's earned income (Forrester). With the development of new fish products, the CC fishery may yet expand beyond its current level. However, local residents are generally aware that investment capital for any sizable project is not locally available and that such investment ventures would require outside capital, which would also introduce outside control. Markets outside CC would also operate beyond the control, or even the influence, of the county. These economic facts of NC rural life contribute, in varying degrees, to the "outsider" point of view, and may also contribute to the view of nonresident deer hunters as outsiders.
CHAPTER II

GEOLOGY AND NORTH COAST DEER HUNTING

Introduction

This chapter discusses the geology and topography of the "North Coast," the Clatsop and Northern Tillamook Counties study area in Northwestern Oregon; it consists of sections on the physical geology and the human geology of the NC. The first section provides the background necessary for an understanding of how North Coast geological features affect local deer hunting; this discussion also serves as a background for an understanding of the geological factors which are important within local hunters’ interpretations of their deer hunting experiences. North Coast hunters’ specific knowledge of, and reactions to, geology are discussed in the second section on human geology.

PHYSICAL GEOLOGY AND NORTH COAST DEER HUNTING

Overview

NC deer hunting brings residents into contact with local geology, and, for many of these hunters, their experiences call up questions as to the nature of time, space, and causation. In turn, these philosophical questions can entail religious and political ideas, as well as “folk ideas”
in Dundes' sense, the basic ideas, premises or "native categories" of a
particular culture which form it's worldview--its views of the nature of
man, the world, and man's place in it (1971); the encounters NC hunters
have with the vast scale of geologic time and of space can lead them to
confront some of the basic questions of the post-modern world, such as
randomness and inhumanism.

NC hunting allows for "participation" in an activity carried out in a
dramatic, geological landscape which is an open book to those who would
read it. The immensity of time and space, as seen in the presence of the
Pacific Ocean, the Columbia River, and the Coast Range Mts. is the basis
for a characterization of the local area as "Giant Country." However, the
NC's sense of local subregionalism in using this term is not solely
geologic; the concept of natural abundance, especially from timber and
fish, also helps to create a local version of American giantism.

The hunter's direct experience of geology can frequently foster a
perception of unity in the natural world, due to the dominant local life
forms; timber, big game animals (deer and elk), and fish are so clearly
related to the local geology; in these life forms, it is evident that life
comes from the earth, the water, and the sea.

Human culture in the NC has until recently been directly tied to its
natural resources. A traditional naturalism was developed by the native
peoples or was possibly re-created in the NC to some degree by
Scandinavian immigrants. However, while the specific natural setting and ecosystems in the NC, based on geology, provided much, they also set severe limits on human activities. The limits stem from the dominant local water cycle and its interaction with land forms. Being so deeply rooted and nurtured in the local landscape-setting, the NC subregional culture has avoided many aspects of the dualistic, reductive, and typically American Nature versus Civilization dichotomy.

Although NC geology lacks the ascription of sacredness that it had in pre-contact times, it still serves to delineate this region from others in Oregon; NC blacktail hunters continue to experience the local landscape as a landscape of difficulty, which demands individual exertion and judgment.

**Physical Geology--Coast Range Region**

The "Coast Range" is a term which is generally accepted by geologists to refer to a distinct physiographic or landform region within the northwestern United States and the state of Oregon. See Figure 1. Orr, Orr, and Baldwin more specifically define the Coast Range region as a long narrow belt of moderately high mountains, in the 2000-3000 ft. range, and coastal headlands, which extend north to south from the Columbia River to the Coquille River, south of Coos Bay in Southern Oregon. The Coast Range region also extends east to west from the western edge of the centrally-located Willamette Valley to the continental shelf off the coast of Oregon. Dicken and Dicken, in addition to referring to this area in
this way, further delineate this region by “slope,” emphasizing the differences between the “seaward slope” and the Willamette Valley slope (1979).

The Coast Range or seaward slope of the northwestern coast region is approximately 30-60 miles wide and 200 miles long. Clatsop County (CC), which constitutes the bulk of the area chosen for this study, comprises 843 square miles, or 515,200 acres, of the North Coast region. The northernmost portion of Tillamook County, comprising approximately 15% of the county, is marginally included in the present study; this area of Tillamook County does not significantly differ from Clatsop County in its geological features. The terrain of the study area is characteristic of the Coast Range mountains; it is “rough [and] broken” (Ruttle, 2), and the soils are made up of marine sandstone, shale, and later basaltic intrusives. The Clatsop County area was uplifted 1000-2,000 feet and later eroded by streams to produce its present landform (Rosenfeld, 41).

It can be argued that the northwest Oregon Coast, or in popular usage, the North Coast (NC), on purely geologic grounds, is a subregion of the larger area defined by scientists as the Coast Range or the seaward slope. While much of the NC is within the Columbia River drainage, and the term “Lower Columbia” is often popularly used to describe the entire NC, this term is best applied only to the northern section of the area. Ross and
Brauner’s frequently used classification of “North Pacific Coast” corresponds to the classification “North Coast” (99).

**Geologic History of the Oregon North Coast**

Ross and Brauner describe the NC’s geologic history as being dramatic, complex, long continuing, ongoing, and as including monumental changes (103–05). During the past 15,000 years, major geologic changes in what is now the NC have been dramatic enough to affect the climate of the area. However, the geology and climate have been relatively stable in the past 1,000 years, even taking into account the A.D. 1250 Cascade Landslide Flood and the 1980’s eruptions of nearby Mt. St. Helens.

The earliest geologic history of the Farallon and North American plate movements, versus a competing coastal volcanic theory, is still debated for the Coast Range. It is clear that the portion of the region immediately south of the NC is older, of some local volcanic origin, and not the recipient of the Miocene lava flow from Eastern Oregon and Washington. Nor was the area south of the North Coast study area affected by the Pleistocene glacial Columbia River flood. Within the study area, the Miocene lava flow, 15-9 million years before the present, is seen in larger Columbia River basalts, which include Saddle Mt., Tillamook Head, and Neahkahnie Mountain. Smaller basalt breccias or broken fragments are also seen delineated from the softer and eroded sedimentary rock areas throughout the NC.
Although the prehistoric Oligocene Sea of 38-29 million years ago covered the entire northwest coast region, and although the Pleistocene Ice Age Columbia River floods of 15,500-13,000 years ago created the major drainage system seen today, later developments bear more directly on the human story in this region. Following earlier falls, the sea level rose about 8,000 B.C. and did not stabilize at its present level until about 3,000 B.C.; therefore, all human settlement sites prior to 3,000 B.C. were totally eradicated (Pettigrew, 519). This rise in sea level broke the fundamental link to initial Indian culture and its hunting practices in what is now the NC.

The northernmost portion of the NC was additionally stripped of its Indian artifacts, and perhaps its Indian population as well, in the Cascade Landslide Flood of A.D. 1250. In this event, a slide blocking the river near the present Bonneville Dam gave way, flooding the entire Lower Columbia, the area from Portland to the Pacific. Therefore, virtually all Columbia River settlement sites prior to AD 1250 were also destroyed (Pettigrew, 523).

Fourteen thousand years ago, prior to the end of the last continental glacial period, early inhabitants or visitors to the NC could have hunted big game, some species of which are now extinct, on the grassland coastal plateau, west of the present North Coast shoreline. However, this early hunting area now constitutes the Pacific continental shelf (Ross and
Brauner, 101); when the NC glaciers receded between 14,000 and 10,000 years ago, the ocean level rose, submerging these coastal plains. This important geological background is unknown to most modern local hunters, even though these hunters are generally informed about NW volcanic and riverine history.

Regarding food sources, salmon do not appear in the archaeological record until 8,000 years ago (Rice, 101), so that deer predated salmon as an important food source and cultural influence. This is explained by the fact that geology dictated the river conditions which controlled anadromous fish; between 8,000 and 4,000 years ago when the climate became warmer and drier, anadromous fish developed in such numbers to support a significant Columbia River population.

In terms of precipitation, between 4,000 and 2,500 years ago, pre-contact people were faced with a period of higher than average precipitation. The resulting erosion and siltation may have dramatically reduced the anadromous fish resource and, thereby, forced communities to diversify their food sources. Since the bow and arrow were introduced at this time, it seems likely that some or many of the communities that formerly depended upon fish runs may have expanded their activities for food procurement to meet their protein requirements. However, early bow technology would have been sufficient to kill NC blacktail deer, but generally not to kill elk.
About 2,500 years ago, anadromous fish populations rebounded as the waterways stabilized, and fish-based Indian populations could once again prosper. At the same time, however, many other non-fish local resources were utilized, including the Columbian blacktail deer, so that the dichotomous view of area Indians as being separated into hunting Indians and fishing Indians is clearly a grossly simplified, ahistorical point of view.

Pacific Ocean

The presence of the Pacific Ocean and its effects pervade the northwest and, even more so, the NC. The ocean is popularly seen as the source of major aspects of the powerful and dramatic local climate which includes the Pacific winter storms. Such violent storms can effectively close the woods to hunters, but even during mild weather, the Pacific Ocean’s breakers can be heard for several miles inland. The tidal inland streams and small rivers also attest to the ocean’s presence when a hunter is far removed from the shore.

One geologic feature known to many NC residents by way of the sizable local fishing industry also manifests, not only the might and age of the Columbia River, but also that of the ocean. The Astoria Fan, a region of submarine sediment from the Columbia River covers more than 3,500 square miles, stretching far out into the ocean, but it is swallowed up, nonetheless, by the vast Pacific.
Beaches

Beach erosion has proven to be a source of humility in the face of Nature’s “appropriation” of human real estate; NC beaches have generally been retreating during the historical period, but while shifting sands and encroachment problems have proven difficult to control, in some cases, human alterations have proven successful. The South Jetty, built on the Columbia River in 1885, is one example.

In the past, one NC endeavor that was frequently cited by residents as proof of the efficacy of large scale human development projects and wildlife maintenance, if not enhancement, is the development of the Clatsop Spit and the expansion of the beaches just to the south which resulted from the building of the massive Columbia River South Jetty. The Clatsop Spit area now supports a major razor clam population which attracts enthusiastic local clam diggers during the spring and fall minus tides. The activity of clamming is relevant to this study since it has many parallels to deer hunting, including the locals versus people from Portland dynamic. See Geography, Wildlife NC, Natural Abundance, and also Clams.

Estuaries

As with most American wetlands, the most significant fact about the once huge Columbia River Estuary is its drastic reduction for human uses. A major ecological result of this reduction is the decimation of the huge flocks of water birds reported by the early American and British
explorers and trappers. Also, in some cases, the clear cutting of estuary forests resulted in the siltation and destruction of many small streams which supported fisheries, wildlife, and waterfowl hunting.

Columbia River

The Columbia River, with its ultimate sources in Canada and the Rocky Mountains of Idaho, brings a sense of continental scale to the NC. In addition, the Columbia River fans out, just east of Knappa, near Astoria, to become one of the widest rivers in America; the mouth of the Columbia is 7 miles wide from Tongue Point in eastern Astoria to Washington state. See Figure 2.

The meeting point of “the Great River of the West” and the Pacific Ocean, 10 miles east of the official mouth of the Columbia where it meets the ocean, is a special place, the Columbia River bar, the largest and most dangerous bar in the United States. It is unusual for a year to pass without several boaters dying on or near the bar, the “ Graveyard of the Pacific.”

Since fishermen are often avid hunters, the bar and its attendant tragedies probably help to form the attitudes which hunters have towards Nature, and they help to form their view of the place of humans within Nature. This unified philosophy of nature presented in dramatic form is a geomantic perspective.

The continental scale brought to the NC by the Columbia River is also now seen in terms of the river being a modern vector of distant
contamination. Radiation spills or unlawful releases from the Hanford Nuclear Reservation in Eastern Washington continued from 1944 to 1977. During these years, NC residents who ate significant amounts of sturgeon and razor clams may have received harmful levels of radiation. Avid outdoorsmen were well-represented within this group, no doubt. A 1993 oil spill in the Columbia River, upriver at Longview, Washington, also polluted parts of the NC, and pesticides from Eastern Oregon continue to limit bald eagle egg hatching in the NC. While these cases of water pollution may have formerly been ascribed to the "outside" world, to evils visited upon the more pristine NC, research in the 1990's has identified harmful effluents, including the carcinogen, dioxin, from the Astoria and Wauna Mills in Clatsop County.

Other North Coast Rivers

The many rivers and streams in the NC often attract deer hunters who begin their seasonal round of fishing and hunting in the late winter and early spring steelhead seasons. The Klaskanie, Youngs, and Lewis and Clark Rivers drain the northern two-thirds of Clatsop County and enter the Columbia River at Youngs Bay in Astoria. To the south, the Necanicum River drains directly into the Pacific Ocean. The Nehalem River drains the southeastern corner of Clatsop County and enters the ocean further south at Nehalem Bay in Tillamook County. A number of smaller streams are also
a part of the drainage system in the NC and drain directly into the Pacific Ocean or the Columbia River (Ruttle, 2). See Figure 3.

The Nehalem River is by far the largest drainage system in this area in terms of stream flow, with over ten times the volume of the next largest CC watershed, Youngs River. The Lewis and Clark River, Big Creek, and the North Fork of the Klaskanine River are the other principle watersheds. NC soils are also relatively impervious to percolation and the slopes are steep (Ruttle, 13), so that the volume of flow in these rivers varies according to rainfall, with a reduced flow in summer and fall. The low flows during these seasons are due to the high runoff during the winter peak flows of December, January, and February when precipitation is heavy (Ruttle, 14). These same streams also have a tendency to flood during these months when the rainfall is greater (Ruttle, 13).

Mountains

Miocene lava flows from eastern Oregon fissures, 15-9 million years before the present, were terminal invasives which acted on softer sedimentary rock, creating such basalt formations as Saddle Mt., Tillamook Head (partly), and Neahkahnie Mt. These areas became prehistoric islands following the erosion of the adjoining softer rock. Marine fossils are found on these mountains to prove this point, and every NC child learns this in school.
Saddle Mt. is visible from Astoria, Warrenton and from Highway 26, the only highway from Portland to the South CC area, which includes Seaside and Cannon Beach. It is the highest point in CC, at 1001 m. or 3,266 ft. Within the protection of the Saddle Mt. State Park, the mountain has a special, or in a modern, non-religious sense, “sacred” status which includes a no hunting protection for its wildlife. The name describes Saddle Mountain’s distinctive camel back shape, the larger, northern portion being more massive, in contrast to the smaller southern section.

Saddle Mt. is the principle source of CC’s major water courses—Youngs River, the Lewis and Clark River, Humbug Creek, and Fishhawk Creek. Eleven other NC peaks dominate their local areas. They are Wickiup Mt., Nicolai Mt., Elk Mt., Humbug Mt., Onion Peak, Green Mt., Green Mt. (Sister Green), Sugarloaf Mt., Kidders Butte, Flat Iron Mt., and Angora Peak. Several peaks, Saddle Mt. most notably, are dramatic examples of the mountain-to-sea water cycle. Standing in the NC’s major population centers, one can look to the foothills or to a distant peak and see the rain or snow which forms the origin of the rushing water at one’s feet. See Figure 2.

Volcanoes

While the NC is not a volcanic area itself, it has been shaped by volcanoes to the east. For example, the 1980 Mount St. Helens eruption
created an ash fall in the NC, this ash tainting the Columbia River pink for several days.

Present Geologic Conditions

The ongoing uplift of the Coast Range block, caused by the subducting slab of the Juan de Fuca tectonic plate beneath the North American plate, results in continuing rock fractures, faults, and folds on the seaward slope, including the NC (Orr, Orr, and Baldwin, 190). Fractures, faults, slides, and wrinkles predominate, and geologists describe a “network of crisscrossing faults and joints in rock formations in the region” (Orr, Orr and Baldwin, 191).

Minerals

Clatsop County has only limited mineral resources. The minerals found in the area are iron, pyrites, quartz, diatomite, natural gas, lignitic coal, sandstone, and basalt, none of which are of great commercial value. However, clays from the vicinity of Astoria are used in the manufacture of brick and pipe (Ruttle, 1, 17).

Sand, gravel, basalt rock extractions, and a few natural gas producing wells near Mist, in eastern CC, are the only other resources under current commercial development. The Mist natural gas field in western Columbia County, near the CC border, is small, and new fields are not expected. Surface mineral or salt deposits which would serve as deer salt licks are not common.
Soils, Present

Volcanic rocks made up of invasive Columbia River basalt overlie most of northeastern and southeastern Clatsop County and some small areas of central CC. Shale, sandstone, and conglomerate sediment formations underlie these volcanics throughout CC, especially in the western portion. They are exposed throughout the county, particularly in the western portion. These sediments are described as "fine grained, tightly compacted, [and]] relatively impermeable" (Ruttle, 13).

The general classification of NC soil is "Western Brown Forest, Haplumbrepts," but depending mainly on elevation, the soils show other characteristics (Franklin and Dyrness, 12). Loy's description of NC soils points out the major differences between the low, wet Coast area and the higher Coast Range area; clays predominate in lower areas, such as along the Columbia River and in stream valleys and estuaries. See Figure 4. These poorly drained soils in early stages of formation, or inceptisols, are of the udic (wet) type. Reddish clayey or loamy soils, or alfisols, are found at higher elevations in forested sites; they are comprised of acid soil over a clay base. Regardless of elevation, acidic NC soils are generally so low on the pH scale that they must be limed for family vegetable garden use.

Coastal landslides clearly and dramatically demonstrate the geologic and climactic forces at work in the NC. In 1961, within a two
week period, 125 acres of hillside slumped into the shore line in Ecola State Park in South CC (Orr, Orr, and Baldwin, 185). In 1994, a rock slide blocked Highway 101 on Neahkanie Mt. Inland landslides also attest to NC soil and rain conditions. Unlike residents in urban areas, many NC house builders and buyers must concern themselves with geologic factors. For example, the north slope of Astoria is prone to slides. Elsie and parts of U.S. Highway 26 lie in a county-designated geological hazard zone. There were also serious slides in the Nehalem River drainage in 1991 and 1992.

**Land Capability**

On the Klingebiel-Montgomery, United States Department of Agriculture land-capability scale, 90% of CC is in Class 6 (Kimerling and Jackson, 38); that is, it is generally unsuited for crops, with range improvements possible. There are steep slopes with severe erosion potential, and severe past erosion has created an excessive hazard of overflow. The soil is shallow in depth and the soil saline. Poor drainage, severe climatic limitations, low moisture capacity, and stones are also present.

Approximately 10% of CC, a wedge extending south of Tillamook Head to the county border and inland from 2 to 10 miles, is designated as Class 7. This area is even more unsuitable for agriculture than the rest of the county, due to its steeper terrain (Kimerling and Jackson, 38). Given
this type of a land capability profile, it is not surprising that over 90% of CC is commercial forest land.

HUMAN GEOLOGY AND NORTH COAST DEER HUNTING

Overview

Even though NC hunting generally enhances participants' knowledge and appreciation of local geology, NC residents and hunters still fail to appreciate the role of geology in the lives of the earliest pre-Chinookian NC hunters and later Indian hunters. This rather interesting gap in modern residents' knowledge of the events which occurred between the periods of NC landform development and post contact geology probably results from dominant Christian stories-myths and national pioneer stories-myths.

While the geological story is usually incomplete among NC deer hunters, it remains influential and sometimes fundamental to a local rationalism which includes a strong scientific, or sometimes scientific, orientation. The local landform features are so dramatic that they must be accommodated by most people, either as aesthetic objects, food providers, or, most recently, as commodities for tourism, and possibly ecotourism; the giantism of NC geology also serves well as the basis for a natural abundance of flora and fauna.

All of the major themes of NC physical geology are present within the human geological aspect of NC deer hunting. These themes are experienced by hunters as either direct physical experiences or as indirect
concepts, emotions, or values. For example, the power and limits imposed upon NC residents and hunters by the geology of Giant Country is experienced first-hand by hunters when they pack out a blacktail carcass from hilly, muddy, or flooded sites.Such experiences can teach hunters about local geology, or, as is often the case, they can teach hunters about their pioneer ancestors’ experiences. They can, therefore, act as a recreation, which is a basic aspect of many rituals and much folklore.

When interpreting NC hunters’ experiences of local geology within deer hunting, an observer must avoid the danger of exaggerating their importance. Generally, within American outdoor activities, geology usually remains secondary to biologic-animal life; however, in the NC, it is clearly more important than in many other hunting areas of the U.S.; This is especially true when the NC is compared to the hunting areas of the Eastern U.S. For example, the specific natural setting and ecosystem of the NC, including its geology, can re-shape cultural expression, as seen in some NC deer hunters’ adoption of technology to offset demanding hilly, brushy terrain. While hunters may reject such alterations of convenience and efficiency and hunt within traditional limits to create vivid memories of eventful hunts and pack outs, for others, the result can be the dramatic alteration of the hunt to change it from a nature encounter into a techno hunt.
Therefore, NC geology can either contribute to a reduction, e.g., as in
techno hunting, or to an increase of the "participation" of the hunter in
the local landscape-setting. When participation in the landscape-setting
through physical and psychological demands, is increased, as in solo
hunting and solo pack outs, the hunter tends to experience the unity of
nature's realms--geologic, floral, faunal, and human. The somewhat
unusual combination of the small blacktail deer, as opposed to the Eastern
Oregon mule deer and the Eastern American whitetail deer, with the rough
NC terrain and the NC weather, combine to create a demanding and
individualistic type of solo hunting; this creation can contribute to a
subregional identification of the area among NC blacktail hunters.

Another subregional aspect of NC blacktail hunting is the "Bench Leg
Deer." Although this is an imprecise and not fully elaborated term, its
connection to the Coast Range's hilly terrain is clear. On the other hand,
as a result of NC settlers' and developers' diking and draining of the
majority of freshwater wetlands, the boat hunt, which could have possibly
developed into a NC subregional speciality, has been virtually eliminated.

This diking is another case of how the local landscape-setting can
affect cultural expression. The diking also, no doubt, decreased the
perceived "wildness" of the landscape, and probably, the perceived
"wildness" of the deer; certainly the local deer's escapability and secret
haunts were reduced by the human domination of the tidal areas. See Figure 5.

Whereas, the boat or flood plain hunt has decreased in the NC, the salt lick hunter strategy has, judging from this study's findings, never been a NC practice. There was a clear and consistent negative finding on this topic, demonstrating some regional differences among hunters. The use of bait salt licks is currently a major practice being debated in some American regions.

While the direct physical links between geology and blacktail hunting in the NC are clear, the indirect links, the links between human emotions, concepts, and values and blacktail hunting are not as clear cut. However, these indirect links appear to be substantial, based on informant comments or widely-held relevant theories. The presence of a NC geomantic system, based on the flow of water-energy in the form of ocean, rain, and river is one such case. For example, driving along Youngs Bay in Northern CC, one can see Saddle Mt., the uppermost part of the drainage system contributing to the bay. See Figure 6. Although this study did not initially attempt to establish the existence or absence of such a quasi-cosmological system, there was enough evidence to at least establish, as an open-question, the existence of such a NC perspective.

Major elements as food providers in the NC geomantic system, the rivers, especially the Columbia River, and the ocean beaches also
contribute to the NC's notions of wildness, natural abundance, living off the land in a lifestyle similar to a "native," subsistence lifestyle, and the notion of humans living within, as opposed to, or against, nature.

Even the NC's most recent geologic product, the top soil, is seen as wild or untamable. Being thin, strongly acid, and usually clayey, the soil is not fruitful and does not support field crops. It is the basis for pasturing cattle and for silviculture, which are types of production closer to the deer and elk's world than to traditional American agriculture. Blacktails and elk also share the farmer's pastures and corporate tree farms with their "legal" owners.

While it is problematic to do so, because the NC's landscape-setting, including its soil, is seen as being less tamed than in other regions, it is tempting to consider blacktail antlers as symbolic of NC geology. As mineral products, antlers come from the earth, and if they are taken as the essence or distillation of the deer, they are again linked to the land since the deer itself, its muscles, bones, and antlers, are land products. As earth products, deer antlers can also intuitively or subconsciously be seen as resulting from, and symbolizing, the unity of nature. This symbolic interpretation of antlers would occur in spite of a pronounced, overt, national and NC subregional rejection of trophy hunting. The retention of blacktail antlers also appears to express the "respect" theme among NC deer hunters. Respect is often a sub-theme within more wide-
ranging themes, such as natural abundance, the unity of nature, local pioneer ancestry, and human participation in nature.

The tension between viewing antlers as concrete objects, as opposed to viewing them as symbols, is recapitulated in the large-scale NC landscape, especially in its major geologic features. Geologic features constitute a "reality check" as brute facts, but they may also serve as subconscious symbols or sets of symbols. However, although some expansive vistas are present in the NC, hunters are, in the main, faced with intimate settings, largely due to the complex, multi-directional nature of the Coast Range foothills, but also due to the local vegetation and climate. The subconscious aspect of hunters' responses to geology should be emphasized because the informants failed to express symbolic interpretations, even to the point of being anti-symbolic. As with other themes, potentially alternate points of view from the NC Indian culture are conspicuous by their absence; most noticeably, the sacredness (sublimity) of special sites is lacking.

This tension between experiencing dramatic NC geologic features, such as Saddle Mt., the Columbia River, and the ocean beaches, and experiencing intimate sites probably contributes to the themes of Giant Country and participation in nature-reality, but admittedly, such experiences appear to vary significantly among residents, novice hunters, and hunters at different stages of their hunting careers.
As a result of the direct and indirect role of NC geology in local blacktail hunting, geology is seen to contribute to subregional identification. Far beyond the ideological or symbolic value of geology in deer hunting is its value in maintaining a subregional identity.

**Geologic History, Human Dimension**

Geological "stories" of the earliest prehistoric era are not commonly told or stressed in the NC. For example, the population of the NC, including many of its hunters, is generally not aware of the fundamental geological changes undergone by local inhabited sites; the fact that marine dinosaur fossils have been recovered from Saddle Mt., the highest peak in CC, is commonly known, and many people are aware that this area was once the ocean's floor, but knowledge of these isolated facts is not a part of a total, comprehensive picture of prehistoric local geology. In this limited geological "story," the Christian biblical account of creation would tend to undercut the scientific record.

Nor does the hunting or non-hunting population fully appreciate the fact that early groups of NC people hunted now extinct animals under different geological conditions in the past, or that the now submerged continental shelf was once a fertile, game-producing plain. There are several ways to explain these situations.

First, there is a tendency for modern, technologically advanced people to insist upon the now scientifically refuted theory of cultural
evolution in which prehistoric peoples are seen as either living in a
timeless golden age of the noble savage, or in a timeless age of dark
savagery. Second, the decimation of the later local Indians by disease and
their removal to reservations dramatically reduced the possibility of the
transmission of the pre-contact oral record to new settlers.

In the absence of a full, rich view of prehistoric hunter-gatherers in
the NC, contemporary hunters may fail to realize that they have an
excellent local example of how a dependence upon wild animals, whether
fish or deer, places people in an intimate, balanced, sustainable, and
totally serious relationship with the immediate environment or eco-
system, including its geology. Most local residents would thus lack a
crucial part of the human-land linkage—immediate sustenance. Rather, as
with most moderns, their life-world would tend to be circumscribed by
their participation in the dominant, national cash economy.

Based on the early first-hand experiences of a few writers, the first
missionaries and settlers, local people generally have a much more co-
herent picture of the NC Indian culture beginning with the river Indians of
the contact period—the Clatsops, Chinooks, and their neighbors to the
south, the Tillamooks, rather than of the earliest Indian cultures. How-
ever, the strong Christian orientation of these early writers generally led
to a less than scientific and historical view. For example, early writers
dismissed Chinookian culture, including its interpretation of the land and its wildlife.

Assigning Christian "correspondences" or symbolic meanings to geologic features, such as rivers, streams, and mountains, would tend to undermine a scientific and historical view of these features and their related wildlife. For example, when children learn in Isaiah 40 that "Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low," at least a part of the mystery, majesty, and perhaps even an objective assessment of what really produces mountains, is marginalized or preempted. Other examples of a theological interpretation of geologic features abound, as in the traditional Christian belief in the "decay of Nature," or the belief that mountains are the result of human sin or the result of Adam's fall (Nicolson, 83). The growth of Christian fundamentalism, one aspect of which can be seen in the relatively new fundamentalist elementary schools in the NC, is most likely contributing to a strengthening and expansion of orthodox religious interpretations of NC geology and wildlife as separate creations, versus an interpretation of these as a part of the ecologist's web of life.

Judaic-Christian religions-as-mythologies do not interpret earth features and animals as powerful entities in their own right, intimately and intrinsically bound up with human existence; at least they are not interpreted in this way to the degree found in animistic or less
transcendental religions. Consequently, when local NC geologic features are “seen,” that is, largely interpreted with minimal reliance on ocular reality or an empirical eye, as would be the case in a totemistic viewpoint, for example, the impact and importance of natural features are diminished.

However, while the official or “Big Tradition” may place geology quite far in the background, totally subservient to higher spiritual powers, there does seem to exist in the NC a “Little Tradition” of individualistic non-orthodox views, which are based on personal and immediate experience, the folk versus the official or dominant point of view. The emphasis on the psychological impact of local geological features may seem overdrawn in this discussion, but it may be noted that when the former radio station in Seaside signed off using a phrase about “Giant Country,” residents understood the reference. For many residents, especially those who work in the extractive industries of logging and fishing, it is nearly impossible to live in the NC without being directly affected by the sight or presence of such features as Saddle Mountain, the Columbia River, the ocean beach, or the Pacific winter storms. These geological, topographical, and climatic features are major elements in the NC’s symbolic landscape, cultural meanings inscribed on ecological features.
it may be argued that when people are faced with their basic human need to connect themselves to the immediate environment for security and livelihood, the absence of the geologic perspective might enhance the probability that hunting will serve as a human-land link. In this case, hunting’s scientific, realistic, and empirically-based perspective might impact, either to undermine or to complement, such non-empirical myths as the Biblical account of creation and God’s gift to Adam of dominion over the products of the earth, its animals, both wild and domestic.

Geologic Knowledge and Interest Among NC Residents and Hunters

As outlined in the previous section on the human dimension of physical geology, many NC residents are not usually deeply aware of, on a day-to-day basis, the dramatic geologic events of enormous physical and chronological scale that have taken place in the area. But, both NC present-day residents and previous generations have periodically witnessed significant geologic events which have demonstrated the power of the earth’s basic elements; such noteworthy events, as well as more indirect geologic influences, have been inscribed in family and local popular history. Moderate earthquakes were felt in the NC in 1938, 1939, 1957, and 1963, and a tsunami caused over $500,000 worth of damage in Seaside in 1964 (Dicken and Dicken, 1979). Most recently, Mt. St. Helens erupted in 1980, sending ash to the NC with the shifting winds.
Geology has also been relevant to residents, frequently as a prime factor, when economic decisions have been made in the NC. The Clatsop Plains aquifer, for example, has excluded tract housing and condominium development in the city of Gearhart which lies between Warrenton and Seaside, and many potential rural homesites in the county have been disallowed for septic systems, due to high water tables and poor soil porosity. Geological conditions have also limited the development of some would-be bedroom rural areas, “ruburbias,” areas such as the Lewis and Clark valley. On homesteads already approved in such areas, local hunting and living among wildlife are popular aspects of county living.

With the rise of tourism as the NC’s leading industry in the 1990’s, there is also a growing awareness that the area’s natural beauty, much of it in the form of geologic formations, is a key component of the local economy. In the past few years, non-consumptive ecotourism has received attention as a possible expansion of NC tourism. The Daily Astorian’s front page features on ecotourism, dated June 10, 1994 and August 10, 1994, attest to this fact. In some cases, the geologic aspects of the landscape function only as the background for activities, but in other cases, geology is at center stage, as in Columbia River estuary sightseeing cruises, Saddle Mt. wildflower hikes, scenic drives or hikes on Coast Range peaks or headlands, and winter storm watching from the South Jetty.
While geology may be popularly seen as a background element in most forms of avocational folklore, the authors of magazine literature on outdoor blood sports consistently reject a single factor interpretation of hunting, fishing, clamming, and other such activities. The informants had similar views. These sources insist that background elements, such as geology, are constitutive elements in a unified “total experience.” Participants vary as to which of the different elements or aspects of hunting they stress, but geology can be a significant factor for some NC deer hunters, either periodically or on a consistent basis. Thus, geology may serve many themes or appeal to various non-empirical aspects of hunting, including ideology, aesthetics, Pervin’s “affective tone” (1978, 97), orthodox religion, or alternate or new religions, such as geopiety (Graber, ix, 5-6; Gaard 1993, 307-08).

Since both dramatic and newsworthy NC geologic events and other more subtle and cultural geologic aspects, such as soil types and profiles, persist in the NC residents, especially those who work in extractive industries and those who hunt, exhibit more than the typical NC exposure, knowledge, awareness, and interest in geology. NC residents also have more than average exposure to geology.

In addition to learning about geology from their own first-hand field experiences, hunters may also understand and experience the local geology through their interest in, and identification with, the NC European and
American explorers and settlers. This is especially possible, since compared to the settlements in the Eastern United States and the once Spanish-ruled West, the NC Euro-American presence is a recent development. Captain Robert Gray first crossed the Columbia River bar in 1792, and settlement was a decades long process, beginning in the 1840’s.

The human, immigrant history or “story” of the NC is well-known to residents and is rather well-articulated, largely because it has been, and continues to be, a part of the local tourist trade, enshrined in the NC’s several museums and parks. By learning about their “ancestors,” residents especially experience the landscape as one of wealth, opportunity, yet difficulty, since all of these factors are linked to local geology; thus, the “folk ideas” or “basic premises” of residents include the notion that their local landscape-setting offers wealth through hard work, probably based, as Dundes tentatively suggests, on the “principle of unlimited good” (96).

The most lionized NC explorers, the Captains Lewis and Clark, leaders of the 1805-06 American army expedition, established the initial American claim to the Oregon country. The interpretation of these explorers has been somewhat popularized, but an accurate account of their difficulties while traveling about the NC, sometimes with significant risks of exposure, drowning, or injury from falls, is general local knowledge. Captain Clark required an Indian guide to traverse Tillamook
Head (Dicken and Dicken 1979), and even the short trip from the expedition's quarters at Ft. Clatsop to Tansy Point, in present day Warrenton, took a full day because of the difficulty of crossing sloughs. Also, seeking blacktails and elk, the expedition hunters often lost meat to spoilage because of the sloughs and bogs in what is now the Lewis and Clark area of north CC.

As the Dorson-Dundes exchange over fakelore and the long-running debate has demonstrated, distinguishing between fakelore and folklore is probably a case by case, contextual consideration. But there are some rather clear-cut NC examples of decontextualized demonstrations of history and also of reductions in the scale of "replicas" which, if they do not represent a poorly devised "invented tradition," at least move in that direction. For example, demonstrating a civil war skirmish at Ft. Stevens State Park, when no skirmishes actually took place in the state, and creating a small scale, Disneyesque river boat for Columbia River tours seem unauthentic, misleading, and driven by the profit motive. See Figure 7. Such "re-creations" or "reenactments" of historical events and such use of historical artifacts or reproductions may later come to be used as a part of more genuine folkloric events; however, these "distanced" re-creations differ in context from earlier folkloric expressions. See Shuman's discussion on the decontextualizing of local folklore activities by outside, commercially driven forces (357-58).
Many NC settler and immigrant stories document struggles with the local landscape which were similar to those experienced by the Lewis and Clark expedition. For example, both the early missionary Frost ("Part III") and the woman mail carrier (Gerritse, 31–2) recount truly harrowing trips over Neahkahnie Mountain. On the other hand, waterways proved to be both a blessing and a curse for the early residents. Fitzgerald states that "most of the [pioneer] communities [in CC] were isolated from each other except by waterways" (500), and diaries or family oral histories, from Hildebrand's (32) and Lindgren's (1988b, 28), to name a few, stress the early settlers' reliance on water transport before the long-postponed building of roads began. Water transport sometimes proved dangerous, even when sizeable vessels were employed. One entry reports,

April 17, 1898: Today I went up to see Mrs. Cusick. She is in great trouble for Mr. Cusick drowned and is in the Columbia river yet. He fell overboard off the steamer Electric last Wednesday while coming up from Astoria. This old river swallows up so many--one after another (Gault 1984, 14).

Limited Geologic Focus Among NC Residents and Hunters

While residents experience geology daily, based partly on J. B. Jackson's evaluation of "background landscape," it should be admitted that, for many NC residents and hunters, the local geologic features are relatively minor factors since they are not integrated into personal space and time, privatized daily life, or a religio-cosmic point of view ("Several
American Landscapes”). Furthermore, the local geology or landscape may not even exercise a powerful role within residents’ rationalized or ideological space. Local features may be more dead than living symbol, or they may be objects of shallow sentimentalism. Also, following Tuan’s critique of biophilia, NC residents and hunters, even if to a lesser degree than their “overcivilized” urbanized neighbors, nearly always emphasize fauna and flora, biology or biophilia, rather than geology or geopiety. In spite of all these reservations, geology is a persistent, if not dominant, theme within informants’ hunting accounts, and non-hunters may well underestimate the direct links which exist between deer hunting and the geologic factors which are discussed below—slope, soil, water, and minerals.

It seems to be consistent with most contemporary psychological theories to say that the personal experiences of individuals which are not recognized or expressed in the “Big Tradition” tend to surface in the “Little Tradition.” Thus, a belief in the existence of bench leg deer and the importance placed on antlers among the subculture of NC hunters may be the result of their omission in the dominant culture; such omissions in the Big Tradition create opportunities for special knowledge and appreciation; those “in the know” can see beyond the typical, default, or unmarked case. What bench leg deer and antlers symbolize to hunters, if anything, thus becomes a question of some interest.
Perhaps the main point regarding the importance of geology in NC deer hunting is that one should not place geology in opposition to other "major" aspects of local hunting; rather, one should accept and take into account the fact that NC geology does play some part in NC hunting. Furthermore, geology should be recognized as being more important in the NC than in other American cultural regions and more important than within many other American subregional hunting "traditions. For example, compared to the importance of geology in Rutledge's extensive description of deer hunting in tidewater South Carolina, geology in the NC has a much greater significance.

Human Geology and North Coast Deer Hunting--Direct Links

Slope

Geology in the form of slope powerfully contributes to hunter fatigue and thus impacts on NC deer hunting. The NC's steep slopes with their poor footing can be unhuntable, as described by Loy (124-25), and other areas, while huntable, may require adjustment and adaptation on the part of hunters.

The steep slope of the Coast Range foothills and peaks is probably one inducement to road hunting and group or partner hunting. These types of hunting are practiced largely as a means of avoiding a troublesome and sometimes backbreaking pack out, the task of carrying the field-dressed or gutted deer to a hunter's vehicle. On the other hand, partners or groups
can employ various park and hunt tactics in which a hunter is dropped off and picked up, enabling him to hunt downhill. Thus, hunters can avoid uphill return hikes to a “rig,” which refers to any vehicle, but often to a pickup or four wheel drive sport vehicle.

Slope can also be the dominant factor in hunt site selection, and it may also shape hunting tactics. For example, NC deer hunters usually hunt downhill, not only to minimize the fatigue of a pack out, but also to take advantage of the rising or falling air currents, so that they might hunt into the wind and avoid warning the deer off with their human scent. Informant 34--24-25 shows that hunting strategies can depend on the site and situation since these are complicating factors in a hunt:

“...Most of these hills round here are a series of ridges coming down...
Usually...[you] get on opposite sides of a ravine, might be about 200 yards apart, and just weave your way back and forth up across a ridge.
[First] hunt up [the ridge], then turn around, hunt across [the ridge, and lastly] down.
If you try to hunt cross ways, you’ve got to go down in the valley, up the ridge, [then] down, [then] up.
It’s a lot easier to hunt to the top and down the top, than back down, than try to go sidehill.”
There are other possibilities;...it depends on the site and situation.

But hunting cross-country can also, not necessarily with adaptations, be accepted as good exercise, as with Informant 14--9, 12:

“Health-wise, it keeps an old man young.
[It] gives you lots of exercise; it’s a healthful thing to do.
I'm 70 years old, and I still go over Fog Mt. every year,...but it [gets] a little steeper [each year]...“

The seasonal aspects of hunting are much discussed in the popular literature, but Informant 14-12's comments are also interesting in that they indicate that his deer hunting includes a yearly encounter with a specific mountain.

It may be noted that slope is also one of the many unscripted aspects of deer hunting in the NC. In the following hunt, Informant 20-40-42 starts a deer hunt but finishes his hunt by stalking a bull elk, willingly passing up several deer in the process. The other hunter in the story apparently did not want to follow the elk, due to the steep topography. Informant 20's rather specific observations of the landscape, the geology of the hunting site, is noteworthy, but not unique among informants. The narrator describes the elk as being very much in its own, unified world, its habitat which definitely includes the hills and the water in the area, the geology of the site.

As with some other hunting stories in this study, the following account is given nearly in its entirety to provide a fuller context and to provide examples of themes discussed elsewhere. These include the slope's effect on wind-scent, the powerful impression made by antlers, and the higher status of elk compared with blacktails. The hunt took place
in the same year that the informant's bow hunting partner took a deer in the morning and an elk in the afternoon. The story is told with humor:

---Shooting an Elk in the Head, Story---
...I had always heard that you should never shoot an elk in the head; I had to learn the hard way.

I was down in Betterson in northwest Tillamook County, 8 miles inland from Manzanita; in that rough country, I had hiked up this ridge; about as far as I was going to go, I sat down.

Another hunter in my group came up; as we sat there, we saw this elk, way up on this knoll.

I forget the name of the mountain; it was possibly High Butte, altitude 671 feet.

The elk came down; I could see it coming down; we were above a creek, probably about 500 feet.

The elk came off this mountain; it came right down into the bottom of the creek; it plopped right down into the creek to cool off, as if it was saying, "Boy this is great; I'm hot."

I watched it for a long time; then it came out of the creek, up on a dry piece of land, and just lay down there, like animals will do, and I saw all this.

"Gee whiz, I've got an elk tag and I've got a deer tag; I'm deer hunting," I said, "but I'd sure like to get that elk."

This wasn't a cow, but a huge elk with big horns and big rack.

This fellow sitting with me said, "I'm not going down after it; if you want to go, you can."

"Ok," I said, "I'm going down."

On the way down the hill, I must have wakened up 6 or 7 deer.

I didn't shoot at any because I had my eye on this elk.

The elk was about 300 feet below me, at least; it took me 2 1/2 hours to get down where I could get close enough to get a shot; the wind happened to be quartering, so my scent was being carried up the hill; the elk couldn't smell me, but it was looking right down that creek; I was kind of off to the side; I went off to where I came over a knoll.

The elk was off about 50 yards, as I recall.

I wasn't shooting a compound bow, a recurved bow; I thought I was a
pretty good shot; I had qualified for second place in the field archery test, in the Pope and Young shoot that they have every year.

When I couldn’t get any farther and was within 50 yards, I said to myself, “I’m going to take a shot; I’ve spent so much time down here, it’s about 3:30; the fellas are going to be waiting for me.”

The elk was laying down.

I missed him with the shot; it went over him, so next time, for the second shot, he got up and was looking right at me.

“Boy, oh boy, here’s a shot! I’m going to knock one right through your brains,” I said.

It sounded like you hit a tree; here this arrow was sticking out of his forehead, this bony structure right here; it didn’t even phase the elk.

The elk went down the creek and up the fern flat, seeming as if proud as hell of the arrow sticking out of his head; it probably broke off and healed up after that.

I learned my lesson; I’ll never shoot an elk in the head again; I was true to the mark; I hit where I wanted to hit.

If I had my senses, I would have hit it in the neck, the main arteries.

It’s a shot I’m not too proud of because I left the shaft, or at least the head of the shaft, in the elk, but I can still, in my mind, see this elk running; it looked like a unicorn.

I told that story to the other guys, and they couldn’t believe it either.

In the last sentence, the informant was referring to what he mistakenly took as my disbelief.

**Slope and Footing, Pack Out**

As seen in the previous section, the steep slopes of the Coast Range directly affect NC deer hunters in several ways. While some hunts or shots may be passed over, due to the rough terrain, if a hunter does make a
kill in rough country, that country, and as some hunters see it, the dead
deer itself, perhaps as a "product" of that country, may exact a heavy toll
from the hunter who must pack his prey to the nearest road; clearly this
would be a case of poetic justice.

Residents who hunt on their own property, termed "Property
Hunters," circumvent the pack out problem by limiting their kills to their
own pastures or woods within which they have easy transport, usually to
their barns or garages. Property hunters experience convenience, but at
the expense of a fully hunting experience, as opposed to merely shooting-
killing, since their hunts are devoid of what is usually the most physically
exerting part of hunting, the pack out. One informant, Nels Rasmussen,
who hauls the deer carcass from his pasture into his barn area with a
tractor, claimed that he is not a "real" hunter. See Figure 8.

The use of other mechanical gear can also introduce an element of
 techno hunting or hunting with the aid of mechanical devices, technology.
This theme, as well as the themes of hunting and packing out in groups or
with a partner, is seen in the narration of Informant 27--18--19, an old
timer. Also in this narration, the old timer's pragmatism and confident
distance from the prey coincides with Wellborn's claim that a clear
generational difference exists between older Oregon hunters, who were
raised within a utilitarian, wildlife consumption philosophy, and their
younger fellow hunters, who are generally more influenced by a reflective,
complex, and perhaps ambiguous view of hunting. The focus on mechanical aids, and not on the dead animal, is noteworthy in the following account:

"...If you got a deer, two guys [of the group] would drop off and...[field dress] the deer and...[the meat in the back-pack] went back up the hill, and the rest of them would go on hunting, that's the way we hunted."

We never used a deer pack to carry deer on the shoulders.
We didn't carry deer on a pole.
"We just quarter them up.
Unless you got...any distance to take them, [it's] much easier to put them [quartered] in a [back] pack and take them out, [rather than to] try to haul them around, put them on your back, all in one piece.
All of us guys could pack pretty good; we could probably pack twice our weight..."

On another hunt, Informant 27--19 and his group returned the day after the kill to pack out an elk:

...They had a power wagon, [a winch rig], since the loggers in the group could get it.
It had 1,800 ft. of straw line out.
"[It] would have been easier to pack it, by [the] time we got through fiddling around, pulling that line on and off."

The prevalence of logging roads encourages NC hunters to road hunt, even if this occurs only while they are traveling to or between hunts in clear cuts or woods. Since all hunting is to some degree opportunistic, to most NC hunters, it appears artificial or stupid to pass up a deer just because it is spotted from the road and shot from just off the road. This type of hunting requires virtually no pack out. As outlined by informant
28--3--5, a serious blacktail and elk NC hunter, the efficiency of eliminating the pack out is appealing to a skilled and confident hunter who values order within the socially-sanctioned activity of hunting. This is especially true when the hunt is cleanly accomplished, with the hunter closely following certain expectations and a set pattern.

Perhaps, the concentration of the whole hunting event into a shorter time span unexpectedly enhances a hunt's ritualistic quality, emphasizing the taking, the acquisition of the prey. Ortega sees the essence of hunting as a taking or seizing. The etymology of the word, "Hunt," suggests a ritualistic quality. ME *huntele < OE *hunleen < *hunian (?), meant 'to seize,' as in the now archaic modern English "Hent," 'a grasping'; Informant 28--3--5 presents an account of one story that was dominated by the "seizing" of a blacktail. An interesting double effect occurs in the story in that the director-maker-ritualizer of the hunt is the person who is the self-aware amateur, conscious of his story-directing or ritual-making. Compare Myerhoff's discussion of secular ritual. The informant's beginning statement is emphasized with gestures and his ending is delivered with humor:

---Most Memorable Hunt Story---
"Every hunt's memorable, OK, every one."
Probably one of my favorites was quick and easy, and worked out beautifully, like in a textbook, whatever.
It was an evening, P.M., hunt.
Three couples of us, husbands and wives, and one more man, seven hunters, we had 2 rigs; one rig went around to the top of this ridge; four people came down the ridge, through.

In the other rig, my wife and I and one other person went to the bottom and set ourselves on stands, so the people would drive deer down to us.

It was kind of a short hunt, maybe 20 minutes.

I hardly got into position and a buck came by, but I couldn’t get a shot at him.

Pretty soon, the guys who were making the drive came on through. Once they went all the way down to the road below us, I could see that the buck had not come out; they passed it.

The buck was someplace in between; then I yelled at them, “There was a buck”; it was still in there because I’d seen it.

It couldn’t have crossed the road down below, and couldn’t get out the far ridge on my side, so it was some place in this canyon the guys had gone through, so they hiked back up through, and I kind of directed them like a drill sergeant or something.

One of them got it.

We drug it out the bottom, threw it in the rig and drove around to the top and got the other rig and went home.

It was a great hunt!

It was slick and easy, the way they should all work.

They don’t work that way; that’s what memorable about this hunt.

Note that there was no field dressing; this was something that could be done at home. While this hunt may seem to have little to do with geology, it is an another view dominated by topology and the difficulties of hunter mobility, and with vision and pack out difficulties. This hunt is memorable because all of the usually troublesome and sometimes exhausting factors are negated by the hunters, under the direction of the “Master Hunter.” As is often the case in NC personal experience hunting
narratives, the punch line tells the tale: "[Hunts] don't work that way (usually)" (Informant 28--25). Informant 32--10 also made the following comments regarding the pack out in road hunting:

- We should make it so people have to walk when hunting.
- We did it before.
- Now a guy can't walk two miles to go hunting, "but they'll go to Eastern Oregon and do it."
- We should make hunters pack out their kill with no exceptions.
- "[It would] put the sport back into it."

Topography, when it is not dominated by technology, e.g., as in road hunting, ensures hunters a degree of difficulty that contributes to a real, sporting, or a "genuine" hunt. Naturally, such predications of hunts as real or genuine vary among NC hunters and residents, but generally, hunts which require skill, knowledge, physical exertion, and judgment are seen as authentic; whereas, those that rely more on luck or technology are not. These facts suggest that NC hunters may very well, consciously or subconsciously, relate topography to sportsmanship.

That the pack out, even with the frequently smallish blacktail, can be problematic and physically taxing can be seen from the steepness and deep canyons of Humbug Mt. See Figure 9. The brute, uncompromising nature of the landscape in the NC can also lead to a realistic and pragmatic point of view. For example, a family hunter, a father in the case of Informant 2--3, might want his son, the juvenile hunter in the account, to gain the full measure of satisfaction from his
accomplishment, but the landscape-geology, the bones of the earth, enforce the laws of physics:

...Because he was not very big, I had to go back the next day. His deer didn't stop rolling until it got to the bottom of the draw, so we couldn't get our deer all out that day...

The pack out, this somewhat grim and potentially comic aspect of the successful hunt, was several times discussed with the mocking, albeit good-natured, tone of an injunction to make haste lest the animal be wasted. This would be, for most informants, the equivalent of disrespect for the deer. For example, Informant 6--24 told his son on one hunt, "Now son, the fun's over, now the work begins. We got to get them from here out to the road."

The task of dealing with the landscape was also taught to a son by another NC hunter-father on the occasion of the son's first deer kill: "Dad said, 'You shot a deer and that's nice; the truck's over there. Let me know when you got it packed up'" (Informant 34--26). The Informant laughed at this point in his narrative, amused that his father had spoken in a matter of fact way, attending to the extractive business at hand.

In spite of many anti-hunters' insistence that hunting is mere killing, a monolithic experience, the language of several informants seemed rather to suggest that, in reality, before the kill, some site-sensitive hunters feels grateful that the earth, or perhaps more
specifically, that the one particular site, is yielding, giving over a deer for his or her efforts. However, after the kill and after the field dressing, the pack out may call up very different emotions. In fact, it would prove exceptional if the hunt and pack out together seemed to be a single experience, in that such a dramatic, bloody, and inherently interesting event as the field dressing separates the two events.

It can be noted that at least two very different ways of constructing reality are included in the total experience of the hunt. First, the landscape’s geological features help to shape a particular subregional world view, and another aspect of the hunt, the imposition of the individual human will and mind upon nature in the act of field dressing, is a processing of nature for human use. In addition, a quite different and even more fundamentally different way of constructing reality can be accomplished following the entire hunt, through the storytelling based on this same experience (Mullen 1992).

It seems obvious to the informants who hunt in natural areas, and not in pastures or on roads, that many non-hunters totally underestimate the physical labor required in some pack outs. A very experienced NC hunter, Informant 6--25, describes how twice the success can mean twice the labor:

...We take one deer 100 yards, then go back and take the other 100 yards past the other, so it’s a 200 yard carry; we go back and forth for four hours...
Although this particular hunt occurred in Colorado, it is included here since the relay method is no doubt practiced in the NC.

Seemingly, the more difficult the pack out, the more vividly it would be remembered. Since physical effort, often the pain of fatigue, is so highly correlated with the terrain in the pack out, many hunters can give vivid details of their difficult pack outs, including their deliberations, often with themselves, about how to proceed and about the meaning of the experience.

Informant 7--3-5, an experienced hunter who often keys on questions of judgment, gives one example of the mental aspect of a difficult pack out, due to rough, brushy terrain; he also shows how the pack out involves a heightened "telluric sense" (Relph 1976,10), a feeling for the depth, solidity, and character of the land immediately beneath one's feet. While the hunt takes place in Napa Valley, California, the area is rugged and according to the area, the informant was probably hunting blacktail:

--First Deer Kill, Story--
I was twenty-two years old, in 1955. In Polk Valley, Napa County, California, in a small valley, east of the main Napa Valley, in the Lake Berryessa area, a lot of the land was privately owned.
I was just out of Navy; I bought a rifle from the PX. "[I] was anxious to go hunting; [I] struck out one morning, ill prepared; [it] wasn't a daybreak operation."
I had a dog; it was legal in California then; the hunt would at least prepare the dog for bird season.

I didn’t know any specific areas to hunt; I hunted one area; next, I stopped at a ranch and asked permission to hunt; I hunted a power line survey area; I hunted up a hill, south, another ridge, the west side of canyon, east.

I sat and fell asleep under a tree; I awoke in the sun and “felt lousy [from the sun]”; I sat and smoked; I started up a hill.

Two deer came over the ridge; I didn’t expect to see a buck; I had already seen many does.

I used my binocs; I saw a small fork and horn quartering down the hill.

I shot as the buck was near the bottom of the hill.

The deer bolted across a wash into some bushes and stopped, obviously hit.

I put another cartridge in my rifle.

The deer stood with its head down.

“[I] fired again and down it went.”

The second shot was close to a gut shot; I learned later that the rifle was shooting off a bit.

I never dressed a deer before; “[I] stumbled through getting it dressed out”; It didn’t smell too good, and “[I] almost retched.”

I dragged it up a canyon ridge.

I saw a ridge and thought to take it straight down the hill to the house area, rather than up the hill, and then down the clearing.

It was a big mistake.

“At some point I tried to carry this thing on my back” with the tendons tied together in a deer pack; then I dragged it down hill.

I wound up crawling on my hands and knees through underbrush.

“[I wondered] if it was all worth it or not.

[I] was so thirsty I couldn’t spit.”

I arrived at the ranch; the ranch owner was surprised I got a deer.

I had no idea why it was out and moving in the middle of the afternoon.
There were no other hunters in the area that I saw, so it wasn’t flushed. 
I was “pretty proud.”

The problems associated with packing out blacktail in difficult 
terrain and under adverse climatic conditions supports the idea of the NC 
as a hunting subregion in which packing out, at least for those hunters 
who do not restrict themselves to areas with easy road access, plays a 
relatively greater role in the total hunting experience than it does in 
areas with four wheel drive or horse traditions.

While some NC hunters dismiss blacktails as being too small to be 
afforded serious big game status, the effect of its small size on the pack 
out allows for the practice of solo hunting in the NC. Informant 12--17 
indirectly mentions that having other hunters along is helpful in packing 
out, particularly with elk, but that he can pack out deer by himself.

In their hunting experiences, solo hunters face the often arduous 
pack out, including the mental strain of making unexpected decisions 
alone, but, in group hunts, which can include family hunters, the pack out 
is a collective effort in which non-shooters can participate, sometimes in 
important ways. One well-known NC deer and elk hunting family of strong 
individuals whose members might choose to solo hunt, nevertheless 
benefits from group hunts and pack outs, as told by Informant 9--28:

--Pack Out, Story--
The father and two sons were hunting in a very steep area of 
southern CC and shot a big fork and horn in a very steep area.
The father couldn't lift it onto his shoulders, but if the sons got it up on his shoulders, he could carry it uphill for a while. The first son couldn't lift or walk with it because of a sore back, so he carried the rifles.
The second son could stand up with the deer on his back, but couldn't walk uphill, so, once he had the deer on his back, the father pushed him from behind.
The father and son took turns until they got the deer out.

Since a pack out can require several days of labor, some NC hunters definitely consider the problems of pack out before shooting a deer, as in the case of Informant 11--2-4. In his response to the request for his most memorable hunt, he included the lesson that going downhill is not always as easy as expected:

---Most Memorable Hunt, Story---
"[I took the] biggest one I got by myself...in Fall 1945."
It was at Big Creek, the area about 10 miles southeast of Svensen in north CC; it's a long ways up there, about two miles up an old logging railroad grade, up on switchbacks, up along a ridge.
"[Looking down], I saw this great big buck standing there.
[i said]...to myself, 'Gee whiz, how am I ever going to get that thing home if I shoot it, all by myself?""
I walked up the ridge farther; the deer still stayed down below me.
I thought about it some more: Oh, maybe I'll get him.
I walked back to where I was, close enough to shoot.
"I shot, and the deer didn't move; he just stood there; [I] shot again, and he didn't move; he just stood there.
I said, 'Well, I'm shooting way over,' so I took that old 30.40 Craig and aimed and pulled it down and squeezed the trigger, and the deer went down.
I said, 'Oh my God, I hit him. Now I've got to dress him out,' so I went and crawled down there.
I had hit him right in the back; [I] broke his back.
[I had to start dressing him out.]"
I had a pack with me [to carry butchered deer parts]. The first trip, I took the head and as much as I could carry.
I took the whole head in the pack sack; I took everything but legs and hide; even at that I had too heavy a load; it was all down hill; the weight coming down on me.
It took an hour to get down to the road.
Next morning, I went back and got the rest.
After carrying it out for two days, I couldn’t even walk; my legs were so sore.
It was about 225 lbs., a large blacktail; it was a “bench legged deer,” stocky, very stoutly built.
At that time, it was second growth; the trees were 3-4 inches around; that’s all the bigger they were...

As stated earlier, in CC, the rugged terrain promotes hunter difficulties, and, therefore, increases the level of a hunter’s sportsmanship. The terrain also presents difficulties for illegal hunters. Packing out poses special problems for the poacher because he or she must leave the area as rapidly as possible.

**Bench Leg Deer**

Slope as a geologic or landform feature is also directly related to one particular type of NC blacktail hunting. The steepness of two features of the geology-landform, the NC foothills and the mountains of the Coast Range, is taken as the causal agent or source of a supposed subtype of local blacktail deer, the “Bench Leg Deer.” See Chapter VI for a discussion of this topic. Generally, this term is taken to mean short-legged, stocky deer, with or without secondary characteristics, such as thick antlers or
worn-down hooves. See Rutledge for a discussion of prey deer similarly viewed as products of the local landscape (1992).

Admittedly, of the 18 informants who had an opportunity to comment on this term, 5, or 28%, had never heard the term. But, of these 5, only one informant was an older hunter who was raised in the NC. Perhaps significantly, 3 of the 5 informants who were unfamiliar with the term “Bench Leg Deer” were 35 years old or younger. Nevertheless, if 72% of this group of 18 informants were familiar with the term, it would have to be in common usage.

Only informant 16--18 dismissed the term as a joke and as not being descriptive of a NC product; he thought it just described “some Eastern Oregon stuff.” This informant may very well have been thinking of a humorous and apocryphal side-hill beast with short legs on one side of its body and long legs on the other (Thompson, X1381); Wellborn’s study of Eastern Oregon hunters as a folk group included a detailed account of such an apocryphal mountain creature with longer legs on one side which enabled it to stand on steep slopes (5); the animal is clearly a humorous creation. However, Wellborn’s informant does not use the term “Bench Leg.” Interestingly, the understanding and usage of the term by another informant (20--43) may have been influenced by this general joke term, but this informant’s alternate, rationalized meaning is serious and
physiologically possible: "The front legs are shorter than the back legs from [living in] steep terrain."

The NC meanings for "Bench Leg," however, did vary among the informants, falling into four main categories, two of which are contradictory:

1. A joke term with no real corresponding animal

2. An erroneous, mistaken term for a stocky deer (people wrongly believe these deer are the result of genetics or that they result from deer residing in hilly areas)

3. A general descriptive term for any short-legged, stocky deer

4. An accurate term for deer which are short-legged and stocky because of either genetics or because of their habit of living in hilly country.

Investigating this term within the interview format was clearly advantageous, compared to using a questionnaire, because the somewhat fluid nature of the term, "Bench Leg Deer," became evident. Several of the informants paused before answering when questioned about the term, appearing to mull over the meaning, and a few informants even began by characterizing the term in one light, according to one of the four main types, only to stop and redirect their responses. This uncertainty would probably not be recorded in most pencil and paper reports.
While there is wide variance in the denotation of the term, "Bench Leg Deer," there appears to be total agreement on two facts among those who accept the term as functionally descriptive—that these deer are stocky and muscular with relatively short legs, and that the meat from a bench leg deer does not vary from that of other blacktails. The latter belief is consistent with the informants' nearly unanimous agreement that the meat from the NC's other variant blacktail, the calico/pinto deer, does not differ from that of other blacktails. Thus, the identification of the bench leg deer, based on an association with steep or rugged topography, is not highly elaborated.

Perhaps, the main point about identifying the bench leg deer with steep terrain is that this identification is a somewhat off hand attempt to claim that this type of deer belongs to the NC subregion, as opposed to the Willamette Valley. The premise somehow is that the Coast Range, no doubt with its weather included, contributes to a different type of deer. This type of geographical determinism is, of course, a very old and popular, although exaggerated, claim in the United States. According to Informant 8--50, his father and his 6' 5" hunting partner took a bench leg deer in the Olney area, c. 1947. See Figure 10. The informant described in a post-interview comment that the deer was "very husky, with short legs and worn hooves from living in rocky terrain."
The Columbian whitetail from the Columbia River refuge is probably the result of a cross between whitetails and local blacktails, according to Gavin's rather rigorous study (492-93), but surprisingly, only one of the informants (14--35) believed that bench leg deer are a blacktail-whitetail hybrid. This would be a feasible explanation for the existence of bench leg deer, since blacktail and another subspecies, mule deer, are also known to hybridize where their ranges meet; however, Informant 14--36 thought that bench leg deer have antlers that resemble those of whitetails, so that their antlers are heavier than non-blacktail horns. Informant 34--48 also believed that bench leg deer have heavier horns.

As to the origin of bench leg deer, three informant's believed that bench leg deer are the results of genetics, not landscape. Informant 34--48, 32 believed a gene trait produced a localized population:

"[Bench leg deer are] like a sub-species; [they] tend to be larger bodied, shorter legged, [with] heavier horns...
"You see...[gene pools per area] definitely in Alaska where you hunt bay by bay.
You get a different genetic stock in different areas; big deer with 3 but never 4 points, but one ridge over, 4 points but small bodies; 5 miles out on an island, you get huge 4 points.
It's the same around here; you've got certain tiny little areas; people refer to the bench legs.
It's the same kind of thing; it's just the gene pool you're drawing on."

Informant 34--48's views may or may not be accurate; the NC probably lacks the geographic isolation of his Alaskan comparisons, and, he himself
notes that there is no place in the area that isn’t hilly. However, his point of view is a reminder that the question of the localization or dispersal of the deer population in the NC, as in many areas of the American West, has not been rigorously and scientifically established. The confusion over the term “Bench Leg Deer” points up the fact that dealing with wildlife populations is very complex and that ideologically driven, doctrinaire positions, which are adopted by various interest groups or factions within wildlife managers, often do not recognize the full complexity of certain issues. Another point that can be made here is that the use of scientific data by several informants does not fit in with the stereotypic view of hunters as unsophisticated backwoodsmen.

“Bench Leg Deer” may be an example of a term which is popularly developed to fill in a gap in the official data, account, or story and, “Calico” or “Pinto Deer” are other such hunting-related terms. Even if they are not fully descriptive of scientific facts, these terms are entertaining. This is not meant to discount the fact that folk terminology preserves valuable and insightful approaches or data. Figure 11 shows the typically, delicate, or from a negative point of view, scrawny blacktail genotype. The forked horn in velvet would be a legal kill in about three months. Obviously, the buck would gain weight in those three months, but the contrast between such a small deer and a bench leg is clear and may be the driving force behind the popular explanation for bench leg deer.
However, the ultimate source of the term “Bench Leg” could be one of various possibilities listed in Thompson: “[Mythological] Causes of Animal Characteristics: Body” (A2300-2399). The NC residents do not literally believe there is such a source for their deer, but they may be tempted to believe, or to play with the idea, that some mysterious local influence is acting upon the blacktails to produce some bench leg deer. This might be considered a form of subregional play.

Informant 14--36 was the only person who gave a specific home range for NC bench leg deer:

...They range mostly from Elk Mt. into the Big Creek side near the Astoria Watershed area, in northern CC, in higher altitudes.

In the rut, once in a while, a big bench leg buck will get down to this area.

“[I]t’s rare to see them now; [in] years gone by, they used to travel down to this country.

[I] don’t know who originated that name.”

I shot one on Nicolai Mt.

It ran off, and they tracked it from sun up to 3:00.

While Informant 14’s view of the location of bench leg blacktail is by far the most detailed, unfortunately it is unclear whether or not he was totally serious; he may have been adding “colorful” details for the investigator whom he still considered an outsider. Nevertheless, his was the only account that implied a specific geographic origin or heartland, Elk Mt. for the NC bench leg deer.
Soils-Mud

Heavy clay soil and muddy conditions during hunting season can severely limit hunters’ mobility, site selection, and tactics. Frost’s description of life in the early days of the NC can hold true for some deer hunters who leave established trails:

We succeeded in reaching the [Clatsop] plain with all our effects after very hard struggling, and sinking into the mire up to our knees, and Mr. T. at one time sank nearly up to his middle...After we arrived at the plain we determined, never to bring a load that way again if it could be avoided; as many such trips would most certainly break us down altogether (“Part 2,” 149–50).

Footing is poor to impossible in many sites; unhuntable areas have slick clay soil when wet, especially in steep terrain. Rutledge (1992) and Sell (1964, 82) stress footing as a critical element in shooting under controlled conditions; the shooter must be able to set his or her feet down safely.

Water Abundance

The abundance of surface water in the NC makes hunting more unpredictable than in drier areas, since deer can obtain their water from many different places. Informant 14--21 explained that it is more difficult to discover NC deer, since they use many different trails in areas of abundant drinking water.
Tidal Water

Before the extensive diking of the NC, tidal flood areas, especially in the Coast Zone, were more extensive and were probably a more significant factor in hunting than they are at present; these areas were probably not simply areas to be avoided as "unhunteable." Gillette clearly indicates that canoe hunting was a part of NC deer hunting and that it was not as extraordinary as it would be today:

[February 1861] Fri 8...They [deer] a [sic] are very pleantiful on the moores [sic], and are easily taken at high water in Spring Tides. They resort to the banks of the creeks, where the land is highest, to get dry footing during the high water. Hunters then paddle cautiously along the creeks, and shoot the unsuspecting innocent creatures (Diary, 19).

The loss of so much of the NC's freshwater wetlands has apparently all but eliminated canoe hunting which could have been a locally distinctive or subregional form of hunting. This case points up the principle that a simplification of the habitat can create a reduction in the richness of the inhabitants' lives, more specifically, it represents a paring down of their folkways.

Rivers

The extensive diking of many NC rivers produced a fundamental alteration in the landscape and had an impact on wildlife, but it is unclear and undocumented exactly how this change altered the NC's blacktails.
Given the fact that some biologists claim deer are often attracted to water vegetation, it was surprising that, among the informants and within other field study background sources, there were very few accounts of deer eating water vegetation in the NC. Informant 34--33, a NC native, never heard of a CC deer being shot while it was swimming, but he states, “I’ve known guys that have shot them after they came out [of the water].”

The chilly, moist climate in CC probably discourages deer from wading in water or crossing a body of water except when necessary. Parker documents the serious thermo-regulation cost for blacktails in the rainy Pacific Coast winters (2481).

Accounts of informants using water boundaries or canoes as hunt strategies were rare. However, the single such report given below documents that blacktail bucks, as well as NC hunters, adjust to the local geology for maximum benefit. A hunter with whom the author was acquainted knew that a good-sized buck spent the day hiding out on one of the small islands in Youngs River. The area is very open with a good view from the county roads that run along both sides of the river; it is not an area where one would expect to find big blacktail bucks, which are generally well known for their wariness:

---Island Buck Hunt, Story---
Each night the buck would swim ashore to feed along the water and in the nearby pastures.
The hunter waited for hunting season and crossed over to the island the night before opening day. He was up in a tree at daybreak. The buck swam out to the island after feeding that night. The buck walked directly under the tree. From above, the hunter shot it: he made a clean kill with one shot.

This unsolicited account was told to me by a local deer and elk hunter, c. 1977, as we drove along Youngs River and passed the kill site. This story recounted seems to typify how a local person would inscribe the landscape for a newcomer. Note how such hunting stories or personal experience narratives enliven the landscape which, for some storytellers and for some recipients, may include an animation of the geology of the area. Kill sites, especially for hunters and observers who hold wildlife in high esteem, would probably be especially evocative, even to the point of being assigned special, functionally sacred status.

**Minerals--Salt Bait Hunting**

The NC would seem to be an area in which putting out salt baits might be an effective hunting tactic. Natural salt sites or mineral licks are relatively rare due to the heavy rain, high water table, and the low porosity of the soil. While a current salt baiting controversy continues in some Midwestern states, with some states allowing and others banning the use of salt licks to attract and kill deer, it appears to be a non-issue in the NC. Judging from the lack of concern and interest over this issue
among the informants, in the popular press, and within the Oregon Fish and Game Commission, NC hunters appear not to practice salt baiting.

Only one informant had heard of people putting out salt licks, but he was not sure that they would be effective. As stated, there were no specific reports of salt being used as deer bait in the NC within the study, nor were there any reports of hunting over salt blocks, the use of feeders with salted animal feed, nor even of planted feed plots to attract deer. Two informants went as far as dismissing any accounts of salt block use as hunters’ false, tongue-in-cheek tales told to non-hunters. Furthermore, there were no informants who claimed that bait hunting is common among NC bow hunters; supposedly bait hunting is a widespread practice among Midwestern bow hunters, according to hunting magazines.

Despite the fact that salt baiting is looked down upon, the absence of the tactic in the NC seems remarkable since the heavily-wooded topology, as opposed to that of the more arid and treeless areas of the eastern portion of the Pacific Northwest, would suggest that many settlers and later immigrants from the Midwest into the NC would have carried this hunting tactic to their new homes, where they found ground minerals lacking, and where, presumably, salt baiting would have been highly effective.

Even the two informants who had poached NC blacktails in the past did not mention salt or any other type of baiting. And finally, Informant
16, a state policeman, did not mention salt or baiting within his discussion of NC poaching.

Thus, the non-utilization of salt licks would be a clear regional or traditional marker, especially since the informants’ affective responses followed Wegner’s position that most true sporting hunters find this practice distasteful, if not completely unsporting (Book 2).

It is unclear whether or not salt baiting is still practiced to the south of CC in Tillamook County, as was the case in at least one special site in the past. Lockley reports that deer were attracted to Fairdale mineral spring water and rocks in Tillamook, around 1884 (“Nelson G. Fairchiles,” 168). In this account, one hunter had killed and packed 21 deer in snow for the winter which he smoked or hung up in the spring as they thawed.

An additional negative finding among the informants regarding the use of minerals to attract NC blacktails is that there were no reports of deer being drawn to burn areas, in contrast to Wegner’s description of specific deer hunting strategies and resulting deer behavior (Book 2).

**Human Geology and North Coast Deer Hunting. Indirect Links**

The phrase “Indirect Links” is used here to refer to those symbolic and intuitive concepts, interpretations, or “folk ideas” about NC geology which influence hunters, either while they are actually out in the field or while they are interpreting their personal experience narratives. For
example, NC beaches are a prime source of such an indirect link because, while NC beaches are not hunting areas, their abundance of clams contributes to the notion of "Natural Abundance, which, in turn, encourages deer hunters to go out and "get their deer."

Such indirect links between geology and NC deer hunting are background influences, relative to the more mechanical aspects of hunting; they rest on tenuous grounds, as indicated by many of the informants' facial expressions when they were asked about such correspondences; their American pragmatism, Finnish reticence, or Norwegian good-natured skepticism was often evident.

Geomantics of the NC

At first glance, geomantics, or a physically-based cosmology, might seem to be an overly abstract and purely personal construct when applied to the NC, but actually, parts of such a systematic view of the NC subregion are already currently in use. For example, the concepts of the water and timber cycles are nearly universally accepted by residents. As indicated earlier, in the NC, the water cycle, in particular, is visibly and dramatically evident. Perhaps because of their grand scale, scope, and design, the NC's physical features, its mountains, rivers, bays, and beaches, joined as they are in various ways by a single form of energy, water, seem more united and obvious in this subregion than in most American regions.
While the idea of a geomantic unity, with its visible flow of a single form of energy, may seem overblown to many modern Americans, the psychic or psychological reality of a geomantic perspective is arguably fundamental to human cognition as can be seen in the creation of "mental maps" (Downs and Stea, 1977). Geomantics, then, is nothing more than the human extension of perceived physical systems, with the addition of psychological, religious, aesthetic, social, or other cultural systems, or the combination of such systems. The result is a comprehensive, unified, and partly empirical cosmology which includes the local area or subregion.

Another support for the contention that a NC cosmology or geomantic point of view is a tenable system, when it is based on the main components of the ecosystem, such as water, trees, and keystone animals, such as the salmon, deer and elk, can be seen in the Yurok and Karok peoples' river and salmon-based axial systems in what is now Northern California; this area is in the southernmost portion of the Pacific North-west ecocultural region, by most accounts. Russwurm and Caviedes also discuss many examples of geologically inclusionary systems, and Fernandez presents the Mina people's view of their coastal West African homeland. However, it is unclear whether or not the NC's Clatsop, Cattle, Clatskanie, Nehalem/ Northern-Tillamook peoples, and the nearby, powerful, and frequently visiting Chinooks, formulated a river axis geomantic cosmology.
It remains unclear from this study whether or not hunting presents and promotes such a cosmological point of view, more so than do other local outdoor activities, and it is unclear whether or not recounting personal experiences of hunting has the same effect.

Most of the support for the contention that NC blacktail hunting contributes to a geomantic view of the subregion, and that a geomantic experience or viewpoint contains a geologic component, is found within hunters' reactions to NC flora and fauna, rather than within their geologic experiences. It is as if Americans are more at ease with the biological than the geological point of view. That hunting can link humans to plants and animals seems obvious, but that this activity might also inherently contribute to a greater sense of unity, one which includes parts of the landscape which usually only serve as background and scenery, is a more interesting question to ask regarding modern hunting. Generally then, in terms of NC geology, the geomantic system is only partially articulated.

Beach

As presented in the Physical Geology--Beaches section, the 1885 Columbia River South Jetty, as the source of the Clatsop Spit and as the apparent or perceived protector of the productive razor clam beds, is a powerful element in the local residents' trust in conservation, as opposed to preservation. The case of the Columbia River South Jetty also is an element in residents belief that massive human-caused changes in areas
can save and sometimes even improve local natural resources. Clamming, no doubt, calls up images of natural abundance and the romanticized view of NC pioneers living off the land.

A more exhaustive study than is possible here would be necessary to confirm or disprove such an interpretation of the NC beach. But the NC beach does provide clamming, an important non-license activity for deer hunters, in which hunters can secure a delicacy, and probably also gain some “hands-on” experience which could lead to an increased knowledge and appreciation of some aspects of local geology. Perhaps an equally important result of clamming would be that hunters could learn about different geological facts and principles which would not be readily available within the hunting experience in other different geological zones in which NC hunting occurs, such as the Coast Zone and the Coast Range Zone.

**Estuaries**

Estuary protection, mitigation—the exchange of fill land for new or protected wetlands, and development have been highly debated and politicized issues in the NC, and deer hunters’ attitudes toward their sport tend to be influenced by such debates and contests. Even though 67% of the Columbia River estuary and 47% of the Nehalem River estuary have been lost to development, controversy rages on, especially in the case of lucrative real estate developments. The geology, the hydrology in many
instances, tends to be complex, contested, and rather fully-debated in the local press; however, there have been some recent developments which probably are encouraging to NC hunters, regarding the possibility that local natural resources, perhaps including blacktails, can be protected in the future.

In the 1990’s, several preservation or habitat improvement estuary projects have been approved or carried out in the NC—the Twilight Eagle Sanctuary in the Astoria area, the Blind Slough Swamp Preserve in the Columbia River near Knappa, and the Trestle Bay reclamation project for the Columbia River near Warrenton. While many NC hunters are involved in the North Coast Game Association (NCGA), centering on an anti-doe and anti-spike elk hunting campaign against the Oregon Fish and Wildlife Service, the more important battle will probably be over the question of managed, as opposed to open market, development and use—the question of blacktail habitat, just as the spotted owl’s habitat is a prime factor in species preservation.

Columbia River

The Columbia River, the Coast Range, and “the Woods,” or in terms of human population, the Astoria-Warrenton area, dominate the northern part of the NC from various points of view. This is seen in the local use of the terms, “North County” and “South County.” South County is
centered on the beach-ocean, the Coast Range, and, once again, "the Woods," and constitutes the Seaside-Cannon Beach area.

As even a casual observer would expect, the NC's North-South dichotomy is not complete, but as a dominating landmark and presence, by its sheer size, power, and economic and historical roles, the Columbia River is relatively more important in North County than in South County. Consequently, it seems to follow that the river would exert its greatest influence on North County hunters. However, as with the ocean or the climate, the influence of the Columbia River is so pervasive, and it is such a major part of residents' lives, that its influence is difficult to determine and calibrate.

Nevertheless, a clear and powerful shift in the identity or story of the Columbia River for NC residents seems undeniable. Namely, the river was formerly an ambiguous combination of economic provider, through salmon and access to other fish stocks, and cruel killer of local fishermen.

But, judging largely from the popular press and this study's informants, the river is now seen more as the victim of humans, rather than as their victimizer. While the river, as a part of the indifferent natural world, continues to claim lives, its own life at the hands of civilization is now in question. For many NC residents and hunters, the blacktail deer is also either in, or possibly headed towards, such danger.
What was once NC geophobia and biophobia is now at least balanced, if not overtaken, by some small measure of geophilia and a clearly growing sense of biophilia.

Soils, Wild

A subregion’s soil is not usually characterized as “wild,” but this description appears to capture the reality of NC soils for many NC residents. The local soil, the local earth, a basic element of one’s sense of place, seems to be more linked and more sympathetic to the wild blacktail than to the farmer and gardener. The wildness of the hills, woods, rivers, and ocean seems to invade human space through the weather, the air, and the usually cold, wet, and difficult-to-work soil.

In late spring, NC gardens are snow-white under a heavy dusting of lime to sweeten the acid soil. In contrast, the indigenous plants and animals require no such elaborate and costly assistance. Thus, another American stereotype, the sweet, nurturing American soil, does not exist in the NC.

Since the dominant American pattern of living off the land through agriculture is not as successful in the NC, contradicting what the popular mass culture would indicate, one wonders whether or not NC residents, including recent immigrants, drift towards harvesting the land in terms of extractive ventures, such as hunting, fishing, and logging, partly out of
compensation for the natural, “birthright,” the American gifts that have been denied them.

**Antlers**

Attempting to determine whether or not blacktail antlers function as an indirect link between NC geology and deer hunting seems a risky, if not foolish endeavor. However, there are some factual starting points and a few general supports which may justify this endeavor.

One fact clearly established from the informants’ interviews is that NC blacktail hunters showed only a rather subdued interest in antlers. Perhaps this is not surprising, based on the pragmatic grounds that very few NC hunters can afford to be highly selective; they simply do not see enough legal deer to select for antlers.

Another explanation may be that blacktail antlers pale in comparison with those of eastern Oregon mule deer, Rocky Mountain elk, and NC Roosevelt elk. There were only two NC area bucks listed in Boone and Crockett’s top 100 Columbia Blacktail listings, based on antler size, as of 1981. Both bucks were taken in the 1940’s, undoubtedly as a result of the Tillamook Burn—two in Columbia County and one in Tillamook County. The only CC listing of blacktail antlers ranks 190th; it was from a 5 point buck taken in 1972 (Nesbitt and Wright “Tabulations,” 193-201).

Nevertheless, it was somewhat surprising that very few informants mentioned mounted antlers or a dead parent’s blacktail antlers evoking
memories of a specific hunt or place. Informant Harold Hundere was an exception. He exhibited unusually large and thick blacktail antlers from the Tillamook Burn area in the 1940's. See Figure 12.

Antlers were more frequently used in an offhand fashion to label a deer, than to describe it. For instance, Informant 10--2 stated that his first kill was a three point buck. It appears that nearly all the informants would be impressed by a large blacktail rack, but they seemed equally impressed by a deer's size. Semantically, a "good-sized buck" would probably be as important as a "two point" or a "three point buck." A four point, being rare, would probably be mentioned to specify the antlers. As Figure 13 shows, even a good-sized NC blacktail buck usually has unimpressive, often fork and horn, antlers.

One need not be a Jungian to believe that not all of the symbols within a subregion's folk activity are equal. Even a casual review of folk motif indices establishes antlers as an archetype, at least in terms of being a major symbol. But rather than ascribing magical implications to such archetypes, it should be recalled that other products and tools within hunting operate in a similar fashion to remind the participant of the source of what he or she has gathered. Thus, in the NC, venison backstrap in the freezer, venison sausage, and the hunter's rifle may also be powerful, evocative, polysemic symbols which, in various ways for various
people, link a deer with its ultimate source, the hills or mountains, the soil, and, therefore, to some degree, to NC geology.

As for the claim that widespread folk motifs necessarily or possibly stem from universal subconscious contents, NC hunters' attitudes toward blacktail antlers do not appear to substantiate, at least in any obvious way, such a claim. Stith Thompson’s motifs for deer antlers: “Magic Animal Horn [as a Curative]” (D1011.1) and “Wisdom (Knowledge) Acquired from Animals” (J130) are not found in any dramatic fashion in the NC deer hunting materials. Perhaps, elk antlers would function in this way, but such information has not presently been collected. While the comparison of fictional folk tales and personal experience narratives may be unwarranted, the check for correlation seemed worthwhile. The main point remains that the field reality does not automatically and highly correspond to the broad claims of many myth-based interpretations of contemporary culture.

Regarding blacktail antlers in this study, what initially sparks the observer's interest is the curious fact that most informants speak as if they have little or no interest in antlers, but, that in contrast to their stated positions, they at least kept the antlers from the blacktails they killed, and several hunters mounted them on a garage or in their homes. The rejection of the trophy element in NC hunting is expected and follows the findings of Kellert and Berry (1980a, 106) and nearly all scholarly
investigators; trophy hunting is generally rejected, if not despised, in America. But the common practice of keeping the often smallish blacktail antlers is somewhat surprising, especially for hunters who have taken mule deer or elk.

Only Informant, 8--25--26, added a further complication by selling his accumulated blacktail antlers, but this seems to be by far the exception:

I saved antlers in the barn; I sold them to a person who came by. I have a few more in the barn.
"[They were] never a big interest for me..."

The question of antlers and trophies can be an especially sensitive and coded topic. Some NC deer hunters take offense at the notion that they are considered to be trophy hunters, as if the implication is that they are unreflective country bumpkins, driven by psychological realities beyond their own comprehension. Informant 34--30 is one such hunter. When he was in high school (c. 1977), he was working on a local fishing charter boat in the summer, and one woman from California, upon learning that he hunted deer, asked him what deer hunters do with "the rest of the deer, not the head." She did not know venison was edible, but she knew that hunters killed for the head, the antlers. Not surprisingly, a great number of hunters feel misunderstood and misrepresented by the mass
media after they encounter such gross ignorance about hunters and hunting.

No informant displayed massed blacktail antlers, so as to emphasize their numbers, and there was no ongoing or organized blacktail or elk antler gathering or purchasing in the NC. Although antlers seem to be kept by most hunters, indicating their psychological, social, or symbolic, value, the study revealed that antlers are not kept for their economic value.

Although the informants did not make a direct, conscious connection between antlers and local geology, they all seemed quite aware of the fact that antlers are basically a mineral product, ultimately coming from the soil and rocks. Informant 34--30 volunteers his view that NC blacktails have relatively small antlers because of a lack of soil mineral content.

Campbell makes the general claim that wild animals connect the humans who are involved with them to the earth because the earth is the ultimate source of all animal life (1959). Similarly, Shepard points out that people often keep an objet trouvé because it links them to nature: “Human beings value rare objects and remember them for a lifetime” based on size, complexity, and power (1973); such entities possess “salience” (Soule’, 446).

While blacktail antlers appear to hold some symbolic value or salience for NC hunters, linking antlers to the earth or to geology remains problematic. No specific functional link between antlers and the earth is
evident, as in the case of Tillamook Indians who used elk antlers as
digging sticks. The rather tenuous connection between the blacktail’s
bone-like antlers and the bones of the earth, the rocks or mountains,
joined because of their shared mineral content, or simply by their durabil-
ity through time, is very generalized and, although possible, not par-
ticularly compelling.

In this discussion of the lack of specific links between blacktail
antlers and NC geology, it should be recognized that other equally
plausible interpretations are available for the NC’s hunters’ behavior
towards deer antlers. For instance, the psychosexual perspective, almost
a modern cliché, could easily offer an explanation for the hunter’s
attraction to antlers, an attraction which may have a phallic explanation;
an alternate explanation may be suppressed guilt over killing, which may
include the notion of violent killing as copulation.

Another tempting theory could be based on Edward Hall’s study of
different cultures; in this theory, identity can be defined in various ways.
in some cultures, one’s ego or essence resides inside the skin, while in
other cultures, one’s ego hovers about a body-surrounding space (174).
The possibility of interest here is the notion that Americans, hunters, or
NC hunters, might subconsciously have the intuition that a blacktail buck’s
essence or meaning resides in its antlers.
Another possibility is that NC hunters may keep and display black-tail antlers, in spite of their relatively small size, not so much because they form links to an undifferentiated earth or Earth Mother, but oppositely, because they form a link to the specific, individual blacktail killed, taken, processed, and, usually, consumed by the hunter. It seems commonsensical that, for many hunters, antlers from their kills would be a memento mori. On this view, the antlers are kept out of respect for fellow creatures which share the common fate of all life—death; the fact that respect, even a claimed reverence, is a much repeated theme among the informants and in nearly all the popular hunting literature supports this view.

The premium placed upon individual responsibility and judgment within deer hunting might support an emphasis on the individuality of the deer and the hunter, or possibly, on the unity of the individual and the universal, a meeting of the animal—land and human worlds, a meeting of a particular deer and hunter, in a particular time and place.

Although this discussion of the possible links between NC hunters' blacktail antlers and the local geology is negative in its findings, it has documented the evocative nature of the hunt's most lasting memento. **Geology as a NC “Landscape of Fact”**

Many commentators on landscape have emphasized the ways in which culture determines “facts” and identifies “givens” in experience. Kenneth
Clark, for example, champions landscape as cultural fantasy, the ideal, or an integrated system of symbols (Graber, 64). Such claims are perhaps accurate, but they do not negate what is probably the more mundane but popular view that landscape, specifically, notable landscape features, such as a mountain, river, or beach, are brute facts, generally taken as givens, and proof of a reality outside the observer's inner world.

Based on their encounters with such brute facts, many participants claim that hunting fosters a "reality check," as Informant 9--16, 47, 48, 50 frequently terms it. One of the Eastern Oregon hunters interviewed by Wellborn expresses just this sentiment:

Hunting is a way of forcing us, putting us in a situation where you [sic] have to acknowledge those things. You have to acknowledge how big that ridge is, and how much is [sic] is to get over it...But it forces people to really acknowledge, you know, the earth and the systems that yer, yer [sic] dealing with (41).

**Geologic Features, Symbols**

Subconscious symbolism is widely accepted in modern culture as Ittelson, et al indicate:

The environment frequently operates below the level of awareness. It is when our environment is changed that we become most aware of it because it is at this point that we consciously begin to adapt. For the most part, we take our environment for granted, and although we may be aware of the affect--how it feels to function in a given milieu--the effect of this on our actions can be wholly subliminal (13).
Brun is another proponent of subconscious symbolism ("Language," 122),
but realism, perhaps the quest for facticity and ontic value, appears to be
a much more common, and is probably the dominant, orientation among
American hunters and among NC hunters. This symbolic, mythic function
of geology, as seen in landscapes, is denied or minimized by most
American hunters; nor was it emphasized by informants in this study.
Utilitarian hunters especially emphasize the "realistic" aspects of
hunting, the landscape, the separateness of truly wild animals, death, and
human food production.

Mountains

All of the NC's mountain peaks, with the exception of Saddle Mt.,
located within Saddle Mt. State Park, are blacktail hunting areas. Saddle
Mt., the NC's dominating peak and landmark, is dramatically visible from
major residential areas in the North County and from the only South
County highway to Portland, Highway 26, not only due to its size and
uninterrupted view. Its unusual shape also gives it an identity and
importance which some residents infer or sense as meaningful and as
having value. From this study, it is unclear to what degree other Coast
Range peaks might serve as local landmarks or points of orientation for NC
residents and hunters. Therefore, only a few general points can be made
about the symbolic value of the Coast Range mountains within NC blacktail
hunting.
Although the concept of a mountain as a symbol or icon is well documented in the clinical psychological and ethnographic record, for example, by Tuan and Nicolson, only one informant exhibited what appeared to be a special or strong attachment to local mountains or to a particular peak. Informant 3 regularly hunts on Humbug Mt. This informant may return to Humbug Mt. since it has a more general symbolic value for him. For him, it represents unspoiled nature or Mother Earth, even though he only stresses physical (ocular) beauty and the solitude (a psychological state) it affords him (31-32).

Few general observations from the study can be made regarding the experience of being in the Coast Range. This may explain what appears to be the relatively subdued impact the Coast Range has on the local population, but the physical terrain of the foothills which restricts views of the peaks may account for a dilution of effect. Except while viewing Saddle Mt. or driving on Neahkahnie Mt., the Coast Range does not present views of massive single mountains. The possibility of viewing prominent peaks is more the case in the Cascade Mountains where, for example, the viewer sees Mt. Hood looming in the distance. Consequently, the observer in the NC may not experience the sense of awe which is so much discussed in the literature and aesthetics of mountains in the 19th century. The "sublime" is rarely encountered in the relatively small-scale and intimate landscape in most of the NC.
One noteworthy exception to this lack of feeling for the "sublime" in the Coast Range is Maddux's when he was viewing the range from the top of "Grandpa Well's mountain in the Trask River area" (23). But even in Maddux’s case, and in the case of Gant’s poem, “Tillamook Head,” neither the Coast Range nor any of its individual peaks are interpreted as or seen to, symbolize a "columna universalis" foundation (Tillhagen, 99), "axis mundi" or omphalos center (Eliade, 1954, 12, 16), or a "weltberg" world (Richard Clifford, 9). NC residents and hunters are aware that Saddle Mt. and Neahkahnie Mt. played a role in NC Indian religions, but in spite of some detailed information about these peaks in Frost, Silas Smith, and Boas, such symbolism or identification seems to have no significance in modern NC hunting. See Initiation.

Geology--Part of NC Subregional Identity

It seems commonsensical to expect the NC’s dramatic topographic features to contribute to a sense of local identity, as Suphan argues, in general (185, 188). One NC resident supports just this point in a letter to the local newspaper. She argues for the preservation of the NC’s natural areas, based on biophilia, but she also mentions the Columbia River and ocean (geology) as being a “part” of the residents themselves. It should be remembered in this context that for its proponents, biophilia is not a romantic notion, but a natural congruence of organism and source or habitat:
I want the roar of the river as it rushes toward the sea
and the quiet blue reflections in its breakwater and the
fresh footprints along the water’s edge.

This is Oregon, we have a right to this loveliness.
Other Americans may be content with stuffed replicas
in museums, before painted backgrounds and plaster
casts of the footprints, but we, here in the Pacific
Northwest have known and deserve the real thing.
We need the real thing—and we must waste no effort
getting it back, even though it may be a long, hard trail
that we travel together—and it will be. But we can do
it together, because this loss is a loss of a part of our-
selves, the best of ourselves (Liverman, 20 Dec. 1994).

This is a good example of Bauman’s differential identity.

Geology. Part of “Giant Country”

“Giant Country” is a popular concept or identifying category in much
of the American West, and this term could be applied to many western
subregions. As mentioned, it is no doubt a part of the American penchant
for giantism.

A good case can be made that the NC’s clear identification as “Giant
Country” rests more on climate (rain) and fauna (salmon), than on geology,
especially since the Coast Range virtually eliminates any view or sense of
connection to the towering volcanic peaks of the Cascade Range. However,
the NC is bordered on the north by the Columbia River, has the Coast Range
in view from nearly any site in the area, and faces the Pacific with either
long flat beaches or massive headlands. Nicolson (137) and Russwurm (1)
link physical features such as these to a "psychology of infinity," with massive size calling up endless time, so that the NC may be seen as "Giant Country" in several respects, in geological, as well as, climatic, botanical, or biological terms.

Such a sense of Giant Country could obviously contribute to nearly any type of hunt or to any type of interpretation given to the hunting event-story, interpretations such as a link to ancestors, pioneers, or history (Josephs; Wegner *Book 3*; Horowitz), a magical journey (Nicolaisen), a quest for self (Hoffman), a pursuit of scientific knowledge (Wegner *Book 1*), or a subregional event (Gilbert; Tuan "Space and Place: Humanistic Perspective").

This listing of possible interpretations individuals might give to their hunting events-stories is not exhaustive, but it demonstrates that the geology of the NC as Giant Country does not form a single, monolithic basis for all the various meanings of hunts. Rather, different interpretations can draw upon one aspect or a complex of Giant Country themes in the construction of a story. The term "Giant Country," on this view, is polysemic and can help to support a multivovalic narrative.
CHAPTER III

GEOGRAPHY AND NORTH COAST DEER HUNTING

Introduction

Chapter II discusses the impact of geography, as it is manifested in climate—weather, on deer hunting in the North Coast; it consists of two sections, “Climate and North Coast Deer Hunting, Physical Dimension” and “Climate and North Coast Deer Hunting, Human Dimension.” The first section provides the background necessary for an understanding of how NC climatic features affect local deer hunting; this section also serves as a background for an understanding of the geographic-climatic factors which are important within local hunters’ interpretations of their deer hunting experiences. NC hunters’ specific knowledge of, and reactions to, geography are discussed in the section on human geography.

CLIMATE AND NORTH COAST DEER HUNTING, PHYSICAL DIMENSION

Overview

Just as geology impacts on deer hunting in the NC, so does geography. Specifically, geography in the form of climate is an important consideration in NC deer hunting. Gastil notes that “more than many other
regions, the Pacific Northwest is an expression and result of physical
geography, and its districts are similarly delimited” (265). While average
temperatures are mild, rainfall can be heavy and clouds characteristically
cover the NC year round. Dicken and Dicken note that “clouds and rain are
features of the weather most of the year, and this region receives less
sunshine than any other part of Oregon” (1979, 27).

The seasons consist of a wet spring, a relatively dry summer, an
autumn with over 5 inches of rain per month, and a very rainy season in the
winter, with at least a few major Pacific storms from October to
February, producing 12 or more inches of rain per month. Ruttle reports
that November to January averages over 10 inches of rain, while June to
October averages less than 3 inches (2). Dicken and Dicken also stress
that the climate varies between cloudiness and heavy rainfall in the
winter: “The people had to become accustomed to...[these] variations of
the climate, to the cloudiness and heavy rainfall in winter” (83).

The NC is located near the center of the middle latitude where
westerly winds and the Pacific Ocean create cyclonic storm systems
during the oceanic winter. In winter, since the Cascade Mountains for the
most part block the colder air mass from reaching the NC, the coldest days
of the year are often produced by a strong easterly wind (Suphan, 13). The
average daily winter temperature is 43°F, compared to the summer’s 61°F.
However, the central Pacific high pressure system dominates in the
summer, producing relatively dry and cool weather with frequent coastal fog. The lack of seasonal extremes is noteworthy, considering that both Portland, Oregon and Portland, Maine are approximately 45° north latitude. The daily maximum temperature is fairly consistent during July, August, and September, although September frequently produces the highest temperature week of the year which is referred to as "Indian Summer" (Ruttle, 3).

The NC lies within two dominant climatic subzones—the westernmost Coast Climatic Zone and the interior Coast Range Climatic Zone (Loy, 137). See Figure 4. The first, the Coast Climatic Zone, experiences the most direct influence from the Pacific Ocean—fog, daily wind, a cloud cover for over 200 days per year, and high humidity. More than 180 days per year have some rain, for a total of 80 inches annually.

The Coast Climatic Zone also has a low range in daily temperature. The coastal and Columbia River areas are about 10% warmer in winter and 10% cooler in summer than are the NC interior areas. Astoria's average temperatures for its coldest and hottest months are January: 36°F and August: 69°F.

The Coast Climatic Zone can be further divided between the thin strips of land immediately fronting on the ocean or the Columbia River and areas which are more removed from these bodies of water. These distinctions are not significant for NC deer hunting, especially since the
Columbia River islands are inhabited by Columbian whitetail deer which are protected within a federal preserve.

In the Coast Range Climatic Zone, the temperature in the foothills and the mountains of the NC is similar to that of the Coast Range Mountains, in spite of the higher elevation of the interior region. In the Coast Range Mountains, Jewell's average temperatures for its coldest and warmest months are January: 31°F and August: 76°F. There is some precipitation 160 to 180 days a year, but more rain falls in the NC than in the Coast Range Climatic Zone.

While the coastal and Columbia River areas may have more days of cloudiness and rain than the interior of the NC, the interior area, the Coast Range Mountains, receives 10-20% more rainfall annually. The rainfall in the interior averages 100 inches a year while it is 75-90 inches at the lower elevations which are virtually at sea level. This annual rainfall of 100 inches is among the highest in the continental U.S. (Ruttle, 2; OSU Extension Service 1991, 1). In the winter, precipitation in the form of snow is usually limited to the higher interior areas of the NC, the Coast Range foothills and mountains. However, Coast Range Climatic Zone peaks are often covered by snow in early autumn and late spring. The coastal area is also often frost free. Wind is also a complex matter in the interior areas of the NC which fall within the Coast Range Climatic Zone, in terms of site-specific velocities and directions.
Physical Geography and North Coast Deer Hunting, Direct Links

The climate and weather in the NC result from many complex factors and have powerful and direct influences upon deer hunting. Typical variations in the climate during the autumn hunting season include changes in temperature, humidity, and winds which complicate the hunter's attempt to understand, predict, and respond to NC blacktails. These factors are powerful forces which determine specific behaviors in the blacktail which, accordingly, also vary considerably. The complexities of the deer's swift and adaptive behavior in response to changing local conditions is stressed by expert hunter-writers, such as Van Dyke, Cartier, and Rue (1969). These authors' behavioral studies of deer show that hasty conclusions about deer behavior must be avoided.

The complexity of deer hunting was stated or implied by virtually every informant, especially Informants 3--32, 9--26, 12--17, and 30--3. Except in the case of sheer, "dumb luck," most informants would agree with Informant, 3--32, that there is no set pattern or hunting system that can take into account wind, light, rain, and temperature.

The strategies and tactics that hunters use may be generalized, so that hunters make no attempt to respond to the complexities of deer behavior. For example, hunters may adopt a visual flushing tactic, rather than respond to the complex and shifting world of blacktails' scenting spots and scrapes (Wegner Book 2, 84, 130, 134, 135, 144, 172, 175).
Climate and weather generally impact more directly and dramatically on stalkers, that is, on still hunters, rather than on drive or stand hunters, while agricultural and property hunters are least affected. But the various hunting modes alter the climatic factors which need to be considered for each hunt. For example, low fog may help a clear cut stalker but send a long-range, clear cut hunter to another site.

**Sun**

Vision is always a key element in hunting, but it is especially important when each individual hunter is responsible for determining what is or isn't "legal" or "shooting" light. "Legal light" usually refers to conditions under which there is enough light to see color. The rule for legal light is yet another example of the requirement for personal, individual judgment in hunting.

**Sun, Sunrise**

Informant 16--7, a retired Oregon State Policeman-Game Warden, in cryptic form, sums up the NC's best hunting times: "Just about crack of daylight and just about dusk."

Sunrise is unquestionably the most productive hunting time cited in the literature and among informants. This point is further emphasized by many informants who claimed that they had the most success while hunting during the first hour, or even the first half-hour, of daylight.
Sunset is a distant second. Not surprisingly, sunrise is a time of tension, especially on opening day.

Sun, Sunset

As stated, personal judgment is required in the hunter to determine when he or she should stop hunting, due to low levels of shooting light. Obviously, in such situations, the solo hunter’s judgment is directly tested. Unlike in everyday life, sunset is a serious deadline when hunting, not only in terms of legal shooting, but also in terms of safely getting out of the woods and locating one’s vehicle. Sunset can also be a factor in packing out. Informant 27--11 stated:

"...Usually, when we, [a group of hunters], started in the morning, we didn’t worry too much [about time] till dark came; we all got back by then.

If we got game, got a deer down, then two guys stopped and took care of it [field dressed and packed it out]...""

One counter-intuitive finding of the study was that most informants did not single out sunrise or sunset, with their low light conditions as particularly dangerous for hunters, either in terms of gun safety or safety of movement.

Moon/Moon and Sun

The sun and moon are thought to be co-factors by hunters who use solunar tables; informant 30--18 notes regarding the sun and moon:

"...You hear that if you have a full moon, deer are awfully hard to find during the daylight hours because they’re out feeding all night.
I don't know if that's a myth or not; it's probably true. It's really hard to say...”

However, while solunar tables are regularly published in popular hunting magazines, they are of debatable reliability in predicting deer behavior and hunter success. The empirical study of trail use does not support the belief that moon phases are correlated with deer trail use (Wegner Book 2, 178). Solunar tables are rejected by Van Dyke (Wegner, Book 1, 45), and moon position are not thought by Pearce to correlate with the deer's biological clock (1994, 62).

Only one informant was an avowed advocate of solunar tables, but there is the possibility of informant underreporting, based on the uneasy tone of voice or body language in informants' discussions of solunar tables. NC hunters are perhaps reluctant to admit they adjust their hunting days according to these tables.

Given the complexity of deer behavior, solunar tables raise many questions regarding such issues as the effects on deer of night feeding under a full moon, of staying in exposed areas for longer periods of time, and of leaving night feeding sites according to moonlight. Also, the degree of “confidence” that a deer feels relates to natural light. These questions are fertile ground for a local ethnoscience.
Temperature, Influence on NC Deer

As with the influence of natural light on deer behavior, the influence of temperature on deer is constant and pervasive, but also so complex and varying that clear and predictable correspondences are difficult, if not impossible, to determine. While ethnoscientific data are common and various, given the relatively short season for NC deer hunting, beliefs about the influence of temperature on blacktails, except in the case of extremely high temperatures, are commonly discounted. There is minimal pressure for hunters to know such information or to develop their own theories. How much attention they pay to these temperature factors is a matter of individual choice.

Temperature, Rut

Again, the direct influence of temperature on the rut is so complex as to be generally discounted because temperature would vary from area to area, depending especially on elevation. Only Informant 9--32 clearly related temperature to the rut. This older, especially knowledgeable hunter believed that an early freeze will bring on the rut, emboldening the bucks. They then act “stupid,” which increases the hunter’s chances. But this would be a rare situation since, on the average, CC only has such an early freeze once in twenty years.
Temperature, Meat

Temperature, nevertheless, is a direct factor in NC deer hunting in terms of meat spoilage. Informant 34-22, who does all of his own butchering, claimed that he does not hunt in unusually hot weather because he lacks refrigeration facilities. Such a limitation would not restrict the many hunters who use professional butchering services.

Temperature, Fire Hazard

Probably the most direct influence that temperature has on NC hunting comes in the form of the fire hazard created by hot, dry conditions. These conditions can occur early in the hunting season, causing the woods to be closed, thereby, shortening the season. A shortened season results in an increase in hunter crowding, and probably results in a greater number of doe hunters when such hunting is permitted during the last days of the season.

Temperature, Hypothermia

Hypothermia is a danger for lost, injured, sick, older, or impaired hunters, but it is not as serious in the NC as it was before logging roads were completed. Nevertheless, it remains the leading killer of outdoor people (Huggler, 169). The danger of hypothermia is underestimated by and for non-experienced and non-local hunters, as seen in the following from an article in the the Daily Astorian:

“Hunter Soaked, Cold but OK after Night in Woods.”

A lost bow hunter sought refuge...in a bear’s den before
rescuers found him the next day so cold and dehydrated he could barely move...[The hunter], 30, of Tualatin...had no rain gear, [and] had to be carried out...on a stretcher...[He] also was bruised from falling several times as he tried to follow elk over steep terrain...in the Cronin Creek area. [A rescuer] said it was raining...and was very foggy. [The hunter had been warned] to stay out of the ravine,... "the steepest area in all of Clatsop County...His hands were whiter than a sheet of paper...I don’t think he would have handled another night," said a rescuer] (Kennet 5 Sept. 1994).

Another Daily Astorian article told of a 70 year old diabetic hunter, hunting in the Brownsmead area in north CC, whose truck went off the road. He was stuck on a remote logging road, in cold weather, with only a sleeping bag; he was taken by ambulance to the Astoria Hospital ("70-year-old Recovering From Ordeal" 27 Jan 1992). Informant 37--49-50, a member of the Astoria Search and Rescue Unit, demonstrated how NC residents are often more concerned about hypothermia, than are "outsiders":

In 1990 we got a hunter rescue call; we spent one day and one night searching an area for which the hunter had an elk tag. There was serious concern for his welfare. The hunter did not return home or to work as expected; he did not contact his wife or employer. The hunter had left the area and gone into another area for which he did not have a tag. He wanted another day of hunting which would be illegal by area. He was a Portland hunter. During hunting season we’re pretty busy going out after the lost hunters.
Informant 34--47 related a case in which the weather in a difficult packing out could have produced a tragedy:

"[An incompetent elk hunter] didn't know how to dress out [his kill and endangered himself].

[He] wore himself out to the point that he was going down from exhaustion.

[He] didn't get back to...[his] rig.

Some friends of mine picked him up, or he would have probably died from hypothermia."

Clouds–Light–Sky

While cloudy skies are a trial for newcomers, NC residents appear indifferent to their frequently overcast skies; these conditions are a blessing for the blacktails, with their keener-than-human vision. In darker light, the deer also create a weaker silhouette for the hunter to see; in low light conditions, there is also less deep shade for hunters to utilize in stalking or for taking a stand. Informant 7--12--13 shows what he learned from experience:

"My mind or eye played tricks on me."

In low light, color distinction is lost.

When you "anticipate something," you can mistake a hunter’s buff color for a deer or elk, or horse’s legs for an elk.

Fog

Since visibility is a crucial factor in hunting, fog, which seems to be only a minor nuisance for urban dwellers, can be a major factor in a hunt:

Wet and foggy weather is common for NC hunts, along with heavy underbrush.
This results in limited visibility for game, in contrast to Eastern Oregon... (Informant 2--27)
Informant 3-33 points out one of the many complexities of climate-weather combinations—that fog can ruin the light during sunrise, by far the best hunting period, "If fog doesn't lift early, you can't see." Informant 24-5-6 also notes that fog can interrupt a hunt, forcing one to stop hunting until it lifts. Norm Nelson, a noted writer on hunting, additionally claims that the semi-twilight effect of fog may embolden deer (1992, 53).

**Humidity**

Humidity has a direct influence on NC blacktail hunting because high humidity enhances the deer's ability to scent hunters (Wegner Book 1, 34). However, only one informant mentioned humidity, and only as a factor in hunter comfort.

**Rain, Influence on NC Deer**

Parker's in-depth study on blacktails in the Pacific Northwest points to possible blacktail physical adaptations to rain and chill factors. Parker demonstrates the complexities of analyzing the reactions of deer to various environmental factors. See Blacktail section.

**Rain Shelters**

A deer's use of rain shelters is probably common everywhere deer are hunted, but, given the exceptionally wet conditions in the NC, rain shelters are probably much more of a factor in NC deer behavior than in other areas. It is possible to locate or scout such sites, and they can be
used in a form of niche hunting, so that these rain shelters constitute a special aspect of the NC as a hunting subregion. Since rain shelters must be stalked, rather than merely observed from a distance, they significantly contribute to close encounters with deer. These close encounters, in conjunction with other hunting conditions in the NC, are probably more frequent than in the Willamette Valley or Eastern Oregon, again making rain shelters a sub-regional marker.

Informant 20--24-25, 53 stated that he was especially focused on this form of deer behavior and his resulting strategy. He stalked deer trails; in heavy rain, he had seen deer stand or lay under a log and watch him. He also noted that deer may hide just inside cover to keep cool or dry. Informant 24--5-6 concurred that deer may hide under the overturned root mass of a blowdown. This occurred once when he was hunting in very foggy weather.

Rain, Close Encounters With Deer

NC residents and hunters do not have a special term for wet weather hunts, and this supports the contention that this type of hunting is “assumed.” Many or most deer hunts are expected to be wet affairs, not only for the hunter, but for the deer, as well. Consequently, several hunting tactics are utilized to successfully hunt or “score” the local blacktails under wet conditions, hunting the rain shelters, stalking under windy conditions, and flushing or “kicking them out of their beds,”
(Informant 8--14's phrase) by means of the hunter's own scent, the hunter being careful in the process not to pass by hiding deer or to allow them to skulk away.

Informant 20--53 related a second-hand account of a close encounter in a hunt, probably caused by rain:

---Truck Driver's Hunt Story---
One fellow, a truck driver, told me about a hunt he had. It was a rainy day.
There was a fella, his partner, on top of the ridge; this truck driver fella was on the bottom of the ridge.
It was raining very heavily.
He was going up hill; he stood on a log and looked into this overhang of brush.
Here was this deer standing, just like the deer I have seen while I was bow hunting, standing under something to keep dry.
The truck driver waved to the other guy to get down.
He wanted to get a shot.
He wasn't going to take a shot and take a chance on killing him, so he was waving the fella down.
Pretty soon, the deer went off to the left, a nice big buck, probably dressed out, for this area, dressed about 150 lbs., so it was about 175 lbs., live; it was a big animal.
I can relate to his feeling of success, the difficulty under which he got the deer.
They didn't use scopes then; a lot of guys I know used buckhorn sights or peep sights.

Snow

It is generally agreed in the hunting literature that there is little or no migration of NC blacktails from the area, due partly to the mild winters which lack snow. While many NC hunters, particularly stalkers, would
welcome the chance to track blacktails in the snow, as mentioned, snow is relatively rare during the NC deer season, except perhaps in the higher elevations. However, snowfall and snow on the ground are present during the later elk season and they contribute to the higher status and “macho” stereotype of NC elk hunting, as opposed to that of blacktail hunting. Both some blacktail hunters who hunt elk, and also some elk hunters who disdain hunting the smallish blacktails, accept this macho stereotype. However, NC residents, in general, and blacktail hunters, in particular, freely admit that weather conditions, including snow, often create very difficult, even brutal conditions during elk season. Again, blacktail hunters, much more than non-hunters, are sensitive to the physical and psychological hardships of pursuing prey in the NC woods.

Storms–Wind

The effect of storms and wind on deer behavior in the NC is an important and much debated question. Informant 31–17 probably states the dominant view on storms: “[It] makes you wonder if it’s worth it to go out there. [The] chances of not seeing anything are pretty good, [when it’s] raining and blowing.” But informant 3–32 presents an alternate interpretation:

...High wind may frighten deer into openings where they hide under non-tree cover to avoid the danger of falling limbs from the large tree canopy; I once jumped a deer at the bottom of a hemlock canopy during a big wind...

Wind makes deer skittish since they are vulnerable, due to reduced hearing and sight...
Another major effect of storms and wind in the NC is that these conditions improve hunting visibility by reducing leaf cover; some hunters sometimes specifically wait for at least some leaf drop.

**Storms—Wind, Close Encounters With Deer**

Informant 2--4 presented a hunt account in which a storm with its wind created a close encounter with a NC blacktail. The unusual shot placement supported his claim that he was indeed very close:

I walked up to within 4 to 5 feet of a feeding buck; I was upwind, on the leeward side of a slope.
It couldn’t hear or smell me because of the storm.
I shot him behind the ear

**Storms—Wind, Danger**

Risk is associated with hunting for the obvious reason that hunters handle firearms in relatively isolated natural settings, but the NC has another very real danger from falling trees and snags, especially during storms. The woods are closed to logging during high winds for this reason; dangerous snags are more common than many people believe, and it is not uncommon to hear of a “widow maker” creaking in the wind. Informant 19 tells of his father’s death from a falling tree when he himself was seven years old. His father’s death was indirectly related to hunting:

…My father offered to take a postman deer hunting, but it was too stormy to hunt when the postman came to the house, so my father took him to get salmon...(14)
Severe storms create snags that make being in the woods dangerous.
”[There are a] lot of snags, 200 foot firs...
[A] snag blew down and killed my dad flat, right there on the
rocks”...(42)

See Hunter Type, Subsistence Hunter.

Wind

The wind at specific NC hunting sites often plays a crucial role in
deer hunting, so that the generalized regional weather forecast is
insufficient and sometimes misleading. Some useful information
regarding wind currents in various types of sites is found in hunting
publications, but advice from old timers or mentors is generally welcome
because some of the variables affecting wind may be hidden or counter-
intuitive.

There appear to be at least three main NC hunter strategies
regarding wind and scent. One is to use the wind to flush deer; some NC
deer hunters use the wind to carry their own scent to their prey in order to
flush the deer out into the open. In using the wind in this way, for many
hunters, another sense, vision, is paramount, since a hunter can’t shoot
what he or she can’t see. Informant 14--13 explained:

“Your scent works to your advantage a big percentage of the time.
[It] puts them on the alert and spooks them, and they try to sneak
off.

They get your scent, and they try to slip out, and maybe you get a
crack at them that way.

Normally, you wouldn’t see them; they’d be bedded...”
A second NC hunter practice for accommodating the wind on deer hunts is the simplest; hunters simply ignore it. Some hunters believe that wind conditions are so variable, especially in hilly terrain, that general rules are useless. Another possible basis for this attitude is that non-rationalized hunters make no attempt to apply science to “just hunting,” hunting which is seen as recreation or “just something we do.”

Another NC orientation which deer hunters have towards the wind is to avoid giving scent. Many, but certainly not all of the informants, follow this strategy, for example, Informants 9--23, 26, 19--9, and 20--25. The strategy to avoid giving scent can be a part of the stereotypic or mythic view of American hunters, the assumption that they all desire to stalk like Indian hunters, silently, and in perfect adjustment to wind, cover, and other factors of the hunt, as Informant 19--22 advised:

“...Hunt into the wind.
If the wind is not at your back, you won’t get anything.
Deer don’t care if they hear you, but if they smell you, they’re gone, right now, they’re gone...
Most of the reason [hunters lose opportunities is the deer smells the hunter before he sees the deer; they’ll then sneak away]”...

It is thought that blacktail, as a subspecies, supposedly rely more on their sense of smell than on and their sense of hearing. Several informants believe, along with informant 19, that scent is a much stronger flight stimulus than noise, especially for blacktails which live in the close quarters of heavy brush. Informant 19, nevertheless, hunts with the wind,
for its advantage of covering hunter noise. Sell records moving with the wind when the wind blows, for the same effect (1964, 138).

Season

As stated, the typical American fall is often not present in the NC. September is the hottest month of the year and often the only hot month, especially in the Coast Range Climatic Zone. Thus, the atypical NC fall weather is one factor which differentiates and marks off this subregion and its hunting.

CLIMATE AND NORTH COAST DEER HUNTING, HUMAN DIMENSION

Overview

While the interaction between climate and NC deer hunters is too complex to be definitively treated in this study, the influence of several aspects of NC climate on hunters may be highlighted. These include the power of winter storms, the persistence of rain, and an independent, "wild" presence in the NC, stemming from the "wild" weather in forested areas. Taken together, these aspects of NC climate constitute a "reality check" for residents which is especially powerful in rural areas, as opposed to what it might be in urban areas with their greater insulation from the elements. As with several geological aspects in the NC, NC climate is not generally seen as beneficent or as easily amenable to human control, and it has especially strong economic and occupational ramifications. The extractive industries of fishing and logging, and
tourism, which together make up the core of the NC economy, are all strongly impacted by the local climate.

Region/Subregion, NC Climate

Geographers who comment on regions characterize the Pacific Northwest as "America's rainbelt," just as they characterize the Southwest as its "sunbelt" (Sarasohn, 224). Part of the Northwest's ethos or "quality of life" includes outdoormsmanship, physical exertion, hardships, and intense experiences, as in the analyses of Cantwell (284-85) and Garreau (251, 262). Richard Brown similarly labels the Northwest as the "Rain Coast" ("Great Raincoast," 41).

Tuan accepts rain or rain-clouds as significant factors in a person's attitude or in a region's attitude towards nature ("Attitudes"). Tuan also accepts a "single natural aspect" of climate as a potentially dominant regional marker. An example of the presence of a natural force in an area as an important, perhaps partially-defining, presence is New Jersey's brush fires, as argued by Hufford (1992).

Rain, as the most basic NC climatic regional marker, is assumed by locals; that is, rain and overcast skies are taken for granted, and, as given, are less commented upon than expected. Danielson's discussion of tornadoes in Kansas, in which Kansas residents are shown not to discuss tornadoes, describes a similar phenomenon (28).
While rain is a NC subregional marker, the absence of many American climatic stereotypes or norms in the NC also sets it apart; for example, the typical American sunny spring, the “dog-days” of August, a crisp dry fall, and a cold, white Christmas are all lacking. Even American regions which are generally seen as having a rather different climate-weather than that of the general cultural norm, such as the Southeast or Southwest, are closer to the stereotypic view than is the NC. While there are many modern cultural forces which are eroding regional differences, as Ittelson, et al. claim, climate-weather tends to persist as a means of local identification since it cannot be eliminated or drastically altered.

Similarly to Tuan’s argument that an aspect of climate can be an area marker, Richardson argues that any clear distinctive feature or marker supports an area’s identity as a subregion (1984). Regarding this claim, there is a clear contrast between NC and Willamette Valley climate. There is an even stronger contrast between the climate of the NC and semi-arid Eastern Oregon, where until a few years ago, many NC deer hunters pursued mule deer; due to the advent of area-specific deer tags, this practice is now much reduced. The NC hunters in this study cannot but be consciously aware of the dramatically different climatic conditions within their own area, compared to conditions in other parts of their state. Informant 9--31 notes that he enjoys the higher and drier hunting areas of the NC and is willing to get up an hour earlier to drive to them. Informant
37--35 contrasts Eastern Oregon's weather with that of CC: "In Eastern Oregon you have nice fall weather. In Clatsop County, you have wet, limpy leaves. We don't have a fall down here."

**Giant Country**

Climate, particularly in the form of rain and winter storms, contributes to the Giant Country characterization of the NC. Wind damage, with fallen trees across power and phone lines and roads, reminds residents of nature's power. Local flooding, often in conjunction with tides, is another reminder.

Climate is also related to other aspects of Giant Country. The big timber is partly an adaptation of the land to the abundant, nearly year-round rain, and the dense brush of the woods is adapted to the acid soil, which is partly the result of heavy rainfall.

It has been noted that climate also contributes to elk hunting's more masculine, and in some cases, "macho" coloration, since weather during elk season is usually much more severe and is sometimes potentially dangerous. Deer season predates elk season by four to six weeks, before the really severe weather sets in, and while deer hunting is generally regarded as a manly pursuit, for a fuller perspective, it must be remembered that NC elk hunting carries an even greater masculine status.
**Ocean-Beach Weather**

While the climate-weather on the shoreline is not directly a factor in most types of blacktail hunting, it contributes to a sense of nature's presence and power in the NC. Unlike the water at California beaches, the water at NC beaches is too cold for pleasant recreational uses. In addition, the beach itself is also often cool to cold, with strong winds, so that people on the beaches frequently face raw conditions. For example, clam diggers often need to become conditioned to rough, inclement weather as a part of, or the "price" of, harvesting. Since coping with and enduring rough weather is also a part of securing elk and steelhead, two highly-prized NC wild game food species, it is tempting to hypothesize that consumptive users of wildlife in the NC come to the conclusion, while clamming, fishing, elk hunting, or deer hunting, that the harvesting of all wildlife involves a confrontation with the climate-weather.

**Forest's Weather**

Probably because the weather in natural or wild places is not abated by humans and their artifacts, the weather in such places is generally seen as "more real." This idea may contribute to the intuition that the forest has something to teach visitors and has even more to teach those who would come and participate in its life (cf. Cooper, 71). Since the forest is a culturally-coded place of human testing, by association, its weather can be interpreted as a part of this testing.
Outdoor Activity Tradition, NC

The Pacific Northwest is noted for its avid outdoor enthusiasts, and Oregon's rate of outdoor participation is above the national rate. According to the United States Department of Interior's National Survey of Fishing, Hunting, and Wildlife-Associated Recreation statistics for 1991 (121), Oregon's nonresidential, nonconsumptive wildlife activity rate, for those 16 years or older at 24% and was higher than the average for the U.S. This higher nonresidential score is especially noteworthy since this category identifies more serious participation than the residential, often part-time, activities:

OR--- Total 72%; Nonresidential 24%; Residential 48%;
US--- Total 55%; Nonresidential 16%; Residential 39%.

Danger/Death, NC Climate

NC boat and automobile fatalities are frequently weather-related, and their rates are high, again making the climate-weather a serious agent or presence in the NC. In the same issue of a NC newspaper, it is not unusual to read of a drowning, the loss of a boat, or a vehicle fatality, all caused by weather conditions. One possible psychological or psychosocial reaction to the indifference of nature may be to adapt a violent relationship to the environment; some NC residents who feel at risk in terms of the local landscape and climate may respond by forming a hunter-prey relationship with the local wildlife, as if the hunting and killing of local
animals, as epitomes of the area, would balance the equation. On a more symbolic level, in this context of anxiety caused by the local weather, hunting may subconsciously or symbolically function to reduce anxiety, as in the much touted political balance of power theory, which also came to be known as the "balance of terror" solution. Compare, for example, Malinowski's anxiety-ritual theory, which states that ritual may result from human anxiety over perceived threats.

**Climate-Weather and Deer Hunting, NC, Indirect Links**

There are many cases in which NC hunters have become knowledgeable of, and sensitive to, local natural conditions through their outdoorsmanship. Hunters' experiences with nature, including their experiences with climatic conditions, often exceed those of non-hunters. In order to determine site selection, mode of hunting, timing of hunts, and other important aspects of hunting, many NC deer hunters monitor the fall weather as a part of their preseason and pre-hunt preparation. Informants 17, 28, and 36 are particularly avid pre-hunt scouts, but several other informants also regularly find themselves in the woods.

Climate-weather is also connected to hunting in an intimate, and sometimes subtle and cumulative way. Informant 26--43 relates that "you develop a kind of kinship with the weather, and getting up early, and the sunrise, and seeing the animals [during hunting season]." This comment suggests that there is a simultaneous unity or closure of the climate-
weather-season complex, not only within the hunting frame, but also within larger frames that include both home and natural areas. In terms of place theory, when hunters go "out" to hunt, they leave a central, home, or "normal" place to enter into a different realm in which, if they are fortunate, they may also "enter" the blacktail's realm. The deer's world is yet another frame within which hunters may complete their "stories," before passing through one or several intermediate realms or frame zones on their return home.

Sun

Based on the relatively weak NC sun and the powerful visual images and practical effects of the NC sky-cloud-rain-storm complex, this study presents a negative finding regarding the NC and some myth critics' sun symbolization. For example, Campbell links the sun to hunting traditions (1959). Admittedly, Campbell was speaking of the Great Hunt (nomadic) tradition, but while much of his characterization of the sun might still hold for the American Great Plains, it does not seem relevant to the NC.

New NC residents sometimes speak of the NC sun as being "impotent," or they call it a "UFO." The frequently overcast skies, in addition to the NC's northern latitude, negate the sun as a presence and as a powerful archetype. The sky quality in the NC, particularly in terms of the degree of brightness in the sky, that is, the relative amount of clouds, rain, and light, may be a subregional marker (cf. Lutwack, 59), just as rain
may be an area marker. For example, the leaden Dutch sky, as presented by
landscape painters, has became a part of the Dutch sense of homeland.

Sunrise

On hunting days, the sunrise often serves as the basis for a contrast
between civilization and nature-wilderness. Nearly all NC hunters drive
from town into the woods, while sitting on the soft seats of their cars,
warm and dry, they are in control of their powerful, speeding machines,
smoothing rolling over asphalt roads. But when stepping out and leaving
their cars, these hunters relinquish their controlled conditions to greet the
sunrise. The various and elaborate symbolic values commonly assigned to
the rising sun in non-hunting contexts seem to resonate here. Euro-
American symbolizations of the rising sun include illumination, hope,
resurrection, truth, clarity, rationality, and Apollonian qualities (Cooper;
Hall).

Informant 23--31-32 describes his Eastern Oregon deer camp
experience, but his description would seem to apply equally to NC deer
hunting in which hunters drive from home to hunt sites each day on their
day hunts:

“...[It’s] a step into a much less abstract kind of simplistic world and
lifestyle...
You go to bed when it’s dark, and you get up when it’s light.
There is a primitive kind of reality in all that [which] I think you get
in touch with...”
Merwin's poetry presents animal rhythms and movements as independent of humans, as totally "other" and belonging to total reality, as opposed to presenting them as they are in the anthropocentric point of view. At least some NC hunters also attempt to avoid the human-animal dichotomy within their "connectiveness" to place and wildlife, the illusion of the human completion of nature.

Sunset

Among the informants, sunrise and first light were mentioned much more frequently than was sunset. Sunset is similar to sunrise in that both are the poles of the daily rhythm and both are within a complex of powerful symbols; however, the symbols for sunset and sunrise are basically dichotomous. For example, sunset symbolizes darkness, the end of light, the passing of time, death, and the non-rational and non-human powers, and sunrise symbolizes opposing concepts. Surprisingly, very few informants made references to the beauty of the sunset at the end of a hunting day; as stated earlier in the Sun, Sunset section, it was more common for them to refer to the practical limitations or potential danger of being caught in the dark and not being able to find their way back to a vehicle or to other hunters.

Sun, Aesthetics

While most informants did not discuss the sun in terms of aesthetics, the few who volunteered their appreciation for the aesthetic
qualities of the sunrise during their hunting experiences displayed strong reactions. Informant 37--53 states that

“One of my favorite things is, I love to be out there when the sun comes up; I like to get up before the sun comes up; when the sun comes up, and it’s daylight, I want to be sitting where I’m going to be; it’s really beautiful.

In Eastern Oregon, it’s my favorite; especially in Eastern Oregon, I like to be on that stump or rim rock or wherever I’m going to be, when the sun comes up; but, yeah, even in CC, if you’re on a clearing, if it’s not a rainy day, there’s been some good days here hunting too…”

When asked about the most important thing he had gained from hunting, Informant 12--9 listed, in part, the beauty of the natural world, which, in turn, contributed to his relationship with nature:

“[The] aesthetics of getting out into the outdoors, the beauty of getting out early in the morning and seeing a coyote stalk through the rising fog…add up to a real appreciation and sensitivity to what we’ll call the natural world…”

Moon

There were few observations made about the moon by informants. The moon may be seen as constituting a part of twilight, the harvest or hunter’s moon, but it was not mentioned by any informant except in connection with the topic of the moon’s possible influence on deer behavior. What appears to be a relatively weak sun symbolization in the NC, coupled with the lack of additional emphasis on the moon, calls into question the supposedly central archetypes of Euro-American culture in the NC, the sun-moon or day-night dichotomy. This phenomenon possibly
supports the contention that the clouds-rain complex has complicated or
even displaced the sun-moon dichotomy in the NC. The thickness of the
clouds, more than the sun’s passage, can be the crucial factor in deter-
mining the day’s level of brightness; newcomers often comment on the
fact that the cloudy sky is brighter at 4:00 P.M. than it is at noon.

**Clouds-Light-Sky-Overcast**

Outdoor activities, such as hunting, are perhaps a reaction to, or
even an overcompensation for, low light conditions, as if hunters were
refusing to allow these weather conditions to limit their activities.

The psychological effect of heavy cloud cover and the resulting low
light conditions, which may persist for several days are often discussed as
possible causes for depression among residents in the Pacific Northwest.

Such weather conditions also have specific practical implications
for deer hunters. Shadows in natural areas can be a key element in many
hunts since shadows cause a reduction in the contrast between light and
dark areas. These conditions especially affect stalking, in which hunters
move from shadow to shadow, and wary blacktails do the same.

**Fog**

While fog can be a dangerous factor contributing to hypothermia,
more importantly, it can cause hunters to become lost. The word, “Lost,”
has more connotations for hunters than it does for non-hunters. The
following is a description by Informant 27--30, who was fired on in a fog.
He was in one hunting group, but stumbled into another area which was being hunted by another group employing another strategy:

People have shot near me.
"That’s one of the reasons I quit hunting in [the] Cook Creek” area in the Tillamook Burn, in northwest Tillamook County.
The last time I was down there it was foggy; we got down in there; people started shooting; the bullets started whizzing.
They don’t know you’re there; they’re shooting at deer...

As mentioned earlier, this is an atypical response since other NC hunters did not correlate fog with danger from other hunters, as much as they correlated it with getting lost.

For several NC blacktail hunters, fog is an evocative, aesthetic, and romantic factor in their hunting. Informant 10--2 specifically mentioned the fog when asked if he remembered his first deer kill. While the informant hesitated before speaking and appeared to be trying to remember the incident, since this hunt took place over 45 years ago, he gave precise details which included the presence of fog.

"[The] first...[deer kill] I can remember” was up at Elk Mt., 10-15 miles south of my home, still in northern CC.
I shot a 3 point buck, “on top of the mountain, in the fog,” with my friend and somebody else.
I was about 30 years old, after World War II.

The aesthetic appeal of fog can make it more than a background or incidental factor in a hunter’s experience. Fog can be a factor in site selection, and some hunters visit at least some sites which are less than
fully promising to experience the non-kill aspects of hunting. See Geology as a NC Landscape of Fact.

**Humidity**

High NC humidity is a part of a light-cloud-humidity complex and is an especially important factor in hunting. Humidity levels are high in the NC around the year, and many residents, especially children, experience humidity as an unhealthy condition and suffer from respiratory ailments. High humidity also causes ubiquitous rot and rust problems, supporting a devolutionary perspective which contributes, even if only to a minor degree, to an out migration of young adults to Portland and the Willamette Valley. This migration, principally for jobs, is the foundation of the sub-regional devolutionary perspective held by some NC residents. Such a negative or cynical point of view may underpin some NC utilitarian hunters' view of their activities as a nature, tooth-and-claw harvesting of animals. This viewpoint is similar to local notions regarding the use of damaged trees and, also, the use of salmon, up until the last decade before salmon runs became threatened; the idea was that damaged trees were "wasted" unless they were salvaged, and that salmon were "wasted" unless they were harvested before spawning, since salmon die after they spawn.
Temperature

It would be difficult to assess the psychological effect that the NC temperature pattern has on residents, but one clear result is that the seasons are not clearly marked for residents. The time-negating psychological effect of muted seasonal changes may enhance the time-marking function of deer hunting, so that deer season may help to delineate autumn or the harvest season.

Ironically, deer hunting is one of the few recreations in the NC which may be curtailed by the hot, clear weather of "Indian Summer," which is generally anticipated and even welcomed with a celebratory atmosphere similar to the Swiss reactions to the warm föhn wind. The differences in the value placed upon prized weather conditions by different people might serve to mark off hunters from non-hunters, those residents and newcomers who want soft, California-like weather.

Rain

As already stated, rain is a primary NW regional and NC subregional marker:

The chief regional identification is the gentle, yet steady rainfall during the long wet season...For this sector,...[it is] the regional mystique (Richard Brown "Great Raincoast," 51).

A NC adage about rain points up the central place of precipitation in the subregion: "If you can see Saddle Mt., it is about to rain; if you cannot see Saddle Mt., it is raining."
Heavy rains and cloud cover contribute to and symbolize the NC devolutionary perspective which is in some degree of tension with the more general and persistent American force of social and individual rebirth and accommodation.

NC Rain, Atypical

The NC's climate, termed "West Coast Marine," is not the typical American climate which is presented in the mass culture (Suttles "Environment," 17); it differs significantly from the mid-continental, moderate climate which is the basic American cultural norm (Berland, 100). Participating in activities, such as deer hunting, which include significant contact with the subregion's atypical climate, would, it seems, imply, by association, that participants are of the subregion and perhaps are atypical Americans.

Rain, Daily Rounds

Rain within the daily round of all NC residents is an important and ubiquitous factor, at least for most of the seasons. Ordinary tasks must be carried out when they can be, and the rain creates other tasks. For some, rain calls up such pioneer hardships as the following:

I planted between showers (Marxen, 13 May 1908).

I picked 86 snails among my flowers (Marxen, 11 Mar. 1910).

[February, 1861] Mon 18...Owing to the continuation of the rain, we had to remain in town [rather than returning home] (Gillette Diary, 23).
February 1861 Tues 19. After two days of almost constant rain, it has at last ceased [sic], and given us an opportunity to go home (Gillette Diary, 23).

Modern day immigrants to the NC are much more likely to carry umbrellas and wear raincoats and hats than are residents, and common references are made to the expectation that newcomers will eventually develop webbed feet and hands after living in the NC for several years.

Such accounts as those given by Marxen and Gillette may encourage residents to eventually discount rain as a limiting factor in their daily lives, so that this attitude toward rain can also be a subregional marker. Nevertheless, heavy, driving rain will affect hunter comfort, decreasing hunter turnout and crowding.

Rain. Depressing.

As with overcast conditions, the NC’s frequent rains can have a depressing effect on people. Gastil states, “Yet for many [people], the long, wet winters of continual light rain are depressing” (268). Earlier writers also attest to this; Marxen uses the phrase “a most awful [rainy] day” in her journal (25 Jan. 1910). The theme of rain is mentioned repeatedly by Gillette, as well as by Marxen:

[February 1861] Thurs 7 I intended to go [sic] have started home early this morning but it was raining when I awoke, and never ceased [sic], until after dark. The day passed of sluggishly [sic], for it was a dreary one. I was glad when night came to veil its dismal mists, and drenching rains (Gillette Diary, 18–19).
Rain all day and now at ten a clock it rains harder then ever (Marxen, 1 Jan. 1908?).

We had a fine day. Tonight the stars shine for the first time, in a long time (Marxen, 24 Mar. 1910).

Rain, Integration

As mentioned, at least partly, it is water in its various forms that is the basis for creating and maintaining the NC as a subregion. The ability to accept and adjust to the rain within the daily round is perhaps the acid test for determining whether or not a person will become a genuine or real resident, a "local" in the NC. Local people are generally satisfied with, or even prefer, the rain, clouds, and humidity. Gillette provides a pioneer's perspective on NC rain, but his arguments and ethos could easily be heard from current residents:

March 1861 Fri 29 The Storm of yesterday, continues with increased violence. It rains and blows with exceeding violence, and is unusually cold. It seems to be very [sic] unfit weather for Spring, but [sic] why should I complain of that, of which, I have not the least control [sic]? It is right to remonstrate against useless or oppressive laws of our country, & to demand their repeal. But is it right to remonstrate against the great and unalterable laws of Nature when they do not seem to be adapted to our best interests? And would it be of any avail if we did so. To what Court would we apply for redress, or amendment? (Diary, 33).

[February 1861] Thurs 21...This has been one of those indescribably bright beautiful days that we frequently have after those terrible rain storms. The fairest...
brightest days oft lie,/Concealed behind the darkest sky...(Diary, 23)

Rain, Best Hunting Weather

What constitutes the NC’s best blacktail hunting weather is a part of local lore and, as such, is influenced by individual, partner, family, or group hunting experiences. Because there are so many variables to consider in hunting, and because so much depends on the immediate hunting conditions, the question of what makes the best hunting weather remains a perennial one.

Rain or drizzle, but not stormy weather, are frequently argued to be the prime types of NC hunting weather for Columbian blacktails, partly because these conditions allow for tracks, reduce deer movement, quiet footing, and cover other noise for the hunter. Naturally, opponents of this position can always play their trump card, deer adaptability, since it is obvious that deer do alter their behavior according to hunter tactics.

Although there is an unending debate over what constitutes the best hunting weather, conventional NC wisdom and most of the informants, including Informant 6--29, a very experienced NC hunter, favor light rainy conditions. Informant 28--31, when explaining the most significant change in his own hunting over the years, volunteered his view of the best hunting weather:

“If it’s rainy and miserable, it’s a little hard to get a lot of interest in going out, (even though, around here, wet weather is the
best hunting time, because] deer [here] are basically nocturnal.”

If there’s been a lot of blowing and storms, or its a dark cloudy night, deer will not feed that night and will feed during the rainy, dark day.

“[You] will be able to get closer to them without them seeing you, or hearing you, or smelling you.”

Informant 5--24 reports that a friend, an expert local hunter, is another proponent of wet weather as the best type of weather for hunting blacktail because it quiets the brush and ground and reduces the number of hunters.

The debate over what makes for best hunting conditions is continued in hunting magazines:

Unless there is a major storm, coastal blacktail do not alter their basic behavioral patterns because of rain (Norm Nelson Nov. 1992, 53).

There is a semi-twilight effect of overcast sky at daybreak--deer may leave from night feeding a bit later (Norm Nelson Nov. 1992, 53).

Deer may use a sunny, but supposedly secure, site to dry out after a cold rain (Norm Nelson Nov. 1992, 53).

Some of the same details or interpretations appear to circulate among NC deer hunters, but it would require an extensive and prolonged examination to determine the original sources of NC hunters’ opinions. Some such popular “facts” could come from local hunters, while others could originate from hunting magazines. A fluid information flow is well-documented in the literature on the interplay between folklore and
published materials. For example, the North African Hilal materials may be impossible to trace to their origin. They may have been heard from oral epic bards or they may have been read in chapbooks and sung by part-time, untrained coffee house singers (Connelly).

It seem reasonable to suggest that since blacktail deer and the coast area of the Pacific Northwest receive comparatively light coverage in national hunting magazines, that NC hunters are comparatively less influenced by these materials than are hunters in other areas. A survey of current, northwest regional publications indicates that these magazines are to date following an orientation in which hunting, especially the field aspects, is noticeable by its absence.

Based as they are on direct, local, and varying hunter experience, observations and explanations of deer behavior are open to interpretation, and they are probably less likely to be frozen into set phrases in a reductive, jingoistic fashion than are the more abstract questions about wildlife management policy and politics. Management and wildlife politics are removed from the local NC area since they are focused in the state capital, Salem, and in Portland and Washington D.C. Such sources are often perceived as being out of touch with local field realities. Among the informants, maxims about the best hunting conditions were not commonly repeated, as were some set phrases about doe hunting, Fish and Wildlife policy, or anti-hunters.
Snow

Snow seems to be a minor NC deer hunting factor. While early snows are seen at higher elevations in September, for example on Saddle Mt., most hunting areas are unaffected. As mentioned, snow plays a greater role in later season NC elk hunting, in which it presents a hardship or an obstacle which require special skills to overcome. Also as stated, snow can contribute to the self-consciously masculine image of elk hunters.

Storms-Wind

Major NC winter storms contribute to the area’s subregional identity but are generally underreported in the national media. As a result, the subregion is less than fully incorporated into the national grid.

Such storms contribute to the characterization of the NC as Giant Country and demonstrate the aptness of the modern, self-congratulatory adage, ”You gotta be tough to live out West.” The adage is a reminder of what NC settlers endured, as the following account written in the early 1900’s in the Nehalem area of northern Tillamook County shows:

Winter came on, storms of rain and heavy winds, which howled so loud we had to shout to be heard. Trees crashed down all around us, the house shook as the [sic]ready to fall ...My wife, unknown to me, agreed to buy two acres of wild land near to Bay City [in north Tillamook County] (Pye, 108-09).

Storms-Wind, Best Hunting Weather

While some NC hunters believed a light drizzle is the best weather for deer hunting, an alternate view is held by several other informants who
favor stormy weather. Informant 8--32 believed that weather can be an important factor in hunting and that there are advantages to hunting during a storm, "You can walk up to bedded deer, and the deer can’t hear you.” Informant 19--9 reported that on one of his hunts in Tillamook County while it was stormy on a “really rough day,” a buck was peering at him from behind a tree and that he shot the “nice, big 170 lbs. buck” in the neck which gave him one of the trophies in his home.

Informant 12--21, along with many other informants, utilizes well-thought out lines of reasoning in order to arrive at his hunting views and practices. There is a similarity between his point about prey concentration in smaller areas during storms and fish concentration in smaller areas during low tides:

...I hunt in both good and poor weather, but poor weather is best. "In a storm you reduce the habitat where you might find...[deer], so you have more opportunities. With the wind and rain, you can be a lot quieter in the woods.”

A columnist and respected hunter supports, in the local newspaper’s outdoor-life feature, the notion that storms are an important NC hunting factor, but he also humorously points out that many complexities remain for any given hunt. There are always enough factors to provide explanations or excuses, depending on one’s point of view, for a hunter’s getting “skunked,” or failing to bag a deer:

Hunters and fishermen are fantastic excuse makers.... As they will tell you, (at great length), a bluebird day is a curse from the heavens...Finally, without a great
storm to blow away the leaves hanging stubbornly on the vine maple, the woods provide almost no visibility” (Ellsberg, 4 Nov. 1994).

**Wind**

While Brun claims that the wind is often associated with a spiritual quality or with the theme of wandering (“Language,” 125), these associations are not stressed in the NC. Rather, among the many atypical meanings attached to various climatic conditions by NC residents and deer hunters, those for the wind are perhaps the most atypical. For example, in the NC, the winds from the west or southwest are associated with rain and the ocean, and, it could be argued that these winds are seen as sources of energy, life, or nature. Also, in contrast to the general cultural norms or stereotypes surrounding the east wind, the NC east wind brings the coldest weather, including snow and ice.

While the NC’s subregional directional winds can be coherently defined in terms of their results, as the sources of either rain or snow, the meanings of local, site-specific winds are more open to speculation. Hunters are usually much more concerned with local winds within their specific hunts, than with the general wind patterns given in weather reports. The local winds are often evocative because of their shifting nature or because they appear to be contradicting the general wind pattern. For example, the wind as a product of a site’s slope, of air-warming rock, or of cooling vegetation may contribute to a hunter’s experience of Relph’s
“sense of place.” As Relph has pointed out, the modern world is increasingly a landscape of placelessness (1976); consequently, the experience of specific places as coherent and meaningful entities becomes increasingly rare and increasingly valuable for maintaining a person’s sense of rationality and equilibrium.

In coordinating their actions with the wind and moving only when the wind blows to mask noise, hunters can sometimes experience a sense of unity with a site and its inhabitants, the local wildlife. It goes without saying that the sense of unity relative to a site and its “hidden world” of scents can easily bypass the common modern tendency for humans to feel a sense of domination over sites and over nature in general. Hunters would participate in site dynamics, in this case wind patterns, only passively. They cannot scent deer, although deer can scent them; while some elk hunters claim to have scented elk at close range, this study discovered no such claim regarding blacktails. The frequent experience of seeing escaping blacktails which have scented them, would not allow hunters a feeling of domination over blacktail.

Physicality, NC Climatic Effects, Hunts

Hunting is an exceptionally high stimulation activity in which the “proximate senses (smell, touch, and kinesthesia),” which are often ignored in modern daily life, are often called into play; while vision is
central to all human activity, hunting can make unusually intense use of the proximate senses (Tuan "Place," 8; Shepard 1973, 142).

A major factor in any human sport is the participant's arousal-seeking risk and variety-seeking (Loy and Donnelly, 80-81; Stokols, 262). In hunting, the climate-weather in natural areas, including its fluctuations, contributes in important ways to the hunter's countless and various physical sensations (Shepard 1973, 147), since the weather may be directly experienced. For example, the skin's thermosensitivity helps to form a sense of space (Hall, 54). The climate-weather is also one aspect of somatic space (Tuan 1977).

The weather during a hunt is also a major factor in creating a sense of simultaneity since it requires the hunter to attend to the present moment. Weather can, therefore, seriously erode or negate clock time. Such a negation or setting aside of the ordinary time of human civilization calls up other non-linear "types" of time, which NC hunters may experience or at least consider, such as mythic, ritualistic-ceremonial, or sacred time. Probably for many NC hunters, hunting calls up a "time of nature" as opposed to a "time of civilization."

**Earned Prey, Climate, Physicality**

Although it is difficult to document, it seems commonsensical that hunters trained in a cash economy would transfer some of the principles of that system to the hunter-prey transaction, so that a struggle, due to
climate, is sometimes seen as a major “price” to be paid, or a “labor” to be accomplished within the hunt. When such a price is paid and such a labor accomplished, the modern NC hunter may well have a sense of having earned his prey. The physicality of involvement and the exertion of the hunter’s own energies, would, it seems, reassure him that results will follow such endeavors, perhaps by metonymy, with physical results following physical exertion (Turner 1974). It is clear that the weather during the hunt, especially the wind and the rain, can significantly increase the hunter’s physical involvement and exertion.

**Aesthetic Experiences, Climate-Weather**

Several informants specifically identify climate or weather to be important and valued aspects of hunting. Informant 17--9 points out the beauty of the early morning, the fog, and the natural world. Informant 30--11 also stated:

...Hunting is not like working on the tree farm with specific tasks to do.

“You’re out there, actually listening and observing and watching a lot of things you ordinarily wouldn’t;...I love it; I think its great...”

**Skills, Coping, Climate-Weather**

Informant 2--18 had a well-formulated view of various stages within a hunting career. In a later stage of their careers, he believes older hunters enjoy “more the other things [than getting a deer] and the comforts.” For this hunter, as is frequently the case with avocational
activities, the process can become more important than the product or
goal.

One possible reason why the skills required to effectively and
efficiently cope with the weather and to remain relatively comfortable
during a hunt are valued is that these same skills are valued within the
NC’s major occupations. As with hunting, the outdoor occupations of com-
mercial fishing and logging include considerable physical danger from the
elements and they require definite physical skills to cope with and survive
the dangers. It would not be unexpected that deer hunting as a folklore
activity would intensify the existing local values and skills relative to
safety and comfort in the out of doors.

The skills necessary for coping with inclement weather during a
hunt can also be seen as being a part of the idea Americans have of
woodsmanship, which includes a gender and nationalistic coloration. See
Bethke (38). American men, in contrast to women and European men, for
example, are expected to be somewhat knowledgeable or potentially
knowledgeable about the out of doors, to have a knack for operating in
natural sites. Camping, hiking, fishing, and other outdoor activities are
seen as a part of being a boy or of growing up in America. Hunting, then,
becomes a “natural” extension.
Hunter Comfort, Climate

Informant 36--26, 38 acknowledged that being wet is an unavoidable part of NC hunting; his attitude typified his own volunteered maxim:

"You're usually wet [when hunting in CC...it's a recognized saying: 'The] worst day of hunting is better than the best day of working, any day..."

In a post-interview comment, this informant agreed that although a hunter can stay dry for hours by exercising careful woodsmanship, he is still as likely as not to brush up against a single wet huckleberry bush and get soaked, after all. Yet, even though he anticipates the discomfort of being wet, he does not wear any special or waterproof hunting clothes. Informant 6--29 shared this indifference. He knows he'll get wet, and he doesn't mind since he "won't melt."

Other informants adopted a more practical and calculating policy. Informant 8--32 stated that hunting during rains and storms is not pleasant and that hunters want to stay in their rigs during a big storm. Informant 9--29 agreed that hunters need to stay dry enough to finish the hunt and that they need rain gear. Informant 9--32 supported the idea that heavy rains can ruin a hunt since the hunter may be too uncomfortable to continue, and Informant 5--24 supported the claim that rain reduces the number of hunters and, therefore, hunter crowding.

Climate can thus contribute to road hunting, and it can also lead to a disgust with road hunters who refuse to get out of their vehicles in
inclement weather. Informant 17--10 volunteered the following comments:

"...I drive around and look off the roads, spot animals, and hunt after them.
If there are roads, I use them, I guess, [but] I get discouraged about people who never get out of their car.
I've seen a lot of that."

The fact that road hunters avoid getting wet and feeling uncomfortable angers some NC hunters; the source of Informant 17--10's anger in the following incident is implied from his account of a bird dogging incident, in which one hunter flushes game for another:

---Wel Field Hunter Versus Road Hunters, Story---
About 1989, I was walking through the brush, still hunting, slowly moving from spot to spot and waiting; I got soaking wet in the rain and came out of the brush.
A car passed me on the road; the guys in the car were all dry; they were probably road hunters.
The more I saw that, the angrier I got.

See Hunter Type, Road Hunter.

Weather Lore, NC

Mullen's study of Gulf Coast fishermen supports the popular generalization that there is a modern reduction in lore, traditions, and elders who are knowledgeable about local weather and who can read natural, "empirical signs" (1988, 60). Perhaps this is one explanation why most of the study's informants did not dwell on weather-related
"empirical folk beliefs" (1988, 63). A separate study would be required to establish the prior existence or absence of such lore.

Regarding the reading of such signs, Berland argues that weather is no longer dominantly local, partly because of the status of the hard sciences which utilize satellites, computers, and statistics (109). Nevertheless, reading the weather for specific sites is analogous to reading a text. Some hunters enjoy discovering the secrets of a place and being able to "read between the lines."

Given the complex topology and the local weather conditions of the NC, the ability to read localized weather, either through formal scientific means or through ethnoscientific principles, would probably maximize a deer hunter's opportunities for success. The loss of these types of analytical systems is equated with "overcivilization," or with losing touch with the natural world. See John Mitchell (1980, 65).

Technology, Diminished Climatic Aspects

It may initially seem difficult to determine or quantify the existence or presence of a diminished role for climate in specific hunts, but several informants volunteered comments that their use of a modern rifle and scope gave them a feeling that they could dominate a site. It seems that this realization or sense of domination indicates that the factor of climate/weather has been significantly neutralized.
For example, the increased level of technology in hunting tends to undercut the importance of climate-weather in terms of visibility; the ever-improving optics and ballistics of modern deer rifles enable hunters to take deer at ever-increasing ranges and with increasing frequency. This general tendency towards techno hunting is driven by the commercial marketplace which produces improved products, at the same time that hunters flee this development by adopting primitive weapons, such as black powder rifles and bows. Yet, the manufacturers of even these primitive weapons soon compete for greater and greater efficiency.

Weather will always be important for visibility and as a factor in deer behavior, but when a hunter is using a powerful modern rifle, ammunition, a spotting scope, binoculars, and a rifle scope at 200 yards, the wind and humidity as scent vectors and the dry ground creating noisy footfalls, cease to become prime factors in a hunt. In the NC, long-range hunting allows hunting in clear cuts and most often refers to hunting in such areas. See Hunter Type, Techno Hunter.

Site Selection, Hunter Competition Reduced, Enhanced Climatic Aspects

Despite the latest technological developments, the climatic aspects of hunting need not necessarily be reduced by techno hunting. Primitive weapons allow the prey a sporting chance for escape, for as yet, modern improvements on these weapons have not offset their initial limitations. Certain types of hunting, especially stalking, also impose serious limits on
the hunter. Informant 3--23--24, 34 explained that he encounters greater weather difficulties than do many other hunters because he chooses to hunt in rugged terrain where hunter competition is quite low:

...I key on hunting areas, especially areas without other hunters. I've done stand hunting; the sites are carefully chosen...
I've done stalking, "beating the bush, sneaking into areas I know might have deer..."
I hunt mostly on Humbug Mt. in South CC; its rugged, sloped terrain reduces hunter crowding...

A few such hunters appear to have a Hemingwayesque hunting code, based largely on allowing the prey a sporting chance and exercising a high degree of self-control. These hunters ensure that they will never take an unfair advantage, even if this entails greater discomfort from the weather. See Josephs.

**Climatic Aspects of Hunting Enhanced, Switching From Rifle to Bow**

Informant 17--23 was representative of many NC hunters in that he accepted the notion that a hunter is challenged by the animal, the landscape, and the weather. However, this informant did not wish to turn hunting into a competition among hunters. The competition existing among rifle hunters was the major reason why he began to bow hunt on his own property, where he could participate in a more "normal" hunter-prey situation. The climatic aspects of hunting, as well as other natural site factors, are, therefore, enhanced in this informant's hunting; indirectly as
a result of hunter competition, the deer on his property are less conditioned by rifle hunter pressure and conditioned more by natural factors.

It should be remembered that the pressure placed upon deer by rifle hunters conditions these deer, not only because of the sheer number of hunter-prey contacts, but also because of the noise and the range of the rifles. Bows and black powder weapons are, no doubt, less powerful conditioners than are modern rifles, so that the climatic conditions affecting deer behavior may still function in these types of hunting. Rutledge, in various works, discusses the degree to which deer can be startled, and several biological studies have also documented how far a deer runs off when it is fired upon and the pattern of its return to its home range.

Informant 17--20 observed that bow hunting provides what seems to be an acid test for determining whether or not a hunter is dominating the deer or whether he is within a more sporting and respectful relationship with his prey. The informant stated that in bow hunting, mainly because of the bow’s limited range, the hunter can do everything right and still not succeed:

"...You have a lot less power over things [with a bow]. Things have to kind of go your way; you have to go a lot more along with nature than with a rifle. Luck is more of a factor in bow versus rifle hunting. [You] might do everything right and still come up empty.... You have to [also] be able to take advantage of luck when it comes...."
Risk

In addition to the more pleasurable natural climatic experiences which are possible in the out of doors, hunting includes direct, potentially dangerous contact with the weather; some types of NC deer hunting, for example, pasture or road hunting, present minimal risk, while hunting in isolated and rough terrain includes an added degree of risk from the weather. These direct, physical, climate-related risks are also of the type that are generally not direct physical threats in urbanized areas.

Hunting risks which are partly due to the climate would not in themselves differentiate the NC from other rural areas of Oregon, but coupled with the weather related risks from fishing, boating, and logging in the NC, the potential for risks does appear to be a background issue in subregionalization; the NC’s complex of weather-related risk factors is a subregional marker which clearly contrasts NC life with that of the big city.

Judgment

Self-control is a significant part of a hunter’s identity, according to Phillips (155), and while the topic of judgment in hunting usually centers on the responsibility of handling a weapon and on taking an animal’s life, judgment in terms of climate-weather can also be crucial. A renowned master hunter of Southern Oregon, a blacktail hunter and writer, includes climatic factors when emphasizing hunter judgment, since an experienced
hunter must be self-monitoring as time passes and/or conditions change (Sell 1964, 15, 91).

Even though the hunt described below occurred in California, the Informant 7--8-10, 22, was hunting blacktail deer. More importantly, he stressed here and elsewhere that the development of judgment is crucial in hunting, especially in solo hunting situations. He is ruthlessly honest about his own mistakes and always seemed to be learning by doing. In his general approach to developing judgment, he included the climate-weather factor, as well as rifle safety, self-control, light factors, and preparedness. The story took place in California, but it illustrates the dangers of hunting alone, including the weather factor and exposure. See Hunter Type, Code Hunter.

--Caught in Darkness Hunt, Story--
I was supposed to go hunting in California with my brother and brother-in-law, but it didn’t work out, “so I struck out on my own…”

Snow brought the deer down from higher elevations of the Sierras, near Bishop, California, on the east and steep slope of the Sierras...
I shot a good-sized deer near sunset, perhaps a mule-blacktail cross… I hung it from a tree and dressed it out...
I had no jacket, day pack, nor flashlight.
I tripped and fell; the rifle pitched forward and hit some rocks with sparks; the bolt hit my temple, and I saw stars.
I was almost afraid to get up, but tried to get self-control; “[I] knew I was in trouble…”
It was so dark I couldn’t see the trail; I knew the location; I struck matches and cautiously walked back…
“I learned the value of a flashlight.
[After that I] never, never went hunting without a flashlight, even if
I planned to be back by breakfast, [without] my so-called survival kit, [extra car keys, matches, compass, and whistle]..."

Maddux relates a similar story of a young hunter's inexperience and lack of judgment. The hunt occurred c. 1915 while he lived in the Trask River area of north central Tillamook County. It was a solo hunt and his first deer kill. While trying to pack out the deer in the cold and dark, his fatigue and exposure created "hazy" thinking and, consequently, a dangerous situation (142-48).

These two stories which highlight the judgment necessary to safely pack out a kill under adverse climatic conditions read as morality plays, aimed against modern culture's tendency to simplify (Iltelso, et al, 26, 40) and overpower nature. In this context, hunting appears to be a specific corrective, a vehicle to confront a major cultural failing. These two pack out stories also suggest some striking similarities between hunting stories or personal experience narratives and the literature of mountain climbing. For example, both types of stories include themes of immediate risk, personal judgment, and solo experience. They both could, just as well, highlight social experiences under direct physical duress, as in group hunts.

Stories about judgment or about learning a hard lesson from a hunting experience were common among the informants. The consensus appears to be that activities such as hunting can teach judgment, but the
contrary is also often stated, that a foolish person will never learn to hunt effectively. Many hunters have one or a few judgment or hard lesson stories, but such narratives were not consciously presented within the frame of a particular story type by informants. On the contrary, perhaps largely due to the prevailing anti-hunting rhetoric, most informants were reluctant to discuss foolish hunters.

Just the opposite was true, most informants considered it foolish of people outside the hunt to label hunters as foolish or lacking in judgment, because hunting is a complex, variable, and demanding activity which can make anyone look and act inappropriately at times. Judgment in hunting or learning a hard lesson from hunting seem to be more a story theme than a story type, at least among NC informants. It would be interesting to compare the theme versus story type issue with hunting accounts in other regions.

**Infinity. Climate-Weather**

As discussed earlier, landscape features introduce a geologic scale which involves vast periods of time, the functional equivalent of infinity. But, as pointed out by many literary critics, philosophers, and psychologists, the concept or experience of infinity can be deeply troubling or terrifying to humans. For example, Thomas Burnet in the 17th century singled out clouds as especially offensive in their infinite formlessness and change (112). Modern hunters, on the other hand, appear to derive
benefits from their experiences with nature's randomness and seemingly infinite and eternal abundance. There exists an abundance and complexity of land, weather conditions, flora, and fauna in the NC, so as to approach infinite proportions. Perhaps, the theme of natural abundance-infinity functions as a corrective to overcivilization which, as Marxists have well-documented, tends to convert nearly everything, from plants and animals, to space and time, into commodities for the market place, that is, for profit. This might especially be true among NC hunters who are faced with the encroachment of Portland upon the area.

Time, NC Weather-Climate, Deer Hunting

There are several climate-weather related aspects of time which are important for hunting, for example, the hunting day, the hunting season, pre- and post-hunting seasons, and the national, regional and subregional yearly cycle. The time frame for climatic events is frequently ignored or worked around in modern, urban culture; windshield wipers, air coolers, or filters of various sorts can be utilized. But the hunt reintroduces the hunter to the natural or actual timing of climatic events. For example, hunters often must determine when the lighting at their specific sites is sufficient to hunt legally. They must also attend to many other conditions such as warming, or cooling temperatures, or the passing of a cloud. There are also framed parts within a hunt--the stalk, the shooting, the pack out,
the curing of meat, and so on, in which climate and the time factor are related.

**Seasonal/Yearly Calendar. Hunting. NC**

In the NC, the place of deer hunting in the yearly folk calendar is unclear. Officially, according to the calendar dating of the Oregon Fish and Game Service, the NC's hunting season begins with dove season in late summer, followed by deer, and then elk season. Therefore, in functional terms, the NC deer hunting season would begin in mid to late summer with preseason scouting.

Because the hunting cycle begins at the time that the dominant economic activity, tourism, draws to a close on Labor Day, there seems to be an increasingly sharp distinction made between the tourist season and a yet to be clearly-defined season for locals. Tourist season sets its own tone and pace of activity in the NC, largely through the sheer number of visitors to the area and the profit motive.

In contrast, the fall is a time for NC locals to take center stage; children return to school, preparations for winter begin, and several wildlife-related activities occur; these activities formerly included an important salmon gill net season, but this season has been drastically reduced as salmon stocks have plummeted. Deer season also occurs during this period, as do fall clamming tides.
The climate-weather patterns occurring during tourist season and the "local season" are rather complex. The weather during tourist season is disappointingly cool, overcast, and even rainy. On the other hand, during "local season" there are the hotter, sunnier days of September, with most NC residents welcoming such weather, even though it may interfere with effective hunting and possibly even close the woods because of fire hazard. Also, during the local season, rain storms are more likely and the weather can become rough, contributing to a sense of rugged isolation and self-satisfaction.

Just as the climate-weather does not merely take place in the fall, but, in a sense, constitutes the fall, the harvesting aspects of autumn, including hunting, have traditionally been a constituent element in the total complex of the season's signs and symbols. Although casual visitors to the NC might be aware of the lack of snow and extreme cold in the winter and falsely assume that economic and social activity would proceed unabated, actually, with ocean fishing closed due to management restrictions and weather, and with very few tourists in the off season, at least some degree of winter isolation is the rule; this is an "empty" time (cf. Geertz "Deep Play," 445). Partly because of its contrast to the busy and profitable work season, facing the off season, some hunters appear to sense an individual, family, or social call to action in the fall. See Wellborn (26). Hunting seems to epitomize the drive to harvest at the end
of the national, cosmic-mythic year; as Informant 3-49 stated, he is getting game meat for the winter in the act of hunting. He also collects firewood every year and sees a connection between this activity and deer hunting: "[Deer hunting is] like getting your firewood in at the end of the year. I feel good about having meat in the freezer, food."

Season, Holiday

There were some reports among the informants that they participate in family or hunting group "traditional" gatherings, similar to those frequently presented in hunting magazines and in the classics of the hunting literature, Rutledge’s decades long Christmas hunt tradition, for example. But most of the NC hunters who participated in such activities did so outside of the NC:

In our Minnesota yearly family gathering, our only gathering per year, we had a "Men’s Holiday."

Seven to ten men, for seven to nine days, told personal experience narratives of hunts (Informant 17-5-6).

"[Hunting has] always been recreation [for us]...

We’ve taken our vacation during that time.

We used to take our vacations split in half, one week for the kids in summer, the rest of it for deer hunting or elk hunting...

It started out, probably 15, 16 years ago in 1976.

[in the] last 15 years, we’ve always taken one week and gone to Eastern Oregon, Central Oregon, and hunted"... (Informant 37-17).

It is unclear how many such gatherings occur among NC deer hunters; the dominance of day hunting appears to have severely undercut the family
reunion-deer camp tradition. Perhaps, they are under-represented among informants, and this topic requires more investigation.

**Yearly Calendar, Scouting/Preseason Activities**

As already discussed in this section, based on its calendar date, deer season is the first major hunting season of the year. Doves and varmints can be taken earlier, but relatively few NC hunters seek these prey. However, if hunters combine their hunting with fishing or clamming, which is the case with many, if not most serious hunters, the first consumptive wildlife activity by calendar date would be steelhead fishing in early spring. Spring clamming is even more widespread among hunters.

Therefore, there are several possible beginnings for the yearly wildlife consumptive calendar. The NC does not appear to have an official or traditional opening; it is not discussed in the media, for example, and advertisements do not mention a “first” or “initial” activity for sportsmen. This undifferentiated situation seems to support the contention that hunting in the NC is more of an individual activity than a social activity.

Virtually no one in the NC hunts the year round, but hunters who scout hunting sites are not active merely during the relatively short deer and/or elk seasons. Such scouting activities appear to vary among the informants, and the amount of scouting actually carried out by informants and most NC hunters is not clear. While scouting appears to be over-reported, some NC hunters are avid scouters.
Informant 26--13 uses a dirt bike in the summer to look for the coming fall’s hunting areas; he was atypical in his belief that non-scouring road hunters are in the minority in the NC. He claimed that the stereotypic road hunter, who doesn’t even sight his rifle in, is not the dominant type of local hunter:

"...I think most people who hunt have interests that take them out [in the woods] more than just the hunting season. They go out scouting, target shooting, or something, particularly in summer when the weather is decent, or on an evening after work, or on the weekend..."

For at least some NC hunters, as indicated by Informant 26--13’s volunteered point about the good summer weather, there exists the hint or implication that scouting is a way of taking advantage of, and not wasting, one of the limited opportunities to be out in the woods in enjoyable weather.

As well as being a solo activity, preseason scouting can be a part of family hunting or family recreation. According to Informant 29--4, a non-hunting, female, NC high school student, “Some of the [high school] girls might go out with their fathers, scouting. I’ve done that.” Similarly, scouting for. Informant 36--16, falls within a recreational mode:

“We, [myself and my two young daughters], go out Sunday afternoons since my wife works [at that time]. We always tool around, driving around, just checking things out..."
Informant 17--16 was in some ways the most avid preseason scouter encountered in this study:

“Even though I say I’m not a fanatic, maybe I am. I have trails cut back through the woods here [on my 23 acres].” I have trails cut two miles one way and two miles along a creek... I’m a property hunter, but I also hunt on timber land.

Respect and Empathy for Deer and Wildlife

Some NC deer hunters vicariously experience climatic hardships when they think about or visualize deer on a stormy or cold night with feelings of respect for the deer; these hunters can especially picture the exact sites and the conditions of the sites where they have hunted. Personal experience narratives about deer behavior in the hunt and under common local weather conditions can also build respect for one’s NC wildlife neighbors. Compare, for example, Hufford’s description of New Jersey hunters’ respect for the local foxes and their concern for the animals’ health (1992). The fox hunters go to the lengths of vaccinating foxes against rabies, while NC hunters create a hunting organization to battle the Fish and Wildlife Service’s doe hunting policy. Concern for the prey’s health, one’s fellow creature’s health, is clearly one starting point which may lead the way to the development of the Conservation Hunter.

Such respect is reflected in the feeding of wildlife, which is surprisingly common in the U.S. and in Oregon, as was documented in the National Survey, Fishing, Hunting, and Wildlife-Associated Recreation in
1991. Photographing wildlife is almost as popular as feeding wildlife in non-residential settings, but residential feeding, and, therefore, residential observation of wildlife, are established American pastimes. They are not merely popular hobbies. For groups of nonconsumptive participants 16 and older who fed wildlife, the statistics (numbers in thousands) were:

Nonresidential, feed wildlife..........................13,306 (17%)

Residential, feed wild birds/wildlife...........65,423 (86%)
(U.S. Dept. of Interior “Table 44,” 97).

For participants who photographed wildlife, the Department of Interior statistics (numbers in thousands) for 1991 were:

Nonresidential, photograph wildlife...............14,225 (19%)
Residential, photograph wildlife...................16,990 (22%)
(U.S. Dept. of Interior “Table 44,” 97).

Admittedly, wildlife feeding occurs mainly in residential areas and is dominated by bird feeding, but in the NC, since deer live in such close proximity to residential areas, and since they have corridors or parks leading into so many neighborhoods, it is safe to conclude that NC residential feeding is considerably above the national and, perhaps, even the Oregon rates. This higher NC feeding rate may not include active deer feeding, in which residents provide special feed, but it most probably does include passive deer feeding, in which residents allow deer to feed on their grass or trees. As noted below, wildlife participation in Oregon is
extremely high by this and by nearly any other standard. The National Survey of Fishing, Hunting and Wildlife-Associated Recreation, Oregon for 1965, when Oregon’s population was 2,700,000, gives the following figures for the category “Primary nonconsumptive Activities: Feed wildlife” for individuals 16 and older:

- Primary, nonresidential participants........................................224,800;
- Primary, residential participants.............................................1,007,700
(U.S. Dept. of Interior, 8).

Regarding supplemental feeding, the NC does not usually have game-killing high snows, but occasional severe winters do have this effect, and NC residents react strongly to this form of threat against deer and elk when it does occur. In 1968, severe winter conditions resulted in ice-crusted snow which cut the hooves of deer and elk as they moved in search of food. Many residents believed that by limiting the animals’ mobility, or by forcing them to search for food under those conditions, the snow would endanger their lives. Such conditions lead to feeding and controversy, due to differences in philosophy. Informant 14--33 described one of the many confrontations over feeding between NC wildlife-oriented residents and the Oregon Fish and Wildlife Department:

Several people started feeding deer in their backyards; Fish and Wildlife publicly warned that people feeding elk would be ticketed.

The locals complained, and Fish and Wildlife lifted their threat.
Role Reversal or Identification With NC Blacktails, Climate-Weather

Fawns, does, and young bucks, all of which are more commonly sighted than older bucks, may very well be more pitied by residents than older bucks. When weather conditions are especially harsh, sympathy usually runs high for fawns and their protective does. Private supplemental feedings are often attempted at such times, but solitary and wary bucks are less often the objects of such human assistance because they are so unapproachable and are less frequently seen. Bucks that are too wary of humans to approach areas where they might otherwise have access to browse or hay set out by people, nevertheless, gain the respect and probably the empathy of humans.

Whittlesey sees the buck or stag as a traditional symbol of solitude and as possessing an inner spiritual quality in Euro-American art (323). As Herzog and Burghardt point out, when people vicariously experience the pain and suffering of animals, this offers some degree of communication with, or linkage to, the animals (80).

The NC resident's vicarious experience of the climate through the local deer, instills respect for the deer, based on its self-reliance in facing the weather alone, without human assistance, in contrast to domestic livestock and even overwintering elk at the Jewell Refuge. The positive qualities of endurance in suffering, adaptability, and self-reliance in deer can be placed in various combinations and can be understood in
terms of human emotions and experiences. There exists a tension between “entering into the deer’s world” and anthropomorphizing wildlife, as seen in a typical story from a hunting magazine which include an encounter with wildlife:

Later in the day I found a place on the south face of a hill where a huge-hooved buck had bedded under the low, sheltering branches of a tree. He’d been concealed from above and below. Looking at the sign, I could see how he’d moved around the tree to follow the warming sun’s passage from morning into afternoon, I never saw the buck, but I had a hidden fragment of his life. I can call up the image of him drowsing under that tree, standing, stretching, and taking pleasure from the sun any time I need it (Bowers, 101).

As mentioned, in our modern world with its technological advances, the climate-weather may become fragmented from everyday human life. In this type of situation, deer can generally serve as a vehicle for a reconnection to Nature. The blacktail deer may assume a special value for those re-connected to nature-reality or the external world through the solitary habits of blacktail bucks in the NC. The solitary habits of bucks may also help to explain why many NC hunters afford them such a high and special status.

Sajna presents a similar idea, claiming that old time hunters in Pennsylvania were closer to the local deer than are modern hunters (166). The old timers saw the deer, “shared” the weather with the deer, and knew what the deer faced in the wild. Climate is thus shown to be an
exceptionally strong means of visualizing and entering into a wild animal’s world.

**Death in Deer Hunting, Climate**

Death in modern sport hunting resides not only in the hunters’ killing of the prey, but also in the middle-aged and older hunters’ knowledge that hunting is often not possible for older people, a sign of their own approaching deaths. In fact, the *National Survey of Fishing, Hunting and Wildlife-Associated Recreation* for 1991 indicates that nearly half of the hunters over 65 years of age did not purchase a hunting license that year (U.S. Dept. of Interior, 90).

As Bass points out, there is the “terror and the wonder of seeing things for the last time” (1994, 118). This sense of loss or limitation probably includes the loss of experiencing the climatic effects and conditions which are experienced in hunting. Older informants seemed especially taken with seeing the sunrise and many other evocative or stimulating climatic experiences which they would no longer have access to.

**Memories of Dead Hunter, Climate-Weather, Inscribed Weather**

The weather and seasonal signs which are so evident in the hunting of various species can become signs or symbols of shared experiences and of entire personal relationships, so that the fall weather, autumn colors, the cry of geese overhead, or the sighting of blacktails can call up the
deceased in an especially powerful way. Such poignant memories are an established story element in the hunting literature, especially in popular magazines, and are well-typified in Norm Nelson’s article “Deer Old Traditions”:

But such a cabin is wrenching to revisit. As the late-night embers die down in the massive sandstone fireplace, I remember the booming voices and laughter of my elders and betters. And outside, I hear a knife-keen nor’wester as it means in the pines and swirls fresh tracking snow around the ancient cedar logs of the cabin (37).

Casada, Sajna, and Hufford (1992) also present the bittersweet experience of remembering hunters from years ago, who were once in their prime and who are now reduced to being characters in fading family accounts of hunts. Kellert’s surveys have convincingly isolated the father-son or older male-novice relationship as an especially important one in hunting, and several informants expressed a genuine gratitude for their fathers’ hunting instruction and their shared experiences:

...My father returned home to get me to track down the wounded deer...
I didn’t realize at the time that my father was training me...
(Informant 8--2)

Informant 16--3 went partner hunting with his father, something he anticipated every year: “Just my Dad and I”, “...every year we’d go deer hunting; there’s no doubt about that.”
Informant 18--4 tells the following memorable hunt story which shows that the phenomenon is not species specific:

---Turkey Shoot Hunt, Story---
A whole bunch of us were over there in Eastern Oregon; we had what they call a turkey shoot.
We knew these guys were going to be hunting from up the bottom; we got up on top and gathered around.
We limited out on deer that morning; what made that so special is those people are all dead now; they were all friends of mine; we used to hunt together; now they’re all gone; in fact, most of the people I hunted with are now dead.

The story shows the value of intense hunting memories of friends and past periods in the lives of the hunters. To add to this point, we may note that Informants 6, 14, and 19, all accomplished NC deer hunters, have died since this study began.

Climate-Weather, an Aspect of Sacred Place/Event, Potential Sanctification

It remains unclear, and it would take considerable study to determine, what role the more theologically liberal churches in the NC have in a possible sanctification of natural areas, through the individual activities of some of its congregation. There appears to be no possibility that natural areas in the NC will be formally sanctified by local orthodox religious institutions. Probably a more realistic possibility is a pseudo-sanctification of natural areas, through the philosophy or aesthetics of individuals who seriously participate in nature or wildlife-related activities. The desanctification of urban areas in Oregon under the name of
progress or development may, ironically, contribute to those forces which may develop vehicles to sanctify natural areas.

In the narrative of Informant 3--5-6, the hunt, which includes a memorable religious element with some potentially symbolic climatic effects, was atypical among the informants, but the narrative was an interesting comment and one of the very few instances in which orthodox religion entered into a hunt:

---Prayer Answered Hunt, Story---
I was sitting on a stump for approximately 45-60 minutes.
I prayed, "Lord, I've done everything right [for this hunt].
I've been living a good life [of late].
I really need this meat [for my family]."
I was getting frustrated...
The stand was in the middle of an approximately 150 yard circular clearing, the sun was barely up.
Just after the prayer, the sun shone on one edge of the clearing.
There stood this 3 point buck; just as the buck was about to bound, I crouched and fired.
I downed the buck through the chest with one shot.

Hunting's intense involvement with death and with large, highly-coded animals, specific natural sites, and the weather all suggest that a hunter could potentially be a powerful vehicle for the "sanctification" of specific sites. See Chapter V, Fauna-Elk, and Chapter VI, Blacktail Deer. A sanctification of specific sites for NC residents and hunters might realistically entail a sense of a special or valued place, as opposed to an ordinary, "everyday" place. Admittedly, the sense of value and meaning attached to a hunting site would not extend to an overtly theological
status, as in animistic sites, nor even to the status of Christian 
pilgrimage sites. But, since the NC lacks such officially sacred natural 
sites, one wonders whether or not hunted areas are not the significantly 
demarcated natural areas, along with those sites generally known for their 
beauty or for a special feature, such as a waterfall or a monolith. While 
interpreters of NC culture and NC deer hunting may posit such a mythic and 
ritualistic process, perhaps as a subconscious reality in the subregion, 
informants did not extend the idea of confronting or experiencing the real 
weather to the conscious claim that the hunter is an intermediary between 
nature and culture-civilization. Nevertheless, among NC born and bred 
residents, it does appear that a general notion prevails that it is good, 
right, or "as it should be," that some local people hunt. However, this 
vague, nearly unspoken, and unanalyzed point of view or ambience may be 
currently more common among older residents and more isolated residents, 
than among the increasingly diverse NC town people, whose views of 
nature, natural resources, and the entire subregional complex, appear to be 
evolving into something more complicated and also more rationalized. 

Hunter as Religious Figure, Climate-Weather

When hunters go into the woods, they may leave civilization and 
much of its protection against the weather behind, and, while hunting, they 
may be thought to confront the "real weather" in natural areas. In this 
regard, hunters can be considered intermediaries between people, or their
community, and the real, natural world. As already mentioned, it appears that in the NC, at least some non-hunting residents feel a sense of fulfillment or “rightness” in knowing that hunting still occurs in the area, as if a gap would result if no one carried out this activity. The natural world seems, on that point of view, to be taken as true or basic reality-phenomena and civilization as an epiphenomenon.

New Nature Religion, Climate-Weather, Minimal Force in NC

American hunters, including NC hunters and the informants in this study, do not overtly accept the climate-weather as being sacred. Nor do they appear to identify with, or personify, climatic phenomena in any indirect, limited, or vague fashion, as may be the case in their responses to vegetation and wildlife. The informants displayed a very limited exposure to, and interest in, the abstract and systematic contemporary theological formulations of nature, such as “ecotheology” or ethnotheology (Roderick Nash, 88, 110).

As one would expect, the non-animistic, Euro-American culture generally dismisses the ontic value, value qua being, of the climate-weather. See Roderick Nash (76). Climate-weather appears to be valued only as it affects life; thus it would only have a derivative value. As pointed out by Roderick Nash, environmentalism in the 1960’s and 1970’s acquired the mantle of religion for some people and for some churches
(110), but environmentalism has retained its foremost power and influence more as a personal philosophy, than as an organized religion.

Many of the new nature or ecology-based religions seem to minimize the role of humans in nature, thereby, maintaining the nature versus civilization dichotomy; these new religions, therefore, appear to be incomplete myths; some of these new nature-based religions have adopted political positions which are opposed to hunting, but others glorify rural living, so that gross generalizations are not in order concerning new religions and hunting.

Hunting could possibly provide a bridge between nature and individuals, and, perhaps, even between nature and the social order, since hunting provides individuals with a very active, and, in some cases, an essential role in nature. But, at present, modern American and NC hunting also largely constitute an incomplete myth-point of view. It fails to incorporate a full and factual ecology, with both its limitations and its opportunities for human activity.

The climate-weather is not yet powerfully integrated into modern hunting, except through science or aesthetics; a unifying or culturally integrative symbolic and mythological interpretation is lacking. Compare Campbell’s description of the functions of mythology: “To fill every particle and quarter of the current cosmological image with its measure of [this] mystical import” (1988).
The lost or discarded NC Indian hunting materials and potential personal contacts with living hunting traditions might have been helpful for developing a more holistic type of hunting, one in which more of nature is recognized and valued, one which would include a more in-depth, detailed, and meaningful experience and relationship with the climate-weather. The stark contrast between the conditions in solo stalking and those in group techno hunting comes to mind. See Chapter VII.

**Geomantics, Climate-Weather, NC**

The notion of geomantics as a locally-based cosmology was introduced in this study's section on Geology, Geomantics of the NC. While geology provides the site, stage, and scope for the geomantic system, and while flora and fauna, including their human aspects, provide the subjects or characters for the NC, it is water, in all its various forms, which appears to dominate and best symbolize the physical-depository or storage and exchange of energy.

In a 1995 interview with an ex-resident of the NC, not only the NC’s rain and overcast sky, but also its high rate of run off and ground saturation were emphasized:

"There's a continuous flow [of water through CC] which never stops. It even rains in summer. The ground's like a sponge that's full of water. It's like living in the clouds; water doesn't rise from the NC; [there's no evaporation], due to lack of sun and heat" (Informant 39).
CHAPTER IV

FLORA AND NORTH COAST DEER HUNTING

Introduction

Chapter III discusses the flora of the North Coast study area; it consists of sections entitled “Flora and North Coast Deer Hunting, Physical Aspects” and “Flora and North Coast Deer Hunting, Human Aspects.” The first section considers the ecology of the area, as well as problems with the terminology used to describe NC forests, the theme of natural abundance, the relationship between between flora and the deer, and controversies over deer population.

The second section of the Chapter II considers the human-vegetation relationship, including European-American perspectives on vegetation and includes such themes as symbolism, anthropomorphism, and guilt over the destruction of nature. It also considers the NC as a wilderness area versus a woods area, which centers on the question of forestry practices. Other themes include natural abundance, particularly as seen in the brush of NC forests, and the NC as “Giant Country.”
Overview

The natural vegetation and ecology of the NC is evident to anyone driving from Portland on the Sunset Highway (Highway 26) to the city of Seaside in Clatsop County; the traveler observes that a kind of “green carpet” covers the land. This green carpet is a part of the dense coniferous forests of the Northwest which have been characterized as the “finest in the world in terms of size, longevity, timber value and quality, and biomass” (Franklin and Dyrness, 47). The forested area in which the NC is situated is also coniferous, with these species dominating hardwoods 1000:1 (Franklin and Dyrness, 53). Thus, deciduous hardwoods play only a minor role in the NC’s forests, being concentrated in stressed, disturbed habitats and acting as pioneer species.

The forests of the NC study area are nearly evenly divided on a north to south axis between a lower, western half, the “Sitka Spruce-Cedar-Hemlock Forest,” and a higher, eastern half, the “Cedar-Hemlock-Douglas Fir Forest.” Both zones are categorized as “Marine, Pacific Forest Provinces” (Frenkel “Vegetation” Kimerling and Jackson, 63). An informant volunteered this same distinction between NC vegetative zones by emphasizing the major difference between lower elevation sites and higher Coast Range sites in CC (Informant 9--31). He sees Vernonia, which
is to the east of CC in Western Columbia County, as belonging to a
different type of country than the lowland NC.

Only the Sitka Spruce/Coast Zone and the Hemlock-Douglas
Fir/Coast Range Zone constitute the NC study area. The Sitka Spruce/
Coast Zone and the Hemlock-Douglas Fir/Coast Range Zone reflect and
correspond to, respectively, the Coast Climatic Zone and the Coast Range
Climatic Zone. See Figure 4. Frenkel lists 13 other significantly
demarcated forest zones in the Pacific Northwest ("Vegetation" Kimerling
and Jackson, 63). See Geography, Climate, Physical. It should be kept in
mind that some of the other 13 zones which Frenkel lists influence NC
hunting, especially the zones which make up the Willamette Valley,
Central Oregon, and Eastern Oregon, since many NC deer and elk hunters
have hunted in these other zones, which contrast so sharply with the NC in
physical features, climate-weather, vegetation, and game species.

A temperate rain forest, the Coast Zone is associated with fog,
clouds, and high humidity; the result is minimal moisture stress on the
vegetation and also typically acid surface soils. The Coast Vegetative
Zone (Sitka Spruce Zone), however, is not totally congruent with the Coast
Climatic Zone; Frenkel shows that the area is coastal, but larger, ex-
tending from Alaska to southwestern Oregon. Sitka spruce grow through-
out the zone, although in many places, western hemlock and Douglas fir
dominate. The area has been altered by logging and fire, and while western
red cedar characterizes swampy habitats, red alder also grows in these disturbed areas and in riparian situations (61).

The Sitka Spruce Coast Zone has been dramatically reduced by past human development and activity (Loy, 144), and it is the subject of debates over potential development, preservation, or use for ecotourism. For example, the city of Seaside, Oregon has traditionally used its wetlands for real estate. Currently, however, non-consumptive activities, such as hiking, biking, bird watching, and urban park use, are being considered for the purposes of ecotourism (Spencer).

The Coast Zone understory vegetation in mature, non-disturbed Coast Climatic Zone sites is typically dense and dominated by swordfern, sorrel, false lily-of-the-valley, violets, and red huckleberry. Wetter areas support a great variety of shrubby or herbaceous species which often include deerfern, ladyfern, water parsley, nettle, salmonberry, Nootka rose, and willow (Beckham, Dow, and Toepel, 24).

Frenkel also discusses the Coast Range Vegetative Zone (Western Hemlock Zone) which stretches from British Columbia to California. While the area is named for the shade-tolerant western hemlock, the dominant tree is often the seral (non-climax) Douglas fir. Extensive logging has also occurred throughout this area. The biological communities within the zone are also related to their sites. Western red cedar grows in moist sites,
and in disturbed moist sites, red alder and big leaf maple are common. Douglas fir grow in the drier areas (61).

The Coast Range understory, also locally termed “brush” is undifferentiated from lowland brush, even though its constituent species can be very different. Understory vegetation in this zone varies along moisture gradients. Salal, vine maple, and Oregon grape are found in dry sites; whereas, many of the species typical of the Coast Zone are found in wetter sites. This zone is only roughly congruent with the Coast Range Climatic Zone (Beckham, Dow, and Toepel, 27).

**North Coast Natural Vegetation Categories**

For a fuller picture of NC natural vegetation, several key categories will be explained here. They include “Virgin Climax Forest,” usually termed “Old Growth,” “Natural Abundance,” “Change in Natural Vegetation,” and “Underbrush,” commonly called “Brush.” These perspectives on NC natural vegetation may not offer the full context for every NC hunter’s view of vegetation, but most or all of these categories figure prominently in the orientation of almost every NC deer hunter.

**Virgin Climax Forest, “Old Growth”**

People often confuse the reality of the NC virgin climax forest, or natural undisturbed ecosystem, with the mythological or politicized concept of “Old Growth.” The idea that an ancient forest of virgin timber once covered the NC has been proven to be somewhat simplistic and
inadequate in terms of modern management. The contrast between a full, scientific, and historical picture of the NC virgin climax forest and the popular conception of NC forests as old growth was evident in a comment made by Informant 18--14:

"...We’d go out to Hamlet [in the South CC housing group]; that was before they ever logged it; it was nice to...
It was all virgin timber; it was kind of nice to get out there [in the 1950’s and 60’s]."

The terms “Virgin Timber” and “Timber after Logging” obscure the true make-up of the two forest situations in that “Virgin Climax Forest” is a more precise term than “Old Growth” or “Virgin Forest.”

Unfortunately, the critiques of either the reality or the concept of old growth are sometimes carried out by various participants, with the participants reaching strikingly different conclusions. The federal and state management agencies have presented new data and raised valid questions about a NC ancient forest:

Oregon forests were not filled with old growth when settlers first arrived in the mid-19th century, suggesting that logging is only part of a natural cycle of change, according to a federal study. The U.S. BLM map of the pre-contact NW Coast Range includes burn areas, maturing stands 50–100 years old, older stands 100–199 years old, and old growth of more than 200 years old. The historic picture that emerges is a mosaic of Northwest forests [that] contradicts the popular notion that all of Western Oregon was once a solid block of old growth, the so-called “ancient forest” (Associated Press 16 Oct. 1991).
Some of these forestry agency arguments seem to be at least partially politically-motivated. The claim that a single, ancient forest did not exist appears to misrepresent the fact that the pre-contact mature stands totally dominated the NC in terms of area and biomass; management agencies, in conjunction with logging and timber interests, consistently attempt to demythologize or desanctify mature arboreal ecosystems, in order to undercut opposition to logging.

Although virtually none of the ancient NC forest remains, its original dominance and potential return support the concept of the NC as Giant Country. Tree farms, on the other hand, especially when they are divided into smaller areas of varying maturity, generally lack the ambiance of natural abundance.

**Natural Abundance, Native Vegetation, NC**

The natural abundance of the Northwest's native vegetation is cited by observers as a regional factor (Richard Brown "New Regionalism," 51), and the fact that the NC has historically been a major commercial timber producer would point to natural abundance as a NC subregional factor. The NC's natural abundance is presented in terms of great trees of both commercial and noncommercial species. For example, near record-size Sitka spruce, alder, and big leaf maple are found in this area.

The native understory vegetation is also noted for its prolific growth, and brush is extremely dense, impassible, and often unhuntable.
Although only a few species of flowers can be exceptional in their numbers, foxglove can be abundant and dense at some sites, and fireweed can dominate whole hillsides after logging. Again, such abundance contributes to the popular notion of “Giant Country.”

**Nurse Tree, NC Abundance, Example and Symbol**

NC nurse trees are also examples of natural abundance; either brush or trees can take root and flourish in nurse trees, creating rapid brush-pioneering or reforestation. These somewhat dramatic examples of life springing from death also serve as symbols of the vitality of NC vegetation. See Figure 14. Gillette in his diary comments on this phenomenon:

*January, 1861 Fri 16...We cut up, and by the aid of the oxen rolled off down the creek bank, one of those monster relics of antiquity--An enormous Fir tree, much of which is in a teclirable [sic] state of preservation, notwithstanding it has been down long enough, for a Hemlock tree, to sprout and grow to the dimensions of 5 (3?) 1/2 feet in diameter, upon its trunk; (*This Hemlock tree was over 100 years old. I have seen many of these old Fir trees, that are perfectly sound that have laid on the ground so long that new trees have sprang [sic] up and grown to large trees on their trunks. Many of them have been there ove [sic] a hundred years.) and 200 feet high (Diary, 12).*

Pottsmith in her reminiscences of NC pioneer life also notes that brush, as well as new trees, can sprout from nurse trees:

*Even the moss-covered logs produced their share of woodland greenery: hemlock seedlings, huckleberry and salal*
bushes grew right out of the weathered old trunks. I was entranced (6).

When NC hunters discuss the concept of "harvesting a renewable natural resource," the nurse tree image comes to mind, as much as the possibility that these hunters are mainly repeating NRA catch phrases:

**Change, Natural Vegetation-Ecosystem**

Perhaps because of the prevalence of overcast skies, lack of heat, and large species, outsiders often conclude that NC vegetation grows slowly and that it responds just as slowly to disturbance. Just the opposite is true. Abundant water provides prime conditions for growth, and there are aggressive pioneer species, a fast-growing brush, and deciduous trees, especially alders, which can completely overgrow logging roads within a few years. In fact, it was stated by a resident not in the study that alders can be cut for usable firewood in approximately eight years. While this may be an exaggerated claim, it was clear that this resident was impressed by the abundant growth in the NC. One published account attest to luxuriant vegetative growth and the problems it posed for settlers:

> Bit by bit, Grandfather had cleared ground...Mother said Grandfather would toil from daybreak until dark, and then sometimes would get up again in the middle of the night and slash and burn brush, so eager was he to get ground cleared (Maddux, 2).

> His land-clearing was almost a legend (Maddux, 11).
Can you imagine having to cross such mountains as Nehkahnie and Tillamook Head—where the undergrowth is so dense you can hardly see your hand before you? (Maddux, 22).

There are many powerful and dramatic vegetative reactions to disturbances, and change is commonly rapid and dramatic.

**Brush**

The extremely heavy, often complex, and always persistent underbrush is a NC subregional marker. In the past, before the advent of power equipment and chemical defoliants, underbrush was an economic limitation on various land uses. Gillette writes about contrasting conditions in the Midwest and the NC:

> [January, 1861] Fri 4...I remember to have heared [sic] my Father say that when he first came to Ohio, that, so thick was the under brush in the woods, one could see but a few feet through it, & that it was almost impoisible [sic] to penetrate it. but [sic] cattle soon cleared it out & left nothing but the large trees. Now my wonders is; --whether they can ever succeed in killing out the underbrush in these [NC] woods. It is so thickly grown and so interwoven, that it is extremely difficult to get through it (Diary, 4).

The surprising height and density of the brush can easily be interpreted as a Giant Country characteristic.

**Disturbed Areas—Alder Patches**

Alders are dominant in many areas, due to a lack or failure of reforestation following logging. As already mentioned, alders are rapid growers and grow in thick patches.
NC Natural Vegetation and Deer

In this study's discussion of geology, it was suggested that deer can be viewed as geologic products because of the fundamental role of geology in deer habitat. This basis is most dramatically and metaphorically seen in the mineral source of antler development. But, blacktail deer can be viewed as products of NC vegetation in a similar but more direct fashion. With the rise of greater ethnic diversity or multiculturalism in the American national culture, shifting identities and new principles of identification have proliferated; such holistic or comparative perspectives on the sources of identity seem to make the identification of deer with several sources more possible than in the past. It also makes it possible to simultaneously view deer from several points of view. One identification, then, is deer as land-vegetation products, in addition to deer as prey, symbols of nature, and links to the pioneer days.

While it is not difficult to make generalizations about deer as vegetative products, the actual synergistic interrelationship between deer and habitat-vegetation is extremely complex. Vegetation and deer are interrelated in terms of food, shelter, mobility (trails), communication (scratches and scents), and reproduction (Wegner Book 2, 130, 172, 175). In the wildlife literature, there is an on-going study of how deer affect an area's vegetation and of how vegetation, in turn, is a major influence on deer behavior. Informant 35--18-19 also offered his interpretation of the
interrelationship between deer and vegetation and the balance necessary between the two:

"...[The deer are] just cropped down too close. I don't think there is anything wrong that [good game] management couldn't cure. I think they should back off this either sex thing and let them recover. Certainly, the habitat is there, miles and miles and miles of excellent, just excellent blacktail habitat... Or continuously cropping the does and fawns, it's just almost like planting a crop, and just when it really starts to show it's head, just mow[ing] it down again. [The habitat] doesn't have anywhere near the carrying capacity... A neighbor [company] of Longview Fiber [Company], Iverson Timber Co., that's privately owned [by] a father and 2 sons [who] have their own logging operation, around 30,000 acres, [of] timber land, they set aside one little area; they've got it gated, one area for themselves and their employees [to hunt]. Last year, they took 27 bucks off that. [It's] not too big an area either. [It] shows you what an area can produce. I don't know of 27 deer killed in the whole rest of the country...[in this part of NC], bucks. Certainly, both [the either sex season and night hunting] have an impact on...[the lack of bucks and low deer population], but I'd say, probably [the] either sex [season is the more important factor]..."

Informant 30--33 may sound as if he were merely a biased local booster; rather, he is a university-trained forester who attacks the simplistic wildlife stockpiling theory; he documents the clash of interpretations among local experts:

"...I think a lot of people, [that is, the NCGA], are biased in the sense that they would like to see creeks full of fish and woods full
of deer and elk and grouse, and it doesn't work that way. [There are more deer now than in the old days]..."

**Virgin Climax Forest, NC, Deer**

While the relationship between NC blacktail deer and the virgin climax forest might seem archaic or irrelevant to outsiders, it is still a popular local topic, and emotion is often displayed in the discussion. The blacktail population existent in the pre-contact ancient forest is an important baseline for conservation and wildlife management, especially since many NC hunters ultimately justify the killing of deer by defining them as the products of logging the mature NC timber. This justification for killing deer is a major support for the idea of "stewardship" and also for the idea of wildlife conservation; according to these views, animal populations can be increased to the point of producing a surplus, which then becomes a source of "game animals" and a "renewable resource."

In terms of browse production, it is obvious that the logging of virgin stands would increase deer population. The Indian practice of using small controlled burns to create deer and elk browse and the Tillamook Burn area's boom in deer population provide clear historical evidence that logging can greatly increase deer population. Nevertheless, deer population is influenced by other factors in the NC; for example, logging also creates a network of roads which facilitate extensive poaching.

Modern logging also includes herbicide spraying, brush thinning, and the
use of monoculture's fast growing Douglas fir hybrids. These newer hybrids overshadow and crowd out deer browse much faster than do non-hybrids, such as hemlocks and cedars. The different NC terms in use for the pre-contact forest, such as "Old Growth," "Ancient Forest," "Virgin Timber," and "Virgin Climax Forest," have suggested that a clear-cut dichotomy might exist between the belief that deer were more numerous before the first logging and the belief that deer were less numerous after the first logging. However, based on the pioneer literature and informant interviews, it is clear that the dominant NC view is that the virgin climax forest supported fewer deer:

Year c. 1900. As a child, I do not ever remember seeing a deer walk in the field, but saw tracks now and then (Hartill, 22).

There were few deer and elk until old growth was logged. "If people saw a deer track, they'd talk about it for 6 months" (Informant 21--10).

"When virgin timber was here, there were not deer, more or less. After it was logged off, the deer population increased. They got so big, and there were so many of them" (Informant 11--15).

Other informants dismissed the claim that blacktails were plentiful in the pre-contact forest. Informant 4--30 believed that there is an unfounded local belief that deer and elk were plentiful in the old days. One informant's father told him that in the 1920's and 1930's, you could be in
the woods all day, and you would be "lucky to see a deer." He added that there was no hunting season then (Informant 8--49).

This same interpretation was cited by informant 5--24, and an old timer, a 70 year-old neighbor of Informant 5--37, concurred that blacktails were scarce in the old days. Also, Informant 4--30 stated specifically regarding Olney in the NC:

...People will tell you that in the old days, when I was young [early in the 1930's], the place was "thick with deer," but that wasn't the case; it was "a rarity to see a deer..."

In the 1930's, this area hadn't been logged; there was no feed for deer, no underbrush for browse.

After the 1940's logging, "deer moved in."

By 1946 it was "thick with deer..."

As these comments show, the human domination of the NC forests has increased the blacktail population, and hunters who justify their killing of blacktail by arguing that these animals are the result of human labor have a powerful claim.

Minority, Alternate Interpretation/Myth of the Old Growth NC Forest, with Plentiful Deer

Alternatively, a few hunters believed that deer were plentiful in the pre-contact, old growth forest; Informant 14--44-45 adopted the position that deer were plentiful before the first logging and that the logging camp hunters and market hunters reduced the deer population. In some cases, NC residents or hunters, especially those vehemently opposed to the Fish and Wildlife Service's management of NC blacktail, appear to overstate the
pre-logging deer population to support their claim that game mismanagement has occurred. There may also be a tendency to glorify the past and to perpetuate the myth of a Golden Age. This is not to say that all logging invariably increases deer population. Excessive habitat destruction may eliminate the complex habitats required to provide all of the deer's needs. Informant 6-11 stated that there are fewer good hunting areas in the NC now since there has been so much logging.

**Tillamook Burn, Deer**

There have been a series of forest fires in Clatsop and Tillamook counties which have had important ramifications for deer hunting. These fires resulted in large scale destruction of the forests, with the loss being set at 13,102,917 board feet, or 354,936 acres ("The Tillamook Burn Fires." *Daily Astorian* 10 July 1992). According to various criteria, these fires constitute the largest burns in U.S. history and represent massive waste which has been misinterpreted within the myth of scientific management.

The major damage from the Tillamook fires was used as a justification for hunting among certain generations of NC hunters who felt that the control of the Tillamook Burn area deer was necessary, in order to minimize damage to newly planted seedlings. This period after the Tillamook Burn represents a Golden Age for deer hunting for some NC hunters and is a prime example of natural abundance in the NC; Nature's
raw power of destruction in the burn was followed by its capability for vegetation. Informant 27--15 reported that there was an abundance of blacktails following the first few waves of logging and the Tillamook Burn. Informant 19--35 concurred:

"...[The] Tillamook Burn came along in 1933; that made real good deer hunting; there were a lot of deer down there anyway before the burn. [The area]...was closed for several seasons [after the burn]. We started hunting down there; it was fantastic hunting; [it was] no trouble to get a deer at all; [hunters came from Portland to hunt the Burn.] They opened up the country with [logging] roads..."

Informant 19--28 was also more specific in his comments about the good results stemming from the Tillamook Burn; he counted 75 deer one day while he was out hunting. Informant 2--44 made similar remarks about another burn, the 1939 Sunset Highway Burn, which also produced a good hunting area. See informant 27--14's comments in Hunter Type, Natural Hunter.

Second Growth-Reprod. Deer

Ironically, the failures of natural seeding or modern aerial seeding and the use of herbicides have helped to create more blacktail habitat than would otherwise have been the case. Replanted or seeded sites, when they fail, become brushy or open areas with diverse plant species, or they become mixed conifer and deciduous-grass areas. These types of growth replace solid stands of conifers which would shade out deer browse, the
understory vegetation. For example, Informant 11--4 took a big buck of about 225 lbs. from a young second growth area in north CC where the trees were 3-4 inches around. Informant 11--6 made one of the few volunteered comments about vegetation affecting hunting modalities, but, it is possible that stand hunting, the technique of waiting on tree stumps for passing or driven deer, is so common that it is generally assumed by the speaker:

"...[Stand hunting] worked good then; second growth was just starting to come up; it was small then; [there were] open spots and places for deer to hide."

Informant 24--25 also commented on the effects of reprod:

"...When I started, and up until in the 50's, when they started logging the country again, it was mostly [in] standing timber... It used to be [in] good-sized timber, but [with] lots of room amongst the trees, and now it's all close,...planted close together..."

In this discussion, the terms "Second Growth" and "Reprod" may be confused with each other. This confusion over terms demonstrates that contemporary NC residents hold differing views of the history of NC logging. Informant 10--16 stated that when he was in high school, circa 1934, there were few local deer in Svensen and that there were deer only in the Big Creek area, which was a logged area; this was the situation before the heavy logging of old or second growth. Informant 24--27 added:

"...This country used to be all timber; it was big timber."
I didn't cut virgin timber; I cut old second growth. It was bigger than what they cut now.
I cut some big, old growth spruce, mostly big hemlock.
The meaning of the phrase “Second Growth” changed after more comprehensive silviculture techniques were employed, so that reprod from seeding plantings done by hand is now sometimes called “Second Growth.” The phrase “Second Growth Forests” also has different connotations for different people. For example, it can refer to the “factual” proof of sound forest management, the good steward argument. However, it can also be interpreted as a demonstration of poor management in areas where water courses have been made unusable for salmon, or where reforestation failed to some degree, resulting in low logging yields.

Within the issue of forestry and its relationship to blacktail populations, it becomes clear why almost everyone in the NC is drawn into the debate over natural resources management. People who hunt and fish can observe how forestry practices and government agency policies affect, not only the immediate resource goal of game management, but also the entire ecological web.

Ironically, the failure of forest reproduction following logging often assured that many NC areas would produce forbs and browse, and not timber; therefore, an abundance of blacktail resulted. However, the failure to account for other factors, such as poaching and possibly doe hunting, points to a sectionalism in the NC:

"...But right now...[the deer population in the NC] should be back as strong as it's ever going to be. All through here, right now, is the most beautiful deer habitat you ever saw."
Having lived and worked among local deer a life time, I was predicting a deer population second only to the Tillamook Burn, which was one of the greatest in the history of the blacktail deer.

Well,...[the Fish and Wildlife] have never let them bounce up to that [because of doe seasons]...” (Informant 35--31)

Biologists generally assign the NC forage a “3” on a 1-10 scale of quality (Informant 3--30), and the quality of forage is further reduced in the winter when protein levels are lowered. Unlike as in agricultural areas which include some crops highly-prized by deer, such as alfalfa, blacktail feeding is not highly patterned in the NC.

Overgrazing, Deer, Natural Foods

The topic of overgrazing was not cited among informants; nor has overgrazing been claimed to be a NC problem by the Fish and Wildlife Service, in spite of its support for doe seasons. This absence of an overgrazing problem, distinct from crop damage, is a subregional marker. Even though they are low in protein, the availability of the NC’s plentiful blacktail natural winter foods stands in sharp contrast to the availability of foods in many American semi-arid and deep snow regions, where lack of winter forage can generate overbrowsing, creating massive winter starvation and population crashes. Wegner states that “deer can significantly or even drastically impact vegetation” (Book 2, 131). In studying the problem of overbrowsing, rather than evaluating each plant and animal species separately, observers must place plants within an
interdependent ecological context. According to Leopold, it takes 50 years for an overbrowsed area to fully recover (Wegner Book 1, 60).

Flora Extinction, Deer Overgrazing

In a famous case in Pennsylvania, five plant species became extinct locally because of deer overbrowsing; in this situation, poor management had created deer overpopulation (Sajna, 150, 152). Metropolitan parks in several U.S. areas also face deer overpopulation. Based on such cases, many hunters would place limits on deer population, claiming to be protectors of the ecosystems, which produce the plants, which deer require for healthy conditions. As noted, the adverse impact of deer on plant species can be severe and long-lasting. The frequent mass media portrayal of Bambi as the forest innocent is simply and fundamentally false. Obviously, the Bambi issue and symbol is a part of the complex political issues within hunting, but it is noteworthy that hunters, even more so than biologists, are usually the major Bambi demythologizers. Some nature television shows occasionally present the scientific, versus the romanticized, perspective of deer. But such educational-scientific presentations apparently overturn, in limited fashion only, the childhood media influences from animal animation, stuffed toys, and children's books. The role of the demythologizing hunter supports the general claim that hunting provides a reality check against self-indulgent or escapist delusions. In the case of at least some of the scientific community, Bambi
as icon and public relations still places him above public debunking. The NC hunter as a truth teller, a realist, will usually have none of this duplicity.

Shelter

NC blacktail do not lack for shelter, and local wisdom holds that NC deer are not even significantly pressured in terms of shelter; this study did not record a single claim to the contrary. Informants 4--30 and 36--23 made the following comments:

"...There will always be some deer in the area, as brushy as it is. [Due to the nature of the ecosystem, you] can’t hunt them out..." (Informant 4--30).

"It’s your visibility [that limits].
I don’t think it’s necessarily [that] the population [has dropped].
I think there’s probably just as many deer [as before]."
(Informant 36--23).

Informant 6--28 had a similar view. See Brush.

Home Range and Sites

Deer, especially blacktails, are purposeful and do not pass through or wander about aimlessly from place to place. Most blacktails are experts within their home ranges, although some blacktail, especially yearling bucks, may wander a bit during the rut. The heavy take of blacktail yearling bucks is consistent with the general description of young bucks as lacking a home range and as being less-skilled in evasion. The contrast between the more migratory mule deer and the home-bound
blacktall is much discussed in the hunting literature and is well-known in the NC.

Blacktail are very knowledgeable about vegetation in their areas and do not fit the "wild," nomadic, free-roaming stereotype which is somewhat true for mule deer and NC elk. Blacktall use various areas for bedding, feeding, hiding, traveling, and so on. Some hunters focus on the blacktail's home range system with its major floral aspect as a factor in hunting, and do not concentrate on the deer's behavioral patterns. Informant 2--27 believed that a productive niche produces a deer year after year, that another deer will always take the place of a killed deer. A deer's complex individual adaptations to its specific habitat and its capacity for individuation or personality is described by Rue and other observers.

**Flora in the NC Indian World**

**Indian Natural Vegetative Foods**

There was little or no direct transmission of Indian knowledge to whites in the NC; there were no Indian agricultural plant foods of the NC which settlers could learn to use (Beckham, 93), although NC Indians grew tobacco in later years. Indian culture was rejected by NC residents, for all practical purposes, and consequently, there was a loss of knowledge about the NC's vegetation and landscape, and about deer. Dicken and Dicken claim
that even when early settlers used some wild Indian foods, they soon abandoned them, especially berries and wappato (1979, 39):

The natural abundance of the wild foods used by the Indians diminished after whites rejected them because, in order to grow their own food or to sell trees for profit, whites greatly altered the landscape, especially in the highly productive Coast Zone’s wetlands. The NC settlers typically relied on domesticated, as opposed to wild, American foods, and they kept home gardens (Hartill, 22). It may be noted that this situation is in contrast to the fuller utilization of natural products in other world cuisines, for example, in French cuisine. The NC foods used by Indians included berries (salmonberry, thimbleberry, huckleberry, strawberries, blackberries, salal, and cranberries), crabapple, bracken fern roots, skunk cabbage, wappato, camas, lupine, cattail root, cow parsnip, and horsetail rush (Sauter and Johnson, 102-03). The Indians also used wild onion, thistle, wild asparagus, wolenbritches, and sorrel.

Most of the Indian vegetative foods were probably gathered in the wetter, lowland Coast Climatic Zone or in openings on mountain slopes, rather than in deep forests or at higher elevations. Such utilization would also conform to the Indians’ reliance on water transport (Suphan, 195). Informant 21--15, a NC old timer, picked blackberries in the 1930’s in Olney during the depression. He is the only informant who also mentioned picking the NC native huckleberries.
Settlers were also generally not interested in the Indian point of view (Sauter and Johnson, 102-03). There was one notable local exception, the Elliott family, but there is no mention of food in the account:

While the Tracy Elliott family was in Tillamook they had great interest in the life of the Garibaldi Indians. Tracy spoke the Indian jargon very fluently and Mrs. Elliott traded many pieces of colored cloth to the Indians for their woven baskets and beads (Lockley "Impressions," 88).

Indian Pharmacopoeia

Roots and herbs were used medicinally by Columbia River area Indians. Alexander Ross, no admirer of Clatsop Indian cultures, nonetheless, described the "kaelalles" or "doctors" administering medicines with respect:

We must allow them to be a serviceable and skillful class of people. Their knowledge of roots and herbs enables them to meet the most difficult cases, and to perform cures, particularly in all external complaints (96).

The white settlers' indifference or hostility towards NC Indian medicine probably contributed to their own insensitivity towards NC vegetation.

Indian Controlled Burns for Deer Food

Small scale burns were practiced by the Indians in Clatsop and Tillamook counties, in order to attract and maintain deer and elk populations in certain areas (Sauter and Johnson, 76, 185). Informant 14--25 documents what he accepts as an authentic Indian burn site. Hillside
Indian burn areas just below his house, between two water courses, were reported to the informant by the first resident in the neighborhood, circa 1925.

This study did not produce any evidence for the practice of burning by whites in the NC for the purposes of game production. Modern NC hunters who focus on recently logged sites, however, are following the Indians' principle of hunting deer which are attracted to new growth. Nonetheless, these hunters feel no identification with their Indian predecessors.

**Human Non-Domination of NC Vegetation-Ecology**

Humans can live within, and interact with, ecosystems in a balanced, sustainable fashion. In many NC sites, and during many periods, wise resource use has created and maintained symbiotic cultural-ecological systems. In other instances, human abuses have occurred in the NC, but not to such a degree that the natural vegetation could not recover.

**Agriculture**

Forest land made up 90% of CC in 1964 and 92% in 1967, and grazing land, often called "bench land" in low lying areas, and pastures for grazing beef and dairy cattle made up 3% in 1964 and 1% in 1967 (Ruttle, 9; Loy, 22). Therefore, agriculture accounts for less than 10% of land use in CC. In the 1960's, less than 5% of the land was used for agricultural purposes, and this percentage has not significantly increased. In 1978, the average
farm size in the NC was less than 200 acres, the smallest sized unit within the state. The value of farmland per acre is also among the lowest in Western Oregon (Ruttle, 27). Chapter I gave an economic sketch of the NC.

Hay is virtually the only commercial crop. The small scale of agriculture in CC is also reflected in the number of people engaged in agricultural pursuits. Farmers made up approximately 1% of the CC 1970 work force and were approximately 2% of the CC 1988 work force (Ruttle, 20, 28). The farm work force was static from 1968-1971.

**Agricultural Ventures in the NC**

In contrast to the agricultural history of most American regions or subregions, there have been a series of agricultural failures in the NC, with the failures occurring immediately, or in time, despite ongoing, varied, and serious attempts by people to succeed. While many of the early settlers' crops failed outright, others proved commercially uncompetitive; in the 20th century; ventures raising peas and daffodils, after showing initial promise, have withered away. Cranberries showed more success. Most successful of all, the pasture-cattle small operations have maintained themselves. Also, by creating more forest edge bordering pastures, these small farms may have contributed locally to blacktail habitat.
Silviculture Ventures, Small Scale, NC

Small scale silviculture ventures arrived with the early settlers in the form of home orchards. Holly tree farms were also attempted by some, and Christmas tree plantings can still be found. Sometimes, when a NC resident owns a few acres, he or she will plant them in Douglas fir hybrids as a retirement or inheritance investment. Fast growing poplars, which can be quickly harvested for pulp are now seen near Astoria. Alder stands provide family fire wood and sometimes a cord wood business. Such small scale operations may provide the biodiversity which improves the black-tail’s diet.

Introduced Escape Vegetation

Introduced and escaped plants appear not to have harmed NC blacktails, but they typify a careless, cavalier attitude toward the ecosystem and its wildlife. Pasture grasses are perhaps the major introductions, but they are seldom discussed, even in the blacktail literature. Ellsworth Brown’s study of Western Washington blacktails only documents the fact that blacktails make their heaviest use of these grasses in the growing season, mainly in the spring and early summer (66). Scotch Broom, a widely persistent NC escapee, is but a nibble in the blacktail’s diet (Ellsworth Brown, 65).

Although the NC’s native trailing blackberry is a major blacktail food, the impact of the more aggressive and heavily producing evergreen
blackberry seems unclear. It appears to contribute to the diet of various
wild animals.

_Habitat Improvement. Food for Wildlife. Modern_

In spite of some vitriolic personal attacks against a local Fish and
Wildlife biologist by some of its members, the NCGA is encouraging the
community to become active with the Fish and Wildlife Service. Accord-
ing to Informant 32--29:

...NCGA volunteer workers helped Fish and Wildlife plant habitat
improvement areas; "[it was] a good thing."
They put in clover and lotus grass in the Jewell and Vernonia areas.
"A lot of dads and sons [did this."
It was] a good opportunity for these dads to bring their sons out [for
conservation work]..."

Following logging or other environmental disturbances caused by
various ventures, vegetative regrowth has covered huge stumps and
disturbed sites to reclaim some NC areas. Combined with local flooding,
poor soils, and climatic restrictions on crop success, aggressively re-
established native vegetation in these sites often contributes to blacktail
forage and browse:

Fire had destroyed the old Trask House during the Tilla-
mook Burn. Nothing looked familiar. I was a wanderer in
a land I no longer recognize...Logging operations had gouged
great, unsightly scars into mountains once so beautiful
(Maddux, 163).
Residential Gardens, Orchards, and Ornamental Plantings

Success in gaining a large degree of self-sufficiency through gardening and small scale economic ventures, such as mink farming or beef-pasture operations, has sometimes encouraged NC residents to take up hunting and clamming to provide for more of their personal needs. Several of the informants were knowledgeable gardeners. Homesteading did not end with the termination of the Homestead Act, under which several settlers first secured NC lands. Periodically, NC residents chose to, or were forced to, largely live off the land, as in the Great Depression, the 1960s' return to the land movement, and the 1990s' downsizing or isolationist patterns.

Home Orchard Attracts Deer Herd, Drunk Deer

Many NC residents and hunters are quite tolerant of deer on their property, often allowing them to graze in their pastures or browse on their fruit trees. Informant 8--28-29 related the following story. This scene made a powerful impression on the informant, and he volunteered the account.

--Deer “Herd” in Backyard, Story--

...When I was a boy, I and mother one night saw 70-80 deer behind the house under the apple trees. They were feeding on dropped apples. Those that ate fermented apples became animated; they started running about...
When questioned, the informant insisted that there were indeed 70-80 deer in the yard. But he reported that in the past 5 years, the largest groups of deer he had seen included about 7-8 deer.

**Personal Use Gathering of Wild NC**

The gathering of NC natural vegetation for personal use has continued, but these activities are not as formalized as hunting, salmon fishing, or clamming. Gathering is more of a personal or family tradition and ritual. As mentioned, Informant 21--15 picked blackberries in the woods and went with his mother to pick huckleberries. Hallucinogenic and other mushrooms are gathered in pastures by county roads by some. Informant 20--21 stated that "it's a great country." He hunts for chanterelle mushrooms in the hills close to home and gathers 10-20 gallons a year. These examples of residents' personal use gathering appear to be interpreted by the participants as links to the pioneers, rather than to the Indians; they are a part of fall harvest, similar to apple picking.

**Supplemental Income, Natural Vegetation, NC**

Securing supplemental income from natural vegetation has been more common in the NC than in many other American regions. Such activities probably foster blacktail hunting since they place people in blacktail areas. Informant 23--15 recounted his family's varied activities:

"[When the family moved up here from California], we went out and got smelt and gathered clams, and gathered blackberries and
sold them when they had blackberry...[buyers] here; [we did those things] to survive];...it pulled us together [as a family]...

Some natural products are of commercial value in the NC, cascara bark, used in commercial laxatives, and yew bark, used in the 1990s pharmaceutical, taxol. The hallucinogenic mushroom is an underground economy product, picked from pastures.

Firewood, NC

Firewood is cut in the NC either for personal use or for supplemental income. Permits for cutting logging waste on timber company lands have been easily obtained in the past, and such permits have real economic value, since using free firewood in wood burning stoves for home heating can save a considerable amount of money. The cutting of firewood also represents a direct human-nature link to the vegetative world; it brings up images of self-reliant pioneers who depended more directly than do present NC residents on their immediate habitat and on nature. As mentioned, Informant 21--15 picked wild blackberries and huckleberries in the woods with his mother.

The issues of security and self-reliance can be viewed socially as being a part of local independence. Brady describes how the residents of the northeast Ozarks partly define their subregion through their “productive or subsistive recreation” (1988, 49). Such “chores” as trapping and hunting demonstrate, not only how, but also why, the natural-cultural area
is retained by locals. It is retained so that aspects of their subregion can continue to exist and function, for it is within those functions that the residents define themselves.

Possibly, it is a valid, if exaggerated claim at times, that NC deer hunting pays for itself, but even though hunters might locate firewood sites and scout elk while deer hunting, few informants made such claims. More study would be required to separate the utilitarian from the recreational dynamics in the relationship between hunting and forest gathering.

**Human Non-Domination of NC Vegetation, Deer**

**Natural Area and Human Use Areas, Patterns**

Various local and site-specific activities have either enhanced the NC's wildlife habitat areas, competed with them, or destroyed them. The relative lack of suburban or industrial sprawl in the NC is promising, but there is pressure to cut or eliminate such land use planning and regulation. Woods adjoin residential areas in Astoria, Seaside, and Cannon Beach, and wildlife is still seen in these neighborhoods.

**Suburban/Semi-Domestic Deer, Vegetation**

Suburban deer which tolerate a relatively high degree of human activity are common in the NC, but semi-domestic or somewhat tame deer are not common, perhaps due to heavy poaching. Informant 27--1, who lives in an Astoria neighborhood which adjoins the woods and a park
leading to timber land, sees deer regularly as does informant 36--25.

Thus, NC residents generally tolerate and enjoy seeing deer:

Semi-tame deer are promoted by residential areas adjoining woods, or some housing pockets in the woods.
I recognize some individual deer and elk near my home which adjoins some woods (Informant 2--25).

Informant 27--27 agreed and informant 2--25 noted that some blacktails depend on, or benefit from, a steady human source of food, such as berries or garden vegetables. Orchards are also important food sources for some blacktails. Unfortunately, a deer's attraction to radiator fluid spills points up one of the possible hazards of human proximity.

Suburban Deer, Shelter Near House

Where NC sites are not totally dominated by humans, blacktails can sometimes benefit from seeking shelter near homes, just as suburban deer do; such shelter may offer advantages, such as more protection from weather conditions or from predation. One case of a deer's adaptation to introduced vegetation and human presence may be cited:

--Blacktail's Hiding Spot, Story--
There were holly trees near the house.
I saw a doe suckling her fawn by these trees; later, I saw them again; I didn't know why she would choose that place so close to the house.
I went looking in that place; I found the doe had placed the fawn under the thick cover of the sharply pointed holly leaves; it was like a little hole; high grass grew up to the low growing holly leaves; the deer had its young by the orchard, even though there were coyotes nearby; we heard the coyotes every night (Informant 21--10--11).
This story demonstrates the complexity of blacktail adaptations and the various factors involved in these adaptations. The deer in this account may have bedded down near homes to avoid poachers or coyotes.

**FLORA AND NORTH COAST DEER HUNTING, HUMAN ASPECTS**

**Overview**

In a discussion of the human-vegetation relationship in the NC, it is important to realize that the nature of the human biological response to vegetation is a highly complex and sometimes controversial topic, but that there is a general agreement that a close relationship exists between people and their natural surroundings. For example, Nabham and St. Antoine claim that under natural conditions, as opposed to modern urban conditions, the affinity of humans towards other life forms triggers phenotypic expressions (230). Nabham and St. Antoine specifically claim that natural settings trigger a human biophilic response.

According to Gold, the human biological response to natural vegetation is absolutely basic and accounts for the so-called limbic component in hunting (247). Hall similarly identifies a human thermal sensitivity to place, even though most modern people are not conscious of their skin sensitivity to temperature, humidity, wind, air, and other stimuli, some of which could be of a vegetative nature (54-59). The kinesthetic sense of place is also highly impacted by vegetation; Hall also speaks of the “kinesthetic signature” of a site, area, or subregion (63).
However, the human biological response to natural areas, such as most NC hunting areas, is obviously determined by culture, as well as by biology. Some claim that culture, as much or more than nature, determines the human-vegetative relationship. It must certainly be granted that culture plays a major and fundamental role in the human-environment interaction. The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis suggests that language itself sets the parameters for human experience with vegetation. On this view, culture not only defines vegetation, but also offers or imposes the frames (situations) and cognitive systems within which these definitions function. It must be further stipulated that language carries connotations, as well as denotations, and that, therefore, human responses to vegetation are powerfully affected by culture.

However, some claims for the dominant role of culture in determining the human-environment interchange, including the response to vegetation, seem overdrawn. These claims include the notion that human culture has overtaken evolution and that, both for the species and for individual human infants, culture shapes the most basic human responses to vegetation, even at the level of neurology and endocrinology. Admittedly, human culture has been shaping human biology, and the infant’s physical structures pertaining to cognition and affect are completed within his or her cultural setting. However, during most of the history of the human species, natural selection would have favored adaptations to vegetation
which would be advantageous to humans. As for the infant’s early period of systemic completion, evidence that other, non-vegetative, environments have effectively altered the development of the individual has not been established.

This much discussed balance between nature and nurture seems to many hunters to be imperiled, largely because they believe that modern people are “overcivilized” or estranged from nature. People may confuse the environmentalists’ claim that humans have a strong natural reaction to the vegetative world with the doctrinaire claim that rural life and vegetation are superior, per se, to the life in the city and the urban cityscape, but the existence of a basically positive, health-promoting, human biological-neural response to vegetation does not in itself refute the claim that a dominantly artificial, human-made environment is equally stimulating and satisfying to humans.

Perhaps, critics of the environmentalists’ claims for a basic, positive human response to vegetation are too quick to attack statements of the preventive or curative powers of nature, rural life, and the past, as romantic overstatements. Their counterargument that urban or metropolitan culture in America is not sterile or pathological is perhaps true for some upper class individuals, but the general level of social problems, isolation, and basically self-inflicted maladies seen throughout the country among significant segments of the population, indicates
serious, ongoing, systemic problems in American culture. Such a level of
disruption in modern social systems which still retain viable links to the
natural world calls into question the basic premise that highly artificial
environments can permanently replace more natural environments. For
example, the world leadership of the basic American socioeconomic
system is no longer taken for granted among macroeconomists.

It is perhaps true that most of the people who were raised in highly
urban environments can never experience the natural world as can those
people raised in rural, natural settings. However, it remains impossible to
prove whether a person is directly experiencing nature as beautiful and
good or whether he or she is merely romanticizing these ideas. But the
claim that contemporary America is significantly "overcivilized" and
estranged from nature need not be accepted as an expression of
romanticism, without question. This hypothesis can be tested by com-
paring it cross-culturally and historically with other eras in American
history.

Probably the most comprehensive perspective on the influence of
vegetation on hunters is contained in the Washburn hypothesis. Briefly,
this hypothesis states that modern humans evolved from prehuman hominid
hunters and gatherers; therefore, an evolutionary link or "instinct" exists
within modern hunting (Washburn and Lancaster, 300). Humans, according
to this theory, have an instinct to hunt and gather food, and, in fact, human
senses were partly shaped by, and for, natural vegetation. This view of modern humans as being basically Pleistocene animals (Orr, Orr, and Baldwin, 437) suffers under all of the shortcomings of a psychology of instincts. Messenger’s excellent discussion of human play and sports includes the concept of “playing back to,” which offers an alternative, less physically-bound, psychological view of hunting, than does the Washburn hypothesis.

In spite of the shortcomings of Washburn’s view of hunting as an atavistic activity, it is tempting to equate the intense concentration and “flow” experiences of the modern, genuine sport hunter with biologic adaptations to natural environments. Ulrich reviews several rigorously empirical scientific studies of the 1980’s and 1990’s which document the psychological and physiological effects of participating in leisure activities in natural settings. Many of these studies indicate that the effects of natural settings include, but extend beyond, cultural interpretations or presentations of the settings (100-09):

Research suggests that biophilic responding to natural landscapes extends far beyond aesthetic preference…to include…positive changes in activity levels in physiological systems (102).

As an interesting side issue, Heerwagen notes the probable existence of human, gender-specific, responses to vegetation-landscape (150-51). The male domination of hunting has long been documented
cross-culturally and could partly be explained by gender-specific adaptations within the Washburn hypothesis. Heerwagen goes on to state in theoretical terms what is so often bemoaned by hunters, namely that a loss of biodiversity, as is sometimes experienced in poor quality hunts, diminishes the very basis for human emotional life. That is, without the experiences of rich natural settings, people tend to be less than fully human.

Many critics of modern hunting and those skeptical of the Washburn hypothesis trivialize the linkage between vegetation and human nature. They question the necessity for vegetation in human life in order for people to create a quality of life which they naturally require and seek, and many critics, and even many hunters, contend that hunting is merely a recreational activity, a relaxing way to have fun and to "unwind." But the pleasure of having rich and complex perceptual experiences might very well extend beyond hunting's mere diversionary value, making it instead a means for people to enrich their sterile environments, which is often part of modern urban life (Copp, 1969b).

--Nature, Euro-American Perspectives--

The subject of the Euro-American relationship with nature is vast, as is the academic and literary discussion on this topic. For example, a consideration of the many symbolic meanings for a tree or for trees indicates that natural vegetation entails many complex connotations and
ramifications. There are, however, some points of general agreement concerning the Euro-American view of nature. Perhaps the most basic is that the concept of nature, which includes wildlife, was developed out of, and continues to play out, the tension between a strongly anthropocentric theology and a more empirical cosmology or philosophy.

With the rise of the anti-hunting and animal rights movements, and now with the resulting revisionist politics of the 1990's, the nature of the human-animal relationship is receiving widespread attention in the United States; there are, for example, a number of new laws and initiatives regulating the hunting and treatment of animals. The rancorous nature of the debate over hunting issues supports the long-standing view that the American relationship with nature and wildlife remains ambiguous.

With the question of the status of nature-wildlife within American culture now a public issue, fewer people dismiss an interest in wildlife as merely a personal interest or a source of recreation. The acceptance of nature-wildlife as a legitimate and serious issue probably results from the continuing major losses of biodiversity and sustainable natural areas in the United States, not to mention the sense of lost wilderness worldwide. While many Americans experience and express a sense of disgust and guilt because of animal exterminations, nevertheless, many private individuals and participants in nature or wildlife-related activities, as judged from the informants' discussions, continue to relegate nature and
wildlife to a rather low personal priority, compared to more pressing daily concerns and socioeconomic issues.

**Tree, Symbol**

Many of the ramifications and connotations associated with wilderness and the woods or forest are foreshadowed by the symbolization for the tree. The single tree is the most basic element in the categories of wilderness and woods, at least that is the case in the arboreal NW and NC.

Messenger notes that in America, trees are often associated with deer and Native Americans, but, as with other general cultural associations, these connections are not explicitly demonstrated or elaborated in the NC. Extending a human-landscape connection in the NC to a human-deer link would seem excessive, despite the fact that commentators on the NC as a region, such as Richard Brown, Dodds, and Gastil, have noted some aspects of an American regional architecture, for instance, the use of NC woods, most notably red cedar, to create a “woody” ambiance, a connection to the landscape of big timber. Only a vague or attenuated symbolization of the NC’s blacktails is also evident when one is considering other claimed nationalized symbols of trees. Euro-American associations with trees include the following—the color green, shelter, unity, and a synthesis of many parts, elements, or worlds. Trees are also symbolic of knowledge, wisdom, and diversity in unity. In addition, they often carry a Christian or an undifferentiated religious overtone. J. C. Cooper also links
trees to perpetuity, vitality, and vigor. While many of these attributes or symbolic values of trees also relate to deer, specific, clearly elaborate cases of applying such symbolizations are lacking in the NC.

For example, this study identified no symbols using antlers and the color green, or branches, nor any Christian themes. It could be argued that blacktail antlers are tree-like and, therefore, express the unity of earth-soil, animal life, and sky (climate or spirituality). However, once again, such a symbolization would have to be taken as subconscious contents, and not as a part of a personal, familial, or social rite or custom.

While this study does not overtly show evidence for the symbolization of NC flora, it does find striking evidence that the "woods," specific area names, or generic place type terms completely dominate the informants' hunting accounts. For example, a hunt might take place in the woods or in a fern patch on Elk Mt., but few informants included in their narratives the ambiance of the hunt site or a symbolic meaning that they attached to the site. There is a possibility that the site, including some degree of symbolic value is being assumed by the local hunters, so that no specific references are deemed necessary. However, it also seems possible that if a definite symbolic value were in place, and that if informants had a conscious awareness of the site's symbolism, some indirect indications would probably emerge in other parts of their
discussions. However, no such remarks regarding symbols emerged in the interviews.

Several possible explanations for the lack of tree symbolism in the NC come to mind, including the Christian taboo against the glorification of individual plants or animals. Another possibility is that logging has been such a long-standing and integral part of the NC that the economic and scientific view of trees remains dominant. But more study on the status and role of NC individual trees and plants, as opposed to types of vegetation-landscape, would probably prove interesting. Cf. Winks' discussion of the human tendency to value unique objects (20).

**Anthropocentrism**

There is an irony in assuming that civilized areas, that is, human-dominated areas, are "natural" and "given," while the landscape, especially the adjoining natural, wild areas, are "Other." Instead, as Tuan states, "Human beings have created 'homes' or 'worlds' out of nature" (1989, vii); "in the Western world one major achievement of culture--agriculture--was taken to be 'almost nature' rather than a willful transformation or distortion of it" (1989, 82). The reversal in the meanings of "Nature" and "Natural" probably applies to American national culture which is based on the tenet that human settlement and expansion into the natural world is in itself the "natural" force which dominates reality-history-existence. Tuan states the following on this point:
when cultivators clear the bush to create a landscape of fields and houses, they do so in answer to the needs of survival, but that cannot be all: the humanized world, existing visibly and tangibly before them, gives shape to their lives and serves at the same time as a flattering and reinforcing mirror of their humanity (1989, 68).

This earlier view or incorporation of human history, national history, into the order of nature has enjoyed widespread adherence for many generations in America, a distinction between the tame and the wild, an accommodation between the human and the natural realms. This story, metaphor, or model purports that human activities participate in the same natural laws or forces that rule nature, as in premodern agriculture or, more to the point, in the NW, in the dominating extractive industries of logging and fishing.

But with the development of contemporary, monoculture, factory farm agribusiness and its NW equivalent, the corporate monospecies tree farm, mediation and adaptation have been replaced by the factory system of simplified production which is dependent, not so much on local, natural forces, such as soil conditions and climate, but on energy, chemicals, and capital far removed from the local site. The production system and cycle is increasingly divorced from natural systems and materials, and from people. Consequently, residents or workers participate correspondingly less in local natural systems and cycles. Within this process of greater abstraction, human organization, and power over local nature, it is not
surprising that residents, especially older ones who grew up and participated in the more local, nature-based social-economic systems, might cling to activities which contain an element of individual, direct participation in local nature. As has been argued throughout this study, NC deer hunting has in the past been one such activity.

As with several other regional factors which affect hunting, the NC is atypical of American culture in that it experiences nature’s power in such ways that the tenuousness of human endeavors, and the possibility of devolution, are strongly enhanced. This point of view is at least partly supported by the density and persistence of NC vegetation which “pushes back,” resisting human domination; for example, some NC abandoned towns and many homesteads, farms, and railroad tracks are now given over to vegetation (Friedman 1978).

Cosmology of Nature, Vs. Anthropocentrism

Hunting can serve as one of the many vehicles which can lead individuals to a pragmatic view of secular reality. Tuan sees a part of the human need-drive for realism in people’s skepticism towards narrow, cultural myths, when they are faced with the vast and powerful natural order in their daily lives:

What premodern people expressly value is not the large created world of houses and fields but rather the less tangible things--language, ceremony and ritual, moral codes, lineage... (1989, 68).
It seems that the human relationship with nature, wildlife, wilderness, and history could easily be added to Tuan’s list of the elements of a cosmology. It is true that language, ritual, lineage, and views of nature and wildlife are all part of a world created by the human mind, but Tuan’s point appears to include the idea that these creations are less accidental or contingent than tangible human artifacts. Informant 27--36-37 seemed to capture Tuan’s point as he described his hunting as discovery and contact with a pulsing system in flux:

"...You always see things you haven’t seen before; [rapidly changing sites are common]. That’s the thing about the woods, about any place,...so’s the trees and everything; things are moving around in them. I was interested in everything [when hunting, the landscape and animals]."

It was claimed earlier in the geology and climate sections of this study that land, water, and climate basically form the background for flora and fauna, the prime constituents of “Nature” for most Euro-Americans. It is, however, questionable whether or not wildlife is a more important natural aspect than vegetation for most Americans. Wildlife, not an attraction to plant life, has an “affecting presence” (Armstrong, 6, 25). Even environmental organizations which are more oriented toward wilderness land preservation emphasize animals in their contribution appeals. This fact is demonstrated by Informant 5, a biologist and a NC resident who carries out botanical research on Saddle Mt. He appears to be
personally affected by, and is strongly responsive to, the wildlife he
encounters in his fieldwork. Informant 20 follows a similar pattern when
in "Nature"; he is by far the most excited while contacting wildlife.
Informant 36--39-40 also stressed the same animal orientation when he
was asked about his reasons for hunting:

"...I really enjoy being out there...just being in the middle of it,
looking around, seeing what's happening.
[You've] got all the different animals running around.
You get to know [the] patterns of certain animals."

Keilert's research on biophilia in the United States and Japan
indicates that a significant number of people overstate their orientation
toward plants as a part of nature and that, in fact, their relationship to
animals is dominant ("Biological Basis," 64), and Guy Martin claims that
children's orientation toward vegetative life is strongly influenced by
their experience with insects, that is, the animal life on their scale,
available for their direct participation (94, 97).

Therefore, even though, in general, vegetation often appears to be a
more dominant factor in the American view of nature, there is a danger of
losing sight of the fact that the human animal appears to experience nature
largely through other animals, even to the extent of maintaining an animal
bias. On the other hand, many outdoor enthusiasts may avoid this animal
bias, and the hunters' claim that hunting builds an appreciation for all
nature, and not only for the prey species, may very well be true. Informant
37--54 certainly sees more than blacktails when she is hunting. “There’s a lot to see out there, and a lot to enjoy besides just deer. There’s all kinds of things in the woods.”

It is a commonplace in American literary criticism that American culture exhibits an ambivalence over nature, as opposed to civilization. Tuan quotes Perry Miller on this point:

In America, according to Perry Miller, nature not only consoled and uplifted the individual; it was also credited with the power to assuage a “national anxiety,” namely, descent into a totally artificial life under the pressure of civilization (1993, 149).

It is debatable whether or not these contemporary Americans who identify themselves as nature or wilderness-oriented are as romantic in terms of dichotomizing nature and civilization as were their forerunners, the 19th century Transcendentalists of whom Miller writes. But clearly, judging from the popular hunting literature, and judging from this study’s informant narratives, most hunters have grave reservations about the environmental and preservationist movements.

Hunters are not reducible to a single group, and their views are not reducible to a single orientation. Many of the informants were quite aware of the nature versus civilization critique, but they saw themselves as transcending this trap through “participation” in nature. Although modern hunting, even quality hunting, is largely a culturally determined activity, it still retains several pre-high civilization aspects, such as the exercise of
a predator's role, the killing of a prey species animal, and the direct acquisition of food—meat. When these elemental aspects become increasingly culturally dominated, through, for example, elaborate institutional regulation of high hunter crowding and competition, many hunters cease to hunt because they no longer feel they are participating in nature.

*Nature, American, Process, Time*

Tuan discusses another aspect of the American ambivalence towards the presentation of the progression of time, especially of aging and death, as they are seen in nature:

[American colonists and founders of the republic] saw nature not as old and dead...but as a vital, self-renewing force. Nature was able to project...an image of freshness with the power to invigorate those who venture into its midst...New is clean; old is dirty...A pioneer farm may be untidy, but it is clean, and its dirt is clean dirt (1993, 152).

The same could be said of a NC logging site or of a deer hunting kill site. These situations seem to conform to Thoreau's "purifying destruction" (Tuan "Passing," 151). They allow for the exercise of the dominant American philosophy, pragmatism—realism, in the building of a utopia over the ruins of nature. But Gunn points out that this utopian new Eden runs the risk of being alienated from nature as a total system. Utopias tend to select only those natural elements deemed acceptable or beautiful. Eden
appears, then, to be attempting to forget-deny its animal past, and, therefore, may lose touch with important realities (80–81).

Recreation

Just as there is an American tendency to trivialize the human biological response to natural settings, there is a strong tendency in American culture to redefine nature as a theme park. Americans tend to adopt a self-congratulatory image of themselves as a people who are interested in, and knowledgeable about, wildlife, but their orientation toward nature and wildlife is actually highly complex and multifactored; it includes both the orientation of the knowledgeable outdoorsmen and the urbanites and suburbanites, many of whom live in greater isolation from natural areas of complex biodiversity and from wildlife, than do rural people.

The United States Department of Interior in its national surveys of fishing, hunting and wildlife-associated recreation documents the popularity of some wildlife-related activities. These activities are very popular, even to the point of suggesting that a naturalistic interest in nature is a national American “trait.” However, the activities documented are often rather superficial, compared to the genuine wildlife experiences found in hunting and fishing; for example, in 1980, nonconsumptive activities were the dominant form of wildlife related activity in the U.S., twice the fishing rate and five times the hunting rate (National Survey, 5);
79.7 million nonconsumptive users, aged 16 and older, observed, photographed, or fed wildlife (National Survey, 2). Secondary nonconsumptive/nonresidential wildlife-related activities in 1985, in which people participated in observing or listening to wildlife while engaged in other activities, involved 127.4 million people, or 70% of the U.S. population (50). See summary below:

"Nonconsumptive Activities": dominant form of wildlife-related activity in the U.S., 2 times the fishing rate, 5 times the hunting rate (1980, 5).

"Appreciate Wildlife Near Residence": approximately 33% (1980, 2).


"Genuine" wildlife experiences, as with "quality" hunts, refer to those experiences in which wild animals are encountered or related to as fellow beings, and not merely as objects of interest or amusement. Genuine encounters are often characterized by feelings of value and respect, and they may promote philosophical reflection or an examination of self, society, or history. It is interesting to note that genuine or quality experiences are not clearly defined, nor are they often calibrated by even rough estimates in the Fish and Wildlife publications. To do so would no doubt embroil the Fish and Wildlife Service in a quagmire of debate. This
problem indicates the highly personal nature of natural area experience
assessment.

Guilt, Destruction/Waste of Nature

The continuing mass destruction of natural areas in the modern era
understandably produces guilt, shame, and fear among many people,
particularly in a country such as the United States, which prides itself on
its natural places and the role of these sites in its national history and
current national life. The denial of history, within a fairy tale-like time-
lessness, attempts to evade the guilt for national and regional waste,
greed, and ignorance. The denial of human limits on the use of nature is
not only an attempt to avoid guilt and responsibility for past environ-
mental and wildlife abuses, it is also justification for continued reckless
abuse.

The voices of reaction against environmentalism have resurfaced in
the 1990’s, as seen in the congressional delegations from Oregon and
Washington. It remains to be seen whether or not the temptation for
short-term gain will reverse preservationist and environmentalist
policies. The warnings against the Californization of the Northwest could
not be clearer: merely examine the present problems of California.

On a more theoretical plane, powerful arguments have been
presented for protecting the human-nature relationship. For example,
Gruen presents a feminist critique of modern society and violence, partly
based on the notion of modern alienation from nature (62); Chris Madson traces the source of modern psychological depression to the loss of a basic human need, the need for wilderness and ancestral legacies (21), and Tuan argues that the domination and abuse of nature is purchased at the price of “cosmic insecurity” (1993, 183).

**Biodiversity and Biophilia Reduced in 20th Century**

Human “engineered” plants and animals dominate life in the 20th century, our house plants, our pets, farm animals, and city park plant species, for example. A toleration of pollution, a lack of foliage and leaf litter, and an open base to avoid the creation of hiding places for criminals are the rule in plant selection in urban areas. As a result, today there is less variety and complexity in plants, leading to a weakened sense of biophilia. Artifacts, especially machines, also replace natural entities and products in daily life; Gadgil states that a new assemblage of highly sophisticated, counterintuitive machines and systems dominates human life (366), and Richard White documents the history of the Euro-American destruction of the NW Indian landscape, the unofficial history of “Westernizing” the NW, in which the wilderness became a landscape of “opportunity” and “profit” (111, 113). Edward O. Wilson continues to argue against biological impoverishment which is reaching the stage of creating an “Eremozioc Era” or the “Age of Loneliness,” a reduction in species on a scale not seen since the Cenozoic Era (1995).
The natural areas of America present some very different faces. While people share some common American experiences with nature and share some common points of view towards nature, there are also several strikingly regionalized interpretations of the differing ecosystems in the country.

One interesting aspect of the American view of nature can be seen within Gastil’s “message-rejection” in American regions, through which regions reject certain American national themes (1x). People in the Pacific NW and, to some degree, the NC, appear to frequently reject the American principle of sacrificing the environment to unexamined development. For example, a proposed Amax aluminum smelting plant was rejected in Warrenton, Oregon during the 1980’s. However, while some dominant American themes concerning nature are rejected in the NW, many others are sustained. Message rejection can, of course, be found in every American region; the revisionism of the mid-1990’s which reverses many regional rejections is a natural movement. Oregon, in the 1960’s and 1970’s, was a pioneer in some significant political issues regarding natural areas, especially the creation of an effective state-wide land use commission, the Land Conservation and Development Commission (LCDC).

The LCDC limited urban sprawl and has continued to limit rural housing tract development in the NC; these restrictions directly resulted
in the maintenance of open bench land, a key habitat zone for many deer, especially the "suburban" type. More importantly, from a political and philosophical perspective, state-wide land use restrictions legitimized the populist contention that quality of life for all citizens is a component within the private property, capitalistic system and that scientific input, including wildlife management, is also a required aspect of land use.

Oregon's progressive land use policy, based on considerations of the actual impact of policies on human communities and ecosystems, is unfortunately under a frontal assault by Oregon's new Christian Right-led, Republican majority, which fosters a return to the classic laissez faire, private property, owner-based form of open market capitalism. Since this political development occurred after the field phase of this study, direct informant reactions are lacking, but clearly the rural property owner and strongly anti-government informants have welcomed the revisionist turn, even though the potential rural development will reduce blacktail habitat, increase hunting, perhaps reduce poaching pressure, and generally lower the quality of at least some NC blacktail hunting.

As stated earlier, reduced hunting quality generally limits a hunter's sense of participation in nature, an integration into local nature and the subregion. The new NC political, social, and economic realities, from the replacement of the formerly dominant extractive industries by tourism, to the attempts to return to a free market land use policy, have not created a
new consensus majority, but, as with many contemporary American issues, they have created a plurality of views and groups, including some ad hoc factional groups. Two hunter themes clearly delineated in the study lend themselves to these new local political developments; one is the rise of the Conservation Hunter. Another is the fatalistic interpretation that "genuine," "authentic," or "natural" NC hunting, regulated by a hunter's personal code, that is, the private, non-regulated hunting of plentiful blacktails, has passed, never to return. This extrapolation of hunter sentiment may seem overstated in that many informants voiced confidence that blacktail populations follow the timber cycle, but if many or most of the probable socioeconomic changes do in fact occur, for example, rural land development, increased tourist activity, continued high poaching, and limited access to corporate timber lands, then the more pessimistic view of NC blacktail hunting seems probable, both in fact and in the minds of NC hunters.

--Wilderness--

The nature religion, Ecotheology, as in Roderick Nash (86) is probably more tolerated or practiced in the NW and NC than in other areas; however, it remains a small minority point of view, even if it is one that is growing and gaining influence. One of the major ecotheological themes of the environmental politics of the 1990's in the Pacific Northwest is the distinction between the wilderness and the woods.
Definition of Wilderness

While the monolithic nature of the concept of "Wilderness" frequently seems self-evident, on closer examination, for example, Mary Allen's view of wilderness in America, it is more complex. Allen isolates within the concept of wilderness the themes of freedom, mobility, escape, individualism, challenge, profit, and violence (11).

For the purposes of this study, the term, "Wilderness," designates an area that is totally, or at least, basically, a "wild" area, one which is characterized, not only by wild plants and animals, but also by complete ecosystems, with predominantly natural, as opposed to human, forces shaping their structure and function. On this view, the NC has no true wilderness areas.

The phrase, "Wild Places," is used to identify those areas of relatively minor human impact, such as Saddle Mt. State Park or those sites which might escape logging due to steep terrain or high operational costs. This study's definition of "Wilderness" then, does not equate with the public land and legal category of "Wilderness Area"; several such designated wilderness areas exist in Oregon, in the High Cascade and in the NE quadrant, but not in the NC.

While "Wilderness" can be defined according to many points of view, the historical, traditional, or purist connotations of the term persist, frequently overshadowing other considerations. New definitions of what a
wilderness is can easily become involved in larger and heavily politicized debates, but it is through such examinations that new options emerge.

The improbable but interesting "implosion proposal" of the 1990's suggested that those areas of marginal efficiency in cattle production within the Great Plains should be restructured, either into zones of centralized human population or zones of true wilderness, in order to serve wildlife, education-recreation, tourism, and buffalo use. The wild buffalo could then be selectively harvested. This proposal, while improbable, is actually no more radical than the one which established the financial bonanzas, the East African game parks.

The implosion proposal demonstrates the growing possibility that genuine wilderness lands can be left independent of human domination and yet still yield the maximum possible profit, usually from tourism and some sort of natural product, such as meat production. Some alternative uses of natural areas in the NC have already begun, even if in a limited fashion.

Wilderness, Human Fear

In 1985, the well-known Vermont track-out hunter, Larry Benoit, stated unequivocally that most white men fear the woods (Randolph, 186); they cannot and do not stay in the woods overnight without elaborate preparations and equipment. This is a telling point. Most NC residents are town dwellers and not at all forest people because, following the development of county roads, even before the interior NC timber lands
were honeycombed with logging roads, deer camp hunting had all but disappeared, being replaced by day hunting.

Although the informants gave the impression that they do not camp out before their day hunts and day hunt primarily because of the sacred American values of convenience and efficiency, an outside observer cannot but question whether or not these hunters feel out of place in the dark woods, and that this is the more compelling reason for the predominance of NC day hunting. Gallagher also offers quantitative support for the claim that modern Americans, although they often speak of solitude in natural areas (9), actually seek solitude with others (19); the overwhelming majority of outdoor experiences in natural areas is experienced by Americans in social situations, predominantly within small groups.

**Wilderness, Sexuality**

There have been many psychosexual interpretations of the American relationship to wilderness. Hoffman cites past associations of wilderness with witchcraft, human sexual indulgence, debauchery, and fertility (163). He also cites animal life and instincts as being associated with wilderness, perhaps because there remains an intuition that fertility is sacred (256). An uneasiness over the vegetative fecundity of natural areas seems to be a clear case of the theology of a transcendental religion conflicting with direct, individual experiences. The Christian fear that the American woods are sacred persists to some degree. Lutwack also connects the
forest to the female and vegetation to reproduction and to mysterious, hidden, and ambiguous powers (99). Therefore, the woods may be taken by some men to be a labyrinth, a trap for men (129).

Wilderness, Theater for American Masculinity

American woodsmen-hunters steadily appear in literature, beginning with Hawkeye and continuing with Huck Finn, Nick Adams, and even with hunter dropouts, such as Ike McCaslin. The wilderness, not the tree farm, is in their home states; Faulkner especially describes the difference between the essentially wild places and places which are controlled by civilization.

The NC follows the Far West pattern of a sea-linked town dominating the hinterland, and it does not typify the American frontier settlement pattern. The NC is a late settlement, from the 1840’s for the most part; consequently, the folk historical focus is more on Victorian developers and workers, than on explorers and frontiersmen. Nevertheless, NC residents and the informants, as well, accept and promote NC wild places as a theater and setting for masculine initiation and development, even if these settings are only relatively wild, as in timberland. Informant 16--4’s disdain for the picnic park, as opposed to the woods, the “wild areas,” pointed up a telling volunteered dichotomy:

“[Teaching a son to hunt is a special father-son activity]. Where else are you going to show a kid something, not at a picnic table?”
You got to get him out and show him tracks, terrain, teach him something about the out of doors.
He isn’t going to do it down at Coffenbury Lake [in Ft. Stevens State Park in Warrenton] at the picnic table.”

**Wilderness, Romanticism**

The wilderness as a romantic theme is also a common and perennial American perspective, as seen in, for example, the movements towards American primevalism and anti-artifactualization (Gold, 247). Escapist wanderlust seems to be included in this complex of emotions and images. **Wilderness, Heroic Age**

Within the tradition of heroes venturing into a wilderness, the wild forest is seen to possess a great variety of characteristics; it is magical or tragic, a place of rebirth or a place of death. The general topic of the hunt as an adolescent initiation heroic quest will be discussed in Chapter VIII, Initiation, but it can be noted here that the NC timber lands were formerly the occupational site for the loggers who felled the virgin climax forest’s giant trees. With only smaller reprod trees to cut now, and with the greater mechanization of logging, the heroic aspects have all but disappeared. It should be recalled that, perhaps in distinction to other NW subregions, the NC never developed some of the familiar folklore aspects of the heroic proletarian figure, such as the tall tale or the local adoption-adaptation of such nationalized figures as Paul Bunyan. The notion that a revival of the heroic NW logger is occurring, or can occur, at least in the
Oregon NC, seems unsupportable. A similar factionalist posturing of mill worker “townies” or rural-raised NC young males has apparently always been present, but such self-conscious role playing seems questionable as a heroic reinterpretation. Interestingly enough, such folklore or pseudo-folklore activities may be a part of the deadly serious development of a NW and NC white supremacist ideology.

NC history, from its recounting of early heroes, to its recording of contemporary abuses, has been played out in many areas of the American West, areas which have centered on extractive industries. Tree farms, with their increasingly managed tree crops, can be seen as tragic landscapes, not as wastelands, but as truncated, simplified ecosystems.

Wilderness, Lost Indian Literature and Religion

Lutwack points out that when Americans ignored the Indians’ ties to wilderness and their insights into wilderness, they forfeited possible mentors, guides, or exemplars. While the Indian guide became a character type in American literature, the fiction was far removed from reality. Cullaby was an exception; he was a resourceful Clatsop Indian hunter and gunsmith who hunted with a few whites. In the main, Chinookan inhabitants did not assist in incorporating settlers into the alien NC wilderness. The process was one in which the whites incorporated the forest into their new culture.
The tales of a Tillamook (Nehalem) lake monster, Skookum, testify to the whites' indifference to local Indian views on the wilderness. According to Indian legends, Skookum was responsible for the weird, dog-frightening noises at Skookum Lake in present day Tillamook County (Farnham, 233). In the 1920’s, actors portraying Skookum were erroneously dressed as stereotyped Indians; that is, they wore Plains Indian regalia in 4th of July parades in Tillamook City. As with Clatsop spirit quest stories, Clatsop mounds, and the myths and legends about Swallohost (Saddie Mt.), local whites were unaware of anything of genuine value in Skookum accounts; such stories were only seen as instances of local color.

Wilderness, Nature Religion

The American and Christian anti-animistic position is well documented, as is the Christian attack on the current “pagan heresy” of nature-based theologies; the Christian attacks on sacred trees and shamanistic views of wilderness forests are discussed by Lutwack (152, 157, 168, 178, 179).

In spite of the revival of Christian fundamentalism and its newly inspired attack on the expanding nature-based theologies, there is a growing interest among some NC residents in Ecotheology (Roderick Nash, 88). Such an interest, in the opinion of Jon Graves, director of the Columbia River Estuary Study Taskforce (CREST), is a part of the
"greening" of CC. CREST was one of the inter-governmental sponsors of
the Spring 1995, nine-part "Deep Ecology" course in Astoria. This course
included sections on the "Gaia Hypothesis," "Spirituality and the Earth,"
"Native American Wisdom," "Feminist Perspective," and "Ritual."

One specific example of how nature religions are affecting NC
residents' views through a focus on vegetation is the "Tree Planting
Ritual." This ritual is used to celebrate "earth-centered" events and is
incorporated into traditional events, such as high school graduation
ceremonies (Cahill and Halpern, 183).

At present, the vast majority of NC residents and hunters do not
directly relate their religious beliefs and expressions to either trees-
vegetation or blacktails. No private or public religious symbols, rituals, or
customs regarding NC blacktail hunting were identified in this study.
Whether or not such a link between vegetation and blacktail deer can be re-
ritualized in any significant sense remains an open question, and further
research is needed to determine whether or not SW Washington residents,
some of whom consider themselves Chinook People, retain any remnant
Chinookian hunting customs.

Wilderness, Nature Religion, Sacred Tree

As mentioned in the earlier discussion on tree symbolism, individ-
duals in the NC are generally not given to "bio-individualism," or to
ascribing individuality to non-human living organisms (Richard Nelson
“Exploring,” 39). Nor, is a columna univeralis world-pillar tree in evidence. See Desanctification, Woods.

For example, as is typical for many American communities with a fishing fleet, there is a yearly blessing of the fleet in Astoria, yet no one has called for a blessing of the fish, or to totally shift the ontic categories, a blessing of the fishermen by the fish. In the case of NC blacktail hunters, the equivalent would be to have the deer “bless” the hunters. This prospect does seem plausible, at least in indirect ways, and will be discussed in the section on Initiation.

While sacred fish and sacred trees are generally not to be found in the NC, blacktails may enjoy a somewhat different and higher status, “Respect” is the code word in the literature. While such an analysis of the status of nature and wildlife may be accurate in terms of public rites, it is much more difficult to determine the nature of more private, familial, or individual views of nature, especially views of mature NC vegetation.

It is on the familial or individual level that meanings or interpretations which differ from the public symbols can be found. Informant 39 recounted a ceremony she attended in Lewis and Clark in the late 1970’s, in which the ashes of a landowner were spread at the base of a 60-70 foot high Sitka spruce by his family members. This tree was supposedly chosen because of its height and vigor, and for the fact that it stood next to the small workshop where the old man worked on his various
projects. A small fence was erected around the base of the tree to keep the domestic animals away, in a rather complicating, perhaps, unifying, process of joining the wild with the human, but in exactly what manner is not clear. Perhaps the tree was becoming the grandfather and, therefore, needed its own space and protection from the livestock's irreverent appropriation.

--Woods--

Definition of Woods

In this study, the term, "Woods," will be taken to mean those forested areas which are highly impacted or dominated by human activity. The bulk of the land in the NC is dominated by corporate tree farms and state forest lands of incomplete, simplified ecosystems, and there areas could be said to be humanized or domesticated forests. NC tree farms of hand-planted hybrid Douglas fir seedlings, which are selectively thinned and sometimes fertilized by helicopter, are "Woods," not "Wilderness." Their vegetation is not wild or free to develop according to natural factors. This description of reprod areas is somewhat overstated since, especially under the older legal forest practice guidelines, reprod was less successfully and less thoroughly carried out. Thus, some areas responded to disturbance with their natural vegetative cycle. Some sites, parcels smaller than an "Area," were not disturbed by logging because they had no trees of commercial value. Therefore, they function as would
“Wilderness.” Such sites are here termed, “Wild Places.”

Woods—Wild Places

The NC’s “Wild Places” are areas or sites of relatively natural plant succession, areas in which plants are basically untrampled by human use and abuse. Campbell points out that esoteric knowledge and rites have generally existed in the wilderness or in wild places (1979, 3, 250). However, with the knowledge that the entire NC virgin climax forest was eliminated, never to be allowed to return on corporate timberland, it remains doubtful, or at least, an open question, whether or not even those basically wild places, which have somehow escaped nearby clear cutting, can still serve as a stage for in-depth, hunter encounters with nature.

Focusing on the shifting definitions for “Wilderness,” “Wild Place,” “Woods,” and “Tree Farm” may seem rather esoteric, but the redefinition of these categories will alter the identity of many, if not most, NC areas.

While the woods and the arboreal wilderness share some common symbolization, a few commentators have noted the reductive nature of symbols for the woods. According to Gallagher, the symbolization of the utilitarian forest appears to lack the intrinsic complexity and mystery of a predominantly independent web of life (8). Nevertheless, for Tuan, most natural areas, even in a reduced aspect, are generally viewed as positive landscape features by modern people (“Attitudes,” 2). However, one wonders whether or not a “positive” response is even healthy or realistic.
An ignorance of what a true wilderness is may make a woods area seem
wild to a person, but this does not necessarily mean that those woods can
reduplicate all of the effects of a genuine wilderness for observers.

The links between the wilderness and human violence are numerous
and complex in America, and it is noteworthy that if the wilderness is
defined or experienced as "Other," violent, and threatening, then its abuse
and destruction can be viewed as self-defense; the resulting destruction
of the wilderness would then be natural and commonsensical. It should be
remembered that there is a fundamental difference between the cutting of
the pre-contact, virgin climax forest and the cutting of the forest which
grew after the Euro-Americans dominated the land. The violence of the
first cut generally calls up the philosophical, moral, and religious question
of the human-nature relationship in an especially powerful way.

Woods vs. Civilization

The concept of "woods," as opposed to the concept of "Civilization,"
may overshadow the wilderness-woods dichotomy. Many Americans and
some NC residents, and even some NC deer hunters, accept commercial tree
farms, at least those in rough terrain, as being "wild." However, Ortega in
his influential treatment of hunting is adamant in making a distinction
between humanized, agriculturalized countryside and true wilderness or
true nature. He characterizes a humanized area as being a projection of
the human mind, so that a man walking over farmland is a "man traveling within himself" (140).

It can be argued that a person walking in the wilderness is also traveling within himself or herself because wilderness is a human concept. This is true in the sense that perceived space and every "place" are abstract constructs. But Ortega’s point remains, the humanized countryside was largely physically created by humans, often according to a pre-conceived model; whereas, true wilderness predated human presence and maintains itself independent of humans, at least in terms of material causation. When the woods have become a "timber-mine," it is clearly no longer predominantly a natural landscape (Li, 289); it has been converted into a "work space" (Hufford 1992, 18).

The presence of cougars, black bears, coyotes, and elk in NC woods supports the contention that this area is a functional wilderness. But if the behavior of these high profile wildlife species in the NC is contrasted with that of their counterparts in true wilderness areas, major differences may be noted. The same point applies to basically wild blacktails in wild places in the NC, as opposed to suburban deer near towns and in fringeland areas. Unlike large predators and elk, individual blacktails can subsist in fairly small home ranges, and those in isolated areas have little contact with humans. Ironically then, while blacktails can be the least wild of the NC’s wildlife, they can also be the wildest form of NC wildlife.
A particularly disturbing aspect of reducing natural areas into sources of natural resources such as timber or wildlife for meat is the tendency to totally exploit these areas, as in the Eldorado myth (Lutwack, 144). The notion of "Sustained Yield" is forever invoked, but the tendency to overcut, overharvest, and overkill is unrelenting.

Woods, Civilized or Religiously Purified by Hunting

The legal hunting season is generally seen as resulting from the need to limit hunting and to protect prey species. While this interpretation is in itself accurate, another possible interpretation of the hunting period, as poachers may attest, includes the sense that society, through the Fish and Wildlife Service's game wardens, reasserts its control over wildlife, as well as over hunters. The seasonal and cyclical aspects of this control, which correlate with changes in the weather and with the cycles of animal reproduction, create an air of annual suppression or purification of nature by civilization. In such an interpretation of the hunting season, each year, humans take possession of the wild places and of wild animals.

Many hunters may frame their hunting in wild places in non-dominating terms, but it seems unlikely that they could ignore the social reality of an exercise of human control over the deer. Perhaps the reassurance of having control over nature persists more in the NC than in many other U.S. areas because people in the NC reside in a geographic fracture zone between the ocean, river, woods, and an expanding urban
area. One resident who lived between 1840-1929 had the following point of view:

We were then out here all alone—the only ones to venture out in the woods so far. Now I am glad that we were the first to make a break in this wilderness of woods. We have harvested fifty-five bushels of potatoes (Riddle, 1:7).

In civilizing the wilderness, it appears that many Americans are not comfortable unless they dominate natural areas through economic activities and unless they exhibit domination over the large wildlife species. Transcendental religionists and adherents of scientism are both noted for their control and security mania; they tend to insist that all specific natural sites be seen as “ordinary” (McClelland, 204-05, 212).

Woods, Desanctified

Specific sites in the NC woods, especially killing sites, do not appear to be inscribed or enshrined as special places. They are not viewed as “sacred” in even the broadest sense of the word, and they do not persist through time. Therefore, these sites are not marked off and cannot be the subject of an examination for their possible “meanings” or messages for hunters. Unusual sites or kill sites seem to be viewed as resulting from random chance and as having no special ontological status. This perspective sharply contrasts with the Clatsop Indian view of NC areas with their localized forest spirits, which were memorialized by spirit mounds.
of rocks (Beckham, 63-84). Tuan offers one possible explanation for this pattern:

The American aesthetic appears at times to be driven by a sense of fun. It happily accommodates what might be called a democratic and folksy fondness for the extreme, the eye-catching, the amusing, and the grotesque (1993, 144).

In this study, it often appeared that the “natural,” that is pragmatic, commonsense aspect of hunting, was often joined with an aesthetic or emotional response to ensure that hunting remains an acceptable or masculine activity. Human responses are, thereby, given a non-personal, non-controversial, and non-sacred status. Informant 16-26 stated that his son hunts because “it’s fun being out in the woods.” Even though the humanized woods are not a true wilderness, and sometimes are not even viewed as being a part of nature, in some cases, these areas can help to yoke to cosmology, the direct experience and physical reality of geology, climate, vegetation, and animal life and death. Since the vegetative life and the animal life of the woods exist outside the hunter’s world, they can stir up deep emotions and feelings, including those which are religious or quasi-religious (Geertz “Religion,” 90-91, 98).

Geertz’s characterization of folk activities and religion is useful when discussing the American woods because he stresses that participation within various realms leads to a unifying (religious) experience (“Religion,” 124); such a “participation in nature” is a key theme, often
cited, not only by writers on American hunting, but also by NC hunters. Even though most NC hunters do not hunt in pristine wilderness, it appears that the religious connotations of hunting are at least partially maintained in their conception of the woods, for example, in terms of wonder, mystery, the non-human, or the suprarational, such as the ideas of infinity, eternity, or origin. Perhaps the experiences that hunters have in the woods can serve as their introduction to nature and as stepping stones to experiences in more natural, less humanly dominated areas, such as large national parks and the ocean.

Woods, Human Refuge

The view that the utilitarian woods are a powerful and culturally coded symbol for multiplicity, the "Other," reality, non-human forces, and nature may apply more to Europe than to America. Jean Henri Fabre may have been satisfied with the miniature wilderness in his backyard, but with the rise of the megalopolis as human jungle and wasteland, even his enclave point of view seems dated. Rather than functioning as an initiation site or theater, the woods in modern America may have become more of a refuge site or an enclave. The woods' vegetation, partly through landscape symbolism, reassures the hunter that a natural, as opposed to an artificial (human-made), refuge exists.
Woods, Logging, Settlement, History

The NC woods have been and are nearly exclusively used as timber land for logging. The woods are, therefore, directly a part of the pioneer story, but once again, it should be noted that the woods, as the core of the American epic of settlement, are associated with variant regional and subregional themes. In the NC, the heroic logging era includes the theme of American mechanical genius. It was only after the development of 19th century logging technology that the NC virgin climax forest was rapidly cut and transported. There is, therefore, a closer bond to the mid to late 19th century Victorians and immigrants who logged the NC, than to the agricultural pioneers or first settlers.

NC Vegetation, Indirect Influences on Deer Hunting

NC vegetation serves as a background for hunts and provides a basic set of nature themes or categories. This is true even when vegetation is not a crucial factor in a hunt. For example, while the NC vegetative landscape may be the foreground or background for a particular hunt, it always serves as a contrast to the Portland urban environment. It also contrasts with the NC beach and river-dominated environments where the NC residential areas are located.

Waste, White Settlement, NC

Richard White convincingly documents the initial cut and run forestry practices in the NC and the resulting wasteland areas which
constituted the formerly untold complement to the heroic logging of the virgin climax forest. The mismanagement of logging may not have created an obvious wasteland in the NC, but the crash of salmon stocks, which now threatens so many NC fishing families, is now recognized and widely reported in the media as the result of hubris, not heroism (115, 118-20).

Waste, Modern Management, NC

As late as the 1970’s, the failure of modern natural resources, especially wildlife, was often denied and nearly always seen as debatable by NC residents. The collapse of the wild salmon stocks and the limits on the salmon hatchery system were crushing counterexamples to that form of sectionalism.

As for vegetation, it became clear that reforestation was not as successful as people had been predicting; yields and, therefore, logging jobs and local tax revenues from state and county timber land, would be considerably reduced. In addition, the long-ignored ecological connection between logging and salmon reproduction was made obvious, as was the formerly undocumented endangerment of NC wildlife species.

Within the newly complicated view of nature and wildlife in the NC, hunting blacktail can no longer be perceived as a way to live off the land or as a way to take advantage of excess animals. The popular NC view that the blacktail population was declining, largely as a result of the Fish and
Wildlife Service’s sanctioned doe hunts, was especially unsettling to many NC hunters.

Old Growth, Virgin Climax Forest, NC

Several of the informants specified “Virgin Timber,” Big Timber, or “Old Growth,” as distinct categories of NC vegetation. Informant 16-14 spoke of “Virgin Timber” in south CC in the 1950’s or 60’s. The value and special status of NC old growth trees, groves, or parcels, too, has been clearly demonstrated. There was an extensive local effort to save an old growth parcel on Fox Creek, adjoining Saddle Mt. State Park, in the early 1990’s, and CC refused to log a 50 acre area of old growth Douglas firs in Red Bluff County Park in the early 1990’s, despite the two million dollars of county revenue it would have generated. The decision followed a public campaign to save the trees and was front page news in the Daily Astorian: “Red Bluff: Tour Convinces Commissioners Grove of Old Fir Trees Should Stand (Kennet 7 July 1992).” Elliot noted the passing of the last 5 old growth, landmark trees in Knappa:

Most old growth fir trees were removed during the bull team days. However, five individual tall old growth trees, standing alone, could be seen from one vantage point in later years. Three of these were struck by lightning...A tree in our south meadow was the third victim in about 1930...The fifth tree...was somewhat of a noted landmark with considerable history. However, during violent storms, the falling limbs created a considerable hazard...and the tree was cut down [in 1960]. One old time logger said he hated to see the tree removed. He said he had fond, romantic memories of that old
tree in his younger days when the lower limbs swept clear
to the ground (18-19).

By the 1970's, some NC residents believed that there were no old
growth areas left in CC, but some residents believed that there was one
tree that was the last old growth tree in the county, located on Logan Road
in Lewis and Clark near the elementary school. See Figure 15.

Another instance of calling upon the special status of virgin or old
growth trees to save a site was also successful in 1992. In addition, it
highlighted how blacktails had indirectly made this special tree and place
available to humans. Such memorializing indicates both the nearness of
past history and the fundamental changes that have occurred in the status
of nature: “Development of Cathedral Tree Trail in 1992 in Astoria Cen-
tered on a 300 Year Old Sitka Spruce, The Cathedral Tree (Cathy Peterson).”
A network of trails which was started by deer and enlarged by motor-
cycles and bicycles has been carved out of land owned by the city and CC.

**Giant Country, NC Vegetation**

The concept of America as “the new chosen people’s garden” and the
idea of nature’s power are both a part of the total regional and subregional
Giant Country self-image. This Giant Country perspective is seen in the
natural abundance of the brush and the mantling green carpet of com-
mmercial timber. The ability of underbrush and rot to overtake human
objects and sites is frequently seen by NC deer hunters. The Giant Country
perspective is also singled out when specimen trees are identified. The last Knappa giant trees and Astoria's Cathedral Tree have already been mentioned. There are also the registered Sitka spruce of Klootchey Creek Park, CC (See Figure 16) and a big leaf maple in Jewell, which is cited as one of America's biggest trees (Harrison). Pioneer stump houses or barns are also a part of tree lore in the NC; Mr. Anderson's stump house near Seaside, c. 1902, has been documented (Clara D. Anderson). NC residents also noticed the size of the trees being logged. When mature stands were logged in the past, a truck could hold only 2 or 3 trees; now much smaller trees are the rule, 20 to a truck.

**Natural Abundance, NC Vegetation**

As discussed, the general concept of the natural abundance of nature includes geological and geographical-climatic features; however, it is the NC vegetation, perhaps more than any other manifestation of natural abundance, which gives residents a sense of spontaneity and inevitability. In the NC, the brush is natural abundance writ small, and the green carpet of big timber is the same message writ large. Gillette comments on the giantism facet of NC natural abundance:

March 1861 Tues 12...About 7/8 of the timber [in the area where we searched for lost cattle] is Hemlock and the remainder of Spruce, with the exception of a few fir trees, whose great size, renders the common forest [sic] trees to meare [sic] dwarfs compared to these nobles of the forest (Diary, 30).
As mentioned, cases of individual giant trees contribute to the idea of natural abundance and the inculcation of local giantism as a shared category and value. Astoria's Cathedral Tree has only recently been given the imprimatur. The Sitka spruce in Klootchy Creek County Park, CC is supposedly the largest of its species, as is the big leaf maple in Jewell, as cited in the popular literature (Harrison). The recognition of these specimens underpins the themes of natural abundance and subregionalism for residents, since the outside, non-local world also marks these special trees as distinctive.

**Brush, Introduction, NC, Vegetation**

Brush is also a significant limitation, and sometimes even a barrier, for NC residents and hunters. See Brush as a NC Deer Hunting Factor.

**Flowers, NC, Vegetation**

Saddle Mt. and Onion Peak are both well-known for their rare Ice Age wild flowers, some of which are unique to these mountains. According to Brun, wildflowers are supposedly symbols of wholeness, profusion, vitality of life, and life from the earth ("Language," 124-25); however, NC flowers do not generally capture the imagination of hunters, perhaps due to the impact of the big timber stands as dominant forces and images. Flowers are a hunt incidental, but they are perhaps more important to older hunters. A new interest in flowers for older hunters would follow the specific findings of some investigators and the general Jungian theory that
as people mature, they tend to develop previously undifferentiated facets of the self. Older men in Euro-American culture, in particular, often develop new interests in life and in inner realities which can be manifested by an interest in plants and gardens (Brun "Language," 125).

Devolution, NC Vegetation

The concept of NC vegetation as an agent of devolution has probably been weakening since the 1980’s. Human abuses of the environment have contributed to the NC’s “devolutionary” outlook in contrast to the situation in earlier years when NC residents or detractors could characterize the wet-humid climate, heavy soil, and aggressive vegetation as anti-civilization or anti-development factors. NC vegetation is probably no longer playing the role of major victimizer in the NC story, but this role for NC vegetation will probably never be totally eliminated. The climate and geology continue as adverse elements and vegetation can be joined with these agents, all under the heading of nature.

Change, NC, Vegetation, Deer Hunting

Deer hunters tend to hunt, or at least to “brush through,” many of the same areas until they clearly become unproductive, and this yearly visitation to particular sites gives hunters an opportunity to note changes in ecosystems:

...The woods can change so fast; “it’s amazing; [you almost need to] get re-acquainted with a site every year.
It grows up so fast; you can only hunt one area for so many years;
then you have to go to another place because the brush gets so bad.”

It’s not that way in Eastern Oregon; many areas in Eastern Oregon are not logged (Informant 18--20).

Because modern logging, with its heavy equipment so dramatically changes areas, it forces upon observers the reality, and sometimes the inevitability of change:

When an area is logged “you don’t recognize it one year to the next.” Logging can drastically alter an area because new roads may be put in and old roads grown over with vegetation... (Informant 18--21).

Informant 27--24-25’s detailed description of a logged area suggests that he is well aware of the degree of change visited upon the land by logging:

“...it’s altogether different after it’s logged; you don’t see things [after its logged]; the things you usually see aren’t there anymore.

[A road or something, a major land or man-made feature, will remain], but the lay of the land is kind of different.

[You] don’t know if it looks steeper [maybe].

[Then you could see] little hills and vales you wouldn’t notice [with the trees on it].”

Freedom, NC Vegetation, Deer Hunting

While the NC’s steep topography, heavy brush, and thick stands of trees feel confining to some hunters, other hunters experience a sense of solitude and freedom when they are within the thick and variegated vegetation. Informant 20--51’s comments demonstrate a focus on novelty and variety, but also on an appreciation for freedom of movement:
"The woods...[while hunting are] a great place to be close to nature. [You] observe things if you're alert, observe things in nature, you don't see otherwise, unless you see [them] first-hand... [There's] no bigger thrill in the world for me, than to go out into the woods and just wander."

Informant 21-16 also seems to respond to the freedom to choose one's own path, as opposed to following the assigned walkway. He would go hunting "to monkey around in the woods." He liked to walk in the woods just to see what was there.

**Solitude, Hunting, NC Vegetation**

Deer hunters in the NC often experience a sense of solitude, while hunting, not only because the landscape is screened and divided into small areas by roads and hills, but also because heavy brush and thick stands of trees have the same effect. The NC, therefore, is a landscape of many places. Deer hunting also requires more space between participants than do other outdoor and recreational activities, and solitude is also enhanced by this requirement. The woods in hunting appear to correlate highly with solitude, as evidenced by Informant 15-11's comments:

"I even go out [hunting] just to go out in the country, just being out there, away from people. [I like to hunt because I'm] able to see the country more; [I like to] get away from everyone. I usually like going pretty far [in the hunting area], walking..."
This young hunter's articulation of a strong theme of solitude is especially noteworthy since he is generally quite undemonstrative.

Hunters, Outdoor Occupations, NC Vegetation

NC loggers in the modern era have an exceptionally high number of deer hunters among them. This high participation rate probably largely results from the regular access to, and knowledge of, blacktail habitat that loggers have, but these loggers' practice of hunting might also be the result of their extension of an extractive perspective on nature, the utilization of a natural resource for human advantage.

The relationship which exists between NC fishermen and blacktail hunting is less obvious than that between loggers and deer hunting. However, an expected high rate of hunting among NC fishermen is supported by Gilmore's folklore study of Coos Bay, Oregon fishermen, many of whom are avid hunters (9, N220). As with loggers, fishermen, as extractive industry workers, may be naturally drawn to other extractive or utilitarian activities. Another possible factor, however, is the attraction of a strikingly different environment which is in contrast to the plantless, ever-changing, and dangerous sea.

Several other occupational groups are overly represented as deer hunters, and this fact may be explained similarly; the occupational characteristics mill workers and professionals seek to overcome, consciously or subconsciously, are perhaps tedium or pressure.
Human Non-Domination, NC Vegetation, Activities:

Indirect Influence on Deer Hunting

Home Gardening

NC home gardening may encourage residents to hunt blacktails for venison in the same way that forest gathering may encourage hunting. Many informants have, or have had, large vegetable gardens and small orchards of several fruit trees which have made significant contributions to their families’ diets. Many of the various possible motivations for gardening, such as the desire to partly live off the land, the desire to provide traditional or gourmet foods for their families, self-reliance, voluntary simplicity, and “downsizing” are potentially transferable to deer hunting.

Yardscapes

Since most NC rural families hunt, and virtually every rural family shares its neighborhood or home site with blacktails, rural yardscapes can be taken as a possible indicator of these rural hunters’ orientation towards the human-vegetation relationship. Although this study did not make a rigorous survey of NC rural yardscapes, many yardscapes may be seen while traveling about the NC. Since many yardscapes are prominent displays, they are easily seen and remembered.

Rural yardscapes are taken here to include both general landscaping, for example, the presence of lawn or ground cover and highlighted display
areas which are specifically created to make a public statement. Rural homeowners are largely free from urban and town legal restrictions on such displays; this, no doubt, contributes to the highly personal and creative displays which may be seen.

Many of the rural yardscapes are laid out to take advantage of a natural backdrop, a broad view of a natural area, as in the Japanese garden technique of “borrowing a scene.” Yardscapes, also, often blend into their natural surroundings because local natural vegetation is used in place of the standard American foundation plantings. For example, a NC native red cedar or hemlock is used in place of privet. See Figure 17. This use of indigenous vegetation implies acceptance of, and respect for, the natural site, and it implies a rejection of domination over the site and over nature in general. This point of view is described as one of experiencing nature and not symbolizing it (Brookes). To extend Brookes’ point and to repeat a frequent NC hunter claim, it may be noted that many NC residents wish to “participate in nature,” not only passively, but actively.

The obvious use of symbolic materials in rural NC yardscapes is usually reserved for familial, historical, or occupational references, such as frontier motifs of water pumps, wagon wheels, old rusty plows, two-man cross-cut saws, or anchors. Perhaps, not uncoincidentally, all these items are a part of and, therefore, are symbolic of, the human dominance of nature.
Regarding the use of antlers as symbolic objects, considering the huge racks of local Roosevelt elk, it was surprising not to see more than a few elk antler displays. However, deer antlers were frequently seen where outbuildings formed the yard's border. They were usually hung above a door or within a pediment.

In purely functional terms, blacktails themselves are often a living backdrop to-yardscapes as they pass through or behind yardscapes. They are often seen, especially when a very informal yardscape is maintained. For example, by allowing the native blackberry or salal brush to climb up onto fencing, residents naturally attract deer, since these plant species are some of the most important deer browse.

**Personal Use Gathering**

The personal use gathering of NC vegetative products centers on locally abundant blackberries, but some residents also take beach strawberries and forest mushrooms. These activities are examples of active participation in nature and in the subregion; in contrast, there are more passive activities such as sightseeing, picnicking, hiking, bike riding, or bird watching. Hufford emphasizes the difference between “collecting,” which is an activity of city people who visit rural natural areas, and genuine participation, which is an activity of local residents (1986, 78).

When NC berry picking and similar consumptive activities are practiced by residents, they are creating traditional folklore events, in
that these activities are not officially taught, planned, or regulated. Nor are there conspicuous or esoteric stages within these activities. They are a traditional blend of recreation and subregional work tasks, but they are practiced and presented to outsiders and newcomers as "natural," something that people can learn on their own. Pottsmith documents the fact that berry picking and preparation were well-established in rural NC in the early 1900's, and that they may have had a Scandinavian origin. She also documents that personal use gathering was practiced by children:

[Year c. 1905.] I started school at eight o'clock, shortened the noon hour and recess periods so the children would have ample time [after school] to pick blackberries and huckleberries and also to help in the hay fields...The hillsides provided the luscious wild blackberries and huckleberries which the [Russian-Finnish] women [of Hamlet] canned (12, 25).

Such personal use gathering may influence NC deer hunting as it may spur men to respond in kind to the gathering efforts of other family members, frequently women and children, to contribute to the family larder by harvesting the forest through deer hunting.

Aesthetics, NC Vegetation

Zelinsky contends that aesthetic experiences conflict with several major and powerful American values, including profit, asceticism, work, success, and power (1973, 42-44). It, therefore, seems likely that the informal appreciation of beauty, as seen in hunting, might be acceptable to many hunters. Informant 7--41 commented on his surprise that, while on
his major trip to Alaska, he was so taken by the local wilderness: “On my
one hunting trip to Alaska, I saw many small wild flowers at one site. It
made a major impression, versus the kill.”

However, a few informants displayed a somewhat atypical openness
to aesthetic experience and expressed appreciation for such experiences
within blacktail hunting:

...[The] places I’ve hunted which are idyllic, “I’d love to go back to
them, but the only place they exist is...[in my head]; it’s just
brush [now].
Even if there were deer there, I wouldn’t go back, [they’re] not
appealing places to be...” (Informant 9--34).

On my first deer hunt at age 15, I went up a knoll, sat down, looked
over the country; “[it was] beautiful country.
I think I was probably more interested in looking over the country
than shooting deer...” (Informant 20--35)

**Domination of NC Vegetation, Indirect Influence on Deer Hunting**

In the NC, as in the United States as a whole, the human domination
of ecosystems is the preeminent contemporary pattern in the human-
nature interaction. On the topic of “the making of Oregon,” Dicken and

Dicken state:

The transformation of the Oregon landscape from what
it was two centuries ago to what it is today was a pro-
cess of creation, destruction, and change, carried out
by a group of people who, individually and collectively,
were taking possession of the land. Thousands of de-
cisions had to be made and are being made today, based
many times on inadequate information or even misin-
formation (1979, xiii).
Presently in the NC, political, corporate, and environmental factions contest nearly every major land use decision. There are, however, new considerations, such as the desire to determine what the most profitable uses of NC natural areas might be. In the past, logging and milling were uncontested industries, but now the use of natural areas for tourism is becoming an equal consideration, since tourism is sometimes as profitable as traditional extractive industries.

Forestry, Forest Composition, NC Vegetation, Deer Hunting—Indirect

The human domination of NC vegetation affects deer, mainly through forestry, thus far, agriculture and urbanization are secondary issues in deer hunting. Probably the two most dramatic and direct influences of forestry on deer are monoculture tree farming and the extensive network of logging roads which have been constructed in forest lands. In modern tree farming or silviculture, seedlings of a single hybrid species are raised under controlled conditions and then intensively transplanted for maximum yield.

Many other forest practices affect wildlife. For example, the proposed shift from burning logging slash to piling the slash into heaps will impact clear cut vegetation. The composition of vegetation in areas with slash heaps will, in turn, affect blacktails in various and unforeseen ways. See Figure 18. The degree to which humans dominate the NC landscape and its vegetation is demonstrated by the fact that government
regulation, politics, and macroeconomic factors determine the most important decisions made regarding the logging cycle, specifically, the manner and timing of logging. In his volunteered ending comments, Informant 27--39 presented the logging cycle as the dominant factor in the NC landscape:

...CC has been mostly logged; it's now brush. Trees will grow back, as in Walluski area in North County; there is a 50 year logging cycle...

**Land Ownership**

An Anglo-American conglomerate, Cavenham, was from 1991 to 1996 the largest single landowner in the NC, having bought out Crown Zellerbach, an American corporation which had built and enjoyed a very positive relationship with its workers and the residents and institutions in the NC. Cavenham did not establish a similarly positive presence in the area for a variety of reasons, one of which is their significant restriction on public access to their land and roads.

Cavenham's justification for restricting access sheds some light on In the NC, as in the United States as a whole, the human domination of ecosystems is the preeminent contemporary pattern in the human-a minority of NC residents who act irresponsibly towards nature, the woods, and their fellow citizens. Cavenham's forests suffered the perennial problem of dumping by local residents who use logging roads in the timberland to dispose of their garbage and trash.
Run off from such dumps are potentially hazardous to people and wildlife. As already mentioned, anti-freeze is a special problem because deer ingest it. Other problems for timberland holders include unsafe driving practices on logging roads, teenage drinking, and vandalism. In the age of litigation, some NC residents can find no fault with Cavenham’s policy of allowing access to much of its land only during deer and elk hunting seasons. Even 20% of its land was closed during the 1993 hunting season. Those who formerly enjoyed the timberland for its scenery, or for jogging or food gathering, in many cases, now face locked gates at road heads.

Perhaps Cavenham could have refined their land use restrictions. This would have, no doubt, improved their local image and forestalled attacks on hunters who, it is claimed by some anti-hunters, supposedly only go into the woods to kill. The tight restrictions as of the Spring of 1996, with limited open use periods, directly contributed to the growing local issue of fair use, the equal rights of non-hunters to use and enjoy the woods. In the past, when Crown Zellerbach attempted to close off access roads in the northern portion of the study area, a large heavy road gate was dynamited, and four wheel drive vehicles wore away dirt barriers to other roads.

Some local fear exists that timber companies with NC holdings might adopt a hunting lease-for-profit system. Such a system might very
well be the death knell for big game hunting as a populist activity in Oregon.

Cavenham’s restrictions were docilely accepted in the NC to a surprising degree. Once again, the right to hold private property seems to be such a revered American value, that all manner of corporation activities and policies are accepted, rather than viewed as undue limitations placed upon individual hunters. This can currently be seen in the political conservatives’ crusade for a taker’s fee whenever land regulation reduces a property owner’s land value. In 1996, Cavenham sold all of its U.S. timberland to Portland-based Willamette Industries. The dominant local reaction was to hope for better relations, including less restrictive land use policies, from the new owner who is not an “absentee landlord” (Hollander 18 April 1996).

Forestry, Environmental Degradation

The environmental degradation resulting from poor logging practices threatens NC habitats and their blacktail residents. Informant 2--44, a trained biologist and a former NC game warden, feared the escalating environmental losses from logging: “If we don’t take care of...[the habitat], we’re going to lose it.” His feeling was that deer availability rests mainly on habitat availability. The size of clear cuts has been reduced, but clear cutting is still a debated issue. The clear cutting of the past is often seen as environmentally unsound. See Figure 19.
The fundamental human domination of the NC’s landscape is also seen in the fact that in areas naturally producing a hemlock or mixed hemlock-fir forest, managers now manipulate replanted areas and clearings to exclude the less profitable hemlock trees. Informant 7--65 also fears logging abuses and the potential for a resulting loss of hunting. The historical record in the NC does not directly support such fears, but the NC salmon and steelhead population crashes are lessons best remembered.

**Fringeland Deer Hunting Specifics, NC, Vegetation**

It is an advantage to deer that the NC has a significant number of sites or areas of mixed vegetation, termed, “Fringeland,” especially those with a mixture of woods and pasture. Agriculture accounts for less than 10% of CC land use, but approximately half of the farm land is in grazing pasture, areas which are highly productive as partial deer home ranges. On the other hand, many of these sites adjoin county roads which contributes to heavy hunting and poaching by property hunters, road hunters, and spotlight poachers.

While open pastures and road access encourage hunting techniques and strategies which are aimed at surprising deer out in the open, the fringeland’s thick vegetation also encourages drive hunting. As described by Informant 4--19, relatively small wooded areas and woodlots can be effectively driven, so that deer are flushed into open pastures: “[We] brush through [with someone] on [a] stand. We’d kick one out occasionally.”
Old Home Orchard, Deer Hunting Specifics, NC Vegetation

An old orchard or even a few fruit trees can attract deer, but such obvious sites are often overhunted and, therefore, are usually not productive. Informant 34--25 noted that some abandoned areas make unusual hunting sites:

"[My partner] used to go out, take stands bow hunting; he had one tree in an orchard he'd sit in."
He's got a 20 some tree orchard.
We used to hike into that to bow hunt and sit inside the abandoned house as a blind; we'd wait for the deer to come in.

Forestry, Forest Composition, NC Vegetation, Deer Hunting Indirect

In commercial timberland, Douglas fir generally replaces hemlock, spruce, and cedar. This simplification of species also usually results in less variety in the understory and ground plants. The total result is that the woods look, smell, and sound differently from a forest of naturally occurring vegetation. The hunter's experience in this simplified environment is correspondingly diminished.

The simplification of the environment also represents another lost link to Indian culture since the cedar was a central resource in the NC. While cedars are valuable, they are slow growing and are not replanted commercially. They are also reduced due to wetlands drainage, so that there are now fewer cedar trees in the NC than there were earlier in the pre-contact period.
Forestry, Deer

The commercial timber cycle, not a natural climatic-vegetation cycle, is the major factor affecting the land. Informant 28--32 accepted as axiomatic the dominance of the timber industry in the NC woods and its indirect effect on blacktail populations. Economics is the first consideration; deer are seen as a surplus or bonus commodity. Informant 24--23 stressed the effects of forestry monoculture farming on deer habitat and, therefore, on deer population:

...The deer population is declining in the NC.
"When the whole area grows up, all these clear cuts, I think the game population will drop lower than what it is [now]. [The trees are so close together]; there's no forage underneath it..."

Others, such as Informant 2--28, generally agreed with the assessment that forestry practices dominate the NC land and its wildlife. His view is that an area is generally productive for deer for 3-5 years after logging and that hunters can return to the same area to hunt until it grows up. Informant 36--23-24 may question the belief that forestry practices have reduced the NC blacktail population, but he stressed the fact that such practices have reduced huntability. Regardless of what the deer population is, the hunter cannot find or shoot deer during the period of thick reprod. The informant's generalization is based on tree density, as opposed to the density of underbrush:

"I think that [the deer population] comes down to [the fact that] the forestry has changed.
In the past recent years, the replanting has been so stringent that
you get a clear cut, it's good for maybe 3 years of hunting that you can see anything.
After that [3 years], it's the reprod.
You don't see, visualize, nowhere near the [huntable] area what you used to; that's because there's a lot more trees.
Those clear cuts used to last for a long time; now they plant so many trees for the one taken...
If you're in the area, and...[the deer] know it, that's where they go, the reprod.
There's no way of ever getting them out of there [from the thickly overgrown reprod]...”

Some informants raised questions about the direct impact of forestry practices on NC blacktails populations. Informant 8--31-32 wondered if herbicide spraying for broadleafs may not affect deer.
Informant 9--33's general position is that CC has been overcut so that there will be enough deer for clear cut hunters but few for genuine hunters or stalkers:

“...[Hunting] has been logged off and sent to Japan and Korea. Go to the port docks if you want to know what has happened to hunting here; the trees are gone.”
An area of a good hunt 10 years ago off Green Mt. Road in the Olney area was in “a forest that is not there now, at all; it's in Japan someplace,...”
It's like in the Peabody Coal song, “Mr. Goldsmith's log ships done hauled it away...”

Forestry, Logging Roads, NC Vegetation, Deer Hunting, Indirect

The NC is generally a case study in the loss of hunt quality due to an extensive natural area road system. The problems of having such a road
system include increased poaching, game harassment, hunter crowding, road hunting, vandalism, and land closure.

**Forestry, Herbicide, Deer**

Rue, a widely respected student of American deer, claims that herbicide use can reduce the deer population (1989). Danko offers strong evidence that herbicide use has been abused in the NC and that deer have suffered, accordingly:

And intensive herbicide spraying has left the land barren save the tiny tree seedlings needed to comply with forest Practices Act regulations and a few sprigs of grass here and there. But even the seedlings show the effects of the herbicide spraying. On one sizable clear cut in the Lewis and Clark River drainage, the new growth on many of the seedlings has been killed by poorly timed herbicide spraying.

With nothing else to eat [in the herbicide sprayed areas], elk and deer graze on the tiny trees. This hunting season, Cavenham officials reversed their “closed-gate” policy and opened their roads to hunters in hopes of eliminating the problem of the large herbivores grazing on their future investment. “The deer population in the Saddle Mountain area has [suffered],” said Doug Taylor, a North Coast District wildlife biologist for the Oregon Dept. of Fish and Wildlife. Taylor said, “There was a strong correlation between those [areas] who [sic] had few deer and lots of herbicide.”

**Forestry, Deer Damage**

Some NC hunters resent being allowed on timberland to kill deer and elk, apparently for the ultimate purpose of reducing the sapling damage
caused by elk, but not being allowed on the land to scout and hike during the off season. According to some locals, NW timber companies only allow deer hunting on their property as a means of maintaining the local hunting corps of elk hunters, since elk have traditionally been seen as the major destroy-ers of saplings.

This situation is caused by the fact that tree damage or destruction by wildlife becomes more of an issue as monoculture stands become more common. However, different situations of damage are described in the literature. NC blacktails seem to have been downgraded as a tree scourge, and elk may also be downgraded, with the mountain beaver being designated as the most destructive form of wildlife against young plantings. The most contended estimates involve black bear damage by bark stripping.

The justice of killing game in order to prevent tree damage is not seriously questioned in the NC because the killing of game animals is done under the auspices of several prime cultural interests—private property, business, profit, and jobs. In the past, these considerations have been virtually unassailable cultural and political primes, but as the former outsider problem of endangered species has arrived in the NC, a debate over property rights and land use, vis-à-vis wildlife, has ensued. Informant 35-26-29 explained that complaints against the agricultural and home garden damage caused by deer show that special permit hunts are required:
"...Having read a certain amount from other states that had gone through what we were going through that time, getting [timber] reprod [following logging] started,...[the] timber industry would lose an important management tool, [having elk browse replanted areas], if Fish and Wildlife mismanagement of doe or cow hunts resulted in a state law outlawing such hunts, so would the Wildlife Dept. [lose cow or doe hunts as a management tool].

How would they respond to all the complaints they would have [for] wildlife crop or property damage?
So,...[cow and doe hunts are] necessary, within reason..."

Hunter, NC Vegetation

Human Response to NC Woods, Deer Hunter

Different vegetation and landscapes create different biological responses in deer, so it follows that the NC also probably affects hunters in variety of ways. The NC is a dramatic and somewhat atypical cultural landscape, as discussed in the Climate section. Since the NC’s natural areas can be rugged, at the least, hunters must observe, scan, and interpret living entities—plants and animals—rather than navigate in a cityscape of human artifacts. Since NC vegetation plays an important role in creating a hunter’s kinesthetic space and sensitivity, it can be expected that the specific kinesthetic signature of a site, area, or subregion would be developed for many NC hunters. Cf. Hall (53).
Aesthetic Response, Alertness, NC Vegetation, Hunter

Serious hunting requires alertness and attention to detail, and, perhaps, the simultaneity of alertness and attention to detail may lead the hunter to aesthetic experiences in the field. With his "hunter's eye" for detail, the hunter might very well see hidden worlds, animal dramas, or colors or forms not normally noticeable or available in built-up areas.

Tuan discusses an experience in which the act of maintaining contact with an object will lead to a heightened sensitivity to the observed object. This type of focus is often not the type of perception fostered in modern everyday life, that is, in complex urban settings, organized for rapid motion and high efficiency. Compare for example, the speed of machine encased humans in cars and trains with the speed that humans, unassisted by machines, are limited to while traveling through natural terrain. Close observation over time is frequently required of stalkers in NC blacktail hunting, but even serious stand hunters must identify minute colors and shapes, lest they miss a skulking blacktail (Tuan 1974, 93). Although I have not seen it claimed as a part of the Washburn hypothesis, it appears to follow from that position that human organisms, per se, might very well function at the highest levels of continued total awareness within the middle ground space and scale of walking, e.g., hunting, in a natural settings. Within that scope and scale, a
person experiences neither the blur of machine speed nor the intense stress of focusing on minutiae, as in many highly specialized activities in modern, highly technological societies. Also, in many highly refined professional activities or arts, the focus is on a single sense.

Knowledge and Observation, NC Vegetation, Deer Hunter

It is commonly cited in the literature that natural predators and skillful human hunters must learn to experience the natural setting in the manner of their prey.

Attempting to see NC hunting sites from the blacktail’s point of view may sound challenging, but it may also seem to be colored by romantic American stereotypes of Indian hunters and famous white explorers. The informants, virtually without exception, did not subscribe to such romanticisms. They adopted a very pragmatic approach towards the hunting environment and attempted to decipher the vegetation and the landscape, as if they were deciphering a “keyed space” (Gold, 86). In such a space, Informant 9--46 reported that the hunter must “read the signs, browse marks, rubs, [and] droppings, [and] do a lot of thinking;...[It] takes you away from civilized nature...[you] wind up shifting gears.”

Informant 6--22 specifically looks for forage and huckleberry bushes. Informant 15--8, a young hunter, emphasized the difficulty of finding blacktails and that he would like to learn more about locating deer. He has some knowledge about reading an area for deer, but relies on his father’s
site selection. And Informant 19--13, a retired logger who was a master NC hunter, also pointed up the complexity of finding blacktail:

"...You've got to observe the country, have some knowledge of the land you're on, and the habits of the deer, different things. [There are] all kinds of things, too many to enumerate that makes a good deer hunter."

Regarding another aspect of reading an area for deer, tracks must tell a story in order to fully assist the hunter (Tom Brown, 70, 72); an interpretation of the tracts must be made, and they must be contextualized. A thorough knowledge of the deer's world, including a knowledge of the deer's vegetation and its uses is required for a hunter to "read" a hunting site; other factors must also be considered and, when possible, coordinated--feeding areas, bedding, cool or warm sites, sounds, trails, and so on. Informant 20--7-10, responded with a memorable hunt story when asked for a humorous hunting story. In the following, he illustrated how observational skills and a knowledge of local vegetation play a part in NC blacktail hunting. Such knowledge can be manipulated for effect in the pre-hunt teasing prediction, a type of jesting. The informant's story contains false leads or delays which enrich the text; they are atypical among informants. There is also the sound of comic seriousness in the informant's voice as he mimics his original tone of speaking to his partner:

---A Guaranteed Hunt Story---
I'll tell you about a humorous deer hunt.
One time I went down to Jordan Creek in Tillamook County, with my bow hunting partner.
I had gotten my deer that morning; he had been unsuccessful; he had shot at the one I shot; we were coming around through the area; just on the border of it, we came upon this friend of ours parked alongside the road; he and his wife were having lunch.

There was a big steep hill nearby, a big fern patch. I began kidding my partner about this area, pretending to know exactly where a deer is, not should be, but is. I said, "If you want to get a deer, you go right up this hill. You get on top of this little ridge; be real careful."

I was tired from taking care of the deer I shot that day. "You look over the other side and I think you'll get a deer," I said. I tried to convince myself too; I didn't want to go with him. He said, "Why don't you go on the other side?"

"No, I'm too tired," I told him.

The other guys didn't want to go, so I said, "OK."

I couldn't take my bow; I used my tag that morning. "I'll dog for you," I said.

He went to the right 50-75 yards; I went straight up the hill.

I waited till he got around the other side; there was a kind of a draw on the other side, and then it kind of leveled off.

I said, "Wait just a minute; right in this fern patch there's probably a deer."

I picked up some rocks and bark.

I told him, "You get ready for him cause you're going to get a shot."

I threw them in the patch; I must have thrown them right where 2 does and a buck were bedded down; the buck bolted to the north where I had come; they want to get behind you; the buck probably traveled about 20 yards.

My partner shot his arrow.

He didn't know if he hit it or not, so I looked over there.

All the legs were in the air, practically rolled down this far, so I went over to look.

"It's right here," I said.

"It's a hell of a big buck, a nice one."

He hadn't gotten a buck in maybe 4 years.

All this kidding about the deer I had done turned out to be true, and the guys down in the camp, I saw them; they were out on the
road; they had their field glasses and were watching us, and I told them he just shot this nice big buck.

They were in on all this funny stuff before we went up there, so he went home happy, and I went home happy.

We both came back with a deer, but it was likely country; there should have been a deer up there, even if there wasn't.

It was just over a little rise; the sun was setting; it was cool; that's where deer stay.

A deer's not going to stand out there in the sunshine, unless its high in the mountains, and have flies bother him; he's going to get into where it's comfortable...

The informant slides into a discussion of deer behavior to give a non-ending to his story.

Informant 28--22 was also non-assuming in his description of NC hunters' knowledge of hunting sites, and by implication, their knowledge of vegetation and blacktails. He made no attempt to support a myth of the master hunter who can effectively read every area: "If you fall into an area and you like that area, you go back; you kind of learn the area."

Some, but not all, informants exhibited a knowledge of local vegetation and attended to vegetation for hunting signs. However, much of the "reading" seemed casual and did not represent a major factor in site selection or in making other decisions within particular hunts. For example, Informant 2--20 noted that an open area with feed on the south slope of a hillside is a prime area for hunting in the morning. Informant 14--3 believed that an area after logging has ideal deer forage, ferns and huckleberries.
Participation in Nature, Deer Hunter, NC Vegetation

As discussed by Ortega (142) and as seen in NC rural landscapes, many NC residents seek not merely to observe nature, but to actively participate in it. Entering the blacktail's world, which is largely dominated by vegetation, affords the NC hunter the opportunity to participate in a predator-prey drama. Serious hunters are also able to "perceive the environment from the point of view of the prey" (Ortega 142). In this process, hunters adopt a functional view of vegetation; they become aware of the role of the plants in the deer's life. It is not often noted in the literature that the hunter-vegetation-landscape interaction is a unique experience, highly valued by many participants. As this interaction develops over the years, it may facilitate older hunters to become non-kill hunters.

Hunter Intuition, Response to Vegetation, Deer Hunter

Informant 12--31-32, an avid NC blacktail and elk hunter, explained his sense of intuition while stalking. His explanation bears a striking resemblance to Jung's formulation of intuition as a subconscious processing of sense data. It could also be argued that a hunter subconsciously develops a mental map of a site. But regardless of the exact neurological or psychological analysis which may explain Informant 12's experience, his comments are valuable as a counterbalance to other descriptions of
hunting which characterize it as somehow mysterious, mystical, or spiritual:

"...I've hunted for years, and it's really interesting; it's happened so frequently, I think I've got it pinned down. [When hunting] I did not consciously hear an animal, did not consciously smell an animal, but when I wasn't consciously aware of those senses,...[when I was] kind of creeping along the woods,...[I'd] get a real strong feeling that something is pretty close. It's not rare; it's happened so frequently, so,...[when I get that feeling, I] get into a more quiet, stalking, serious hunting mode, and [then], sure as heck,...[I] start hearing or seeing the animal..."

The informant expanded his observations on hunter intuition by discussing hunter movement in a hunting site, showing that intuition requires freedom from distractions:

"...Why do you turn left instead of right, and...[your subconscious decision], leads you right into game?"
it's happened to me a lot of times.
Is there something mystical [about this phenomenon], or is another [physical] sense [involved here]?
I don't think so; even though you are not consciously aware, and I emphasize the term, 'Consciously,' your sensory mechanisms are constantly working, and even though you are not consciously aware of it, your brain is processing it.
[It] happened to me many times.
[This intuitive reaction happens] when you're out and there's no competition, where the woods are quiet and no one's there; and that's the way I hunt anyway.
If other hunters are near, and you're hearing their sounds, I think your brain operates another way; I'm positive that this happens; I just know behavior enough.
Sensory perception is a learned type thing; I never knew what an elk
Flowers, Deer Hunter, NC Vegetation

There are a few occasional references to hunters who target shoot at skunk cabbage flowers, e.g., Informant 21, but this study basically registers a negative finding for the role of NC flowers in blacktail hunting. The informants did not identify any hunter activities, such as post-hunt rites (cf. der leste Bissen), or any beliefs related to local flowers, such as kill sites as shrines, or the role flowers may play in luck, superstition, taboos, or in Finnish lore.

Variety and Complexity, NC Deer Hunting, Introduction

Several of the complexities involved in confronting NC vegetation while hunting blacktail are dramatized in the following story of an elk drive by Informant 1--4-6. For the informant, rural life is not a panacea or an assurance of wisdom or virtue, and fools and foolishness are everywhere. This point of view may be a part of the informant’s Christian pessimism regarding the nature of humans, but it also serves as a basis for her commonsensical brand of realism, and, it especially serves as the source of much humor. For instance, the informant’s elk drive story demonstrates that hubris can overtake locals, as much as it can overtake non-rural Astorians, town folks. This story was told in a shorter form by the informant, circa 1980. It is “reconstructed” from my memory and also
augmented, exercising a NC storyteller's latitude, in scene development
and wording; the story is partly an approximation of some aspects of local
speech, but some of the wording of the story is taken directly from the
informant and her son's speech, recorded during their interviews:

--The Great Elk Drive, Story--

I'm not sure of the exact site of the drive, perhaps it was off Logan
Road, next to the Lewis and Clark River. Anyway, the local land
owners were taking pasture losses from the local elk herd; and with
elk, they are always damaging fences. Some locals believe that once
elk get into a pasture, the cattle don't want to eat there, probably
because of the smell of elk droppings, not that problem with black-
tails.

Since elk run in a herd, and since they always seem to cause a
commotion wherever they go and people stop on the road to watch
them, they're a problem. Elk can also knock down the top strand of
barbed wire, not quite clearing it when they jump over, and if they
are spooked, they can run through a fence, flattening it down to the
ground. They also bring out poachers, as if there weren't enough
trouble with deer spotlighters, already.

Well, for all these reasons, the locals called up some hunter friends
and some relatives, both mostly from Astoria, the big town around
here, and they all decided it was best for man and beast to drive the
elk away from the road, pastures, and houses, back deeper into the
woods where they belonged anyway.

So, one spring Saturday, a dry one at that, real early, they gathered
and they had pie plates, and pots, and spoons, and whistles, and some
probably had hand guns, not ever trusting an elk to do the rational
thing, and they strung out in a line, must've been a long line; how
long I can't say, but a long one, and they started banging and yelling
and driving the elk towards Staybolt Ridge, and hopefully all the way
to the other side where the woods would run all the way to Saddle
Mt., down towards Seaside.
And some of the real old timers told the few young ones there to be careful not to step into a hole of crisscrossed old logs. Why, such a hole, they informed the youngsters, could be as big and as deep as a house, well, OK, as big as a living room; a fall into one of them could be a real leg breaker. The top of the hole might be filled up with leaves and bushes might be sticking up, so it looks like regular ground, but as soon as you step there—down you go, just like a tiger falling into a trap somewhere in India. The old timers winked at one another, but some of the young men, in their times in the woods, perhaps cutting waste wood or hunting, had seen twenty foot holes something like the old timers’ description. They were not so sure that these were tall tales, and the tellers themselves might not know truth from fiction.

Anyway, on signal, the line started hollering and banging away, and off it went as best it could through the field and into and often around the jungle-thick Clatsop County underbrush of blackberry patches, salal bushes, alders, and young evergreens, especially the stickery spruce, and from there, into the older stands of hemlock and fir. In the gumbo swampy place of alders, they tried to move from one old Sitka spruce to the next because they marked higher ground.

After about an hour, which to some seemed more like three hours, especially to those who had got half into a thick place before realizing they couldn’t get through, the line was pretty much broken up into clumps of three to five men, some a good fifty yards ahead of the stragglers. Someone, as in all historical events, there is that famous someone who takes the critical decision, but is forever charitably anonymous, this someone calls out, “I think that’s got ’em, boys; let’s call it good and head back to the cars.” And indeed, some elk had been sighted and had been spooked and driven. What a sound to hear elk crash through the woods—not the thump, thump, thump of bounding deer, but a crashing, branch-snapping, limb-twisting near explosion of tough-hided, really powerful Roosevelt elk smashing forward, busting up through an alder patch.

Somehow or other, by chemical or electrical means, no one could or can say for sure, a sense of accomplishment, local pride, committatus, or what have you, filled the air, or at least crept along the
ground where all could feel or sense it—it was real, the job was done, as in the saying, “There is nothing greater than a man and the work he is best able to do.” Hats were cocked or drawn down a bit more than normal, and strides lengthened a bit, with a hint of a swagger.

Halfway back to the cars, the lead group of would-be elk drivers came down a small draw. Before they reached the opening at the bottom, they saw a regal line of seven or eight elk pass to the right, moving from the clearing back into the brush. Their tawny hides made a more subtle color to the eye and were set off by the black neck fur and face. When the men made the clearing, they also saw three elk on the rise, south of where the line of elk had entered. No one had to say the obvious—the elk had doubled back on the drive. It was questionable if any elk had been driven anywhere. The whole morning had been a kind of stickery square dance, a fool’s promenade.

The informant claims that this was the first, last, and only elk drive in Clatsop County. Even though this hunt was an attempted elk drive, the effect of vegetation, vision, mobility, and animal escapability apply to blacktail hunting, as well as elk hunting in this subregion, with one exception—blacktails are craftier than elk.

Total Hunting Experience, Vegetation, Deer Hunting

As with geology and geography-climate, vegetation is not usually abstracted from the hunt experience. Most informants see the hunt event holistically, as did Informant 7--25: “It’s the total experience for me, the preparation, getting out in the woods, seeing the animals, [and] seeing other wildlife.”
Many informants cited their appreciation for vegetation-landscape as a major aspect of a quality hunting experience. The landscape or non-prey animals may merely make up the background when a person is actively hunting, but many informants cited experiences in which flora and fauna were foregrounded between hunts or in time-out periods when their primary attention had shifted to the setting or an animal drama they happened upon.

**Bow vs. Rifle Hunters Knowledge of Vegetation**

Informants 17 and 20, both bow hunters, seem more knowledgeable about vegetation than were most rifle hunter informants. In general, bow hunters claim that, as a group, they are better hunters and that they are more attuned to hunting sites. Their skill, therefore, would necessarily include dealing with the vegetation they encounter while hunting. For example, Informant 20--2 mentioned several specific plant species when describing an Eastern Oregon hunt—ferns, jack pines, greasewood, and willow. Nevertheless, NC rifle hunters also name specific plant species; Informant 27--4 stated that the country was pretty open and that there were small patches of elderberries here and there. He also saw a bear tumble into a patch of salmonberries while on a hunt.
Forestry, Deer Hunting Specifics, NC Vegetation

The majority of legal NC blacktail kills occur on commercial timberland. Naturally, then, forestry policies and practices are of concern to hunters since they create specific factors which dramatically affect NC blacktail habitat and hunting. These factors include the existence of logging roads, clear cuts, jumbled logs, powerline strips, and tree stumps. These specific factors, in turn, affect the use of firearms and equipment.

--Forestry, Logging Roads, Road Hunting, Deer Hunting Specifics, NC Vegetation--

The NC’s extensive logging road network, judging from the informants and the popular hunting literature, is the principle cause of the subregion’s extremely high rate of road hunting and poaching.

Several informants, including Informant 27--24, stressed the initial impact of NC logging roads:

Logging roads were extensively expanded in the 1960’s.
"Well everybody’s a road hunter anymore, as far as I’m concerned. If they’ve got to get out of their rigs [to shoot], that’s what the roads [did]; that was even going on way back in the 50’s. These people drive around [to hunt]. Fact is, we’d do it [too]; as we were leaving the areas, why, we would be looking."

By all accounts, road hunting is still extremely common in the NC. Informant 4--11 claimed that much of the local hunting is done from logging roads or clear cut logged areas. Informant 12--12 also stressed the fact that there are a great number of road hunters:
"More than 90% of the local hunters hunt from the road. If you find a big patch of timber, you won't find many people in there hunting, it's very rare around here."

It is a common belief in the NC that road hunters reduce hunt quality for those who hunt off the road. Informant 27--24 cited the existence of roads and road hunters as his reason for dropping out of deer hunting:

"...I stopped hunting because every place you went, there was a road. You'd go over this ridge, and all you'd see is people below you. All I was doing is dogging, [flushing deer], for them. I thought, what am I doing this for? That's when the trees were on the hunting area. I knew the area pretty well from hunting it. I could get around in it..."

By way of contrast, Informant 27--23's description of NC hunting before the labyrinth of roads was completed, painted a vivid picture of the physical challenge of hunting in the old days. He was also realistic about why so many current NC blacktail hunters use the roads. Access is a major consideration:

"When you're hunting you're more or less traveling game trails. I always did because they were the easiest way to get around. When we first started to go into Cook Creek country, [in Northern Tillamook County, we]...walked there too. When they opened up the Tillamook Burn, the guys I hunted with were logging there. The deer were there, but the hills were like [at a 45% angle], and there were no roads. Until they started going down in the canyons [logging], you walked into them canyons; it was a half a day down; we'd have our packs on our backs, our lunches with us."
--Forestry, Clear Cuts--

Clear cut timber harvesting has long been deemed necessary by the timber industry since Douglas fir replantings require full sun to be successful. The maximum size of such clear cuts has long been the object of contention over the years, but the size of cuts has generally been reduced by forest managers in an attempt to minimize ecosystem destruction or disturbances.

Nevertheless, some NC hunters feel that their hunting has been adversely affected by excessive logging and by the logging of excessively large clear cut areas. Informant 9--22 believed that NC hunters may be forced to hunt clear cuts due to overlogging. Informant 14--44 also implied that present clear cutting practices have reduced hunting quality and the need for hunter skill. He believed that hunters in the old days used to get deer on the timber edges instead of getting them on clear cuts as hunters do today.

Informant 12--14 is typical of NC hunters who stalk in that stalkers generally look down on pasture and clear cut hunters:

"...Most people don't hunt blacktails in the woods, walking slowly around in prime habitat; most people are going to shoot those deer in a pasture around here [in fringeland] or in a clear cut..."

Informant 12--14 also argued that stalkers in non-clear cut areas belong to a more "genuine," "authentic," or "sporting" type of hunter
group, those who rely less on luck or chance. He makes mention of Daniel
Boone, one of the very few literary or historical illusions from an
informant:

"...[There's] something a lot more involved [in stalking], rather than
just standing on a stump [in a clear cut] and waiting for
something to pass through, or to catch a buck out in the open.
[It's] much more interesting and exciting to use your imagination, as
a Daniel Boone stalking through the woods..."

Informant 7--40 made the important point that all clear cuts are not
equal; some are cleared of timber, yet not cleared enough for a hunter's
passage: "Clear cuts are a disaster [to get through], an ordeal. [The
logging] slash that they leave [is] like pickup sticks”; blackberries can be
dangerous.

Forestry, Clear Cuts, Firearms

Informant 19--27 explained how the size of clear cuts can affect
the choice of the firearms used in NC blacktail hunting: "When...I got to
hunting in the [Tillamook] Burn, I couldn't reach them with that 30.30, so I
got this .06, and that could do the job.” Informant 24--19's similarly
extended his shooting range in clear cut hunting:

"Up until the country got logged off, if you sighted your rifle in for
200 yards, that was fine.
Ninety percent of the time,...[your shots are] going to be way less
than that.
After I got to hunting in wide open places, [clear cuts], I sighted my
rifle in for 250 yards.
I killed a couple of deer in wide open country,...but that was just
exceptions..."
Forestry, Clear Cuts, Techno Hunting

While logging practices can create exploitable areas for hunters, each type of area encourages some types of hunting, while it discourages others. Informant 32--8 explained that “sightability has increased so much in huge clear cuts.” Informant 9--21 described one type of techno hunting which was made possible by clear cuts in the NC:

Powerful optics and rifles, men on both sides of a clear cut, CB radios, are illegal but used in this strategy, firing from a logging road or landing.

Informant 9--39 had heard that a Wauna Paper Mill group in North CC uses such techno hunting gear to hunt clear cuts. This is the only reference made to this group.

Informant 28--24 downplayed NC techno hunting, but he gave examples of high tech aids, it which showed that what constitutes “high tech” equipment is debatable, at least among several NC hunters:

I don’t know anything about new, high tech hunting equipment. I’ve never seen it in use in CC; people in the NC just use “normal hunting equipment. More and more people are starting to use spotting scopes,” but they aren’t high tech equipment. “A 20, 30, or 50 power scope set up can scan a hillside very carefully much better than you could do with binoculars.” I don’t think spotting scopes leads people into using CB radios and practicing gang hunting.

Informant 28--24-25 also demonstrated that using high tech equipment, a spotting scope in this case, need not necessarily make the
hunt a “techno” hunt. A sight and stalk strategy retains the sporting challenge, escape opportunity, and required skill:

“...If you spot something [with a spotting scope], you can figure how to run a hunt on it. [You might be] 2,000 yards away, [but can] figure a way to get near it...
When you’re just eyeballing something, motion is what you normally catch first.
If you’re looking through binoculars or a spotting scope, you’re usually looking for shape or color that’s different, and [you] spot...[deer] that way.
[A spotting scope glassing is effective], but I don’t do it much. It takes a lot of time to glass something over with a spotting scope.”
To set up a spotting scope, you have to set up a tripod, adjust it, and carefully go over an area.
“[There’s a lot of deer around]; I don’t need to do that to spot a deer.”

In terms of traditional hunting skills and sporting chance, there is no question that techno hunting is less “sporting” than hunting without powerful technological aids. However, Informant 14--43, a shrewd old timer, volunteered another perspective on techno hunting which bears consideration: “[I’ve] heard people comment on [using] plain, telescopic [rifle] scopes, saying that it was an unfair advantage. The way I look at it, [with good scopes] you have fewer cripples, [lost wounded deer].”

--Forestry, Jumbled Logs--

Many informants were not aware of areas with jumbled logs or of the dangers resulting from logging slash, even though this topic was
mentioned in a hunting magazine. Zumbo notes "huge, moss-covered, slippery logs that crisscross the forest floor like pickup sticks" (1993, 86). There are also a few descriptions of jumbled log areas in local histories, such as Maddux:

At one time or another a windstorm must have swept the area. I've never seen such a jumble of fallen trees and underbrush. And in my excitement I met each obstacle headlong, without any thought of conserving strength... Right there I should have called a halt (145-46).

A few informants were even able to give specific locations and descriptions of jumbled log sites or areas:

"...There used to be one place up here [in Olney].
I don't know how that mess got there, but it was all strictly from a blowdown or [there] had been a fire.
It wasn't too big an area, but it was a horrible mess.
My neighbors, they had to pack some elk out through that mess...
They said it wasn't any fun..." (Informant 24--38)

Informant 24--38--39 also noted another NC area of jumbled logs:

"...There was another place below Seaside, called Grassy Lake area. It looked nice, but I went down across that one time, and I'd never go back.
You're off the ground 90 percent of the time, [walking on downed timber or the ends of logged trees...it was] across that whole basin; it was horrible.
[The] stuff crisscrossed.
It tires you out to move through it.
"If you're not falling off something, you run out of something big enough to walk on; then you got to crawl down through it and get on something else; it was a jungle.
[Just avoid those jumbled areas when hunting.]
There's game in them, but they can stay there; I don't want them that bad..."
--Forestry, Shelter Logs--

Although not unique to the NC, overhanging logs or the up-turned roots from fallen trees are perhaps more common here than in other regions and are used more by deer for shelter or hiding spots.

--Forestry, Power Line Strips--

In the NC, powerline strips often have brush or reprod on both sides. Informant 2—28 believed that these areas can be productive for deer. However, constant herbicide spraying applied to the powerline strips themselves discourages deer; this may explain why other informants did not mention this type of blacktail habitat.

Tree Stumps

The giant tree stumps found in the NC woods can be viewed as the remnants of the heroic settlement and as remnants of logging days. However, there is a greater poignancy to these stumps; they are not merely symbols of an earlier age; they are relics from an ancient past, slowly fading from the landscape, but these stumps depart quickly only with great violence, when they are blasted with explosives or burned. Once gone, they will never return since the commercial logging cycle does not allow trees to live to such great age and size. Stumps are in a compelling way seen as links to the ancient wilderness forest which dominated or “ruled” the pre-contact NC. As mentioned, virgin climax forest Douglas firs were so large that there were a few cases of a new settler making one
into a "cabin." Pattsmith records her visit to Henry Piekkola's three-story stump house near Hamlet in 1905 (5). Many other stumps are 4-6 feet in diameter, and to stand on them, it is necessary to climb up 3 to 4 feet from the tree base. NC hunters, who, by and large, are not a very romantic lot, use tree stumps for their practical advantages of sure and quiet footing, comfortable seating, and most importantly, raised observation points above the nearby brush. They are especially useful in clear cut stand hunting.

**Stump, Target Practice**

Tree stumps are also a part of NC blacktail hunting since they function as targets for some hunters during preseason rifle sighting in, or post-hunt target shooting, which perhaps hunters indulge in, due to frustration. This use of stumps for targets was mentioned by Informants 10--16 and 11--15. Blacktails can outdo hunters in woodsmanship, and they can outdo human hunters in the use of tree stumps for practical advantage, as seen in Informant 30--1-2's personal experience narrative:

---Deer Behind Stump on First Deer Kill Hunt, Story---

I think I remember the first deer I brought home; I'm pretty sure I do; it was probably in the Fall of 1956, I suppose. I was with some of the neighbors, and we were up on Big Creek, out east of here, southeast of Knappa, east of Wickiup Mt. Before, it was owned by Boise Cascade; it was owned by Crown Zellerbach. The two fellas I was with were loggers, and they had worked up there on that area. We were hunting an older cut over with a lot of fern and brushy
canyon and creek bottoms; we were kind of fanned out walking along.

A deer spooked out; I got a shot at it, but it went between a stump; the stump was between it and me, so I didn’t hit it.

We continued on, and then we went on and quit not too long after that.

We were walking over the ridge, back toward the truck. There was a deer running down the fern ridge ahead of us. It could have been the same one I shot at; I don’t know. I know we all reared up and fired.

I think I was about the last one to shoot, and when I shot, it went down, so I hit it.

They always said I hit it; I don’t know if I hit it or not, but it’s the first one I brought home.

They didn’t claim it.

Although it was not emphasized in this account, it is very likely that the blacktail purposely ran to place the tree stump between itself and the hunter. In the literature, this tactic is cited as a major response in rifle hunted deer. See Geist.

Stump, Safety Place for Hunter

Most informants report that they place themselves behind stumps for safety reasons, in reaction to being fired upon by other hunters:

...If receiving fire, get behind a stump; there’s no shooting back. If you meet them later, give them some “language you don’t use everyday” (Informant 8--39).

--Alder Patches--

Alder are associated with logged areas, especially those with no reprod. Alders are also common at pasture borders and are maintained by some NC rural landowners on a sustained yield basis for cord wood. The
cord wood may be used to provide everyone in the extended family with firewood, or it may be sold. As with other types of harvesting, this type of harvesting may encourage landowners to view blacktails as another resource to be gathered for the family. Informant 8--14-15 explained using drives to hunt alder patches:

I hunted with two friends; “[we had] quite [a few] experiences.”
We hunted in alder patches, on drives,...“like dogs [driving game].”
We got some good bucks.
One partner got a pretty good size buck on Nicolai Mt.
Kicking deer out of their beds requires two people, flushing.

---Brush, NC Deer Hunting---

The heavy brush in the NC places physical limitations on the blacktail hunter. Hunters may attempt to stalk, drive, or pack out through moderately brushy areas, but heavy NC brush is virtually impassable and so noisy that such areas are clearly unhuntable.

Brush, Symbol

Informants 2--29 and 3--33 stated what is taken as obvious, that brush makes hunting in the NC difficult. Informant 2--6 estimated that as a result of the limited visibility in very brushy areas, his shots are commonly taken from 50-100 yards. Informant 5--23 went further and stated a widely held NC belief that “hunting is so difficult here” that many outsiders may hunt in CC for only one season because of the thick brush which drives away hunters.
This study did not significantly focus on symbolization to afford confident statements about the symbolization of brush in NC deer hunting, but given the constant presence and major role of brush in many hunts, it is difficult to believe that the underbrush holds no subconscious symbolic meanings, connotations, or affective power for hunters.

It seems noteworthy that the symbolizations for heavy brush are associated with limits in conscious human power, whether that power is physical or rational. Some of the possible symbolic meanings which symbol catalogs list for underbrush include female sexuality, unconscious life, and life independent of humans (Cooper, 184). Specific symbols for brush may not have been isolated in this study, but judging from a general survey of cultural symbols and the comments of several informants, NC brush may very well symbolize the complexity of the landscape. NC brush may also symbolize the difficulty of the landscape. These views about the NC subregion’s brush have already been noted as being a part of NC hunters’ views towards soil and climate.

**Brush, Small Scale**

As already mentioned, heavy NC brush serves to divide areas into small sites. As a result, as the hunters pass through such sites, they experience serial vision, not a panoramic vision of wide vistas. To counteract this effect, informant 15--8, who dislikes areas that are very brushy, hunts clear cuts, that is, “logged areas that are just starting to
grow back.” The serial views aspect of NC hunting calls up the interesting question of how vision affects story telling or personal experience narratives. For example, what effect does having to give many place descriptions, or having to use multiple points of views have on hunters' accounts? The difference between the multiple perspectives in Chinese scroll painting, as opposed to the Euro-American, pre-modernist single point perspective, comes to mind.

Understandably, many hunters see such vegetation as their adversary. Especially when it is combined with hills and ridges, heavy brush is the blacktail's primary escape route. Informant 11--12-13 explained that blacktail activity utilizes the brush to avoid hunters:

"...In the brush pile here [on my property], they'll wait till you're right up on top of them.
You're not prepared for anything like that, you think you are [but you're not]...
[The] animal is smarter than I am."

Informant 28--27 admitted that blacktail can outwait a stalkier, that is, a still hunter. He does not check backtrail, but concentrates on the areas ahead. He stated that "there is a lot of cover. I know that you pass [by] deer."

**Brush, Refuge/Sanctuary, Unhuntable**

NC hunters frequently report hunting from roads, landings, old railroad grades, and other areas that remain open or above heavy brush and reprod. According to some informants, areas not visible or approachable
from such favored spots might well serve deer as sanctuary areas.

Informant 30-18 stated that areas of thick brush in the NC are unhuntable, and Informant 30-23 also added that crashing into the brush will chase all the deer away and make some brushy areas unhuntable, as a result. Informant 9-24 had also had some failures in brushy areas:

...I unsuccessfully attempted to flush deer from a promising hiding area.
I read about the tactic in *Sports Afield*, lobbing rocks on the far side.
I had no success and discontinued the practice...

**Brush, Safety, Self-Inflicted Accident, Mobility**

Heavy brush has other disadvantages for hunter safety. Informant 30-23 was wary of non-firearm hunting accidents caused by brush:

"There's a lot of brush here; you have to be very sure of your footing."

Brush can cover up logs.
"You can walk on [a log]...and not really realize where the end of it is and step off.
I have tripped over a lot of things and stepped off down between logs..."

Informant 7-40 concurred that logging slash is dangerous with its blackberries, with their inch-long thorns which can cause severe skin cuts. However, Informant 12-28 commented that the "real danger...is from falling down in the woods with a loaded weapon." Most informants related problems of wading through heavy brush or avoiding such areas:

"...[The] estimation of distances and what the terrain is like is sometimes much different than reality [in the NC], so, you get
lots of stories about crawling on your hands and knees under and through the brush trying to get someplace...” (Informant 28--33).

Brush Tunnels

Early pioneers noted that the NC presented some special dangers:

“The fern and salmonberry brush grew so high that the trails were tunnels, and it was easy to get lost” (Gerritse, 1: 25). To avoid a more serious danger, visitors to the NC are warned to stay out of NC elk tunnels in the brush; the tunnels are too small for elk, especially antlered bulls, to turn around in, so that they will run over anyone in a tunnel.

Brush, Pack Out

Informant 7--30 related a story of a difficult pack out through thick brush, which though it took place in northern California is nevertheless relevant since the pack out aspects are applicable to the NC:

“...Even getting the animal out of the woods, even though it can be a back breaking job, I get a certain amount of satisfaction out of that.

[I] don’t know if you call it a challenge; it’s a responsibility.”

Informant 10--13 also noted that packing out is dangerous since you can easily stumble and fall over logs and rocks while carrying out a deer.

Brush, Judgment

When faced with heavy brush, hunters must exercise judgment; for example, they need to judge and decide on the huntability of these areas, weigh the relative effort, time, and safety precautions necessary, as well
as the possible productivity of an area. See Rutledge (1937, 331). Deer hunters must be self-reliant and experienced enough to make wise decisions in the field, often in the midst of a hunt, and they must also constantly and actively monitor changing conditions.

**Brush, Firearms**

The following informants all closely followed Sell's analysis of brush hunting (1964, 12). Sell presents a discussion on rifles in which he emphasizes portability and firing speed. In heavy brush, he recommends iron sights, and not a scope (38). He also notes what the limitations of a scope are at close range (47); there is a general belief that a heavier bullet, such as the 30.30, will not be thrown off target by small tree branches and brush stems, as readily as would smaller caliber rounds.

Informant 5--22 stated that 30.06 and 30.30 bullets are popular in the NC, partly due to the thick brush. Informant 12--18-19 had used 30.06 bullets and mainly uses a .32 Winchester, lever action, carbine with iron sights, a deadly weapon good for local brushy conditions. He also uses his first "high powered rifle," a .308 with a swing scope, which is very accurate and good for rainy conditions and short shots. Informant 27--21 also used a 30.06 with a scope; his reason for doing do was again brushy conditions:

"...Until they started opening the area up for logging, you didn't really have any need for a scope; you could only see sometimes for 50 yards."
I had a 25.30 I used for deer quite a bit because it was lighter and you could handle it. A lot of guys packed 30.30’s for a long time, because it was bush[ly]."

Because a significant number of NC residents hunt both deer and elk, and because many of these residents hunt in other areas of the state where long range shots are more common than in the NC, as such firearms have been developed, NC hunters have had a tendency to select more powerful rifles; as a result, 30.30’s no longer seem to dominate in the NC.

**Brush, Shooting**

While the topic of bullet deflection in brushy areas is discussed in deer hunting magazines, brush is also an extremely limiting factor in bow hunting, as Informant 20--49 explained:

“Sixty yards is a good safe kill [for a bow] unless you’re shooting through brush; then, all bets are off. To shoot through brush, just to hit an animal, is not a good option.”

**“Brush Shot”/“Sound Shot.” Hunting Term**

There are differences of opinion about the interpretation of the terms “Brush Shot” and “Sound Shot.” Most of the informants had heard the terms, and many used them interchangeably. Informant 14--37 stated that both terms mean to shoot at movement when you “see a little [deer] color or a brush move.” But Informant 34--48, when asked about either a “Sound Shot” or a “Brush Shot,” responded that they both can be used to describe shooting at a sound.
Only a few distinguished between shooting at hidden movement, for example, at a shaking bush and shooting at a sound. Informant 19--44 assigned different terms to the two types of shots:

"[A brush shot means] shooting into the brush without [actually] seeing, [identifying], anything. [A] sound shot is another God damn thing; it’s ridiculous. If you shoot into the brush [blindly], how are you going to know what you are going to hit, where you are going to hit it?…"

In spite of some complications over the specific situations that prompt a hunter to take a brush shot or a sound shot, there is general agreement on the lack of prudent identification; any such shooting is irresponsible, as Informant 30--26’s remarked:

"[Shooting into the woods without clear identification], it’s nothing I’ve ever really experienced, but I know people that have, foresters that work in the woods late in the [hunting] season. I’m sure it happens. [You’ve] been slashing around in the weeds below a road, say up on top, and all of a sudden, someone took a sound shot [at you]. It doesn’t show very much responsibility or anything."

Informant 28--39 was the only informant to virtually dismiss the terms as a tease:

A sound shot means shooting without a clear and certain identification, the same as a brush shot.

"[I’ve] never heard of anyone [actually] doing it. People into hunting will tell tales, will talk about sound shots. [They’ll say], ‘Well, I heard a noise over there so I took a couple of shots. I don’t know if I got anything or not.’ I’ve never seen anyone…[take a sound shot]. It’s a phrase, lore. I’m not [ever] tempted to shoot into the brush, not at all."
In contrast to this dismissal, Informant 19--44 related a case history of a brush shot:

---Fatal Brush Shot Incident, Story---
Outside Seaside when I was about 16 years old about 1927, a man was hunting and heard something in the brush, or saw something in the brush and didn't know what it was. He fired into there and killed his neighbor.

Comparing this informant's remarks about brush shots with the 1989 Fish and Wildlife Service statistics on hunting accidents reveals that only 7% of hunting accidents were caused when a hunter was mistaken for game, and that there were only 2 cases of accidental shootings among the approximately 350,000 hunters in 1989 (Oregon Department of Fish and Wildlife "Hunter Education News," 2). Informant 28--39's skepticism regarding the prevalence of brush shooting is basically supported. Nevertheless, as the Oregon Department of Fish and Wildlife hunter education coordinator pointed out, all of the 6 people killed in 1992 hunting accidents were killed as a result of mistaken identity; 3 others were wounded (Associated Press 18 Jan. 1993).

It should be remembered that with such a low number of cases, conclusions can be easily exaggerated. In 1993, for instance, there was only one mistaken game fatality in Oregon, but during the hunting season, two young hunters were hit when one of them was apparently mistaken for a blacktail in the NC (Associated Press 18 Oct. 1993). Hunters feel that
being shot while hunting is less of a danger than does the general public (Shaw, 88-89). Nationally, few hunters drop out of hunting because of safety factors, 1% male hunters and 7% female hunters (Shaw, 64). There is a higher percentage of hunting accidents in the NC, perhaps due to heavy brush and elk hunting in hunter groups.

Informant 19--42 gave a story of a potentially dangerous situation in which his life was saved because a hunter did not take a brush shot. As is reported in the media, “accidents often are the most serious because the shooter is aiming directly at the target” (Associated Press 16 Jan. 1993):

--Vision, Safe Hunter Avoids Brush Shot, Story--
“I was out hunting; [I] came out on an old railroad grade that ran up the valley here [in the Seaside area]; I was plowing through all this brush.
Here was a kid standing there waiting for me to come out; he was thinking I was a deer.
He knew what he was doing; he knew he shouldn’t be shooting into the brush; if he had been a high strung kid and just started shooting into this brush, he would have killed me.
Know what you shooting; that’s the main thing.”

In the following memorable hunt story, the sighting ability of Informant 36--4-6’s partner, his “hunter’s eye,” played a part. “Believing your eyes” is based on unquestioned assumptions, as opposed to the factual, the empirical, the actual situation. Hunters learn not to trust their senses completely. The informant presents an unusual mysterious action on the part of the deer and perhaps creates a mythic image. He took care in his narratives and insisted on temporal accuracy
--Vision, Materializing Deer, Story--

"I have one other one, [a story] that stands out. Probably, we hunted until 11:00 in the morning, and it was the opening morning.

We were coming back down the main road towards the highway, [ending the hunt], and it was noon, and we just past some hunters sitting on their tailgate eating lunch...

We went around the next corner, [driving]. It was pretty heavy alder thicket.

Up through...the thicket, the guy riding with me said, 'Stop, there's some deer,' so we stopped and backed up, and the guy in front of us, there were 2 guys in that truck, hunting with us, they noticed we stopped, so they stopped and came back.

There was one deer up there. How he spotted it, I have no idea.

We were probably doing 25 miles an hour down this road, and you could hardly see anything through the trees, but there it was, so we put our scopes on it.

It was a doe, but, then, it took like 3 steps forward; out of nowhere appeared another one; it was a doe [also]. They took 3 steps forward, and here comes another one. [We'd see] horns, [but] Boom [others appeared].

We went up there, and what they were doing was jumping over a rock pit.

We didn't know a rock pit was there, but they were jumping up out of a rock pit, so, that's why, Boom, there they are, then, Boom, they'd leave; then, there's another one out of nowhere, so, as soon as we seen it was a fork and horn, Boom, we shot.

We went up there and...[the deer] wasn't there.

It had gone back down over the bank; it was shot right through the heart.

That one was kind of memorable, high noon on opening day. It was strictly luck.

It was lucky except for the sighting...

[The shot was] probably 100-120 yards in the brush, too, so it wasn't like standing right off the road.
To illustrate how hunters have always been, and will always be, tempted to take brush shots, consider the example of Wamba, the 8th century Visigoth King, who while hunting deer shot an arrow into the bushes and hit St. Giles in the arm, crippling him for life (Whittlesey, 125). This accident, no doubt, made Giles the patron saint of the brush shot.

**Brush, Buck Fever**

Brush is such a dominant vegetative landscape feature in the NC that it directly or indirectly affects many aspects of hunting. Although the influence of brush on buck fever may be obvious to many NC deer hunters, the relationship between heavy brush and buck fever was not emphasized by the informants.

Buck fever has differing levels of intensity, but it is taken here to mean the loss of conscious physical control by hunters, so that they either freeze or act inappropriately. Heavy NC brush contributes to the development of this state because hunters know that blacktails will usually only be briefly exposed to a hunter’s shot. Identifying a deer and firing at it must take place swiftly in order to maximize the chances for success, but first, for safety’s sake, hunters must be sure that there is a deer present, and not another hunter or another animal. Hunters must next determine whether or not the deer is legal, and finally, they must determine whether or not they wish to try for this particular deer.
Complicating the task of identifying a deer as a legal buck, a fork and horn, or an older buck, is the visual confusion that is possible when a hunter is trying to distinguish between antlers and branches. Informant 16-18 pointed out that "during buck season, they shoot a doe because they’re too anxious. To justify themselves, they then say, ‘Oh, I thought it had horns; [I] saw its ears or something.’"

**Brush, Clean Kill, Hunter Ethics**

NC hunters are perhaps more concerned with making a clean kill than hunters are in many other areas, due to the swift and potentially successful escapability of blacktail in the hilly and brushy NC; hunter self-interest mitigates strongly against taking chance shots. They do not want to climb into heavy brush to track down a wounded deer. The influence of NC brush on deer hunting is clearly evident from the fact that Eastern Oregon hunters are tempted to take overly long shots, while NC hunters are tempted to take quick or snap shots. Informant 27-2 included some of these brush-related considerations in his account. In the following, it seems atypical for the informant to label saw grass as "Bunch Grass," which is a term for a shorter true grass:

---First Deer Kill, Lost, Story---

The first deer I killed, I lost because of the saw grass. I shot that deer with a 32.20. I was only about 50 feet away, but when it disappeared, it disappeared; that bunch grass was that high, about 3-4 feet. I was probably 13 or 14 years old then, but I lost that one. I found that one about a year later.
The day of the hunt, I looked and looked all day long and came back the next day. It was a little fork and horn. Yeah, I was disappointed and mad. Hey, it was the first deer I ever shot and it was gone. “I told people [about my lost deer] because I felt bad about losing the thing.”

**Brush, Stalking**

In most of the previous discussions touching on NC brush, the vegetation is seen as the hunter’s adversary. However, judging from some of the informant’s comments, stalkers appear to often operate within the hunting site, accepting and sometimes using the brush to their own advantage. For example, Informant 9--5, B told of one such situation. He kept the brush between the deer and himself on a stalk. He went down to the wind side of the thicket where they were “hold up,” and crept on his hands and knees into the thicket to within 30 yards of the nearest deer (B). Informant 12 pointed up how the brush can contribute to a quality hunt, even when it is a non-kill hunt:

“If you do happen to hear a limb snap [when you’re stalking] on the forest floor, and you don’t see anything, that’s a particularly interesting experience. Your adrenalin starts to flow; maybe it could be a buck, could be an elk, could be almost anything, could be another hunter. Then you start picking your way to that sound, stalking that sound.” (Informant 12--14)

As in Informant 19--42’s story, presented earlier, in other situations, brush can contribute to a potentially dangerous hunt:
--Stalking Hunter Stalked, Story--

"Once I remember I stalked this sound [in the woods], and I was [getting] closer, and I knew it was in there somewhere; it was; it was another hunter; [I was] in the brush, 15 ft. [away from this hunter] and still couldn't see [when I was] parting this limb, and face to face, the other guy was parting a limb; we were stalking each other; we just kind of laughed.

I had never seen him before; we said a few words; it was exciting all the way..." (Informant 12--14-15)

Brush, Drive

Brush appears to keep NC drives limited in the areas they can cover, as Informant 12--15 showed. He had never been on a blacktail drive. He noted that some people drive hunt and that drive hunting can be effective, but not too often; Informant 37--26 concurred:

"We do a little of both, [stalking trails and driving game]...
I let the guys do the walking through the brush, because most of the brush around here is over my head.
This is rough country."

--Close Encounters With Deer, Brush--

The possibility of experiencing close encounters with blacktails in the NC is a distinguishing subregional factor, and while the blacktails' superior adaptation to the landscape of the NC allows them to escape notice or to thwart hunters' efforts, more often than not, NC hunters come closer to their prey than is usually the case in Eastern Oregon's open country, or even in the Willamette Valley's less hilly and less brushy terrain. The intensity of such hunter-deer encounters and the feelings the
hunter has when entering into the deer’s world can lead to memorable 
experiences, as seen in informant 9--7-9’s account. This narrative again 
tells of another memorable non-kill hunt.

---Most Memorable Hunt, Story---

In 1979 or 1980, near Vernonia in the Coast Range, approximately 15 
miles east of the Clatsop County-Columbia County line, in 
early cold weather, which was rare, perhaps it happens once 
in 20 years, during the early rut, the deer were acting 
stupidly.

It was the only time I has seen local deer herded up. 
I had been studying tracking, using Francis Selk’s The Art of 
Successful Deer Hunting, the book is specifically about black-
tail.
I came over a ridge and looked over a meadow; there were 10-15 
deer 400-500 yards off, 3 of them big bucks. 
My rifle, with 4x scope, had an effective range of 100 yards, “I 
knew what it couldn’t do.”
I decided to try a long shot, something over 100 yds. 
“[I] thought it will be a hell of a shot if I drop him,” but it was an 
open view; I held the shot high; the ground was dry so the 
deer could be tracked, if they were only wounded.
I took a shot but missed; the deer scattered. 
I tracked them for a quarter of a mile; it was one of the two best 
tracking jobs I ever did; it was a lot of work; I was in a 
“tracking mode” period in my hunting career.
There were several places the deer could have gone into the Doug fir 
stand.
I saw a big doe, perhaps it was the matriarch or was “standing 
guard.”

I crept down, went to the down wind side of the thicket where they 
were hold up; I should have waited for them to leave into the 
wind.
Instead, I crept on my hands and knees into the thicket to within 30 
yards of the nearest deer.
It was an amazing sensory experience; I had entered the thicket as a 
predator, but everything changed.
As with fireworks all exploding at once, 10-20 deer crashed through the brush all around me.

It was an exploded moment; there were leaves falling, there was snorting, whinnying, crashing, sensory stuff, gold and green leaves, sunlight, dust the deer kicked up, leaves coming down and light coming through them, and deer moving through it all, with mostly parts of deer seen, horns, ears, haunches, and tails, planes of brown and textures.

"I've written one poem about deer hunting, but I don't think there's any medium [that] could capture that [experience or scene]."

Time appeared to slow down; it was "an astonishing experience; [there's] no preparation for something like this, [it's] not like sex or a car crash; [that was] something I should try to get down on paper for my grandkids."

I was frightened in that thicket; I covered my head with my hands and forearms.

I was a divided self or was stunned; I wasn't sure what to do next as a hunter; at the same time I was caught up in experiencing the event as a spectator.

It was a rush comparable to rolling a car or sex.

"[This was] an order of magnitude greater than the paramilitary I had started [hunting] with."

Another narrative of an intense close encounter with a blacktail, from Informant 23--2, did not stress the sensory aspects of the experience, but rather, the theme of the hunter fitting into, or participating in, the total natural system, which includes the land, vegetation, and wildlife:

---Close Encounter With Deer, Story---

"I really like the idea of being smart enough and quiet enough [to hunt deer]."

I had a spike once, so I couldn't kill it; it was a fork and horn only season; I was on a stand.

I had a spike walk down a hill towards me; it got easily within 8-10 feet of me; I was able to stand so still, and the wind was right; he never saw me; he browsed his way past me, and went down the hillside. 
I felt really good about that; that was a really neat experience; he was browsing, and I could hear him breathing. He was just a few feet away from me.
That part of it was fun too, being part of what was happening out there in the woods, being able to fit in what was going on out there.
"I think my guys, [my sons], picked up on that too, that challenge [to fit in]."

Niche Sites

Informant 2-26-27’s explanation of the theory of niche site hunting showed that an agricultural or gathering perspective appears to be operating:

"...In an area where I’d go back year after year...I’d always see 2 or 3 bucks there..."
You can kill a deer in a productive niche, and another deer will take its place.
You can return to the same location next season.
I’ve taken 6-8 deer off the same slope.

Knowledge of such niches, some of which are not obvious “classic sites” and some of which are located by hunters partly by chance, may help to explain the high success rate of some local blacktail hunters, compared to that of non-local hunters. However, the NC’s pattern of dramatic habitat change, due to periodic logging and rapid vegetative regrowth, limits the establishment and maintenance of traditional hunting spots or niches. This situation is in contrast to Rutledge’s use of century-old hunter stand sites and deer refuge areas.
The niche site is seen as “producing” the deer as a reified product, more than as an individual deer, and the notion of harvesting the niche, site, place, or location seems to supplant the notion of killing an individual deer.

**Niche Sites, “Sentinel Spots”**

Wegner terms one specific type of niche site a “sentinel spot” (Book 2, 144). This is a spot from which the deer, usually a buck, can survey a considerable part of the site or area while remaining secure in terms of visibility, scent, sound, and other site-specific factors. Some NC hunters claimed that blacktails will sometimes have an especially advantageous spot, a sentinel spot, tucked under a logging spur landing which is virtually impossible for a hunter to approach without being detected. Informant 27-3 indicated that he may have located such a niche site:

```
--Sentinel Spot on Most Memorable Hunt, Niche Story--
...There was always a spot up above from where we hunted. I said to my partner, “How come we never ever go up there?” So he said, “I don’t know; let’s go up and see; we’ll eat lunch up there.”
We drove up there and drove out on the road up there.
We were sitting there having lunch.
There was a long log out there.
I guess it was a windfall or an old snag that had dropped over the side of the road or landing, so, we had our rifles in our hands, and we walked out there for some reason, and we walked out along this log, and all of a sudden, a big 5 point took off; we shot that.
```
DEER HUNTING AS A FOLKLORIC ACTIVITY IN THE NORTH COAST OF OREGON:
TYPOLOGY AND INITIATION-MATURATION

DISSERTATION

Volume II

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

by

John G. Nemnich, B. A., M. A.

* * * * *

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CHAPTER V

FAUNA AND NORTH COAST DEER HUNTING

Introduction

Humans are related to animals in so many obvious ways, but also in so many subtle ways, that it is generally difficult to maintain a holistic view of the human-animal relationship. Herzog and Burghardt describe the human-animal relationship as being basic, pervasive, and filled with complexities, intensities, and paradoxes (75). This characterization seems apt, given the extensive symbolic appearance of animals and wildlife in the dreams of modern people, and given the powerful representations of animals in neolithic caves paintings. Sophisticated ancient representations or icons in art demonstrate that the relationship between humans and wildlife has been long-standing and close.

The tendency towards a partial and, therefore, necessarily unbalanced view of the human-animal relationship is regularly seen in the popular hunting literature. In these publications, the natural and fundamental bond between humans and animals is interpreted as one of utility, and a predator-prey relationship is often invoked as the keystone;
the human is first and foremost, a predator. The governing strategy of
modern people in determining the nature of the human-animal bond is to
focus on humans—whether or not they are merely animals (glorified
predators), strange hybrid human-animals (thinking animals), or non-
animals (future pure spirits in an afterlife). The discovery of the
essential nature of animals is not a concern.

This chapter explores some of the complexities of the human-animal
relationship, in both general and specific terms: the human-animal/
wildlife relationship, the American relationship to fauna, NC fauna (other
than deer) as the context and background for NC deer hunting, the direct
impact of other NC fauna on deer hunting in the region. Deer, as a species,
and the Columbian blacktail, as the deer subspecies in the NC, will be
examined in Chapter VI.

Section I of this chapter, “Human-Animal and Human-Wildlife
Relationships,” presents some basic points regarding the human-animal
relationship and the human-wildlife relationship. Despite various claims
that humans share a “natural” and subconscious kinship with their fellow
creatures, the historical fact that the late 20th century is an era of mass
animal and wildlife destruction and extinction is undeniable. This carnage
and elimination of wildlife is undoubtedly becoming a more important
factor in the current human-animal interaction. But even without
considering the current psychological, social, political, and economic
factors, the reaction of people to animals falls within neo-Freudian claims that the human-animal relationship is complex and multifactored. Cf. Kellert ("Attitudes") and Ricoeur ("Psychoanalysis"). The complexity of the human-animal relationship is also indicated by the extensive symbolic use of animals and wildlife. In fact, animals have not only been utilized as discrete symbols or icons, but have also been formed into hierarchies to symbolize, or even to support, a hierarchical theory of human society or a claim for a theological reality. Marquee animal species have also been utilized to embody or symbolize local regions and, therefore, human regional identity.

Within an animal hierarchy, the "higher" or more dominant species naturally can be taken to indicate or symbolize the status and power of humans as a whole, as well as the status and power of individual humans. Despite the eclipse of animals as the core of religion and socialization, particularly in adolescent initiation, despite the human control of most aspects of an individual's coming of age, animals and wildlife have continued to play a powerful socializing role, especially in areas with access to natural habitats. Presently, the socializing roles of animals range from anthropomorphized characters in formal education and rigidly controlled adolescent encounters, to powerful, free agents within some individuals' personalized totemic systems.
In the past, and presently, in terms of food gathering, the fundamental human-animal relationship has been one of human predation, either directly, as in hunting, or indirectly, as in animal husbandry. Even in the modern era, in rural areas where game foods are utilized, many sport hunters primarily relate to game animals as their predators. This point of view may be termed a natural resource, competitive, or extractive orientation. However, viewing some forms of wildlife as sustenance, that is, meat, can also draw hunters into a relationship with non-game animals. For example, a hunter may view natural predators of game animals as either fellow predators or as competitors; in either case, the human hunter forms a relationship to these other animals.

As for the human-animal relationship of more recent times, in the wake of the expansion of human population and presence on the land, animals and wildlife are being increasingly drawn into human recreation, including one of the world's largest economic activities, tourism. As growing numbers of people accept the claim that modern people are seriously isolated from nature, a new complex of human-animal and especially human-wildlife relationships now often includes a more intense curiosity and respect for animals, especially for marquee wildlife species.

Some of the major themes in the contemporary re-evaluation and renegotiation of the human-animal relationship are a heightened appreciation for animal attributes and abilities and an awe for animal
complexity and beauty. An increasing number of people seek a sense of security, peace, or joy within natural areas in which animal life is a major component. When such experiences are eliminated, commercialized, or reduced in quality by crowding and by complex regulations, a feeling of loss and guilt towards nature are common reactions.

While some contemporary animal or wildlife-related activities may be romantic expressions of escapism or psychological projection, hunting, which is a life and death transaction, can frequently generate serious philosophical or quasi-religious experiences for hunters, either while in the field or upon reflection. The total hunting experience, the preparations for the hunt, the hunt itself, the handling of meat, and the final consumption of meat, can all call up philosophical questions in an especially powerful and intimate fashion. This may be an atypical and perhaps unique response in this modern world of vicarious and predigested experience.

The second section of this chapter, "Wildlife, American," examines the relationship that Americans have with wildlife. The rich American tradition of human encounters with wildlife and their experiences of living with wildlife are cited, but the constantly changing nature of the American relationship with wildlife is also stressed. The key features of American wildlife have historically been its abundance and the role this abundance has played within the American concept of wilderness. Wilderness has frequently been linked to American culture through the American
Indian and the pioneer, both of whom had a special bond to nature and wildlife, one which could never be duplicated by later Americans after the frontier stage had passed. Regardless of this historical-developmental stage, the American view of wildlife has often been ambiguous, and it has been clearly formulated only after a fundamental alteration or conquest of natural areas has occurred. Wildlife were viewed as a part of the sacred garden given to the new chosen people, but they were also something to be conquered. But within this present era of re-evaluation of the role of humans on this planet, wildlife has been “rediscovered” in several ways in the United States.

The third section of this chapter, “North Coast Wildlife,” examines NC wildlife, other than deer, as the background and context for deer hunting. The extraction and processing of natural resources, basically fish and timber, have until recently formed the socioeconomic basis of the NC, and while a long-standing and clear distinction has been drawn between the commercial and sport or private use of certain species, with the decline of extractive industries in the NC and the growth of tourism, a consumptive orientation appears to be drifting towards a highly regulated, less locally-dominated, and more multi-use view of wildlife in general.

The NC has historically been marked by a superabundance of wildlife and timber. The Columbia River salmon was the dominant species in terms
of economic impact, but sport species, such as razor clams, blacktail deer, and elk, allowed living off the land in a limited way possible.

The forest as a local and shared resource has already been discussed; the common view is that the NC forest provided the basis for the community by maintaining logging and milling jobs. But in addition to this formal or institutionalized role, the forest was seen as the source of the private individual’s supplement of firewood, steelhead, venison, and elk meat. Also, in the past, it was a source of income for young males from trapping.

The reduction of key NC wildlife species, especially of salmon, steelhead, migratory birds, and an arguable reduction of blacktail deer, are major concerns because a perspective has been adopted which links such economically valuable species to local ecosystems. National, regional, and NC subregional anti-intellectualism, especially towards prehistoric extinct fauna and towards Native American’s generally more judicious relationship with the environment, have no doubt contributed to the NC’s formerly simplistic and arrogant assumptions of limitless local abundance. However, the case of the NC bald eagle sanctuary, with its difficulties, points up the problems involved in protecting a species and its habitat. The notion of a NC environmental devolution now competes with the formerly unchallenged notion of assured abundance.
The fourth and final section of this chapter, “North Coast Wildlife in Deer Hunting,” discusses other NC fauna as a direct factor in local deer hunting. Wild animals not only add interest and aesthetic pleasure for most hunters, but they may aid deer by acting as alarms. Also, although the killing of non-game species is generally rejected by Americans on ethical or sportsmanship grounds, in fact, non-game species are frequently a young hunter’s first kill. In addition, in a few cases, these same species serve as post-hunt targets; however, this wildlife abuse does appear to be practiced by only a small minority of hunters in the NC. For most hunters, the pro-hunting lobby is correct in asserting that incidental wildlife is a major “background” contributor to quality hunting and that the total hunting experience, as opposed to the mere killing of the prey, is more important. Other species also often contribute to young hunters’ outdoor smanship, which sometimes includes a noteworthy knowledge and sensitivity to many aspects of environmental science.

Small game animals, especially rabbits and squirrels, have traditionally played a key role in training new American hunters and in underpinning the perceived efficacy of hunting. In contrast, in the NC, perhaps because of the previous superabundance of salmon, deer, and elk, small game are not heavily hunted. The NC is big game country, and this image contributes to subregional identity.
Another group of non-meat providing species which contributes to the NC’s somewhat “macho” or “rugged” self-image is the natural predators. There are various and mixed classifications of NC predators and varmints. These include smaller predators, such as raccoons and bobcats, varmints, such as possums and crows, and large, potentially dangerous deer-killing predators, such as coyotes, black bear, and cougar. Mountain beavers and nutrias are frequently considered pests or varmints.

The final NC species to be considered as a direct factor in deer hunting can hardly be overly stressed, the current top American, Oregon, and NC game animal, the Roosevelt elk. Elk diminish the smallish blacktail’s status in terms of meat quality and quantity, suitable trophies, and in terms of being the prey in small group hunting. Many NC deer hunters are solo hunters, but elk hunting is dominated by group hunts in less widespread areas. To reflect the elk’s enhanced significance for humans, elk management has traditionally been more politicized and more of a concern for NC timber companies than blacktail management.

--Human-Animal and Human-Wildlife Relationships--

Era of Extinction

The full context for a discussion of wildlife in the NC, as well as in any other subregion is the present era of worldwide plant and animal extinction. The fate of wildlife, including many species which were until recently thought to be beyond threat, has become but a chapter in the story
of the human species. The U.S. Department of Interior, Fish and Wildlife Service's 1992 endangered species report lists the following statistics for threatened and endangered flora and fauna:

- Plant species threatened in U.S. ................................................................. 326
- Plants endangered ................................................................................. 77
- Animal species threatened ................................................................. 301
- Animals endangered ............................................................................ 112
- Total plants and animals threatened or endangered ...................... 816

(Golad, 1995).

**Kinship, Human-Animal**

Many intriguing and appealing claims have been made that humans "naturally" bond with animals, based on, for example, a shared mammalian biology (Katcher and Beck, 57), evolutionary psychology (Robert Wright), a mutual participation in life, as in animism or transcendentalism (Kapleau, 78; Ittelson, et al 20, 30), or a kinship with other forms of life which share the environment (Graber, 42). Of these claims, the idea that humans develop a kinship with the animals sharing their local worlds seems fruitful and manageable in this study of the connection between NC residents and hunters and blacktails. The human-animal connection, based on shared weather-climate, was mentioned earlier in the climate section.

**Human Psychology and Wildlife**

Modern hunting, probably under the influence of the ecology movement, the mass media, and the formal educational system has left behind many of its earlier absurdities, such as the glorification or
vilification of certain animal species. However, Kellert's study of children's views of animals indicates that there are both cultural prejudices against some species and instinctive or limbic reactions or responses to others. Since humans are drawn to the beauty of some animals and repulsed by the appearance or activities of others, the psychology involved in the human-animal relationship is necessarily ambiguous and complex.

According to basic Freudian psychology, the attraction of wildlife for humans, especially in an aesthetic sense, should be understood as being partly sexual in nature. Ricoeur's reinterpretation of Freudian theory in such cases as this is usually enlightening. Ricoeur stresses that humans are not merely passively drawn to beautiful objects by a mindless sex drive, but, as in authentic art-aesthetics, they sense within the object of beauty possible solutions for a multitude of psychological or developmental dilemmas (1974, 312, 318). It would, therefore, seem to follow that wildlife species, as objects of beauty and desire, are capable of many roles within their relationships with humans.

Curiosity About Wildlife

Children display a keen interest in animal life for various reasons—the beauty of animals, the single trait qualities of some animals, and the approachability of small animals which are less powerful than themselves. While preadolescents also display such universal responses, they
vary in their interest in animals more than do young children. Some older children continue to be strongly attracted to animals probably because they gain a more realistic knowledge of animals and resolve ambiguities about them which may persist even in the general culture.

One specific source of children's fascination with animals is the secret life and hidden world of animals. An awareness of this possibility, as well as specialized knowledge about animals, may be powerfully attractive to some children and young adults, in that such secret or esoteric knowledge may become a part of a person's self identity and his or her ego defense system, a metaphor for his or her growing realization of the possibility of a secret life within personal consciousness.

Symbols, Animals

The symbols for animals and the symbols involved in the human-animal relationship are, in many cases, basic and even disturbing, to many people. For example, Cooper lists as the general symbols assigned to wildlife--the instincts, emotions, sexuality, vitality, and power (12). Brun also identifies wildlife as being symbolic of "lower forms of life," lower human nature, or bestial attributes ("Language," 20).

Hierarchy, Animals

Creating and maintaining a hierarchy of related elements may well be a basic human characteristic, and the placement of animals within a hierarchy of importance or value is probably the rule, not the exception for
human cultures. Aristotle’s “ladder of life” (Fogle, 180) and a host of bestiaries are cases in point.

Ortega begins his examination of the “zoological hierarchy” as if it were a natural factual system based upon the ability to kill, but he adds an important element (56). Ortega rejects the Judeo-Christian view that animals were “delivered” to humans to be virtual possessions and slaves (Fogle, 180), and he re-establishes the complexity of the predator-prey relationship, in which each participant needs the other, and neither is truly dominant.

Rail as opponents might against anthropocentric animal hierarchies, the classifications and value judgments placed upon animals continue to be a cultural reality, as are the millions of dollars spent to save the California condor, and, simultaneously, the disgust expressed by some people over Arizona’s land restrictions to save the kangaroo rat. The blacktail is a fortunate animal since it enjoys a very high position in the American animal hierarchy. It is, after all, a swift, beautiful, non-threatening, wild, independent, and highly visible American mammal. Thus, blacktail deer enjoys an exceptional complex of positive attributes in relation to American values and interests.

Epitome or Marquee Animals

According to Mary Allen, the horse can lay the greatest claim to the role of epitome or marquee animal for European culture (4). Some regions
or subregions, however, may have their own marquee species, the NC salmon in the NW, for example. Some areas may also have a more locally representative animal, such as Faulkner’s Old Ben, the apotheosis of the Delta which was probably based on an actual bear (Josephs, 234).

The marquee animal may be placed within an animal hierarchy by a culture or a group, such as hunters, but a major factor in the creation of a marquee animal is the fact that it, in some ways, exceeds the existing hierarchy. A marquee animal is comparable to a modern mass media star, so as to function as an exception, a case unto itself. A marquee animal somehow fascinates people; it may represent themes or values that people do not want placed within the standard hierarchy. In contrast with modern trends, the iconography of paleolithic cave art is dominated by a relatively few number of species, and a hierarchy of animals is not presented. Similarly, a discrete, single-genre hierarchy is not presented in the NC Indian oral literature in which the dominant species, deer, elk, and even salmon, are actually under represented.

Perhaps one major criterion in the determination of a group or regional marquee animal is that animal’s significant presence in several genres. The intensity of the emotion attached to the major elaborations, e.g., roles or functions, of the animal’s relationship to people or to an area are also important.
**Totemism**

A case can be made that the blacktail is now the NC marquee animal, especially in this age of drastic reductions in NC salmon runs and in salmon fishing. But whether or not the NC's marquee animal is the salmon, blacktail, or, for some residents, the Roosevelt elk, the assignment of such a status to an animal should not be confused with a fully developed totemic system. The mystery, fascination, or even the fetish-like status and role attached to a single dominant species are simply not comparable in sophistication to a fully functioning totemic system.

**Human Status and Power, Animals**

Animals have been used throughout history, and in most recorded cultures, to directly or indirectly mark or prove the status and power of the human species (speciesism), the nation-state, the class-clan, and the family member-individual. Animal sacrifices in religious rituals are probably based in this human need for security and order.

Such blood lust spectacles as the pre-gladiatorial animal slaughters at the Roman circus ludorum venationumque apparatus continued for 800 years (Verney, 3). The continuation of this practice suggests that it fulfilled a social or political purpose. One purpose for killing animals, which is found in many cultures, is to demonstrate power and political legitimacy; a demonstration of the power and authority to kill animals implies that the killing of humans is also acceptable.
Human Socialization, Animals

Since animals have played an increasingly circumscribed role, functioning as pets for both modern children and adults, the traditional and basic role of animals in human socialization has been obscured. A part of human identity stems from such “primordial metaphors” as the small world of animals’ lives, when they are compared to the broad and complex social lives of people. See Hufford (1992, 9,14). Animals also play a role in the socialization of humans when they participate as partners in a human child’s play. Huizinga argues that such play partners are generally underappreciated (2). Campbell and other historians of culture have noted the fundamental role of animals in the socialization of many tribal peoples, the traditional Blackfoot, for example, as a reminder of the potential importance of animals in relation to children.

The initiation of adolescents into adulthood by means of hunting will be discussed in a separate chapter, but it can be noted here that extensive and powerful arguments for, or critiques of, the role of animals in initiation into adulthood have been presented by Lopez, Shepard, Evelyn Martin, John Mitchell, and Nabham and St Antoine.

Formal Education, Animals

The widespread public criticism of, and even cynicism over, American education may date from the 1960’s, but the roots of this critique go back to the romantic movement. Based on Nietzsche’s ideas, as
articulated by Ortega and more recently by Shepard, contemporary existentialists have argued against the abstract, nature-animal alienation within the overcivilized, formal system of education.

Nabham and St. Antoine presents an update of the existentialist critique by profiling modern children’s “extinction of experience” when they lose specific, experiential knowledge of the plants and animals of their immediate landscapes (239-40, 242, 246). This alienation from nature is not hypothetical, as is seen in Forney’s 1961 Pennsylvania survey which concluded that the general public is poorly informed about wildlife and related issues (119).

Predator-Prey: Human-Animal Relationship

Genuine hunting traditions are sometimes romanticized in terms of their participants’ relationship with prey. In actuality, various cultures display a rather broad range of human-animal relationships, including mystical contact, mentoring, hostility, unenlightened exploitation, and even family relationships. To demonstrate this variability, the Mbuti and Naskapi people can be compared.

The Mbuti of Zaire do not hold most animals, including their prey, in special esteem (Turnbull quoted in Lawrence 1986, 46-47). They have a strongly utilitarian view of animals which seems to discount the claim that the regular hunting of specific species necessarily establishes a respectful relationship between the hunter and the prey. On the other
hand, the Naskapi of Labrador more closely fit the modern stereotype of traditional hunters; they greatly respect their prey (Lawrence 1986, 48). Nevertheless, their prey animals are seen as wholly “Other”; this is in opposition to the ways in which some other cultures interpret prey as gifts from the Earth Mother or Sky Father.

Utilitarianism is a major hunter orientation, as is documented by Kellert and several other researchers. One basis for utilizing animals is the fact that the animals are a product of non-agricultural lands, especially timberland or natural public areas, habitats which cannot be farmed or ranched economically.

Many hunters are apparently aware of utilitarian justifications for hunting. These arguments are continually recycled in hunting publications and letters to the editors of such magazines. However, they often do not seem to be the core rationale for many hunters; rather, they serve as a public and conventional justification for hunting-killing. Informant 7--62 stated that wildlife is “harvested by hunters” and that hunting is a “legitimate management tool.”

Only Informant 29--14 readily and unequivocally stated that the hunting of blacktails by humans is actually unnecessary:

“There wouldn’t [be too many deer without human hunting].”
Nature takes its course.
Definitely, [natural predators would keep the deer population in control]...”
In spite of the hunters who justify their killing by grounding it in realism and in the necessity or inevitability of living off the death of animals, a significant number of critics turn the tables on hunters by claiming that, in the final analysis, hunters do not seek realism. They deny that hunters seek to live according to a realistic acceptance of life and death; they claim that hunters rationalize their own self-indulgence in power over animals as an escape from history and social complexities.

Meat, Wildlife

Informant 29-15, a non-hunter, explained why she opposes hunting:

In the olden pioneer days, humans killed animals for meat. It was a natural cycle.
"They just killed when they needed it.... It...[wasn't] quite so bad...."

A hunter in his approach to nature involves himself in death in several ways, but the acquisition of meat as food is certainly the most basic activity. When they are focused on acquiring human food, hunters need not justify their taking of animal life; they take life out of necessity, and they can appeal to the "law of nature" which holds that life eats life (Campbell 1959, 293).

It might initially seem far-fetched to consider that all eating, since it is based on death and killing, should be sacred, and that eating venison is a holy communion, as much as eating Christian holy bread, but when the meat of animals has been desanctified in true Platonic fashion, sanctity is
not banished, but removed to a transcendental level. The life-death continuum is removed from the planet to a power external to, and ruling over, nature. This transcendental cosmology which de-emphasizes nature and which de-emphasizes humans as animals, does not appear to capture the imagination of modern hunters, who generally insist that nature and death are at the heart of realism. Death and pain are "reality checks" against anthropocentrism and other forms of self-delusion.

Most anti-hunters concentrate their attack on hunters by characterizing them as animal killers, and not animal eaters. This is not surprising since most anti-hunters are not vegetarians. Critics of hunting often question and attack the hunter's act of killing, claiming that it is a fetish, a symbolic, pitiful display of the hunter's power.

However, for at least some hunters, the real fetish which separates them from non-hunting city people, or duped, over-civilized "sheep people" (posse comitatus term), is the securing of game meat. Probably for the majority of NC hunters, eating venison is a regional or subregional "traditional" or family custom. The simplistic claim of the extremist anti-hunting wing that hunting and killing are the real appeal of hunting is not supported by the informant interviews. Nevertheless, Bass' comments regarding wild meat, as opposed to store bought meat, do suggest a possible fetish-like attachment to game meat:

What would it be like...to be truly the last hunters? We would be several leaps closer to that very act we so
despair—the act of walking into a store and having to shop for our meat, no wilderness involved. (Bass June 1995, 85).

**Extractive Orientation to Wildlife**

Informant 3-22 is representative of NC blacktail hunters in his feeling that he cannot afford to be selective, passing up one legal deer in the hope of seeing a better one: “Hunting is so poor [here], you only get a few opportunities.”

This opportunistic mentality perhaps results from the economics of the NC which was, until the 1980’s, dominated by the extractive industries of logging and fishing. An even more boom-or-bust situation is that of the NC fishermen who fish for salmon in Alaska, where there is a chance for “big bucks,” but also a chance for closures due to government regulations or strikes against buyers. Some fishermen may “hit” a major run of salmon, while other fishermen may be “skunked.”

**Competition, Human Versus Wildlife**

Given that competition is one of the most pervasive and basic of American values and coping mechanisms, it is not surprising that competition would be fostered in human-animal relationships. In addition, “sport hunting,” as distinct from recreational and subsistence hunting, has a tradition of emphasizing, if not glorifying, the competition between hunter and prey.
Wildlife Versus Domestic Animals, Threat to Civilization

The Victorian or 19th century point of view which pits wilderness areas against agricultural-urban areas of human control was discussed in the flora section. The pathological fear which may fuel this fear of nature is evident in the congressional attack on wildlife, as Verney documents; circa 1870's, there was an argument in the U.S. Congress:

There is no law which human hands can write, there is no law which Congress of men can enact, that will stay the disappearance of these wild animals before civilisation. They eat grass. They trample the plains. They are as uncivilized as the Indians (79).

A very similar argument regarding wilderness forests was discussed in the flora section.

Recreation, Animals

Disneyesque, small-scale, human-dominated, and juvenilized (desexed) fantasy animals frequently irritate hunters. As realists, many hunters appear to be offended by the ubiquitousness of such images as Bambi. They may sense an element of disrespect towards real animals in this neoteny of cute fictive animals (Lawrence 1986, 42, 47).

Human Isolation From Nature, Animals and Wildlife

The decline in the intensity and extent of the human-wild animal relationship was documented by a study of modern Americans' use of animal-related vocabulary and metaphors (Lawrence “Sacred,” 337). The linguistic evidence from this study supports the generally accepted view
that the alienation of modern people from nature and wildlife is pervasive (Lopez "Renegotiating," 14-17; Snyder 1985, 24).

It would be the direct, first-hand experiences available from hunting which are its major value. In daily life, there is a trend away from contacts with animals, towards an increasingly machine-oriented, modern mass culture, with its second-hand, vicarious experiences. Hunting demands "alertness" and focus in the hunter, not the passive consumption of mass media products and reductive environments which are dominated by preprogrammed machines. Ortega discusses at some length and with obvious conviction the fundamental difference between such self-limited relationships between humans and animals, as in observation or photography, and the fuller, richer, philosophically more serious relationship of predator-prey and consumer-food source. It is interesting to note that cross-culturally, humans appear to grant higher status and often special status to relatively rare natural predators than they do to prey species. Merely observing animals, especially prey animals which were formerly hunted by humans and which are still hunted by natural predators, emphasizes for some rural people, a human separation from nature, a separation from a full participation in nature and a lost "natural" lifestyle.
Security, Peacefulness, Animals

In addition to expressing sexuality and seeking solutions through hunting, hunters seek security through hunting; humans are attracted to wildlife, not only out of psychological need, the drive for curiosity, and a sense of awe, but they are also drawn to animals by the opportunity to learn practical lessons of living through observing wildlife behavior; animals also reassure hunters of their own power and domination and, thereby, contribute to hunters' sense of security. According to Ketcher and Wilkins' empirical study of the role of animals in stress reduction, some types of animal motion or behavior trigger a human sense of security (176). For example, when a hunter is near prey animals and sees that they are at ease, this signals that there are no predators nearby; this situation imparts a pastoral or even lyrical mood to the scene.

Another possible human response to wildlife is to be drawn to an animal's apparent peacefulness, based on its refined adaptations to its environment. Mary Allen even claims that for some people, animal adaptations appear beautiful in their precision and efficiency (179). Prey animals, even when they are fleeing for their lives, do so with an equanimity. They exhibit what appears to be a surprising lack of terror, a naturalness, partly because, as a prey species, responding to life threatening situations is not a unique experience for them.
Compare, for instance, the difference between a fleeing blacktail and the more humanized reactions displayed by domestic animals in trauma. Even the much glorified death drama of bullfighting approaches the qualities of cheap melodrama compared to the flight of wildlife in a life or death struggle. As for anthropomorphizing prey animals, such as deer, given the general cultural stereotype of deer as peaceful and peace loving, it seems obvious that these conceptions result from projections of the human desire for a life of peace and contentment. The stereotypic view is that, while the hunter may be afflicted with “buck fever” in a chase, that the deer isn’t afflicted with “man fever” in fleeing.

Awe, Wildlife

Some observers of wildlife experience a sense of awe, based on an animal’s special features which are often the result of adaptations to the environment. Since physical strength is much sought after and glorified in America, it is not surprising that highly-adapted prey animals, such as deer and elk, frequently impress observers and hunters with their strength. Several of the informants volunteered comments which revealed their deep respect for the blacktails’ ability to ascend slopes to escape hunters. The informants also frequently cited the stamina of wounded blacktail deer, even though blacktail are dismissed as small and weak compared to mule deer. The fact that the deer run when they are mortally wounded, for example by a lung shot, inspires human awe.
Human Joy, Animals

It has been argued that most psychologically healthy people find it interesting, enjoyable, and worthwhile to interact with animals. However, deriving pleasure from killing is distasteful to most Americans; therefore, the idea of the “joy” of the hunt has become suspect. Ortega’s distinction between “joy” and “pleasure” should be reassuring, but his type of existential perspective is probably relegated to a minority of the population (35).

Guilt, Animals

The feelings of guilt which people have in this age of extermination may well explain much of the vitriolic debate over environmental-wildlife issues, despite the newly-touted rejection of “white guilt” over other injustices, such as racism and the growing class system in America. Rowan’s analysis is deeper, and he attempts to do more than simply mirror left-wing empathy and right-wing indifference in this age of extermination:

Modern societies appear—superficially, at least—to have overcome their guilt over killing animals; yet a closer examination suggests that this surface may conceal a deep-seated and unexamined guilt (the common use of the term “sacrifice” in animal research reflects an aspect of our concern over animal death) (“Introduction,” 3-4)

In a letter to the editor of the Daily Astorian dated November 1, 1994, a NC resident supports Rowan’s point; she claims that the results of
human excesses in the NW and the NC are too clear and too costly not to cause reactions in the responsible species, humans:

The historical and biological record of what has happened to the once magnificent runs of salmon on the Columbia River is clear and unequivocal. The fact that what was once the world’s greatest salmon stream is now the world’s most threatened is both criminal and reprehensible (Kytr).

**Hunting Instigates Philosophy**

Regardless of the merits of the various interpretations of hunting, the notion of the seriousness of the hunter-prey relationship is supported in this study. No doubt, a significant percentage of juvenile hunters and poachers are operating from less than laudable motivations and lack a true understanding and respect for the animals they kill, but hunters in the study were predominately respectful of their prey and were certainly as least as thoughtful about their sport as other citizens are about their avocations.

Out of all the possible means for examining the relationship between humans and wildlife, determining whether or not humans are basically maintaining an orientation towards life, as opposed to focusing on death, appears appropriate for the subject of hunting. American hunting is focused on the killing of wildlife, but for the purpose of gaining "life" or benefit for the hunter, and most Americans continue to allow the killing of wild animals, especially if the stated reason is to gain food.
An interesting facet of the dominant hunting perspective regarding the death of deer to promote the life of humans is the fact that while individual hunters and blacktails both perish, the blacktails always seem to remain the same, generation after generation. On the other hand, the ultimate fate of the hunters in the NC is uncertain or unknowable.

In describing his straightforward attraction to wildlife, Informant 3--30 was typical of most of the informants and of many NC residents in that he connected blacktails to the value of life:

I enjoy seeing and watching deer.
"[I’m] glad to see them, [their] beauty.
[I’m] glad they’re alive."

These NC deer appear to be genuine symbols of life or of nature. Blacktails also seem to be “good animals.” The informants’ interest in, and respect for, living animals contrasted strongly with the anti-environmentalist utilitarian orientation. Arch-conservatives reject the efforts of those who favor protecting wildlife on the grounds of appreciation for the fact that they exist, just knowing that “wild animals are there.”

The informants clearly demonstrated in their remarks that they were more knowledgeable about the physical and behavioral adaptations of deer than were non-hunters and anti-hunters. Nearly all the informants were fully aware that the mythic, ahistorical, eternal, and changeless animals are actual animals, subject to all types of influences which trigger genetic and behavioral adaptations. Nevertheless, NC hunters
appeared to be attracted to wildlife partly for reasons of “life
glorification.”

Informant 3--45 explained his personal hunting code or philosophy
which contains many of the key points cited by most of the other NC
hunters who were interviewed:

“[Hunting involves an] appreciation of life.
[We’re] only doing it because we need the meat; [we] kill only to eat.
[We] utilize...[game animals]...for a purpose.
There’s no reason for taking a life unless you are utilizing it.
[We] just feel better about...[no useless killing].
[It’s] a good philosophy...”

In spite of many anti-hunting claims, some of which are couched in
simplistic and reductive psychological terms, the informants did not
present themselves as killers who kill for fun or who shoot at animal
targets. Informant 3--46 was typical: “I don’t feel good about killing [per
se].” He saw himself as a pro-animal person. Informant 4--38 also found
“no pleasure in shooting an animal.” Informant 20--51 placed his hunting
in the larger context of nature and life when asked if his hunting served as
a vehicle for an appreciation of wildlife, nature, and life:

“(I joined the Boy Scouts, loved nature, being in the woods, fishing].
The woods [while hunting] is a great place to be close to nature.
[You] observe things; if you’re alert, [you] observe things in nature,
you don’t see otherwise, unless you see [them] first-hand.
Bow hunting increases your appreciation for nature.
[You] become more of an environmentalist.
[You have] more respect for things nature has made...”
Death, Wildlife

Humans who are seemingly unable to face their own individual deaths or the passing of their entire species often approach the facts of life and death through various indirect means, such as dreams, myths, and religion. Within Euro-American cultures, the observation of, or participation in, nature has also been a means of learning about, or accepting, one's own death.

The interpretation of reality as a life-death cycle constitutes the esoteric wisdom of many cultures. Several of the informants frequently spoke of hunting as a reality check and as an activity that teaches participants the value of life:

My son benefits from hunting.
"[It teaches] appreciation of life; [we're] only doing it because we need the meat. [I] put that [value] into [him]; [we] kill only to eat; [we] utilize...[game] for a purpose."
But I'd probably go hunting if I had all the money I need.
The food is "justification"; not so many hunters really need the deer for meat (Informant 3-19).

At first glance, this informant's claim that game meat is needed for his family may seem ambiguous or ingenious, but he may have been arguing that no matter how much money people have, they will still, directly or indirectly, be living off the death of animals.

Not all the informants initially stressed the use of hunting as a means of facing reality. However, when they claimed that they were
merely operating as predators within the system of nature, they often stressed the inevitability of death and the reasonableness of participating in the life-death cycle through hunting. They rejected as self-delusional the notion that if hunters do not kill, then the deer won’t die and there will necessarily be more deer. Once again, the views of hunters who see themselves as necessary predators are ultimately grounded in a complex of realism, pragmatism, and utilitarianism. Not a single informant referred to a transcendental realm to justify his or her killing. Informant 7-62 saw himself as being a part of nature’s unsentimental way:

...I’m only taking what nature will take anyway. Habitat, even if ideal, can only support just so much population, there’s just so much carrying capacity. There’s harvest one way or another, a natural crash or a more controlled management with hunting. “Nature will take its toll.” There would be the waste of disease and starvation without hunting...

The fact of biological die-offs is well-documented in the literature; for example, approximately 50% of the U.S. rabbit population dies each winter. For some hunters, the reality of the life-death cycle is fully demonstrated within the hunter-prey relationship.

---Wildlife, American---

Wildlife and Wilderness, An American Presence

Fully wild and free American species have a more intense presence in the landscape than do the carefully managed game animals in European
game parks, and this intense presence of wildlife species in American landscapes plays an integral role in the careers of many American folk and literary heroes and characters, such as Hawkeye, Huck Finn, Nick Adams, Ike McCaslin, and legendary explorers, such as Lewis and Clark, to name a few. Also, in a relatively young country such as the United States, wildlife is not that far removed from its historical national roles. This is especially true in the Western United States. However, it should be kept in mind that some of the roles that deer have in the historically older Eastern United States cannot be re-duplicated in the NC because of the presence of the larger-sized elk in the NC.

For an indirect support of the contention that some wildlife species may have a strong presence for Americans, one can point to the process through which wild animals are newly discovered and culturally coded. For example, the possum, armadillo, and killer bee are still emerging in many parts of America and are yet to be fully “identified.” Also, as changes in the local wildlife occur, local wildlife require redefinition. Consider, for example, the impact of Lyme’s disease on the image of raccoons and deer in suburbia.

Abundance, Wildlife, America

The general public is still indifferent towards the extinction of some species and tends to underestimate the gradual, long term threats against wildlife populations. Abundant wildlife is seen as a cultural given
in America, especially in the American West, and this assumption of abundance has fostered the neglect and abuse of wildlife. It has been claimed by hunting magazines that simplistic presentations in school educational programs and propagandistic environmental efforts have created a false impression among the general public that several abundant species are threatened. This assessment is widely accepted in regard to deer.

**Wildlife, Teacher-Guide, Indian**

The Indian’s appreciation for animals as fellow beings, equals, or even superiors who have lessons to teach to humans, remains entirely foreign to most Americans. While many Americans may have a renewed respect for the Indian’s relationship with animals and the Indian’s ritualistic means for participating in nature, the vehicles which would allow non-native Americans to relate to wildlife in the way some contemporary Indians do, remains non-existent. Perhaps, only in the future can most American hunters accept deer as equals and fellow creatures. The possibility that hunters could ever accept their prey as their superiors, as teacher-guides, or as sacred creatures, seems indeed remote. Perhaps a limited role for wildlife as teachers-guides may develop within an initiation process (Mary Allen, 1). Such a possibility will be discussed in Chapter VIII, Initiation.
Wildlife as Sacred Path/Discipline in America

While the colonial mentality which views animals as slaves and wildlife as targets has eroded, the shape of the new human-animal relationship remains unclear. Some of these new American religions contain a specific orientation to wildlife, and the impact of such exploration is greater than what the small numbers of participants would indicate. However, such attempts as ritualizing or re-ritualizing hunting have had limited success. The difficulties that must be faced in the long-term development of a religious orientation to wildlife appear to be constantly underestimated by its adherents and promoters.

There is a surprising lack of specific images, symbols, and traditions in which the complexity of the relationships existing between wildlife and flora, as well as between wildlife and other aspects of nature, are represented. Ecologists must still struggle to supplant the popular tendency to maintain discrete categories, such as geology, climate, flora, and fauna. An environmentally holistic perspective within the citizenry remains the goal of educators.

Ambiguity Over Wildlife and Wilderness in America

As already discussed at some length in the section on vegetation, American culture has held, and continues to hold, a powerfully ambiguous view of wilderness. The conflicts underlying this ambiguity can surface in issues dealing with wildlife.
Rediscovering Wildlife in America

Again, as discussed in the section on vegetation, in the late 20th century, wildlife has become a topical issue. Burghardt and Herzog claim that there is a renewed interest in the human-animal relationship (763). Within this general interest, there is also a popular and scholarly exploration of the "traditional" American Indian relationship to wildlife. The Alaska and Yellowstone wolf controversies are but two examples of this new interest, as are the several state initiatives concerning bear and cougar hunting.

American Wildlife as Threat to Euro-American Anthropomorphic Theology

Even more so than vegetative life, wildlife poses a possible threat to Euro-American anthropocentric theologies. For example, as Hillman notes, animals lead lives independent of humans (52). In addition, the fact that animal life predates human history is another unwanted challenge which animals present to theologies based on ethnic histories. Several writers cite the long-standing Judeo-Christian attack on animism and pantheism (Roderick Nash, Desmond Morris, and Leonard Lutwack).

Currently, American fundamentalists and Catholics have also targeted ecotheology, including the animal rights groups' position on panpsychism, which would raise the ontic status of animals. In 1996, the National Association of Evangelicals openly opposed the attack of the far more powerful Christian Coalition on the Endangered Species Act (Sonner).
However, the generalization that Americans and NC orthodox Christians are highly ambiguous about, if not rigidly opposed to, animal rights status, remains basically true.

--North Coast Wildlife--

Fundamental NC Political–Economic Issue

Wildlife as a natural resource is front page news in the NC, as are other nature-related issues. The dominant extractive and tourist industries are wildlife dependent since those animals, regulated basically as commercial species—salmon, shrimp, and crab—all play a central role in the standard of living for many NC families. On the other hand, sport species, predominantly blacktail deer and elk, and salmon as well, since it is both a sport and commercial species, have traditionally figured in the issues of quality of life and lifestyle, and regional and subregional identity. However, as the NC economy focuses more fully on tourism, for example, through improved facilities and expanded activities, the drawing power and length of stay contributions of sport hunting and fishing are gaining wider attention from local residents and resource managers.

Natural Abundance

When compared to many other American subregions and habitats, under natural conditions, the NC has a rich, complex, varied, and dense wildlife population. An early resident noted that “there are so many
things one can enjoy if one only stops, looks and listens to the wonders around you” [sic] (Hartill, 36).

The NC wildlife population includes many major fur-bearing animals, but the precise, quantified interrelationships among these species is not widely understood among NC residents. The relationship between blacktails and blacktail carrion eaters, for example, raccoons, hawks, coyotes, bobcats, and cougars, may not have been thoroughly studied. The impact of blacktail feeding, which is probably a major factor in the total food chain, is also little discussed.

NC newspapers regularly present features on natural abundance, which demonstrates and supports a widespread and ongoing interest in wildlife, nature, and related topics in the area. “Below Neahkahnie” (Tippens), a Daily Astorian column, centers on life in rural CC. “Outside Possibilities” (Ellsberg), another Daily Astorian column, treats outdoor life, and especially hunting and fishing. Photographs of NC wildlife, nature, and weather are also common in newspapers. This photography captures the NC “living with nature” theme—the subregional quality of “local life”; it also frequently pictures tourist interactions with the subregion through interactions with nature.

Natural Abundance. Non-Forest

Non-forest NC animals are also major components in the creation of an image of abundance. They include salmon, clams, crabs, sturgeon,
steelhead, and migratory birds. Such wildlife is a part of the natural abundance of the NC, as is seen in the sections on Geology and Flora.

Razor Clams

In many regions of the country, outdoor sport participants hunt or fish, and often do both. Kellert’s various surveys indicate that consumptive participants often hunt for only one principle prey animal or for only one type of animal, for example, small game, big game, water fowl, or upland birds. Oregon, particularly the NC area, is, according to the 1985 U.S. Department of Interior’s National Survey, Oregon (19) and the 1991 National Survey (29), somewhat atypical of the rest of the country in having less small game hunting, much more big game hunting of blacktail deer and Roosevelt elk, and a high rate of salmon fishing. However, this rather complex profile of NC consumptive outdoor sport activities may be incomplete because it does not include non-license consumptive activities which tend to transcend the dichotomous, one or two season, pattern of activity.

Outdoor consumptive non-license activities, such as clamming, smelt dipping, berry picking, mushroom picking, and firewood cutting, tend to create a seasonal round, a full outdoor calendar year for a high percentage of NC residents. As deer and elk hunting become more restricted, expensive, and competitive, these other ancillary activities may help to bring participants out-of-doors.
The natural abundance of the NC is a constant theme.

The North coast of Oregon abounds with wild, watchable land mammals. Our own contact with the beautiful creatures can range from the magic of a chance encounter to the satisfaction of a successful safari into the coastal wilds in search of wildlife in their habitat ("Land Nestled Between Mountains and Ocean Is Teeming With Life").

Elk are the most impressive of such wild creatures, and the management of elk has been a major NC wildlife development success story. The repopulation of elk due to hunting restrictions and the success of the Jewell Refuge have created excess elk which are used to stock other areas in Oregon and California.

NC wildlife also includes many high profile forest species which are absent in areas under more direct and pervasive human utilization. Most of these species are generally the objects of observations—beaver, mink, bald eagle, osprey, great blue heron, grouse, river otter, coyote, fox, bobcat, cougar, black bear, and blacktail. The Roosevelt elk also is included in this group.

Some of the same species and many other species are present in the NC in such numbers that they are encountered frequently, and even daily, in prime forest areas—crows, morning doves, various birds in season, coyotes, possums, raccoons, and blacktails; the less glamorous species, such as banana slugs and carpenter ants, should also be included.
Taylor and Knispel (11) estimated the big game population in CC in 1974 to be:

Elk.................................................................13,200
Blacktail Deer.................................................30,100
Black Bear.....................................................1,600
Cougar............................................................325

Therefore, there are more deer than humans in the NC. Informant 3--13 commented on the effect that the natural abundance of animals has on him; when the animals are "abundant" he "feels good about hunting."

**Trapping**

In the past, trapping was a fairly popular NC activity for a few specialists. High school boys, especially, participated in trapping for profit. Trapping contributed to the development of expert woodsmen and, therefore, indirectly contributed to the development of expert hunters. Trappers were required to be knowledgeable about animal behavior and were required to spend many hours in natural and often isolated areas. This NC activity may deserve more study.

**Threatened or Endangered Species**

The reduction in some wildlife populations has become a major economic issue in logging, commercial fishing, and in sport fishing-tourism. For example, the spotted owl restrictions may have an immediate and potentially significant financial impact in the form of lost timber taxes, which would, in turn, lead to a rise in NC property taxes.
In spite of hunting publications which continually claim that American hunters have never pushed a species into extinction, the NC presents a clear counter example in which outdoorsmen, many of whom were no doubt hunters, contributed to a local extinction. While it is still present in Washington across the Columbia River and in Tillamook County, the Western snowy plover became locally extinct in the 1980’s:

Under pressure from off-road vehicle groups...[a spokesman] said, a slow-moving Oregon Department of Fish and Wildlife failed to follow up on his requests for action as far back as 1983. Five years later, with the Clatsop Plains population is all but gone, the federal listing process began (Hollander 28 Jan. 1995).

The massive and widespread loss of wildlife cannot be overstated. What is even more shocking is the fact that society’s response has been so fatalistic or indifferent.

Loss and Lack of NC Indian Wildlife Knowledge and Kinship

Although deer were not major characters in the NC Indian literature (Elizabeth Jacobs, 9, 91), perhaps their importance to the Indians is being underestimated. According to Jacobs, deer was the mother of trickster rabbit (84, 88), deer hoof rattles were used in gambling (57, 75), and deer “spirit powers” may have been a part of hunting (83). Buckskin was used and tanned skins were “well dressed” (56, 59).

Klatskanie Indian material from Northeast CC is not recorded in the ethnographic records. The KLaskanie had closer ties to the Eastern Oregon
inland culture which existed where deer were a more important resource than in the salmon and trade rich NC; therefore, their deer lore may have been significant. The modern NC hunter may have lost a significant source of Indian rituals or customs, which could have been incorporated into local hunting to play a role in tradition building.

Game Foods

The dismissal of NC Indian game foods by early residents is similar to their disdain for the Indian plant foods discussed in the chapter on flora. A more extensive use of certain NC animals species for food might have enhanced the social value of these species and of wildlife, landscape, and nature in general. Rice relates a valuable account of the difference between the serious outdoorsman's approach to nature and wildlife and the approach of those who are culture-bound to stereotypic views of animals:

Dad was nowhere about. There was a note saying that he was checking a couple of traps [on Puget island in the Columbia river near Westport, CC] and would be back soon. Something smelled awfully good. I snooped around and found a roast in the oven. It was still hot and I was hungry. So I made myself a sandwich. It was so good that I had seconds. When Dad came in I asked where he had found the roast. He looked at me blankly for a moment and then began to chuckle. He told me it was beaver and he had put it there to render out the fat to use on his traps. He tried some of it also and concluded it was pretty good fare.

While we were discussing it, an old trapper friend of Dad's came in. He wanted me to give him a lift on my way home. Dad asked him if he was hungry. He had a couple of beaver sandwiches. Dad led the conversation around to the different
kinds of wild meat they had eaten. Finally he came to beaver which he thought should be very good since they lived on a very clean vegetarian diet. The old trapper said that he would be darned if he would ever eat beaver. Dad and I began to laugh because he was so emphatic. Dad told him he had just eaten a couple of beaver sandwiches. Did he ever get mad! He jumped up from the table, kicked the chair across the room and stomped out. Dad said he was afraid he was going right through the bottom of the houseboat. He jumped into his skiff and took off, rowing like a madman. We didn't see him again for over a year (311-13).

Bear meat is likewise currently rarely utilized in the NC; only older informents have hunted and eaten bear. Full utilization of game animals, beyond the general culture's norms, could possibly substantiate hunters' claims regarding the ritualistic aspects of hunting. Full use could possibly help to develop hunting as an initiation rite and as a tradition.

Prehistoric Extinct Species

NC residents are for the most part unaware of the existence of most, and perhaps all, of the extinct NC species of the pre-contact period. This ignorance of the local area during the distant past is similar to residents' lack of knowledge about the earliest NC geology. Emma Miller lists as previous NC animal species: buffalo, deer-like antelope, elephants, first raccoons, foxes, giant pigs, musk oven, peccaries, primitive coyotes, and tapirs (2). Arguably, a knowledge of these extinct species, especially of the ancestors of present day NC wildlife, could very well contribute to a richer and fuller interest in, and appreciation of, local
wildlife. This ignorance of the full story of local species follows that of the general loss of NC Indian knowledge. It suggests that anti-intellectualism and anti-traditionalism can undermine the status and value of local items of much potential cultural importance.

Reduced or Lost Natural Abundance

Informant 27--26 expressed a trust in the NC’s natural abundance which is now dated:

"...I've never seen any reason for anyone to starve to death in a country like this because if you can't get enough meat to eat, you can always go get fish..."

But, Informant 30--30 when discussing the concept of “wild” in the NC showed skepticism towards such an attitude:

"I think a lot of people, [the NCGA], are biased in the sense that they would like to see creeks full of fish and woods full of deer and elk and grouse, and it doesn’t work that way."

The desire to recreate the natural abundance of the pre-settlement wilderness is equated with the general fallacy of “stockpiling game,” but within woods, that is, within humanized areas, as opposed to wilderness areas, one would expect that management should be able to foster larger wildlife populations and more complete ecosystems. Highly disturbed NC sites or areas are possibly operating far below the typical or maximum wildlife carrying capacity. Nevertheless, it is a fact that wildlife abundance is not easily re-created and maintained in the modern world, due to
many limiting factors. In discussing the old days, informant 14-45 stated that

"...I guess I've seen the best of it."
"[There are] just too many people."
"[I] used to fill the back of a pickup or a wash tub with clams, but...
[clamming's] been poor the last couple of years; [there are] just too many people."

Initially the informant's comments may sound self-aggrandizing and escapist, but in 1991, an oil sheen and tar balls began washing up at Ft. Stevens State Park in NW CC from a Puget Sound oil spill, and the NC beaches were later closed for clamming because of oil pollution. In the following year, there was no clamming, due to a toxin which may have occurred naturally, but which may also have been spread by passing ships which flushed their tanks and deposited organisms from Southeast Asia.

Informant 11-27 described similar depletions of NC elk:

"...Elk used to be just in the hills, not near town. [Now they're] moved around by people. [There] used to be larger herds, [heavily used and marked] game trails, herds of 100-150 elk, but no longer..."

There are many birds in the NC which may be hunted since the Pacific flyway parallels the NC coastline, with a Columbia River connection to the Willamette Valley flyway. However, the drainage of area wetlands in the past, and probably other effects resulting from human activity, have greatly reduced the once abundant flocks of wild fowl. The effect resulting from the drainage of wetlands was to drastically reduce
waterfowl hunting, but drainage most probably also reduced deer hunting. Birds would be important to NC deer hunting since several of the informants and many authors in hunting magazines relate that a young boy's first killing or hunting experience often occurs with birds. The reduction of highly successful waterfowl hunting may therefore have weakened a major access point into NC deer hunting.

Human Devolution and Wildlife

The topic of devolution was discussed in the section on climate and vegetation, but several NC animal species are also directly involved with the theme of nature's attack on the undermining of human endeavors. Such species as slugs, termites, and flying wood ants in the Spring, and larger "varmints," such as rats, possums, mink, and coyotes, often prosper at the expense of human enterprises.

In spite of the traditional Euro-American theme of humans or culture versus nature, and perhaps following the American Northwest regional point of view, nature in the NC is not generally taken as malevolent. This fact may also be the result of the increasingly media documented view that NC nature, which "gave" so much to its inhabitants, is now increasingly under siege from human activities.

Bald Eagle Sanctuary

In the NC, the bald eagle recovery program is a telling case study of the difficult problems facing wildlife workers. It touches upon several
national, regional, and subregional wildlife issues. The eagle sanctuary was initially seen as an unmitigated success and was taken as proof that NC residents were committed to wildlife. It was a point of local pride, which displayed the fact that local residents had expertise and "horse sense" regarding wildlife, as opposed to outsiders who had often failed at such efforts to redress past wildlife mistakes and abuses. However, the complexity of the problems and the lasting effects of past abuses led to a bitter dose of reality. The failure of eagle hatching in the sanctuary, due to pollutants in the Columbia River from far-ranging sources as distant as Eastern Oregon, has limited the sense of local superiority and insulation from the "Outside." Current abuses have also had detrimental effects on bald eagles and other raptors. Even when those abuses are obviously perpetrated by only a small minority of residents, they are still troubling.

Informant 5--9 has special credentials to comment upon bald eagles and NC raptors in general. He is a state and federally-licensed wildlife rehabilitator with a leadership role in the CC bald eagle sanctuary project; he is also active at the Astoria wildlife shelter. Informant 5--16--19 commented that hunters who have very little respect for animals are responsible for the loss of many birds of prey:

...Even though all birds of prey are protected and all migratory birds are federally protected, numerous local birds of prey are shot. There are documented eagle shootings. Large birds, especially eagles, are inviting targets. I had to destroy a red-tailed hawk shot with an arrow during
hunting season; circumstances suggested a hunter was responsible...

The sanctuary project also points up the increasingly coverage of NC non-consumptive animal use in the media. Whereas, news photographs of hunters, especially, young hunters, are rare in the NC, the schoolchildren’s role in the sanctuary project received extensive coverage. For example, an article entitled “Twilight Eagle Sanctuary Opens; Gearhart Students Played Big Role” appeared in the Seaside Signal in 1990, with a photograph. NC Newspaper stories, often with pictures of local residents aiding injured wildlife and the activities of the wildlife shelter are also common.

--North Coast Wildlife in Deer Hunting--

Non-Prey Wildlife

There are several reasons why non-prey wildlife play a minor, but noteworthy and sometimes memorable role in many NC blacktail hunts. Wildlife, for the most part non-game species, contribute to the aesthetic enjoyment of hunts, often adding variety, as well as beauty and tension to a hunt. For example, a tense situation arises when other animals make noises that sound like those made by deer and the hunter needs to determine the correct source of the noise. Also, as already noted, wildlife may participate in a blacktail hunt by providing an alarm system for the prey; squirrels and birds are especially helpful to deer by announcing the presence of hunters (Sel! 1964, 134).
Many hunters are knowledgeable about local wildlife and are aware of each animal's world. This gives them a sense of being out among wild animals and of being a part of a total natural environment. As informant 28--44 reported, "It's neat to see hawks or see anything when you're out." The sighting of wildlife seems to naturally lead to the study of animals, and this can become partly or wholly independent of hunting, as in informant 36--40's experiences:

"...[You've] got all the different animals running around. You get to know patterns of certain [different] animals... I don't know if...[my oldest daughter] will want to...[hunt], but she likes going out, driving around, checking out areas, learning what's what."

The symbolic value of non-game wildlife within blacktail hunts is difficult to calculate, given the highly personal meanings that can be attached to the many species a NC hunter might encounter. It is likely that at least some incidental wildlife species will hold special symbolic value for hunters and take on a ritualistic interpretation. For example, many encounters with incidental animals, especially those animals which may be seen during the fall hunt, may lead to the association of these animals with the fall season. An obvious case is the sighting of a chevron of honkers, but less salient phenomena, such as coyotes in turning coats, may become private signs.
Non-Game Animals as First Kills

As children, several informants' first wildlife kills were of non-game small animals, such as birds. Informant 3--2's initial kill was typical: "[You] can learn from experience [that killing non-food animals, such as birds was not fun. It] was pretty dumb." Informant 12--10 also seemed to have explored death and killing or to have initiated himself into hunting with small game, but he quickly excluded non-game animals as his prey. He stated that "as a kid I shot a few animals not to eat. But as I hunted more [my philosophy was], if I'm not going to eat it or it's not a pest, I don't shoot it." Other informants had similar first-kill experiences; Informant 17--13 began hunting alone with a shot gun at the age of 10 and shot ducks with a .22 in Minnesota. Informant 3--9's son, as a boy, also killed a bird once, as he himself did.

Post-Hunt Shooting and Killing

There is a general rule among NC hunters against post-hunt, non-game animal killing. Informant 6--32's cryptic statement captured the subregion's clear cut rejection of casual killing. His father sternly told him:

"If you can't eat it, don't shoot it.
If you shoot it, better figure on eating it, [so, if someone acts that way on a hunt, you can tell them], it's a long walk home."

Informant 1--16 also had a strong reaction toward post-hunt shooting. He thought that hunters who shoot at non-game wildlife are people who are
“the same type of people that would shoot a cat or dog. [They are] just shooting a gun, [not hunting].” Informant 12--22 echoed the same sentiments: “If you’re going to kill it, you eat it. Several other comments were similar. Informant 10--15 had never shot at other animals although he might have shot at a stump for target practice. Informant 11--16 added that “[it’s] not common [to shoot other animals after a hunt].” He would shoot tin cans and beer cans for target shooting, and he would shoot at a stump for the same purpose. Informant 9--35 had an especially strong reaction: “I think that anybody who wants to shoot something he is not going to eat...[is] despicable. It trashes our reputation as a species.”

Role in Quality Hunt

Several informants repeated that non-prey animals which are incidental to the hunt enriched their hunting experiences. Informant 19--8, an old timer, recounted the following experience with a chipmunk:

...While I was down there hunting I heard a chipmunk ahollering, “Chip, chip, chip.”
...So, the next day, I went out again.
I went down there,...where I quit chasing the deer.
I found two big pools of blood about a foot in diameter; he stopped there.
That’s right close to where I heard that chipmunk ahollering...

Other informants recounted their experiences with other incidental animals:

“My object [in hunting] was to see wild game. It’s hard; it’s not an easy thing to do. I could almost always go out and see animals.
... whichever way you hunt, [by rifle or bow], being close to nature like that is real great..."

(formant 20--23).

For informant 7--61, the appeal of hunting is in "the total experience...the preparation, getting out in the woods, seeing the animals, seeing other wildlife." Informant 9--11 echoed similar feelings:

"...[You] don't have to kill a deer to have a good hunt; I like to see animals and I like to learn about them. [A] whole sensory package makes for a successful hunt, manufacturing an experience..."

Informant 20--17-18 nostalgically recalled that his first deer hunt with his father, brother, and others took place in a forest preserve by a creek full of trout.

Source of Learning Outdoorsmanship

Informant 9--22 specifically uses the outdoors as a source of learning:

Hunting is one of several woods and wildlife related outdoors activities.
It allows learning more about plants, animals, fishing, mushroom gathering, legal firewood gathering, driving in the woods with the kids...
"Hunting has become a corollary, a big hook on which I hang a lot of learning."

Since the informant hunts, fishes fresh and salt water fish, gathers mushrooms, camps in Idaho and is interested in natural history, he appeared to be well-qualified as an outdoorsman-hunter. Informant 7--63 gave as his
justification of hunting the fact that hunting trains the hunter to look more closely at animals and nature. The informant could have extended this point, as do pro-hunter advocates, to include the notion that hunters’ greater contact with nature breeds an appreciation for all of nature and for conservation.

Small Game, Rabbits, and Squirrels

Although there have been some reports of an abundance of rabbits in the NC in the past (Maddux, 7), in some areas, they now seem scarce or non-existent. Rabbit hunting was mentioned as a current activity by only one informant. Informant 36--9 frequently goes rabbit hunting, and both of his daughters go with him “all the time.”

Modern day “slob” hunters who reduce small game to “targets” have their own use for rabbits. Informant 29--6 described the activities of what is most probably a small minority of NC high school students who abuse shooting and wildlife:

“...[They do] target practice at night. If they see something moving, they’ll shoot it. If they see a rabbit hopping across the road, they’ll shoot it; they don’t care. It’ll be much more fun than shooting a target. It’s more a challenge to shoot something moving across the woods than something with a bull’s eye on it. Then they have something to bring home too...”

The present day drastic decline in the relative value of the meat from rabbits and small animals, or perhaps the scarcity of such animals, appear
to have greatly diminished small game hunting as a viable youth activity for assisting the family. This situation contrasts with that of depression days. During the depression, hunting functioned as a youths' initiation into the securing of legitimate and practical food sources. Informant 20--1 recounted that his first hunting experience in North Clackamas County, on the eastern slope of the Coast Range, took place with his father during the Depression, when rabbits would help feed the family. In those days "a rabbit was a rabbit," that is, a meal. This form of small game hunting filled a need since his father was unemployed for 3 years during this period.

Another form of small game, squirrels, were abundant in the NC until coyotes increased in the 1930's (Elliot, 109). Informant 12--1-2's first hunting experience was with squirrel, but it took place outside the NC. His experience was typical in several ways, but quite atypical in that the squirrel he brought home to his family was prepared to produce a special dish. The food preparation highlighted the hunter's accomplishment and contribution to the family. It also acted to connect the hunt and the meat to the non-hunting members of the family, making the hunting and the special preparation a joint effort:

"...[I was] absolutely thrilled...
[It was] excellent eating.
Mom cooked them in a Dutch oven...with wine...
[It was] fantastic eating, Italian style, with polenta."
Informant 22--2’s experience of squirrel hunting stands in sharp contrast to the unifying experience related by Informant 12--1--2 above. The event was perhaps not “traumatic,” but it seems to have been a troubling and serious event. It represented a “meaningless” kind of killing:

“I remember going out with a .22 and shooting squirrels. I remember that; I remember shooting a squirrel; that’s kind of a meaningless kind of killing, but it wasn’t a traumatic experience for me; I shot a squirrel and that’s something a guy is supposed to do, that kind of thing. [We didn’t take it home to eat.] I think I cut the tail off and saved it; [I] don’t know what happened to it [later]. [I] never shot a squirrel [after that]. Oh, yeah, I did go squirrel hunting with a guy [years later].”

A few informants listed small game, often squirrels, as the prey in their first kill experience, following the general pattern of big game hunters who begin their careers with small game. Shaw’s 1973 Colorado study showed that small game hunters were nearly four times more numerous than big game hunters (62). In contrast, in the NC, small game hunting was only strongly linked to the pioneers and to life during the depression.

When small game is “bagged” by an experienced hunter, it may serve as a consolation prize for an unsuccessful big game hunt and may function as a means of warding off the possibility of looking foolish. Informant 9--46 indicated a sensitivity towards looking foolish while hunting:
"[It's a] funny thing: we take a 6,000 pound, $15,000 four wheel drive pickup, a high tech rifle with fancy optics, and sneak around and play caveman."

**Natural Predators**

The categories “Natural Predator” and “Varmint” are opposed in the wildlife classification systems held by many people, and while the classifications assigned to species are in constant flux, the categories a person has for some species as natural predators and for others as varmints can determine his or her orientation to hunting. For example, with the disappearance of natural predators on deer, in a particular area, a local person might think that hunting becomes necessary to control populations.

Some of the informants believed that there was a lack of deer predators in the NC. Informant 1--22’s assessment of the lack of deer predators in the NC was certainly accurate, but it is interesting that she did not label coyotes as deer predators. Because such predation is very rarely seen, it may be discounted by most NC residents, and it would be difficult for wildlife biologists to quantify the killing of fawns by coyotes in the NC. However, coyotes are generally accepted as fawn predators by some observers (Rue 1989, 400). Informant 1--24 believed that there are no local natural deer predators, no “natural enemies,” since the wolves are gone, and cougars are rare; thus, this point of view has been pervasive and generally convincing. Informant 1--24, who does not hunt or read hunting magazines, presented intact the basic American hunter justification for
killing wild animals—the human is required as a deer predator in the place
of missing natural predators. Informant 34--54 reiterated the standard
argument for the human hunter as predator, that humans must manage
game animal populations:

"...The predators are gone from our food chain; we’re the predator
anymore.
Very few predators will kill a deer; The predators, [such as wolves],
that will are long gone..."

Another point of view was expressed by an informant, an avid black-
tail and elk hunter; since he does not hunt or allow others to hunt on his
property, he was protecting both the blacktails and the cougars:

"...[I’m not anti-natural predator]; I’ve got 2 cougars on the property.
[I’ve seen them].
There’s an almost black one, and there’s a gold colored one.
[Even if local natural predators, such as bear and cougar take a
deer], they’re not going to wipe out the deer."

His attitude typified the view held by some NC hunters that natural
predators should be accepted and even promoted. This acceptance of
natural predators stands in stark contrast to the attitude of some hunter
advocates who reject competition between hunters and natural predators.
The state of Alaska’s wolf killing policy to promote game animals for
hunters remains an exception which supports the critics’ position.
Compare for example, the mid-1990’s Canadian opinion poll which reported
that 90% of Canadians were opposed to killing wolves in order to provide
more game animals for hunters (Kay, 37). While hunting publications and
public advocates remain divided on the issue of natural predators as competitors of human hunters, NC hunters appeared to reject the idea that natural predators are a threat to humans and to human hunting. For a sampling of positions on this issue see Williamson, McIntyre (1993), Kay, and Wooters (1992, 22).

**Raccoons**

The classification of NC raccoons is ambiguous; they are viewed variously as cute pets, tricksters, natural predators, and varmints. The fallacy that raccoon are cute, “pet-like” animals is seen in the case of a Seaside man who feeds dozens of raccoons and as a result creates a neighborhood problem (Spencer). Informant 11--16’s position that no one would criticize him for shooting a bobcat or raccoon seemed dated. Informant 7--42’s view of raccoons was focused on their predation on game species; he believed that raccoons and foxes are also “rascals, [var- mints].”

**Bobcat**

NC bobcats are now very rarely seen although they were formerly trapped when their pelts had a higher cash value. Bobcats are rarely a major deer predator, according to Mech (193), Strung (1973, 25), and Rue (1989, 405), and deer predation by bobcats was not mentioned by any of the informants. There was one pre-field study report of a hunter who shot a bobcat on the closing day of deer season for its pelt, which was valued at
approximately $50.00. This killing may have taken place as compensation, to avoid the ridicule of failure, following the theme of the “skunked,” defeated, or unsuccessful hunter.

**Varmints**

As with the category, “Natural Predator,” the category, “Varmint” is a touchstone issue within hunting. Varmints must be viewed in terms of the health, balance, and completeness of an ecosystem, as opposed to merely approaching them as an issue of managing an isolated species. When a species’ total role in an ecosystem is understood, it can rarely be viewed as merely a pest or a killer. While varmint hunting instructional videos and hunting magazine articles are currently available, killing for trivial reasons is now generally unacceptable (Burghardt and Herzog, 764). Milek’s article on “Varminting” (1992, 64) was severely questioned by readers who resisted equating “verminting,” “hunting,” and “shooting sport” (44).

On the issue of problems caused by “vermints,” the claim that one is killing a certain species to protect other wildlife species is fairly common, but this claim seems highly suspect since such killing probably has no real effect on the wildlife population under discussion. Some NC residents shoot crows because they prey on songbirds and ducklings, or they run down possums on the road because they eat bird eggs, compete with raccoons, or become garbage pests.
Informant 9--35’s position probably reflects the most common NC policy regarding varmints, namely that individual animals pests, and not species, are treated as “varmints”: “Unless I see some specific damage, I don’t believe in killing other animals.” He clearly rejected killing animals, based on their reputation or classification as “varmints.” Informant 12--22 mirrored this rationale:

“...if [there’s] truly a pest, I don’t mind killing it; [they] could [be] starlings, crows, could be definitely coyotes at times when there is a heavy population of them...”

Crows

The Fish and Wildlife Service’s level of concern over non-game educational activities on such issues as varmints attests to a lack of research. One wonders whether or not Informant 14--27’s claims about crows were accurate since the research is lacking:

Crows are varmints, based on “feeding habits, getting little grouse, game birds of all types when young, and song birds. They’re a detriment; believe in thinning them out. There’s too damn many of them now...”

Possums

Possums were supposedly introduced into the NC by CCC workers in the 1930’s, and some locals, at least partly, favor raccoons over possums, based on their feelings for an indigenous animal. There may also be a cuteness factor (neoteny) favoring raccoons. However, some locals purposely kill possums since they probably do compete with raccoons and
have other unwelcome habits. Informant 5--26 reported that some hunters run down possums in their cars because possums eat bird eggs, compete with raccoons, and become garbage pests. Informant 14--27 had the same opinion:

...Possums are varmints, onerous critters.

"[They do] damage to birds nests, particularly heavy [damage] on birds nests. I would say it wouldn't hurt to eliminate them completely."

**Nutrias**

"Nutria" is the local name for coypu, a large beaver-like South American rodent, myocaster coypu. It is not to be confused with the smaller mountain beaver or "boomer." It was brought into Oregon as a fur ranch animal. Escapees have established a wild Coastal population. Informant 5--27 documented that at least a few NC residents shoot nutria for non-consumptive reasons.

**Mountain Beavers**

Known as "boomers," the *apodontia rufa* is an indigenous NC animal, which is basically only discussed as a pest which destroys seedling replants in logged areas; it is seen as a destroyer of ornamentals in residential areas. Again, Fish and Wildlife research and public education seems lacking; it is not known whether or not boomer tunnels on hillsides affect plants and animals, or whether or not mountain beavers are a more
important agent of seedling destruction on replanted timber lands than are elk.

**Natural Predators of Deer**

Coyotes, black bears, and cougars could be taken together to form the class of natural NC predators of deer, but this is not a common local category. These natural predators, especially cougars, are generally known as efficient deer predators, especially upon fawns, but no sightings of predation by these animals was volunteered by the informants.

**Coyotes**

There are various reports of coyotes as deer predators in the literature. According to Mech, coyotes can be a controlling factor in deer population (194). According to Rue, coyotes kill fawns and sometimes hunt adult deer in packs, but they are also run off by does with fawns (1989, 400). Strung only lists coyotes as a minor deer predator (1973, 25). Despite these conflicting reports, coyotes, which became abundant in the NC only after 1920, after the Tillamook Burn (Elliott, 109), have traditionally been labeled as varmints in America, and when they are seen as major deer predators, this justifies actively hunting them (Sullivan, 54). The varmint hunters then see themselves as protecting or contributing to the deer population, representing a “participation” point of view.

Informant 1--16 typically categorized coyotes as varmints. He stated that there is a local coyote problem now and explained that “before
we just heard them in the hills; now we see them on the roads.” In contrast, Informant 4--22 was one of the few informants who linked coyotes to deer as scavengers, and not predators. He had observed coyotes eating the deer remains left by human hunters: “Crows and coyotes clean it up right away.” But, Informant 5--26 documented the fact that at least some NC hunters believe that coyotes are deer predators:

...There’s killing of coyotes because they are believed to be significant predators of fawns. I have heard stories about coyote shootings. Some people see coyotes as “varmint[s], something to be shot on sight.”

Informant 12--22 agreed with this view:

“...If [there’s] truly a pest, I don’t mind killing it; [they] could [be] starlings, crows, could be definitely coyotes at times when there is a heavy population of them...”

Informant 14--28, a retired logger, displayed the knowledge that many loggers acquire over their years in the woods:

“[Coyotes], they do good; they do bad--about a balance. [They’re] hell on the boomers...[they’re] doing good forestry-wise [since mountain beavers kill seedlings].”

Informant 21--17-18 is 77 years old, and his affection for coyotes belies the claim that people in the “old days” were aggressive towards wildlife within a utilitarian perspective. In the account, the coyote was hoping and anxious to get mice and insects exposed by haying:

...I threw out scraps and bones to feed coyotes. The coyotes in the area were “almost tame.”
Once working the bailer, I saw a coyote came within 30 feet; it just looked at me and walked into the woods.
The deer had young by the orchard, even though there were coyotes nearby; we heard them every night.
"[I] never saw a coyote kill a deer."

This informant also told the following story:

---Old Coyote, Story---
There was one old coyote.
The cows weren't afraid of him.
Once I went to check on the cows after dinner; I saw all the calves in a circle, sleeping on the ground; this coyote was walking around the outside of them.
It would eat their droppings.
The cows weren't alarmed by this coyote,
But cows would be alarmed by any dogs close to their calves; the cows would chase dogs away.
This one coyote lived a long time.
One day, some kids told me a wolf had been run over by the road.
I went there and looked; it was the old coyote.
It must have been nearly 20 years old.

These comments indicate the presence of vivid images and memories regarding coyotes. Such examples of incidental wildlife enhance daily life for residents in the NC, and even more so, the experiences of deer hunters.

Coyotes even serve other purposes for some. In order to fill a partner or group member's hunting tag, other hunters might drive deer or actually shoot deer for others. If stopped by a game warden, the hunter without a tag could claim that he was helping the friend by driving deer, or that he was in the area for the pack out, or he could claim that he had a rifle along just to shoot coyotes.
The howling of coyotes in the NC might definitely support the idea that the nearby woods represent wildness. In this era of animal exterminations, this sound may impart a feeling of reassurance that at least some wildness has survived; whereas, in the past people may have felt threatened when they heard the same sound. Informant 27--25 gave a rare report of actually shooting a coyote while on a deer hunt: “[On one hunting day] we had shot at a coyote...[we] got it.” More investigation would be necessary to quantify this type of experience.

**Bear**

Informants did not claim that NC bears were blacktail predators. This is Mech’s assessment, as well (195). While it is unclear whether or not the bear population was high during the pre-contact period, by all reports, black bear were very common in the early settlement era, (Hartill, 22, 29). Penner reports that early NC settlers used bear for their oil (1994, 62). As late as the 1950’s, NC bear were probably quite plentiful, with higher populations than at present. Informant 11--16 stated regarding bear:

“[There were] plenty of chances to shoot bear, but I never would. Somehow I didn’t feel like shooting them; I enjoyed just watching them.”

There used to be so many bear around here...you could see bear almost every time you went deer hunting, years back, not anymore.
Informant 14--32, a NC old timer, provided some details on how his family used bear:

"...We used to render the fat from a bear. It’s the finest bacon [cooking] grease there is for adding to shoe oil; it softens the leather. It makes your feet stink, by the way, but bear meat, to my way of thinking, when a bear gets older, his meat isn’t fit to eat anyway. A young bear is good eating; it’s tender meat. It hasn’t gotten strong yet; it hasn’t had too much skunk cabbage to eat.

The informant’s wife agreed that bear meat smells up the house when you cook it; she responded, “Yes, no way!”

Bear hunting and utilization are thus NC generational markers, for the most part. Very few middle-aged or young hunters have hunted, processed, or eaten bear, and only two informants had seriously hunted bear as their intended prey. Only one group of contemporary local bear hunters was mentioned by the informants. Informant 1--4’s account of a young adult hunter’s experience with a bear was more typical of contemporary hunters. It was unclear whether or not the hunter made up a lie to protect the bear or told the truth which would also protect it:

---Son and the Bear, Story---

"[My son] not exactly became good friends with a bear, [but he] got acquainted with that bear. [Near home, where he was waiting for deer on a stand, he] could tell where...[the bear] was. [He] told people not to shoot it...[that it] had cubs with it. [He] said he was going to hunt it, but didn’t.”
Another example of the manner in which bear hunting or use is tied to the past was seen in Informant 27--3-5's incidental encounter with a black bear:

--Bear on a Log, Story--

We were up in Elk Mt.; we were hunting deer or elk all day, and it was hot; we shouldn't even been hunting; it was so hot.

We were in there, and I was sitting on a stump, and there was a long old, dead snag that came down there.

That country was pretty open; there was just little patches of salmonberry and elderberries here and there.

This log was about 100 feet long, and I'm looking at that thing, and all of a sudden, here comes a little black ball rolling down that thing; I said, "My God, that's a bear."

One fella's dad, he was in his 70's, and he liked bear meat, so I said, "Hell, I'll just kill that bear; I got nothing else to take home today."

That bear got down on the end of the log.

I just put my scope on the end of that log, and when it came into sight, I pulled the trigger.

It tumbled into a bunch of salmonberries on the end of the log.

There was about 6 of us in there on that day; then guys come running wanting to know what I'd shot.

"Well" I said, "I just shot a bear down there."

One fella said, "What the hell did you shoot a bear for?"

"Well," I said, "One fella's dad, he likes bear meat; it should be in good shape here in October, just berries to eat."

We went down there and found it; it was a yearling cub, so we skinned it out.

Yeah, it was as much meat as a fork and horn; there was a pretty good little chunk of meat on that thing; we probably took a 100 pounds of meat out of that bear.

Course, it was so hot everyone was grumbling mad at me for putting something on their backs to pack out.

That's the first time I ever ate bear too.

We took that, and one fella's mother, she cooked it and had us out to dinner.

That was in 1952, 53; that's when that was.
Bear hunting appears to foster hunter empathy for the prey more so than does the killing of other prey. Therefore, it may contribute to hunter dropout or to non-kill hunting among older hunters. Since bears appear more human than deer and elk, hunting and processing them may encourage an identification with the prey and a questioning of the propriety of hunting and killing. For example, the sight of four skinned bears outside of Astoria made a strong impression on Informant 6--36. In a post-interview comment, he commented that skinned bears resemble human bodies more than people realize.

**Cougar**

The cougar maintained a strong presence in the NC, probably before, and, definitely, during the pioneer era. It was heard at night and followed children (Hartill 22, 30), and its elusive and nearby presence was unsettling to some residents, as Pottsmith reports:

Hunting and fishing was great sport for August Tokola...In all his years of hunting, August never spotted a cougar. “But,” said Evelina (Evelina Hill Salmi), “there were cougars close to our place, for I came face to face with one as I went up the hill” (28).

Informant 21--16-17 related a similar incident:

---Cougar Passes By Berry Pickers, Story---
I went with mother to pick huckleberries.
I went down a trail and picked berries; then I came back by the same trail.
I saw cougar tracks down the trail which were not there before.
These incidents seem to follow the common belief that cougars are sometimes so curious that they follow or track people, but that they are also so stealthy that they are rarely seen.

Although cougars are well-known deer predators, it is extremely rare for anyone in the NC to promote cougar killing solely to retain deer for human hunters. A growing number of hunters accept or favor natural predators, such as bear, cougar, or eagles (Power). Estimates of yearly cougar deer kill are low, ranging from 12-50; cougar may prey mainly on deer in unhunted areas and thus avoid human contact (Rue 1989, 403).

Since cougars are rarely seen, even by NC hunters, this may account for the lack of anti-cougar sentiment. As mentioned, there were no informant sightings of deer remains from a cougar kill. Only one informant had a personal experience with a cougar while deer hunting.

The theme of NC natural abundance and the related encouragement of participation by all comers may also favor the acceptance of cougars as natural predators. Even so, the cougar was a bounty animal in Oregon until the 1950’s when the population was, by consensus, much lower than in the pre-contact age. Informant 19-11 told the following story regarding a memorable hunt:

---Cougar on Shack Roof Hunt, Story---
One time we were hunting up there; we were in a cabin, a shack they built when they were logging in there; there were three of us in that shack that day and night.
We killed a deer that day; we had it in that cabin that night.
That night a hell of a scratching and clawing started on the God damn roof. 
This guy with me said, "What's that?"
And it stopped right away; then we heard later, a cougar was seen
on the highway down there.
The dogs chased him back up the river.
Somebody got after the dogs.
We heard them when we were leaving there, so that cougar must
have been on that roof; he smelled the deer in the cabin.

Statewide, the cougar's situation has changed dramatically since
1967 when it was assigned game animal status in Oregon. The current
Oregon cougar population of approximately 2,500 is up from 200 in the late
1950's. However, the cougar as a deer population or human hunting factor
in the NC has remained negligible.

Cougars in Oregon were mainly an Eastern Oregon and Cascade area
issue with ranchers until the 1990's. The main focus was on potential
livestock loses to cougars. Nevertheless, in 1994, the state passed an
initiative to ban the use of dogs and bait to hunt bears or cougar. Given the
difficulty of hunting cougars, this restriction is nearly a functional ban on
killing cougars, especially in isolated areas and areas with heavy cover,
such as the NC. In 1995, there was a legislative movement to rescind the
initiative, but there was virtually no support from NC residents or
hunters. This follows the pattern of hunter support for wolves in surveys
in Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin. The survey in Michigan showed that
deer hunters had the highest rates of sympathy, concern, ecological
appreciation for, and outdoor recreational interest in, the wolf than any other group (Bourne).

The Fish and Wildlife Service's position in favor of cougar tags which would generate revenue to fund their budgets is seen by anti-hunters as a clear conflict of interest, a case of a regulatory body placing revenue before wildlife promotion. This position is similarly viewed by many NC residents hunters as the basis for game mismanagement, especially to allow the much opposed NC blacktail doe hunts.

Cougar hunting may become a NC issue as the recreational-tourist use of the woods increases at the same time that the cougar population also increases, but heavy NC cover may minimize cougar-human contact, which is perhaps already the situation in the NC's Coast Range.

As cougar populations increase, the "living with wildlife" theme becomes more than academic. Sharing the habitat with wildlife, as opposed to totally dominating it, is under assessment. The 1993 Lane County (Willamette Valley) Oregon cougar sighting and dog killing near an elementary school is a case in point:

It's been no fun,...Before you could just go outside. Now I go out and think, "Where is it?" Children were not allowed outside recess, extra school buses were used for children who walk home, and some residents penned their animals (Associated Press 18 Feb. 1993).
Another angry reaction towards cougars is the following:

What right do animals really have to live unmolested by people that humans do not also have to live unmolested by animals? (Howard “Why Lions Need to be Hunted,” 67).

Howard strongly distinguishes between cougars on their home range and cougars which have been forced into heavily humanized areas as surplus animals which cannot realistically be tolerated. A comparison of three NC newspaper stories from the 1920’s, 1950’s, and the 1990’s reflect the shift from viewing cougar as dangerous animals, varmints, or deer killers, to viewing them as a proof of the NC’s wildness:

Hundreds of Astorians Friday gawked at a husky young cougar which had been shot with a 22-caliber pistol by a Wauna, [Eastern CC], hunter who was looking for bobcats with his two hounds...it was shown in Astoria in front of the courthouse and near the city hall...Treed by dogs, the cougar crashed to the ground from its perch, 60 feet above on a big limb, when it was hit in the shoulder by a bullet. It bounded off 200 yards to climb another tree to the same height. Bullets brought it down again. This time the dogs closed in and fought the cougar as Berglund came in to fire a shot through the head (“Fifty Years Ago: 1942,” 8 Jan. 1942).

This huge cougar, measuring nearly seven feet from tip to tip, was caught in a bear trap...It was the 26th cougar to have been killed by...[the same hunter] in a lifetime of hunting...There are two bounties on the huge cats, one for $50 from the state and the other $10 from the county. He sold the meat for $15 to a Chinese who sent it to San Francisco...The hide will probably bring in an additional $15...The huge cats kill hundreds of deer annually. The reason for the large deer population, which is greater than 50 years ago in spite of the huge increase in the number of hunters, is due
largely to the virtual extinction of cougars...One cougar will kill more deer in a year than 100 hunters ("This Giant Cat Will No Longer Slaughter Deer South of City," 16 Nov. 1950).

See Figure 20.

Oregon State Police hope to turn the tragic death of a huge cougar into a positive experience for school children and others. The 160-pound mountain lion, killed by a pickup truck on U.S. Highway 26 last Friday, will be stuffed and used by state police in presentations on wildlife protection enforcement to school and organizations (Ketten 9 Aug. 1993).

See Figure 21.

The examination of the possible non-consumptive activities revolving around cougars, such as pursuit-tracking, observation, or photography, have only recently been considered. The states of Washington and California issue pursuit-only permits, approximately 100 per year in California since the 1980’s (Mansfield, 16).

Elk Management Success Story

In 1989, there were 104,000 elk in Oregon; half were Western Oregon Roosevelt elk, and the other half were Eastern Oregon Rocky Mountain elk. In the lower 48 states, only Oregon and Washington have major huntable Roosevelt elk populations. Even Rocky Mountain elk hunting is non-existent or highly limited in all but the intermountain and northern coastal states. In South Dakota, for example, in 1993, only 400 elk licenses were issued; Hunters were limited to one elk license, not one kill, every 10 years (Schara, 69). In 1991, Oregon ranked third in the U.S.
in the number of elk killed, with 114,000 hunters taking 18,000 elk. Manfredo, Lee, and Brown’s 1980 survey of Oregon hunters documents the fact that Oregon is atypical among other states in that there are so many elk hunters. Fourteen percent of the total Oregon population are hunters and 5.2% are elk hunters.

The NC is also one of Oregon’s top yielding deer and elk areas. Its numbers for the deer and elk taken are comparable to Northeast Oregon’s mule deer to elk yield and elk ratio (Matschke, et al, 133). Based on Petersen’s Hunting’s game forecast, published in August 1993, we can assume that local elk hunters had a much higher success rate than did outsiders because of the short season, higher hunter numbers, and dense, hard-to-hunt cover (57+), which make hunting in the NW an insider’s game.

In 1986, there were 2,600 NC elk hunters, giving this hunting unit the 10th highest rate in Oregon. The NC elk kill success rate was approximately 10%, the second highest in Oregon (John Johnson). While NC elk hunting has been allowed for 3 point bulls or higher for many years, the Oregon Fish and Wildlife Service has not fostered this restriction and has fought the efforts of NC hunters to maintain it.

That elk hunting is a NC subregional activity is evident from the fact that a major chapter of the Rocky Mountain Elk Foundation exists in the NC. For example, the 1994 Banquet and Auction included 66 local business sponsors and approximately 300 participants. Members
participate in elk conservation through their membership fees and funded projects. Informant 35--45 who has close ties with the Fish and Wildlife Service, believes that NC elk hunters have long influenced the agency's management of elk. Elk, like the cougar, play a more important role in NC blacktail hunting than many people would suspect. These two species are not only well-known for their beauty, power, and special qualities, but they also contribute significantly to the faunal backdrop against which the blacktail stands. Consider, for example, the human management of NC elk versus that of the blacktail. The Jewell Meadows Wildlife area in central CC supports approximately 270 elk on 3,000 acres, showing that wildlife management can succeed.

The management of elk in the NC represents the only significant recent wildlife success story, with the Jewell Refuge excess elk stocking other areas. Unfortunately, this success may be misinterpreted as being a part of a species, not an ecosystem, orientation to wildlife management. Nevertheless, given the barrage of restrictions, the success with elk garners support for both conservation efforts and for the utilitarian-meat hunter's point of view.

Elk damage can be severe, especially to fencing and turf, and damage to golf courses has been substantial and much more severe than deer damage. To deal with such problems, a trap and release project was completed in the north CC area in the winter of 1995, in which forty elk
were trapped and released in the Mount Hood National Forest in the Oregon
Cascade Mts; one hundred and fifty elk remain in the Knappa area herd.
Shellcrackers were used by the Fish and Wildlife Service as an interim
measure in 1995 (Hollander 9 Feb. 1995). There are also special NC hunts,
on occasion, in the Jewell areas.

NC residents have strong and mixed points of view about elk. Some
favor the total removal or elimination from areas near homes. In sharp
contrast, some residents tolerate and enjoy the elk:

   Patricia Beck and her parents enjoy watching the elk
   their yards. The holes that appear periodically in their
   lawns are just another part of living in the country...[She
   states], “We hunt but not around here for the simple reason
   that elk are kind of like our pets”...She has binoculars handy
   just in case a herd of Roosevelts move by, and thinks
   it’s a shame that people and elk can’t peacefully coexist
   (Hollander 27 Feb. 1995).

The shellcracker tactic may be behind the NC myth that the Fish and
Wildlife frightens deer before the hunting season. This is an excellent
example of how fear and resentment can foster a local story.
CHAPTER VI

BLACKTAIL DEER IN THE NORTH COAST

Introduction

Chapter VI examines both the deer species and the only legally-hunted subspecies of deer in the NC, the Columbian blacktail. There has been less scientific research done on the Columbian blacktail than on any other species of American deer; thus, the first section of Chapter VI, "Blacktail Deer in the North Coast, Physical," is a factual discussion of the blacktail’s biology and behavior. While the blacktail is superbly adapted to its NC habitat and can rapidly respond to favorable new conditions, it is also sometimes severely stressed by human activities, such as forestry practices, poaching from the network of rural and logging roads, and heavy legal hunting. In spite of blacktails probably being stressed by a high doe-to-buck ratio, a large number of NC hunters persist in being buck only hunters.

The second section of Chapter VI, "Blacktail Deer in the North Coast, Human," examines the NC’s human-blacktail relationship and interaction, largely in terms of the topics and data discussed in the first section. For
example, it includes a description of such influences on these deer as human habitation and land use, especially logging roads and timberland herbicide spraying.

While there is a general consensus on blacktail behavior in the NC, there is disagreement on the deer as it relates to crop damage and its impact on suburban areas. A comprehensive understanding of the interaction between blacktails and their timberland habitat also remains to be established. The other aspects of blacktail life, how these deer act among themselves and their degree of individuality, are also imperfectly understood.

BLACKTAIL DEER IN THE NORTH COAST, PHYSICAL Overview

The discussion in this section begins with the controversial evolutionary history of the blacktail. A discussion of the deer's population, characteristics, and behavior follows. While these aspects of blacktail are imperfectly understood, the empirical data and generally accepted facts about the blacktail's rut, home range, buck-to-doe ratio, adaptability, and elusiveness can be summarized. The category "Pinto (Calico) Deer" is also examined since it appears to be a likely candidate for folkloric predication.

Evolution, Blacktails

The Columbian blacktail is classified as Chordata, Mammalia,
Artiodactyla, Ruminantia, Cervidae (deer), Odocoileus (American deer),
Hemiosa (Western American deer), Columbianus (Columbian blacktail). Its
rabbit-sized Artiodactyla ancestor, Diacodexis, flourished 30-50 million
years ago. The common North American ancestor of the blacktail and 30
other subspecies lived in the Pleistocene period of 10 million years ago
(Rue, 1989, 21). Thus, the blacktail, which ranges from southeast Alaska
to Northern California, is a North American native.

The interpretation of the relationship between blacktail deer and
mule deer has recently been revised from the earlier belief that the
blacktail was a subspecies derived from mule deer; however, the earlier
misinterpretation is still commonly found in much of the literature now in
circulation. See Rue (1989, 18). A new DNA-based interpretation that
mule deer are actually the result of a blacktail-whitetail cross is now the
standard position (Barsness).

Differences Between Blacktail and Other Major American Deer Species

The major subspecies relevant to the NC blacktail are the whitetail
(Odocoileus Virginianus), the mule deer (Odocoileus Hemiosa Hemiosa), and
the Columbian whitetail (Odocoileus Leucurus), in that the biological and
behavioral differences between the blacktail (Odocoileus Columbianus) and
these other principal American and NW deer are important variables in
deer-associated lore.
The blacktail's physiological and behavioral adaptations impact lore, especially hunting—such adaptations as the blacktail's relatively small size and rack, its low weight, its probable increased reliance on scent and hearing, as opposed to vision, and some minor but important hide adaptations which enable the blacktail to forestall chilling under damp conditions. The usual lack of a winter die off and the blacktail's limited home range are also significant factors which impact on hunting.

While the cumulative effect of what appear to be minor physiological adaptations is generally appreciated, the blacktail's behavioral adaptations are still underappreciated. "Stotting," is one example:

[Stotting is] a peculiar-looking but effective gait that allows...[the blacktail and the related mule deer] to change directions with each bound, since all four feet hit the ground at once and they can spring off again in any direction (Rue, 1969, 51, 59).

This escape movement allows the deer better vision in locating a single hunter or a group of hunters; it also allows blacktail the opportunity to run behind solid cover or into brush. In the dense NC brush, the hunter or hiker frequently hears the thump of an unseen blacktail stotting away for a few bounds; then he or she can hear the more familiar sound of the deer's normal running gait of either "swapping ends" or running at a full gallop.

Lack of Published Material on Blacktails

The majority of articles about deer in the popular hunting literature are about whitetails; the second most discussed species is the mule deer;
only rarely do authors write specifically about blacktail, and when information about the blacktail is included, the discussions or data are often incomplete. For example, the August 1992 issue of *Outdoor Life* treated the blacktail’s use of specific vegetation, but it did not include data on the deer’s favorite foods, its seasonal foods, and rubs, or scrapes. Such information would be helpful in NC blacktail scouting because, as Zumbo explains: “Blacktails are restricted to such a relatively small area, very little is written about them” (1993, 87).

**Controversies, Blacktail**

Since full scientific information on deer physiology and behavior is generally lacking, there is room for speculation. Wegner presents careful discussions on controversial whitetail deer topics, such as bedding, wounded deer behavior, and site factors (*Book 1*, 89, 291; *Book 3*, 261, 263, 271); Rutledge’s writings are also replete with speculations about whitetail deer behavior. Zumbo illustrates how a buck’s simple behavior is open to variant interpretations:

A _cowardly_ buck follows does and fawns into clearings as if allowing the hunter to shoot them first; [this is] perhaps actually a case of the _brave_ buck defending the doe and fawn from natural predators which tend to track them from downwind scent (Zumbo 1993, 88) (italics mine).

Folk and personal wisdom and theories regarding the Columbian blacktail are even more common than they are for the better studied Eastern whitetail. A comment from Informant 11--3 similarly has several
possible interpretations: "I shot, and the deer didn't move; he just stood there; I shot again, and he didn't move; he just stood there." The blacktail's apparent lack of response might be interpreted as being due to its tendency not to locate a hunter above the height of a natural predator's attack point. Alternatively, the deer's lack of response may be attributed to its tendency not to flee until it has located a threat.

Hunters generally interpret blacktail behavior as being due to either instinct or deliberative thinking. Since Informant 30-18 had used solunar tables to determine hunting times, tables based on sun and moon positions to predict deer feeding cycles and deer activity, it seems he believed that the tables correlated with the deer's activity levels.

**Natural Abundance, Blacktail**

While there were an estimated 30,000 blacktail in CC in 1976 (Taylor and Knispel, 11), widely conflicting informant statements indicated that the present deer population is debated. However, while estimates of the NC blacktail population may vary, there is general agreement that the massive Tillamook Burn in the southernmost NC area created a blacktail boom, in terms of both quantity and quality. This belief is supported by hard data:

Before the burn, the deer harvest averaged two deer per section, [a land unit of 640 acres or 1 square mile], with an average live weight of about 120 pounds...Four years after the burn, when the season was opened, there were 14 deer per section and their weight had increased 30 to 50 percent (Rue 1989, 163).
Natural Abundance, Decreased or Lost

In opposition to the idea of the natural abundance of blacktail in the NC, many residents and hunters believed that the blacktail population had decreased, and they blamed this decrease on human greed or folly:

"...There's still a lot [of deer] in Eastern Oregon, in places, but there...[aren't] a lot of deer around here [in CC]; there aren't hardly any deer left in CC, regardles of what the state, [the Fish and Wildlife Service], says.

It's sad.
The way they're killing off the does here in CC, I don't think they'll be hardly any left..." (Informant 18--19).

"Blacktail deer, you can never annihilate them.
They'll take care of themselves,...[but] as recent as 5 years ago, you'd drive with one foot on the brake.
I'd guarantee you, between here and Mist, [a distance of about 10 miles],...I'd see, probably 15 deer.
I didn't see one this morning, which didn't surprise me, because that's what I've been seeing, day after day after day...
I think they should back off this either sex thing and let them recover.
Certainly, the habitat is there, miles and miles and miles of excellent, just excellent blacktail habitat...
[In the] last couple years, we could track down information on only one buck, [versus fork and horns], shot in about a 30 mile circle [around] here..." (Informant 35--17-19)

Informant 35--19, just quoted, went on to cite what he took as telling support for the claim that the present NC blacktail population is far below the potential carrying capacity of the present habitat:

A neighbor [company] of Longview Fiber [Company], Iverson Timber Co., that's privately owned [by] a father and 2 sons [who] have their own logging operation, around 30,000 acres [of] timber
land, they set aside one little area; they've got it gated, one area for themselves and their employees [to hunt].

Last year, they took 27 bucks off that. [It's] not too big an area either. [It] shows you what an area can produce. I don't know of 27 deer killed in the whole rest of the country... [in this part of NC], bucks.

Certainly, both [the either sex season and night hunting] have an impact on...[the lack of bucks and low deer population], but I'd say probably [the] either sex [season is the more important factor]..."

Informant 8--31 had an even stronger reaction to the situation as he perceived it: "[There's] no respect for Mother Nature [in some logging operations]." He felt that logging practices may have reduced the deer population, as it had reduced the fish population. Although it was rarely mentioned by the informants, the possibility has been reported in the local press that the use of herbicides by timber companies may be a contributing factor in the decline of the NC deer population (Danko). See Chapter IV for a discussion of other forestry-deer population factors.

**Small Size, Blacktail**

An examination of Ellsworth Brown's chart of ages and weights for blacktail bucks and does from his study of blacktails in Washington indicates the material benefits of taking 2 1/2 to 3 1/2 year old blacktails, especially bucks, over younger deer (quoted in Rue 1989, 154):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Buck:</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Weight (lbs)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.5  165
5.5  207

Doe  1.5  95
2.5  110
3.5  117
4.5  118
5.5  129

Regarding these statistics, the question remains whether or not the small size of the average blacktail deer taken by hunters is the natural size of the local deer or whether it is a reflection of overhunting, the taking of too many young deer, so that the ratio of larger bucks and does is suppressed. Compare, for example, the larger blacktails produced 4 years following the Tillamook Burn, as reported by Rue (1989, 163):

Only seven deer [in the count] weighed less than 180 pounds...Twenty-four deer weighed 180 to 200 pounds...19 weighed over 200 pounds, and one buck weighed 310 pounds...This last weight is the heaviest record I can find for a Columbian blacktail.

See Figure 11.

The NC hunter’s word of mouth weight estimates for most bucks, set at about 150 lbs., and for most does, set at a bit over 100 lbs., is substantiated by Ellsworth Brown’s study. Note in Brown’s data the stark contrast between a 2 1/2 year old buck at 137 lbs. and a 5 1/2 year old buck at 207 lbs., a difference of 70 lbs. The unusual “big buck” is a possible explanation, but the weight and size difference between a 2 1/2
doe and 5 1/2 year old doe is not great, a difference of 19 lbs. Brown's data also document the relatively small size of 1 1/2-2 1/2 year old blacktails of both sexes—up to 137 lbs. for bucks and 110 lbs. for does. There is a lack of "good-sized" deer, due to the lack of deer over 5 years in Brown's data (quoted in Rue 1989, 155).

**Antlers, Blacktail**

Blacktails have surprisingly small antlers, and even older bucks may have small racks. There are, however, some unusual cases of blacktails with good-sized racks. See Geology, Human, Antlers for a discussion of blacktail antlers as an earth and local "product" and as a sign of the landscape.

**Venison, Blacktail**

Much scientific work has been done on the nutritional analysis of venison, and these data periodically appear in hunting publications. These sources support Informant 7--32's contention that wild meat is more healthful than store bought meat because it has less fat and contains no additives. However, the wildlife research and management community could do more to resolve questions about venison, such as the following posed by informants, but also by writers:

1. Does venison vary as much or more in quality than store bought meat? (Informant 7--32)

2. Do large bucks have stringy or tough meat? (Informant 30--15)
3. Do deer killed earlier in the season generally yield better quality meat? (Informant 19--27)

4. Is it a myth that bucks near or in the rut have poor meat? (Informant 7--32; Informant 19--26--27)

5. Are herbicide residues in venison dangerous? (Stoll, 18; Rue 1989, 457-59).

6. Do nursing does have inferior meat? (Informant 19--27).

Rut

Although the NC blacktail rut usually occurs between October 15th and December 7th, usually well after the key opening week and sometimes after the entire deer hunting season, climatic variations can affect its exact timing. Informants consistently verified the characterization which is found in the popular hunting literature of the careless, driven buck in rut. Informant 30--17 believed that “early in the season, they’re pretty wary, [but] they get a little more foolish later on in the year, towards the rut.” Tag returns without question indicate that the opening day take is usually quite high, but using the rut to explain the high yields seems valid only for older bucks, and not for 1-2 year old bucks ?????? There was nearly total agreement among informants that deer in hunted areas also then dramatically respond to hunting pressure; thus, hunting pressure and the rut seem to be separate factors. NC hunters, however, do agree that the rut can embolden bucks even in the midst of hunting season.
The rut is yet another variable which makes deer hunting such a multi-factored, unscripted activity, as was attested by Informant 30--18:

"...Later on in the season, if you have seen a lot of does and fawns around, the bucks who have been off by themselves while they're in the velvet will tend to move in where the does are. That's when the best hunting is."

Informant 4--25 explained how the rut factor can create a major opportunity for the lucky hunter, so that hunters can see big bucks in broad daylight. Informant 17--14 also described how the rut can improve hunting since bucks in rut are "so dumb." Informant 19--31--32 volunteered an account in which the rut totally negated a buck's wariness and even affected its fear of humans:

---Elusive Buck Until Rut, Story---
I remember one time, I was up there in a logging area.
We looked for this buck all during hunting season, just 2 of us working there at the time.
We had a pickup we drove out there that belonged to the company.
There were a lot of deer in there.
We had a great big buck track; we used to hunt for the buck during the morning before we started work, but we never did see him.
Then after the season closed, I was up there one day.
There he was right in the middle of the road, and he wouldn't even get out of the road.
I walked up within 30 feet of him, and he just stood there and looked at me.
That's the way bucks in rut act.

Informant 19--31--32 also raised the much discussed point of meat quality during the rut:

"...When they get in the rut, ...they don't eat; they don't sleep; they just keep on running."
That’s why they call...the rutting season, 'The running season';
they just keep on going; they’re fighting one another.
They get to smelling real strong."
You can’t smell bucks in rut at a distance as with elk, but you can
smell bucks when you’re next to them.
"You wouldn’t want [meat from] a deer like that..."

Discounting the claim that the meat from a buck in full rut is unedible,

Informant 30--15 had never passed up a deer because of the rut:

"I did [take a deer heavy into the rut].
I shot a big, 3 point down on our place one time.
His neck [was big, thick, and round]...
He was hell bent for somewhere.
He wasn’t deterred by anything.
The meat was fine, all right..."

**Buck-Doe Ratio, Blacktail**

In heavily hunted and poached areas in the United States, such as the
NC, a buck to doe ratio of 1 to 30 is common, and even a ratio of 1 to 50
can occur. Informant 7--37 accepted a low male to female herd ratio as a
part of game population “management.” In the National Wildlife Refuge for
Columbian whitetail, the buck to doe ratio was 1 buck to 3 or 4 does, or 10
times as many bucks than in the neighboring NC hunting area. Two seldom
discussed but potentially important concerns are the behavioral result of a
high female to male ratio and of a yearly doe hunt. For example, it is
unknown whether or not deer become more or less secretive when these
factors are in place. We may consider the well-documented fact that
captive breeding program animals may fail to survive when they are
returned to the wild because they have lost or altered their behavioral patterns while in captivity.

As is often cited in the popular hunting literature and among NC hunters, with very low mature buck or dominant buck populations, hunters are denied the most challenging type of deer in a population.

**Limited Range, Blacktail**

The blacktail's limited home range and the dense NC underbrush, in combination, create very difficult hunting situations (Norm Nelson "Elusive", 206, 207). Some hunters respond to such conditions by conducting mini-hunts and by stalking. Also, solo hunting may be more common in the NC, since this type of hunting can be productive in the NC and can provide quality hunting experiences. However, since solo hunts require more time and are confined to smaller areas, these types of hunts are more vulnerable to disruption by others nearby.

**Winter, Blacktail**

Because the NC has relatively mild winters, the blacktail's principal source of winter stress is the low protein content of available foods, rather than heavy snows which cut off the food supply. Blacktail are also well-adapted to cold, wet weather. Parker's study of blacktail pelage (fat and wax residue) adaptation and elevated metabolism, which offset the chilling factor of wet weather, adds support to the claim that NC blacktails are not severely winter stressed (2481).
The lack of a regular, significant, and highly visible winter die off seriously undercuts a common hunter rationale for the killing of deer in other regions, namely that hunting is necessary to prevent deer habitat destruction from winter overbrowsing and that it is necessary to prevent the resulting population crash by starvation.

**Herd, Blacktail**

The hunting literature generally claims that blacktails are more solitary than other subspecies of deer. Nevertheless, it is apparently possible for blacktail to herd together, especially in an area with a concentrated food source. Both Informant 4--26 and Informant 8--28-29 reported such herding.

**Calico-Pinto Deer, NC**

Rue describes a "piebald" deer (1962, 77-78), and Michael Smith claims that less than 1% of hunted deer are partly white or "piebald" (127). Given their rarity, seeing or killing a calico deer would be memorable. In contrast to the clarity of deer chroniclers and scientists on the differences between a true albino deer and a splotchy-hided, calico-pinto deer, a considerable amount of confusion exists among NC residents on these types of deer. The confusion seems to be due to the generally limited information popularly available on blacktail hunting.

Albino deer, even though they are more rare, appear in the hunting literature much more often than do calico or pinto deer. Oregon has no true
albino deer but does have a relatively rare "calico" or "pinto" deer; this fact was often reported by NC hunters and by several of the informants.

A few informants, 15--14 and 26--6, for example, had never heard the terms "Calico Deer" or "Pinto Deer," but a majority of the informants had seen such deer, and a few informants had killed them. This leads to the conclusion that these deer may be more common than expected in the NC:

"We have quite a few deer around here...which have albino spots or that kind of thing. One of my friends shot one..." (Informant 17--27)

Informant 18--26 claimed to have seen a calico or pinto deer in the recent past. He also believed that NC Indians would not shoot a spotted deer; however, this claim could not be corroborated:

...I saw a beautiful deer, returning from Tillemook recently. Its body was all white. Its face was natural color. I went back to get a second look. It sure was odd looking.

Informant 16--17--18 specifically remembered a calico or pinto deer caught in a farmer's fence and another hit by a car, but he did not keep the terms "Albino" and "Pinto" separate:

"That's what we call it, pinto or off breed. I've seen albino deer. There are a few of them around. I've seen some shot. I packed a few of them."
They’re not pure white; they’re brown and white, like a Jersey cow, like a spaniel...”

Figure 22 is the only published photograph of a Calico-Pinto deer found during the preparation of this study. It was taken in the Seaside area of the NC.

**Deer Damage, Agriculture, Blacktail**

Elk damage to pastures and fences is much more of an issue than deer damage and can result in special Fish and Wildlife sanctioned elk hunts, some of which are controversial:

> “Down here [in NC], the people are more inclined to tolerate [game damage near their homes and/or fields],... but just over to Banks, [in Washington County, approximately 20 miles north-west of Portland, adjoining southwest CC], let 25 head of elk get in somebody’s hayfield, and all hell would break loose.”

Nevertheless, Informant 35--21-22 believed that special doe hunts are sometimes necessary to keep deer on his pasture and dairy cow farm in control. See Chapter V, Fauna, Elk, Elk Damage. Field crops are grown on only a very small portion of the land in the NC, making agricultural damage from blacktail even less of a concern.

**Deer Damage, Residential Gardens, Orchards, and Ornamentals, Blacktails**

While deer damage to agricultural crops is unusual, deer make their presence felt by regular and often significant browsing near NC homes.
Informant 4--13’s home, located in sparsely populated Olney, was
typically vulnerable:

"...If unchecked, deer can clean out a garage in a week."
I need to protect ornamental plants next to the house.
"I have so much trouble with deer."

NC blacktails can also become quite habituated to suburban and even
densely populated neighborhoods, a fact which contributes to the some-
what common view of blacktails as "rabbit deer." Informant 2--25
maintained that there are numerous complaints in CC over residential deer
damage; one example was the Warrenton case in which 50 newly set out
rose bushes were destroyed by 3 local deer in 2 nights. Informant 5--22,
who lives in East Astoria near a wooded area and a major thoroughfare and
supermarket, had also seen deer come into nearby yards to eat apples and
strawberries. Informant 10--15's wife also saw 3 deer in her yard in
Svenson. When she found her rhododendrons gone, she assumed that her
husband had cut them, but the deer had eaten them, as well as the holly.

Deer—Wildlife Ecology

The impact of wildlife on commercial timber species is unquestion-
ably the most researched ecological topic in the NC. Compare McNeill's
study of the interaction between deer and vegetation in Michigan (1971,
155--56, 160--61). However, the total ecological impact of the blacktail
on the flora and fauna of the NC appears to be undocumented, and such
knowledge is unavailable to residents. Nevertheless, it seems highly
improbable, given the deer’s impact on NC vegetation, that they do not significantly affect such animals as beavers, porcupines, squirrels, rabbits, grouse, and song birds, as well as other species; Mech (192) demonstrates the impact of deer carrion on smaller predators and scavengers.

**Suburban/Semi-Domesticated Deer, Blacktail**

The issue of suburban or semi-domesticated, unhunted deer is complex and involves concerns over property damage, human responsibility and sentiment, and deer safety and health. See Pearce “Buck” and Povilaitis. More research is needed to establish fact from fiction regarding these type of deer. For example, the Humane Society’s assumption that wild, hunted deer are overly stressed may or may not be true; in fact, deer in crowded suburban settings, in relatively close contact with humans, may be more stressed than fully wild, hunted deer, even to the point of being in poor health (Grandy, 4). NC residents are generally aware of the tendency of some deer to become “townies” or to become tolerant of humans:

“...I know [that] there’s a growing [deer] population in town, [in Astoria].
[There are] some real nice bucks [in Astoria].
We seen a 3 point, a fork and horn, and a spike, all together, passing from the Port of Astoria past Johnson’s Arco and into the hills above Astoria, [at] high noon, across a 4 lane highway; it’s just easier to see them [in town than in the brushy areas]” (Informant 36--25).
Deer’s Sense World

While there is controversy over the blacktail’s behavior and psychology, there are accepted facts regarding the deer’s perceptual powers. The blacktail’s sense perceptions are richly elaborated, especially in terms of smell. Sauer discusses what amounts to a fourth dimension; these deer utilize tarsal, metatarsal, preorbital, and interdigital scent glands (76); in addition they use their urine in ways that are not yet fully understood. The blacktail’s vision and hearing are also superior to these senses in humans. Thus, many factors probably contribute to the anthropomorphizing human attitude that deer are “sensitive” creatures.

Behavior, Hunted Vs. Non-Hunted, Blacktail

Hunting apologists, such as Ortega, frequently stress the truism that a prey species must be hunted to be in prime health. However, the stress placed upon deer by natural predators may be fundamentally different from that placed upon them by humans, in the form of intense hunting and poaching and other human activities:

The human-oriented, “unnatural” behavior of deer resulting from close contact with humans was recently documented by the National Park Service in the Olympic National Park in northwest Washington state. Park biologists will mark 20-25 blacktail deer with paintball guns,...“with park staff recording unnatural [deer] behaviors such as aggressive begging and approaching vehicles, as well as seeking out and consuming radiator coolant spills” (Associated Press 26 May 1995).
In support of this view, Informant 3--51-52 believed that the encroachment of people has created "stressed animals" in the NC. Several informants also noted distinct changes in NC deer behavior when they are under various types of pressure (3--30, 18--19, 19--31, and 34--41). For example, they recognized, as did the popular hunting literature, that when deer are subjected to heavy hunting pressure, they usually become nocturnal.

Informant 20--33 argued that deer behavior has also been significantly conditioned by rifle hunters, who made up the vast number of hunters until very recently, to the extent that some bow hunters anticipated the deer's reaction as if they were hunting with rifles; e.g., they avoided areas which allowed open escape routes, even though the deer were beyond bow range. These bow hunters were aware that deer responded to rifle range and that they may hide in deep cover, rather than risk being in open areas. On the other hand, Informant 34--41 stated that "during bow season, there's nobody out there, and the animals are settled."

Deer, Family-Social Aspect

Wegner describes some of the complex social behaviors of deer under heavy hunting (Book 1, 84, 134, 135). Such adaptation of deer to their total situation is sometimes surprising. Informant 21--11 related a case in which a deer had its young by an orchard, even though there were
coyotes nearby; he had heard them every night. There is a possibility that this deer bedded down near homes to avoid poachers or coyotes.

In areas of heavy poaching, the stress on deer appears to be increased, but there are no specific scientific studies examining the issue of poaching; rather, legal and moral issues predominate in the discussion as in Informant 32-7's reaction: "At night time, it's just a madhouse up there."

Road Kill, Deer

A 1989 Cornell University study estimates that possibly 2 million deer in the U.S. are hit by cars every year (cited in McKee). That is, more deer are killed by cars than by hunters, so that road kill could be a locally significant deer population factor. There are approximately 100 human fatalities and a minimum of 200 million dollars in annual car damages resulting from road accidents caused by deer.

Road Kill, Blacktail

Drivers on the many miles of paved roads and logging roads in the NC cannot easily avoid deer because of drainage ditches on roadsides and the prevalence of dropoffs and curves. Local drivers have a real sense of deer in the NC due to the dangerous potential for accidents. It is not uncommon for residents to remind their visiting guests to drive carefully at night and to watch for deer.
Individuality, Blacktail

Many experts on deer warn against adopting a reductive point of view regarding the behavioral "patterns" of individual deer; for example, Rue states:

The deer family has an unusually high number of genetic variables in its protein bands [tested by electrophoresis] compared to other animals. The blacktail is equally at home in the dense, dark, tangled rain forests of the coastal areas and the dry, hot, and brush-covered chaparral regions (1989, 41).

There are many shifting variables determining deer behavior (Wegner Book I, 236), and even in common situations, it is not easy to predict deer behavior. For example, Wegner (Book I, 78) and Pearce (1994, 65) do not accept the accuracy of solunar tables to predict good hunting days, and Rue notes the various ways in which deer may behave around fencing:

Does and fawns can jump through strands of barbed wire that are 10 to 12 inches...apart at the speed of a gallop and not touch the wire. But frequently they will stop and crawl under the wire. Sometimes deer will jump over blow-downs, and at other times they will worm their way underneath. There is no predicting what wild creatures will do; they are all individuals (1989, 57-58).

Stotting, as described earlier in this chapter, also contributes to a sense of individuality in blacktail and mule deer because this movement does not appear to be merely a programmed reaction; every deer of these species does not react by stotting in an escape situation. Rather, such escape behaviors as stotting appear to vary, perhaps due to complex
environmental and physiological factors. Deer also seem individualistic in their display of curiosity, a factor which is often cited regarding cats. Informant 14--24-25 observed curiosity in the deer he had seen:

“They’re inquisitive; They come to the edge of the clear cuts. [They] smell that torn up dirt [after logging, and] they have to go and sniff on the timber edges…”

Since many NC residents and hunters viewed local blacktails as highly sensitive and intelligent, it would seem to follow that these same people would ascribe a high degree of personality to their local deer, but since many residents have had close and extensive contact with wildlife, and sometimes with raising animals and keeping pets, they did not appear to romanticize blacktails. When their comments are compared with the animal rights’ literature on the topic of the feelings of animals, there is no evident anthropomorphic portrayals of known deer or sentimentality towards known deer.

Adaptable-Intelligent Blacktail:

The adaptability of individual deer and of the species as a whole is generally interpreted as an indication of high intelligence in the popular and scientific literature; for example, McIntyre states, “It is important...to adjust to the changing patterns of deer and to avoid their patterning you” (Aug. 1994, 30). It may be noted that among the informants, nonhunters and new hunters alike were often surprised at the
speed with which blacktail adapted to humans, and they were surprised by the complexity of the deer's adaptations. Hunting blacktail was a challenge for Informant 28--27-28:

"...It's hard enough [to hunt blacktails without increasing hunter crowding].
Those little animals are sly.
They can be all around you, and you still don't see them; they are pretty slippery.
There is a lot of cover.
I know that...[hunters] pass deer.
Anyone who thinks that...[deer] don't have a chance is crazy..."

Jim Zumbo, a prolific and insightful writer about deer and hunter behavior, describes how expert hunters take advantage of the deer's adaptations to hunting pressure. Since most hunters are only in the field during certain hours and under certain light conditions (1992), experienced hunters go out late in the morning in order to catch deer which have altered their bedding and eating habits to avoid the early morning hunters who leave the field by 11:00 A.M. Figure 23 shows one of the several closely placed beds used by a single blacktail. Alternatively, in the late afternoon, hunters who "race the waning light" (Zumbo 1992, 46), do so because they know that deer begin to come out near sunset in remote areas, after most hunters have left the field for lack of light.

Of course, as in most discussions of animal intelligence, often what initially appears to be an individual animal's specific choice or selection is later exposed as a conditioned response or as the result of another
formerly hidden causal force; for example, the buck is frequently taken to be more crafty, elusive, and, therefore, more intelligent than the doe, partly because the buck is frequently less bound to its home range than a doe is; the buck is also more frequently found in rougher and less huntable terrain. Also, as the data on the NC’s Columbian whitetail deer in the National Wildlife Refuge suggests, bucks may have a higher foot rot rate than does, partly because bucks gravitate to less desirable sites in terms of health standards, than do does, which are the primary site selectors.

Elusiveness/Escapability, Blacktails, NC

The scientific literature consistently supports the view that blacktails are very stealthy and difficult to hunt. This view is also a commonplace in hunting publications, for example, in Zumbo, who states that “blacktails are ghosts in their domain, possessing all the sneaky and evasive traits of whitetails” (1993, 86). A factually oriented informant cited scientific studies and had the same interpretation:

You don’t see many deer around.
Perhaps deer are conditioned by hunting pressure to be more secretive.
In the fenced hunting area research project, a high percentage of even accomplished hunters failed to detect deer.
It may be the case in CC.
There are more deer than casual observation reveals...
They’re “secretive” like whitetail.
They have a reputation for being naturally secretive;... deer, wildlife, are unpredictable... (Informant 7--35-36)
Virtually every informant assumed that the blacktail’s stealth is self-evident:

They’re smarter than people give them credit for. If you watch deer you can see they are smart. An hour will go by and the deer will stay there. They’ll turn around and go right around the hunter; they can be behind any log… (Informant 24--22)

“I learned] respect for the native brilliance of the animals in avoiding me, their uncanny ability to avoid being seen, avoid being shot at, etc. [I was more impressed with their avoidance ability than their purely athletic ability]…” (Informant 31--16)

“If you go out hunting, you’ll gain a lot of respect for deer cause they’re awful crafty…” (Informant 36--40)

**Herbicide, NC Wildlife**

There is a possible herbicide spraying problem facing NC wildlife, for example, elk. Informant 32--22 believed that the heavy spraying of herbicides to destroy the broad leaf plants which grew up after logging drove elk out of the woods into nearby farmland, creating a problem in Svensen. He told of an elderly woman who claimed that she had never had elk around her house in the many years she lived there, until herbicide spraying drove them into populated areas. The spraying of herbicides probably also results in the loss of valuable forage areas for blacktail.

The related issue of game poisoning, resulting from heavy aerial forestry spraying and county road spraying, is rarely discussed in the NC.
The claim that animals will not eat sprayed vegetation seems too simplistic a dismissal of the possible ramifications of spraying, since polluted water is a possible deer poisoning vector. Matschke, et al. cite research indicating that deer may be adversely affected by the herbicides commonly used on timberland. Even though the research indicates that much of the exposure is at fairly low levels, Matschke, et al. call for more research on this subject. Stoll also warns of the potential problem of herbicides (18), and Rue documents the dangerous effects of spraying on deer (1989, 457-59).

**Deer Refuge, NC**

The Columbian Whitetail Deer National Wildlife Refuge, comprised of 5,200 acres of poorly drained, tidal flood plain, just east of Astoria, is located on several small Columbia River islands and a small area on the adjacent Washington shore (Gavin). In 1968, NC whitetails were designated as an endangered species, and in 1972, the Refuge was established. Its estimated 1968 population was 300-400 deer.

Gavin's review of refuge deer mortality supports the generalization that increased human land use can significantly contribute, directly or indirectly, to non-hunting deer mortality:

[The] causes of mortality included automobiles, dogs, drowning, malnutrition, poaching and necrobacillosis, [the bacterium itself and/or resulting foot rot] (Gavin, 490).
Non-hunting deer mortality due to coyote predation on fawns, largely depending on periodic access via sloughs, is also a major factor among refuge whitetails. However, coyote may not prey on the NC blacktail, which is not restricted to a rather unique and atypical habitat, such as the refuge.

As mentioned, the buck to doe ratio in the refuge was 1 to 3 or 4, or 10 times as many bucks as in the nearby buck only dominated NC hunting areas. These statistics support the belief of buck only hunters, and of most NC blacktail hunters, that their subregion could easily and "naturally" produce more bucks.

Given all of the refuge's special factors--disease from the wet habitat, disease from cattle contact (Gavin, 491), poaching, and a probable high road kill rate--conclusions and comparisons between refuge deer and the adjoining NC blacktail populations must remain tentative. However, the NC median age of death in 1972-79 among 3 year old bucks and 5 year old does generally supports the hunters' claim that they are not killing animals that would otherwise lead long lives.

BLACKTAIL DEER IN THE NORTH COAST, HUMAN

Overview

Each type of prey, partly based on its biological and behavioral characteristics, attracts and holds the attention of certain types of hunters. It has long been noted by observers that duck, upland bird, deer,
characteristics, some of which are unique to the species, directly affect and even shape the hunter's experience. Thus, examining the biological and behavioral aspects of blacktails may shed light on the variety of hunter types in the NC and on NC blacktail hunting as a folk activity.

For example, consider the interplay of the blacktail's small size and the practice of solo hunting and packing out in the NC, especially by means of a deer pack. The contextual factors of geology, geography (climate-weather), flora, and fauna (other than deer), which were treated in some detail in Chapters II to V, may be appreciated as significant factors which impact on the physical size of the blacktail. Also, partly based on the blacktail's relatively small size, it seems likely that the neotenic response of residents and hunters to these deer would be enhanced. Furthermore, this neotenic response, coupled with the small amount of meat provided by most blacktails, as well as their smallish antlers, probably influence people towards a more empathetic view of blacktails. These various size-related factors, in turn, can encourage corresponding points of view, which result from encountering the deer as image and symbol. All of these forces can then contribute to a situation in which the hunter becomes less kill-oriented or less harvest-oriented. The increasing emphasis on the nonconsumptive, participation point of view regarding wildlife, as well as the apparent rise of a new hunter type in the NC, the Conservation Hunter, are also perhaps the result of the blacktail's small
size. Many, if not most, of the NC hunter types presented in Chapter VII for folkloric predication also include a reduced consumptive orientation compared to what they would have included a generation ago, or compared to what they would have included earlier in some hunters’ careers. The blacktail’s relatively small size, then, may very well be relevant in the transitions experienced by NC hunters into maturation life stages or different periods in their hunting careers.

The complexity of the blacktail’s physical characteristics, e.g., its size and rut, creates fertile ground for political controversy, and even local population estimates have this effect. Since many hunters acquire scientific data in a piecemeal fashion, these data can appear contradictory to them, but in fact the scientific data available to hunters is not always current or conclusive, as in the case of the blacktail population and sex ratios. Such apparent discrepancies between fact and perceived truth help to support conspiracy or incompetency theories regarding the Oregon Fish and Wildlife Service. Discrepancies in the scientific data, in addition to contributing to cynicism over bureaucratic management, fuel folkloristic attempts to understand the blacktail and to solve obvious problems in its management. Thus, populist, folkloristic belief, local lore which is itself frequently internally inconsistent, contends against scientific data. Such local concerns and activities may very well be contributing to the creation
of one of the newer types of hunters in the NC, termed in this study, the 
"New Hunter."

The close encounters that NC hunters and residents have with 
blacktail evidently fail to create intimate bonds between most local 
persons and these deer, powerful evidence that NC blacktail hunters are, by 
and large, not given to romantic and sentimental feelings over "cute," as 
opposed to "wild," deer. Deer do not become pets, but remain "game 
animals," a "natural resource," requiring "harvesting" or "management," 
and in many cases, are viewed as deserving of the hunter's respect. The 
neotenic response is perhaps biologically-based, but cultural forces appear 
to dominate this factor among NC hunters.

There appear to be enough physical and behavioral differences 
between the blacktail and the Oregon mule deer to sharply set these two 
subspecies apart. The blacktail, therefore, comes to be identified as the 
Western Oregon deer. Differences also exist between the blacktail and the 
archetypical American deer, the Eastern whitetail. The blacktail, therefore, 
helps to delineate both the NC subregion and the NW region. However, 
superstition and a maximization of local differences are not found among 
informants and residents by means of an elaboration of locally distinctive 
subtypes, such as calico and bench leg blacktails. As stated in Chapter II, 
Bench Leg Deer, slope as a geologic or landform feature is directly related 
to one type of NC blacktail hunting. The steepness of two example of
geology-landform, the NC foothills and the mountains of the Coast Range, is taken as the causal agent or source of a supposed subtype of local blacktail deer, the “bench leg” deer. The bench leg deer and the calico/pinto deer present interesting case studies in how NC lore can be created by, and circulated among, some residents and hunters and yet be ignored or dismissed by many other, probably the majority of, residents and hunters. Most noteworthy, perhaps, is the lack of reaction to the local categories “Pinto Deer”/“Calico Deer” and “Bench Leg Deer.” Again, there is a lack of scientific data readily available locally on this folkloristic “topic.”

Given the American history of wildlife kill offs caused by pesticides and herbicide use, the lack of discussion among NC hunters and among Fish and Wildlife Service personnel of this problem or potential problem indicates an underlying management passivity. This lack of discussion also indicates the participants’ avoidance of a more empirically-based, comprehensive knowledge of, and commitment to, blacktail hunting and management. NC hunters and residents are well-known in state bureaucratic circles as powerful influences on blacktail and elk management policy, but the lack of discussion on the effects of timber practices on deer contradicts this activism and points to ad hoc, as opposed to global, assessments and interpretations of blacktail hunting. Such a limited point of view suggests that deer hunting, in the final
analysis, remains more of a recreational activity or hobby, than a predominantly symbolic, philosophical, or religious activity.

**Deer in Euro-American Culture**

The deer has long been an important animal and symbol in Euro-American culture. Morris and Morris’ discussion of the snake as an “axiomatic symbol” points out that when powerful animal symbols are combined with other symbols central to a culture, meaningful events of a ritualistic nature can be created. Myerhoff also discusses this point (210). It seems inarguable that, given the deer’s usefulness for food and clothing, and given its wildness, it would be an axiomatic symbol, and since deer hunting includes other significant symbols, such as the gun, the forest, and sunlight, it appears that the activity of hunting would fall within Morris and Morris’ framework to define it as a meaningful event having ritualistic significance.

For the modern Euro-American rural resident and hunter, deer continue to be highly significant animals, largely because during this period of rapid cultural change, deer have retained for many people several aspects of personal, family, group, or regional identity. In addition, earlier minor themes, for example, the theme of deer as a link between wilderness-nature and humans-civilization, have recently become more prominent, for example, in the psychological base of the loosely termed “Men’s Movement” in America, in a backlash against feminism and modern
complexities, and also in some aspects of the highly isolationist and politicized American sectionalism.

It may be noted that the deer is an important figure for two Western European groups, the Teutonic and the Celtic, and that both groups were major sources of American immigrants. An especially strong and varied deer presence is seen in Celtic materials which include a deer goddess, deer messengers, “darling deer,” and deer as wild cows. See McKay for a discussion of stag dances in England and Germany (144, 145, 164) and a deer goddess, a giant woman with deer (145), and see Tom White for an Irish tale about a white deer princess (47).

Despite this background, the study did not identify any direct NC borrowings of deer lore from other cultures. The general American attributes assigned to deer no doubt are major sources for the NC’s view of the blacktail, but specific European sources have not been isolated. The royal, aristocratic, or upper class gentleman’s hunt has a long tradition in Europe, but it appears in only an attenuated form in the NC, mainly in the form of hunt cliques for professional men.

As for a specific interest in, and use of, deer in modern American culture, one has only to look at the dominant Bambi material, as well as the popularity of deer in calendar art, kitsch art (sweatshirts, t-shirts, lawn ornaments, which sold for $8.00 to $125.00 at a local shop), other types of art work, figurines, ads, and promotional camping material. The
deer is also a four-legged animal forming a Jungian quaternity, which is solid, well-developed, stable, and capable. This symbolism figures in psychology and psychoanalysis.

Etymology, "Deer"

A generally anti-animal point of view is embedded in the English language, similar to the now well-documented patriarchal bias. Morris and Morris point out this negative perspective in English regarding animals, giving illustrations of the snake and other animals: "We...use animal terms as insults" (35). However, it seems evident that the deer maintains its popularity despite the negative bias which affects the animal cluster vocabulary.

Examining the etymology of a word is often helpful in considering the various cultural roles and functions of the entity which it names. In the case of the term, "Deer," in several European languages, including Modern English, an interesting link between deer and other wildlife is suggested, a notion involving typicality, the idea that deer can serve as an epitome, model, or archetype of wild animals.

In Old English, we may note the first meaning of the form, "Deor":

1) noun, animal, beast, deer, reindeer
2) adjective, brave, bold, ferocious, grievous, severe, violent
3) adverb., fiercely, cruelly

Modern English, "Deer," came to specify only the cervid animal by a process of semantic narrowing and specialization from its original use to
denote all animals. See Edgar's line in Shakespeare’s *King Lear* about “Rats and mice and such small deer” having been “poor Tom’s food this many a long year.” Also see McIntyre (1968, 73, 83). By contrast, many other English names for animals come from roots designating that specific animal species. Later developments from these terms, specifically those naming animals, were the result of a process opposite to narrowing and specialization; there was a broadening or generalization to create new words, for example in the case of the word, “Swine.” As far as word connotations, in the case of the specific term, “Deer,” seemingly in contrast to the anti-animal bias in the English language noted by Morris and Morris, positive connotations predominate from the earliest times.

As noted, the Modern English meaning for “Deer” is narrowed from all animals to the deer family proper. In Modern English, one can speak of the “deer family” which includes deer, elk, moose, reindeer, and caribou. But in popular usage, an elk is a large, deer-like animal, but a deer is never a small, elk-like animal. Thus, “Deer” can still be a generic term, again illustrating its function of typicality, but note that the term is still specialized; all the species so named form a subset of types of deer; they are wild, not domesticated animals. As we can see, even in modern English, an echo of the earlier, clearly delineated deer-wildness connection remains.
American/National View of Deer

Higgs suggests that deer, presumably American deer in this context, are complex dual or linking figures which join the realms of the natural world and the human world (239); in addition to joining nature and humans, one of the deer’s capabilities as a linking figure is its ability to represent several aspects of nature. For example, deer can call up the mild bountiful nature of a pastoral scene, but they can also symbolize the wild, free spirit of the wilderness. The idea of the bountiful aspects of deer results partly from the fact that deer are abundant in the 1990’s; there are approximately 25 million American deer, and they outnumber all other large wildlife species. Deer, thus, fit easily into the concept of American natural abundance. They form a part of the “fat of the land,” “surplus animals,” “renewable resource,” and gift-from-God-to-humans complex of ideas.

The American Judeo-Christian point of view also presents deer in complex ways. Herzog and Burghardt point out that Americans respect deer partly on religions grounds (60). Americans probably also respect deer since, in addition to symbolizing the wild, free spirit of the wilderness, they actually do live in the wild and suffer from the weather, all the while exhibiting many positive, highly-prized characteristics in American culture—sharp senses, speed, stamina, intelligence, beauty, and an instinct for good parenting. Also, compared to many other large American
animals, deer generally lack threatening aspects, such as enormous size, aggressiveness, and carnivorousness; they are somewhat approachable, while they remain wild (Herzog and Burghardt, 80)

However, it is freedom, independence from civilization, which is the essence of American wildlife. Compare, for example Faulkner’s myth/metaphor of Old Ben’s dignity or self-respect, which is at risk when he is in contact with civilization and humans, but not when he remains wild and maintains his own life and freedom. See Josephs 241, 247.

The rural American view of wild deer, as opposed to suburban deer, is reminiscent of the distinction between wilderness and civilization. The wild deer’s link to the dominant American value of freedom makes it very appealing; public concern for deer in American is evidenced by the popularity of deer warning automobile whistling devices, feeders, and, as mentioned, the positive image of deer in popular art. Kellert and Berry note that deer have always been a common subject and image of beauty in American calendar art (1980b, 3, 41); Kellert and Westervelt also document the popularity of deer in America (1981, 4, 106); deer were the most mentioned wild and game animal in the newspapers surveyed by Kellert (4, 103, 106)

Regional or Subregional Deer, Hunting Tradition or System

Some areas in America have a well-known, elaborated, or well-entrenched deer hunting history and a specialized orientation toward deer.
For example, Pennsylvania, after nearly hunting its whitetails to extinction and after producing some legendary volume hunters, now prides itself on a high-yielding management system (Sajna). Texas is well-known for its pioneer hunters, its use of the rattling technique, and its game ranch fee hunting (Mitchell 1979b, 2, 79, 81). The Tidewater southeast’s long hunting tradition, as reported by Rutledge, has been quoted in this study.

But what of the Pacific Northwest and the NC? Following the pattern in several other cultural developments, the NW and NC are noted for their relative isolation from many national influences. As is often stated, NC blacktail hunting is basically atypical, which may enhance it as an internal subregional marker. Perhaps, the newer developments in NC hunting, for instance, the relatively high proportion of bow hunters and elk hunters, may in the future contribute to a more well-defined tradition or style of deer hunting in the NC subregion.

**Deer as Image**

With so much emphasis being placed on the arbitrary development of meaning and on cultural relativism at the present time, it might be well to note the nearly universal human reactions to deer, especially when they have been removed from the category of essential human food. These reactions might be the result of intuitive comparisons of deer with other animals or comparisons of deer with the human form and human movement,
but people, especially Americans and NC residents, generally describe deer as beautiful, graceful, sensitive, swift, and surprisingly powerful. Perhaps what really impresses people is the highly refined complex of deer characteristics, a multiplicity of qualities which can be simultaneously presented in a single image in an instant, as, for example, when a fleeing deer leaps over a fence and bounds into the woods.

**Deer as Symbol**

Deer, as animals, and more specifically, as wild animals (wildlife), partake in a powerful and pervasive symbolism which includes Animal Vitality—force, power, energy, movement, fertility; Lower Human Nature—noncivilized or pre-civilized drives, instincts, sexuality (male, female, and androgynous); Joy—pleasure, satisfaction, indulgence; Spirit—nonhuman or suprahuman power, freedom, integrity, cosmic power; and the Human Domain—that which is for human control, use, and consumption, especially as food.

Deer in America have been viewed both as various horizontal or earth symbols and as various vertical or projective symbols. Naturally, it is tempting to equate or reduce these sex or gender distinctions to chthonic-female symbolization and creative-male symbolization, but since core symbols usually operate within a system or an elaborated polarity, as is discussed by Meletinski (254), such an antonymous, reductive interpretation can be more limiting than explanatory. Generally, American deer,
whether buck, doe, or fawn, can be chthonic, representing mountains, Woods, a center, or a ghost-like, nocturnal spirit. However, deer can also be experienced as, or taken to symbolize, an epiphenomenon—an extension, incarnation, or epitome of the land, somewhat as in W. J. Mitchell's discussion of landscape (30). An individual deer can be taken as representing Nature and the Other, as if it were staring back at the human visitor who comes to the woods-site to examine, look, and control. The feminist critique of human vision as domination seems pertinent in this case; therefore, when Nature, the deer as epitome, stares back at the human visitor, his or her unexamined “natural” domination may be called into question, because the “object” of the hunter’s vision has become the “subject” or agent.

American deer symbolize many, but certainly not all, of the facets of the human-animal relationship. Since they have generally been taken to possess or show animal vitality, power, sexual prowess, joy, or physical contentment, they may represent a link or intermediary between humans and nature. As such intermediaries, deer may reconnect an individual with the non-human or natural world, but they may also connect an individual with his or her own human nature. In this role, the deer is seen by a few hunters as a teacher, but more commonly, it is seen as a reminder of a “reality check.” Probably the type of deer symbolism most recently expanded and developed is that of the nonconsumptive or contact
relationship, the human-nature experience in which human observers "contact" or participate in the lives of wildlife, but do not capture, kill, or use them. See New Hunter.

As for the possibility that American deer, more than any other animal or any other wild animal, may represent animalness, wildlife, or wild-natural areas, it does appear that a strong prima facie case can be made for this species. This is based on the deer's wide distribution, large population, frequent contact with humans, historical roles, medium size, its sexual aspects, and generally positive qualities from the human perspective, such as beauty, grace, speed, intelligence, strength, and parental roles. Even if the deer's world is relatively small, some hunters, especially stalkers, find it challenging and rewarding to hunt knowledgeably within the deer's world. Many aspects of the hunt are memorable and, many would argue, obviously have symbolic value. For example, the hunter, the prey, the weapon, the bullets, the antlers, the hide, and the skinned deer itself are powerful images. The desire for the chase, the chase, the actual shooting, and the bleeding of the deer are also powerful elements in the whole hunting experience.

However, deer may be declining as a dominant symbol in America. Rather than being a part of a rich complex or nexus of several interrelated symbols, deer may be in the process of being redefined according to a single trait. If only a single symbolization is developed, a single trait
stereotypic view is probably in place. Mary Allen describes the reduction in Aesop’s fables in this fashion (4). The stark contrast between this type of reductionism and the more sophisticated American animal myths is noteworthy and signifies once again the lost potential of NC hunting, due to its isolation from a highly elaborated myth or legend collection as in, for example, many Indian materials. The blacktail deer’s identity may similarly be changing as NC deer and elk hunting, and salmon fishing, both sport and commercial, continue to become more highly regulated.

**Deer, Sexuality, Symbol, Blacktail, Deer as Male Symbol, Intelligence**

Arguably, the deer is a powerful sexual symbol for humans. In American culture, deer can symbolize male attributes, perhaps because they are the most numerous big game prey species and because American culture tends to view games or contests as matches between male rivals. Kellert and Westerveit, for example, note that the drive for dominance or power in young American male hunters is a part of the hunting experience (166); it is clear that this drive for power has obvious sexual overtones.

Some other complexities of the deer as a male symbol include the fact that even though it is a powerful animal which cannot be fully-dominated, and which is dangerous when cornered, it is not aggressive and does not attack humans. The deer’s sexuality, unlike that of many animals with longer or year-round breeding capacities, is limited in time. Antlers, as well, the prime male symbol, are dropped, indicating a latency or
asexual period. Thus, the deer's sexuality appears orderly and predictable.

Variety in the timing of the rut also lends an air of "naturalness" to
blacktails; blacktail follow their natural rhythms, not human calendars
and clocks. Given these characteristics, without deer hunting, some might
intuitively or subconsciously feel the severing of their link to nature's
cycle.

Notwithstanding the symbolization of serious matters, several
informants, not only had strong reactions when questioned about the topic
of bucks in rut, they also stressed the carelessness of the buck which
presented a comical picture of amorous deer. These hunters' close
observations of the animal's sexuality offered obvious lessons for humans.
Two informants offered detailed, lengthy descriptions of bucks in rut, both
of which carried a comic tone:

"[I've] seen...[blacktails in rut] looking at me, during elk season.
[One buck had a] big, old swelled neck, neck the size of a barrel,
glassy eyes.
[I] don't know if they [really] see you.
[It's] a little scary...
[It] looks like their eyes are just blank.
[It's] mating season..." (Informant 11-12-13)

"...Everybody knows that [bucks act stupidly in rut]."
I didn't see deer while logging in the woods during deer season.
When the rut started, I could see deer standing along the road in the
open.
"[Bucks in rut] don't care about [human] scent or anything
else.
They [have] just got something else on their mind, and they don't
give a damn about a man."
They just want to find another doe.
They’re just plain loony; they wouldn’t run [away from you]...
They’d throw all caution to the side; they’re just stupid; they don’t
have any sense at all; they’ll just stand there and look at
you.”

Their neck swelled up about around 1 1/2 feet.
I never noticed the eyes of a buck in rut being different.
“They can see just as good [during the rut]...”

When we worked in the woods [logging], we’d never see a deer
during deer season [while we were] driving back and forth to
work; then [during the rut] we see them standing alongside
the road.” (Informant 19--31-32)

As mentioned, a few hunters indicated that they wouldn’t kill a buck
in rut because the meat would be inferior (Informant 19--26), but
Informant 30--15 probably represented the vast majority of NC hunters in
that he has never passed up a deer because of the rut.

There is another factor relevant to the deer as a male symbol that
simultaneously operates to challenge and to support hunting. The in-
telligence of animals, no doubt, allows for the human tendency to identify
with animal species; when deer are seen as highly intelligent, the just-
ification for killing them would generally be held to higher scrutiny. On
the other hand, as was mentioned by several informants, for example,
Informant 28--27, 28, blacktail intelligence ensures a fair chase and
ensures that animals will not be easily taken.

**Antler-Symbol**

A rack of antlers is more than a symbol of a natural orgiastic
reality; it is an actual physical manifestation, a part of the procreative
process and the result of a sexual maturity which is caused by hormones; antlers are also used in combat with other males and in displays to secure females.

While antlers, more loosely, “Horns,” are associated with animalistic sexuality, pagan sensuality, narcissism, and self-indulgence, (Brun “Language,” 26, and Walker, 390), these more European and literary connotations do not appear to dominate the views of NC residents and blacktail hunters. The more positive creative, phallic connotations, as well as the protective connotations, as in the use of antlers to protect does and fawns from predators, are probably more prevalent. See Geology, Antler.

Perhaps, deer, specifically bucks in antler, symbolize aspects of masculinity following a characterization of Freudianism, but evidence of such an overt social recognition or function, whether conscious or subconscious, appears to be lacking in the NC. This topic will be discussed in more detail in Chapters VII and VIII. However, it can be said here that the past Euro-American cultural uses of deer, specifically its antlers, to symbolize the devil, evil power, especially of a sexual nature (Brun “Language,” 26), or to symbolize a horned satanic pagan god (Walker, 390), were not overtly evident in NC deer hunting. Nevertheless, there were hunts in which informants reacted to the symbolism of deer antlers, but
this study was not of the type to clearly establish that fact. See the later discussion of bucks in this chapter.

To further appreciate the possible complexities of antler symbolization, consider the irony that the buck’s antlers serve to protect does and fawns from the human hunter, as well as from the natural predator. Since antlers serve to mark the bucks as the animals to be killed, they reduce the chances of accidental doe killing, and they “offer” the buck to the hunter, as his or her prime target. Some hunters also will not shoot at a doe coming out of the brush, hoping that a buck is trailing behind her, and this is sometimes the case. In addition, antlers have an attraction for buck only hunters, and even within legalized doe hunting, hunters will always prefer to kill the larger and more status-enhancing buck.

It is noteworthy that most NC deer hunters see the blacktail buck, with its swollen neck, more as a comical or pitiable figure than as a lordly patriarch of the woods. This contradicts the anti-hunting stereotypes of hunters. Even antlers, which are generally taken to be obvious phallic symbols, can be interpreted in various ways, some of which are not narrowly masculine. Chapter 11, Geology, shows that antlers can be taken as products of the earth.
Androgyny, Deer

Despite the powerful male and female symbolizations that may become attached to deer, rather surprisingly, during most of the year and especially after the smallish blacktail have dropped their antlers, does are not easily identified by sex when they are sighted in the field; this is not mentioned in the literature on juvenile deer behavior, but Cooper points out that dying gods and sacrifices to a god are often androgynous (12, 57); subconsciously, via various and subtle suggestions, the role of deer as animals to be sacrificed to human needs, i.e., human civilization, may be enhanced by their androgynous aspects. The notion of the deer's androgyny is also supported by the human neotenic response.

Deer, Human Neoteny Response

The human, biologically-based “cuteness response” to animals was first developed by Lorenz. More recently, Burghardt and Herzog (766) and Lawrence (1986) have shown that the neotenic response clearly operates in the responses people have to deer. As mentioned, commercial products, such as cards, pictures, lawn figurines, and animated films with cute deer abound; such products may serve to intensify romanticized and anthropomorphized reactions based on the underlying neotenic response, as tourism expands in the NC, and as non-consumptive wildlife orientations are expanded. Informant 37--21 stated in a factual, non-sentimental way, regarding the influence of the deer’s cuteness on some NC residents: “If
you talk to women about hunting, their thing, [their problem with hunting!],
is they can’t shoot the poor little brown thing with the brown eyes.”

Female Symbol, Doe

Although Gaard is somewhat reductive and overstated in her
argument for an ecofeminist, intimate relationship between women and
nature and animals, there does appear to be a basis for her claim which we
can recognize:

In the English language, nature and natural forces (hurricanes, tornadoes), many animals (cats, deer, rabbits),
and, in general, whatever cannot be controlled take the
feminine pronoun (“Ecofeminism,” 303).

Additionally, as Cooper points out, milk producing mothers, such as cows,
nanny goats, and sows, take on symbolic value as mothers (109). This
process would seem to also apply to does, especially since does have a
reputation for being good mothers. Following Snyder, the cow is the
preeminent domestic animal, and the deer a major wild animal (1985, 24);
the crossover effect, then, of the doe as wild cow appears possible, and
such is the case in Celtic lore, which took “darling deer” as “cattle.” See
McKay (149) and Walker (370). Walker links milk, mothering, and
domesticity (368), which seems to call up the fact that, while the buck is
a strong male symbol, the doe is perhaps an equally powerful female
symbol. Thus, an androgynous status for the species as a whole appears
possible. In other terms, the doe as a semi-domesticated, milk-giving,
nurturing mother, links civilization to the wilderness, and the buck through his relationship with the doe, links the wilderness to civilization.

NC residents and hunters who frequently travel through livestock raising pasture areas regularly see cattle and frequently also see deer in these pastures, sometimes relatively close to the cattle themselves; therefore, cattle and deer are probably linked more closely together in the NC than in field crop growing areas--areas such as the Willamette Valley, where corn is grown, or Eastern Oregon, where wheat is grown. On the other hand, there are some overt female deer symbols which can be ruled out of NC usage. They include the Celtic hind goddess (Walker 370) and the doe as witch or temptress (Brun "Language," 26).

As for the myth of the eternal return, as seen in the major NC theme of natural abundance, the doe is overtly identified as the source of abundance and human food. This association, judging from several volunteered informant comments, is strengthened by the NC's buck only controversy. The NC is probably the strongest buck only hunting area in Oregon; the overwhelming majority of hunters are reluctant to shoot does because they are viewed as the principle source of the blacktail population. See Campbell's discussion of the mystery of eternal life through animal fecundity (1959, 332), a point of view that was until recently strongly suggested by the NC's seasonal salmon runs.
When the hunter is taken as a male symbol, or placed within a "traditional" male role, as is usually the case in Euro-American culture, the prey is frequently cast into a female role, particularly as the virgin or the wife. For instance, in Campbell, the hunter takes the traditional male role as a controller of reproduction (1969, 351). Typically in patriarchal psychology, the hunter, the male in power, controls "naturally," indirectly, and by necessity, and not by personal choice. That is, by killing the buck, which may represent the devil, evil, the sexual male, or sexuality, the hunter "saves" the doe.

Another common patriarchal feature within cultures is the so-called natural and necessary casting of the male agent, the hunter, into the hero's role. Compare for example, the Finn Mac Cool doe as a damsel in distress who provides the hero with a role and a quest. Naturally, this heroic myth can contribute to an arrogance which claims that humans can "save" the earth, also, the heroic power of males to "save" may be a way of legitimizing the oppression of nature, animals, and women. Ironically, probably for some participants, modern sport hunting's claimed naturalness and necessity constitutes a vehicle to dispel patriarchal guilt, as is described by Gruen (62-63).

**Blacktail Within NC Life**

There are many and varied points of view regarding NC blacktail deer; the major ones designate blacktails as a natural resource, a source
of food, or meat; the subject of scientific knowledge and investigation; public, state property; products of nature; links to the past, especially to pioneer ancestors; mere animals or pests; and fellow residents. However, as informant 28--28 explained, the practical information available on blacktails is limited:

...Hunting magazines do not include blacktails very much. Blacktails are only found in one area of the U.S. The terrain is different here, so magazine articles about whitetails or mule deer are often of limited relevance.

This lack of published material on blacktails makes it necessary for hunters to learn deer hunting lore from trial and error personal experience, word of mouth transmission, and mentoring. Ironically, NC deer hunting is being preserved by its relative anonymity and the lack of official, public recognition as a state-sponsored, commercialized folk activity. On the other hand, the rather esoteric status of NC blacktail hunting may hinder hunter recruitment and the attainment of skills necessary for the development of a fully elaborated hunting tradition. Informant 28--21 noted a drop off in the number of local hunters. See New Hunter.

Deer Refuge, NC

The presence of the whitetail deer refuge might be expected to play an influential role in NC blacktail hunting, as with the Jewell Elk Refuge in terms of elk hunting, but such is not the case. The refuge attracts relatively little local interest or visitation.
Blacktail Population in the NC, Human View

Some NC residents felt that deer hunting is a threatened folk activity, but other residents totally rejected such an interpretation:

"I think there are more deer now than in the old days; I'm sure of it. These farmland deer, there's probably a lot more of them; there's plenty of feed and water; there's cover..." (Informant 30--17).

"They say there's a shortage of deer. There are deer all over the place. We see them almost everyday night here [in the neighborhood]. There's a lot of hunters out there [now], and there probably isn't enough deer to go around..." (Informant 37--31).

"...I think the game people, [the Fish and Wildlife Service], know what they're doing. When they say there's too many deer in an area, and we have to open it up for doe hunting, they're right..." (Informant 28--36).

Several informants (1--15, 22--34, 34--53--54, 57, and 3--18) presented the typical and well-documented claim that deer hunting is generally a good population management tool. Informant 34--53--54, 57 did not believe that his hunting depleted wildlife at all. His point of view was that hunting was a harvesting of "surplus animals" which will die in any case. Hunting, therefore, avoids "waste." Informant 3--18 had a similar belief; hunting carried to its logical conclusion, non-hunting, would be wasteful, due to the overpopulation and starvation which would result. However, Informant 17--14, 34 rejected the claim that hunting is required to manage game animals:
"...I don't necessarily accept the fact that we [humans] have to hunt to manage the herds [of game animals]. Without hunting, there would be some rather violent adjustments, I'm sure, but it would come back to equilibrium..."

Road Kill, Blacktail

Whether or not NC road kills generally reduce the status of blacktails, rendering them a "nuisance," is an unanswered question. People may look upon the individual deer killed on roads as weak animals, pests, or "dumb" animals. Informant 20--31's comments gave some sense of this:

...Road kills take a heavy toll on deer population. "[It's] inevitable, [deer are] blinded by lights."
They have internal injuries.
Deer get away but only to die later.
Road kills are food for coyotes, bear, and cougar; "in wildlife, it's not wasted..."

Deer, Interesting Animal

Rutledge, an astute observer, notes that deer are interesting animals, due to their graceful movements, expressive body language, varied and adaptive behavior, and individuality (1992, 13, 19, 36--37, 149). Informant 31--16 echoed these points but also stressed the deer's strength and ability: "I'm occasionally amazed at their climbing through [and] running through a hillside in 5 minutes in what would take me a couple hours to do." He indicated a sincere appreciation for deer.
Several informants emphasized the aesthetic pleasure of watching deer and, thus, clearly supported the pro-hunting contention that hunting can be a potent vehicle for the appreciation of wildlife, nature, and of life itself. For example, informant 3--30 enjoyed seeing and watching deer. He was “glad to see them, [their] beauty,” and was “glad they’re alive”; informant 1-15 found it difficult to kill deer which are “so pretty,” and informant 6--47 stressed the ocular aspect of the aesthetic experience in photographing deer. Informant 11--24-25, a NC blacktail hunter, related a story about mule deer outside of CC, in which he demonstrated the “hunter’s eye” as a key element in the aesthetic experience of seeing deer.

---Watching Buck Story---
My wife and I were in Eastern Oregon, deer hunting by Camp Sherman. It was the last day of the season. We were walking through pine trees; the pine trees were about 6 inches around. We were walking up along where it had been logged, along this trail. My wife pulls me in back from behind; I turn around; she points down along the hill. I thought I saw an elk at first. There was a great big buck coming along with his head down. He had been sniffing a doe, I thought. There was an open area ahead of him. I said, “I’ll wait till he gets up there; I’ll get a beautiful head shot.” About the time he got to that open area, he turned away so his butt was facing us, so I didn’t shoot him because I didn’t want to shoot him in the rear. I walked back to my wife and said, “Wasn’t that a beautiful buck!” Oh man, it had a big rack. I always thought she wet her pants waiting for me to squeeze the trigger.
The buck was so God damn beautiful; I’ve never seen one just like that.

It was so big I thought it was an elk when I saw it coming up through the pine trees there.

This story naturally invites a Freudian reading, but the intensity of the hunter’s account of the deer’s beauty is especially noteworthy. Other observers also stress the beauty of blacktail.

Because a mule deer is usually a larger, heavier, more chunky-bodied animal than a whitetail, it does not move quite as gracefully. But a blacktail can slip through the most impenetrable tangles of underbrush as easily as the whitetail (Rue 1969, 59).

Content now am I to admire a deer in all its grace and beauty; always marveling how their delicate-looking legs can carry them in such tremendous leaps down a hillsides...I was assailed with a mixture of pride at my first deer--and a twinge of remorse that I’d taken this wild, graceful creature’s life (142, 144).

Wild

Informant 20--48 was aware of the relative wildness of blacktails:

“...The object in going out hunting to us wasn’t [merely to kill] an animal.
It was going out there trying to match...wits against a wild animal. [I want] to see something that has outsmarted me; [then] I feel [I’m] a rich man...”

However, while Wegner claims that some deer are much less tolerant of human activity than are others (Book 1, 233), this is not a common NC topic, nor was the topic of a big buck as a truly wild, solitary, and free
animal; in fact, most informants would probably consider such a characteriza-
tion overly romantic, the product of an outsider or non-hunter’s imagination. Many local hunters feel that it is human contact, not solitude, that makes blacktail wary.

**Awe, Blacktail**

Several informants indicated a sense of awe regarding the blacktail, even though it is smaller than Eastern Oregon mule deer, and even though it is diminutive compared to the NC elk. Informant 20--30-31, a NC elk hunter did not demean the blacktail’s vitality. For him, “[A blacktail] deer...has tremendous vitality; as long as there’s blood in him, he’s going to exercise it completely.” Informant 26--43-44 sincerely stated that animals are “really awe inspiring...They are so neat to watch, even if you don’t shoot.” And, Informant 31--22 appreciated deer more because he had hunted them: “You just get a respect for them, after a while [and] sometimes, it’s just fun to sit there and watch them for a while.”

**Elusive-Secretive Blacktail**

In the context of popular misconceptions about hunting, informant 15--10-11, a young hunter, stressed the importance of locating deer and the elusiveness of blacktails:

“[People] think they know where they are. Other people think it’s easier [than it really is]...as if you just go in your backyard and shoot; [it’s] not true; they think it’s real easy.
[I would like to learn more about locating deer].”
Informant 17--14 also commented on the deer’s elusiveness:

“I think it’s lucky anytime you get within 30 yards or 50 yards of a deer...
Wariness comes into the animals with the increased [hunter] activity.”
Wariness also comes from the change of habits as the fall progresses.
When startled, deer “disappear in the brush.”
Deer are not easily taken.
It takes a “good share of the season to get my game.
I don’t want to limit myself any more than [using a bow].…”

Informant 19--22, an expert local hunter with years of hunting experience, related his theory that scent, not noise, is the major aspect of the blacktail’s elusiveness, both in terms of its ability to avoid people and the startle effect, the degree to which a deer is “spooked”. He felt that hunters lose deer because deer smell the hunter and sneak away.

Informant 19--29-30 demonstrated that the truly knowledgeable hunter can hunt more successfully, and in a more relaxed manner, than a novice, since he is more concerned with scent than with hunter noise:

“...Deer don’t care if they hear you, but if they smell you, they’re gone; right now, they’re gone.
They’re not necessarily afraid of noise.
You can make all the noise you want.
I never made it a habit of walking real quietly.
I just walked naturally.
[If] they hear a noise, they’re curious; they want to know what the hell it is.
They’re look around, stand there.
[The reason bucks are hard to find is] they have a keen sense of smell.
Most of the reason hunters lose opportunities is [that] the deer smells the hunter before he sees the deer. He’s deathly scared of a man’s scent; that’s the reason they run. The minute they smell you, they’re going to go, right now; that’s the difference [between spooking deer with scent versus noise]. If they smell you, all you’ll see is the track..."

Sacred Deer

Some NC residents or hunters may “sanctify” local deer, but if this is so, it is on a subconscious level. Such sanctification would not be a part of totemic self-worship, as in Durkheim’s God-is-the-clan point of view (quoted in Malinowski, 5). Since the sanctification of deer would require that blacktails and hunting remain vague, unclassified, and unrelegated, in order to ensure or imply their special, magical, or sacred qualities, the sanctification or romanticizing of deer may at times undercut the traditionalization of blacktails and hunting. However, anti-traditionalism can be seen as a tradition itself, or as a traditional stance or point of view. It differs from other traditions in its exclusiveness and anti-communal stance. A formulated, developed anti-traditionalism goes beyond the general anthropological view that all traditions are dynamic and constantly in flux, as they reinterpret their content (Handler and Linnekin). In the study, NC anti-traditionalism in reference to hunting is linked to the NC’s subregional rationalism and pragmatism.

The lack of interest among residents in the NC Indian’s sanctification of wildlife in natural sites supports this contention. At the same
time, some blacktail hunters appeared to insist that blacktails and hunting remain vague, unclassified, and minimally regulated, so that the prey, the hunter, and the activity could retain a special, quasi-magical, or sacred quality, similar to a Jungian feeling tone, mood, aura, or ambience. This topic is discussed in terms of initiation in Chapter VIII.

Scapegoat, Deer

The psychological interpretation of hunting as a rebellion against death, an attempt to gain a degree of influence or control through participation in death, is presented by Mary Allen (177) and Ellade (1954, 53, 60). This is a highly appealing notion, but as with other psychological or magico-religious perspectives, it is not compelling in the NC. This does not eliminate the possibility that this idea can be a part of an individual hunter’s psychology, only that participation in death is not a part of an overt social psychology. Except for deer damage, NC blacktails are not vilified, as are varmint species such as crows and coyotes; on the contrary, blacktail do not figure in hunting as rebellion, since they are “good” animals.

Food Source, Blacktail

An important but infrequently discussed notion is the idea that rural America should provide its residents with free wild foods. This point is discussed under the topic of natural abundance, but a distinction should be made between an area, region, or subregion’s “surplus” minerals, plants, or
animals, and the "natural" presence of food sources for residents. Historically, in America, such given or guaranteed, in the existentialist sense, food sources have included feral swine, deer, buffalo, and fish. In the NC, such foods have included razor clams, washed up whales among Indian groups, deer, elk, smelt, and, especially, salmon.

**Meat**

Since game meat, including venison and elk meat, cannot be legally bought or sold, if NC hunting is restricted or virtually eliminated, local people would lose access to wild meat. Elk ranches in the NC and other such operations may provide alternate sources, and in fact, if ranch-raised game meat were sold at $5.00-10.00 a pound, purchasing it might be more economical than hunting for it. However, the NC elk ranches and other Oregon operations have been attacked as potential sources of disease and genetic imbalances, in the event their animals escaped and bred with wild elk.

The proper care of venison is a realistic benchmark and is used by some locals to classify a hunter's character. Consider Informant 8--26's rather typical support for a more European-style strict hunting licensing standard, based partly on meat care:

I favor including field dressing and meat care in hunting safety courses, perhaps as a video.

A hunting license is an insufficient requirement to be a responsible hunter, as seen in the meat care issue.

A hunter must know meat care to avoid waste.
I have a disdain for people who put a carcass on a car hood and drive off to display their kill. The heat from the motor will ruin the meat.

Property-Product, Blacktail, NC

Blacktails can be categorized as products of private, corporate, or public lands. Such categorization may initially appear to be abstract, but as Informant 4--9, 16's comments revealed, it seems perfectly obvious, perhaps following the agriculturalist or forester's orientation of commoditization in the Marxian sense. Informant 4 got his deer on his own property, just up a hill and near a road. His justification was that as long as he had always fed the deer in his fields, orchard, and vegetable and ornamental gardens, he "deserved a piece of meat once in a while."

Deer Damage, Agriculture

As noted by more than one informant, elk can be a serious matter in pastures. However, pasture damage was not cited as a justification for deer hunting, since according to Informant 4--13, deer in pastures are not a problem: "[they don't eat] that terrible a volume." However, 4--14 believed that special doe hunts are sometimes needed to keep the deer which eat his garden vegetables and ornamentals under control.

Damage, Residential, NC Blacktails

While blacktail agricultural damage is not a major factor in NC residents' attitudes toward deer, the potential for forestry damage from
deer is closely considered by foresters and the timber holding company. By and large, NC residents whose livelihoods are not affected by deer damage are more tolerant than NC foresters. In fact, in some cases, deer damage to gardens, fruit trees, and ornamentals appears to be accepted as being a part of country living, proof that residents are living with wildlife and with nature. This attitude may even be interpreted as a form of passive "participation," since these residents are in fact feeding the deer and participating in their lives. NC residents attempt various methods of protecting their gardens: milk bottles on fences (Figure 24), dried blood in sachets (Figure 25), and netting (Figure 26), for example.

The image of a deer in a rural NC garden or orchard may very well capture or symbolize the meeting of the wild and the civilized, wildlife and humans. Informant 35--21-22 stated this was the attitude among most of the ranchers in the NC. He didn’t know of one deer killed by any of his neighbors, even though the deer got into their yards. Informant 10--15 and his neighbor wouldn’t shoot the tame legal bucks which walked right up to them in the neighbor's orchard during hunting season. Informant 5--22 also noted that deer came into yards in an East Astoria neighborhood near the Columbia River.

There may, however, be a common, public distinction between fully-wild deer and those deer that are dependent or parasitic on humans:

We seem to have a different breed of deer today. They have become accustomed to human beings and seem to
thrive in civilization. Instead of feeding in the fields, they invade our lawns, gardens, raspberry and strawberry patches and orchards. This year it became necessary to fence our garden (Elliot, 63).

It is clear that home gardens, ornamental plants, and fruit trees can sometimes suffer serious damage from blacktails. Informant 3--38-39 believed that the Fish and Wildlife Service abuses the idea or theory of game population management by means of hunting:

"...[It's] just an excuse" for some of their mismanagement. One example of Fish and Wildlife's abuse is their policy of "agricultural damage."
For example, within the Seaside city limits, a property owner claimed he was going to put up a fence and keep horses, so the elk which were in that area were killed by special-permit hunts.

Informant 3 believed that the Fish and Wildlife Service allows permit hunts for frivolous reasons and that it is pressured by anyone who claims to have suffered damage from game animals. In the 1930's, Pottsmith reported the use of fencing in Hamlet gardens (44), but fencing has its attendant problems as Informant 4--14 noted:

...Electric fences are shorted out by weeds; you must cut tall grasses on the fence line.
"[I] thought about...[electric fencing for my garden, but it's] so unhandy, a hassle."

Such problems might contribute to the necessity of hunting troublesome property deer.
Suburban/Ruburban NC Blacktail

As previously mentioned, residents may view suburban deer as wild animals, proof that they are living in or near natural or "wild" areas. On the other hand, such deer, particularly when they become semi-domesticated, may be viewed by residents as "rabbit deer," proof of human control in an area. Both the proposed NC suburban and small parcel gentry developments will probably dramatically increase suburban deer populations, and they have the potential of either fostering or discouraging hunting. Since upper middle class, professionally-employed people have a higher than average hunter rate, new NC fringeland housing developments may produce new blacktail hunters. But, there are other possibilities. An increase in the suburban deer population may discourage hunting if residents identify and empathize with "their" local deer. As a result, nonconsumptive wildlife use may be placed in opposition to hunting. Safety considerations would also be a concern in such areas.

The relative affluence of gentrified areas in the NC may in the future tend to support safe, "controlled," European-style hunting lease operations over open public hunting, with its attendant problems, such as "slob" hunters, road hunters, and poachers. Guaranteed success or a higher rate of success in lease hunting may also appeal to new hunters. However, Informant 4--14 offered another solution to suburban deer:

"...To me,...[deer raiding gardens and house shrubs] are not game animals any more; [they're] pet deer."
[They] could just as well be eliminated. [We] need special doe hunts. I always gives hunters permission to hunt on my property, quite a few hunters..."

Tanning

The major point about tanning the hides of blacktail taken during the deer season is its rarity and continuing decline. Only informant 17--13 had tanned hides or made use of hides from personal or commercial sources. The lack of hide collection barrels in the last few years in CC, versus their continued presence in Tillamook City, suggests that hunting may be less fully integrated in the study area than it was formerly. This lack of concern is opposed to the non-waste ethic and seems consistent with a more consumer-oriented, "modern" point of view. There is the loss of potentially meaningful experiences involved in this change. The color brown can symbolize the earth and naturalness (Cooper, 40); the life force, strength, animal power, and "mana" (Cooper, 77, 153; Brun "Language," 124) are other possible symbols related to the tanning of hides.

Deer Danger

Rutledge in several of his works states that deer hooves can be dangerous, more dangerous, in fact, than antlers (1922, 21), and Maddux concurs that hooves are dangerous (112). However, this study failed to document a single case of a NC deer attacking a human. Informant 30--16
pointed out the commonplace belief that although a blacktail, even in rut, won’t charge a person, it can dangerous in close quarters:

...I have never heard of a buck in rut charging anyone. I have never heard of a CC hunter being injured by a deer.

“Once in a while, you hear tales about how it could happen, somebody knows somebody who it happened to.

You used to hear about them [doing that] back East; the whitetail deer were in the rut; it could be dangerous, but not around here [with blacktails], but that isn’t to say they’re not, wouldn’t be, if you got them in the right condition, under the right circumstances.

I’m sure [a blacktail buck in rut] would [be dangerous].”

Small Size, NC Blacktail

A single hunter can carry out an entire blacktail carcass, but this is not the case with whitetail, mule deer, or elk. Therefore, making a “deer pack” with a gutted blacktail is unique to blacktail hunting areas. The advantage of packing out a blacktail is offset by the deer’s reduced status as prey. This diminished status for the blacktail is clearly demonstrated in the Seaside Signal’s front page article of Oct. 5, 1950. The unusually large blacktail described, which dressed out at 175 lbs., was deemed noteworthy, but then immediately labeled as too small to compete with the Eastern Oregon mule deer, which hunters would bring to local butchering shops. The small size of NC blacktails, while it is generally discouraging to hunter recruitment may, probably in a minority of cases, foster recruitment, due to the fact that these deer are small enough to pack out after solo hunting. The new hunter can, therefore, avoid the typical
embarrassments of the novice. See the following discussion on Deer Pack, as well as related topics in Chapter VIII, Initiation.

**Deer Pack**

The frequent use of the deer pack may have previously been somewhat of a subregional marker, but with its apparent decline, largely due to the expansion of logging roads and, perhaps, to an increased aversion to getting bloody, an "intimate" and intensifying experience is lost. Informant 11–20 gave the following descriptive points about a pack out:

...I clean it out first.
I put the legs through a slit of knee joints.
I hang on to the head to avoid sway.
I need a log or something to set it up first.
I get bloody, but that's OK.
It's kind of hot, the blood and body cavity.
I didn't mind little things like that.
Guys I hunted with all made a pack out of deer, except for really big deer.
Sometimes I cut the head off to save weight and reduce bounce.

However, Informant 19--43 had advice on how to deal with the disadvantages of a deer pack:

A hunter carrying a deer pack will get bloody, but nobody cared about that when I hunted.
It washes off.
If you don't wash your clothes after they get bloody, it will create a terrible stench.
A hunter can feel the heat from the deer's opened, gutted body.

An old timer, Informant 19--43 insisted on this traditional hunting method or technique despite its disadvantages:
There was a pole about 6 inches around. They had stuck that deer on it and packed him up the hill that way. That's no way to carry a deer.
You gotta carry a deer on your back; "You get into him."
Put him on your back and make a pack sack out of him.
[It] sits right on your back, and you can carry a deer that weighs 150 lbs.
[Leave the] head on and tie it back [so it doesn't bounce].
Put the front legs through the siit hocks of the back legs."

Informant 19--25-26 had hunted with others who did not use a deer pack, showing that a pack out strategy can be a matter of contention:

It's best to hunt alone.
"[You can] go where you want to, come out [from the hunt] where you want to."
I packed my deer out before another guy ever got out with the first deer.
He was hollering for his partners to help him...

Despite whatever controversy there may be over using a deer pack technique, Informant 24--21's comments present the possibility that the deer pack may never be completely discarded in the NC, due to the dense vegetation and steep slopes:

I made a pack saddle out of the deer to pack it out.
One person at a time carried it.
You couldn't go very far with it...
Just avoid those jumbled areas when hunting.
"There's game in them, but they can stay there.
I don't want them that bad."
Buck, NC, Blacktail

Several informants stressed the blacktail's intelligence and elusiveness. Informant 18--28 had no sympathy for wily bucks but he couldn't shoot deer when their antlers were in velvet, when they were "scared of getting into the brush [because of] soft antlers." Informant 19--51 enjoyed "fooling those wily bucks," but he found them "pretty clever." They stayed hidden and knew he was after them because they had been hunted before. Informant 19--29 also witnessed a fight between two bucks in which he saw deer crawling on their knees through heavy brush.

Big Buck, Blacktail, NC Category

A big buck, especially the biggest buck ever seen, hunted, shot at, or killed creates a surprisingly powerful impact on hunters, judging from informant comments. A 1936, a CC buck, believed to be from 260-280 lbs., earned his own photograph. See Figure 27.

Informant 19--10-11 gave a vivid account of a specialty hunt in which he also mentioned an older partner and possible mentor:

--First Big Buck and First Trophy (Mounted) Story--
The first mounted deer head you see in the entrance porch to the house is the first big buck I ever killed.
It was killed about 1932 or 33; "that was killed up on Kidders Butte [about 2 miles due east of Sugarloaf Mt., west of Highway 53 in southwest CC]; it was killed in the green timber. I was up there hunting with this partner of mine...
He used to hunt a lot, an older man than I was;...I was about 20.
The sun was shining in the area; it was bright daylight.
I seen the deer, this big buck, with a big rack of horns...
I always got fork and horns before that; I got that buck that day...
Informant 24--2-3's story of his most memorable hunt is another account of a hunter's powerful reaction to a big buck:

--Most Memorable Hunt, Story--
About 7 years after my first deer kill, at age 21 or 22 years, in 1948 or '49, after I got out of the army, I shot a huge one. After I got him all taken care of, field dressed; that's when it affected me.
Boy, talk about getting the shakes, Man! I knew I'd got something that don't happen very often; it really got to me.
Yeah, right, it was a big deer.
I didn't think anything...when I shot him. Afterwards, I started realizing what I'd got.
That's when it got to me, the size of the animal, I think.
I wasn't thinking about what people would say; I don't know.
There were the three of us out that morning; they came along. They realized that it was an outsized animal, too.
Nobody thought anything about it until we brought it home.
We took it to the meat plant; that's when everybody had to come down to look at that.
That's just one of those things.
We took it to the meat plant over in Warrenton; they butchered it: they skinned it out, cut it, and wrapped it for us.
Field dressed the deer weighed 190 lbs., so half that was probably 90 to 100 lbs. of meat.
Oh, it was a big bugger, the largest one I ever shot.
After I went over and dressed it out and was looking at it, the thing started sinking in...

Although the informant equated all hunts, the size of the deer taken remained the memorable feature.
The same emphasis on size, even to the inclusion of antler size, is seen in Informant 19--28-29's comparison of large NC blacktail to mule deer:
My buck taken on Tillamook Head, weighed 170 lbs.
"[It was] a nice big buck.
I killed [blacktail] deer that weighed 210 lbs., 193, 194,...big deer.
Most of the big [blacktail] deer weigh that much.
They're a good deal near as big as mule deer.
A lot of mule deer aren't as big as that..."

Similarly, Informant 20--30-31 was genuinely impressed by the size and
power of blacktail big bucks. Even though he is an elk hunter, he did not
demean the blacktail. However, he, no doubt, misestimated the weight of
175 lbs.:  

I got a nice big buck which probably dressed out about 150 lbs., so it
was about 175 lbs. live.
It was a big animal.
"[A] deer...[has] tremendous vitality.
As long as there's blood in him, he's going to exercise it
completely..."

In addition to impressive size, the rarity of NC big bucks is a self-evident
factor in their noteworthiness (Informant 24--4).

Rutledge emphasizes the rarity of big bucks among Eastern
whitetails (1992, 22, 127). Informant 12--13 voiced the general NC belief
that large blacktails are more rare than among other deer species. He
didn't know of any selective CC hunters since 95% of the bucks were fork
and horns. Informant 4--26 apparently believed that while the nearby deer
population had remained constant, the number of big bucks had decreased:

A major ramification of the various NC reactions and beliefs about
local big bucks is the politicization of NC game management, namely in
terms of opposition to the state Fish and Wildlife Service. Informant 35--
18 accepted doe hunting, but still blamed the Fish and Wildlife Service’s
management policies, which he feels contributed to the low number of
mature bucks.

The literature on deer behavior appears mixed on the issue of doe
versus buck and buck versus mature buck behavior. Whereas, Sullivan (56)
contends that buck behavior significantly differs from that of hunted does,
Wegner warns that a buck fetish among hunters, especially regarding
mature bucks, may distort these interpretations (Book 1, 149). Several
informants expressed their preference for big bucks (19--9, 22--16, and
35--7-8).

A big buck is likely to be an area’s dominant buck. It has a signifi-
cant impact on nearby deer with its territoriality and mating habits. It
also has an impact on the nearby vegetation through scrapes, rubs, and
bedding. This impact or role of the dominant buck, or, according to a
different criteria, of the area’s breeding doe, may constitute the basis for
the deer as an epitome of its area or range.

Known Deer, Blacktail

There may be a taboo against shooting known deer which may be
related to zoophilia, the glorification of pets. In some subregions of the
U.S., named, known, and even legendary deer are common. Rutledge
documents famous stags in Tidewater South Carolina, such as Roland and
Flathorn Buck (1924, 1937a, and 1992, 35, 95, 103, 129), and Sajna cites such well-known bucks in Pennsylvania (166, 167, 175). In contrast, NC blacktails are rarely known, except for belled or ribboned suburban pet-like deer. Informant 4--28 claimed to have known no specific deer and stressed their anonymity:

I have no known deer.
Known deer occur not so much with deer as with elk, especially with bull elk.
Many people think they recognize deer but are actually seeing different deer.
[There are] more deer in the area than some people realize...

Shooting a domesticated deer is always viewed as “foul play,” according to Informant 9--30); Informant 10--15 discounted a neighbor who had once shot a tame, belled deer. CC has many small residential development areas which adjoin heavy woods. In such areas, deer become semi-domesticated. In some cases, a few fawns were belled or marked with ribbons around their necks in the hope that hunters will not shoot them. Nevertheless, it is not unusual that pragmatic meat hunters will kill known deer:

“...[I] had seen it all year”; it was my first deer kill...
My friend had one tree in an orchard he'd sit in, and this one certain deer would come out (Informant 34--34).

There was also a incident in which a woman’s “pet deer” was deliberately shot:
Freida’s Deer Story

Freida, my elderly neighbor, hand fed a local deer. Coast Guard men, renters in neighborhood, shot the deer. They invited Freida to their venison dinner. Freida didn’t go.

Close Encounters, Blacktail

As presented in Chapter III, Flora, Brush, the NC’s dense brush and topography creates deer havens, but on occasion, these factors also make it possible for hunters to have close encounters with blacktail. Informant 2--4-5’s most memorable hunt included a close encounter:

Deer Walks Next to Unarmed Hunters, Story

I was hunting with a partner; we hunted the northern ridge; we hunted the south side; we stopped for coffee. “[We] caught a glimpse out of [the] corner of [an] eye.” “[It was] a fork and horn.” We walked by within 10 feet of it. The guns were in back. It was a “thrill.” I said, “How about that.”

Participation Theme, The World of Hunters and Deer

The participation of hunters in the lives of their prey may serve to reconnect them to nature and such participation may represent a return to premodern, or even pre-civilized times, as noted by Informant 23--32:

“...You go to bed when it’s dark and you get up when it’s light. There is a primitive kind of reality in all that [which] I think you get in touch with. You get into the rhythms of the animals. You move around when the animals move around. [There’s] a real connectiveness about it.”
The experience of feeling connected to nature has probably become increasingly foreign in mainstream, urban-dominated modern mass culture. While it may be a common rural perspective, at least some urbanites only “discover” such ideas through rather esoteric sources, such as the post-modern, anti-anthropocentric poetry of W. S. Mervin, in which animal rhythms and the lives of animals, independent of humans, are presented.

Joseph Campbell frequently discusses the possibility of a hunter’s direct contact with the “reality” of the spirit world, in the form of shamanism without an intermediary. This is in contrast to the agriculturalist’s group-based, social religions, in which the groups’ religious specialist, the priest, is the contact point or medium between the everyday reality of the physical world and the spirit world (1959, 254, 264, 270). How this shamanistic potential for the hunter is played out for modern, post-industrial hunters is an open question, but the intensity of the hunting experience and its propensity to call up philosophical questions, suggests that the participation theme may very well contain a shamanistic component, even for modern, so-called sport hunters. Thus, the hunter and the prey alter and shape each other and, therefore, to a significant degree, shape each other’s experiences; that is, they interact and do not merely react to each other. This reciprocal influence is illustrated when hunted and unhunted deer are compared.
A major form of hunter participation in the lives of deer is often discussed in popular hunting literature, namely, in the form of the hunter as a predator who keeps the prey species healthy by culling the weak, and who also keeps the prey healthy by shaping its behavior. From an animal behaviorist perspective, it appears that any prey species, including deer, cannot maintain maximum fitness, genetic vigor, and adaptive behaviors when they are not hunted; that is, prey animals “need” predators. Informant 3--30 noted that deer have different reactions during or out of season, and Ortega makes the point that unhunted deer would not be natural deer and that “platonic hunting” would alter the deer’s natural responses.

Although Campbell stresses the differences between the agriculturalist-urbanite and the rural hunter in terms of shamanistic roles, Esser argues that the Jewish Bible and Jewish culture recognize a “natural” relationship between humans and animals, which includes limits on human actions. We may note that the notion of animal rights is reminiscent of these views. See Esser’s discussion of the principle of She’atnez in Deut. 10-11 (1970 (88-89).

It was a surprising finding among the informants that some of them practiced doe chasing in anticipation of the deer season. These hunters participated in the deer’s lives by taking the role of protector, not predator. Informant 18--19 even tried to protect bucks:

...I chased bucks off the road before the season opened to keep them from being poached; I honked my horn at them.
"They're about half tame after a half year of not being hunted, [especially the little fork and horns and 3 pointers]."

While hunters may feel justified in pursuing and killing deer, non-consumptive participants, such as hikers and at least some photographers could be expected to oppose hunting because it chases deer away and makes them more wary of humans. But the situation is complex, if not ironic. As Informant 19--31 pointed out, buck only hunting allows residents to see more does and fawns: "You could see all kinds of does. Fawns and does were running around everywhere." Informants 7--35-36 and 17-14 made substantially the same point.

Tracks

The sighting of deer tracks near areas of human use documents the interaction between deer and humans, but people encountering deer tracks in wilder, isolated areas, often feel or sense that they have entered into another realm, the deer's world. Tracks thus may serve to make natural areas seem more "alive" for people.

Typically, the informants were not expert trackers, but they seemed to realize that tracks tell a story, especially in conjunction with other deer signs, such as browsed vegetation and droppings. Informant 15--4 conveyed some sense of the difficulties involved in learning to track. His father taught him how to track but didn't seem to stress anything in particular, except that he would get angry if the informant talked too
loudly or made too much noise. Tracking appears to be one of the aspects of deer hunting which is popularly romanticized by non-hunters, much as the skills of moving without making noise and selecting hunting sites are romanticized.

**Bench Leg Deer**

The term "Bench Leg Deer" was discussed as a NC subregional hunting factor of some importance, particularly as it relates to the deer and hunter's shared experience of topology. See Geology.

**Calico Deer**

A rather surprising number of informants had never heard of the existence of calico or pinto deer (informants 10, 11, 12, 15, 18, 19, 24, 28, 30, and 31). Other informants (4, 16, and 20) had never heard the term "Calico Deer," but had had experiences with deer with white splotches. However, informants were likely to confuse terms, calling such deer "Albino" or "Part Albino" (informants 11, 18, 24, 28, 30, 34), or "spotted" or "flecked" (informant, 20--43--44). See Figure 22.

Generally, there was a striking lack of superstition about these deer, for example in Informant 12--29's comments and a 1959 article appearing in a local newspaper:

One of the most unusual bucks brought in was a partial albino killed by Wenzen Luthe of the Seaside market. The deer was white with some brown spots and patches. These deer are often seen and once in a while one is killed, but they are by no means common
To contrast this NC indifference or pragmatism towards unusual deer, consider Rutledge's attitude toward his pet albino deer which he refused to shoot (1937a, 113). Pennsylvania hunters also had a superstition that it was unlucky to kill a white deer because it holds someone's soul (Sajna, 176). When directly asked about superstitions regarding calico deer, most informants denied any knowledge of them, and several informants displayed a disdain for hunting superstitions, in general. Informant 11--19, although he had seen some partly white deer, was not aware of anyone who had not shot such a deer for fear of bad luck or for any other reason. Other informants (10--20, 17--27, 27--31, and 30--26) also had never heard of a hunter relinquishing a calico deer because of a superstition. In fact, Informant 12--18, 29 stated he would like to shoot such a deer for its unusual hide. This follows Informant 14--37's belief that there are no superstitions about these deer and that "people try to get them for a rug; [they're] just another deer to us." Informant 8--40 reported that a friend of his had a partly white hide tanned. Informant 16--18, who had had extensive contacts with deer over the years, also knew of no superstitions about calico deer, and he denied that the meat from a calico deer is bad. Informant 34--47 also specially denied that the meat would be poor.
Several other informants mentioned some connection to genetics regarding calico deer (12, 14, 16, and 30).

Perhaps, in the future, greater recognition of special blacktail, such as bench leg and calico or pinto deer, might allow residents to identify with these animals, which might then become “their” deer. This socially constructed reality of local pride could easily spread beyond the hunters to include many non-hunting NC residents, and if non-hunters wished to observe or photograph calico or pinto deer, they might contribute to the pressure to resist the closure of timberland during the off season. More general use of natural areas might then help to forestall the initiation of lease for hunt areas in the NC.

**Underdeveloped, Partially Developed, or Lost NC Deer Hunting Aspects**

Clearly, while most expert NC deer hunters know much about blacktail behavior, for example, details of their feeding and escape behavior, even expert hunters often have only a partial view of blacktail life. There was a surprising lack of detailed knowledge about blacktail among the informants, even though they were knowledgeable about certain hunting or prey factors. Perhaps, due to specialization and fragmentation within hunting, interesting NC blacktail hunting topics appear generally undifferentiated among NC residents and hunters, such topics as the following:

Bench Leg Deer
Blacktail Social Behavior (among other deer)
Calico/Pinto Deer
Camping
Deer Marrow
Deer Pack
Hide
NW Indian Lore about Blacktails
Venison Recipes

Lost NC Indian Hunting and Blacktail Lore and Sanctity

Although they make use of different supports, both Campbell and Morris (25) argue that humans had an especially strong attachment to wild animals, beginning in the Neolithic period. But in the modern era, it can be argued that the development of “high civilizations,” that is urbanized cultures, effectively desanctified animals. Furthermore, it can also be seen that the modern world, with its increased use and domination of the entire planet, basically eliminated the last vestiges of an independently operating realm of nature, including wilderness and wildlife.

Although NC blacktail hunters maintain no effective, overt, or ritual connection to the local, Amerindian predecessor hunters, as argued by Wellborn, modern hunters may have a special relationship to their prey, and consequently, it would seem, to nature, at least to some degree or in some fashion:

You’re going to take, you know, an animal. You’re going to take something from the environment. I think you should be aware of what’s going on out there...It’s not like just going to an orchard and picking a tree (Wellborn, 26).
I think you'll find even hunters who are that way, who generally may not exhibit spiritualistic thinking do a lot of that kind of thinking, before and during hunting season" (Wellborn, 33).

One of the findings of this study, based on informant interviews and an examination of local hunting materials, was that contemporary NC hunters are aware of only a few general facts about the Indian's hunting practices and utilization of blacktails. As a result, they do not place themselves within any tradition regarding these earlier people. Nor are there any hunting rites, rituals, or superstitions which can be related to NC Indian practices, such as a belief in a tutelary hunter spirit (Boas 195, 237; ), or the use of bone marrow (Sauter and Johnson, 149), buckskin dolls (Sauter and Johnson, 127), and hunter games (Sauter and Johnson, 132).

**Deer and Blacktail as Limnoid Animal**

As pointed out in the previous discussion of the lost NC Indian magico-religious or sacred view of blacktails and hunting, modern NC hunters lacked any such overtly sacred relationship to their prey. However, the blacktail may be viewed as limnoid animals which link the domestic and the basically wild worlds, much as in the fashion of the fox in one New Jersey fox hunting area (Hufford 1992, 10, 125, 163). Like the fox, the NC blacktail may be a limnoid, anti-structural animal which offers the hunter the possibility of not merely witnessing nature, but of participating in it. As limnoid animals, other subspecies of deer take on
added possibilities within initiatory activities, as will be discussed in Chapter VIII, Initiation.

We may cite Mary Allen (14, 15) on the tendency in American literature to avoid sexuality in wildlife, the purity theme; the works of D. H. Lawrence serve as a contrast. Participation, the human-animal relationships, may represent sexual maturity, adulthood, and initiation (Brun "Language," 123), and simplification via limnoid animals may enhance freedom and choice.

**Epitome, Animal, Deer Blacktail**

The theme of the blacktail as epitome was discussed in Chapter II, Geology, in terms of antlers and, therefore, the deer themselves, as products of the earth. Blacktails, especially in relation to minerals and rocks, may take on the role of epitome of the land-subregion, as Lutwack argues:

> [Rock is] the epitome of earth itself, the rock could not be an expression of man's impact on his environment, as the fields were, but rather the harsh, unchanging reality of existence itself (158).

Also, certain animals may be intimately related to the human experience of a landscape, as Matthiessen claims for the snow leopard (68). Blacktail appear to exert such a "strong presence" in the NC. An interesting and potentially mood-producing factor for human visitors into a natural area is the fact that animals, such as the snow leopard and the blacktail, often
see and watch people, while they themselves escape human notice. Several authors have argued for the epitomization or special status of certain species in certain areas. These authors have various terms for such species: "salient species" (Nabhan and St. Antoine, 231, 236), "charismatic megafauna" (Madeline Nash, 56), and "keystone species" (Madeline Nash, 57); Rutledge (1937a, 311; 1992), and Gruber (3) also discuss such phenomena.

In *Go Down Moses*, Faulkner terms Old Ben an "avatar"; the formulations of "icons" and "archetypes" also seem appropriate to this phenomenon. According to this point of view, a species can epitomize an area in the same way that the human body captures the reality of a unity of parts. Vernon describes this process as the employment of an "integrative symbol" that has the power of unifying other symbols or objects (7, 150, 158).

The notion that powerful, epitomizing wildlife symbols are significant and not merely romantic fantasies or doctrinaire anti-hunting tenets is sometimes seen in the popular hunting literature. Such an interpretation is stated by Thomas McIntyre in "United We Have to Stand":

The people living in those houses [in the new West] are probably transplants from Los Angeles or Chicago who've brought with them, along with their overpriced automobiles, all sorts of mythopoetic twaddle about the spirit of the land residing in the untrammeled presence of wild animals such as cougars and bears--at least until the house cat disappears (16).
In response to McIntyre's American pragmatistic or naturalistic reading, consider Wegner's view that American deer are an epitome of the land because deer antlers and foot prints in tame country "lend special wilderness to the land" (Book 1, 221). Wegner comments further:

In *Hunters' Verses From the High Country* (1986), a remarkable anthology of deer hunting poetry written by Australian deer hunters and published by the Australian Deer Research Foundation, Max Downes, a noted deer biologist and follower of Leopold's, insists that for the deer hunter, deer represent the very meaning of the mountains themselves.

Deer are the numenon, the inner meaning of the mountains. Their presence or absence does not affect the outward appearance of deer country, but it does mightily affect our reaction toward it. Without deer tracks on the trail and the potential presence of the animal at each new dip and bend of the hillside, the forest is an empty shell, a spiritual vacuum (Wegner Book 3, 292-293).

When asked whether or not NC blacktail hunting could be a vehicle for an appreciation of wildlife, nature, or of life itself, informant 32--24 hinted of his acceptance that deer somehow capture the spirit, mood, or essence of natural sites:

"Growing up, I loved the out of doors, being in the woods. [With] no cars, no video cameras, no video games, it's just kind of fun to be out there, and it's the real world out there. I loved deer and elk. I loved watching them there [in the woods]. I don't even have to hunt or kill them to enjoy them."
CHAPTER VII

HUNTER TYPE AND HUNTER PROFILE

Introduction

In order to understand NC deer hunting as a folk activity, with the discussion of the background and contextual factors of NC deer hunting (geology, climate, flora, fauna), and the blacktail deer, the prey, completed, it is also necessary to consider the hunter, the agent or actor undertaking the activity of hunting.

A description of NC hunter types is presented for this end, with a consideration of the limitations of a strictly typological classification method. One limitation is the bewildering number of overlapping types generated by a system based solely on hunter types, almost 200 in this study, not including the subtypes. Thus, it appears that a typology of hunters can be seemingly infinite and incomplete. Another limitation is the number of hunter types that require additional comment, since they are misleading, little understood, or are especially significant for an understanding of deer hunting in the NC. The alphabetical listing of hunter types and the clarifications of hunters types in the text illustrate these limitations.
The typological description of hunter types includes both hunter types which are general to hunting areas and hunter types which are specific to the NC. They are generated according to the following considerations:

1. The definition of the terms “Hunter” and “Hunting” in the literature,
2. Kellert’s categories of hunter attitudes toward animals,
3. Informants’ self-descriptions as to hunter type,
4. Informants’ volunteered, overt, or implied descriptions of other hunters, based on the significance of these categories for the informants, judged from the length of related responses and the emotion displayed in their responses, and
5. Descriptions of, or terms for, NC hunters found in the hunting literature, or overtly or by implication, in the informants’ comments. While certain types of NC hunters may not be named as such by informants, most of the terms would be recognized by the informants if they were rephrased in their everyday usage.

A fuller descriptive system, a hunter profile, is also suggested, an alternate method of description which includes eleven factors to take both the agent, the hunter, and the event or act, the hunt, into consideration. These are “Prey,” “Utilization,” “Place,” “Participants-Number,” “Participants-Type,” “Skill,” “Context,” “Goal,” “Weapon,” “Hunting Mode,” and “Schedule.” It may be noted that a hunter typology is based on single trait characteristics, for example, the prey, the utilization of prey, or the weapon used, while a more systematic hunter profile would develop all of
these categories if they are relevant, as well as other categories relevant to a particular complex of hunter-hunt. The sections on hunter type and hunter profile only present current categories, both emic and etic, and exclude those such as “Indian Hunter,” “Market Hunter,” and “Dog Hunter.” Criminal hunting activities, such as the many forms of poaching, are included in the references made by some informants to Portland hunters, but they are not treated more formally, since poachers and poaching are complex phenomena and are only partly understood.

Several of the eleven categories making up the hunter profile have been used in research studies of hunters or hunting, but the total schema to the best of my knowledge has not been presented before. The hunter profile may be easily dismissed as an obvious classification system, but, hopefully, it will be useful in providing an accurate profile of a hunter in action and take more into consideration than a single factor would, as in a typical hunter type classification; hopefully, it will also take more into consideration than a hunter’s attitude towards animals (see Kellert “Attitudes”). The number and the variety of the factors making up a hunter profile lead to an appreciation of the complexity of hunting issues, issues which have been the object of reductive and overly simplistic claims by many pro-hunting and anti-hunting groups and writers. The categories also demonstrate to the obscurist defenders of the subtle aspects of hunting
that a measure of rational order is possible when discussing hunters and hunting; the schema need not be perfect to be helpful.

The general definition for the term, “Hunting,” is overly broad and polemical; just as the description of the hunter is problematic, so is the definition for hunting. Defining or describing hunting in a neutral and supposedly objective manner has become increasingly difficult, as the entire question of what constitutes the activity of hunting has entered broader political debates. One need only compare the definitions of hunting or a list of hunter types, as put forth by post-modern feminists and by National Rifle Association members.

Klessig adopts a recreation-based definition; hunting is “the searching and killing of animals for recreation (11),” but Shaw concludes that “an analysis of [the] literature on the hunting controversy [between pro-hunters and anti-hunters] reveals that no common definition of ‘hunting’ exists” (127). Causey, in a very even-handed discussion of the morality of hunting, also holds that “there is no one activity that we can define as hunting per se, nor any precise set of criteria by which we may separate all hunters from the rest of the human population” (331). The acrimony raised by various definitions of hunting results because exercises of official naming are generally seen as the granting of social approval or sanction.
An examination of the adult and junior encyclopedias in Astoria’s Public Library revealed that prior to about 1980, reference books defined and presented hunting as an unquestioned American activity; “Hunting—The Sport of Killing Game” is the section heading in the 1975 Compton’s Encyclopedia (Vol. 12, 277), and in the 1978 Britannica Junior Encyclopedia, it is stated that “Hiawatha raised his bow and shot one oaken arrow straight to...[the deer’s] heart” (Vol. 5, 48).

By the 1980’s, the encyclopedias available to NC residents and hunters, appear to have shifted to a seemingly more detached and language-neutral presentation of hunting. The 1986 Academic American Encyclopedia (Vol. 10, 313) probably goes the farthest in presenting modern hunting as a “controversial sport.” The World Book (Vol. 9, 436) is more typical of the pseudo-objective stance in explaining “What Makes Hunting a Sport.”

While encyclopedia articles on hunting continue to be basically supportive of hunting, by the mid to late 1970’s, these sources had also dramatically enlarged their presentations on wildlife, conservation, ecology, endangered species, and zoos. See especially Compton’s Yearbooks from 1965 to 1991. Thus, a subtext of criticism against hunting and against the hunter appears to have developed from the 1960’s onward to the present. Not surprisingly, hunters and hunter groups correspondingly began to bemoan their enforced isolation. The theme of a “hunting
fraternity” was mentioned or developed by several informants in the interviews.

A similar conclusion that hunting was being undermined, if not openly attacked, followed from a review of the Warrenton Grade School Library holdings; this was also true of the materials in the Warrenton High School Library, but to a lesser degree. The openly anti-hunting Bambi totally dominated the checkouts of hunter-related books at the Grade school. Nevertheless, Stone’s book, Deer, in the Grade school, presents a neutral, descriptive view of hunting and a scientific view of deer.

Warrenton High School was typical in its educational procedure for responding to controversial topics, in that it presented information on both sides of the issue; this tactic theoretically supports individual, enlightened choice. The holdings reflected the increasingly polarized view of hunting, generally in materials ranging from biological science to how-to-hunt books and periodicals; conservation and anti-hunting oriented materials, including the Animal Rights Handbook, were also present.

When faced with the problem of defining the terms, “Hunting,” and “Hunter,” it is important to consider the long debate in folklore scholarship over what does or should contribute to a folk group—a single, shared trait or an ethnic-like identity which includes many traits. Both positions probably have their merits, and both are recognized in this study. While this may cause some confusion, when relevant to the point at hand,
further distinctions and qualifications may be added. For example, a person can be an occasional Road Hunter or an Exclusive Road Hunter, but in fact, most NC hunters watch for passing deer and would shoot them while driving to their intended sites. However, such hunters would not consider themselves road hunters, per se. An underdifferentiation of terms may be typical in describing recreational activities in American culture since these activities are viewed as being "just recreation."

Underdifferentiation is also evident in Kellert's much used and highly influential major categories of attitudes towards animals, since they do not fully reflect the philosophy and hunting activities of many hunters. For example, according to the parameter of number, a hunter may be a Solo Hunter or a Partner Hunter, and according to the parameter of place, he or she may be a Clear Cut Only Hunter. Kellert himself admits that most hunters have mixed orientations, but he concentrates on the ten "primary" interests, concerns, and orientations, which he treats ("Attitudes," 413):

- **Aesthetic:** Primary interest in the artistic and symbolic characteristics of animals.
- **Dominionistic:** Primary concern with mastering and controlling animals.
- **Ecologic:** Primary concern for the environment as a system, for interrelationships between wildlife species and natural habitats.
Humanistic: Primary interest and strong affection for individual animals, principally pets. Regarding wildlife, focus on large attractive animals with strong anthropomorphic associations.

Moralistic: Primary concern for the right and wrong treatment of animals, with strong opposition to exploitation and cruelty toward animals.

Naturalistic: Primary interest and affection for wildlife and the outdoors.

Negativistic: Primary orientation an active avoidance of animals due either to fear or dislike.

Neutralistic: Primary orientation a passive avoidance of animals due either to indifference or lack of concern.

Scientistic: Primary interest in the physical attributes and biological functioning of animals.

Utilitarian: Primary concern for the practical and material value of animals.

It is reasonable to stress the basic orientations found among hunters, but in the NC, there is a general belief in the maxim that “there are as many hunter types as there are hunters.” Even when dismissing the legitimacy of any list of hunter types, Informant 16--6, a retired NC game warden, fell into the dominant pattern among informants of using some hunter types which he obviously accepted as legitimate and meaningful: “There’s so many different characters, I couldn’t classify them, many
types of hunters, good, bad, and in between ones, wild ones and meat
hunters.”

On the other hand, some NC hunters appeared to recognize even more
hunter types than did Informant 16--6. Informant 32--5 agreed that there
are types or categories of hunters, and he casually and rapidly listed eight,
explaining several of them:

...There is a Meat Hunter; there are Experience Hunters, who don’t
really care much about getting an animal. Success Hunters,
who are highly motivated by getting an animal. Trophy
Hunters, Doe Season Only Hunters, who hunt only the either
sex part of the season “because it’s easy,” Poachers, Slob
Hunters, or Game Hogs.

The hunter typology, as presented below, is not an attempt to
develop an abstract, “perfect language” model. The types that especially
need clarification are marked with an asterisk and explicated, following
the list of hunter types.

---North Coast Hunter Types---

Aesthetic
Age Differentiated (juvenile, high school, young adult, adult, elder)
Age Mate
Ancillary (hunting an adjunct or secondary activity to another activity,
e.g., working in the woods or traveling through forested areas)

“Average”/Traditional (e.g., No Waste)
Bait
Bear
Black Powder
Bow (reurved, compound)
*Duck Only
Camaraderie
*Challenge (versus deer, self, or other hunters)
  Chance
  Clear Cut
*Code
  Competition (versus deer, self, or other hunters)
*Conservation (see Management)
*Day (return home at dark, no camp out)
  Deer Camp (social gathering)
  Deer Pest (damage)
  Discipline (practiced for health or self-development, cf. martial arts)
  Doe (see Management)
  Doe (various rationales, e.g., pest deer, controlling deer population on
    one's property, meat, success, and others)
*Doe Chasing (protect does by chasing them off roads or from open areas
  during doe season, especially elk hunters)

Doe Only
*Doe Season Only
  Drive-Stalk (several stalkers coordinate movements to perhaps drive
    deer, but main mode is stalking, not driving)

Duck
  Either Sex, Not Fawn
  Either Sex, Including Fawn
*Elk
  Elk Scouting, Non-Deer Killing
*Escape (hunting contrasts sharply with life style and daily routine, e.g.,
  office or factory worker)
*Experiential Type I (total hunting experience)
*Experiential Type II (one major aspect or specific experience, e.g.,
  solitude, melding into nature, camaraderie, family unity)

*Experimental
*Expert
*Family
*Foolish
  Friend (people who hunt with friends, especially for whom sharing times
    with friends is a major factor)
Fringeland
Game Hog
Gathering-Harvesting
Gourmet
Guide
Hobbyist
Home Area

*Incidental/Opportunistic (not formally planned, if ancillary, only in a casual manner; perhaps ancillary to several activities)

Large Group
Learner (juvenile or adult novice)
Living Off the Land (subsistence, either in fact, which would be very rare, or within own point of view or myth)

Macho
Management (managing deer population by hunting, see Conservation)

*Meat
"Natural" (unquestioned as a common sense activity in terms of cost effectiveness and recreation, part of local lifestyle)

Natural History-Nature Study
Nature
Neighbor
Niche
Non-Home Area (e.g., Eastern Oregon)

*Non-Kill (purchase hunting license, but refuse to kill deer, e.g., elk hunters who scout elk or older hunters who lost desire to kill)

Novice (new to hunting, learning how to hunt, as opposed to observing, but also, and especially an adult learning to hunt)

Observer
Occupation (blue collar worker, businessman, office worker, logger, minister)

Opening and Closing Week
Out of State
Outdoorsman
*Overnight (versus Day Hunter)
*Participation in Nature
  Partner
  Pasture
  Pest Deer
  Photo
  Physically Limited
*Portland
  Preservationist/Non-Kill (Doe Chasing)
*Property (hunt own land or family land)
  "Real"/"Serious"
  Recreation
  Reflective
*Religious
  Reformed (former illegal hunter)
  Road, Bow Hunter
  Road, Exclusive
*Road, Road-Pasture
  Road, Spot and Stalk
  School Mates (especially high school)
  Scientific
  Scouting
*Selective
  "Serious"/"Real"
*Simultaneous (e.g., hunter-mushroom gatherer or hunter-photographer)
  Single Site/Area
  Site, Specific (prefer or limited to a single type of site; e.g., clear cut, alder patch, big timber, fringe)
  Slob (broad term, includes poacher, drinker, careless shooter, and other abusers)
  Small Game
  Small Group
  Solo
  Sportsman-Consumptive
  Stalk-Solo
  Stalk-Pair
  Stalk-Group
  Stand-Drive
  Stand-Drive/Stand
Stand-Only (does not know or practice any other form of hunting; e.g., physically limited or elder hunter, unskilled hunter, novice, women (?))

Stand-Slob (too lazy or unskilled to hunt actively, even when opportunity arise)

Success (dominant concern success, not the total hunter experience, e.g., First Week and Doe Season Only)

Teacher
*Techno
Time-A.M.
Time-P.M.
Time-A.M. and P.M.
Time-All Day
Trophy
Vacation (e.g., Eastern Oregon hunting trip, using vacation time for hunting season, even if day hunting)

Vacation (taking vacation time for hunting season, see Family Hunter)

Various
*Varmint
Week-End (e.g., Portland Desk-to-Woods)

Some of the preceding NC deer hunter types deserve explication for a variety of reasons, namely, because they are:

1. not found in the hunting literature,
2. different from their treatment in the hunting literature,
3. important to NC deer hunting,
4. counter-intuitive and, therefore, easily misinterpreted,
5. ambiguous upon first reflection,
6. the subject of conflicting usage,
7. in contrast to the informants' statements, or
8. not clarified elsewhere in this dissertation.
--Clarification of Specific NC Hunter Types--

Buck Only Hunter

The Buck Only Hunter usually was dominated by a conservation point of view. Informant 19--39 had a practical argument for this position:

"Why kill that...[doe] when it's your breeding stock? Leave it live."

Informant 14--39 had a saying which echoed these feelings: "[A] doe is [a] buck factory." Informant 35--19 had similar views:

"...It isn't just the...[does] that are blown off from the side of the road with a rifle.
It's the spin off of the fawns that don't make it without [the] supervision of the doe.
I think they need a little guidance into and through that first winter.
[It was] pitiful in a way; [it] bothered me; last year [I] saw several fawns, day after day, hanging around the gut pile where their mother was killed."

After a severe freeze up of a few weeks, I didn't see them anymore; I presumed them dead or in poor shape.

Informants 6--36's comments also supported these views.

Informant 8--29-30's wife volunteered a story exemplifying the respect given the doe in her maternal role:

--Returning Doe, Story--
A doe showed up here for 4 years, every year with a set of twins; the doe was then spotlighted and shot in the jaw; it returned with twins and a yearling, as if she brought them here because they would be safe on our property; we don't shoot does or fawns.
She couldn't eat or drink because her jaw was shot off; she wandered off; we found the carcass later; it was weird.
Informant 19--27 also had another justification for the buck only policy; he claimed that, in any case, does give poor quality meat:

"...A doe isn't a good eating animal anyway, unless you get a young one.
An old doe that a fawn has been sucking her all year is real poor, poor quality meat."

**Challenge Hunter**

Both non-hunters and anti-hunters frequently claim that most deer hunters are mainly interested in competition with the prey, the challenge of killing; indeed, some informants volunteered such an orientation, but upon further discussion, it was evident that the competing-challenging factors in a hunt included the terrain, the weather, the hunter himself or herself, and other hunters. See Chapter VI, for a discussion of the blacktail's biology and complex behavior which also allows for a challenging and varied hunt.

**Code Hunter**

The Code Hunter is probably one of the most popularized and romanticized hunter types in America, largely due, no doubt, to Hemingway's writings and his life as a culture hero (Josephs); Altheer (1984) also argues that a hunter who follows a personal code of action is rooted in a Victorian perspective. Therefore, there is a possibility that the code hunter exists more in the minds of non-hunters, via American literary texts, than among American hunters. It would not be difficult to interpret
many informants' comments and hunting careers in terms of the code
hunter, especially of the type that is reassured by skill mastery and ritual,
cyclic ceremony, as if self-control implies the existence and viability of
the self in a chaotic, indifferent world. However, the informants did not
usually volunteer or overtly respond to leads regarding a highly elaborated
Hemingwayesque code. One probable example of a code hunter orientation
was highlighted in Informant 7--8-10's story in which he was hunting a
blacktail-mule deer cross in the Sierras:

--Caught in Darkness Hunt, Story--

In 1966, in Bishop, California, on the east slope of the Sierras,
which can be very rugged, near Mt. Whitney, I had hunted the
area already that season.

I was supposed to go hunting in California with my brother and
brother-in-law, but it didn't work out, "so I struck out on my
own..."

I had drawn a doe tag, so I had a "pretty darn good chance of getting
one."

Hunter success was only about 10% in California.
The first time up hunting, I saw a doe, but "it was too soon," in the
season, so I passed her up.

I saw other deer; I went up 2 or 3 times; I returned to same area.
It had snowed; the deer had moved down; I has used the same
strategy with my father, years earlier.

I saw tracks, went back to my rig, drove down a paved access road,
went down the trail north, then south on a trail bike.

I tried to cross stream.
There was some ice; it was early AM; I got my feet wet.
Someone had built a little dam, pulled out some rocks to lower
the water level for the return trip.

I went up hillside, dropped back down, went up another and worked
my way to a saddle; the deer came towards me.

I shot a good-sized deer near sunset, perhaps a mule-blacktail
cross...I hung it from a tree and dressed it out...
I had no jacket, day pack, nor flashlight.
I tripped and fell; the rifle pitched forward and hit some rocks with sparks; the bolt hit my temple, and I saw stars.
I was almost afraid to get up, but tried to get self-control; "[I knew I was in trouble..."
It was so dark I couldn't see the trail.
I knew the location; I struck matches and cautiously walked back...
"I learned the value of a flashlight.
[After that I] never, never went hunting without a flashlight, even if I planned to be back by breakfast, [without] my so-called survival kit, [extra car keys, matches, compass, and whistle...]"

Perhaps the major appeal of hunting for Informant 7--25 was that it offered him a theater for the exercise of skill and judgment, his knowledge and control over his equipment and himself. He was able to test his ability to cope with and succeed within challenging situations. There is a striking similarity between the informant's hunting and his occupation; he is concerned with mastery in hunting, as he must be as a bar pilot on the most dangerous waterway on the Pacific Coast. This similarity calls up the possible link between a hunter's specific work tasks, skills, and experiences and his or her hunting. One wonders whether or not hunting tends to be organized in a fashion similar to, or in reaction to, one's occupation. This may sound contradictory, but this informant is atypical in his emphasis on skill and a hunting code.
Conservation Hunter

The Conservation Hunter functions as a wildlife manager. This point of view is explained and defended by Wegner (Book 3, 284, 285, 291) and Informant 5--13, 16:

"...[Hunters promote the health and population of game animals...]
[You] can't fault them in taking animals because they do more to help [the] animal population, than if nobody was hunting,... more so then a lot of non-hunters."

Although Informant 5 appeared to be stressing the culling of deer, his statement that hunters promote the deer's environment-habitat indicated that he also saw the hunter as a protector of deer in terms of controlling its overpopulation and the resulting habitat destruction from over-browsing. But the Conservation Hunter is involved not only in harvesting and population control, but also in supporting the ecosystem. See New Hunter. Not surprisingly, as is the case with many modern innovations, the development of the Conservation Hunter rests largely upon earlier values and practices:

"...My grandfather hunted year round, different seasons and animals; he absolutely never poached; "[he] played by the rules."

He was a conservation hunter to enhance the animal population, communities, and habitat...(Informant 5--16)

Day Hunter

Day hunting is especially significant in the NC since NC hunters exclusively, or almost exclusively, day hunt. Day hunting, that is, sleeping
at home and driving to the field in the morning, obviously reduces the number of experiences that hunters might have. For example, the opportunity to hear the night sounds and to observe the stars is lost, but ironically, returning to the comforts of one’s home may point up some contrasts between the deer’s world and the hunter’s world, especially the physical hardships, such as the cold and the rain which the deer must endure. One possible result might be an increased empathy for the deer, especially in terms of the hunter not “earning” the deer kill. Such an empathy for deer may very well contribute to new, human-deer relationships in the NC, as is seen in the rise of the Conservation Hunter, Aesthetic Hunter, Non-Kill Hunter, and Experiential Hunter.

Doe Chasing Hunter

The term “Doe Chasing Hunter” is not standard in the NC, but the practice of chasing does is probably more common in the NC than in other hunting areas of Oregon and the United States, due to the common buck only policy. Some elk hunters in the NC use the deer season primarily to scout for elk, as was reported by informant 16--6-7:

“I buy a deer tag every year, [but] I don’t hunt deer. I buy a deer tag just to save somebody from shooting one. I haven’t shot one [deer in CC]”; I non-hunt, chasing does off the road to protect them from doe hunters during doe season, usually the last 5 days of the regular season...

“We go out and throw rocks [at the deer] to get them out of the way, so no one will shoot them; we go out the last week, [ doe season], and try to scare the does out of sight; a lot of guys around here do that.”
Most of my friends go out to chase does off the road so nobody else won't shoot them; deer season is for elk scouting.

"Usually we go during deer season scouting where the elk are, the herds, this and that, so we know [these things] during elk season."

**Doe Season Hunter**

"Doe Season Hunter" is also not a set NC term, but Informant 14--12-13's view of such a hunter shows typical resentment towards those hunters whom they perceive as abusive outsiders. He made the obvious but rarely stated point that, without prey restrictions, hunters are encouraged to shoot more quickly, and in extreme cases perhaps to take brush shots. This informant is a shrewd and highly experienced old-timer; he uses a unique term "Drug Store Hunters," analogous to the term "Drug Store Cowboys," to describe doe season hunters:

"Those [hunters] who will wait for that 5 day doe season, [the either sex, hunter's choice season], ninety percent of them don't come down until doe season starts because it's easy to get a doe..."

These type of people who will hunt does aren't much in my estimation; ninety percent of the people that will hunt does, I consider 'Drug Store Hunters.'

I feel unsafe in the woods when they're down [here]; there's nothing to ID; if they see color and no horn, they'll likely to take a brush shot on you.

I stay out of the woods when the doe season is afoot; it pays to shy away from them."
**Escape Hunter**

The term “Escape Hunter” describes the Portland Hunter well, in Informant 16–19 opinion.

“...[Hunters from Portland], they’re entitled to get out and enjoy the out-of-doors and do their thing. [They’ve] been cooped up behind a desk or [in] a mill or factory job, and they get out in the brush...”

The informant’s remark was quite interesting because he presented a picture of a frustrated modern hunter, the hunter as victim, which contrasts with the anti-hunter’s portrait of the hunter as a power-crazed victimizer.

**Experiential Hunter**

Shafer and Mietz’s 1972 study of wilderness use shows that emotional and aesthetic experiences can clearly predominate in hunting over the physical and social experiences.

Peter Smith differentiates the complex stimulation available within rich natural areas from complex urban stimulation (188). He characterizes the contemporary life-style as “high-speed mobility, high speed change, high frequency, low-impact information from communication media all operating against deep place-relatedness.” Smith stresses that rich civilized environments are healthy, but that impoverished ones are not, on both the emotional-limbic level and the social-cortical level.
Generally, there appear to be 2 main classes of experience--oriented hunters, those who seek a total hunting experience, and those who seek to experience one major aspect of hunting, one specific experience, e.g., solitude, melding with nature, camaraderie, or family relationships.

**Experiential Hunter, Type 1**

For many experiential hunters, the total hunting experience overshadows or places into perspective the kill and the acquisition of meat. Informant 7--25's comments were typical in this regard:

"It's the total experience for me, the preparation, getting out in the woods, seeing the animals, seeing other wildlife; shooting an animal is almost anti-climactic..."

Another experiential-holistic hunter was Informant 24--15--16, as evidenced by his volunteered remarks regarding several important factors in his hunting, including the natural area, camaraderie, and wandering:

"I just loved to be out there; I just enjoyed being out there [hunting], just being out...if I shot anything, or killed anything, it didn't make any difference to me; I went [hunting] every year; I just enjoyed being out there wandering around the timber. A lot of people think I'm crazy, but then there was a lot of them that felt the same way I did; we just liked to be out there. Some of the guys down at work thought I was nuts, but,...most of the people that I hunted with, was around all the time, they more or less felt the same way; they always liked to go hunting. If somebody shot something, that was fine, if we didn't, that was fine; if they got an animal, that was fine, but if they didn't, that was fine, too; [the group was not competitive]. [Years ago] you could wander around out there for days and never see anybody else; being alone is important, or [being with] just a small party [of hunters]..."
The informant's repeated line, "If they got an animal that was fine, but if they didn't, that was fine too," with slightly different wording, is a NC saying or maxim among many hunters.

Another formulation or variation on the theme of experiential-holistic hunting was presented by Informant 30--11-12, who stressed the open-ended, non-constrained nature of hunting's sensory experience, but also its opportunity for free association. A more lofty view of this informant's experience, "daydreaming," contrasts sense experience, which is formulated and bound by culturally and socially derived abstraction, e.g., scientific theories, with a relatively freer play of sense data and mental constructs, which is sometimes described as holistic thinking, gestalt closure, or Taoist-Buddhist wu-wei:

"[Hunting is] a great experience because you don't feel under any great pressure to go out and do something else [like moving on to the next task, or working under a deadline or in a sequence; it's not like working on the tree farm with specific tasks to do].

You're out there, actually listening and observing and watching, [doing] a lot of things you ordinarily wouldn't do.

I love it; I think it's great [observing nature]; I dearly love it; I'm a great daydreamer, and I love to daydream [when] hunting; it's wonderful, gathering wool, just sitting there listening and watching and thinking about all kinds of things, not necessarily any specific task or any specific job that you're doing.

You're thinking about the tweety birds that you hear singing, or thinking about the way the wind is blowing through the trees, or you're thinking about the way the creek is running, or the colors of the leaves, just all of those things.

Oh yeah, sure, [it takes you out of your everyday thinking]."
Yet another formulation or description of the experiential-holistic orientation was presented by Informant 23--12-13, clearly in terms of the psychology of consciousness. Hunting was presented as a medium or vehicle of unselfconsciousness. Informant 23 mentioned "Ecstasy," which is actually from ekstasis (ek + histami, ‘to place or be driven outside of oneself or one’s senses’), but his view of the state being described was consistent with the root of the word, "Ecstasy":

"My experience is that we don’t have that many times...when we are absorbed in what we are doing to the point that we are unselfconscious, being absorbed to the exclusion of all else... I don’t have many experiences like that, and I think we don’t, in general; hunting was one of those [types of] experiences for me; downhill skiing was another one. Pretty much, the whole experience of actually hunting [can be such an experience]; lying around the campfire was nice, but once you’re out there and actually looking for an animal, whether you’re on a stand or moving around or whatever, [the actual hunting experience begins]; it’s a very intense activity for me, real, real absorbing. As you actually see an animal, determine that it’s a legal animal, and [as you] move towards that event, [killing], it gets increasingly intense, but the whole experience is real absorbing. I found that I would literally go hours without thinking about anything except what I was doing [at that moment], any activity that gives you that is a kind of cherished activity I think....

Another informant was also clearly oriented to hunting as a total experience; Informant 2--18 believed that a good hunt or a good season was mostly due to the "enjoyment of being there" theme:
I'm interested in the non-kill aspects of hunting. My family is grown, so I don't really care if I get a deer or not; I don't care if I kill an animal or not; "I enjoy more the other things and the comforts."

I want at least to be "successful in seeing 1 or 2 deer"; a good hunt or a good season amounts to the "enjoyment of being there," just the fun of being there.

The informant showed that the enjoyment of comforts may be multifaceted--the removal of discomfort, getting warm, the satisfaction in exercising, knowing how to stay comfortable, having proper equipment and clothes, and testing one's woodsmanship, e.g., avoiding falling down or getting wet from brushing up against shrubs.

Informant 9--20 was even more conscious of the hunt as an experience; he believed that hunting is the "manufacturing [of] an experience":

For myself, the hunting-woods experience is the most important aspect of the activity; hunting is "manufacturing an experience"; a good hunt is not necessarily a deer-killing event; my own hunting point of view stresses experiences as learning experiences.

"I expect to go hunting every year, as long as I am able, with the expectation of continuing to learn more about the plants, and life in general, and being."

Informant 4--18 had a similar view; even though he closely fit the model of a property hunter, there was also an aspect of experiential hunting in his behavior:

"Walking in the woods, on the place, or nearby on a neighbor's place, I'd be looking at the trees and everything else, but the deer.
I was never really a gung-ho hunter;...[a real hunter, scouts and tracks]; that’s why I don’t consider myself a deer hunter...”

One of the arguments of the pro-hunting lobby is the crucial claim that the single issue or single motivation hunter category is a reductive stereotype, so rare among actual hunters as to be a non-factor in most hunting issues. Although several informants labeled themselves as meat hunters, experiential hunters, or naturalists, without exception they soon revealed other major interests or motivations for their hunting. For instance, Informant 5--17 initially appeared to be overwhelmingly centered on the experience of solitude within his hunting, but he went on to reveal a naturalistic, scientific interest, and still later, some concern with hunting as a family activity.

**Experiential Hunter, Type 2**

Informant 5--17 was a naturalist who sought scientific knowledge. He also sought solitude in hunting. Elsewhere this informant spoke of a family aspect, but the knowledge he gained was cast as a new experience:

A quality hunt is not crowded; there is some measure of “solitude, [a] spiritual experience, getting out there [in nature] and becoming closer to the prey,” gaining new knowledge, having a new experience.

**Experimental Hunter**

Judging from the informants’ self-descriptions and ancillary comments about other NC hunters, there are very few innovative hunters
who experiment with radically different techniques or strategies. Bow hunting may have originally attracted the experimental hunter, but presently, its significant following rests more upon the use of bow hunting as a means of avoiding hunter crowding and competition.

The most experimental hunter cited was an expert hunter and friend of Informant 9--19 who, in one of his experiments, attempted to adjust to local hunting conditions by coloring his own camouflage poncho. A few informants also experimented with scents on the soles of their boots, and Informant 7--9 sometimes used a trail bike to return to his truck after hunting downhill. Another NC hunter used a slingshot and BB’s in an attempt to move deer.

However, NC hunters generally appeared to be rather conservative in their approach to hunting techniques and strategies; for example, horses, which are commonly used in Eastern Oregon, are very rarely seen in NC hunting, and antler rattling, which has been extensively proposed in hunting magazines, is not practiced by NC hunters.  

**Expert Hunter**  

As with many of the other NC hunter categories, the term “Expert Hunter” is not a regional or subregional term in common use, but the informants described hunters of superior success, knowledge, skill, and adaptability who were expert hunters and outdoorsmen. For example, Informant 20--20 was successful in terms of the number of deer taken,
although he had never hunted does. He had gotten a deer every year and also
had taken big bucks. His skills included shooting, tracking, never losing his
prey, and packing out by using a deer pack. He also adapted to unusual or
special conditions, for example, using a hunting site at first light. Nor,
had he relied on special tricks, special equipment, or on hunting in a single
area, such as an orchard. He was more knowledgeable than the average
hunter about deer behavior, e.g., the issue of scent versus noise, and about
local geography and hunting sites, and he was sought after as a hunting
partner. His positions, policies, and habits regarding hunting stemmed
more from direct personal experience, rather than from rules or family
tradition. He also fished and trapped animals.

Expert hunters were more common in former times, according to
many informants:

"People don’t seem to have the knowledge of the animals my grandpa
and the older guys did have; [Grandpa and Dad] would find
where elk had crossed the road, and they would take off in the
timber after them.
They understood the animals well enough to know where they were
going to go, what kind of country they were looking for...
[Grandpa] understood what the animals, what their patterns were..."
(Informant 34--20.

This view of a fundamental, qualitative difference between expert hunters
and other types of hunters, in terms of knowledge and the quality and depth
of experience, would probably be accepted by most NC residents and
certainly by NC hunters. Informant 9--19 also described his expert hunter friend who fit the above description.

The late informant, Jack Cadonau of Olney, was one of a handful of NC residents who enjoyed a wide reputation as an expert hunter. See Figure 23. The pasture in the background is reputed to be part of an Indian deer forage burn area, the only such specific site identified in this study.

Family Hunter

Hunting magazines cite the value of hunting as a family activity; the family hunt or the family hunting trip is a common backdrop to stories in these periodicals. This view of hunting is also common in the NC and was documented in detail by 4 informants (6, 22, 29, and 37).

Informant 22--12--13 argued that hunting is a unique family activity, in that it serves as the reason for gathering and allows for a lengthy and intense experience which all share. The informant hunts exclusively with his in-laws on annual camp-hunts:

"They are the sort of family into hunting; they get together [to hunt] as a family; it's the time the family gets together. There is that family unity that we experience around hunting; [when all the family is not there, it's a disappointment]. Once a year, we know we'll somewhat get together. I think that's the most extended time together [for the family during the year].

In terms of camping out, you're together day by day and you're going out in the morning; hunting lends itself for that, day after day, a week at a time; hunting is something you do together. In hunting, more so than in other [recreational] activities, you might be working together; whereas, in fishing, you're both trying to fish [separately]; in hunting, there's usually a team
effort, somewhat; you're not together doing nothing; there's an objective [which] keeps you focused; whereas, if you just get together for fun, some people might go sailboating or water-skiing or fishing...”

We may note that for informant 22, hunting is a task, job, or goal, as opposed to free, unstructured play, a diversion, or an escape. Thus, it retains within its family frame, a significant aspect of “naturalness,” as in the case of the Natural Hunter.

This informant also believed that the isolation or seclusion of the hunting trip contributed to the uniqueness of his family hunting. However, he mentioned the family's seclusion, not individual seclusion:

“...[Hunting is special because] you're out in the wilderness; you're out, away from all other influences; you're out there with somebody; that could be part of it, [the heightening of experience]” (Informant 22--14)

On the other hand, Informant 37--24-25 adopted a somewhat startling and thoroughgoing anti-traditionalism which will be discussed in Chapter VIII, Initiation. She failed to mention or consider the killing, that is, the reality aspect of hunting, and also the danger, in this context, even though she referred them elsewhere in her discussion

“...But, there...[are] no real differences between hunting and bird watching or nature study, I don’t think so.
If you look at doing something with...[kids], it doesn’t matter what you do.
if it’s something you’re really interested in and know a lot about, and can enjoy...and can enjoy teaching them, I don’t think it would make any difference in what you did, [it just happens to be hunting and fishing in this family]...”
Foolish Hunter

Informant 24--4's gave a rare story about a foolish hunter; it followed Stith Thompson's antler stories:

--Revived Deer Story--
The only kind of strange thing that happened to any of us in the hunting group was when one of the fellas, he shot a deer, and it took off; when he finally caught up to it, he shot it again, and we're getting ready to start butchering out.
It started blinking its eyes; I got ahold of his horns, and held him down on the ground when the guy shot it again for the third time, but other than that... we don't have any special stories.

To save time a deer may not be gutted, and some unforeseen problems may arise when the post-kill activities are carried out too hastily as in a story from the 1940's. Wardens and judges would be harsher on poaching now than back in the 1940's, no matter how elaborate or valid the reasons are for poaching:

--Poached Deer in Backseat of Car Story--
About 1942-44, during the war, I was about 16 yrs. old. There were eight kids in the family.
Mother canned venison to help feed the family.
"[I] went jacklighting" with brothers.
We had a 1933 car.
I wasn't afraid of wardens; they "looked the other way."
We used a bright shining kerosene burning light.
We dropped off the shooter.
He shot the deer.
We dragged it to road and hid the deer carcass.
We drove off and returned for the deer in 30 minutes.
The deer must have been alive when we returned.
My brother hit the deer over the head with the rifle barrel, a 44-40 Winchester, with lever action.
We got the deer in the back seat of the car.
A car came up from behind.
The deer began waking up.
The deer kicked out the back window.
My brother slit the deer’s throat.
it bled all over.
The car smelled really bad.

The informant stated with a grin that the family washed the back seat and used sachets for a long time, but that it always smelled bad.

**Incidental/Opportunistic Hunter**

Informant 20--21, a hunter-mushroom gatherer, seemed to be a kind of hyphenated hunter; hunting no longer dominated the dual-multiple activity of his hunting and gathering. When he broke his leg, he could not hunt, but gathered chanterelle mushrooms in the hills close to his home. He usually gathers 10-20 gallons a year.

Another informant told a poaching story which had been in his family for many years. His account of a humorous, incidental/opportunistic, 1937 “hunt” documents the much claimed notion that meat hunting, even to the point of poaching, was tolerated during the Depression. There is a distinction made in the story between poaching for needed family food and poaching for profit or for peer status. The poacher was the informant’s father’s first cousin, with whom the father hunted. The poacher lived in McMinnville, southwest of Portland, in the eastern foothills of the Coast Range.
--Firewood, Deer Poaching, Story--

They were very hard times, then and there; at that time, it was still a very rural area; there was a house, an outhouse, a springhouse, no electricity. A cousin from Portland came to visit the poacher and his wife; he and the cousin went to cut firewood; they took a horse and wagon. He had been already been apprehended for poaching deer a time or two. He told the sheriff, “OK, put me in jail; let the county feed my family.” The sheriff, unofficially, said “OK, if that’s all you’re doing with it.” The poacher and his cousin were at a wood lot using a two man crosscut saw; a spike buck came up there. The poacher grabbed his 32.20 lever action and shot the buck. They threw the buck in the wagon and put wood on top of it; the cousin was pretty nervous because it wasn’t deer season. Just then, down the road comes the sheriff in his Model A. “Hi sheriff, how you doing?” says the poacher. The sheriff says, “Just fine, how’s the family?” He and his cousin had cut the deer’s throat to bleed it out, and the buck was head first in the wagon; blood trickled down onto the dirt between the horses legs. The poacher saw it; the cousin saw it; the sheriff saw it; so they played the whole thing out. “So your boy’s going to start school this year?” asked the sheriff. He answered, “No, it’ll be another year or so.” Then the sheriff asked, “How are your taters coming along?” They talked for about 5 or 10 minutes; then the sheriff said, “I reckon you better get that load of wood home before it bleeds to death.”

Meat Hunter

“Meat Hunter” is an important term and concept within NC deer hunting. It was the most mentioned hunter type and was volunteered 7 times more often than any other category, by 22 informants. The term
"Meat Hunter" designates a concept which is directly related to other key concepts in NC deer hunting, such as naturalness and anti-traditionalism in hunting; in addition, the category bears upon many other issues, such as doe hunting, buck only hunting, generational differences among NC hunters, and the ethic of non-waste. Meat hunting was shown to be important for informants even when they quickly volunteered other aspects of their hunting, such as "Game Hog" hunters, family histories, family gatherings, game meat as gourmet fare, living off the land, and selective hunting. The issue of meat hunting is also important when considering the sacramental-sacrificial role of venison in initiation.

In a manner typical of older hunters, Informant 8--16-17 underscored a generational difference among NC blacktail hunter--that old timers were more likely to have been brought up as meat hunters. As he explained it, he hunted for the table: "[It's the same as for fishing; it] gets in your blood like fishing." The latter phrase is also used by Lake Erie commercial fishermen (Lloyd and Mullen). Informant 8 was a meat hunter because of "the time and era I was brought up." Informant 8 later volunteered two other points which are important generational markers for NC hunters; he was not at all concerned about antlers, and he was quite willing to take a barren doe late in the season, one not accompanied by a fawn.
Many of the NC residents and informants who identified themselves as meat hunters often dismissed other issues, for instance, politicized issues within hunting or the notion of hunting as a sport. For example, Informant 4-12 claimed that he was “mainly... just getting some meat.” This informant was reflecting the fact that the harvesting of deer supersedes the sporting element in NC hunting. In this discussion, we may note that the basis for filling tags is the harvesting of deer. There is a connotation of ‘waste’ in the opposite idea, “Not Harvesting.” The connotation of “Full Harvesting” seems to be ‘non-waste,’ the utilization of a natural resource or product to the fullest.

The harvesting of deer for meat is complex since there are many possible meanings for the term “Meat” within NC blacktail hunting. These meanings include meat as sustenance, food for the table, wild food of better quality than store bought meat, gourmet food, or free food, taken as one’s right from the local area. No doubt, continuing food scares, including those over beef and chicken, give some support to the idea that venison is superior to factory farm products. Informant 1-11, for example, believed that hunting provides a “good food source.” One informant was more specific about its value:

“...On the weight watchers’ diet which I used to do more than I do now, elk and venison were free meats. You weren’t restricted like you were with beef. You can have beef 2 or 3 times a week, elk [or venison] you can have as often during the week as you want because it doesn’t have the fat in it [that beef does]...”
Similarly, informant 3--19 emphasized the quality of venison, but his other comments revealed that meat acquisition is implicated in a higher value, that of being a father-provider: “What’s important to me is my family, that they eat good; [game meat is] beneficial to my family.” Thus, there was a stronger than expected emphasis on providing food for the family among informants; in many cases, NC blacktail hunting was a part of a family history of hard times, when venison was a necessity or at least an important contribution to a family’s well-being. As Informant 1--11 i stated, in the late 1970’s, when her son was first married, his family had lean years, but “[hunting] helped them out; there is a place for...[hunting].” Also, when Informant 15--7’s father faced financial problems and the family was barely able to maintain ownership of their house, game meat and fish were helpful during that cash poor period. Informant 9--23 also had faced hard economic times and had relied on game meat:

I had an important motivation in my trying hunting as a grad student in the Willamette Valley; I was once a meat hunter by necessity; also, in 1972 I moved into CC and put all my assets into my business; I needed meat.

Informant 15--7 was a juvenile hunter and a self-declared meat hunter who still hunted for meat, but no longer out of family necessity. “I just do it to get meat for the family; this year we don’t really need...[venison] as much as in the past. Thus, many hunters are conscious of themselves as
providers of meat. In some cases, providing venison for the family includes filling tags for other family members, with some family members taking on the role of designated hunters. Multiple deer are also taken legally when there are several hunters in the family:

"...So all of us would put a deer away, and then put part of an elk away or half an elk; that's what you ate; [we had a freezer].

Yeah [we were] contributing to the family by getting game meat; that's what we were doing..." Informant 27--13

In a case of filling tags, nonhunting family members can be involved in blacktail hunting, even though they are not actively hunting animals. In one family, "it was a matter of filling all those tags so we could eat."

Currently, the consensus seems to be that economics is less of a factor in hunting blacktail for meat. The majority of informants readily admitted that blacktail hunting was no longer financially profitable; furthermore subsistence hunting and living off the land were rejected by informants. Informant 7--24 stated that trying to provide for one's family by hunting for meat is not usually necessary in this day and age. In fact, the costs of hunting blacktail can outweigh the cost of the buying beef. Informant 27--14 had hunted both deer and elk in CC; he told his children, specifically about elk, "You guys are nuts even thinking about them elk. [By the] time you get through paying for it, the gas and everything, you can go buy beef." Informant 16--9 went as far as offering some statistics to prove this point: "You don't get enough meat off a deer; really, all you do
is make sausage out of it, use the backstraps. [You're] lucky to get 50-60 points of meat from a fork and horn." However, it seems that the informant and his sons did not consider the taking of 2 or 3 deer for a total of 150-200 lbs. of meat, but calculated meat per deer. It seems likely that the availability of elk and the small size of the blacktail, in comparison with the mule deer, had both influenced the informant to give up blacktail hunting, as much as the absolute amount of meat available from a blacktail. Such a calculation of the monetary value of venison was stated by informants as a simple, commonsensical process of comparing the cost of hunting blacktail with the cost of buying beef, but the actual process is more complicated, since families can take multiple deer per season, in some cases using the system of filling tags, and families can also take elk.

In other situations, some NC blacktail hunters were only attracted to hunting because they liked the taste of deer meat (17--9, 19--20, 29--5,30--12, 34--22, 37--20):

"Probably, if it wasn't for the fact that I enjoy eating [venison], I probably wouldn't hunt, period; getting some use out of the meat, the further pleasure of getting to eat the meat, is good for me; just the challenge, for me, personally, just killing, is not enough" (Informant 22-11).

A smaller number of hunters maintained their hunting for the gourmet quality or status of venison:

"If we got game, got a deer down, then 2 guys stopped and took care of it; we always took real good care of our meat. [There are no special methods or precautions for the meat]; just [be]
real careful, that’s all; if we had to take our rain coats to lay
down to keep it out of the mud, we did it; we weren’t too
proud; [we] took the hide off it,...got it to town; we took real
good care of it because we were going to eat it.

I wouldn’t eat a lot of [other] people’s [game] meat; you go into one
of those game lockers, there’s skin and trim [on the meat];
some of that stuff, I wouldn’t even bring into my house;
that’s what the guys who run the freezer place said, “How did
you guys take such good care of your meat?”...(informant 27--
20)

The simplification of hunting as meat acquisition calls up the notion
of anti-traditionalism or “naturalism.” The folk activity of hunting can be
carried out in a natural, unselfconscious manner if it is so reduced, and
hunting can remain just “something people do,” a natural part of living in
the NC. While it may be tempting to consider a Marxian psychological
interpretation of commoditization regarding wildlife--reducing the wild
animal to a specific cut of meat--such a perspective was found only among
a small minority of informants.

Although it is not generally presented in the hunting literature, one
strong indicator for a meat orientation is the hunter’s attitude towards
taking a smallish deer on opening day or very early in the season. In-
formant 10--9 typified a meat hunter’s point of view: “I would shoot at a
fork and horn on the first day; I will take a quick shot if that is all that’s
possible.” Similarly, Informant 15--7 would generally take the first
available deer, unless he knew there would be more deer close by and that
he would have a good chance at them.
Despite the strong desire to acquire meat, detailed comments on the quality of venison were rare. The meat itself, that which seemed to be the final product or result of hunting, surprisingly, was not much discussed. For example, no special NC recipes or meals were mentioned. This fact supports the contention that anti-traditionalism is a part of NC blacktail hunting. Also, when specifically requested to do so, most informants could discuss meat care and use, but it was nearly always in a rather detached manner and in general terms.

As stated earlier, meat hunters among the informants failed to volunteer or display attitudes consistent with the notion that by sacramentally or esoterically acquiring and consuming venison, they were assimilating wildlife, the blacktail's animal qualities. Cf. the Japanese "Tama," a spiritual substance acquired from meat (Ellade Myth, 71). However, several informants outlined what appeared to be a symbolic role for venison in their families, as if it represented a link to the past when the family was united before the children had left the NC area:

...One reason we continue to hunt is to supply our children with game meat; we fill their freezers; they go home with their little coolers filled with elk meat or deer meat. We make sausage out of a lot [of it] now; we do that more than we used to because that [butchered game meat] used to be what we ate [as table meat].
[We] don't make sausage ourselves; [we] take it down [to meat packing shops]; [we] get big rolls of sausage...
Technically, this practice is illegal since game meat must be consumed in
the hunter's own home. It seems that the family was processing more of
their venison into sausage to partly expedite its distribution to the
children who no longer lived at home.

Regarding the understatement or overstatement of certain hunting
issues in the popular literature, it appears that hunters' concern with the
healthful qualities of venison, as opposed to store bought meat, is
generally exaggerated in hunting publications. On the other hand, the
contribution of a meat hunting orientation to game law violations is
underestimated, or at least, underreported. Meat hunters who are focused
on acquiring food are more likely to be tempted than other hunters to
violate certain game laws. One proof of this is the widespread practice of
filling tags in NC blacktail hunting. One informant also volunteered an
account of a hunt in which he illegally did not tag a downed deer because of
its unusable meat. Generally, however, the practice of not tagging a small
dereer in the hope of getting a larger one, does not seem to be a common NC
practice. The only informant who voluntarily raised the topic of a meat
hunter-violator link was a former state police officer; Informant 16--6
reported that "[meat hunters are] one of the problems [in CC]."

"Natural" Hunter

Although the term "Natural Hunter" is not a set term in the NC, some
informants appeared to have a partially conscious or articulated view of
“natural” hunting when they used the phrase “Just Hunting.” They characterized hunting as just something that they did. The category of the Natural Hunter clearly overlaps with that of the Meat Hunter, which describes a person who hunts for meat to partially live off the land. The “naturalness,” unselfconsciousness, or unquestioned nature of this category was suggested by Informant 27--12: “What we brought home, we ate; it was not only for the sport of doing it. There was really no sport in it because we were going to eat them.”

As Dundes points out, there is always a danger that the observer-recorder confuses his or her “analytic category” with a genuine “folk idea” (1971, 94). But then, Dundes also defends the notion that folklore can be “unconscious culture” and only partly articulating a concept or value in an “unresolved” manner (101). In the NC, the theme, concept, or category of “Natural Hunter” appears to operate in such a casual, informal, “organic or flow” fashion. Judging from most informants, participants in their actual hunting practices were sensitive to a holistic justification for hunting, so that the activity must make practical sense, in terms of time, money, success-meat, safety, camaraderie, and quality of experience. As noted, while some informants initially stated that they hunted for a single purpose, inevitably, upon further discussion, other central motivations were acknowledged, pointing up a tendency of informants to simplify their self definitions.
A technique that serves to clarify the notion of a Natural Hunter is to contrast hunters from the past with the modern hunter who is increasingly being restricted and influenced by complex regulations and hunter competition. Although they seem to be underdiscussed in hunting publications, perhaps due to a promotional bias in hunting, crowding and restrictions are significant factors in hunter desertion. Several informants, especially those who had dropped out of elk hunting, mentioned these factors.

Dundes also points out that some societies or folk groups, not only passively fail to elaborate certain folk ideas, making them only a fragment of their lives, but that they also, at times, actively oppose such elaboration. This active opposition to the elaboration of folk ideas, which I term "Anti-Traditionalism," was seen among the informants who noticeably shied away from appearing "traditional," in the sense of promoting local color, or in the sense of adhering to a folk or national ideology.

Another related NC cultural theme is the natural hunter's harvesting of nature's gifts, bounty, or abundance. Since animals are going to die anyway, as in the case of salmon, it seems "natural" to take them for human consumption. As Informant 19-19 phrased it:

"...I see nothing wrong in butchering a deer, than butchering a cow, any animal you happen to raise; it's on the state, public domain; that's where it was raised; it's everybody's deer; anybody can get one."
As discussed in Chapter V, in the past, deer hunting for meal by locals was more of a "spontaneous process," as in Esser (1970, 84), compared to the later, "deliberate behavior" of the more planned and rationalized activities of living (Esser 1970, 90). I have argued that NC blacktail hunting was "natural" in terms of the local resources and American culture. The concept of naturalness was not used to endorse or support the claims of some hunter advocates that humans are natural predators, an argument based on so-called human instincts. An obituary from the *Daily Astorian* gives an example of a natural hunter, especially in terms of self-identification and being accepted by the community as a natural hunter:

> Mr. Nelson was one of the last of the old-time loggers... He loved hunting, fishing, clamming, the outdoors, dancing and telling tall stories ("Obituary: Floyd D. Nelson").

Bowers also describes a natural hunter:

> Back then, almost everything required for an overnight hunt went into my pockets. It took about five minutes to get ready... A 10 minute walk put me out in the country where loading the gun was allowed. Now, making ready for a day in the field, I struggle to avoid complication... Sometimes it feels like all the gear and guns I’ve accumulated own me. Something has been lost in the clutter and complexity gnaws at me (1993).

**Non-Kill Hunter**

"Non-Ki!l Hunter" is an ambiguous term. It was not volunteered by any informant, nor to my knowledge, is it in general use in the NC. How-
ever, the term is useful in categorizing two types of hunting participants. First, the category of Non-Kill Hunter can identify those people who accompany the hunters who actually kill the deer. The main reason for such a pairing is to allow hunters to utilize the non-kill hunters’ deer tags. Probably, the largest group of non-kill hunters are wives or girlfriends who may carry a rifle, but seldom, if ever, shoot a deer. Nevertheless, such non-killing participation does contribute to the securing of meat for the group or the family.

A second type of “Non-Kill Hunter” applies to the hunter stage, some might argue, the adult maturation life stage, of experienced hunters who have “lost their stomach for killing,” as it is sometimes phrased. Some NC hunters and at least one informant partially followed this pattern along prey species lines; that is, he no longer seriously hunted blacktails, even though he was out in the field with his rifle and tag during deer season:

“To tell you the truth, I haven’t shot a deer for many years now; I just look at them; I take my rifle with me, and I put a sight on them, and I don’t squeeze the trigger; I don’t know why I don’t get me a camera; [I] don’t know why I carry that gun. [I] changed after I shot a great a big buck, and somehow after I shot that big buck, I felt bad... I enjoy prowling to see if I can see something, the anticipation of seeing something, I think that keeps me going... My wife goes with me; she enjoys it too; she wouldn’t shoot a deer.” (Informant 1-23-24)

The theme of the non-kill hunter as an adult in a new maturation stage appears periodically in the popular literature. In Bass’s description
[He] starts sitting and watching more, and shooting less. Sometimes takes up photography. Begins to shoot maybe only one deer every on the year or so. Does a lot of watching. Comes into camp in the evenings with tales for the other hunters of a really big deer over on the East Side, as big as he’s ever seen on the place. Or comes in with no tales at all, just all unused bullets and a good appetite from hiking and being outdoors all day, and a cheerful, non-tense, relaxed attitude (1985, 59, 60).

In the same vein, informant 14-42 explained: [It’s] not as important to get a deer kill when hunting as before; I’ve killed my share [of deer]; I’d rather see the young fellas [get the deer].”

Overnight Hunter

The prevalence of day hunting among NC blacktail hunters places fundamental and far-reaching limitations upon several aspects of hunting in this subregion, which have implications for future development.

Informant 2-15’s habit was to drive to Vernonia, in central CC in the Coast Range, in the morning, to hunt, rather than camp overnight:

I’m now a day hunter; I’d rather get up an hour earlier and drive in and out in the same day.

The overnight hunt was my old method of local hunting; I’d drive in, set up camp, make a fire, eat, sleep; I was up before sunrise, and I’d hunt first light; successful or not, I’d return home that day.

I’d repeat this several times per season.

Back then, it was “part of the experience, cooking over an open fire, drinking your coffee out of a tin cup”; it’s rare now.
Participating in Nature Hunter

In the NC, death and danger have a strong presence since the chances of accidental, potentially "meaningless," or random death at the hands of nature is great in this subregion. The dangers are posed by the geology (the rivers, the ocean, the mountains, and so on), the climate, and the vegetation. The basic human fear of a "meaningless" or "senseless" death may play a role in the justification for killing wildlife; this justification may be both a general and subregional rationale. The desire of people to participate in nature seems great, and this desire is frequently cited by American hunters; it is also cited by major writers on hunting, for example, Ortega. The meaning of participating in nature or of participating in the lives of prey animals includes the idea of participation as relationship; and with such relationship comes meaning.

There are several possible points of view, ideologies, or intuitions that people may have when they are participating in nature. For example, they may feel that, if individual animals die in an apparently random, accidental, or "meaningless" fashion, but a master plan lies behind the phenomenon, then the humans who are in relation to these animals and the master plan, i.e., nature, law, and necessity, may die in a similarly senseless fashion, but participate within an order or plan, which has meaning. Cf. Informant 9--9-10's notion of a "transaction" between human and animals, a transaction which creates relationship.
Another possible point of view regarding hunters' participation in nature is that there is perhaps a subconscious feeling or complex of feelings within which NC hunters kill and consume local wildlife, so that when they die themselves, whether in an orderly fashion or suddenly, unexpectedly, and apparently "meaninglessly," they can accept and rationalize their deaths by viewing their deaths as repayment to their animal victims or to nature, in general. In this view, since the hunter has taken a share of animal life, nature is justified in taking the hunter's life. This is reminiscent of Artemis' right to protect "her" deer, in mythic-psychological terms.

Yet another possibility is that the hunters' sharing of death with their prey may or may not rest on a basis of Western guilt, justice, equality in death, or psychological role reversal between the predator and prey, both of whom must face an inevitable, Nature-decreed death.

A final interpretation is that the desire to contact wildlife and to participate in their lives, that is, to share their experiences of place and the climate-weather, includes the wish to learn about the "really real" through the animals which live their lives more intimately and directly with nature than do humans (John Mitchell 1979a, Vol. 81.3, 64).

Hunting as a reality check links the hunter to the most basic aspects of reality-nature, to light and dark and gravity (Campbell 1959, 57). As Bowers, writing for *Petersen's Hunting* magazine explains it:
Without a gun [i.e., hunting] a day outdoors is a pleasure. With a gun, we can join in the ancient and essential work of the natural world [i.e., life-death, predator-prey]. Observing is one thing; participating is altogether another (142).

Even informant 29--5, an anti-hunter, recognized that in the act of directly taking a part of nature for food, the hunter is connected to, and in a relationship with, nature and the specific environment in which he or she lives:

"[In the olden days, humans killed animals for meat]; they just killed when they needed it; then it wouldn't be quite so bad. [It was a natural cycle]; people weren't killing for recreation...."

Informant 3--19 also expressed this philosophy:

...My son benefits from hunting; [it teaches] appreciation of life; [we're] only doing it because we need the meat.
[I] put that [value] into...[him], kill only to eat, utilize...[game] for a purpose...."

Portland Hunter

The Portland Hunter category differs from the other hunter types in this study in that it describes an outsider, a non-local hunter. However, many of the categories used to describe local hunters also describe subtypes of the Portland Hunter. Thus, NC residents, who live in a subregion at the fringe of Oregon's "central place," the burgeoning Portland metropolitan area, collectively refer to hunters from this population center as "Portland Hunters." The meanings for the polysemic
term vary widely to produce hunter subtypes; they range from the
objective to the pejorative and reflect the prevalent orientations of NC
hunters towards the Portland Hunter.

In referring to hunters from Portland, some informants appeared to
be subconsciously utilizing real or supposed hunting characteristics as
esoteric-exoteric markers to label the outsider, as an element in Bauman’s
“differential identity” (1971, 38). The outsider helps to define and
maintain the insider, but creating or maintaining a NC identity vis-à-vis
the Portland Hunter is not limited to a solidarity based on the positive NC
values of virtue, knowledge, and superiority. The outsider can also expose
the failings of the local people, for example, in terms of local poaching.

The Portland Hunter was never lionized, frequently criticized, and
sometimes stereotyped in the interviews. The few informants who
accepted the Portland Hunter as a fellow hunter appeared to be using the
folk activity of hunting not to exclude an outgroup, based on region, but to
include the Portland Hunter, based on similarities, a hobby, an avocation, a
relationship to nature, and so on. Nevertheless, the Portland Hunter was
granted a status equal to that of local hunters by only a minority of
informants.

The psychological aspect of Bauman’s hypothesis of folkloric
differential identity seems unassailable, but its social aspects pre-
dominate for some people, for example, in the ultra right wing theory of a
One World conspiracy. The fear of large governmental units and of governmental regulation, including gun control and "elitist," European-style hunting regulatory systems, is found among a minority in the NC. Its presence is an excellent example of Esser's notion of "social pollution" (1971) and of Fukuyama's "distrust" of the outside, in this case, the Oregon Fish and Wildlife Service with its regulations.

"Portland Hunter" as a term of difference marks the outsider, and a discussion of the term may very well point out some general "local" factors which are also seen within "local" hunting. Portland hunters may differ from NC hunters in terms of their responses to topography, climate, flora, and fauna, and they may differ as to the hunter categories they may be classified into.

In the informants' descriptions and stories about the PH, the serious consequences of the PH's misdeeds were highlighted. True abuses underlie the PH stereotype, but the fact remains that in many instances, the PH remains a stereotype, and to a significant degree, he functions as a scapegoat. To illustrate, there is a surprising lack of foolish hunter stories within the informants' responses. This more sympathetic and non-judgmental NC view of hunter difficulties was unexpected, given the general popularity of the foolish or fanatical hunter as a humorous figure in the popular hunting literature. Perhaps, partly in compensation, several informants included such figures in the form of a foolish PH.
While NC hunters appeared to be much less hostile to PH’s than were Eastern Oregon hunters in Wellborn’s study, some animosity appeared evident in many informants’ comments, and some derisive attitudes were evident in the comments of a few. The likelihood that the PH functions as a NC scapegoat is called up, not only by the intensity of some of the responses directed against them, but more importantly, by the fact that PH’s are associated with “slob,” criminal, and foolish hunting, types of hunting which directly clash with NC values and customs. In addition, and this is the crucial point for the argument for scapegoating, NC hunters tended to conveniently “forget” or underrepresent the fact that some NC residents participate in the same unsporting and illegal hunting activities.

The political dynamic of scapegoating seems to fit the NC’s emphasis on the foolish hunter as “Other,” the not “Self.” This may very well be partly the result of the felt necessity to provide both hunter self identity, and subregional unity and identity against anti-hunters. The NC’s conception of “Other,” no doubt also includes the threat of encroaching urban culture from Portland, sometimes seen as cultural imperialism. Given the reality of at least some foolish hunters and the inability to posi the group among local hunters, the stereotyping of the PH becomes a solution.

Many local non-hunters have grown up with the notion of PH’s abusing their subregion. A few high profile poaching cases appear to
support such claims, even though a full statistical picture is rarely considered. Although these attitudes against Portland hunters are not deliberately promoted by the NCGA or the NC elk hunters' group, hunters may intuitively sense the advantage of not dissuading non-hunting locals from reductive views of outsider hunters, so that an apparent alliance or local solidarity can be generated. This is done not so much to oppose PH's, but to form a basis for consensus on other hunting issues, such as opposition to Fish and Wildlife management. Such an alliance can also serve as a defense against the encroachment of anti-hunters into the NC, which is taken as a realistic and growing threat by many of the informants.

The psychological dynamic of scapegoating also seems to support the use of the PH as a scapegoat by NC residents and hunters. It is painful to examine and admit one's own faults, and such an examination may present the requirement to remediate failings. The use of scapegoats, however, allows people to distance themselves from such problems, examine them more objectively, and then "extend" the remediation to themselves. In essence, they can cure themselves without ever admitting that they were diseased. Thus, some NC hunters call for stricter enforcement of game and vandalism laws, and support better sportsmanship, "primarily" to take care of those Portland hunters. And "secondarily," they can admit that local hunters need to live up to these standards.
Another psychologically-based scenario appears to fit the NC’s use of the PH as a foolish hunter. The American political backlash against social responsibility in the 1990’s has been partly linked to the loss of scapegoats for the dominant white, middle-class citizenry. Without minorities and women who can act as scapegoats and fools, the need for vehemence against any such remaining figures has intensified. The PH as fool may have been utilized in just this way.

The etymology and semantics of the term “Portland Hunter” center around the two main considerations of location and the description of the hunter and the hunt. See Hunter Profile in this chapter. The first aspect of the meaning of PH simply refers to a hunter’s area. “Portland Hunter” is often used in this fashion as a neutral non-judgmental term, as if a PH is no different from a NC hunter. But, when “PH” is used as a term descriptive of a hunter or a hunt, its meanings range from a pejorative sense or connotation to a neutral one:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subtype, PH</th>
<th>Characteristics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Desk-to-Woods, PH</td>
<td>excitable, impetuous, unprepared, unskilled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doe Season Only, PH</td>
<td>lazy, unsporting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fool, PH</td>
<td>ignorant, novice, unsafe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Game Hog, PH</td>
<td>greedy, success-oriented, unsafe, unsporting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunter, PH</td>
<td>same as local</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Outsider, PH  non-local, urban
Road Hunter, PH  lazy
Slob, PH  drinking, illegal, trashing, trespassing, unsafe

The informants' understanding or usage of "Portland Hunter" tended towards definitions limited to one character trait or hunter type, but some locals denied having heard the term. It was also rejected by some locals as offensively stereotypic.

There were a few synonyms for "PH" among the informants which were neutral terms. "Flatlander" was used by Informant 23--26 and referred to "the people over on the other side of the Coastal Mts., the [Willamette] Valley." Wellborn lists "Valley Hunter" as a PH synonym in Eastern Oregon (23). The term Portland Hunter" appears to have come about largely due to major ecological changes in the NC which created prime habitat for the increase in blacktail deer populations and which simultaneously created open, huntable areas:

After Big Creek [in North CC] was logged, it became well-known for Blacktails; there was then a lot of open country in the NC. A lot of hunters would come from Portland, called "Portland Hunters"...(Informant 11--21)

Informant 19--35's claim may or may not conflict with or supplement the possible Big Creek origin for the term, but it follows the same type of causal pattern:
"...Tillamook Burn came along in 1933; that made real good deer hunting; there were a lot of deer down there anyway before the burn.

It was closed for several seasons [after the burn].

We started hunting down there; it was fantastic hunting, no trouble to get a deer at all...

They opened up the [Burn] country with roads [for logging]; several people were logging in that area."

The original meaning and connotation of "Portland Hunter" may have been negatively altered in a process of semantic pejoration by the expansion of elk hunting in the NC since World War II. There appears to be a general consensus that Portland elk hunters include a significant number of "slob" hunters, as noted by Informants 1--19-20, 4--36, 30--27, and 36--34-35. Informant 4--36's comments were typical:

...Wild shooting is more a problem for elk hunting; it is especially a problem during special elk seasons in the winter; people from all over seem to be here.

"Some of those people have no business calling themselves hunters."

Property Hunter, Deer Damage, Bait Hunter, Orchard

Informant 4--36 considered himself a property hunter and not a true hunter, since he didn't scout the woods. His orchard acted as "deer bait," and hunting was "just a matter of seeing a deer up in the orchard and shooting it." The informant had integrated his hunting into his farm work schedule. The theme of efficiency, an agriculturalist point of view, was suggested:

"...At milking time, I would glance around the orchard [for deer]; maybe at evening, [sunset], I'd go up [on the stand] and sit
there a while; I get my deer that way, just up the hill, near the road" (Informant 4--18).

**Religious Hunter**

There is a sharp distinction between hunting as it was practiced by the NC Indians--probably with religious significance--and the dominant religious hunting of contemporary NC hunters. Emma Miller describes the Chinookian belief in guardian spirits which existed throughout the landscape ("Indians," 11). Sauter reports that the Tillamook Indians believed deer has "spirits" (32). Since hunting is not generally a religious experience for most modern hunters, it is not surprising that NC churches and religious people lack a clearly developed position on this activity. A review of hunting publications does, however, indicate an ongoing rejection of "neo-paganism" or pantheism as an aspect of environmentalism and hunting as a religious experience (Gonzales, 1). There are, however, significant proponents of extending ethics to animals, for example, in Gaard's ecofeminism, Theodore Roszak's Gaia point of view (Roderick Nash, 158), and Houston's neo-mystic religious point of view, which sanctifies place.

The only informant who volunteered a clear and strong religious aspect within his hunting revealed the potential for such an orientation, but the dominant separation of hunting from religious concerns is a powerful indication of the isolation of this activity. Several informants,
when asked about their hunting in religious terms, stared blankly and responded that they had never thought about that possibility.

Pentecostal churches have in the past openly attacked nature-related experiences, so it appears likely that the strong presence of that type of Christianity in the NC is a significant deterrent against the idea of hunting as a religious experience. Most mainline churches marginalize hunting, and virtually all evangelical and Pentecostal churches virulently reject and attack it. Cf. the shamanistic or totemistic religions of Asia, Africa, and Amerindians.

Road, Road-Pasture Hunter

While the most frequently volunteered hunter type among informants was “Meat Hunter,” “Road Hunter” was the second most frequent; it was mentioned approximately 5 times more often than the average, by 15 informants. Since the NC is honeycombed with logging roads, spotting and shooting prey from the road are inevitable. Some hunters restrict themselves to cruising the roads, trying to spot and shoot prey in the woods, or in pastures in a type of “fringeland hunting” (Informant 4-12). The only subtype of road hunter who was not derided by at least some NC hunters and residents was the physically limited or elderly hunter; Informant 14-12 was 70 years old and still hunted in rough terrain; he stated with contempt that he only found road hunting acceptable for “old cripples who can’t walk and wheelchair cases.”
Even for limited or older hunters, using spurs is generally more respectable than cruising the roads. Informant 6--18's road hunting method kept him involved in the hunting action after a stroke, more than a spot and shoot approach would have. However, Informant 28--16--17 admitted that all NC hunters road hunt at times: "We're all road hunters to some extent, particularly when you get old and fat; you always expect to see hunters on the roads." Informant 17--10's self-description also included elements of road hunting, which gave him mixed feelings.

Although Informant 28--16--17's remark about old and overweight hunters may have been said in jest, he may very well have been referring to elderly hunters who road hunt as a way of participating in hunting. His qualification that local hunters road hunt "to some extent" typified the belief that local blacktail hunters would not pass up a deer if they spotted one from the road, but that it is mainly outsiders or elderly local hunters who are the true road hunters: "The stereotypic road hunter who doesn't even sight his rifle in is not the dominant type of local hunter" (Informant 28--16). Road hunting, then, can be both a subregional and generational marker. Informant 18--13--14's father was not a road hunter since he was hunting during the years when gas was rationed. When the informant himself began hunting, people were using trucks and ATV's.
As for the NC's rejection of road hunting, the themes included quality hunting in which the animal-meat is earned, skill and knowledge, as opposed to luck, legality in hunting, and safety:

"The way things are getting now, [the extent of road hunting], I don't even call it hunting any more; the way the bigger percentage of people operate, they just [are] strictly road hunting...

When they started clear cutting the country,...things changed altogether; [people hunted and used the roads more].

I think that's one of the things that ruined everything,...too many roads; the traffic was just like a zoo out in the hills; you go out there, it's just like a city, campers and trailers everywhere; it got so finally I quit a few years ago; I had enough of it" (Informant 24--16).

Although the statistics for hunting accidents regularly document that a disproportionate number of firearm accidents occur near vehicles, and often on or near a road, the safety factor of road hunting, while mentioned by several informants, was only stressed by a few informants: "Road hunting, actual hunting from a rig, is inherently dangerous" (Informant 14--12).

Techno hunting was mentioned more often as one of the negative aspects of road hunting. It was generally looked down upon by most NC residents and informants, and according to Informant 7--23, outsiders and locals are equally guilty: "[It's not just outsiders who road hunt in CC; some CC locals] have rifles designed to shoot clear across canyons at extreme ranges, from roadbed[s] or landings." Several other informants voluntarily linked road hunting with techno hunting. Their attitude seems
to be exactly Ortega's position that killing wildlife with "deficient...

effort" (101-02) is not actually sport hunting.

For informant 7--24 the frenetic activity involved in road hunting
destroyed the quality of a hunt: "Listening to the constant grind of 4
wheel drives on logging roads, [jumping in and out of trucks looking at
clear cuts...]; for me that's not [real] hunting." In addition, without
intense effort, the hunter's knowledge and skill are likely to decline, as
informant 34--19 expressed it:

"Now, you get people who just tend to drive out and drive around and
look for...[animals, rather than hunting cross-country like
my grandpa and father]; pretty much, anymore, everybody just
runs around; they go from one open area to another, looking
for animals out in the open.

They don't spend a lot of time out hunting. [Without spending a lot
of time hunting, hunters won't incidentally learn about other
game animals]; people don't seem to have the knowledge of
the animals my grandpa and the older guys did have."

Surprisingly, several informants tried to defend road hunters; this
suggests the possible influence of hunter publications and NRA literature
which call for hunter solidarity, in response to the growing criticism of
hunters and hunting. Informant 30--11, atypically, appeared completely
neutral to road hunting, as if it were nothing more than another mode of
hunting, such as driving or stalking; he gave no hint of disapproval
regarding the lack of sportsmanship or ethics in road hunting:

"[There] may be some satisfaction in it, but I like being away from
the road; that kind of hunting, if I don't get anything, I get
something [else from the experience]."
This person, [my best hunter], is a road hunter, but this didn’t disqualify him from being a good hunter...

Informant 16--13-14’s comments, taken as a whole, also display an attempt to accept or defend road hunters

Selective Hunter

Nearly all hunters to some degree are selective in the animals they will take. According to Wegner, deer hunting clubs, somewhat surprisingly, favor quality, a management (number and size), as opposed to a trophy (antlers) criterion (Book 3, 282). These facts would probably hold true in the NC, as well, especially since antler size is limited in the NC by biological and, perhaps, ecological factors.

Simultaneous Hunter

Informant 9--15, a Simultaneous Hunter, showed that hunting can become secondary in certain situations:

“My hunting has gone to hell; I start picking mushrooms when I’m on a hunt; [there’s a] kinship between hunting and gathering; for both, you need to become aware of what’s going on in your life...”

The activities which can become equally as important as hunting for a Simultaneous Hunter include scouting for elk, taking photographs, and studying nature. The Guide Hunter is also a type of fractional hunter.
Techno Hunter

Two of informant 9--21's acquaintances radio hunt as a pair and qualify as techno hunters. While many NC residents and informants questioned or criticized road hunting, in terms of the lack of hunter effort required to kill the prey, some hunters might admit that they have, in road hunting situations, crossed over the threshold into techno hunting or macho hunting. Informant 17--20 voluntarily contrasted the reality of the bow hunter's limited power with the feeling of domination he experienced in rifle hunting.

--Power of Rifle Versus Bow, Story--

"I remember the feeling I had after hunting a number of years with the bow and arrow. One day going out with a friend with a rifle, I walked into this valley and looked around; it was a fairly decent-sized valley, but not overly large, probably a couple of hundred yards across, and all of a sudden I had this feeling of overwhelming power because if there was any animal in that valley, I could kill it, [given the range and accuracy of the rifle]; with a bow and arrow, that's never true..."

Other hunters interested in bow hunting expressed sympathy for deer, vis-à-vis hunting technology:

"...They're at a big disadvantage [against a rifle hunter]"; with the power and range of modern rifles, with a scope, I can get nearly every deer I see, with the first shot; "I feel if I see a deer, I can take it" (Informant 3--22).

"...Once the deer is in the cross-hairs, it's like taking its picture; the only way to miss is to jerk the rifle..." (Informant 3--29)
Informants 3--26 and 17--12 concurred on the relative ease of rifle accuracy with a scope.

**Varmint Hunter**

No NC hunter or resident identified himself or herself, or any other participant, as a varmint hunter, but several informants unhesitatingly offered a relatively lengthy list of NC animals which they viewed as varmints, such as crows, possums, and coyotes. Varmint hunting appeared to be very rare and generally looked down upon. Perhaps, this activity is associated with unsafe road shooting, especially for spotlighted “prey,” but it is also associated with “Slob Hunters” and youth cruising the logging roads, while they are out drinking.

**Elk Hunter**

NC elk hunting is beyond the scope of this study, but since it overlaps with blacktail hunting, it is a part of the context within which blacktail hunting is carried out. This species has become identified with the American West and with wilderness, and for NC elk hunters, it is probably second only to salmon as the iconic or marquee animal of the NW and NC. Elk, much more than blacktail, fit into Mary Allen’s description of American wildlife as free, basically independent of human control, noble, and violent or potentially violent (12, 13, 16, 192). Generally, the appreciation of elk as a marquee animal was much more prevalent among
elk hunters than among deer hunters or nonhunters, since elk are less frequently seen in populated areas than are blacktails.

There are an estimated 13,000 elk in CC, and the NC takes pride in the fact that the subregion provides excess elk from the local Elk Refuge for reintroduction into other areas of Oregon and into California. John Johnson states that “Oregon, without a doubt, has the finest hunting for trophy Roosevelt elk in the world” (16); we may note that NC elk dominate the Boone and Crockett listings. Elk are naturally prized among hunters, just as they were among the NC Native American Chinooks and Tillamooks (Lewis and Clark; Sauter, 22, 26, 140; Beckham, 150; Boas, 119).

The view that NC deer hunters have of elk hunters is complex and not easily deduced. The blacktail’s status is reduced when it is compared with other species of deer, but the comparison between the blacktail and the elk is even more telling. Since the Roosevelt elk averages 775 lbs. and dresses out to about 450 lbs., a dressed elk would equal 3–5 dressed blacktails. It is also important to note that the Roosevelt elk is larger than other species of elk; it weighs approximately 1,500 lbs. and is about 20% larger.

Since blacktails and elk are members of the same family, Cervidae, they would naturally be compared. However, NC blacktails and Roosevelt elk are popularly seen as fundamentally different. Informant 14–30 "warm[ed] up on deer hunting" for elk season and only used deer hunting as
a way to get into shape. Informant 17--15 was also more serious about elk hunting than deer hunting. Since simultaneous deer and elk bow hunting are allowed by Oregon game laws, his practice was to "just sort of shoot the deer... [while]...walking along hunting for the elk." Informant 28--36 also felt that deer hunting was "casual," while elk hunting was more "serious." For Informant 17--24, elk hunting "[took] the edge off getting a blacktail." He and his partners "kind of laugh[ed]" as they hunted, since shooting a deer was "kind of like shooting a partridge,...a grouse." But informant 15--13 did not favor elk over deer. For him, "deer are not just a warm up for elk hunting; he "just go[es] out, not for anything."

NC elk hunting also carries some degree of class and old family designation. For example, informant 22--14 found his status enhanced by shooting an elk:

"In the church, if you get an animal, I think there is a degree of esteem you achieve.

When I got my elk, I experienced a lot of positive strokes; [people said] 'Oh, he got an elk...'

The fact that the elk is larger than the blacktail confers greater social status on the successful hunter, but elk hunting also demands more effort on the part of the hunter. This fact was stressed in very clear terms by several informants. The extended cross country elk hunt with tracking and complex strategies is a repeated topic among informants who compare elk
and blacktail hunting. These factors enhanced the quality of the hunting experience for Informant 27--28:

"...it was fun to hunt, but I never really cared for deer hunting all that much. I liked to hunt elk because you could chase elk all day long; you could see them from a long ways."

Informant 14--31 added details about NC elk hunting which emphasized the tracking aspects:

"...Before Crown Zellerbach started clear cutting in the 50's and 60's, [elk hunting] was a timber hunt; it was a track out, one on one. You'd pick a single track; you know that was a bull; most generally, he'd drop off the herd after the rut; hunting season was after the rut. He'd just lazy around and get his strength back after the rut. A single track was 95% of the time, a bull, and you'd timber track him. Some days you'd track him a half a day, and maybe you'd be lucky and get him in a couple of hours, but we've had hunts where we've gone from here to Svensen and back a couple of times, tracking one single bull."

Cross-country tracking would be impossible in a blacktail hunt, due to the localized and stealthy nature of the deer (Informant 14--39). In addition, to the cross country nature of NC elk hunting, the sheer power of the elk adds difficulty to the hunt:

...You need to shoot elk more carefully than deer, due to their power and ability to run off after being hit; "[with] elk, we had to be more conservative [in the distance of the shot] because they're so damn big, [or] if you had to hit him in a vital spot, [or if the] elk took off and [had] run into the next county, and ...[you] didn't get him" (Informant 19--33).
NC elk hunters, as opposed to same blacktail hunters, generally feel they do not dominate their prey, since elk hunting is more of a “challenge” than deer hunting (Informant 14--30).

The “seriousness,” as well as the competition and crowding involved in elk hunting, may very well forecast increased hunter desertion, due to a selective force for more aggressive hunters; it may also forecast group hunting, as well, as a means of assuring greater success and a sense of security in the more competitive atmosphere of elk hunting. Informant 17--24-25’s experience and reaction appeared to be fairly common in the NC:

--Young’s River Falls Hunt, Story--
I specifically remember one incident, when I was rifle-hunting elk, above Young’s River Falls in Lewis and Clark, at the base of Lone Ridge, 10 miles southwest of Astoria; I was hunting a big clear cut; I walked through the woods and came out and saw 4 or 5 pickups above me on a road.
All the hunters were looking at me with their rifle scopes; if I had chased an elk out, and if I had shot one that ran off, they would have fired at it; it would have been a nasty situation; that wasn’t my idea of hunting...

--The Bases for a NC Hunter Profile--
As noted, the NC hunter profile consists of eleven main factors:

1. Prey
2. Utilization
3. Place
4. Participants-Number
5. Participants-Type
6. Skill
7. Context or Meaning
8. Goal
9. Weapon
There are multiple sources for the hunter profile developed here, as there were for the typology of hunters treated earlier. Some categories were volunteered by the informants; others appear either the hunting literature or in informants' comments, and others were devised to label the informants' descriptions of themselves, their hunting, or other hunters. The latter terms are not claimed to be exhaustive, a perfect capturing of NC hunters or their hunting. They were coined to be denotative, rather than connotative, and more accurate, consistent, and systematic than the informants' paraphrastic expressions. Thus, using the hunter profile, Informant 20 can be termed an "Ancillary, Gatherer (Mushroom)." The hunter profile attempts to indicate both the external acts and the internal states of the hunter, as well as the meaning that hunting has for the hunter.

The categories in the hunter profile system include both those based on binary features, such as "Road Hunter" and "Buck Only Hunter," and those based on scalar features, such as "Experiential Hunter" and "Family Hunter." The former rests upon a yes-no proposition; the latter rests upon a proposition of degree, a position on a continuum.

A consideration in devising the profile was to determine whether or not to include both the conventional, prototypical terms and the assertive,
individually, self-defining terms. The conventional terms, those generally recognized and understood by NC residents and hunters, are naturally included. The assertive, self-defining terms are more idiosyncratic, and may, in reality, be nonce or ad hoc coinages, which a majority of NC residents and hunters would not necessarily accept as accurate terms, helpful in describing actual groups of hunters. For example, “Drinking Hunter,” and, “Woman Hunter,” are not generally used in the NC, nor are they accurate or consistent enough to warrant inclusion.

Classifiers tend to wield categories in a heavy-handed manner in which the categories become ahistorical, atemporal stereotypes. As was stressed earlier, the hunter categories should not be viewed as mutually exclusive. For example, Road Hunters are also sometimes Stand Hunters, and Nature Hunters can also be, to some degree, Meat Hunters. In the interviews, hunters might claim to be only Meat Hunters, but later interviews always disproved such a claim. Conversely, some informants were definitely resistant to classifying themselves or other hunters, as if participants and their activities could not be accurately captured within a rubric, but, invariably, within the interviews, these hunters’ orientation toward several main issues established complex, yet discernible, hunter profiles.

Another serious error in applying the profile to hunters would be to overextend its time of relevance, since the notion of a hunting career or
hunting stages is well-known. Many informants did not appear to place their own hunting within a temporal process, but an equal number of informants were keenly aware of their own hunting stages. These hunting stages were usually based on the factors of hunting mode and skill level, rather than upon the factors of weapon and goal.

The popular hunting press sometimes employs the category of hunter types:

Consumptive users of wildlife [fail to realize that] every assault on the bow hunter or muzzleloader hunter (or, for that matter, hounds-man or coyote trapper) is also an assault upon himself” (McIntyre “United We Have to Stand,” 20).

Calls for “hunter solidarity,” such as McIntyre’s, have achieved mixed results. The informants mirrored this assessment of consumptive users of wildlife. For example, many NC hunters opposed bow hunting because of the possibility of lost wounded prey, but others supported it as a means of avoiding hunter crowding and as a means for retaining the sportsmanship and challenge of hunting. This is another indication that hunters in the NC adopted highly individualistic positions on some issues:

The eleven factors of “Prey,” “Utilization,” “Place,” “Participant-Number,” “Participant-Type,” “Skill,” “Context/ Meaning,” “Goal,” “Weapon,” “Hunting Mode,” and “Schedule” have been isolated as the bases for a hunter profile system, useful for the description of a hunter and his or her hunt. The sequencing of these factors is also consciously
determined, since the first question to be asked about a hunter and a hunt concerns the prey, what the hunter-prey relationship is. Prey can range from the elk to the rabbit, and the status of hunters and the investment of time and money varies dramatically, depending on what the prey is. The second consideration is the setting for the hunt, Place; this is underestimated by non-hunters or non-participants, since the details of place directly affect the physical difficulty of the hunt and the type and degree of responsibility the hunters must assume for safety, sportsmanship, preparation, and comfort. Factor 5, “Participant-Type” highly affects the experience, mood, and the meaning of a hunt. Compare mountaineering literature in which the stress or decision making necessary in the activity can dramatically alter the experience for the participants.

1. Prey Species, Type, or Quality
   1.1 Deer
   1.2 Buck Only
   1.3 Doe
   1.4 Doe Only
   1.5 Non-Kill (Deer)
   1.6 Elk Only
   1.7 Deer, Pest (Damage)
   1.8 Either Sex, Not Fawn, Any Legal Deer
   1.9 Selective (e.g., only large buck or large doe)
   1.10 Single Species
       1.10.1 Deer Only
       1.10.2 Elk Only
       1.10.3 Duck Only
   1.11 Pair Species (combinations; some listed below):
       1.11.1 Deer and Elk (Big Game)
       1.11.2 Deer and Rabbit
       1.11.3 Duck and Upland Bird
1.11.4 Elk and Bear
1.11.5 Varmints

1.12 Multiple Species
1.12.1 Deer, Elk, Duck (common in the NC)

1.13 Buck Only
1.14 Buck or Doe ("Either Sex")
1.15 Doe Only (rare except to reduce localized agricultural damage)

1.16 Deer Quality
1.16.1 Big Buck
1.16.2 Rack Size
1.16.3 Size
1.16.4 Health (unhealthy deer sometimes killed, but not tagged)
1.16.5 Doe with Fawn (often not taken)

2. Utilization
2.1 Meat
2.1.1 Personal Use:
2.1.1.1 Subsistence—"Living off the Land"
2.1.1.2 Gourmet
2.1.1.3 Guest
2.1.1.4 Gift
2.1.2 Family
2.1.3 Living Off the Land

2.2 Trophy

3. Place—Public Logging
3.1 Road
3.1.1 Exclusive
3.1.2 Start of Hunts
3.1.3 Bow Road Hunters
3.2 Logging Road
3.3 Pasture
3.4 Fringeland
3.5 Property
3.6 Clear Cut
3.7 Reprod
3.8 Alder Patch
3.9 Deep Woods
3.10 Foothills
3.11 Ravines
3.12 Special Hunting Site(s) (e.g., site specific hunter)
3.13 Various Sites
3.14 Home Area
3.15 Non-Home Area (e.g., Eastern Oregon)
3.16 Out of State

4. **Participant-Number**

4.1 Solo
4.2 Partner
4.3 Small Group
4.4 Large Group
4.5 Various Number of Participants (refers to hunters who hunt in various groupings on the same day, e.g., groups of 4 who all hunt one area but then break into pairs on their next hunt, largely according to site)

5. **Participants’ Personal-Social Relationship**

5.1 Occupation/Co-Workers (especially those listed below)
   5.1.1 Logger
   5.1.2 Professional
   5.1.3 Desk Worker
   5.1.4 Blue Collar Worker
5.2 Friend, “Partner”
5.3 Age
   5.3.1 Child Observer
   5.3.2 Juvenile
5.4 Physically Limited
5.5 Gender
5.6 Mentor and Learner

6. **Skill Level**

6.1 Unknowledgeable
6.2 Novice
6.3 Average/Typical/Functional
6.4 Outdoorsman (allied skills)
6.5 "Real"/"Serious"
6.6 Expert
6.7 Guide

7. **Context or Meaning**
   7.1 Slob-Anti-Social (Criminal)
   7.2 Game Hog
   7.3 Reformed
   7.4 Average/Tradition (No Waste); mixed
   7.5 Sportsman (Consumptive)
   7.6 Conservationist
   7.7 Preservationist/Non-Kill--Doe Chasing

7.8 **Management**
   7.8.1 Control Population
   7.8.2 Chase Deer/Doe Away
   7.8.3 Preservation:
      7.8.4 Contribute to Fish and Wildlife
      7.8.5 Train New Preservationist-Hunters

7.9 Learning
7.10 Science
7.11 Sport Macho
7.12 Challenge
   7.12.1 Positive
   7.12.2 Negative (criminal "game")
7.13 Moralist
7.14 Code
7.15 Competition
7.16 Deer Camp--Social Gathering
7.17 Nature
7.18 Outdoorsman
7.19 Outsider-Alienated
7.20 Recreation
7.21 Reflection

6. **Goal of Participants**
6.1 Individual
   6.1.1 Nature
   6.1.2 Psychological Reassurance
6.1.3 Reflection
6.1.4 Religion
6.1.5 Experiential:
  6.1.5.1 Aesthetic
  6.1.5.2 Joy
  6.1.5.3 Physical
6.1.6 Success Doe Season Only
6.1.7 Macho
6.1.8 Observer
6.1.9 Recreation
6.1.10 Sport
6.1.11 Participation in Nature
6.1.12 Solitude
6.1.13 Learning
6.1.14 Tao (discipline/path towards wisdom/good life)
6.1.15 Moralistic
6.1.16 Gathering, Photo, Scouting, Study
6.1.17 Escape (office/factory to woods)
6.1.18 Mixed:
  6.1.18.1 Ancillary/Incidental
6.1.19 Scouting—especially Elk

8.2 Social
8.2.1 Traditional
8.2.2 Status (e.g., Macho)
8.2.3 Guide
8.2.4 Teacher
8.2.5 Recreation
8.2.6 Sport
8.2.7 Camaraderie
8.2.8 Photography
8.2.9 Natural History/Outdoorsman
8.2.10 Aesthetic
8.2.11 Gathering
8.2.12 Social
8.2.13 Skill (e.g., Shooting, Techno)
8.2.14 Recreation—Casual
9. **Weapon**
   9.1 Rifle (caliber ammunition, scope)
   9.2 Bow (reurved, compound)
   9.3 Black Powder
   9.4 Techno (enhanced, ancillary (optics, sound))
   9.5 Various

10. **Hunting Mode**
    10.1 Stalk-Solo
    10.2 Stalk-Pair
    10.3 Stalk-Group
    10.4 Stalk-Drive
    10.5 Stand-Drive
    10.6 Stand-Slob
    10.7 Various
    10.8 Road
    10.9 Road Spot and Stalk
    10.10 Drive-Stalk
    10.11 Bait
    10.12 Chance
    10.13 Niche
    10.14 Mixed
    10.15 Horseback
    10.16 Trail Bike
    10.17 Experimental
    10.18 Incidental/Opportunistic

11. **Schedule**
    11.1 Day
    11.2 Vacation (e.g., Eastern Oregon)
    11.3 Week-End (e.g., Portland Desk to Woods Hunting)
    11.4 Opening and Closing Week
    11.5 AM/PM, both; all day
CHAPTER VIII

INITIATION AND MATURATION IN NORTH COAST DEER HUNTING

Introduction

Four possible processes of initiation or maturation within NC deer hunting are discussed in Chapter 8: Adolescent Initiation, Adolescent Maturation, Adult Initiation, and Adult Maturation. Informant comments on the interview topics relevant to the question of initiation or maturation within NC deer hunting, were analyzed. These were:

Interview Topic 3: First Hunting Experience
Interview Topic 4: First Hunt as Hunter
Interview Topic 5: First Deer Kill
Interview Topic 6: Most Memorable Hunt
Interview Topic 13: Informant’s Father and Hunting
Interview Topic 19: Most Important Thing Gained from Hunting
Interview Topic 20: Hunting as Initiation into Adulthood

A hypothesis of this study is that the first hunt, the first kill, or the first field dressing in NC deer hunting do not serve a function in adolescent initiation into adulthood, as do such milestones as the acquisition of a first driver’s license, graduation from high school, or the securing of a first job. Early in the study, evidence to support this hypothesis began to emerge; there was a general belief among informants that hunting in the
in the NC does not serve in a highly elaborated, ritualized, and public, familial, or private adolescent initiation into adulthood.

To support this interpretation of contemporary NC hunting, we may note that photographs of young, newly licensed hunters or first kill hunters do not appear in the local press. In contrast, the October 5, 1950 front page of the Seaside Signal presented a list of all successful deer hunters. The 1950 deer season was also acknowledged by a Seaside “Biggest Deer Kill” contest, as was noted in the same issue of the newspaper.

While understatement may have been a factor in the informants’ weak sense of initiation, it can be stated that the first deer hunt and the first deer kill usually do not operate as major adolescent public initiation events or rites, nor do they typically function as familial or personal rites of passage into adulthood. While the first hunt, first kill, or first field dressing were often emotional events for most informants, very few informants reported or implied profound changes in their social, familial, or private lives, which stemmed from the experiences they encountered while deer hunting.

Field dressing or “gutting” the carcass, however, was identified as the most important affective element of a hunting experience by some informants. However, young hunters were not always expected to field dress their own first kills, sometimes due to the dangerous or troubling nature of the process, but most often, because they were excused or not
considered for the task in the interest of preventing the possible contamination of the meat by an inexperienced person. In these cases, pragmatics and the NC value of non-waste denied the young hunter the opportunity to dress the deer.

A surprising finding was that experienced hunters who had killed "big bucks" had strong reactions to their first killing of such deer. Since this accomplishment made them into self-described "Real Hunters," some type of adult initiation or maturation was suggested. This reaction of experienced hunters to their first big buck kills, but not to their first deer kills, seems to be a striking example of how individuals may participate in folk activities with only a partial understanding of the activity and of themselves, e.g., their life stages. This process follows Lévi-Strauss' view that human life is largely a dance of hidden traditions. The process of change or maturation experienced by these non-novice hunters who bag big bucks is usually marked by a new hunter status or by a new classification as to hunter type, i.e., "Real Hunters." This process was termed "Adult Maturation" to differentiate it from the three other possible processes considered here--"Adolescent Initiation," "Adolescent Maturation," and "Adult Initiation."

To follow up on the theme of adult maturation, the possibility that a significant number of NC adult hunters matured psychologically, or entered into, or marked their entry into, new stages of life through their hunting
experiences, was investigated. In contrast to the findings for adolescent initiation, informant responses generally supported the phenomenon of adult maturation; furthermore, some adult maturation events were found to occur at very late stages of adulthood; some older hunters became mentors or guide hunters, and other elder hunters became non-kill hunters. Such major shifts in hunter type or hunter orientation among older hunters suggest that hunting may very well be reflecting or influencing the hunter's current stage in life, following Erickson's description.

To sharpen the focus and to enhance the fruitfulness of the interviews, the interview topics were reviewed to determine which were relevant to the question of initiation and maturation. As mentioned, the relevant topics were Interview Topics 3, 4, 5, 6, 13, 19, and 20. The review also showed that the analysis would be incomplete without a fuller descriptive system, which would take more into account than an initial dichotomy set up between adolescent initiation and adult initiation. The problem of distinguishing the hunting initiation or maturation experiences of juvenile hunters younger than 12 years of age and the maturation experiences of adult novice hunters, became apparent. The question of adult novice initiation was also an issue.

Hunters with extensive and prolonged juvenile experience were not easily classified within the initial dichotomy of adolescent initiation versus adult initiation, since those who had "been around hunting" since
childhood were not as likely to frame their first hunting experiences or
their first kills with the same intensity and recognition as novice hunters.

However, upon becoming fully participating hunters, non-novice,
adolescent hunters with informal hunting experience could very well
experience a partial initiation or, perhaps, a maturation into a new aspect
of adulthood or another aspect of adulthood. An interpretation of a
specific hunting experience as a maturation device, vehicle, or marker is a
possible explanation for maturational aspects among some adult or elder
hunters.

Research based on quantified data generally supports the claim that
first time hunters who are older than 25 years of age have a very high
desertion rate (Applegate 1977, 55). Consequently, researchers and
hunting advocates have concentrated on gaining a fuller understanding of
juvenile hunters, since, for a variety of reasons, they tend to become life-
time hunters and family hunters.

About 10% of the informants described their adolescent hunting
experiences as important and emotional events, but not as initiations into
adulthood. These were the informants with extensive early childhood
hunting experiences who had grown up with hunting; they had parents,
especially fathers, who hunted, and they had begun their careers as hunt
observers at an early age, often around 8 or 9. While this group made up
approximately 10% of the informants, 75% went on to become very serious and skilled NC hunters.

By including the categories of adolescent maturation and adult maturation in this study, an account of the two problematic groups, child hunters and novice adult hunters, seemed possible. This was a necessary accommodation since adolescent non-novice hunters and adult novice hunters, two groups of hunters who tend to experience limited emotion and a limited sense of importance during their early experiences with hunting, did, however, frequently report gaining some degree or aspect of knowledge, skill, or recognition regarding the adult world.

The adult aspects of life which adolescent hunters might be initiated into, whether at an introductory level or at a mastery-ascriptive level, include adult skills, knowledge, or codes of conduct. For example, experienced adolescent hunters might learn how to conduct themselves among adults, how to responsibility shoot their own rifles, as opposed to sharing a rifle with an adult and taking only supervised shots, or they may learn how to safely and effectively field dress a deer.

Regarding the inclusion of the category, "Adult Novice Hunter," since adult novice hunters made up a sizable portion of the informants, approximately 20%, the scope of the analysis is significantly enhanced. It should be noted that this percentage is perhaps double the national average. According to Klessig, new adult hunters make up 10% of all
hunters. Additionally, since several of the informants immigrated to the NC as adults, an analysis of the effect of deer hunting, in terms of both adult maturation and adult stages of life, allows for an investigation of the claim that NC adult novice hunters may be utilizing hunting, not only as a vehicle by which to enter into a new adult life stage, but also as a device which would allow them to undergo local experiences which would transform them into different types of adults, possibly “local persons,” or “NC persons.” This new ascription is a secondary identity factor, but nonetheless, it might be of importance to the newcomer.

Another possibility, that the NC immigrant may be motivated to join the NC hunter “group,” was not claimed by any informant. NC hunters, with the possible exception of elk hunters, did not constitute a well-defined, chronologically continuous, face-to-face group. The continued existence of the NCGA may have altered the situation in the mid 1990’s, but even if it proves to be the case, “Hunter” continues to be a much weaker category or factor in self-identity, compared to the categories of family, occupation, area or residence, and, possibly, religion.

It seems absurd that most adult novice hunters would experience a coming of age or entry into adulthood, but obviously, most adult novice hunters in their mid-twenties or thirties might have some reactions to their first hunts and their first kills; it does seem possible that such adult hunting experiences could enhance the adult novice hunter’s
recognition or mastery of some aspects of being an adult. But before we
sing the praises of hunting as the medium for creating bodhisattvas, it
should be noted that the aspect of adulthood introduced, understood, or
mastered by the adult novice hunter might be criminal, as in poaching, just
as easily as it might be compassionate towards animals, as in the case of
non-clean kills--wounded animals. Game wardens have long cringed at the
thought of poachers taking the role of mentors, teaching their craft to
initiates, usually their children.

The identification of a possible four part initiation-maturation
pattern in NC deer hunting raised several questions, as follows:

1. What, if anything, within NC deer hunting contributed to or
caused the lack of a social, ritualized adolescent hunting
initiation into adulthood?

2. What, if anything, within NC deer hunting contributed to or
caused adolescent hunter maturation, especially as in an
transition into certain aspects of adulthood? Cf. complexity,
incorporation. See Gennep (11).

3. Are there credible supports for hunting as a common NC adult
maturational initiation into the stages of life?

4. What, if anything, within NC deer hunting contributed to or
caused some adult maturation, especially as in the entry into
a new life stage, especially the possible role of adult life
stages or philosophical questions called up by hunting-death?

5. Are adolescent initiation into adulthood, adolescent
maturation, especially as in a transition into certain
aspects of adulthood, and adult novice hunter maturation
related? If so, how?
6. How does the theme of adolescent initiation via hunting in American literature, and generally in American culture, relate to the four types of initiation-maturation identified in the study?

Before proceeding to answer these questions, the fact that most NC hunters and most informants did not experience a clearly delineated adolescent hunting rite of passages deserves closer scrutiny. The sections following discuss the viability of a NC hunting tradition and the function of public display rites.

---NC Hunting Tradition---

The discussion of Question 1 will show that there are serious limitations on NC deer hunting as an adolescent rite of passage. No easy path for the ritualization of hunting is in evidence, in spite of a body of interesting and relevant NC Indian religious materials dealing with specific local sites; for example, many inland sites were used for adolescent initiatory spirit quests (Richard Clifford; Emma Miller); the Clatsop spirit being or myth figure, "Echanie" (Silas Smith, 258), or "Neakarny," in Frost's alternate spelling ("Part III," 242), is located on Neahkainie Mt.; and Saddle Mountain, called, "Swallowhost," by the Clatsops (Lockley, "John Hicks"), was the site of a thunderbird's nest with eggs (Beckham).

Local residents and hunters are commonly aware that NC peaks and salmon were a part of the local Indians' (Chinook and Clatsop) religion, but
observers note that other aspects of Indian religion, those which lack a
direct, modern, physical presence and a Christian parallel, are generally
unknown—e.g., Talipas, the coyote trickster and culture bearer,
Tamanawas, the tutelary or guardian spirit, and the Cheatco, the human-
devouring giants in the dark and distant woods (Sillas Smith, 260–61).
Indian myths may yet play a role in a new nature religion within which a
remythologizing is fashioned. They may contribute to the development of
an ethos or personality of a place, or of an interpretation of the blacktail
as an epitome of place, the NC. For a discussion of the "Genius Loci" and
"character" of place, see Norberg-Schulz in Seamon (1982, 130). The NC
archeological remains, collected by Phebus and Drucker, beginning in the
1960's (Winona), have yet to become influential among local residents.
Perhaps, following the completion of a replica Clatsop long house at Fort
Stevens State Park in north CC, greater knowledge, appreciation, and
interest in NC Indians may develop in the future.

The key to the ritualization and enhancement of the social aspects
of adolescent hunting may be to elaborate pre-hunt and post-hunt
activities, such as shooting at targets, scouting, field dressing, packing
out, and caring for and processing the carcass. See Chapter VI, for a
discussion on the role of packing out in the establishment of a bond
between the hunter and the deer.
Among the informants, social involvement in hunting was rather encapsulated within the family; for example, Informants 2, 3, 6, 7, 16, 18, 22, 34, and 37, all exhibited a pronounced family orientation to hunting. When such a family orientation is quite strong, adolescents may experience a partial initiation into adulthood through family recognition, even though the outside world does not recognize hunting accomplishments or stages. This phenomenon was seen among the long-time, serious hunting families, those of Informants 6 and 37, and possibly those of Informants 8, 16, 18, 23, and 28. However, in spite of the viability of NC family hunting, it appears that some family hunting traditions dissolve over time, without the wider social participation of friends, neighbors, or co-workers. One traditional way to increase the social component in NC hunting would be to more directly include deer hunting within the seasonal round. However, as stated, the traditional, agriculturally-based harvest season does not coincide very well with NC climatic, economic, and educational factors.

Although it will be argued in the discussion of Question 5 that a widespread American adolescent hunting initiation into adulthood exists more in literature and legend than in reality, there remain several powerful aspects of hunting which might form the basis for a ritualization or an initiation rite.

Geologic features, climatic events, flora, and fauna were discussed earlier as possible ritualizing vehicles within adolescent hunting. Still,
these foci, which have proved so powerful in other cultures, may be incapable of competing with the raw power, speed, and stimulation of modern machines, mechanical and electronic.

The question regarding initiation in hunting is really a question about hunting as a tradition or non-tradition. If the NC has a tradition of blacktail hunting, it is weaker than that of NC elk hunting, Eastern and Central Oregon mule deer camp hunting, and other hunting traditions elsewhere; Shepard describes modern hunting as being a weak or fragmented tradition, generally (1973). If this assessment is true of NC deer hunting, a weakly developed initiatory practice in the NC would not be surprising. However, it would be difficult to assess the strength of an activity that is often practiced alone, or with a single partner, or with one’s family.

The lack of hunting-associated folklore materials and events (genres) in the NC is one indication of the lack of a consistent and coherent “tradition” of blacktail hunting. Admittedly, some NC hunters drive on logging roads to enjoy wildlife, and many people watch deer in yards and fields, but the use of deer products, such as leather and antlers, is extremely rare, and venison is not consumed at special social events, as are salmon and other seafood, such as crab. But again, informal family customs can also be traditional; some observers may find little “genuine folklore” in delivering a deer carcass to a small local meat packing plant
and later picking up steaks, roasts, and sausage, but such facile dismissals
do not account for the family tradition of giving venison as gifts to
children.

--Public Display Rites--

Judging from the informants' comments on the interview topics
relevant to the question of adolescent initiation into adulthood, NC hunting
does not function as a well-established, on-going, and widely-practiced
public, adolescent rite of passage. However, a near approximation to a
public rite was reported by two informants. Informant 10--3 stated that
his most memorable hunt took place on the day he took three bucks.
Although technically he was behaving illegally, this hunter could display
the deer in public by having his partners use their deer tags, in a case of
"filing tags." He took the deer to Wickiup Tavern in Svensen, the major
gathering place in that small community, because he stated he "had to
show them off."

Another rather haphazard prey display was noted by a Warrenton
resident, informant 18--14; although the display was mainly of elk,
similar blacktail displays probably occurred:

"[It's] not so much [with] deer hunting around here, but if you don't
get an elk, Oh man, you're looked down upon almost; you're a
big shot if you get an elk....
You drive around town with it in the back of your truck all day long,
cut the head off, and tie it on the front of your automobile,
and drive around, and show it off.
[it's] not necessarily [just young hunters showing off]; I see guys my
age [do that]..."
I did that years ago; I had a big bull [head] on the front of my Model A until it rotted off.

Such overt displays are no longer widely practiced in the NC, but the act of driving around town, at least for a short time, to be seen with a deer’s head in the back of one’s rig, no doubt still occurs; young bloods can be seen driving their 4 x 4, mud-covered vehicles down Astoria’s main street during hunting season, and some hunters “drop by,” as if they were just in the neighborhood, to show, i.e., present, a deer to a relative or, perhaps, an old timer who would appreciate the sight of a nice-looking deer.

These types of public displays of the self and the prey deserve more study as possible rites of passage or acts for recognition, but it is clear that only a minority of NC hunters take part in such activities. The major post-hunt focus is on meat care and on returning home, getting along with the day’s business or washing up and taking a nap.

It was a surprising finding of this study that a full-blown coming of age hunting experience, a rite of passage into adulthood, did not occur at a hunter’s first observation of a deer kill. Most informants registered some emotion at such scenes, and some informants were clearly moved, but in only a few cases can deeper reactions be inferred. It must also be noted that a few informants were adamantly in denying any such initiation experience, perhaps out of a gender-based self-identity.
Initiation and Maturation in NC Hunting: Two Case Studies

Adolescent Initiation, Case Study 1

The first case study consists of three hunts which were reported by Informant 8. The first hunt took place when he was 10 or 11, the second when he was between the ages of 12 and 14, and the third when he was 16. The latter hunt comes closest to the stereotypic youth's initiation, in spite of the fact that it was a non-kill hunt for him. Comments were given on Interview Topics 1, 2, and 6.

First Hunting Experience, Interview Topic 1

In response to the question of whether or not he remembered his first hunting experience, which would have taken place some 40 years earlier, the informant told of a hunt in which he had no part in the actual chase, but in which he killed the prey. Note that he referred to this as a first hunt, not a first kill. When he was 10 or 11 years old, his father, hunting solo, wounded a deer; the father then returned home for his son, and together they tracked down the deer. When they found it, the informant was given the task of killing the deer. However, he was slow to shoot: "[I] took two or three beads on it before I pulled the trigger (2)." The informant had shot a rifle before, but had never killed an animal with it.

At the time, the informant didn't realize that his father was training him to hunt. Now, he "thinks back on it" and knows that his father "wanted to get me started on hunting; [that was] the start of it." The
father continued to teach the boy until he died; then a hunter-friend of the family continued to teach him (6).

The details of this informant’s first hunting experience support the claim that young hunters may be initiated into certain aspects of adulthood, prior to, or, in place of, a discrete adolescent rite of passage. The informant had already learned to shoot a rifle, no doubt safely, based on his own central concern with safety in hunting. He then accomplished an act of killing, which was perhaps made easier by the fact that the deer was already wounded and by the fact that he was ending its suffering and preventing the waste of its death, in lost meat. One suspects that the father may have been aware of the opportunity to ease his son’s first kill with the wounded deer.

First Kill, Interview Topic 2

The informant’s own first deer kill occurred after his father’s early death, which created economic hardships for the family. At the time, hunting was not merely a sporting proposition, but was also a family necessity. The young 12–14-year-old was hunting solo, as was his practice, in the ridges and hills behind his house in Olney, in rural North CC. He killed a deer, but had to get his mother to dress it out because he “didn’t know the basics” of this at the time (2).

Since he was hunting solo, it appears that the informant, without his father’s guidance, was becoming a self-taught hunter, although he earlier
did mention that a family friend continued to teach him how to hunt after his father's death. It is especially noteworthy that in relating this story, the informant did not mention the size of the deer, nor the type of deer he shot, nor did he mention the kill; he was focusing on providing meat for the family. It would be difficult not to believe that such a major contribution to the family's food supply would not change a young hunter's self-image to give him a sense of being the head of the household. That the mother and son shared a hunting-related experience, the dress out, is rather rare for families in which the mother does not hunt; only one of the actively hunting informants had a wife who butchered the deer carcass. Judging from Informant 8's present strong family orientation, it seems likely that the complex of death, the acquisition of meat, and the shared effort of dressing the deer was a potentially bonding, initiatory experience.

**Most Memorable Hunt, Interview Topic 6**

A third story from Informant 8's early hunting days shows one of the most direct connections to an adolescent initiatory experience or rite of passage to be found among the informants' accounts. The informant was 16 years old when he went to Nicolaits Mt. in NE CC with his uncles and a family friend, the experienced hunter who later became his mentor. They camped over the whole week-end and slept in the same tent. The friend, an
excellent hunter, shot a four point buck; the young informant shot at a big buck, but missed (3).

This hunt does not appear remarkable, but the fact that the informant volunteered it as his most memorable hunt strongly suggest that participating in a camp over hunt with adult hunters bears an initiatory force.

The fact that an accomplished hunter had taken a four point buck, while the young hunter missed his shot at a big buck, may have functioned to illustrate to the adolescent that an unworthy apprentice learns by failure, so that he or she may succeed in the future. It also suggests the young hunter’s intuition that failing initially is a sign of respect and recognition of one’s betters, which ensures future success.

To elaborate on the possibility that early failure in hunting can be seen as an initiator, that is, generally taken as positive, compare the informant’s description of how he learned to hunt. He claimed that he learned from actual experience, his own mistakes:

“...My success comes from learning from what I’ve done wrong.” [Hunting is] 90% failure; [there are] many dry runs.
This can sour some people, but the last 10%, you’re gaining something...” (15)

Adult Maturation, Case Study 2

The second case study illustrates the fourth type of initiation-maturation pattern seen among the NC deer hunter informants, adult maturation, especially the entry into new adult life stages, for example,
the state of being the head of a household, an adult mentor, middle-aged, or aged. Comments were given on Interview Topics 13 and 20.

**Informant's Father and Hunting, Interview Topic 13**

When discussing the topic of his father and hunting, Informant 18 appeared to link hunting to his family relationships. Although his father taught him to shoot and hunt, he claimed that his father did not stress anything in particular. However, the informant stressed that he taught his own children to hunt (7), so he saw himself as definitely passing down some form of hunting from an earlier era to his children. Hunting marked his son’s stage in life, and although it is not articulated here, it seems most probable that his son’s life stages reflected his own.

**Hunting as Initiation into Adulthood, Interview Topic 20**

When discussing the topic of initiation into adulthood via hunting, Informant 18 remarked that he badly wanted his oldest son to get his first deer because his son had been with him on so many hunts and “it was time for him to get one...he was old enough and had a tag” (11).

Unlike many NC hunters, the informant did not appear to be avoiding the formalization of hunting or the semblance of ritualization. For example, he had shown his sons how to field dress deer, so when his oldest son “got his first deer, he had to do that” (11).

A rather thoroughgoing realist, Informant 18 could also directly face his advancing years, unlike some hunters who adjust their hunting to
minimize physical exertion, for example, by road hunting or stand hunting. He contrasted older hunters who cannot hunt cross country with his son, who is a “Real Hunter,” who will walk all day long (4). He himself had “gotten older now” (14).

The informant also bought his grandsons shotguns even before they were born, so that “as soon as they were born, they had a gun, Ducks Unlimited, special edition gun[s]” (9-10). Hunting provided this informant with the indisputable proof of his hunting status and his life stage.

--Initiation and Maturation, Questions and Discussion--

To return to a discussion of the possible four-part initiation-maturation pattern in NC deer hunting, six specific questions will be considered in order to examine the reasonableness of such a description.

Question 1

What, if anything, within NC deer hunting contributed to or caused the lack of a social, ritualized adolescent hunting initiation into adulthood?

Initially, an observer seems best advised not to assume that the existence of an initiation rite of passage within hunting is inherently preferable to not having such a rite, or that even having a rite of passage is preferable to not having a rite of passage at all within a culture. The advantages or disadvantages to a culture of having a rite of passage is at least a debatable point within the discussion of modernism versus “traditional” culture. It should be restated that NC deer hunting is an
elective avocational activity and, therefore, only one of many possible self-selected activities which may or may not serve as an initiation, a vehicle into the adult world. The elective aspect of deer hunting puts it in sharp contrast with such endeavors as going to college, joining the military, getting married, finding full time employment, or having a baby, all of which are socially recognized and which have some sense of social obligation or expectation attached to them. Also, while hunting can begin in earnest for a “boy” or “girl” at 13 years of age in this culture, the more mandatory initiatory events, a job, marriage, and so on, are possible only for “young men” and “young women,” who are generally older than 16.

Many critics fail to document a thoroughgoing, elaborated initiation system within American hunting traditions in the past; Girard believes that rites of passage have gradually been obscured and that their symbols have become unclear (284); in Ben-Amos’ terms, Shepard concludes that initiatory experiences are masked in modern culture (1973, 197). American hunters are perhaps being encouraged to re-ritualize their folklore activity, when, in fact, hunting has never been highly or formally ritualized. With the exception of the re-ritualizing efforts of many contemporary religious fundamentalists and the existence of some neo-orthodox ecumenical rituals, American culture has experienced a decline in group initiations in the U.S. (Abrahams “Ordinary,” 52).
Extreme American individualism, which is manifested in the creation of the self, is actually a common American literary theme of anti-ritualism ("Ordinary," 63-64). Commentators also point out the rather commonsensical conclusion that a lack of adult participation in adolescent rites negates them as rites, or that the lack of adult participation in the lives of youth creates a vacuum which is generally filled by adolescent peer groups. Such groups are then usually incapable of fulfilling the original goals of rites. In Gennep's view, adults are required to sanctify the proceedings, especially since adolescents cannot see themselves as being sacred without adult guidance (1). Juvenile dependence on adult hunters in the form of hunter safety courses, transportation needs, and the requirements of legal hunting (juvenile licenses) may also be cited as possible factors which undermine a rite of passage in hunting. The need for hunting skills and knowledge of a variety of local sites also keeps a juvenile hunter dependent on adults, precluding the "separation" required for initiatory experiences (Gennep, 1, 57). See Rank (66-67), Abrahams ("Ordinary," 62), and Shepard (1973, 205-06). This failure of many modern adults to participate in adolescent rites of passage into adulthood is often seen as a general cultural failure (Abrahams "Ordinary," 47).

Another general cultural factor which may retard or preclude the presence of a social, ritualized, adolescent hunting initiation into
adulthood is that becoming a hunter is not an irreversible process to the same degree as are reaching puberty or becoming a parent, which entail permanent biological or social changes. Some legal classifications are also irreversible, such as becoming legally of age, and participation in certain activities is socially construed to permanently alter one's character; for example, an ex-criminal is a felon and a retired teacher is an ex-teacher, but hunting does not carry a strong, indelible social designation. Hunters in America may defect and return to the activity years later and be considered virtual novices.

Yet another general cultural pattern which appears to discourage NC deer hunting as a vehicle for adolescent initiation is the fact that rural areas favor their own local communities, as opposed to larger regional and national communities. The current phenomenon of rural American sectionalism which rejects the U.S. federal government, and which also rejects urban culture, demonstrates the glorification of individualism over communal values and dogma. In the NW, escapist sectionalism defines its inhabitants as “refugees” from mass culture (Richard Brown “Great Raincoast,” 42). Regarding the same phenomenon among adolescent initiates, some may simply reject all communities, not just urban ones, and thus avoid the apparent contradiction of undergoing a local (subregional) community, group, or family rite, even if a relatively weak one, to legitimize their individual freedom. Irresponsible escapism may
seem transparent and socially unacceptable, but given the current political factionalism, especially in the NW, political models for such solipsisms are available. For example, compare Oregon’s senior U.S. senator’s critique of the eastern plot to force environmental legislation on the NW.

Big game hunting may initially appear as necessarily supportive of an adolescent rite of passage since 12 year-olds acquiring a hunting license from a state agency are probably receiving their first legal recognition and empowerment. Such recognition would seem to confer special status on an adolescent; however, hunting licenses afford such a broad empowerment that individual hunters must yet make many personal choices, for example, regarding the taking of only bucks or of both bucks and does, filling (sharing) tags, and the shooting of specific animals. They must also make choices among a broad range of hunting methods and strategies, many of which involve issues of hunter ethics. Therefore, the so-called “fraternity” of hunters is more a wish than a reality, and differences among hunters run deep. The fear of separation, which contributes to adolescent conformity, is both a fear of separation from childhood and also a fear that the reinterpretation of oneself, or an incorporation into the adult world, is impossible. In terms of hunting, without a fraternity supporting them, adolescents must face ordeals alone, and then return from the hunt more fully alone than ever before.
Regarding the lack of a specific, public, adolescent hunting rite of passage in the NC, there is another issue based on juvenile psychology, an adolescent’s fear of initiation, which may also play a part in an anti-traditional ideology. Rank points out that the adolescent avoidance of initiation, based on fear of the “Other,” the “Self,” or the feminine, constitutes a common phenomenon, an anti-traditional stance (141, 256, 268, 313-14); in this interpretation, adolescents, faced with the daunting proposition of inclusion into the multiplicity and harshness of adult life, are drawn to escape the required adaptations by fleeing into an alternate activity of motion, energy, power, and mobility (Mary Allen, 15). The irony of using hunting as an escape is that adolescents, as hunters, in their own escape, take up firearms and seek the escaping deer, an animal much associated with freedom and individual life in the wild woods. If adolescent hunters were to recognize the similarities between themselves and their prey and the duality and reversal of roles involved in a hunt, they might undergo an epiphany, a rite of passage. In this study, however, such realizations and identifications were noted only by older informants.

In addition to general causal factors, there is another local aspect of NC deer hunting which mitigates against a hunting rite of passage for adolescents; this is the fact that while it is no longer an unquestioned activity in the subregion, deer hunting in the NC is not yet marginalized or widely stigmatized. Since adolescents generally seek inclusion and
acceptance, as is clear from their conformist behavior, the exclusion of hunting from the general social scene may have an adverse effect on hunter recruitment. Informant 29--5, a Seaside High School student, estimated that only 10% of Seaside High School students hunt. Informant 31--11--12 agreed with that estimate, and both informants claimed that a significant portion of Seaside High School hunters were seen as belonging to a “maschic jerk group” (31--12). Obviously, some adolescent hunters are unfairly stereotyped as “mashic jerk” or “killers” by their peers, but it must also be admitted that there does exist a small group of adolescent, game law violators.

Such marginality and such a reputation for aggressiveness would have the appeal of a general type of rebellion for some adolescents, but the more conservative, well-heeled adolescent may be affected by such subtle indications of hunting’s questionable status, as the lack of hunter images in NC newspapers, advertisements, and tourist brochures. From a review of the Daily Astorian and state of Oregon tourist publications, it is clear that there is a trend toward fewer hunting illustrations for advertisements and the virtual exclusion of photographs of hunters. In contrast, a 1954 tourist publication includes pictures of hunters and their deer carcasses, with several deer hanging for display. Photographs and illustrations of fishermen in the same local materials, with or without their catches, have remained constant since the 1950’s. This appears to be
another example of cross-genre verification of a major distinction between hunting and other folk activities.

Another indication of the marginality of deer hunting in the NC is the surprisingly undifferentiated use of venison as food. One frequently hears discussions of big game butchering and sausage making, but, as mentioned, specific recipes and ethnic dishes using venison are rather rare. No such dish was mentioned by the informants in this study. One possible explanation is the overly gender-specific, male-dominated nature of NC big game hunting, as if even the marginal participation of women has not been developed.

Another limiting factor in the development of a hunting rite of passage is the rise of new forms of recreation and mass culture which may dilute the impact of hunting; Shepard argues that the "masked" initiatory experiences in modern culture become just another "high" (1973, 197). The increase in the popularity of passive-escapist entertainment, such as video games and drugs, has become a NC youth issue, as has the expansion of individual and small group new sports, such as roller blading and gym activities.

The popularity of these relatively new forms of adolescent recreation should not be underestimated as a factor in the changes occurring with regard to deer hunting; deer hunting as a dominantly male
activity, a gender-specific recreation, contrasts with the mixed gender aspect of the newer forms of recreation.

Probably, a major reduction of NC blacktail hunting as a rite of passage was caused by the presence of the NC Roosevelt elk. These elk are not only larger and more impressive animals than are blacktails, but the contrasts between elk hunts and deer hunts are striking. Whereas, in elk hunting, hunters pursue the more nomadic, "free" animals over the countryside, the hunting of Columbia blacktail tends to be localized, since blacktail are home range animals. Compare Freud's description of "wandering" in his discussion of initiation (Lutwack). Taking an elk often entails an epic-like track out hunt; whereas, many blacktail are taken according to the odds or by luck, which includes both locating and snap (quick response) shooting the deer; furthermore, suburban and ruburban deer are especially prone to be seen as "products" of agricultural land, in contrast to elk, which are rarely dependent on private property lands.

As with non-gender specific recreational activities, in the reduction of commercial fishing and logging in the NC, traditionally male-dominated occupations have been challenged by gender-free or "feminine" sales and service jobs in tourism and human services. Therefore, NC adolescents can easily sense that hunting-killing in order to secure food is no longer "proof" of an important domain of male superiority. Parody or ridicule can prove more destructive than outright attack, and adolescents
may feel the absurdity of claiming superiority, based on a display of arcane skills, physical strength, and an esoteric knowledge of the outdoors.

The placement of hunting within a larger historical context has recently yielded theories of hunting as a white, American, male reaction to post-cold war threats to a privileged position. The NC has for most of its history avoided such reductive scapegoating and its resulting excesses. Since the NC's 1920's descent into Ku Klux Klan rule, the NC has generally been economically resourceful, politically progressive, and tolerant on most social issues. However, this situation may be changing as pervasive and rapid developments occur in NC economics, government, social life, education, and religion.

Hunt variability, stemming from the varied landscape and weather conditions of the NC, may also undercut NC deer hunting as an adolescent rite of passage; if the results of an activity vary, it is questionable whether or not the activity can form the basis of an important rite. Perhaps, one of the fundamental reasons why NC blacktail deer hunting does not lend itself to an adolescent rite of passage is that it is such a highly unscripted folk activity; often there is little correlation between skill and success.

Thus, the major factor that limits a full-blown "classic" incorporation into adult status via hunting, is the sheer complexity of big game hunting. "How-to" books, magazines, and video tapes on deer hunting
abound, and a review of the literature shows that approximately 5 years of study is required for an individual to become an experienced hunter. In addition, most published materials are for hunting Eastern whitetails, with a reduced coverage for mule deer, so that the specific information available on blacktail is limited.

Since deer hunting lore is not calibrated into common knowledge and various levels of esoteric knowledge, novice hunters are initially aware of the complexities of this activity. On the abstract level, many novice hunters soon realize that hunting is not a neatly fitting metaphor for human living; it is, rather, an allegory which is highly detailed and difficult to read. Public recognition of the complexities of big game hunting is the rationalization for the teaching of hunting skills in hunter safety courses. Another recent development which shows the complexity of hunting is the growth of American hunting schools, which typically charge between $500 and $1000 for a week’s course.

The shock of actually killing and handling a large, imposing, highly symbolic big game animal, such as a blacktail, can be analyzed in terms of cultural values or symbols, but the experience is immediate and intimate. As Gennep points out, this very shock could be a part of a ritualized rite of passage (173), but as others would point out, without adults who are willing to contextualize this shock, adolescents are left to their own devices.
Adults may in fact dismiss the adolescent's emotional reaction as unimportant. Since the primary emotional reaction occurs when the novice hunter comes upon the dead animal, the shock often creates a barrier between the initial stages of the hunt, up to the kill, and the remaining activities of the hunt, the post-kill field dressing and packing out. Other activities, the removal of the hide, the aging of the carcass, and the butchering of the meat occur at home, far removed from the intensity of the kill. Thus, the hunting experience, under modern conditions, appears to be a naturally fragmented experience.

It might seem presumptuous and overbearing to exclude a young hunter from field dressing his or her own kill, but since safety is such a concern, adults are often reluctant to allow an emotional novice with a sharp knife to field dress a steaming deer. The notion that young novice hunters are not affected by the sight of their dead prey runs counter to common NC beliefs and the comments made by the informants. Perhaps, it is the unexpected sight of the small hooves or the warmth of the deer's body on the hand that gives pause to most hunters, novices or not. In most cases, hunters kneel or sit next to the dead deer when they first come upon it, their body language mirroring those at a human accident site.

Question 2:

What, if anything, within NC deer hunting contributed to or caused adolescent hunter maturation, especially as in a transition into certain aspects of adulthood?
Just as the complexity of NC deer hunting, when it is not shared by a mentor-priest or a hunting clan, works to undercut the efficacy of a single event, adolescent, rite of passage, the complexity of hunting can also contribute to an incremental learning process. Huizinga points out that adolescents, in a cultural setting, are required to accomplish a specific complex of requirements, such as physical stamina, skill, knowledge, and judgment. These accomplishments are difficult to achieve and may require the "unlearning" of earlier ways (Jacobson, 155), as well as the seizing of the "creativity of the passing moment" (40). The specific complexities in NC hunting were outlined in the earlier sections on geology, climate, flora, and fauna, for example, the problems of coping with the multiplicity of climatic conditions in the NC. Rank believes that the difficulty of a task or quest forms a part of an initiation process:

[The initiate matures by] depriving the individual thing [e.g., climate] in the external world of its arbitrary and apparently haphazard character...finding a resting place in the flight of phenomena (116).

Informants were asked a question based on Interview Topic 19: "what was the most important thing you have gained from hunting?"

Several seasoned hunters responded by giving answers which were relative to Rank's seemingly rarefied point:

| Informant 34--14: | Responsibility |
| Informant 31--8: | Patience |
| Informant 8--9: | Respect for people's rights, property, and the deer themselves |
Informant 9--16: A “reality check”; learning about the real world vs. mass culture myths; learning what I am, what I need to do to eat.

“...Knowledge what it is to kill another creature and turn it into [your] food... [from direct experience, not] from a book or from any place else.”

The dichotomy set up between direct experience and institutional “book learning,” the perennial question of experience versus authority, is typical of a traditional, as opposed to a modern, point of view and in an extreme way constitutes anti-intellectualism.

The informants’ answers to the question based on Interview Topic 19, “The Most Valuable Thing Gained from Hunting,” which bear directly on maturation, did not constitute a majority of the informants’ responses, but they were the most numerous types of responses. It is well to note that informants had varied interpretations on the question of hunting as a maturation; this is itself a major finding.

Lutwack (129) offers a symbolic analysis of an entrance into “interior” geographic-cultural regions which would seem to apply to NC hunting, given the peripheral population distribution of the NC and the domination of the central area by the impressive Coast Range forest, hills, and mountains. The scenario or cultural story model is that of the maieuester, e.g., Dionysius-Christ, who must leave home, enter the lower-inner world, and then proceed to his ultimate or real home (129). Compare
Schechner's presentation of "deep acting" as an initiatory vehicle (356-67).

As argued in the chapter on geology, the NC is comprised of archetypical features which might contribute heavily to an individual quester scenario—mountains, a huge river, powerful climatic conditions, and the ocean. While the hunt of the quester or pilgrim in a wild area may initially appear to form a single rite of passage event, it must be remembered that nearly all NC young hunters enter the interior areas by cars driven by an accompanying adult; in addition, young novice hunters are often required to hunt in sight of partners for the sake of safety. It is only after several hunts, in some cases a season or two, before young novices are solo hunting.

Experiencing these separate realms of nature—the river, the forest, the mountains, and the secret world of the blacktail, can initially form the basis for a rebellion against the science-based restatement of nature which is such a vital part of modern life. The insistence on a more direct, personal, even if piecemeal, experience, as opposed to a theory-based perception and experience of custom or science, can produce intense delight in a hunter. The hunter's experience is partly determined and influenced by custom, science, and his or her culture, but compared to more objectified experiences within empirical science, the hunter's experience is generally more open-ended, reactive, and personal. Positive hunting
experiences will hopefully help to initiate the young or adult novice into the multiplicity of modern life. These same hunting experiences, interpreted differently, in retrospect, may lead the more mature hunters to move beyond this multiplicity to a more social and complete, holistic view or gestalt, a view which incorporates science and rationality.

Question 3

Are there credible supports for hunting as a common NC adult’s maturational initiation into the stages of life?

Based on the comments of the informants regarding this question and the lack of relevant material in the local newspapers, NC blacktail hunting does not appear to be a common social or community-based adult maturational-initiatory vehicle.

Question 4

What, if anything, within NC deer hunting contributed to or caused some adult maturation, especially as in the entry into a new life stage, especially the possible role of adult life stages or philosophical questions called up by hunting-death?

We may note that the most important things that informants gained from hunting (Responsibility, Patience, Respect, and a “Reality Check”) may apply equally to an adult novice hunter as to an adolescent hunter. But the most basic contribution of hunting to the maturation of adults is that big game hunting, the killing of large, beautiful, marquee animals, calls up philosophical questions, such as to the nature of the ontological status of
beings, the nature of life and death, and the passing of the seasons. However, deer hunting in the NC, more than in many non-Euro-American hunting traditions, is taken for its results, not its meanings; the emphasis is on action, not reflection. The feelings, memories, and the meat generated by the hunt are taken to support American pragmatism, rather than a more overtly mythic point of view. While it is probably true that for many hunters, especially in the more historically conscious Eastern and Southern U.S., hunting is consciously seen as being a part of the American value system or myth of individual freedom and self-reliance, NC blacktail hunting is not primarily seen within such a mythic system; it is, rather, seen within the context of realism.

Within such a view, hunting can be taken as a means of demystifying the image-bound adolescent’s sexuality, through a realistic and intense encounter with the deer’s mammalian body, not only in the shooting and the killing of the body-image, but more directly in the field dressing, the butchering, and the consumption of that body. This interpretation can be supported by basic Freudian theory, but perhaps it can be more thoroughly explicated as stages of life in the interrelated theories of Jung, Adler, and, especially, Erickson. As previously noted, there is a surprising lack of an elaboration of venison as family food. More research is necessary into the NC use of game foods, so that the theory of sacramental meat might be advanced or dismissed.
NC hunters and their families may be more prone to accepting their hunting or their experiences in the woods as religious or philosophical experiences because of certain regional features, especially the ocean and the Columbia River, which dramatically demonstrate nature’s power and unpredictability. Informants did not see hunting as a formal, orthodox religious issue or experience; rather, nearly every informant indicated, directly or indirectly, that hunting, as the source of contact with nature, included psychological states or philosophical musings which can properly be considered as religious, in the sense of a broad philosophical-religious perspective.

Informant 9--47, although more adamantly than other informants, made this very point. He described himself as an “informed skeptic from [an] Episcopal background”:

“...I have strong feelings about ethical matters in hunting, [more so than about things the churches address].
I’ve learned more about who God might be in the woods and on the [Columbia] River than in church; [I’m not aware of any local church saying anything about hunting].

Abrahams (“Ordinary,” 46) points up more specific modern philosophical considerations which are relevant to hunting as a vehicle for adult maturation. He claims that modern secular humanism is highly centered on the construction of the self and that this construction places new importance on personal experience (Abrahams “Ordinary,” 47, 50). Therefore, within this modern and, perhaps, post-modern view, intense or
moving experiences, such as those in hunting, deserve careful scrutiny and analysis. The notion that only modern hunters ritualize or formalize their hunting, out of their need for significance in their lives, appears clearly contradicted by the anthropological record of cultures in which hunting is highly developed, or in which it is an essential activity. In such cultures or societies, hunting is inevitably a part of larger religious or cosmological systems and is considered a serious affair.

The common modern justifications for hunting need not be explained only in terms of contemporary philosophy. Undoubtedly, novice adult hunters are aware of the frequently cited justifications for hunting in hunting magazines. This orientation states that deer are a resource available for human use. Adolescent shortsightedness would hope for such use without a later payment, but as many hunters reach middle-age, they understand and accept such a payment as a just necessity.

Middle-aged and older hunters are more likely to frame hunting as a rite of exchange, the deer’s life for the hunter’s life. In Homeric terms, this wisdom could be stated in terms of one’s just share or portion (moira) which creates necessity (ananke). Any attempt to avoid necessity is above justice (huper moiran) and brings down dire consequences. Before leaving the old Greeks, Aristotle’s position on gaining wisdom is also relevant to older hunters. He holds that technical skill in hunting (texne), can lead a person, not only to empirical knowledge or know-how (epistomei), but to
thoughtfulness and prudence (phronesis), which can lead to seeing oneself in a later stage in life. See Erickson. However, the notion of life stages should not be limited to psychological theory, or even to popular psychology. Decennary life stages have long been recognized as culturally-based markers in American popular culture: office parties emphasize birthdays, "the big 3, 4, or 5 zero," as well as life stages, such as parenthood, retirement, and so on.

Another perspective available to older hunters, but generally unavailable to adolescents, is the comparisons they may make regarding their changing biological responses to hunting. Older, experienced hunters can contrast their youthful states of "hyperarousal" (Schechner, 358) to the more detached eye (zarte empirie) of their later hunting years (Seamon 1978). In American culture, which is commonly described as youth-oriented, hunting is a somewhat atypical activity, a gerontocracy. As rapid and fundamental changes continue to alter the world of work for many Americans, the continuity of avocational skills are a welcome and probably needed psychological anchor.

While an adolescent hunter may seek to flee from individual social responsibility, a form of isolationism which is possible within hunting, significant numbers of older hunters come to accept isolation within their individualized theological perspectives. Kellert, for example, points out that unchurched Americans are more knowledgeable about animals than
their orthodox counterparts (Kellert and Berry, Phase 3, 103); this implies that hunting has theological implications; participants must create or discover their own frames of reference and remediations. Almqvist describes this point of view as a major orientation among the Pagibet of Zaire who claim: “To each man his own medicine (103). The presence of such a quest, a searching for structure among American men, the meaningful or “real” stages of their lives, is seen in Bly’s formulation of the men’s movement. While this movement is ridiculed by some critics, some of its themes are now more commonly seen in popular hunting publications than they were in the past. Figures 29-32 and Figure 12 chronicle Harold Hundere’s hunting career and, perhaps, in his own mind, his life stages. These photographs also show the formerly popular deer pack method of packing out a NC blacktail.

As described earlier in this study, the various insights that can be gained from field experiences with the geography (climate) and the wildlife within natural landscapes are often a result of hunting experiences and may interact synergistically to call up philosophical questions relevant to a hunter’s stages of life. These experiences are often so varied that young hunters can only focus on one aspect, then on another; whereas, after years of experience, the older hunter may obtain a closure, a gestalt, or a Taoistic unity, any of which may influence personal philosophy. Such a process follows Rank’s description of maturation as a
second initiation in which the fully developed adult person becomes detached from the attraction of multiplicity (116, 148).

As for a specifically local connection between NC blacktail hunting and adult maturation, as in the acceptance of different life stages, the description of NC blacktail in previous sections of this study suggested that this animal was an epitome of the subregion, along with elk and salmon, and, therefore, taking its life would appear to link the hunter to the landscape setting, and possibly to the subregion. The complexity of NC blacktail hunting may contribute to an adolescent maturation process, as opposed to a discrete initiatory rite of passage, but the complexity of deer hunting requires learner adaptation, and this may also apply to novice adults or to non-novice adults hunting in new geographical or social settings.

Applegate, Lyon, and Plage's analysis of the U.S. Department of Interior's 1980 National Survey Fishing, Hunting and Wildlife-Associated Recreation (50) indicates that hunting can be used to delineate oneself as a local person; such appears to be the case for at least some NC immigrants who try to become local people, partly through deer hunting (Informants 12, 22, and 30).

Another orientation to hunting, and a relatively new one, is comparable to the orientation of the release fisherman towards his sport. This new type of hunter, the "Non-Kill Hunter," may be more common in the
NC than in other subregions which have extensive deer hunting, due partly to the presence of elk and elk hunting in the NC. Elk hunters can pass up the small blacktail and scout the bigger game animal, instead, during the deer season. This has been especially true in the last 20 years in the NC, a period during which the blacktail population has been perceived to be artificially low, due to doe hunting. The doe hunting that occurred, again, was perceived as being largely carried out by Portland hunters.

Regardless of the reasons why local hunters become empathetic, non-kill blacktail hunters, the hunters’ sense of identification with blacktail may very well act as a justification for hunting. It is impossible to say whether or not another new hunter classification of “Empathetic Hunter” would necessarily cause, or is caused by, a hunter’s new life stage, but it appears reasonable that a connection between life stages and hunting stages would exist.

In mythic terms, the empathetic hunter has become the hunted. This theme was elaborated by the pre-classical Greeks who told of Artemis, the huntress and goddess of hunting, who would transform herself into a deer (Brun “Language,” 123); the hunter’s original “Other,” the prey, was then recognized as the Self. The recognition or wisdom gained from a non-dichotomous point of view of the hunter and the prey explains away or exhausts nature for the empathetic hunter. As Artemis, speaking as both
Earth Mother (Campbell 1979, 63) and huntress-god, explains, no one ever sees Nature fully.

Based on psychological or social observations, and less on theory, as people become parents, they frequently develop empathy for others; therefore, the new parent-hunter may develop empathy for the neotenized blacktail. This process is typical of modern formulations of “religions of life,” as described by Roderick Nash (108). Chapter III discusses the phenomenon in which older men become more sensitive to vegetative life and the process in which older male hunters become more sensitive to the vegetation in hunting areas. Oddly enough, this study failed to locate any research on the effect of parenthood in hunter desertion.

The empathetic new parent who is a hunter would also, it seems, be open to identifying the blacktail as a scapegoat-victim; this would appeal to either human parental emotion or human identification, the deer being seen as a fellow victim of an economy and society which lacks a biological, organic, or natural pace of life. Rather, the deer and hunter are both victims of the mechanical, timeless, and phaseless efficiency of modern culture (Seamon 1979, 4).

**Question 5:**

Are adolescent initiation into adulthood, adolescent maturation, especially as in a transition into certain aspects of adulthood, and adult novice hunter maturation related? If so, how?
The potential complexity of the relationships between adolescent initiation into adulthood, adolescent maturation into certain aspects of adulthood, and adult maturation is daunting. There is a temptation to make sweeping generalizations about these relationships; for example, it would seem commonsensical to assume that the lack of an adolescent initiation into adulthood would foster an adolescent maturation or adult maturation into certain aspects of adulthood. However, such generalizations cannot be supported or refuted, based on this study.

The fact that NC hunting does not present an articulated system of social initiation or of initiation stages suggests that this subregion lacks a highly coherent deer hunting tradition. Therefore, it is possible that each hunter, of whatever age and background, is left to his or her individual, or possibly familial, devices to sort through initiatory issues within hunting. It is also possible that individual work is itself the "tradition." That is, the NC tradition is a set of values and skills centered on individualism, which is opposed to overt tradition and ritual, that is, it is "a tradition of anti-tradition."

Almquist and Shepard (1973) stress that a lack of tradition affects initiation. Shepard's proposal for the inclusion of a hunt-animal sacrifice into the educational system offers a provocative, and, probably, politically naive commentary on the initiation theme.
Question 6:

How does the theme of adolescent initiation via hunting in American literature, and generally in American culture, relate to the four types of initiation-maturation identified in the study?

The American literary canon, at least until the 1960's, tended to glorify adolescent hunting initiation. However, no such simplistic view of initiation in contemporary American hunting is possible, based on the informant interviews. It should, however, be noted that contemporary mass media, especially films and television, frequently present modern hunting as a ridiculous, if not unethical, activity. It is true that much of the canon of American literature presents hunting in a positive and sometimes romantic light, but this interpretation is mainly set in the past and was cited by very few informants. Note, for example, how American politicians, even when they are currying the favor of the gun lobby and of hunters, appear to take part in sanitized hunts, usually only for small game; no large carcasses are presented, only photo opportunities with politicians holding shotguns.

The initiation of American adolescent hunters into adulthood was until recently accepted and approved as a widely-practiced rite or tradition, but with the rise of the anti-hunting movement and various critiques on American violence, such an initiation was challenged as an indoctrination into patriarchal and speciesist violence and ruling status; Perhaps, a major reason why the initiation of adolescents through hunting
remained a cultural fact is its portrayal in many influential American literary texts. The authors of these canonical texts include Longfellow, Cooper, Hemingway, and Faulkner.

Hunting magazines have also been influential proponents of the "reality" and praiseworthiness of adolescent initiation via hunting in America. More often than not, such Bildungsroman short stories are well-written and effective presentations of actual coming-of-age experiences. Cassell's "The Rack," Badger's "Time, Tides, and Rails," Knapp's "A Buck for Jeff," and Grissim's "First Gun" are all of such caliber. Sisson's "Grandpa and the Kid" probably comes closest to what nonhunters or anti-hunters would expect from the pro-hunting group, a polemical story that responds to attacks on hunting, more than to the initiation of an adolescent hunter in the field.

Other sources in the popular press which support a belief in the initiation of adolescents within hunting are editorials, for instance, Gene Hill's "Hunter's Blood," and a constant flow of letters to the editor which verify that a minority of American youths continue to experience classic initiatory experiences on their first hunts, or more typically, with their first kills.

Within myth criticism in American literature, the theme of sacramental food which links levels of reality was popularized. This theme was found in Christian communion and corresponding literary
symbols, but also in pre-Christian, "sacred," and highly-valued food in such epics as Beowulf and Odyssey. The influence of the myth-based interpretation of food as sacramental may have been a force driving the assumption of adolescent hunting rites of passage in American literature, but this myth-based interpretation apparently did not filter down to rural hunters, as witnessed by the relative lack of "sacred" game food in the NC.

Similarly, many NC residents and hunters are aware that Saddle Mt. and Neahkahnie Mt. played some role in NC Indian religions, but in spite of detailed information about these peaks in Frost, Silas Smith, and Boas, there is no significant symbolism or identity attached to these geological features by rural hunters. The fact that these mountains, as state parks, are now no-hunt areas seems to reinforce the non-death, idealization of Nature which is opposed to the Indians' more fully-integrated world, a world in which life continued through the death of others. See, for example, various interpretations of the Clatsop first salmon ceremony. Non-Euro-American theological or cosmological perspectives are difficult to assess as causal agents or influences. Although not dominant, they may exert an indirect influence on the American skepticism towards a narrowly monotheistic theology, which is bound to holy writ.
APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW TOPICS

1. Biography
2. Interview Situation and Set Up
3. First Hunting Experience
4. First Hunt as Hunter
5. First Deer Kill
6. Most Memorable Hunt
7. Other Memorable Hunts
8. Quality Hunt
9. Informant Hunting in High School Years
10. Learning to Hunt by Instruction
11. Sources of Hunting Information
12. Learning to Hunt by Experience
13. Informant's Father and Hunting
14. Informant's Children and Hunting
15. Children's High School Years and Hunting
16. Family Members and Hunting
17. Teaching Hunting
18. Overview of Hunting Career
19. Most Important Thing Gained from Hunting
20. Hunting as Initiation into Adulthood
21. Hunting Day
   21.1 Camping
22. Solitary Hunting
23. Partner Hunting
24. Group Hunting
25. Hunting Preparation
26. Scouting (Preseason)
27. Best Hunter
28. Types of Hunter
29. Strategies, Miscellaneous
30. Stand
31. Stalk (Strategy)
32. Drive
33. Bait
35. Tactics, Miscellaneous
36. Rattling
37. Calls
38. Scents
39. High Technology Devices
40. Hunting Skills, Miscellaneous
41. Stalking (Skills)
42. Shooting
43. Field Dressing
44. Packing Out
45. Butchering
46. Hide
47. Antlers
48. Meat
49. Firearms
50. Ammunition
51. Clothes
52. Blacktail Deer
   52.1 Elk
53. Known Deer
54. Lost Wounded Deer
55. Hunting Areas-Sites, Specific
56. North Coast as a Hunting Subregion
57. Weather
58. Forestry and Hunting
59. Landscape-Setting and Hunting
60. Post-Hunt Shooting
61. Varmint Shooting/Hunting
62. Poaching
63. Law Enforcement
64. Adjudication
65. Bow Hunting
66. Doe Hunting
   66.1 Elk Hunting
   66.2 Bear Hunting
67. Oregon Fish and Wildlife Service
68. Hunting Safety
69. Hunting Safety—Informant Being Fired on
70. Other Dangers
71. Terms
72. Term—Portland Hunter
73. Sayings
74. Tall Tales
75. Hunting Accounts/Stories
76. Unusual Shots
77. Novice—Stupid Hunter
78. Mysterious Events, Superstitions, Taboos
79. General Hunting Ethics
80. Personal Hunting Code/Philosophy
81. Clean Kill
82. Personal Religious Views and Hunting
83. Churches and Hunting
84. Special Rewards of Hunting
85. Hunting as a Vehicle for the Appreciation of Wildlife, Nature, and Life
86. "Wild"
87. Justification of Hunting
88. Old Days
89. State of Hunters
90. Loss of Hunting
91. Anti-Hunting Groups and Activities
92. Future of Hunting in the North Coast
93. North Coast Game Association (NCGA)
94. Informant's Ending Comments
Fig. 1 Map of Oregon's Major Regions and Subregions

Fig. 2 Columbia River at Astoria, Looking Towards Bar and Ocean
Fig. 3. Map of NC Topography

Fig. 4. Map of NC Cities, Towns, Coast Area, and Coast Range Area
Fig. 5  Diked Walluski River

Fig. 6  Saddie Mt. from Youngs Bay
Fig. 7 New Tourist River Boat in the NC

Fig. 8 Property Hunter, Nels Rasmussin
Fig. 9 Humbug Mt. Seen from Saddle Mt.

Fig. 10 Bench Leg Deer. Printed with permission of Kenneth Lonquist.
Fig. 11 Yearling Blacktail. Robin Loznak. *Daily Astorian* 4 June 1993: 1. Printed with permission of *Daily Astorian*.

Fig. 12 Atypical Large Blacktail Antlers, Harold Hundere.
Fig. 13 Small Antlered Blacktail. Karl Measdan. *Daily Astorian* 14 Nov. 1995: 3A. Printed with permission of *Daily Astorian*.

Fig. 14 Sprouted Giant Tree Stump and Nurse Tree
Fig. 15  Supposed Last Old Growth Tree in North CC

Fig. 16  NC Tree Registered As the Largest Sitka Spruce
Fig. 17 Yardscape with Cedar Tree and Pioneer Gear

Fig. 18 Clear Cut with Slash Heaps
Fig. 19 Huge Clear Cuts Seen from Saddle Mt.

Fig. 20 Cougar As Varmint, 1950. *Seaside Signal* 16 Nov. 1959: 1.
Printed with permission of *Seaside Signal*.
Fig. 21 Cougar As Natural Predator, 1993. Robin Loznak. *Daily Astorian* 9 July 1993: 1. Printed with permission of DA.

Fig. 22 Calico-Pinto Deer Killed near Seaside. Don Lee. *Seaside Signal* 5 Oct. 1950: 1. Printed with permission of *Seaside Signal*. 
Fig. 23  One of Several Beds Used by a Single Blacktail

Fig. 24  Plastic Bottle Deer Repellent on Fence
Fig. 25 Dried Blood Deer Repellent

Fig. 26 Gill Net Used to Protect Garden Plot.
Fig. 27 Big NC Buck. Printed with permission of Kenneth Lonquist.

Fig. 26 Expert NC Hunter, Jack Cadonau.
Fig. 29 A Child's Introduction to Hunting, 1914, Harold Hundere. Printed with permission.

Fig. 30 Hunting, c. 1940, Harold Hundere. Printed with permission.
Fig. 31 Hunting, 1943, Harold Hundere. Printed with permission.

Fig. 32 Hunting, 1961, Harold Hundere. Printed with permission.
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