

# Notes

## INTRODUCTION

1. Aldo Leopold, *Game Management* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1933), 420–23.
2. Aldo Leopold, *A Sand County Almanac: And Sketches from Here and There* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1949), 224.
3. In *A Sand County Almanac*, 1949, Leopold used the metaphor of “thinking like a mountain” to exemplify the “land ethic,” in which he articulated the importance of thinking systemically about the chains of connection between species and components of the ecological system.
4. The first text in America written explicitly about fishing was Joseph Secombe’s *Business and Diversions Inoffensive to God Necessary for the Comfort and Support of Human Society* (1739), in which he touted fishing as an essential for the re-creation of the human spirit, necessary for contemplating God through nature and the support of a moral society. However, just because this is the first text published on fishing does not mean that early Americans were not out enjoying streams from the very earliest moments of colonialism.
5. As I show in chapter 1, fly fishing is often used as a method for coping and healing, for example, for cancer victims through the work of Casting for Recovery, or soldiers returning from the wars in Iraq or Afghanistan through Project Healing Waters.
6. Tony Pitcher and Charles Hollingworth, eds., *Recreational Fisheries: Ecological, Economic, and Social Evaluation* (Oxford: Blackwell Science, 2002).
7. Pitcher and Hollingworth, *Recreational Fisheries*, 3.
8. Richard Hoffmann, “Trout and Fly, Work and Play, in Medieval Europe,” chapter 1 of this volume.

9. Many fly fishing authors argue that one of the first examples of fly fishing is found in the writings of Claudius Aelianus (220 BCE), who described fishing with a red hackle on a hook. There is debate over the nature of fishing, its preferences, and who fished. Some speculate that elites never fished but that it was an activity used by the working class for consumption or sale (Pitcher and Hollingworth, *Recreational Fisheries*, 4).
10. Richard Hoffmann, *Fishers' Craft and the Lettered Art* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 73–110.
11. Robert Arlinghaus, Steven Cooke, Jon Lyman, David Policansky, Alexander Schawb, Cory Suski, Stephen Sutton, and Eva B. Thorstad, "Understanding the Complexity of Catch and Release in Recreational Fishing: An Integrative Synthesis of Global Knowledge from Historical, Ethical, Social, and Biological Perspectives," *Reviews in Fisheries Science* 15, no. 1(2007): 75–167, this quote from 81.
12. Paul Schullery, *Cowboy Trout: Western Fly Fishing as if it Matters* (Helena: Montana Historical Press, 2006); Jennifer Corrine Brown, "Why are Mountain Whitefish Ugly? A Native Fish in Western Trout Waters," white paper (Corvallis: Oregon State University, 2009).
13. Norman Maclean, *A River Runs Through It and Other Stories* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975), 1.
14. James Prosek, *The Complete Angler: A Connecticut Yankee Follows in the Footsteps of Walton* (New York: Harper Collins, 2001).
15. One of the first to advocate fishing with a barbless hook was Seth Green, who is also hailed as the "father of fish culture in the United States." Interestingly, in the letter to *Forest and Stream* (November 25, 1875), he touted barbless hooks for their effectiveness in catching fish, not their ability to ease the release of fish. In an article to *Forest and Stream* (April 3, 1909), Seth's son Chester spoke in favor of the barbless hook, leading to what historian Todd Larson deemed "one of the great early proclamations of conservation in America." Todd Larson, *The History of the Fish Hook in America* (Cincinnati: Whitefish Press, 2007), 71. See also Seth Green, "Seth Green on Needle Points," *Forest and Stream* (November 25, 1875): 245; and Chester Green, "Barbless Hooks," *Forest and Stream* (April 10, 1909): 580.
16. Lee Wulff, *Lee Wulff's Handbook of Freshwater Fishing* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1939), xv.
17. Dame Juliana Berners, *A Treatise on Fishing with an Angle* [ca. 1421], in *Uncommon Waters: Women Write about Fishing*, ed. Holly Morris (Seattle: Seal Press, 1991). See also Arlinghaus, et al., "Understanding the Complexity of Catch and Release Fishing"; Hoffmann, *Fishers' Craft and the Lettered Art*; Pitcher and Hollingworth, *Recreational Fisheries*; and David Policansky, "Catch and Release Recreational Fishing: A Historical Perspective," in *Recreational Fisheries*, ed. Pitcher and Hollingworth, 74–93.
18. Arlinghaus, et al., "Understanding the Complexity of Catch and Release Fishing"; Hoffmann, *Fishers' Craft and the Lettered Art*; Pitcher and Hollingworth, *Recreational Fisheries*.

19. Humphrey Davy, *Salmonia* (1828; New York, 1970).
20. Izaak Walton, *The Compleat Angler; Or, the Contemplating Man's Recreation*, 5th ed. (London: Ingram, Cooke, and Co., 1853), 288.
21. Frederic M. Halford, *The Dry Fly Man's Handbook* (1913; Lyons, MS: Der-rydale Press, 2000).
22. Randall Kauffman, *Tying Dry Flies* (Moose, WY: Western Fisherman's Press, 2001).
23. Paul Schullery, *American Fly Fishing: A History* (New York: Lyons Press, 1988); John Reiger, *American Sportsmen and the Origins of Conservation* (New York: Winchester Press, 1975).
24. Anders Halverson, *An Entirely Synthetic Fish: How Rainbow Trout Beguiled America and Overran the World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).
25. Malcom Draper, "Going Native? Trout and Settling Identity in Rainbow Nation," *Historia* 48, no. 1(2003): 55–94.
26. Alfred Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900–1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).
27. Reiger, *American Sportsmen and the Origins*, 52.
28. Robert M. Poole, "Fish Story," *Smithsonian Magazine* (2007), [http://www.smithsonianmag.com/science-nature/trout\\_main.html](http://www.smithsonianmag.com/science-nature/trout_main.html).
29. Marshall Cutchin to Samuel Snyder, personal correspondence, April 18, 2009.
30. Halverson, *An Entirely Synthetic Fish*.
31. Herbert Hoover, "A Remedy for Disappearing Game Fishes," excerpted in *American Fly Fisher*, 6, no. 4 (Fall 1979): 24–29; 25.
32. Herbert Hoover, *Fishing for Fun—and to Wash Your Soul* (New York: Random House, 1963).
33. Livingston Stone, *Domesticated Trout: How to Breed and Grow Them* (Boston: J. R. Osgood and Company, 1873), 200.
34. Schullery, *Cowboy Trout*, 189.
35. Aldo Leopold, "Mixing Trout in Western Waters," *Transactions of the American Fisheries Society* 47, no. 3 (1918): 101–2; Julianne Warren, "Weaving a Wider Net for Conservation: Aldo Leopold's Water Ethic," unpublished white paper, 2010.
36. Brown, "Why are Mountain White Fish Ugly?," 3.
37. S. J. Lowe, M. Browne, and S. Boudjelas, "100 of the World's Worst Invasive Alien Species" (Auckland, NZ: IUCN/SSC Invasive Species Specialist Group, 2000), accessed November 14, 2009, <http://www.issg.org/booklet.pdf>.
38. Schullery, *Cowboy Trout*, 207.
39. Rick Williams, Federation of Fly Fishers Native Fish Policy, 2001. [http://nativefishsociety.org/conservation/history\\_and\\_solutions/general\\_information/historical/FFFNative.htm](http://nativefishsociety.org/conservation/history_and_solutions/general_information/historical/FFFNative.htm)
40. New Mexico Trout, [www.newmexicotrout.org/values.htm](http://www.newmexicotrout.org/values.htm), accessed 20 July 2006.
41. Ted Williams, "Court Rules That Elwha Hatchery Releases Violate NEPA," *Fly Rod and Reel* (blog), March 28, 2014, accessed April 3, 2014, <http://www>

.flyrodreel.com/blogs/tedwilliams/2014/march/hatchery-releases  
-violate.

42. John Ross, *Rivers of Restoration: Trout Unlimited's First 50 Years of Conservation* (New York: Skyhorse Publishing, 2008).
43. E. F. Granek, E. M. P. Madin, M. A. Brown, W. Cameron Figueira, Z. Hogan, G. Kristainson, P. De Villiers, J. E. Williams, J. Post, S. Zahn, and R. Arlinghaus, "Engaging Recreational Fishers in Management and Conservation: Global Case Studies," *Conservation Biology*, 22, no. 5 (2008): 1125–34.
44. Dylan Tomine, "State of Steelhead: The Canary Ain't Singing Anymore, But the Fat Lady's Just Warming Up" (Kirkland: Wild Steelhead Coalition, 2009).
45. Paul Schullery, *If Fish Could Scream: An Angler's Search for the Future of Fly Fishing* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2008), 55.

CHAPTER ONE

1. An earlier version of this essay was delivered as the annual Bud Lilly Trout and Salmonid Lecture at the Montana State University Library in February 2011. Thanks to Tamara Miller, Dean of Libraries at MSU, and Paul Schullery for providing an occasion to revisit puzzles left unresolved in my previous work on the history of angling.
2. *Titarel*, str. 154: II nos. 1–2 and str. 159: II nos.1–3, in Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Willehalm. Titarel*, ed. Walter J. Schrder and Gisela Hollandt (Darmstadt: WB, 1971), 616–17.
3. Aelianus, *On the Characteristics of Animals*, trans. A. F. Schofield, 3 vols. (Cambridge, MA.: Loeb Classical Library, 1958–1959), 15.1. For a basic and up-to-date overview of the early fly fishing texts now known, see Andrew Herd, *The History of Fly Fishing, Vol. I: The History* (Ellesmere, UK: Medlar Press, 2011), 17–72.
4. "Ihr vederang! Ihr Natterzahn!" *Parzival*, 6.316, 20, ed. Gottfried Weber (Darmstadt: WB, 1967), 266; trans. Arthur T. Hatto (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1980), 165. A like literary analogy appears in Ulrich von Türheim, *Rennewart*, line 21519, ed. Alfred Hübner, 2nd ed., *Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters* 3 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1964). Wolfram called himself a Bavarian, but his known associations place him in upper Franconia and Thuringia; Ulrich, a generation younger, hailed from Augsburg.
5. Hermann Heimpel, "Die Federschnur. Wasserrecht und Fischrecht in der Reformation Kaiser Sigismunds," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 19 (1963): 451–88.
6. Conrad Gessner [Gesnerus], *Conradi Gesneri medici Tigurini Historiae animalium liber IIII, qui est de piscium & aquatiliū animantium natura. Cvm iconibvs singlorvm ad vivvm expressis fere omnib DCCVI. Continentur in hoc volumine Gvlielmi Rondeletii quoq' et Petri Bellonii de Aquatiliū singulis*

- scripta* (Zurich: Chr. Froshovervm, 1558), 1175, 1208. For more general discussion and documentation see Richard C. Hoffmann, “The Evidence for Early European Angling, III: Conrad Gessner’s Artificial Flies, 1558,” *American Fly Fisher* 21, no. 1 (Spring 1995): 2–11, with an addendum, *ibid.*, 21, no.2 (Summer 1995): 24; and Richard C. Hoffmann, *Fishers’ Craft and the Lettered Art: Tracts on Fishing from the End of the Middle Ages* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997).
7. “Medicina piscium,” MS Rawlinson C 506, Oxford Bodleian Library, fols. 298–300. Edited in Willy L. Braekman, “*The Treatise on Angling in the Boke of St. Albans* (1496): Background, Context and Text of *The treatyse of fysshynge wyth an Angle*,” *Scripta: Mediaevalia and Renaissance Texts and Studies* 1 (Brussels: Scripta, 1980), 54–56.
  8. *Ibid.*, 39–43.
  9. The handiest and best modern facsimiles and transcripts of the *Treatyse* text in both its fragmentary manuscript and printed forms remain John D. McDonald, *The Origins of Angling* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1963), 67–102, who also did a good job of clarifying the entirely later association of this text with a mythic figure called “Dame Juliana Berners,” whose very existence, much less authorship, lacks contemporary or credible evidence. For thorough scholarly discussion see Rachel Hands, “Juliana Berners and *The Boke of St. Albans*,” *Review of English Studies* 18 (1967): 373–86; *idem*, *English Hawking and Hunting in The Boke of St. Albans: A Facsimile Edition of Sigs. a2–f8 of “The Boke of St. Albans” (1486)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), xiv–xv and lv–lx; and Julia Boffey, “Women Authors and Women’s Literacy in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century England,” in *Women and Literature in Britain, 1150–1500*, ed. Carol M. Meale (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 166–67. Medievalists are entirely comfortable with anonymous texts, so this one will hereafter simply be referred to as “the *Treatyse*.”
  10. Alvaro Masseini, “Fly Fishing in Early Renaissance Italy? A Few Revealing Documents,” *American Fly Fisher* 25, no. 4 (Fall 1999): 10–11.
  11. Hoffmann, *Fishers’ Craft*, 191–214.
  12. “. . . porque de a quella manera se cevan las truchas a las moscas verdaderas; que por esso las enganan con las artificiales.” Hoffmann, *Fishers’ Craft*, 293–97.
  13. Much that follows I treated at length in Richard C. Hoffmann, “Fishing for Sport in Medieval Europe: New Evidence,” *Speculum* 60 (1985): 877–902, although my understanding of some behavior is now more nuanced.
  14. Astronomus, *Vita Hludovici Imperatoris*, in *Die Taten Kaiser Ludwigs / Thegan. Das Leben Kaiser Ludwigs / Astronomus*, ed. and trans Ernst Tremp., *Monumenta Germaniae Historica (MGH)* 64 (Hannover: Hannsche Buchh., 1995), 466 and 492. A recent overview and interpretation of Louis’s enthusiasm for field sports is Eric J. Goldberg, “Louis the Pious and the Hunt,” *Speculum* 88, no. 3 (July 2013): 613–43.

15. “Hic meus est status, hec mea sunt solatia, duco / Hiis alternatim tempora leta iocis / Post pelagus studii mens portum nacta quietis / Si positus uelis se Recreare uelit.” See Hoffmann, *Fishing for Sport*, 886–87.
16. *Ibid.*, 887–91.
17. Perez de Guzman, “Cronica de Juan II,” in *Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Muslim, and Jewish Sources*, ed. Olivia R. Constable (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 319.
18. Maguelonne Toussaint-Samat, “Gastronomie et fastes culinaires a la cour Sforzesque et chez les bourgeois de Milan au milieu du XVe siècle,” in *Manger et boire au Moyen Age 2 : Colloque de Nice, 1982, Publications de la Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines de Nice 27–28*, ed. Denis Menjot, 1ère serie (Paris: Belles lettres, 1984), 108–9.
19. When Maximilian’s father, Frederick III, travelled from Bonn to Aachen in 1442 for his coronation, he stopped overnight to fish with his host, the archbishop of Köln, in the castle moat and Rotbach at Lechenich in the Eifel. Joseph Seemüller, ed., “Friedrichs III. Aachener Krönungsreise,” *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 17 (1896): 634.
20. *Das Fischereibuch Kaiser Maximilians I*, ed. Michael Mayr and Ludwig von Lazarini (Innsbruck: Wagner, 1901).
21. Maximilian I von Habsburg, *Weisskunig*. In *Lichtdruck–Faksimiles nach Frühdrücken mit Hilfe der Max–Kode–Foundation, Inc.* New York, ed. H. T. Musper et al. (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1956), vol. 2, plate 43.
22. See for example: Inge Bødker Enghoff, “Fishing in the Baltic Region from the 5th Century BC to the 16th Century AD: Evidence from Fish Bones,” *Archaeofauna* 8 (1999): 41–85; idem, “Fishing in the Southern North Sea Region from the 1st to the 16th Century AD: Evidence from Fish Bones,” *Archaeofauna* 9 (2000): 59–132; Jennie Coy, “Fish Bones,” pp. 118–120 & microfiche M1/ 68–74 in G. G. Astill and S. J. Lobb’s “Roman and Saxon Deposits at Wraysbury,” *Archaeological Journal* 146 (1989): 68–134; Jacqueline Huntley and Sue Stallibrass, eds., *Plant and Vertebrate Remains from Archaeological Sites in Northern England: Data Reviews and Future Directions*, Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland Research Report 4 (Durham: The Society, 1995); Heide Hüster-Plogmann, “Fische und Fasten,” in *Gesellschaft und Ernährung um 1000. Eine Archäologie des Essens*, ed. Dorothee Rippmann and Brigitta Neumeister-Taroni, Nestle Fondation Alimentarium, Musée de l’alimentation (Vevey: Alimentarium, 2000), 219–56; Frèdèrique Audoin-Rouzeau, *Ossements animaux du Moyen–Age au monastère de La Charité–sur–Loire* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1986), 215–17; Daniel Makowiecki, *Historia ryb i rybołówstwa w holocenie na Niżu Polskim wświetle badań archeoichtiologicznych* (Poznań: Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 2003), 168–90; Benoît Clavel, *L’Animal dans l’alimentation médiévale et moderne en France du nord (XIIe–XVIIe siècles)*, *Revue Archéologique de Picardie*, No. Spécial 19 (Amiens: CRAVO, 2001), 131–87; A. M. Donaldson, A. K. G. Jones, and

- D. J. Rackham, "A Dinner in the Great Hall: Report on the Contents of a Fifteenth-Century drain," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 133 (1980): 86–96; Alfred Galik, "Historical and Ichthyological Evidence of Fish Consumption in Medieval Austria," paper delivered at the 10th meeting of the Fish Remains Working Group, ICAZ, New York, September 24–October 2, 1999; Marie–Christine Marival–Vigne, "Consommation d'animaux sauvages en milieu ecclésial à Orléans au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle: données archéozoologiques et livres de cuisine," in *Exploitation des animaux sauvages a travers le temps*, ed. Jean Desse and Frédérique Audoin–Rouzeau, XIII<sup>e</sup> Recontres Internationales d'Archéologie de d'Histoire d'Antibes, IV<sup>e</sup> Colloque International de l'Homme et l'Animal (Juan–les–Pins, 1993), 474–90; and Andrew Jones, "The Fish Remains," in D. Michaelides and D. Wilkinson, *Excavations at Otranto*, Supplementary volume to Papers of the British School at Rome (Rome: The School, 1989), 132–33.
23. Georgine E. Brereton and Janet M. Ferrier, eds., *Le Menagier de Paris, Dist. II:5*, §179 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 233.
  24. For example, Thomas Austin, *Two Fifteenth-Century Cookery-Books*, Early English Texts Society (original series) 91 (1888; London: The Society, 1964), 102; Constance B. Hieatt, ed., *An Ordinance of Pottage. An Edition of the Fifteenth-Century Culinary Recipes in Yale University's MS Beinecke 163* (London: Prospect Books, 1988), no. 169; Anne F. Sutton and P. W. Hammond, eds., *The Coronation of Richard III: The Extant Documents* (New York: St. Martin's, 1983), 291–302.
  25. Andrea Castagnetti et al., eds, *Inventari altomedievali di terre, coloni e redditi*, *Fonti per la storia d'Italia* 104 (Roma: Nella sede dell'Istituto Palazzo Borromini, 1979), 121–44. On Garda's trout see also Mattia Butturini, "La pesca sul lago di Garda," *Archivio Storico Lombarda* 6 (1879): 147–49; 7 (1880): 73–91, and 8 (1881): 157–95; Raoudha Guemara, "A Santa Maria della Scala à Vérona: Les dépenses du Chapitre Général de mai 1491," in *Milieux Naturels, Espaces Sociaux. Études offertes à Robert Delort*, ed. Élisabeth Mornet and Franco Morenzoni (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1997), 503–16; Ludo M. Hartmann, *Zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte Italiens im frühen Mittelalter. Analekten* (Gotha: F. A. Perthes, 1904), 132; and Otto Stolz, *Geschichtskunde der Gewässer Tirols*, *Schlern–Schriften* 32 (Innsbruck: Universitäts–Verlag Wagner, 1936), 259–67.
  26. P. Martinez Sopena and J. Carbajo Serrano, "L'alimentation des paysans castillans du XI<sup>e</sup> au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle d'après les 'fueros,'" in *Manger et boire au Moyen Age, Colloque de Nice, 1982, Publications de la Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines de Nice* 27–28, ed. Denis Menjot, 1ère série (Paris: Belles lettres, 1984), I: 336–47; compare Heath Dillard, *Daughters of the Reconquest: Women in Castilian Town Society, 1100–1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 159–60.
  27. ". . . quod in fluminibus et aquis ibi existentibus procreantur et fiunt pisces qui dicuntur trote, et sunt valde nobiles pisces. " Richard Trexler,

- “Measures Against Water Pollution in Fifteenth-Century Florence,” *Viator* 5 (1974): 463.
28. See even the wise twelfth-century abbess Hildegard of Bingen, *Physica*, 5.15, as “Subtilitatum diversarum naturarum creaturarum libri novem” in *Sanctae Hildegardis abbatissae opera omnia, Patrologiae cursus completus*, ed. J. P. Migne, Series Latina 197 (Paris: Migne, 1882), columns 1278–79.
  29. Albertus Magnus, *De animalibus libri XXVI*, 24.129, as *De Animalibus libri XXVI nach der Cölner Handschrift*, ed. Hermann Stadler, 2 vols., Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters 15–16 (Münster, 1916 and 1920), II: 1548, trans. Kenneth F. Kitchell, Jr., and Irven M. Resnick as *Albertus Magnus “On Animals:” A Medieval “Summa Zoologica,”* 2 vols., Foundations of Natural History (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), II: 1704.
  30. See for example Clavel, *L’Animal*, 140–87; James H. Barrett, Alison M. Locker, and C. M. Roberts, “‘Dark Age Economics’ Revisited: The English Fish Bone Evidence AD 600–1600,” *Antiquity* 78 (2004):618–36; and Petra J. E. M. van Dam, “Fish for Feast and Fast: Fish Consumption in the Netherlands in the Late Middle Ages,” in *Beyond the Catch. Fisheries of the North Atlantic, the North Sea and the Baltic, 900–1850*, ed. Louis Sicking and Darlene Abreu-Ferreira (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 309–36.
  31. Michel Colardelle and Eric Verdel, eds., *Les habitants du Lac de Paladru (Isère) dans leur environnement: La formation d’un terroir au XIe siècle*, Documents d’Archéologie Française 40 (Paris: Editions de la Maison des sciences de l’homme, 1993), 57–60, 116–20, 208–10, 318–20, and 327–31; idem, eds., *Chevaliers–Paysans de l’an mil au lac de Paladru* (Paris: Musee Dauphinois, 1993), 31–40.
  32. Note that the Julian calendar followed in the late 1400s, when clerks assembled this information, was running about ten days ahead of the present Gregorian calendar, so spawning dates in current terms were more like early September to early December.
  33. Richard C. Hoffmann, “Fishers in Late Medieval Rural Society Around Tegernsee, Bavaria—A Preliminary Sketch,” in *The Salt of Common Life: Individuality and Choice in the Medieval Town, Countryside and Church. Essays Presented to J. Ambrose Raftis*, ed. Edwin B. DeWindt (Kalamazoo: The Medieval Institute, Western Michigan University, 1995), 371–408; Hoffmann, *Fishers’ Craft*, 118–30, and works there cited; Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv München, Klosterliteralien Tegernsee 185 1/2.
  34. Giuseppi Mira, *La pesca nel medioevo nelle acque interne italiane* (Milano: Dott. A. Giuffré, 1937), 29–31 (and compare Paolo Squatriti, “Marshes and Mentalities in Early Medieval Ravenna,” *Viator* 23 [1992]: 12, and idem, *Water and Society in Early Medieval Italy, AD 400–1000* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998], 119–25); Heinrich Boos, ed., *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Worms*, 3 vols. (Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Worms, vols. 1–2)



- (Berlin: Weidmann, 1886–1893), no. 58, translated in *Medieval Culture and Society*, ed. David Herlihy (New York: Harper & Row, 1968), 185.
35. Silvia Petrin, “Das Archiv der Tullner Fischerzeche,” *Mitteilungen aus den Niederösterreichischen Landesarchiv* 3 (1979): 29–34.
  36. Artur M. Scheiber, *Zur Geschichte der Fischerei in Oberösterreich, insbesondere der Traunfischerei*, Sonderabdruck aus den “Heimatgauern,” *Zeitschrift für oberösterreichische Geschichte, Landes- und Volkskunde* (Linz: Verlag R. Pirngruber, 1930), 30–35.
  37. Bonvesin de la Riva, *De magnalibus Mediolani*, 3.30–31, ed. and trans. [into Italian] Paolo Chiesa (Milan: Scheiwiller, 1998), 92–93.
  38. Paulus Jovius [Paolo Giovio], *De romanis piscibus libellus (Roma: 1524)*, chaps. 35 and 42, in Pauli Iovii Opera 9, *Dialogi et descriptiones*, ed. Ernesto Travi and Mariagrazia Penio (Roma: Società storica Comense and Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1984), 51–53 and 59–60.
  39. For extended discussion and source references see Richard C. Hoffmann, “Economic Development and Aquatic Ecosystems in Medieval Europe,” *American Historical Review* 101 (1996): 638–46.
  40. H. Duplés-Agier, “Ordonnances inédites de Philippe-le-Bel et de Philippe-le-Long sur la police de la pêche fluviale,” *Bibliothèque de l’École des Chartes* 14 (1852): 48–52.
  41. Richard C. Hoffmann, “Medieval Europeans and their Aquatic Ecosystems,” in Bernd Herrmann, ed., *Beiträge zum Göttinger Umwelthistorischen Kolloquium 2007–2008* (Göttingen: Universitätsverlag, 2008), 50–52, [http://webdoc.sub.gwdg.de/univerlag/2008/umweltkolloquium\\_2.pdf](http://webdoc.sub.gwdg.de/univerlag/2008/umweltkolloquium_2.pdf).
  42. Hans Freudlsperger, “Kurze Fischereigeschichte des Erzstiftes Salzburg,” *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde* 76 (1936): 100.
  43. Robert Fossier, *La terre et les hommes en Picardie jusqu’à la fin du XIIIe siècle*, Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de Paris—Sorbonne, Série “Recherches” 48–49 (Paris, 1968), 397; Heimpel, “Federechnur,” 462–64.
  44. Hermann Heimpel, “Fischerei und Bauernkrieg,” in *Festschrift Percy Ernst Schramm zu seinem siebzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. P. Classen, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1964), I: 353–72.
  45. R. de Lespinasse and F. Bonnardot, eds., *Les métiers et corporations de la ville de Paris: Le Livre des métiers d’Étienne Boileau* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1879), 212–18; and Duplés-Agier, “Ordonnances inédite,” 48–54.
  46. Pietro Pavesi, ed., *Ordini e statuti del paratico dei pescatori di Pavia* (Pavia: Fusi, 1894), 56; Butturini, “La pesca sul lago di Garda,” 147–49; Trexler, “Water Pollution,” 463.
  47. Vienna, Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Sammlungen, Hauptarchiv-Urkunde Nr. 5825: now see new facsimile and diplomatic editions with an extended analysis in Richard C. Hoffmann and Christoph Sonnlechner, “Maximilians Patent von 1506: Vom Archivobjekt zum Umweltschutz,”

- Studien zur Wiener Geschichte. Jahrbuch des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Wien* 62/63 (2006/2007) [2011]: 79–133.
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  50. Jan Dubravius, *De Piscinis ad Antonium Fuggerum* (Vratislaviae: Andreas Vinglerus excudebat, 1547), lib. 5 cap. 10 (ed. Anežka Schmidtová in *Sborník filologický ČSAV* 1, supplement 1 [Prague: Nakladatelství Československé Akademie Věd, 1953]: 67–68).
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  54. Hugh of St. Victor, *Didascalicon*, 2.20–27, in *The Didascalicon of Hugh of St. Victor: A Medieval Guide to the Arts*, tr. Jerome Taylor, 2nd ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 74–80; Michel Lemoine, “Le sport chez Hugues de Saint-Victor,” in *Jeux, Sports et Divertissements au Moyen Âge et à l’Âge Classique, Actes du 116e Congrès Nationale des Sociétés Savantes, Chambéry, 1991* (Paris: Editions de CTHS, 1993), 131–41. Linne R. Mooney, “A Middle English Text on the Seven Liberal Arts,” *Speculum* 68 (1993): 1027–52, is a mid-fifteenth-century English version of Hugh’s work.

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63. Basurto, *Dialogo*, fol. 105v (Hoffmann, *Fishers’ Craft*, 284–85); Gesner, *Historia animalium IIII*, 1175 and 1208.
64. McDonald, *Origins of Angling*, 134–45 and 184–91.
65. *Ibid.*, 226–229.
66. Hoffmann, *Fishers’ Craft*, 228–43.
67. Angler and hunter alike call it *recreación, ejercicio, deleyte, and plazer*.
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## CHAPTER TWO

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5. Paul Schullery, *American Fly Fishing: A History* (New York: Nick Lyons Books, 1987), 26–27.
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7. Schullery, *American Fly Fishing*, 127. Schullery insists that not until 1880 “was it easy enough to be a sportsman and a leading citizen,” but accord-

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  11. John Keese, “Concluding Remarks,” in *An American Angler’s Guide*, 2nd ed., ed. John J. Brown (New York: Burgess, Stringer, and Company, 1846), 223.
  12. “Notices of Books,” *Christian Inquirer*, July 3, 1847, 1: 38.
  13. Izaak Walton, *The Complete Angler, or, the Contemplative Man’s Recreation*, ed. American Editor (New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1847), 106.
  14. Henry Van Dyke, *Fisherman’s Luck, and Some Other Uncertain Things* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1905), 208.
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  16. George W. Bethune, *Orations and Occasional Discourses* (New York: George P. Putnam, 1850), 375.
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  19. Charles Lanman, *Haphazard Personalities; Chiefly of Noted Americans* (Boston: Lee and Shepard Publishers, 1886), 252.
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  26. Henry Ward Beecher, “First Fishing,” in *Beecher as a Humorist*, ed. Eleanor Kirk (New York: Fords, Howard, and Hulbert, 1887), 191.
  27. Beecher, *Star Papers*, 235.
  28. Beecher, *Eyes and Ears*, 68.
  29. Henry Ward Beecher, *Sermons* (Sampson Low, Son, and Marston, 1870), 312.
  30. Beecher, *Star Papers*, 167.
  31. *Ibid.*, 150.

32. Beecher, *Eyes and Ears*, 169.
33. Beecher, *Star Papers*, 234.
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38. Henry Van Dyke, *Camp-fires and Guide-posts: A Book of Essays and Excursions* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1921), 141.
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40. Van Dyke, *Little Rivers*, 24.
41. *Ibid.*, 23.
42. Robert Louis Stevenson, "Prince Otto," in *Little Rivers*, 8.
43. Henry van Dyke, "The Scout Merit Badge of Angling: A Famous Fisherman Writes Some Things All Boys Should Know about this Fascinating Sport," *Boys Life* 4, no. 6 (August 1914): 12.
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46. Henry Van Dyke, *Music and Other Poems by Henry Van Dyke* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1904), 35.
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50. Henry Van Dyke, *Out of Doors in the Holy Land* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908), 146–148.
51. Van Dyke, *Fisherman's Luck*, 92.
52. Henry Van Dyke, *The Ruling Passion: Tales of Nature and Human Nature* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1904), 129.
53. Henry Van Dyke, *Companionable Books* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922), 296.
54. Van Dyke, *Little Rivers*, 334.
55. Van Dyke, *Fisherman's Luck*, 5–6, 9.
56. *Ibid.*, 36.
57. Van Dyke, *Henry van Dyke*, 308.
58. *Ibid.*, 308–310.
59. Van Dyke, *The Ruling Passion*, 137.
60. Roderick Frazier Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 4th ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 44.
61. George W. Bethune, *Sermons* (Philadelphia: Mentz and Rovoudt, 1846), 141.
62. Amanda Porterfield, *The Protestant Experience in America* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006), 135.

63. Walton, *The Complete Angler*, 106.  
 64. Bethune, *Orations*, 375–376.  
 65. Beecher, *Star Papers*, 236.

## CHAPTER THREE

1. *Spirit of the Times* (New York City), April 6, 1844.
2. Piscator [George T. Dunbar, Jr.], “The Black Perch,” *Spirit of the Times*, December 11, 1841. The five-foot eleven-inch, dark-brown-haired Dunbar was born the fourth child of eleven to a prosperous Presbyterian family in Baltimore on February 11, 1812. The Dunbars had deep roots in southeastern Maryland, having called Maryland home for at least five generations since arriving from Scotland in the mid-seventeenth century. George’s father served as a bank cashier and teller until he died in 1843, first hired in 1804 with the Union Bank of Maryland and then, in 1810, with the Commercial and Farmer’s Bank of Baltimore, providing his family an upper-middle-class lifestyle, including a rare “stationary bathtub” in their home. With his father’s financial resources, young George received an education at boarding schools and colleges, as well as among his family. He early demonstrated the aptitude necessary for learning engineering skills by excelling in math. When he was but eight years old in 1820, George and his eleven-year-old brother William attended the Catholic Mount St. Mary’s boarding school in Emmitsburg, Maryland. George took courses in Latin, English, geography, writing, and arithmetic, with the math courses being by far his most accomplished. Tellingly, the Mount St. Mary’s teachers found George more capable than his older brother in school, though they also noted his frequent illnesses and that he “would rather play than apply” himself at times. Probably homesick, George Jr. never attended the grammar school again. George returned to formal education for one more year in 1824–25 at St. Mary’s University in Baltimore. Run by the Sulpician Catholic Order, St. Mary’s University provided a curriculum in languages, poetry, rhetoric, natural and moral philosophy, geography, writing, music, drawing, and dancing. Most pertinent to George Jr. was St. Mary’s devotion to a “complete course of Mathematics” that included measurement, surveying, and map and plan drawing “for which the College is furnished with all necessary instruments.” Although his formal schooling was, by today’s standards, limited in time but broad, it was rather typical of the era and does not reflect the full extent of his learning. The Dunbars sat down for family dinners daily, reciting Bible verses and discussing other matters of the day. Music filled the house, though dancing was forbidden by a strict Presbyterian mother, and the Dunbar parents valued a well-rounded education that enabled their children to pursue their interests. See William Henry Corbusier, “Ancestry of William Henry Corbusier, Lieutenant Colonel, United States Army, Retired, and

- Fanny Dunbar Corbusier, his wife," (unpublished manuscript; copy held by the New York Public Library).
3. "State Legislature," *Daily Picayune* (New Orleans), April 7, 1843; "Evening Session [of the Legislature]," *New Orleans Bee*, April 8, 1843; "Geo. T. Dunbar, Esq.," *New Orleans Commercial Bulletin*, April 8, 1843; William Henry Corbusier, "A Sketch of the Life of George Towers Dunbar," Linda Hall Library of Science, Engineering, and Technology Special Collections, Kansas City, MO; Nancy Knox, "George Towers Dunbar, 1812–1850," Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, MD; Corbusier, "Ancestry of William Henry Corbusier"; and Fanny Dunbar Corbusier, *Recollections of Her Army Life, 1869–1908*, ed. Patricia Y. Stallard (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003), 4. One scholarly article makes mention of some of Dunbar's writings in the *Spirit of the Times*, which the authors presumed to be fiction: Richard Boyd Hauck and Dean Margaret Hauck, "Panning for Gold: Researching Humor in the *Spirit of the Times*," *Studies in American Humor* 3, no. 3 (1977): 150–51.
  4. Jacob L. Wortman, "Ichthyological Papers By George Powers [sic] Dunbar, With a Sketch of His Life," *American Naturalist* 16 (1882): 381–83.
  5. Gideon B. Smith, "Maryland Horticultural Society," *The Farmer & Gardener, and Live-Stock Breeder and Manager* (Maryland), August 25, 1835. See also the inventory of his estate in "Succession of George T. Dunbar," Third District Court of New Orleans, docket no. 3417, New Orleans Public Library, Louisiana Division: City Archives and Special Collections. The camellia bushes were the single most valuable item in his possession at the time of his death, valued at \$400 by the appraisers of his estate. On camellia japonicas and their history, see William C. Welch and Greg Grant, *Heirloom Gardening in the South: Yesterday's Plants for Today's Gardens* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2011), 170–79.
  6. "The Trebla Gazette, Number Six," *Spirit of the Times*, January 6, 1844.
  7. "The Balize and Its People, No. 5," *Spirit of the Times*, March 26, 1842; and "Black Perch Fishing in Louisiana," *Spirit of the Times*, June 4, 1842. Dunbar also preserved bird specimens; see "The Spatule of Louisiana," *Spirit of the Times*, October 15, 1842.
  8. Corbusier, *Recollections of Her Army Life*, 4.
  9. "More Curiosities," *Spirit of the Times*, April 18, 1846; and "Another Curiosity," *Spirit of the Times*, July 25, 1846.
  10. For the loss of Dunbar's ichthyological papers, see Wortman, "Ichthyological Papers By George Powers [sic] Dunbar," 382–83. A surviving notebook of text and twenty fish drawings survived until the early twentieth century, only to be lost by his heirs in the San Francisco earthquake and fire of 1906; Corbusier, "Ancestry of William Henry Corbusier," 8. One notebook of Dunbar essay drafts, many of which were published in the *Spirit of the Times*, exists in the Maryland Historical Society Archives: "George Towers Dunbar Field Book" ("Scraps from the Fieldbook of an

- Engineer”), MS 2407, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore. This field book was passed down to Dunbar’s daughter Fanny Dunbar Corbusier, then to her son William Tremaine Corbusier, then to his niece (and great-granddaughter of George Dunbar, Jr.) Nancy Dunbar Corbusier Knox, who donated it to the Maryland Historical Society. For Dunbar’s subscription to Audubon’s work (one of seven subscribers from New Orleans to volume 3), see John James Audubon, *The Birds of America, from Drawings Made in the United States and Their Territories: Volume III* (New York and Philadelphia, 1841), 235; and “The Indian Mound,” *Spirit of the Times*, February 19, 1842.
11. Eugene Current-Garcia, “‘York’s Tall Son’ and his Southern Correspondents,” *American Quarterly* 7, no. 4 (Winter 1955): 380.
  12. “Scene in the Picayune Sanctum,” *Spirit of the Times*, April 6, 1844; Francis Brinley, *The Life of William T. Porter* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1860); Norris Wilson Yates, *William T. Porter and the Spirit of the Times* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1957); Derek Colville, “History and Humor: The Tall Tale in New Orleans,” *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 39, no. 2 (1956): 161; M. Thomas Inge, ed., *The Frontier Humorists: Critical Views* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1975), 3; and James H. Justus, *Fetching the Old Southwest: Humorous Writing from Longstreet to Twain* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2004), 242–43, 260–61. Kendall wrote under the pseudonym “Ex-Santa Fe” for the *Spirit of the Times*, and his and Dunbar’s friendship is exhibited in several essays; for example, “Sporting Epistle From Louisiana: All Sorts of Sayings and Doings,” *Spirit of the Times*, September 6, 1845.
  13. “Extract from a private letter from Piscator,” *Spirit of the Times*, April 18, 1846. On Thorpe see Current-Garcia, “‘York’s Tall Son’ and his Southern Correspondents,” 378–79.
  14. “The Balize and Its People, No. 5,” *Spirit of the Times*, March 26, 1842; and “Black Perch Fishing in Louisiana,” *Spirit of the Times*, June 4, 1842.
  15. “The Black Perch,” *Spirit of the Times*, December 11, 1841.
  16. “Black Perch Fishing in Louisiana,” *Spirit of the Times*, June 4, 1842.
  17. “The Spatule of Louisiana,” *Spirit of the Times*, October 15, 1842.
  18. “Sporting Epistle from Louisiana: All Sorts of Sayings and Doings,” *Spirit of the Times*, September 6, 1845.
  19. “Fishing in Louisiana: The ‘Grand Ecaille.’—No. VIII,” *Spirit of the Times*, July 2, 1842.
  20. “A Rhapsody on Trout and Punch,” *Spirit of the Times*, November 9, 1844.
  21. *Ibid.*
  22. Dunbar, Jr., “George Towers Dunbar Field Book,” MS 2407, Maryland Historical Society.
  23. “Fishing in Louisiana,” *Spirit of the Times*, April 6, 1844. See also “Sporting Epistle from Louisiana: All Sorts of Sayings and Doings,” *Spirit of the Times*, September 6, 1845; “To Correspondents: Acorn,” *Spirit of the Times*,



- April 25, 1846; and “Capt. Scott’s Coon Story Outdone,” *Spirit of the Times*, May 23, 1846.
24. “Fishing in Louisiana,” *Spirit of the Times*, April 6, 1844; and Dunbar, Jr., “George Towers Dunbar Field Book,” MS 2407, Maryland Historical Society.
  25. “Fishing in Louisiana,” *Spirit of the Times*, April 6, 1844; and Dunbar, Jr., “George Towers Dunbar Field Book,” MS 2407, Maryland Historical Society. On Conroy’s rods and relationship with Porter see Brinley, *The Life of William T. Porter*, 221–24; and Mary Kefover Kelly, *The Origins of American Angling: Essays on the History of American Fishing and Tackle* (Cincinnati, OH: Whitefish Press, 2007).
  26. “Fishing in Louisiana,” *Spirit of the Times*, April 6, 1844; and Wortman, “Ichthyological Papers By George Powers [sic] Dunbar,” 381–83. For Humboldt’s ideas and influence see Aaron Sachs, *The Humboldt Current: Nineteenth-Century Exploration and the Roots of American Environmentalism* (New York: Penguin Books, 2006), 12, 27, 30–31, 75–77.
  27. “A Day’s Fishing at the Rock Ground in North Carolina,” *Spirit of the Times*, August 2, 1845.
  28. “The Spatule of Louisiana,” *Spirit of the Times*, October 15, 1842.
  29. *Ibid.*
  30. Washington Irving, “The Angler,” *The Complete Works of Washington Irving in One Volume* (Paris, 1843), 329.
  31. John F. Reiger, *American Sportsmen and the Origins of Conservation*, 3rd ed., (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2001), 5–44.
  32. Merton M. Sealts, Jr. and Alfred R. Ferguson, eds., *Emerson’s Nature: Origin, Growth, Meaning* (2nd ed., Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1969), 8. See also William Rossi, “Emerson, Nature, and Natural Science,” in *A Historical Guide to Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. Joel Myerson (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), esp. 101–19.
  33. “The Indian Mound,” *Spirit of the Times*, February 19, 1842.
  34. “Scraps From the Field Book of an Engineer: Creole Hunter—No. 1,” *Spirit of the Times*, November 12, 1842; “A Day’s Fishing at the Rock Ground in North Carolina,” *Spirit of the Times*, August 2, 1845; James Fenimore Cooper, *Leather-Stocking Tales: Vol. IV: The Pioneers* (New York: George P. Putnam, 1853 [1823]), 114; and “The Indian Mound,” *Spirit of the Times*, February 19, 1842.
  35. Forshey, “The Baron Humboldt’s Cosmos: The Physical History of the Universe Examined and Displayed,” *De Bow’s Review* 9 (1850):150–58. On Humboldt, see Sachs, *The Humboldt Current*. On Forshey see Michael Thomas Meier, “Caleb Goldsmith Forshey: Engineer of the Old Southwest, 1813–1881” (PhD diss., Memphis State University, 1982); and James H. Justus, “The Underheard Reader in the Writing of the Old Southwest,” in *Discovering Difference: Contemporary Essays in American Culture*, ed. Christoph K. Lohmann (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 60–63.

- For Dunbar's friendship with Forshey see Piscator, "Sporting Epistle from Louisiana: All Sorts of Sayings and Doings," *Spirit of the Times*, September 6, 1845.
36. "The Indian Mound," *Spirit of the Times*, February 19, 1842.
  37. "Died," *Daily Picayune*, February 18, 1846; "Extract from a private letter from Piscator," *Spirit of the Times*, April 18, 1846; "On Dits in Sporting Circles," *Spirit of the Times*, April 18, 1846; "Second Municipality Council," *Weekly Delta* (New Orleans), December 16, 1850. He was buried in an unmarked grave at the mouth of the Coatzacoalcos River on the gulf coast of Mexico.
  38. "On Dits in Sporting Circles," *Spirit of the Times*, December 21, 1844. For Whig connections to fishing and conservation, see "Waltoniana," *American Review: A Whig Journal of Politics, Literature, Art and Science* 1, no. 4 (1845): 384–93; "Angling," *American Review: A Whig Journal of Politics, Literature, Art and Science* 5, no. 1 (1850): 32–46; Sachs, *The Humboldt Current*, 90–95; and Reiger, *American Sportsmen and the Origins of Conservation*, 22.
  39. "Death of Geo. T. Dunbar," *Daily Delta* (New Orleans), January 12, 1851.

CHAPTER FOUR

1. Chapters on each of the six are available in Jack W. Berryman, *Fly-Fishing Pioneers and Legends of the Northwest* (Seattle: Northwest Fly Fishing, LLC, 2006).
2. "Zane Grey (1872–1939): Legendary Author, Angler, Northwest Fly Fisherman, and Devout Conservationist," chap. 16 in Berryman, *Fly-Fishing Pioneers*, 124–133; "Maurice 'Mooch' Abraham (1867–1936): Portland Fly Tier, Fly-Fishing Mentor, and Originator of the Double-Haul Technique," chap. 14 in Berryman, *Fly-Fishing Pioneers*, 110–115; and Roderick L. Haig-Brown, *The Western Angler: An Account of Pacific Salmon and Western Trout in British Columbia* (New York: Derrydale Press, 1939).
3. See chapters on Brayshaw, Abraham, Grey, McLeod, Haig-Brown, and Pray in Berryman, *Fly-Fishing Pioneers*; Jack W. Berryman, "Lloyd D. Silvius (1902–1973): Eureka Fly Tier, Fly Shop Owner, and Originator of Several Popular Steelhead Patterns," *Northwest Fly Fishing*, Fall 2006, 28–33; Berryman, "Ben Hur Lampman (1886–1954): Newspaper Editor, Author, Poet, and Avid Oregon Angler Who Shared His Love of Nature with His Readers," *Northwest Fly Fishing*, September/October 2008, 54–59.
4. Jack W. Berryman, "Alfred S. Knudson (1901–1980): Commercial Fly Tier, Popularizer of the 'Wet Spider' Fly Style, and Pioneer Steelheader in Oregon, California, and Washington," *Northwest Fly Fishing*, September/October 2007, 62–67 and "Peter J. Schwab (1887–1956): Klamath River Steelheader and Designer of Fly Rods, Lines, and Flies," chap. 5 in Berryman, *Fly-Fishing Pioneers*, 30–45. Schwab also got to know many of the Northwest steelhead fly fishermen and listed them in his "Steelheading Directory" in 1929.

5. "Jordan Lawrence Mott III (1881–1931): Novelist and Pioneer on the North Umpqua River," chap.15 in Berryman, *Fly-Fishing Pioneers*, 120.
6. "Zane Grey," in Berryman, *Fly-Fishing Pioneers*, 132.
7. Peter J. Schwab, "Challenge of the Steelhead," *Sports Afield*, September 1936, 16–17, 82–83.
8. Chapters on Abraham, Hedge, Pray, Bradner, McLeod, and Wahl in Berryman, *Fly-Fishing Pioneers*; Jack W. Berryman, "Walter C. Johnson (1915–2002): Pioneer Washington Steelheader, Light-Tackle and Dry-Fly Enthusiast, and Creator of Unique and Artistic Flies," *Northwest Fly Fishing*, January/February 2007, 28–33.
9. See chapters on McLeod, Grey, and Bradner in Berryman, *Fly-Fishing Pioneers*. For more on McLeod and the Washington initiatives see Daniel Jack Chasan, *The Water Link: A History of Puget Sound as a Resource* (Seattle: Washington Sea Grant Program, 1981), 73–83.
10. See chapters on Money, Haig-Brown, Trueblood, Bradner, Brayshaw, and McLeod in Berryman, *Fly-Fishing Pioneers*; Berryman, "Ben Hur Lampman," 58; Haig-Brown said, "the steelhead, with the brightness of the sea still on him, is livest of all the river's life." He also described the thrill of catching a steelhead on a fly: "As you mend the cast and work your fly well down to him through the cold water, your whole mind is with it, picturing its drift, guiding its swing, holding it where you know he will be. And when the shock of his take jars through to your forearms and you lift that in a moment the strength of his leaping body will shatter the water to brilliance, however dark the day." Haig-Brown, *A River Never Sleeps* (Piscataway, NJ: New Century Publishers, 1946), 9–10.
11. See chapters on Pray, Schwab, Wahl, Olson, Brayshaw, and Schaadt in Berryman, *Fly-Fishing Pioneers*; Jack W. Berryman, "John H. N. 'Jack' Hemingway (1923–2000): Idaho Outdoorsman, Environmentalist, and Passionate Fly Fisher," *Northwest Fly Fishing*, January/February 2008, 64–69; Jack W. Berryman, "Robert Milton 'Bob' Nauheim (1934–2005): Pioneer California Fly Fisher, Innovative Fly Tier, Writer, and Businessman," *Northwest Fly Fishing*, January/February 2010, 50–52, 61; Jack W. Berryman, "Milton James 'Jimmy' Green (1920–2004): Champion Fly Caster and Innovative Line and Rod Designer," *Northwest Fly Fishing*, September/October 2009, 48–53; Claude M. Krieder, *Steelhead* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1948); Clark C. Van Fleet, *Steelhead to a Fly* (New York: Little, Brown, and Co., 1951).
12. Roderick Haig-Brown, *The Seasons of a Fisherman: A Fly Fisher's Classic Evocations of Spring, Summer, Fall, and Winter Fishing* (New York: Lyons Press, 2000), 34.
13. Valerie Haig-Brown, ed., *From the World of Roderick Haig-Brown: The Master and His Fish* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1981), 180–81.
14. Haig-Brown, ed., *From the World*, 200.

15. Roderick Haig-Brown, *A Primer of Fly-Fishing* (New York: Morrow, 1964), 181–82. Haig-Brown, ed., *From the World*, 186.
16. Jack W. Berryman, “Robert E. ‘Bob’ Wethern (1921–): Reporter, Editor, Historian, and Mainstay of The Flyfisher’s Club of Oregon,” *Northwest Fly Fishing*, January/February 2009, 48–51.
17. Letter from Dale Greenley to the author, July 27, 2011. Colonel Jim Hayden was chosen as president, Stan Knouse vice president, Dan Callaghan secretary/treasurer, and Don Haines assistant secretary. Others involved initially were Ken Anderson and Bud Pate.
18. Wild Steelhead Coalition, “2007 Conservation Award—Frank Amato,” <http://www.wildsteelheadcoalition.org>, accessed March 14, 2014.
19. Editorial, *Northwest Salmon Trout Steelheader* (hereafter *STS*), August/September 1967, 1; Editorial, *STS*, January 1968, 1; and Editorial, *STS*, October/November 1970, 1. Amato’s magazine also included numerous articles on steelhead fly fishing and provided the earliest publishing outlet for many of those who would play key roles in wild steelhead conservation such as Bill McMillian, Bill Bakke, Les Johnson, Trey Combs, and Steve Raymond. The Portland-based Association of Northwest Steelheaders was the Oregon affiliate of the National Wildlife Federation (<http://www.nwsteelheaders.org>).
20. Don Roberts, “Frank Alvin Moore, 1923–: Emissary of the North Umpqua, Sentinel for Wild Steelhead Everywhere, Part 2,” *Northwest Fly Fishing*, January/February 2012, 61; letter from Dale Greenley to the author, August 1, 2011; and Jim Van Loan, e-mail message to the author, July 7, 2011.
21. See the Revised Code of Washington (RCW) 1.20.045, State Fish; Barry M. Thornton, “An Idea for the Times,” in *The Ardent Angler*, ed. Neil Cameron and comp. Rob Bell-Irving (Vancouver: Ardent Angler Group, 1994), 74–81; Ron Cordes, “Welcoming R. P. ‘Van’ Gytenbeek,” *Flyfisher*, Summer 2004, 5–6; and Chasan, *The Water Link*, 127–37.
22. Mausser and others had caught larger steelhead but this fish seemed to generate more attention. His largest was a thirty-three pounder from the Kispiox in 1962. Several anglers from the Northwest had been fly fishing for British Columbia steelhead since the 1950s and included McLeod, Wahl, Bradner, Knutson, and a few others, including Californian Mausser. For more information on this amazing fishery, see John F. Fennelly, *Steelhead Paradise* (Vancouver: Mitchell Press, 1963). Fennelly was a fly fisherman who often flew into the remote stretches of the Morice, Babine, Kispiox, and Sustut with Seattle fly fisherman and pilot Buzz Fiorini. Also see *Field & Stream* annual fishing contest results.
23. Bill Luch and Frank W. Amato, *Steelhead: Drift Fishing and Fly Fishing* (Seattle: Craftsman and Met Press, 1970); “McLeod” in Berryman, *Fly-Fishing Pioneers*, 182. McLeod told his readers: “Determination to stay with a fly and an unwavering confidence that the feathered counterfeits, when fished properly, can be just as deadly as any metal or plastic lure go

- hand in hand in making a successful steelhead fly fisherman.” Berryman, “Milton James ‘Jimmy’ Green,” 52 and Trey Combs, *The Steelhead Trout* (Portland, OR: Frank Amato Publications, 1971).
24. Haig-Brown, ed., *From the World*, 91–97. He described “steelheads fresh from the sea” as “thirty-inch bars of solid muscle, with steel-grey backs, and pale, clean bellies. On their sides, just above the lateral line, the blue-grey of the back breaks sharply to gleaming silver, sparsely spotted with black” (91–92). Haig-Brown concluded with his belief that knowing steelhead better will lead fly fishers to appreciate and respect them: “It is in developing and refining knowledge of the fish themselves and, with this understanding, finding ways of taking them that show them at their best” (97). Brooks, *Outdoor Life*, September 1971. He explained that “From the steelheads southernmost range in California to the far inlets of Alaska, when this unique fish comes home to his river to spawn he stirs anglers to a frenzy.” Quoted in Anthony Netboy, *The Salmon: Their Fight for Survival* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1973), 516, 573.
  25. Ralph Wahl, *Come Wade the River: The Photography of Ralph Wahl with Excerpts from “A River Never Sleeps” by Roderick Haig-Brown* (Seattle: Superior Publishing Co., 1971); and Enos Bradner, *Fish on! (Everything You Should Know About Steelhead Including How to Catch ‘Em)* (Seattle: Superior Publishing Co., 1971).
  26. Haig-Brown, ed., *From the World*, 75–81. Raymond was president of the Washington Fly Fishing Club, an editor at the Seattle Times, close friends with Lew Bell, president of the FFF, and a recognized fly fishing book author.
  27. Trey Combs, *Steelhead Fly Fishing and Flies* (Portland, OR: Frank Amato Publications, 1976). This book was in its seventh printing by 1989 and is still a reliable guide and reference. It should also be noted that many sections of the book had been originally published in Amato’s *Salmon Trout Steelheader* magazine, where Combs got his start as a writer.
  28. Thornton, “An Idea for the Times,” in *The Ardent Angler*, ed. Cameron and comp. Bell-Irving, 74–81.
  29. Haig-Brown, ed., *From the World*, 74.
  30. Editorial, *STS*, August/September 1970, 1; Editorial, “The Destruction of the Deschutes,” *STS*, June/July 1971, 1, 9; *Field & Stream*, November 1970, 46–47, 118–19. Johnson reported that “Washington State, like the rest of America, is experiencing an awakening of people to the environmental issues that are upon us” and warned his readers that “if we blow our chances to save this great game fish at a time when it can indeed be saved, what excuse will we give to ourselves and future generations?” The efforts of Amato and Johnson at *STS* were helped immensely by the Anglers Club of Portland and other fish advocates like Larry Cassidy, Chuck Voss, and the Steelheader’s Council of Trout Unlimited. Bill Luch, Amato’s steelhead book coauthor, had become president of the Association of Northwest

- Steelheaders and helped stop a dam on the Snake River as well as make steelhead a game fish in Oregon to prohibit commercial harvest.
31. Berryman, "John H. N. 'Jack' Hemingway," 67; Hemingway was preceded by the early conservation work in the 1960s by fly fishers Duke and Betty Parkening and was assisted greatly in the 1970s by fly fishermen Keith Stonebraker and Steve Pettit. Pettit was a fisheries biologist with Idaho Fish and Game and Stonebraker was a fly fishing pioneer on the Clearwater in the 1960s. Dan Landeen, *Steelhead Fly Fishing Nez Perce Country: Snake River Tributaries* (Portland, OR: Frank Amato Publications, 2006), 46–47, 63–65, 71–76; Keith Stonebraker, interview with the author, July 19, 2011; Steve Pettit, e-mail to the author, July 16, 2011 and interview with the author, July 18, 2011.
  32. California Trout, <http://www.wikipedia.org>; <http://www.caltrout.org>.
  33. Berryman, "John H. N. 'Jack' Hemingway," 64, 66–68. Two years earlier, in 1969, Oregon governor Tom McCall appointed Frank Moore to his state's Fish and Wildlife Commission. Soon thereafter, Dan Callaghan was also appointed an Oregon Fish and Wildlife Commissioner. Hemingway, Moore, and Callaghan shared ideas and strategies to protect wild steelhead whenever possible. In Idaho, with the help of two other fly fishing commissioners, Keith Stonebraker and Will Godfrey, Hemingway was able to introduce catch and release laws and stop the practice of stocking hatchery fish in waters where they would negatively impact wild fish. Remembering these times, Callaghan said it was "when the wild trout programs got started in earnest in each state." Mary Kay Callaghan, editor, with Jim Van Loan, *[Dan Callaghan's] North Umpqua* (Portland, OR: privately printed, 2008), 88–90, 150.
  34. Frank W. Amato, "Why Wild Trout Streams Continue to Deteriorate," *STS*, December/January 1972, 11; and *STS*, June/July 1972, 1.
  35. Haig-Brown, foreword to *A River Never Sleeps* (Piscataway, NY: Winchester Press, 1974), ix.
  36. Chasan, *The Water Link*, 127–37; Betty Winn, "Chronology of Events for the NWSSC," *Newsletter* (Elliott Bay Chapter of Trout Unlimited), January 1, 1985; and Greg Johnston, "Sportsmen groups in steelhead 'war,'" *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, November 10, 1983, C5
  37. Bill McMillan, "Steelhead Fly Fishing," *STS*, June/July 1974, 14–17. In this early article, he reported: "Many rivers have substantial runs of hatchery fish and such waters often provide fast fishing of an enjoyable nature. However, the numerical success of such fisheries should not blind one of their inherent dangers with indiscriminate expansion . . ." (17). Bill McMillan, e-mail letter to author, July 6, 2011.
  38. California Trout, <http://www.wikipedia.org>; <http://www.caltrout.org>.
  39. Andrus and Hemingway had been good friends since his days as governor of Idaho from 1971 to 1977. President Jimmy Carter made Andrus his

- secretary of the interior in 1977, and he served until 1981. Jim Van Loan, e-mail to author July 7, 2011.
40. Bill Bakke, e-mail to author, July 31, 2011.
  41. Interview with Frank Amato, July 17, 2011.
  42. During the summer of 1981, McMillan wrote a two-part article, “The Wind River Controversy,” for *STS*, sent flyers to fly fishing clubs in Washington and Oregon, encouraged letters to be sent, and urged attendance at the newly instituted Washington Department of Game Commission to testify at the public hearings. Bill McMillan, e-mail letter to author, July 6, 2011.
  43. Thomas R. Pero, “Reeling In,” *Trout*, Winter 1993, 8–9.
  44. Bill Bakke, e-mail to author, July 18, 2011.
  45. A Eugene attorney was retained by the Steamboaters and other attorneys, including a few who were fly fishers like Dan Callaghan, also got involved in litigation. Finally, in 1985, the project was stripped of its permit and in 1989, it was announced that the Winchester Hydroelectric Project had been terminated. The North Umpqua Foundation is still very active standing behind the wild steelhead and a “river worth preserving.” Dick Bower, “A Hydro Story,” *Flyfisher*, Winter 1990; “Help Preserve a National Treasure,” brochure; and <http://www.northumpqua.org>. Also see Johnston, “Sportsmen groups in steelhead ‘war.’”
  46. “FFF Steelhead Committee,” *Osprey*, January 1987, 1 and “Washington 1987 Regulations,” 4. Bob Arnold served for two years and then was replaced by Peter Soverel, who was the president from 1989 to 1999. When the Washington Department of Game established their Sports Fishing Advisory Group in 1989, Soverel and committee member John Sager represented the FFF. Peter W. Soverel, letter to the author, June 26, 2011.
  47. Wild Steelhead Coalition Trustees, John McGlenn, <http://www.wildsteelheadcoalition.org>. “John C. McGlenn: The Osprey’s First Steelhead Hero,” *Osprey*, 20, February 1994, 11; Mary Hoy, “A History of Steamboat Inn and the Fly-Fishing Tradition on the North Umpqua River,” <http://www.thesteamboatinn.com>. This was significant because of past experiences in Idaho and Oregon where steelhead fly fishers as commissioners were able to initiate important changes to benefit wild fish.
  48. This data was collected by steelhead fly fishermen who were directly assisted by the regional fisheries department steelhead manager and avid steelhead fly fisherman, Bob Hooton, who worked in Smithers. Bob Hooton, e-mail to author, July 20, 2011 and interview with the author, July 25, 2011. Robert G. Thibault, letter to the author, September 19, 2002.
  49. Beardslee, from Duvall, Washington, had contacted McMillan about learning to do snorkeling surveys so he could apply the techniques to his home river, the Tolt. McMillan became one of the first members of the Board of Washington Trout, and one of their first projects was to identify

- stream culverts that did not allow fish passage. Since 2007, Washington Trout has become the Wild Fish Conservancy. Their leading aquatic ecologist, Nick Gayeski, used to run his own fly fishing shop, was a fly fishing guide, and is an avid steelhead fly fisherman. Bill McMillan, e-mail letter to the author, July 6, 2011; <http://www.wildfishconservancy.org>. See also Dick Van Demark, *Steelhead Fly Fishing in Low Water* (Bellingham, WA, 1996).
50. Tony Evans, "Give Praise to Idaho's Migratory Masters," *Idaho Mountain Express*, August 17, 2011; R. S. Hooton, *Skeena Steelhead: Unknown Past, Uncertain Future* (Portland, OR: Frank Amato Publications, 2011), 98. In 1993, BC's Wild Steelhead Campaign released their video "Steelhead Symbol of Survival," and Hooton noted that "The video contained powerful messages from one the most distinguished and respected fisheries scientists of the past half century, Dr. Peter Larkin, about the consequences of mixed stock fisheries and the problems with artificial enhancement" (98).
  51. Trey Combs, *Steelhead Fly Fishing* (New York: Lyons Press, 1991); and Steve Raymond, *Steelhead Country* (New York: Lyons and Burford, 1991), 197–98, 206.
  52. Deke Meyer, *Advanced Fly Fishing For Steelhead* (Portland, OR: Frank Amato Publications, 1992), 149. In his chapter on "Conservation & Steelheading in the 21st Century," Meyer is very clear about the role fly fishers must play in the survival of wild steelhead: "You and I are at once the biggest threat to steelhead and their greatest chance for their survival. . . . We unite with like minded fishermen to form a social consciousness that wields a mightier political sword than the outcry of an isolated voice. We do it for ourselves because of our intimate affection and compassion for the fish we treasure. . . . Bitching and moaning is great for relieving stress, but eventually it falls to each of us to decide how much time, energy, and money we are willing to give back to the sport" (149).
  53. Peter Soverel, letter to the author, June 26, 2011; also see <http://www.wildsalmoncenter.org> and [www.steelhead.org](http://www.steelhead.org). In 1994, they started the Kamchatka Steelhead Project to collect scientific data on wild steelhead. It was a cooperative effort between the Wild Salmon Center, Moscow State University, and the University of Montana. Today, this project is run by Soverel and the Conservation Angler, based in Edmonds, Washington (<http://www.steelhead.org>).
  54. Ted Leeson, *The Habit of Rivers: Reflections on Trout Streams and Fly Fishing* (New York: Lyons and Burford, 1994), 22. Leeson said, "I had sought out wild steelhead as an embodiment of some native idea, some spirit that made the place itself" (22). A steelheader, Leeson said, "is preeminently a believer, an inflexible enthusiast trusting to the long haul." He went on to explain that "They know the one big thing, whatever you wish to call it—an unyielding devotion to purpose, the righteousness of a calling, a preternatural faith in their own spiritual invulnerability" (22, 26–27).



55. *Wild Steelhead & Atlantic Salmon* 1, no. 1 (Spring 1994).
56. This publication actually began in 1993 as *River Journal*, edited by Jeff Findley. John Holt, *Madison* 1, no. 1 (1993). For example, John Shewey, *North Umpqua* 2, no. 3 (1995).
57. Bill Bakke, e-mail to author, July 18, 2011. Bill Redman, interview with the author, June 26, 2011. Also see Bill Redman, “Snake River Salmon and Steelhead,” *Osprey* 24, June 1995, 1–6. Redman became chair of the FFF Steelhead Committee in 2000 and served in that capacity until 2010.
58. Michael Baughman, with photographs by J. Daniel Callaghan, *A River Seen Right: A Fly Fisherman’s North Umpqua* (New York: Lyons & Burford, 1995), see chap.13, “In Fifty Years”; Bob Arnold, *Steelhead & the Floating Line: A Meditation* (Portland, OR: Frank Amato Publications, 1995); Barry M. Thornton, *Steelhead* (Surrey, BC: Hancock House, 1995), see chap.5, “Steelhead Management,” where Thornton said: “The highest priority for steelhead management must always be for wild stocks” (155); Doug Rose, *Fly Fishing the Olympic Peninsula* (Portland, OR: Frank Amato Publications, 1996), see chap. 20, “Wild Fish,” where Rose admitted that “Like many fly fishermen, I had become increasingly worried about the decline of migratory fish” and suggested “this is the time for anglers that love the Olympic Peninsula’s wild fish to make their voices heard” (91 and 95).
59. Grant McClintock and Mike Crockett, *Watermark* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998) and Thomas McGuane, *The Longest Silence: A Life in Fishing* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1999).
60. Van Gytenbeek moved to the Seattle area in the early 1990s, cohosted *Fly Fishing Northwest*, a television show with Les Johnson on the Fox Sports Network, and began to publish his own magazine, *Fly Fishing in Salt Waters*, in 1994. He was an active member of the Washington Fly Fishing Club and served as a commissioner until 2004. During Van Gytenbeek’s tenure, as Lisa Pelly, the chair of the Washington Department of Fish and Wildlife Commission, said, “The sport-fishing community could not have asked for a better advocate on their issues, especially those who support the long-term sustainability of wild steelhead in this state.” Cordes, “Welcoming R. P. ‘Van’ Gytenbeek,” 5–6.
61. The WSC leadership argued very convincingly that “Without changes in attitudes and policies, wild steelhead populations will continue to decline.” The first three presidents of the WSC have been steelhead fly fishermen, as was the case for the majority of board members over the past ten years. As trustees, the WSC enlisted some of the most important steelhead conservationists, such as Frank Amato, John McGlenn, Bill Bakke, and Jim Lichatowich, a well-known fisheries scientist and author of the highly acclaimed book *Salmon Without Rivers: A History of the Pacific Salmon Crisis* (1999). <http://www.wildsteelheadcoalition.org>; Jack W. Berryman, “Wild Steelhead Coalition Growing,” *Northwest Fly Fishing*, Spring 2002, 22.

62. This report, written by a team of three fisheries scientists, an economist, and an attorney, consisted of eight chapters with extensive references. All of the authors, except one, were fly fishermen.
63. The report's summary concluded by saying: "WC-TU expresses its interest in working with co-managers and the State Legislature to obtain the funding needed to improve wild steelhead management and the enforcement needed to recover and properly manage these treasured native fish." "The Washington Council of Trout Unlimited Wild Steelhead Conservation Policy, 2001," policy summary, 1. By the following year, both Burge and Doyle became directly involved with the Wild Steelhead Coalition and Burge gained significant scientific help when Nathan Mantua, an avid steelhead fly fisherman and University of Washington research scientist with expertise in climate, oceans, and fisheries, became a WSC board member.
64. Steelhead fly fishermen played significant and central roles in all three groups. Press release, South Coast Steelhead Coalition, November 7, 2002; "Commercial Nets Threaten Skeena Steelhead," *Fly Fisherman*, September 2002; Lani Waller, "The Impossible Contradiction: Selective Gill Nets," *Fly Fisherman*, September 2002; and <http://www.steelheadrecoveryplan.ca>. The goal of the latter group was to "stabilize and restore wild steelhead stocks and habitats to healthy, self-sustaining levels." They also used a great Haig-Brown quotation from his "Fishing and the Common Man" in *Fisherman's Spring* (1951): ". . . I know that neither hatcheries, nor biologists, nor all the thought and ingenuity of man can put them back when once they've gone."
65. The WSC continues to sponsor "steelhead summits," currently under the leadership of Richard Burge and Marianne Mitchell. Dee Norton and Dave Bailey, "Conservation Groups United for Steelhead," *TU Leader*, January/March 2003, 1 and Jack W. Berryman, "Fishing and Conservation Groups Agree to Unite to Work to Save Steelhead," *Northwest Fly Fishing*, Spring 2003, 21–22. It is also significant that avid steelhead fly fisherman and author Steve Probasco was editor of *Northwest Fly Fishing* magazine and provided substantial personal and editorial support for wild steelhead. His assistant editor was Oregon's John Shewey, another well-known book author and devoted steelhead fly fisherman. Shewey is the current editor of the magazine and is a great spokesperson for wild fish.
66. Central to this decision were the WSC and Commissioner Van Gytenbeek, who was supported by five of his colleagues. Initially, about a dozen rivers, all on the Olympic Peninsula, were involved. Currently, the list includes eight rivers. Jack W. Berryman, "The Plight of Washington's Wild Steelhead," *Northwest Fly Fishing*, Summer 2004, 26–27, 85. Also at this time, in response to an article in *STS* titled "Wild Fish vs. Hatchery Stock: Any Difference," the WCS president at the time, Jack Berryman, wrote a rebuttal titled "Why Wild Steelhead Are Important," *STS*, October/November

- 2002, 4, 6. Jack W. Berryman, "Update on Washington's Wild Steelhead," *Northwest Fly Fishing*, Winter 2005, 17–19. These decisions were bolstered by another WSC report, "The Status of Wild Steelhead in Western Washington."
67. Andrew Williams, e-mail to the author, June 22, 2011, and Andrew Williams, "Friends of Wild Salmon, Banning Salmon Farming from Northern B.C. Waters," *Osprey* 61, September 2008, 16–19.
  68. Richard T. Burge, Nathan J. Mantua, and Jack W. Berryman, "Wild Steelhead Coalition Unveils Plan for Washington's Wild Steelhead," *Northwest Fly Fishing*, Fall 2006, 22–23. The lawsuit was filed by attorneys from Earthjustice on behalf of the plaintiffs. American Rivers, whose Northwest regional director was Rob Masonis, a very serious steelhead fly fisherman, became another key player to save wild steelhead at this time. Also see the editorial in the *Seattle Times* by the WSC president, Rich Simms, another steelhead fly angler ("Bush Proposal Not Good for Wild Fish," November 18, 2004). Masonis was quoted as saying that there is a "greater understanding among anglers of the importance of wild fish and the desire to catch wild fish. They get it; and it's those voices that need to rise up in the policy debate." Ted Williams, *Something's Fishy: An Angler's Look at Our Distressed Gamefish and Their Waters—and How We Can Preserve Both* (New York: Skyhorse Publishers, 2007), 195–203.
  69. "History of the Wild Steelhead Coalition, 2000–2011," <http://www.wildsteelheadcoalition.org>; Yvon Chouinard, founder and president of Patagonia, is a steelhead fly fisherman and was made an honorary member of the WSC. His company has provided grants, Patagonia's director of fly fishing, Brian Bennett, resides in the Seattle area and is on the WSC board, and proceeds from the sale of steelhead T-shirts, part of Patagonia's wild trout series, were donated to the WSC. Dylan Tomine, *Wild On The Fly: Journal of Fly Fishing Travel* 12 (Winter 2007/2008): 48–55 and Tomine, *Flyfishjournal* 2, no. 2 (2008), 94–95; Jack W. Berryman, "Video Review—Rivers of a Lost Coast," *Northwest Fly Fishing*, July/August 2009, 18–19 and <http://www.riversofalostcoast.com>; other videos include the Fly Boys and "Raising the Ghost" in 2008 and "Metalheads" in 2010, a Creekside Media Production.
  70. Jack W. Berryman, "Robert Milton 'Bob' Nauheim," 61 and <http://www.northumpquawildsteelhead.org>.
  71. Robert Masonis, e-mail to the author and others, February 14, 2009 and Lynda A. Mapes, "Famed Fishmonger Plans a Sea Change," *Seattle Times*, May 30, 2010, A1. Also of interest is the website begun by a Seattle-based steelhead fly fisherman: <http://www.stopeatingwildsteelhead.com>.
  72. Jack W. Berryman, *Northwest Fly Fishing*, September/October 2010, 20 and Bob Margulis, *Pool32*, 2012.
  73. "State Shuts Down Snider Creek Hatchery Program," *Tacoma News Tribune*, February 12, 2012. The hatchery will be closed "to establish a wild

- steelhead management zone,” the first formally established in Washington State under the WDFW’s new steelhead management plan.
74. This was prefaced by an editorial in the *Seattle Times* coauthored by Atlas, Beardslee, and Simms, “Restore the Elwah without hatchery fish,” July 13, 2011, A11. Also see Ted Williams, “How to Kill a Reborn River,” *Fly Rod & Reel*, January 2012; June Williams, “Enviros Raise Alarm on Dam Removals,” *Courthouse News*, February 16, 2012; “Interim Agreement Protects Wild Elwha Steelhead From Hatchery Release,” February 24, 2012, <http://www.wildsteelheadcoalition.org>.
  75. This is being borne out by the three most recent books on steelhead fly fishing. In Dec Hogan’s *A Passion for Steelhead* (Mill Creek, WA: Wild River Press, 2006), Pete Soverel wrote a stunning afterword titled “The Future of Our Sport.” Hogan was a longtime Washington fly fishing guide who focused on the Skagit and Sauk. Similarly, Oregon fly fisher John Larison’s *The Complete Steelheader: Successful Fly-Fishing Tactics* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2008) has an entire section on conservation and argues that “Fly fishing, as practiced by modern anglers, is a conservation movement” (217). Lastly, the legendary steelhead fly fisherman Lani Waller’s *A Steelheader’s Way: Principles, Tactics & Techniques* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2009) includes a chapter titled “On Conservation” and in it, Waller states: “It is thus our job to find a way to let wild steelhead live and survive as they have for thousands of years . . .” (193).

## CHAPTER FIVE

1. Other fly fishing museums include the American Museum of Fly Fishing in Manchester, Vermont, the National Sporting Library and Museum in Middleburg, Virginia, and the Rangeley Outdoor Sporting Heritage Museum in Rangeley, Maine. In addition, the Pennsylvania Fly Fishing Museum Association maintains several exhibits, including one in the town of Boiling Springs.
2. Karl Blankenship, “Habitat and the Brook Trout,” *Pennsylvania Angler and Boater*, March/April 2000.
3. Carl S. Oplinger and Robert Halma, *The Poconos: An Illustrated Natural History Guide* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2006), 157.
4. The area had many large groves of hemlock pine, a chief source of tanbark needed by the region’s numerous tanneries.
5. Throughout the 1990s and the first decade of the twenty-first century, the Pennsylvanian counties of Monroe and Pike were two of the fastest growing in the state. In New York, the Catskills also saw population increases, as people began to commute to New York City from further and further away. The contentious issue of fracking continues to loom over the area, with several large sources of natural gas sitting beneath Catskill and

- Pocono soil. Residents fear that the activity will pollute the water table, rendering drinking water unsafe and trout streams unfishable.
6. Lawrence Louis Squeri, *Better in the Poconos: The Story of Pennsylvania's Vacationland* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002), 2.
  7. *Ibid.*
  8. *Ibid.*
  9. "Where One May Go to Fish: Trout Streams in Near Neighborhoods," *New York Times*, April 27, 1878, 2.
  10. *Ibid.*
  11. "Anglers Now are Happy: Bright Prospects of Good Sport for the Fly Caster," *New York Times*, May 3, 1890, 8.
  12. "Many New Yorkers at Mount Pocono: Trout Being Sought by Scores of Fishermen—Dr. Henry Van Dyke Among the Visitors," *New York Times*, June 15, 1902, 22.
  13. *Ibid.*
  14. Squeri, *Better in the Poconos*, 2.
  15. The Henryville House ceased operation in 1978 and was torn down in 2004.
  16. The Henryville Special was invented by Hiram Brobst, a taxidermist from Palmerton, PA.
  17. "Fishing," *New York Times*, April 23, 1933, S2.
  18. "Henryville House," *New York Times*, May 19, 1946, X7.
  19. Ziegler also reconstructed much of the Brodhead's streambed following the deadly and disastrous 1955 flood. In August of 1955, two hurricanes struck northeast Pennsylvania (Connie and Diane), dropping over twenty inches of rain in a week. The Brodhead swelled, and it swept away a number of children from an Analomink-based Baptist camp. As the deluge reached East Stroudsburg, homes were destroyed in the low-lying downtown area, and several people drowned. Recalling images of the deadly Johnstown Flood, the 1955 disaster claimed over 100 Pocono lives. As a result of the flood, the local, state, and federal governments looked for ways to avoid similar disasters. One of the solutions was an elaborate levee system that shielded the downtowns of Stroudsburg and East Stroudsburg from any further flood damage.
  20. John W. Randolph, "Wood, Field and Stream: Pennsylvania Lodge Provides the Fish and Rods—You Provide the Cash," *New York Times*, May 8, 1960, S13.
  21. *Ibid.*
  22. For more, see John Macdonald, *The Complete Fly Fisherman: The Notes and Letters of Theodore Gordon* (1989).
  23. Roscoe, New York, for instance, still calls itself "Trout Town USA."
  24. Theodore Gordon, "Fly-fishing near New York," *Forest and Stream*, March 19, 1904, 232.
  25. *Ibid.*

26. "Jottings of a Fly-Fisher," *Forest and Stream*, March 28, 1903, 247.
27. *Ibid.*
28. "To be Sold at Public Venue, on Thursday the 25<sup>th</sup> of April, Inst., an Excellent Grazing Farm," *Catskill Packet*, April 15, 1793, 4.
29. "John Dodge, Watch-maker," *Catskill Recorder*, December 15, 1819, 3.
30. "A Hint to Anglers," *Poughkeepsie Independence*, September 26, 1832, 3.
31. "Voyage on the Lakes," *Orange County Patriot*, August 7, 1820, 3.
32. Gordon, "Fly-fishing near New York," 232.
33. Ernest Schwiebert, "We Began" (speech, Theodore Gordon Fly Fishers Annual Day, 2002).
34. "TGF Mission Statement," Theodore Gordon Fly Fishers, accessed February 20, 2012, <http://www.theodogordonflyfishers.org/tgf-mission>.
35. There are significant archival holdings related to the history of American sporting at several colleges and universities. The Milne Angling Collection at the University of New Hampshire and Western Washington University's collection of commercial and leisure fishing archives are but two examples.
36. "History," Catskill Fly Fishing Center and Museum, accessed February 20, 2012, <http://www.cffcm.net/history.html>.
37. "Our Mission," Brodhead Chapter of Trout Unlimited, accessed February 20, 2012, [http://www.brodheadstu.org/html/our\\_mission.html](http://www.brodheadstu.org/html/our_mission.html).

## CHAPTER SIX

1. There are no agreed-upon conventions for spelling Blackfoot words with the Latin alphabet. Thus, the authors of many English language publications on Blackfoot culture spell the same Blackfoot words differently. In this chapter, I try to rely, for consistency, upon the conventions promoted by linguists Donald Frantz and Norma Jean Russell. See Donald Frantz and Norma Jean Russell, *Blackfoot Dictionary of Stems, Roots, and Affixes* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989).
2. Allan Pard, interview by author, October 10, 2007, Johnny's Restaurant, written notes, Fort Macleod, Alberta.
3. Allan Pard, interview by author, July 18, 2001; Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump, written notes, Alberta. *Naato'si* is the Blackfoot word or name for "Sun."
4. Allan Pard, interview by author, November 27, 2000; Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump, written notes, Alberta; Gerald Conaty, "Relationships, Power, and Sacred Objects," paper presented at Organizing the Past, 12th International Conference on Organizational Symbolism, Calgary, Alberta, July 10–12, 1994; Kenneth Lokensgard, *Blackfoot Religion and the Consequences of Cultural Commoditization* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2010).
5. John Murray, interview by author, September 26, 2000, interviewee's residence, written notes, Blackfeet Reservation; Carol Murray, interview by

- author, September 26, 2000, interviewee's residence, written notes, Blackfoot Reservation; Allan Pard, interview by author, November 27, 2000; George Bird Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales: The Story of a Prairie People* (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1892; repr., Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1962), 167 (page references are to reprint edition); Walter McClintock, *The Old North Trail or Life, Legends and Religion of the Blackfoot Indians* (London: MacMillan and Company, 1910; repr., Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), 170 (page references are to reprint edition).
6. Robert J. Behnke, *Trout and Salmon of North America* (New York: Free Press, 2002); Barry Mitchell, *Alberta's Trout Highway: Fishing the Forestry Trunk Road* (Red Deer, AB: Nomad Creek Books), 23, 29, 33, 35. There are some rainbow trout native to the East Slope of the Rockies, but these are north of Blackfoot Country, in the Athabaska River drainage of Alberta. Behnke, *Trout*, 72; Mitchell, *Trout Highway*, 25.
  7. Allan Pard, interview by author, July 22, 2011, Rahn's Bakery, written notes, Fort Macleod, Alberta; Allan Pard, interview by author, June 20, 2003, interviewee's residence, Piikani Reserve; Ryan Heavyhead, e-mail correspondence (on behalf of Allan Pard), September 6, 2011.
  8. Pard, interview by author, 2011; Pard, interview by author, 2003; Clark Wissler and D. C. Duvall, *Mythology of the Blackfoot Indians, Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, vol. 2, part 1 (New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1912; repr., Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 129 (page references are to reprint edition).
  9. Pard, interview by author, 2011; Heavy Head, e-mail correspondence, 2011.
  10. Pard, interview by author, 2003; Pard, interview by author, 2011.
  11. Pard, interview by author, 2003; Pard, interview by author, 2011; Wissler and Duvall, *Mythology*, 129.
  12. Clark Wissler, *Ceremonial Bundles of the Blackfoot Indians, Anthropological Papers of the Museum of Natural History*, vol. 7, part 2 (New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1912), 238.
  13. Grinnell, *Lodge Tales*, 192.
  14. Clark Wissler, *Material Culture of the Blackfoot Indians, Anthropological Papers of the Museum of Natural History*, vol. 5, part 1 (New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1910), 20, 43–44; Grinnell, *Lodge Tales*, 207.
  15. James Willard Schultz, *My Life as an Indian: The Story of a Red Woman and a White Man in the Lodges of the Blackfeet* (London: John Murray, 1907); Wissler, *Material Culture*, 20–21.
  16. Schultz, *My Life*, 395.
  17. Ibid.
  18. Lokensgard, *Blackfoot Religion*. Bundles consist of skin or cloth wrapping, containing animal skins and parts, rocks, plants, earth pains, pipes, and other items. These items are considered alive, embodying the beings that normally inhabit their forms (e.g., an ermine skin embodies an ermine

- being). This description of bundles derives from personal observation, as well as the following representative sources: John C. Ewers, *The Blackfeet: Raiders on the Northwest Plains* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), 164; Grinnell, *Lodge Tales*, 276; McClintock, *Old North Trail*, 80–102, 262–66.
19. Wissler, *Ceremonial Bundles*, 248.
  20. Ibid. This description of general ceremonial features also derives from personal observation.
  21. Pard, interview by author, 2011.
  22. Wissler and Duvall, *Mythology*, 128–29; Adolf Hungry-Wolf, *Pikunni Ceremonial Life, The Blackfoot Papers—Volume Two* (Skookumchuck, BC: Good Medicine Cultural Foundation, 2006), 365–68.
  23. Grinnell, *Lodge Tales*, 191–92.
  24. Joe Kipp, interview by author, July 26, 2011, interviewee’s residence, written notes, Blackfeet Reservation.
  25. Wissler, *Material Culture*, 39.
  26. Lokensgard, *Blackfoot Religion*, 116–17.
  27. Ibid., 118–20; Ewers, *The Blackfeet*, 309–11.
  28. Ewers, *The Blackfeet*, 278–96. The bulk of the overhunting was done by whites, who were meeting the European and Euro-American demand for hides. Eventually, however, Blackfeet and other native peoples participated in the hide trade as well. Also, some Lakotas and Nez Perce spent several years living and hunting on the Northwestern Plains, where Canadian Blackfeet traditionally hunted, to avoid confrontations with the US Army across the border. This increased pressure upon the local herds. John C. Jackson, *The Piikuni Blackfeet: A Culture Under Siege* (Missoula, MT: Mountain Press Publishing, 2000), 184–87, 194–96.
  29. Ewers, *The Blackfeet*, 29, 65, 252, 257–58.
  30. Lokensgard, *Blackfoot Religion*, 116–17; James Willard Schultz, *Blackfeet and Buffalo: Memories of Life among the Indians* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), 302–5.
  31. Ewers, *The Blackfeet*, 303.
  32. Ibid., 313.
  33. Ibid., 313, 318.
  34. Ibid., 291–96.
  35. Schultz, *My Life*, 77.
  36. Ibid., 81.
  37. Lokensgard, *Blackfoot Religion*, 122–24.
  38. Schultz, *Blackfeet and Buffalo*, 114–15.
  39. Schultz, *My Life*, 329–330.
  40. Ibid., 330.
  41. Kipp, interview by author, 2011. Please note, I henceforth refer to the historic, white scout and trader as “Joseph” and to the living *Piikani* fishing guide as “Joe.”



42. Kipp, interview by author, 2011.
43. *Ibid.*
44. Numerous North *Piikani* and *Kainaa* friends have told me about the popularity of fishing among their grandparents and other relatives.
45. In his chapter in this book, Arn Keeling discusses the introduction of nonnative fish and attendant fishing regulations, in the interests of “sportsmen,” as a form of colonialism. Drawing from other writers, he suggests that these introductions represent a process of “dispossession.” In their case, traditional Blackfeet might say that it is not so much they, but rather the underwater people, who have been dispossessed of their favored fish.
46. Bill Alvord, *A History of Montana’s Fisheries Division from 1890–1958* (Helena: Montana Fish, Wildlife, and Parks, 1991), 4.
47. *Ibid.*, 5, 6, 7.
48. *Ibid.*, 6.
49. *Ibid.*, 2.
50. *Ibid.*
51. *Ibid.*, 8.
52. Lois Randall, *Fishery Management Plan for the Blackfeet Reservation* (Kalispell: Northwest Montana Fish and Wildlife Center, 1982), 17; Toby Tabor, e-mail correspondence, August 31, 2011.
53. Randall, *Fishery Management*, 17, 38.
54. Jim Wagner, interview by author via phone, September 2, 2011, written notes.
55. *Ibid.*
56. *Ibid.*
57. *Ibid.*
58. *Ibid.*
59. *Ibid.*; Daryl Wig, interview by author via phone, July 25, 2011, written notes.
60. Irvine Scalplock, interview by author, September 30, 2008, Blackfoot Crossing Historical Park, written notes, *Siksika* Reserve.
61. Pard, interview by author, 2003.
62. Wig, interview by author, 2011.
63. This again raises the issues of environmental colonialism and dispossession that Keeling addresses in his chapter. Traditionalists like Pard bemoan the loss of *any* beings in the Blackfoot world, since all beings are interconnected, directly or indirectly, through the web of relationships existing between them. Still, the loss of the bison impacted the Blackfeet much more profoundly than the decrease of native fish populations did, as most Blackfeet did not relate directly to the fish or other underwater people. Regardless, further research should be done with living Blackfoot traditionalists on these matters.
64. Kipp, interview by author, 2011.

65. Ibid.
66. Ibid.
67. Toby Tabor, interview by author via phone, August 29, 2011, written notes.
68. Ibid.
69. John Holt, *Flyfishing Adventures: Montana* (Belgrade, MT: Wilderness Adventures Press, Inc., 2010), 166–69.
70. Tabor, interview by author, 2011.
71. Kipp, interview by author, 2011; Tabor, interview by author, 2011.
72. Kipp, interview by author, 2011.

CHAPTER SEVEN

1. Bob Seager, Jerry Kunnath, and Todd Fuller, *A Century of Fly Fishing History, The North Branch of the Au Sable River: A Historical Documentary* (Vermillion Productions Inc., 2005), DVD.
2. Robert J. Behnke, “Grayling,” in *About Trout: The Best of Robert J. Behnke From Trout Magazine* (Guilford, CT: Lyons Press, 2007), 161.
3. B. W. Sperry, “Early Grayling Days,” *Forest and Stream*, October 2, 1887, 272.
4. L. D. Norris, “The Michigan Grayling. What Must Be Done to Prevent the Annihilation of this Excellent Food and Game Fish,” address to the Michigan Sportsmen’s Association, February 5, 1878, box 1, folder William B. Mershon Early Family Paper of Augustus H. Mershon, The Mershon Collection in the Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan (hereafter Mershon Collection).
5. Charles Hallock, *The Fishing Tourist: Angler’s Guide and Reference Book* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1873), 208.
6. L. Agassiz to J. Sutherland, February 1, 1873, in Charles Hallock, *The Fishing Tourist: Angler’s Guide and Reference Book* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1873), 208.
7. Thaddeus Norris, “Down the Au Sable,” *Forest and Stream* 3, no. 3 (1874): 33.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. L. D. Norris, “The Michigan Grayling,” Mershon Collection.
13. Ibid.
14. F. H. Thurston, “The American Grayling,” in *American Game Fishes: Their Habits, Habitat, and Peculiarities; How, When and Where to Angle for Them* (Chicago: Rand, McNally & Company, Publishers, 1892), 351.
15. Garrett Hardin, “The Tragedy of the Commons,” *Science* 162 (December 13, 1968): 1244.

16. L. D. Norris, "The Michigan Grayling," Mershon Collection.
17. William B. Mershon, *Recollections of My Fifty Years of Hunting and Fishing* (Boston: Stratford Co., 1923), 170.
18. Thaddeus Norris, "Grayling and Bass," *Forest and Stream*, September 9, 1875, 65.
19. Mershon, *Recollections*, 170.
20. William B. Mershon to George Miller, April 15, 1912, box 32, folder Dec. 24, 1912–Apr. 30, 1913, Mershon Collection.
21. Mershon, *Recollections*, 159.
22. Fred Mather, "Raising the Grayling," *Forest and Stream* 3, no. 18 (1874): 276.
23. *Ibid.*
24. William B. Mershon to George Miller, April 15, 1912, box 32, folder Dec. 24, 1912–Apr. 30, 1913, Mershon Collection.
25. L. D. Norris, "The Michigan Grayling," Mershon Collection.
26. William B. Mershon to Charles Stewart, May 12, 1905, box 2, folder William Butts Mershon Correspondence Papers April/May 1905, Mershon Collection.
27. William B. Mershon to C. H. Davis, June 5, 1906, box 29, folder Feb. 26, 1906–July 26, 1907, Mershon Collection.
28. Eugene T. Peterson, "The History of Wildlife Conservation in Michigan, 1859–1921" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1952), 185.
29. *Ibid.*, 186.
30. Thurston, "The American Grayling," 348.
31. Mather, "Raising the Grayling," 276.
32. L. D. Norris, "The Michigan Grayling," Mershon Collection.
33. Mershon, *Recollections*, 172.
34. Fred Mather quoted in *American Game Fishes* (Chicago: Rand, McNally & Company, Publishers, 1892), 349.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

1. I wish to thank Aki Janatuinen and Markus Penttinen of the Finnish Society for Stream Conservation (Virtavesien hoitoyhdistys), Anssi Uitti of the Finnish Federation of Anglers (SUKL), and the editors for their insightful comments on the manuscript.

Anders Johan Malmgren, "Kritisk öfversigt af Finlands Fisk-fauna" (PhD diss., Imperial Alexander University in Finland, 1863), 58–60; Oscar Nordqvist, "Laxens uppstigande i Finlands och Norra Sveriges elfvar," *Fennia* 22, no. 2 (1904–1905): 1–58; Heikki Pitkänen, ed., *Suuri kalakirja* (Helsinki: Otava, 1961), 73; Seppo Hurme, *Suomen Itämeren puoleiset vaelluskalajoet*, *Monistettuja julkaisuja* 24 (Helsinki: Maataloushallituksen Kalataloudellinen Tutkimustoimisto, 1962); *idem*, "Lounais-Suomen lohi- ja taimenjoet," *Suomen Kalatalous* 29 (1967): 5–18; *idem*, *Lohi ja taimen Suomenlahden alueella*, *Monistettuja julkaisuja* 37 (Helsinki:

- Maataloushallituksen Kalataloudellinen Tutkimustoimisto, 1970); Anthony Netboy, *The Atlantic Salmon: A Vanishing Species* (London: Faber and Faber, 1968), 116; World Wildlife Fund (WWF), *The Status of Wild Atlantic Salmon: A River by River Assessment*, WWF Report (May 2001), 76; Lauri Koli, *Suomen kalat* (Porvoo: Werner Söderström, 2002), 79–80.
2. Malmgren, “Finlands Fisk-fauna,” 61–64; Curt Segerstråle, “Studier rörande havsforellen (*Salmo trutta* L.) i Södra Finland, speciellt på Karelska näset och i Nyland,” *Acta Societas pro Fauna et Flora Fennica* 60 (1937): 696–750; Seppo Hurme, “Vantaanjoki taimenvetenä,” *Metsästyys ja Kalastus* (May 1952): 149–51; idem, *Suomen Itämeren puoleiset vaelluskalajoet*; idem, “Lounais-Suomen lohi- ja taimenjoet”; idem, *Lohi ja taimen Suomenlahden alueella*; Koli, *Suomen kalat*, 84–87; Jukka Halonen, ed., *Taimen: Elintavat, kalastus ja suojelu* (Helsinki: Edita, 2002), 85–99.
  3. Malmgren, “Finlands Fisk-fauna,” 49–58, 64–65; Koli, *Suomen kalat*, 124–25, 113–14, 104–7.
  4. U. T. Sirelius, *Suomalaisten kalastus I–III*, 3 vols., 1906–1908, Toimituksia 1252, reprint (Helsinki: Finnish Literary Society, 2009); T. H. Järvi, *Suomen merikalastus ja jokipyynti* (Porvoo: Werner Söderström, 1932), 111–45; Kustaa Vilkuna, *Lohi: Kemijoen ja sen lähialueen lohenkalastuksen historia* (Helsinki: Otava, 1975), 14–114; Päivö Suomela, *Päijänteen siirtolaiskalastajat*, Research Report 5 (Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä, Institute of Ethnology, 1975), 13–14; Ossi Seppovaara, *Vuoksi: Luonto ja ihminen vesistön muovaajina*, Toimituksia 406 (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1984), 35–72; Anssi Eloranta, *Virtavesien kunnostus*, Julkaisu 165 (Helsinki: Kalatalouden Keskusliitto, 2010), 8–10.
  5. Matti J. Särömaa, “. . . Ei sen väliä, saanko vai olen saamatta”: *SUKL 75 vuotta 1919–1994* (Helsinki: Suomen Urheilukalastajain Liitto, 1994), 271; Järvi, *Suomen merikalastus ja jokipyynti*, 145–52.

During the nineteenth century, a sense of national unity and common cultural identity developed in the country. The Finnish language, the non-Indo-European mother tongue of a great majority of Finns, was given an official status in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

6. Särömaa, *Ei sen väliä*, 10–14. For example, English employees of the Tampere textile mills fly fished the Tammerkoski Rapids already during the 1860s. By the 1870s, however, the local trout stocks plummeted because of the continuous development along the rapids and growing industrial pollution. On the Tammerkoski, see Teuvo Koskinen, “Tammerkoski-kappale suomalaista lohikoskihistoriaa” (master’s thesis, University of Tampere, 1981).
7. Seppovaara, *Vuoksi*, 76–96; idem, *Kymijoki: Virran kohtaloita vuosisatojen saatossa* ([Kouvola: Kymijoen vesiensuojeluyhdistys], 1988), 249–57; Särömaa, *Ei sen väliä*, 14–16. On the imperial fishing lodge, see <http://www.langinkoskimuseo.com/en/museum/history>, accessed May 26, 2015.
8. Cf. John F. Reiger, *American Sportsmen and the Origins of Conservation*, 3rd ed. (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2001), 3.

9. Salmo Salar [Hintze, Alexander], *Krokfiske som sport och yrke samt kräft-fångst* (Helsinki, 1883); Särömaa, *Kalkkisten kalastusklubi 1886—1986* (Helsinki: Kirjayhtymä, 1987), 11–12; idem, *Ei sen väliä*, 19–21, 249. During his travels, Hintze had also developed a deep interest in artificial propagation of fish and made unsuccessful attempts at introducing rainbow trout, smallmouth bass, and even lake sturgeon to the Finnish fauna.
10. Särömaa, *Kalkkisten kalastusklubi*; idem, *Ei sen väliä*, 37–38; Seppovaara, *Kymijoki*, 163.
11. Särömaa, *Ei sen väliä*, 21–22, 258. For a fictional account of Maria Renfors's life, see Eeva-Kaarina Aronen, *Maria Renforsin totuus* (Helsinki: Teos, 2005).  
In 1870, Herman Renfors introduced his famous Kajaani (Kajana) Spinner, which was one of the first lures of this type, and went on to win several prizes for his inventions, many of them connected to fishing. In addition to his lures, fishing reels manufactured by Renfors became especially popular.
12. Särömaa, *Ei sen väliä*, 26, 271–72.
13. Ibid., 26–31, 282; A. E. Salmelainen, *Urheilukalastus* (Helsinki: Otava, 1914). For example, the rapids near Varkaus, Heinävesi, and Joensuu in eastern Finland were rented by anglers after the turn of the century.
14. Särömaa, *Ei sen väliä*, 26–31.
15. The following discussion on Aho is based on Särömaa, *Ei sen väliä*, 28–29, 31–37, 46; Vesa Haapala, “Aika Huopanalla: Kalastuksen estetiikasta ja etiiikasta Juhani Ahon Lohilastuissa ja kalakaskuissa,” in *Äänekäs kevät: Ekokriittinen kirjallisuudentutkimus*, ed. Toni Lahtinen and Markku Lehtimäki, Tietolipas 222 (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2008), 95–135; Jarmo Kovanen, Erkki Markkanen, and Osmo Rintala, *Huopana: Juhani Ahon koski* (Atena: Jyväskylä, 1994), 26–39, 121–36.
16. Juhani Aho, *Lastuja VIII: Lohilastuja ja kalakaskuja* (1921), reprint *Kootut teokset VI* (Porvoo: Werner Söderström, 1949). His catch was not restricted to the traditional trout; landing a big, savory ide (*Leuciscus idus*) with the fly could prove as rewarding. The ide is a cyprinid closely related to the European chub (*Leuciscus cephalus*) of Izaak Walton fame.
17. Aho, “Lohensukuisten kalojen suojaamisesta,” *Helsingin Sanomat*, September 22, 1909; “Lohikoskien hoidosta,” *Suomen Kalastuslehti* 23, no. 9 (1916): 129–34; “Lohenonginnasta kutuaikana,” *Suomen Kalastuslehti* 24, no. 11 (1917): 163–65; and “Tietoja järvilohen istutuksesta Huopanasassa,” *Suomen Kalastuslehti* 27, no. 1 (1920): 23–26.
18. Särömaa, *Ei sen väliä*, 249–51. Of course, for much of the twentieth century there existed a scientific hubris about the possibilities of artificial propagation and stocking for maintaining harvestable populations. The problems inherent to the stocking of spawning rivers with fry or smolts coming from nonnative breeding stock have only been recognized during the last decades, and as a result of yet another breakthrough in the natural sciences, this time in genetic research.

19. Särömaa, *Ei sen väliä*, 41–45, 125; Seppovaara, *Vuoksi*, 105–25.
20. Särömaa, *Ei sen väliä*, 49–50, 141–43, 149–70, 173–78; Seppovaara, *Kymi-joki*, 167–71.
21. Eloranta, “Kahden kuution kunnostus eli Hilmonjoen kunnianpalautus,” *Urheilukalastus* 4 (1996): 24–27; Särömaa, *Ei sen väliä*, 170–73; idem, “Hilmo–hyvä esimerkki,” *Urheilukalastus* 7 (1994): 2. SUKL also rented a chain of rapids in the Konnevesi region of Central Finland between 1936 and 1960. See Särömaa, *Ei sen väliä*, 178–80. A private club, *Keitele-Koliman Urheilukalastajat*, has rented rapids in the Viitasaari region since 1923. See Raimo Olkkonen, *Keitele-Kolima Urheilukalastajain kerho ry., 1923–1998* ([Helsinki: Keitele-Kolima urheilukalastajainkerho], 1998).
22. Eloranta, “Virkistyskalastus Laukaan Simunankoskessa v. 1910–1990,” Rautalammin reitin taimen-symposio Jyväskylässä 4.–5.4.1991, *Suomen Kalatalous* 59 (1993): 111–13; Särömaa, *Ei sen väliä*, 252–53. The first anglers to rent the rapids included Juhani Aho in the early 1910s. Aho, however, concentrated on his efforts at the Huopana and never got to wet a line at the Simuna. It has been estimated that close to 900,000 trout were released to the rapids between 1920 and 1965, the majority of these being fry.
23. Särömaa, *Ei sen väliä*, 46–55, 93–94; William Wallenius, *Urheilukalastajan käsikirja: Lohen, harrin ja siian kalastus*, *Tieto ja taito* 29 (Porvoo: Werner Söderström, 1923); Aho, *Lastuja*, 609; Kovanen, Markkanen, and Rintala, *Huopana*, 136–52.
24. Särömaa, *Ei sen väliä*, 258–62, 273; Baron Charlie Palmén, “Fishing in Finland,” in *Hardy’s Anglers’ Guide* (Alnwick: Hardy Brothers, 1937), 36–37. By the 1920s, the catalogs of high-end sporting-good stores in Finland, such as Stockmann and Schröder, routinely carried information on flies and fly fishing. Finnish sporting magazines in both Swedish and Finnish regularly published articles on fly fishing, and even the magazine aimed at the professional fisherman, *Suomen Kalastuslehti*, would publish articles on angling. On the development of fishing tourism in Finland, see Jorma Tiitinen, *Lohirengestä kalastusmatkailuyrittäjiksi: Kalastusmatkailu Suomessa 1850–luvulta 2000-luvun vaihteeseen*, *Bidrag till kännedom av Finlands natur och folk* 173 (Helsinki: Suomen Tiedeseura, 2007), 52–80.
25. Eero Lampio and Lauri Hannikainen, *Petsamon opas: Kuvaus Petsamon luonnosta, asutuksesta, elinkeinoista ja historiallisista vaiheista sekä selustus matkareiteistä* (Helsinki: Otava, 1921); Lampio, *Eräretkiä Pohjolan lohivesillä ja riistamailla* (Helsinki: Otava, 1930); Ludwig Munsterhjelm, *Kadotetut paratiisit*, ed. Matti J. Särömaa (Helsinki: Ajatus, 2000), 22–55. Eero Lampio practically became a professional fly fisherman on the Paatsjoki: he reportedly caught some one hundred salmon, weighing over a ton, with fly rod from the river during one summer in the 1920s.
26. Särömaa, *Ei sen väliä*, 181–94. See also V. H. Vainio, *Hopeavälky: Kalamiehien kokemuksista ja koettelemuksista* (Helsinki: Tammi, 1947), 17–34.

27. Särömaa, *Ei sen väliä*, 194–95. The only fishing book by the famous hunting writer A. E. Järvinen, *Viimeinen kesä: Arviten kanssa Tuntsan lohijoella* (Helsinki: Ajatus, 2001), beautifully describes salmon and trout fishing on the wild and remote Tuntsa during the summer of 1939.
28. Vainio, *Karnjargan väylällä ja vähän muuallakin* (Helsinki: Tammi, 1950), 158.
29. Vainio, *Hopeavälkky*, 147–64; *Karnjargan väylällä*, 145–58; *Enkeli selvitti verkon* (Hämeenlinna: Arvi A. Karisto, 1961), 103–113. According to Vainio, angling provided the last refuge from hectic modernity and enabled the admiration of God's creation to the fullest. See for example *Enkeli selvitti verkon*, 200–207.
30. Särömaa, *Ei sen väliä*, 197–211.
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32. On the Hietamankoski, see Erkki Norell, "Tuo aika nuoruuden," *Urheilukalastus* 7 (1994): 10–16; idem, *Kalapäiväkirjani kertomaa* (Helsinki: Werner Söderström, 2001), 34–87.
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34. Särömaa, *Ei sen väliä*, 131–32, 173, 180–81; Norell, *Kalmulta Korholaan: Perhokalastajat ry., 1938–2011* ([Helsinki]: Perhokalastajat ry., 2012), 12–27, 46–51.

Despite the growing popularity of fly fishing in Finland, the national fly tying tradition remained modest for much of the twentieth century. The nineteenth-century trailblazers Herman and Maria Renfors had, however, transferred their skills to a few pupils. William Wallenius strongly advocated fly tying in his 1923 handbook but attracted relatively few followers. Most fly fishing in Finland from the late nineteenth to the late twentieth century was therefore practiced with traditional British salmon and wet flies. Typically swift and often tea-colored, Finnish streams were for a long time conceived as not very suitable for the dry fly despite the writings of Juhani Aho and other advocates of the technique.

Most fly fishers up to the 1970s would still rely on classic flies such as Dusty Miller, Jock Scott, Durham Ranger, Silver and Black Doctors, Sweep, Bridge, March Brown, Zulu, Red Tag, Mallard & Claret, and so on. However, some native salmon and wet flies evolved, most famously the two Kalkkinen flies, Huopana, Morottaja (a variation of Thunder and Lightning), Juutuan yö, and Kummeli. During the 1960s, interest in fly tying

- began to rise steadily. Also, the first successful dry flies of Finnish design appeared during that decade, most notably Simo Lumme's Nalle Puh (Winnie the Pooh). Lumme also created another popular caddis imitation, the SL-Pupa. While Finnish fly fishermen until the 1960s often used various Scandinavian and even domestic-made cane rods, fly fishing equipment manufactured in Great Britain—especially that by Hardy—remained the most valued. See Wallenius, *Urheilukalastajan käsikirja*, 1–57; Seppo Hämäläinen, *Heittokalastus* (Helsinki: Otava, 1956); Lauri Syrjänen and Pertti Kanerva, *Wanhat suomalaiset lohiperhot* (Porvoo: Werner Söderström, 1994); Norell, *Elämäni perhot* (Helsinki: Werner Söderström, 1995); Särömaa, *Ei sen väliä*, 236–46. On the famous fly tier Matti Tiitola, see Vainio, *Enkeli selvitti verkon*, 40–46.
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  37. Eloranta, "Hilmonjoen kunnianpalautus," 26; Norell, *Kalmulta Korholaan*, 55; interview of Ahti Kauppinen and Toivo Leppänen at the Hilmo by the author, August 16, 2011. After the demise of the Hilmo, the *Perhokalastajat* acquired the rental rights for the Heijostenkoski Rapids on the Saarijärvi route in the late 1950s and the 1960s, and for the Hannula section of the Korholankoski Rapids (Konnevesi) in the 1970s. In the 1990s, the club rented the Läsäkoski near Mikkeli and today fishes the Yläistenkoski section of the Korholankoski Rapids. See Norell, *Kalmulta Korholaan*, 66–192.
  38. Eloranta, "Virkistyskalastus Laukaan Simunankoskessa," 112. Much to the disappointment of fly fishers, Kekkonen and his fishing companions in 1960 managed to acquire the rental rights for the Siikakoski Rapids in the Konnevesi region of central Finland, formerly rented by SUKL. See Mauri Soikkanen, *Kekkosen kanssa metsällä ja kalalla* (Jyväskylä: Gummerus, 2006) 11–12, 40; Särömaa, *Ei sen väliä*, 180.
  39. Eloranta, "Virkistyskalastus Laukaan Simunankoskessa," 114, 118–19. The catch records from the Simuna over 65 years reveal that the tackle used included natural bait, devons, plugs, and spoons in addition to flies. In 1963, strong incentives were introduced to encourage the use of the fly (including tube flies) after midsummer. Accordingly, over two-thirds of the trout catch after that year was amassed with the fly.
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## CHAPTER NINE

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CHAPTER TEN

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## CHAPTER ELEVEN

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CHAPTER TWELVE

1. On this point, see Joan Wulff's *Fly Fishing: Expert Advice from a Woman's Perspective* (Harrisburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1991), 9.
2. Personal communication with Cathi Comar, executive director of the American Museum of Fly Fishing (AMFF), May 6, 2011. For more information on the exhibit, see the AMFF website at <http://www.amff.com/exhibits/>.
3. See the 2010 report by the Recreational Boating and Fishing Foundation, <http://www.rbff.org/page.cfm?pageID=26>.
4. For example, Paul Schullery's *American Fly Fishing: A History* (New York: Nick Lyons Books, 1987) notes several prominent women anglers. Nevertheless it does not include a consideration of their broader impact with regard to conservation related efforts. Lyla Foggia's formidable history of women anglers, *Reel Women: The World of Women Who Fish* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 1995) touches on women anglers' involvement with conservation work, though not as a distinctive theme or topic. And the recent AMFF exhibit on women and fly fishing did not consider conservation work as a theme in its history of women's participation in fly fishing.
5. I am indebted to several sources for the historical account given here, especially Lyla Foggia's *Reel Women* and Paul Schullery's *American Fly Fishing*. I am also indebted to the women anglers (cited below) who conversed with me on the topic, based on a series of semistructured interview questions.
6. It is important to note that I highlight several women angler conservationists that are not fly fishers. These "general anglers," as I will refer to them, are important to note, for their achievements influenced the broader angling and conservation fields in ways that directly impacted the fly fishing world.
7. Kenneth Smith, *Discover Maine*, cited in Foggia, *Reel Women*, 15–16.
8. In addition to her groundbreaking research, LaMonte authored over eighty articles and numerous authoritative books. She was the coeditor of the *Field Book of Fresh Water Fishes of North America* (1938), author of *North American Game Fishes* (1946), coeditor of *Game Fishes of the World* (1949) and *The Fisherman's Encyclopedia* (1950), and author of *Marine Game Fishes of the World* (1952) and *Giant Fishes of the Ocean* (1966).



9. The mission of the IGFA is to conserve game fish and promote “responsible, ethical angling practices through science, education, rule making and record keeping.” It was originally founded in 1939 to promote a universal code of sporting ethics for ocean anglers. For a further history, see “IGFA History,” <http://www.igfa.org/Museum/HISTORY.aspx>, accessed June 12, 2012.
10. On a history of women ichthyologists, including LaMonte, see Patricia Brown Stocking’s “Early Women Ichthyologists,” *Environmental Biology of Fishes* 41(1994): 9–30.
11. See Madelyn Holmes, *American Women Conservationists: Twelve Profiles* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2004), 160–64.
12. See “Mollie Beattie, 49; Headed Wildlife Service,” June 26, 1996, *New York Times*, <http://www.nytimes.com/1996/06/29/us/mollie-beattie-49-headed-wildlife-service.html>, accessed July 1, 2011.
13. Flowing through Yosemite National Park, the Tuolumne powers much of the San Francisco Bay area’s water supply. It also houses significant populations of Central Valley steelhead and fall-run salmon, which are significantly impacted by water diversions for human consumption, along with the river’s overall ecological health. For more information see the GWWF conservation webpage, <http://gwwf.org/conservation.html>.
14. Personal communication, April 2011.
15. The GWWF has gone on record, for example, protesting city commission proposals to increase water diversions on the upper Tuolumne River. They have also been active in urging the Turlock and Modesto Irrigation Districts (along the lower Tuolumne) to gain their required, though overdue, Fisheries Study Plan approved by the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission (FERC).
16. For several years, the club has also worked with the Steelhead Committee of the Northern California Council Federation of Fly Fishers on a barrier removal project on Alameda Creek that would help restore the river’s once robust steelhead run.
17. Foggia, *Reel Women*, 49.
18. The hatchery at Cold Spring Harbor is historically significant for having received the first shipment of brown trout eggs from the German fishing society Deutscher Fischerei Verein in 1883. For more information, see Glenn Law’s *A Concise History of Fly Fishing* (Guilford, CT: Lyons Press, 2003), 115.
19. See Cold Spring Harbor Fish Hatchery and Aquarium, <http://www.cshfha.org/index.html>, accessed June 12, 2012.
20. Quoted in Stephanie Mills, *In Service of the Wild: Restoring and Reinhabiting Damaged Land* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1998), 110.
21. *Ibid.*
22. For a description of the program see Annette Thompson, “A Brief History of Rearing Aquatics in the Classroom,” unpublished paper of the Golden West Women Fly Fishers.

23. “Wildcat Creek is open from the bay to its headwaters, with only a few small barriers to slow returning steelhead. It was in the headwaters of Redwood Creek that Rainbow trout were first identified in the 1850s. The resident trout are genetically pure descendants of those first fish.” Ibid.
24. Following her lifelong passion, Krieger recently created the award-winning educational film *Tomorrow's Fly Fishers* to introduce children to the world of fly fishing. For more about the video see the website, *The Essence of Fly Fishing: The Krieger Legacy of Excellence and Community*, <http://www.melkrieger.com/dvdKids.html>, accessed May 2, 2011.
25. Personal communication, April 2011.
26. Casting for Recovery, <http://castingforrecovery.org/home>, accessed July 13, 2011.
27. Her essays appeared in various newspapers and popular sporting journals, including *Rod and Gun* and the *American Fly Fisher*. One of her most interestingly titled articles, “The Metaphysics of Fly Fishing,” appeared as a three-part series in 1876 in *Forest and Stream*.
28. Little is known about the young women whom Marbury employed in terms of their marital or socioeconomic status. Historically, however, as Elizabeth Tobey pointed out to me, their work relates to other instances from this period of groups or collectives of female artists and craftswomen who made a living through creating handmade objects (e.g., Rookwood Pottery of Cincinnati, Ohio).
29. Schullery, *American Fly Fishing*, 75.
30. Ibid.
31. Foggia, *Reel Women*, 51.
32. As Samuel Snyder suggests, while most believe that Berners was a real person, there is doubt as to whether she really wrote the *Treatyse*. For a discussion on this controversy, see Snyder, “New Streams of Religion: Fly Fishing as a Lived, Religion of Nature,” *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 75 (2007): 903–4.
33. “Treatise of Fishing with an Angle,” quoted in Wulff, *Fly Fishing*, 179.
34. Ibid.
35. Catch and release harbors an additional set of conservation related issues with regard to animal ethics and fisheries health that I do not have space to address in this essay. Nevertheless, it signifies a clear case of the way in which women anglers have helped to inspire ethical reflection, critical evaluation, and significant behavior change with regard to conservation practice.
36. Farrington also specified appropriate dress for style-conscious (and assumingly well-to-do) women anglers in the 1940s in her *Women Can Fish: From Nova Scotia to Chile, New Zealand, Brazil, Australia, and Montauk, Long Island*. The woman angler, wrote Farrington, should be well prepared for all circumstances—on and off the water. Replete with sketches, Farrington suggests some of her Masland favorites: Lee Wulff vest, long fishing shorts

with a loose-sleeve blouse, wrap-around army duck shirt, lace evening blouse and evening cardigan, navy-blue top-siders, Block Island peaked cap, side-tied halter worn with long shorts, and a good leather belt. Chisie Farrington, *Women Can Fish: Salt Water, Surf, and Fresh Water* (New York: Coward-McCann, 1951), 210–17.

37. *Ibid.*, 166.
38. *Ibid.*, 210.
39. See Rogue Angels, <http://www.rogueangels.net/p/guided-trips.html>, accessed June 24, 2012.
40. *Ibid.*
41. *Ibid.*, 59.
42. Personal communication, April 2011.
43. It must be noted that several of the women that I interviewed for this essay were not especially interested in discussing gender issues related to angling. It is not that they were opposed or even reticent to such questions, rather, somewhat indifferent. On the one hand, this could be the result of generational differences with regard to gender issues (most of these women came of age in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s). On the other hand, however, it seemed more plausible to me that these women had become so immersed and accomplished in the field that the issues that excited them most were those intrinsic to the sport. They easily recognized the challenges they had overcome in order to achieve status in the field. Yet they did so in a way that was more descriptive than critical, matter-of-fact than indicting. “Let’s talk fishing,” many of them seemed to be saying, “not feminist theory!” Has the struggle for equality between women and men in the fishing world ended? “Absolutely not!” I believe these women would say. But have milestones been reached and ways been paved for women anglers of the future to continue to open doors as leaders in the field? “Absolutely yes!” they would say more loudly.
44. See Fly Gal Ventures, <http://www.flygal.ca/home>, accessed June 24, 2012.
45. See EWF App website, <http://my.ewfapp.com/tsi/app/f6030204-f202-42de-9b5e056d002bdb92.html?v=7&la=en&rc=webapp01>, accessed June 24, 2012.

#### CHAPTER THIRTEEN

1. Paul Schullery, *American Fly-Fishing: A History* (New York: N. Lyons, 1987), 174; Mark Browning, *Haunted by Waters: Fly Fishing in North American Literature* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1998), chap. 4. See also Glen A. Love, “Roderick Haig-Brown: Angling and the Craft of Nature Writing in North America,” *ISLE: Interdisciplinary Studies in Literature and the Environment* 5, no. 1 (1998): 1–12.
2. Thomas McGuane, “A Visit to Roderick Haig-Brown,” in *An Outside Chance: Classic and New Essays on Sport* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1990), 104.

3. The link between fly fishing's spiritual dimensions and its conservation impulse is explored in Samuel Snyder, "New Streams of Religion: Fly-Fishing as a Lived, Religion of Nature," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 75, no.4 (December 2007): 896–922.
4. Arn Keeling, "'A Dynamic, Not a Static Conception': The Conservation Thought of Roderick Haig-Brown," *Pacific Historical Review* 71, no. 2 (May 2002), 239–268. Indeed, Haig-Brown's conservation legacy lives on in the work of the Haig-Brown Institute in Campbell River, British Columbia, whose mandate is "to promote the links between ecology and economy through watershed management, and to inspire a conservation ethic through education and literature." See "Haig-Brown Institute," <http://www.haigbrowninstitute.org/>, accessed December 2011.
5. The most important exponent of this view is John F. Reiger, *American Sportsmen and the Origins of Conservation*, 3rd rev. ed. (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2001), but see also the discussions in Thomas L. Altherr and John F. Reiger, "Academic Historians and Hunting: A Call for More and Better Scholarship," *Environmental History Review* 19, no. 3 (Fall 1995): 39–56; Thomas Dunlap, "Sport Hunting and Conservation, 1880–1920," *Environmental Review* 12 (Spring 1988): 51–60; Jean L. Manore and Dale G. Miner, eds., *The Culture of Hunting in Canada* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2007). On the cross-border dimensions of this movement, see Thomas R. Dunlap, *Nature and the English Diaspora: Environment and History in the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Kurkpatrick Dorsey, *The Dawn of Conservation Diplomacy: U.S.-Canadian Wildlife Protection Treaties in the Progressive Era* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998); Robert Wilson, *Seeking Refuge: Birds and Landscapes of the Pacific Flyway* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2010); and John Sandlos, "Borderline Conservation: The Shared History of Game, Fish, and Forest Protection between Canada and the United States," unpublished manuscript, 2011, Department of History, Memorial University of Newfoundland.
6. Dunlap, *Nature and the English Diaspora*, 59–69.
7. On Leopold, see Aldo Leopold, *A Sand County Almanac, with Essays on Conservation from Round River* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1966); and Curt Meine, *Aldo Leopold: His Life and Work* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988).
8. Nicholas Casner, "Angler Activist: Kenneth Reid, the Izaak Walton League, and the Crusade for Federal Water Pollution Control," *Pennsylvania History* 66, no. 4 (1999): 535–53; Schullery, chap. 12 in *American Fly-Fishing*.
9. Tina Loo, *States of Nature: Conserving Canada's Wildlife in the Twentieth Century* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2006), 49.
10. A terminological note: in Canada especially, the use of the term "Indian" and/or "American Indian" is now considered unacceptable, except when referencing historic names, agencies, and documents. Rather, the term

- “First Nations” is increasingly widely used—especially by these groups themselves. The term “Aboriginal” as used here encompasses First Nations (or Native people), Métis (mixed-ancestry), and Inuit people, and is preferred here as a general designation for those groups that occupied North America before European colonization, and their descendants.
11. This literature is large and growing, and relevant titles are also discussed below, but representative examples include, for North America: Greg Gillespie, *Hunting for Empire: Narratives of Sport in Rupert's Land, 1840–70* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2007); Karl Jacoby, *Crimes against Nature: Squatters, Poachers, Thieves, and the Hidden History of American Conservation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); James A. Tober, *Who Owns Wildlife? The Political Economy of Conservation in Nineteenth-Century America* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1981); and Louis Warren, *The Hunter's Game: Poachers and Conservationists in Twentieth-Century America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999). For works on Africa, see John Mackenzie, *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation, and British Imperialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997); and Roderick Neumann, *Imposing Wilderness: Struggles over Livelihood and Nature Preservation in Africa* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).
  12. This term is an adaptation of David Harvey's notion of “accumulation by dispossession,” from *The New Imperialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003). See also Mark Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness: Indian Removal and the Making of the National Parks* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).
  13. Cole Harris, “How Did Colonialism Dispossess? Comments from an Edge of Empire,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 94, no. 1 (2004): 165–82.
  14. Nancy B. Bouchier and Ken Cruikshank, “‘Sportsmen and Pothunters’: Environment, Conservation and Class in the Fishery of Hamilton Harbour, 1858–1914,” *Sport History Review* 28 (1997): 8; see also George Altmeyer, “Three Ideas of Nature in Canada, 1893–1914,” *Journal of Canadian Studies* 11, no. 3 (1976): 21–36.
  15. Reiger, *American Sportsmen and Conservation*, 38–42
  16. Lynda Jessup, “Landscapes of Sport, Landscapes of Exclusion: The ‘Sportsman's Paradise’ in Late-Nineteenth Century Canadian Painting,” *Journal of Canadian Studies* 40, no.1 (2006), 71–124. See also Jean L. Manore, “Contested Terrains of Space and Place: Hunting and the Landscape Known as Algonquin Park, 1890–1950,” in *The Culture of Hunting in Canada*, ed. Jean L. Manore and Dale G. Miner (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2007), 121–147; and David Demeritt, “Knowledge, Nature and Representation: Clearings for Conservation in the Maine Woods” (PhD diss, University of British Columbia, 1996).
  17. J. Michael Thoms, “An Ojibwa Community, American Sportsmen, and the Ontario Government in the Early Management of the Nipigon River Fishery,” in *Fishing Places, Fishing People: Traditions and Issues in Canadian*

- Small-Scale Fisheries*, ed. Dianne Newell (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 180.
18. Richard Judd, *Common Lands, Common People: The Origins of Conservation in New England* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 178–94. For a west-coast discussion of these connections, see Timothy Mark Rawson, “‘In Common With All Citizens’: Sportsmen, Indians, Fish, and Conservation in Oregon and Washington,” (PhD diss, University of Oregon, 2002).
  19. Schullery, *American Fly-Fishing*, 125–26.
  20. Bill Parenteau, “A ‘Very Determined Opposition to the Law’: Conservation, Angling Leases, and Social Conflict in the Canadian Atlantic Salmon Fishery, 1867–1914,” *Environmental History* 9, no. 3 (July 2004): 444.
  21. *Ibid.*
  22. Douglas Harris, *Fish, Law, and Colonialism: The Legal Capture of Salmon in British Columbia* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2001).
  23. Warren, *The Hunter’s Game*, 181.
  24. William Knight, “Samuel Wilmot, Fish Culture, and Recreational Fisheries in Late 19th Century Ontario,” *Scientia Canadensis* 30, no. 1 (2007): 75–90; Neil S. Forkey, “Anglers, Fishers, and the St. Croix River: Conflict in a Canadian-American Borderland, 1867–1900,” *Forest & Conservation History* 37, no. 4 (October 1993): 179–87.
  25. Loo, chap. 2 in *States of Nature*; George Colpitts, chap. 5 in *Game in the Garden: A Human History of Wildlife in Western Canada to 1940* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2002); Bill Parenteau, “‘Care, Control and Supervision’: Native People in the Atlantic Canadian Salmon Fishery, 1867–1900,” *Canadian Historical Review* 79, no. 1 (March 1998): 1–35; and Bill Parenteau and Richard W. Judd, “More Buck for the Bang: Sporting and the Ideology of Fish and Game Management in Northern New England and the Maritime Provinces, 1870–1900,” in *New England and the Maritime Provinces: Connections and Comparisons*, ed. Stephen J. Hornsby and John G. Reid (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2005).
  26. Joseph E. Taylor III, *Making Salmon: An Environmental History of the Northwest Fisheries Crisis* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999), 202.
  27. Parenteau and Judd, “More Buck for the Bang,” 244.
  28. Paul Schullery, *Cowboy Trout: Western Fly Fishing as If It Matters* (Helena: Montana Historical Press, 2006).
  29. “Canada’s Best-known Author and Conservationist,” reprinted from *Time* in *Victoria Sunday Times Magazine* 12 (July 1952): 4; posthumous tributes to Haig-Brown’s literary influence include Ernest Schwiebert, “The Orchard and the River,” *Fly Fisherman* 9 (1978): 61–73; W. J. Keith, “Roderick Haig-Brown,” in *Canadian Literature* 71 (Winter 1976): 7–20; and George Woodcock, “Remembering Roderick Haig-Brown,” in *The World of Canadian Writing: Critiques and Recollections* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1980), 174–81.

30. Arn Keeling and Robert A. J. McDonald, "The Profligate Province: Roderick Haig-Brown and the Modernizing of British Columbia," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 36, no. 3 (Fall 2001): 7–23; Alan Pritchard, "West of the Great Divide: Man and Nature in the Literature of British Columbia," *Canadian Literature* 102 (August 1984), 36–53; and Anthony Robertson, chap. 8 in *Above Tide: Reflections on Roderick Haig-Brown* (Madeira Park, BC: Harbour House, 1984).
31. Roderick Haig-Brown, *The Western Angler: An Account of Pacific Salmon and Western Trout in British Columbia* (New York, 1961 [1939]), 9.
32. Cited in Roderick Haig-Brown, *To Know a River: A Haig-Brown Reader*, ed. Valerie Haig-Brown (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1996), 353.
33. Roderick Haig-Brown, "Crying in the Wilderness," script for CBC radio program, July 1953, box 51, file 1, Roderick Haig-Brown Papers, University of British Columbia Library Archives (hereafter RHB Papers).
34. Roderick Haig-Brown, "Some Thoughts on Conservation," draft article, 16 November 1966, file 5, box 55, RHB Papers (eventually published in Valerie Haig-Brown, ed., *Writings and Reflections from the World of Roderick Haig-Brown* [Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1982]). See also Roderick Haig-Brown, "The Sportsman's Place in a Developing World," text of speech to Alberta Fish and Game Association, August 1970, <http://www.haigbrowninstitute.org/hbi/articles/120-the-sportsmans-place-in-a-developing-world-roderick-haig-brown-1970.html>, accessed December 2011. On the Strathcona Park controversies, see Arn Keeling and Graeme Wynn, "'The Park . . . Is a Mess': Development and Degradation in British Columbia's First Provincial Park," *BC Studies* 170 (Summer 2011): 119–50.
35. Arn Keeling, chap. 4 in "The Effluent Society: Water Pollution and Environmental Politics in British Columbia, 1889–1980" (PhD diss., University of British Columbia, 2004). See also Keeling, "A Dynamic, Not a Static Conception," and Yasmeen Qureshi, "Environmental Issues in British Columbia: An Historical-Geographical Perspective" (master's thesis, University of British Columbia, 1991).
36. Loo, chap. 2 in *States of Nature*; Taylor, chap. 5 in *Making Salmon*; Christopher Armstrong, Matthew Evenden, and H. V. Nelles, chap. 8 in *The River Returns: An Environmental History of the Bow River* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009); Dianne Newell, *Tangled Webs of History: Indians and the Law in Canada's Pacific Coast Fisheries* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993).
37. Harris, *Fish, Law, and Colonialism*, 168.
38. J. Michael Thoms, "A Place Called Pennask: Fly-fishing and Colonialism at a British Columbia Lake," *BC Studies* 133 (Spring 2002): 69–98.
39. This land was also unceded by Aboriginal peoples. Rather than conclude treaties, the government of British Columbia preferred to create small reserves on Crown Lands and to affirm Aboriginal fishing rights at usual

- locations. At Pennask Lake, no reserve was ever created, in spite of the important Aboriginal fishery that took place there. Thoms, “A Place Called Pennask,” 74–75. On the legal and historical dimensions of treaties and Aboriginal land rights in British Columbia, see R. Cole Harris, *Making Native Space: Colonialism, Resistance, and Reserves in British Columbia* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2002).
40. Thoms, “A Place Called Pennask,” 86.
  41. *Ibid.*, 70.
  42. *Ibid.*, 91.
  43. For details on the club’s history, see Stanley E. Read, “A Brief History of the Harry Hawthorn Foundation for the Inculcation an Propagation of the Principles and Ethics of Fly-Fishing,” reprinted from Susan B. Starkman and Stanley E. Read, *The Contemplative Man’s Recreation*, 1970, <http://www.library.ubc.ca/hawthorn/history.html>, accessed December 2011; and Qureshi, “Environmental Issues in British Columbia,” 90–92.
  44. Qureshi, “Environmental Issues in British Columbia,” 92.
  45. E. Bennett Metcalfe, *A Man of Some Importance: The Life of Roderick Langmere Haig-Brown* (Seattle and Vancouver: James W. Wood, 1985), 180–83.
  46. Keeling, “A Dynamic, Not a Static Conception.” Haig-Brown’s statements on these problems are many and varied, but see for instance his various contributions to the BC Natural Resources Conference, including: “Recreation and Wildlife for Tomorrow,” in British Columbia Natural Resources Conference, *Transactions of the Sixth Resources Conference* (Victoria, BC: BCNRC, 1953); “Legislation in Recreation,” British Columbia Natural Resources Conference, *Transactions of the Eighth Resources Conference* (Victoria, BC: BCNRC, 1955); and the volume on natural resources written by Haig-Brown and commissioned by the BCNRC, *The Living Land: An Account of the Natural Resources of British Columbia* (Toronto: MacMillan, 1961).
  47. Haig-Brown, *To Know a River*, 355.
  48. Metcalfe, *A Man of Some Importance*, 170. See also Celia Haig-Brown, *Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 2006 [1988]); and Celia Haig-Brown and David Nock, ed., *With Good Intentions: Euro-Canadian and Aboriginal Relations in Colonial Canada* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2006).
  49. Roderick Haig-Brown, *The Salmon* (Ottawa: Environment Canada, 1974), 44.
  50. Roderick Haig-Brown, “The Salmon Resource,” *Environment Tomorrow* [University of Victoria] 2 (1971), unpaginated.
  51. Metcalfe, *A Man of Some Importance*, 221. For an extended discussion of the IPSFC’s reaction to the Boldt decision, see John F. Roos, *Restoring Fraser River Salmon: A History of the International Pacific Salmon Fisheries Commission, 1935–1985* (Vancouver: Pacific Salmon Commission, 1991), 240–60.
  52. See, for instance, Robertson, *Above Tide*, and Keeling and McDonald, *The Profligate Province*.



## CHAPTER FOURTEEN

1. David Hurn, “Keynote Address to FFF Members” (speech to FFF attendees at FFF Founding Conclave, Eugene, Oregon, 1965).
2. Doug Kokkeler, “History of the McKenzie Fly Fishers Club, Eugene, Oregon,” McKenzie Fly Fishers, 2011, <http://www.mckenzieflyfishers.org/>, accessed October 1, 2011.
3. Skip Hosfield, “Beginnings in Eugene, 1965,” *Flyfisher*, 1990.
4. Skip Hosfield, telephone interview by author, October 3, 2011.
5. Kokkeler, “History of the McKenzie Fly Fishers Club, Eugene, Oregon.”
6. Hosfield, “Beginnings in Eugene.”
7. Martin Seldon, *FFF Conservation History and Philosophies: Issue Paper for the Federation of Fly Fishers*. (Livingston: FFF, 2006); Skip Hosfield, telephone interview by author, October 3, 2011; Ted Rogowski, telephone interview by author, October 27, 2011.
8. William Nelson, address to McKenzie Fly Fishers, Eugene, Oregon, 1964.
9. David Hurn, speech at FFF Conclave, Eugene, Oregon, 1965.
10. Boise State University Special Collections, “Ted Trueblood Collection, Series II: Subject Series,” Boise State University Library, <http://archiveswest.orbiscascade.org/ark:/80444/xv54400>, accessed April 19, 2012.
11. Douglas Precourt, “The American Fly Fisher,” *Journal of the American Museum of Fly Fishing* 25 (1999): 14–21; David Policansky, “Catch-and-Release Recreational Fishing: A Historical Perspective,” in *Recreational Fisheries: Ecological, Economic and Social Evaluation*, ed. T. J. Pitcher and C. E. Hollingworth (Oxford: Blackwell Science, 2002), 74–93.
12. S. J. Cooke and H. L. Schramm, “Catch-and-Release Science and Its Application to Conservation and Management of Recreational Fisheries,” *Fisheries Management and Ecology* 14 (2007) 73–79; S. E. Danylchuk, A. J. Danylchuk, S. J. Cooke, T. L. Goldberg, J. Koppelman, and D. P. Phillip, “Effects of Recreational Angling on the Post-Release Behaviour and Predation of Bonefish (*Albula vulpes*): The Role of Equilibrium Status at the Time of Release,” *Journal of Experimental Marine Biology and Ecology* 346 (2007): 127–33; C. Pelletier, K. C. Hanson, and S. J. Cooke, “Do Catch-and-Release Guidelines from State and Provincial Fisheries Agencies in North America Conform to Scientifically Based Best Practices?” *Environmental Management* 39 (2007): 760–73.
13. Lee Wulff, *Handbook of Freshwater Fishing* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1939).
14. T. H. Johnson and T. C. Bjornn, *Evaluation of Angling Regulations in Management of Cutthroat Trout: Job Performance Report Project F-59-R-6* (Boise: Idaho Fish and Game Department, 1975).
15. FFF’s volunteer conservation directors include Dr. Marty Seldon in the 1980s, Dr. Verne Lehmborg from 1997 to 2006, Dr. Rick Williams from

- 2006 to 2009, Bob Tabbert from 2009 to 2012, and Dr. Glenn Erikson from 2012 to present.
16. Federation of Fly Fishers, *Native Fish Policy* (Livingston: FFF, 2010).
  17. FFF conservation coordinators were Kiza Gates (2002–2003), Kajsa Stromberg (2004–2005), and Leah Elwell (2006–2010).
  18. FFF Conservation Committee. “FFF Strategic Plan for Conservation: 2009–2013.” Report to FFF Board of Directors, August 2009.
  19. Richard N. Williams, “Refugia-Based Conservation Strategies: Providing Safe Havens in Managed River Systems,” in *Oregon Salmon: Essays on the State of the Fish at the Turn of the Millennium*, ed. Oregon Trout (Portland: Oregon Trout, 2001), 59–63; Richard N. Williams, *Return to the River: Restoring Salmon to the Columbia River* (New York: Elsevier Academic Press, 2006).
  20. Federation of Fly Fishers, *Native Fish Policy*.
  21. Federation of Fly Fishers, *Native Fish Conservation Area Policy* (Livingston: FFF, 2010).
  22. Jack Williams, R. N. Williams, R. F. Thurow, L. Elwell, D. P. Philipp, F. A. Harris, J. L. Kershner, P. J. Martinez, D. Miller, G. H. Reeves, C. A. Frissell, and J. R. Sedell, “Native Fish Conservation Areas: A Vision for Large-Scale Conservation of Native Fish Communities,” *Fisheries* 36, no. 6 (2011): 267–77.
  23. L. C. Elwell, “Dealing with Didymo,” *Flyfisher* 2006 (Autumn):24–27.
  24. See the FFF website for additional information on the project: <http://www.fedflyfishers.org/Conservation/Projects/YellowstoneLakeCutthroatTrout.aspx>.
  25. Marty Seldon, *FFF Conservation History and Philosophies: Issue Paper for the Federation of Fly Fishers* (Livingston: FFF, 2006).
  26. See the Red Brook Restoration Project at [www.redbrook.org](http://www.redbrook.org).

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

1. Art Neumann is a founding member of and the first executive director of Trout Unlimited. John E. Ross, *Rivers of Restoration*, (New York: Skyhorse Publishing, 2008), 14
2. Coral Davenport, “Obama Announces New Rule Limiting Water Pollution,” *New York Times*, May 27, 2015. <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/05/28/us/obama-epa-clean-water-pollution.html>, accessed June 1, 2015.
3. George A. Griffith, *For the Love of Trout* (Grayling, MI: George Griffith Foundation, 1993), 90.
4. Griffith, *For the Love of Trout*, 91.
5. *Ibid.*, 106.
6. *Ibid.*, 104.
7. *Ibid.*, 92.
8. *Ibid.*, 131.
9. *Ibid.*, 156.

10. Ibid.
11. Ross, *Rivers of Restoration*, 10
12. Vic Beresford, “History of TROUT, Unlimited,” *TROUT, Unlimited Quarterly*, Winter 1959, 3.
13. In its origin, Trout Unlimited capitalized Trout as TROUT, Unlimited.
14. Vic Beresford, “National Board of Review Formed,” *TROUT, Unlimited Quarterly*, Winter 1959, 1.
15. Art Neumann, “The Story of Trout Unlimited,” *Mershon Muddler*, Fall 1998.
16. This calculation was made using the MeasuringWorth.com Purchasing Power Calculator, <http://www.measuringworth.com/ppowerus/>.
17. Paul Arnsberger, Melissa Ludlum, Margaret Riley, and Mark Stanton, “A History of the Tax-Exempt Sector: An SOI Perspective,” *Statistics of Income Bulletin* (Winter 2008): 105–35, <https://www.irs.gov/pub/irs-soi/tehistory.pdf>.
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## CONCLUSION

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