

The American Fly Fisher

FALL 1990

VOLUME 16 NUMBER 3



Evolution



AT TIMES, it is hard to imagine that our Museum is twenty-three years old. We started life in 1968 in rented quarters at The Orvis Company on Historic Route 7A in Manchester, Vermont. In 1983, we moved down the street to our own building, also on Route 7A, where we've remained ever since. All the while our collection—thanks to the selfless efforts of thousands of Museum supporters and a dedicated, though often hard-pressed, staff of both professionals and volunteers—has grown to epic proportions. It truly is the world's largest collection of angling and angling-related objects.

Oftentimes, when I'm working late at the Museum, I like to delve into some of our old correspondence, shelved in a goodly number of acid-free boxes in the stacks on the second floor. I've spent many an evening sprawled out on the floor up there, learning about the evolution of our Museum as an educational institution. There are thousands of letters now, a fascinating collection. One

comes to know just who the movers and shakers were, and just how this museum was founded in the first place. There's a wealth of correspondence relevant to our formative years, of plans initiated, and plans which, for one reason or another, failed to materialize. Still, one irrefutable fact emerges from those old letters, memorandums, and missives: one comes to the realization that with all the ups and downs and fits and starts we've experienced over the years, after all the victories and the defeats, too, that we, as a museum and a museum family, have grown and ultimately prospered.

Now, those of us carrying the torch feel that it is time another chapter was added to our Museum's history. In our last issue I briefly mentioned our proposed plans for renovation and expansion. Some of the objectives of this campaign are outlined in the "Museum News" section of this issue, and significantly, many of those plans have already reached fruition. For example, we now have full computerization including hardware and software, laser printer,

and desktop publishing capability. Work has also begun on renovating our interior spaces and, if all goes well, we should have most, if not all, of the work completed by late spring or early summer.

With the first phase of the "Campaign for the American Museum of Fly Fishing" completed, we are ready to initiate a combination direct mail/phonathon for the membership at large. We are confident that our members will give careful thought to their commitment and give generously when contacted. This is an extraordinary opportunity to build a great museum.

The end purpose of this activity is not merely to increase the size of the museum and its collections, but to expand its role in the life of the angling community nationwide as it moves into the new decade. Ultimately, a museum has to be more than a building, bricks, and mortar—it must be, above all, about people. And, in this, the Museum is already richly endowed.

D.S.J.



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Fly Fishing

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for Future Generations

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ON THE COVER:

A view of the bridge over the Oybiga River near Astorga, Spain, home of the "Astorga Manuscript", an important monument of Spanish fly fishing in early seventeenth-century northern Spain.

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The Original Jock Scott

by Joseph D. Bates, Jr.



Animal hairs have long been common ingredients of fishing flies; the use of human hair in fashioning flies, on the other hand, is almost unknown. Yet the hair of a beautiful woman seems to have been both the inspiration for and a key ingredient of one of the most popular Atlantic salmon fly patterns, the Jock Scott, according to documentation uncovered several years ago and herewith published for the first time.

Based on research by the late Joseph D. Bates, Jr., the fly might more aptly have been named the "Lady Scott." The article resulting from that research was, according to Mrs. Helen Bates and their daughter Pamela Bates Richards, the last piece completed by Colonel Bates before his death in 1988. His death ended the career of one of America's most prolific and best-known angling writers, having authored some seventeen books (the latest of which is *The Art of the Atlantic Salmon Fly*), and uncounted magazine articles. The American Fly Fisher is grateful to the family of the late Colonel Bates for the opportunity to publish this article. J.P.

THOSE CURIOUS ABOUT the antecedents of classic salmon flies find historical research difficult because so little was written down. Information, as reported in angling literature, must be examined to try to separate fact from fancy, or truth from legend. So is it true or false that the famous Jock Scott salmon fly was inspired by a beautiful and noble lady with luxuriant "Titian" tresses so admired by her husband that he ordered this fly to be tied because of them?

Being a bit confused about the exact color Titian represents, I consulted my faithful dictionary. It says, "a color used by Titian in his paintings, red-yellow in hue, of high saturation and medium brilliance." This seems to mean a shade of golden red, which evidently was the original color of the rear half of the Jock Scott's body. In this country, women endowed with such tresses are generally called "red-heads" and are proud of it.

Anglers usually know that Jock Scott (the man) dressed Jock Scott (the fly) in 1850 while in the service of Lord John

Scott (brother of the fifth Duke of Buccleuch), but that's about it. The famous fly deserves a more complete pedigree, and much of it now comes to light.

First off, the two men weren't related. Lord Scott hired Jock Scott originally partly because of the similarity of names, and Jock served him faithfully for twenty-seven years until his Lordship's death in 1860. Evidently Jock didn't tie the fly "on a boat on the way to Norway," as originally stated in Sir Herbert Maxwell's *Salmon and Sea Trout* (1898). For the facts, let's turn to one of Lord Scott's friends who, under the pseudonym of "Punt Gun," published Jock's obituary in the February 18, 1893 issue of *The Field* ("The Country Gentleman's Newspaper") about a month after Jock's death on January 24, 1893. It says, in part:

It was while acting as fisherman to Lord Scott at Mackerston in 1850 that he set himself to devise something new and taking; the Jock Scott was the result and, on trying it himself, he was so pleased with it that he gave a pattern to the late Mr. For-

Opposite, a superb "Jock Scott" using Titian hair, as originally intended, instead of yellow silk. It also exhibits the correct feathers, according to Colonel Bates, including Indian crow, toucan, jungle cock, and blue chatterer. This pattern was dressed by Ted Kantner of Hatboro, Pennsylvania.

rest, fishing tackle maker, Kelso, who one day, I think at Bemmiride, after trying a lot of flies in vain, put it on with such marked success that he thereupon named it after the inventor and, as 'Jock Scott,' it will remain while salmon swim in the Tweed.

(This article, in full, appears in my latest book, *The Art of the Atlantic Salmon Fly*.)

Jock obviously was an expert fly dresser, whose occupation as fisherman, or gillie, customarily included keeping his employer's fly boxes full. But there is no record of his having devised any other pattern, so why did he originate this one?

Brian Fabbeni, expert angler and fly dresser of Wales, supplies a probable answer. He procured photoprints of pages excerpted from a publication called *Collection of 'Wroth Silver'* written by R. T. Simpson (Rugby, England: George Over, Ltd., 1884), and housed in the library of the present Duke of Buccleuch, that describes in part the local customs of the estate of Lord and Lady Scott. The booklet says about Lady (Anne Alicia) Scott:

Lady John at the time of her marriage (1836) was a noted beauty, and had glorious Titian hair, from a strand of which on one occasion a salmon fly was made, now celebrated amongst fishermen under the name of 'Jock Scott' fly, an enlarged model of which was presented by the writer to the Reading Room at Dunchurch, given by her Ladyship while resident at Cawston (near Rugby).

Despite the fact that this account was published thirty-four years after the fly was originated, it doesn't take much of a Sherlock Holmes to mesh these bits together.

Lord Scott was a salmon angler who was proud of his wife and her luxuriant Titian hair. It seems natural for him to want to memorialize it in a salmon fly as well as to ask his faithful gillie, Jock, to do so. This request seems to explain why it was the first, and evidently the only, origination Jock ever made.

Jock naturally took great pains with what, to him, was an important assignment. On request of Lord and Lady Scott he dressed several duplicates in this manner, but Forrest of Kelso and/or other anglers on the Tweed seem to have found a bit of fault with the pattern.

They were not inclined to be senti-

mental about Lady Scott's hair and didn't want to be bothered searching around for duplicates when orange silk did as well, or better. So, for a time, the red-yellow (actually a shade of orange) of the Lady's hair was duplicated in the fly by orange silk. Evidently the hair episode was brief and confined largely to the Scott family.

But anglers often object to orange in salmon flies because the color turns a dirty brown when wet unless dressed with an underbody of white. So eventually buttercup-yellow silk was used instead of orange. This provided a brighter touch and proved better for practical reasons.

This addition to the lore of such an

important fly intrigued me enough to try to find out whether it was true or false. I studied a few dozen Jock Scotts dressed during the last half of the past century and found that, in a few of the earlier ones, the rear half of the body was orange, or more so than yellow. In them there was no evidence of hair, which may indicate that this original phase in the fly's development was very short-lived. But the presence of the orange body in some of the earlier examples seems to confirm the truth of Lady Scott's part in the fly's history.

Jock did what he was asked to do. As an experienced angler and fly dresser, he may have had misgivings. By chance or design he was responsible for the very



Above, Lord and Lady John Scott of Warwickshire, Scotland, in 1847 and 1839 portraits, respectively. Lady Scott (Anne Alicia) was a noted beauty with "glorious Titian hair," which became an important component of the original "Jock Scott" salmon fly. Courtesy of the Duke of Buccleuch, Bowhill, Selkirk, Scotland. Photographed by Ronn Ballantyne.



This antique Jock Scott (c. 1890), top, tied with toucan veiling and Indian crow by an unknown dresser, was considered by Colonel Bates to be a "perfect" Jock Scott. It was given to him by the renowned flytier Megan Boyd, of Brora, Scotland, in 1980. Bottom, a full-dressed hairwing, tied with available material, that retains the balance and proportions of the classic Jock Scott. Dressed by Bob Warren.

successful half-orange (later yellow) and half-black body; a combination used on several very popular flies, notably the Akroyd (called the "poor man's Jock Scott" because it is a bit simpler) and the modern Rusty Rat (with a hair wing of grey fox). These are successful because the yellow is predominant in bright light while the black is more conspicuous on duller days or during evening fishing.

The use of hair in fly bodies is rare, but not unknown. For example, Kelson caused himself trouble by claiming origination of the Litty Inky Boy, an almost forgotten pattern having a body of black horse hair, closely coiled.

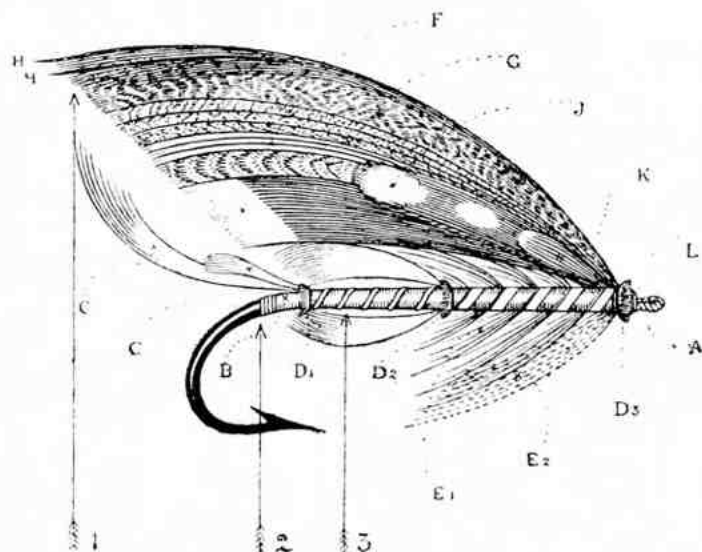
Despite the fact that many readers may not dress salmon flies, this little addition to angling lore wouldn't seem complete without including the correct dressing of the Jock Scott, using yellow instead of orange silk or Titian hair:

JOCK SCOTT

- Tag: Silver twist and yellow silk
 Tail: A topping and Indian crow
 Butt: Black herl
 Body: In two equal sections; No. 1, of yellow silk (buttercup color) ribbed with narrow silver tinsel, and butted (veiled) with toucan above and below, and black herl; No. 2, black silk ribbed with broad silver tinsel.
 Hackle: A natural black hackle, from center
 Throat: Gallina
 Wing: Two strips of black turkey with white tips, golden pheasant tail, bustard, grey mallard, peacock (sword feather), swan dyed blue and yellow, red macaw, mallard, and a topping
 Sides: Jungle cock
 Cheeks: Blue chatterer
 Horns: Blue macaw
 Head: Black herl

If one wants to do it as Jock originally did, he would only substitute closely coiled Titian hair for the yellow silk, as the illustration on page 2 shows. If yellow silk is used, tying thread under it should be yellow or white since darker thread might show through.

George Kelson, in his classic *The Salmon Fly* (London, 1895) calls the Jock Scott "the utmost triumph in harmony and proportion." While the above pattern, when properly dressed with correct ingredients, now is usually considered too precious to get wet, simplified variations are essential in every salmon fisher's fly boxes—and in the boxes of those who fish for many other species, as well. □



Kelson's Jock Scott Diagram

FOREMOST AMONG THE NAMES of the many prominent anglers and fly dressers who have contributed to the evolution of the salmon fly is George M. Kelson. His book *The Salmon Fly*, published in 1895, became the Bible of the salmon fly world—the first in its genre to give detailed instruction in the dressing of salmon flies. Here, then, is an analytical diagram of a "Jock Scott type" illustrating its parts and proportions, from Kelson's *The Salmon Fly*.

A. Gut loop.

B. Tag: here in two sections—silver twist, succeeded by floss silk.

CC. Tail. Of a topping and an Indian crow feather.

D1, D2, D3. "Butts." Between **D1** (tail-butt) and **D3** (head-butt) lies the *Body*, divided in this type of fly into two sections by **D2** (section-butt), each section having 5 *Ribs* of tinsel; **D2** is here preceded (in order of construction) by Toucan feathers above and below.

E. Hackle. Here distinguished as the "Upper section hackle." When wound over nearly the whole length of the body it is termed the "Body hackle."

E2. Throat hackle, usually written "Throat."

F. Under-wing. Here of "white-tipped" Turkey.

G. Over Wing, in most flies capped with a "topping."

HH. Horus. **J.** Sides. **K.** Checks. **L.** Head.

1. Is a line showing a proper length of tail and wing beyond the hook-bend.

2. Indicates the place of the first coil of the *tag* relatively to the *hook-barb*, the barb supplying the best guide to the eye in the initial operation of tying on the "tag" material.

3. Indicates the place on the *hook-shank* (relatively to the *hook-point*), at which the ends of the *gut loop* should terminate, leaving the *gap*, for adjustment.

This figure is intended also to give the student a general idea of the due proportions and symmetry of a good fly, as a whole, and in its parts severally.

In dressing, the terms "headwards" and "tailwards" mean towards right and left respectively, as seen in the plate.

The terms "bend of the hook," "point of the hook," "point of the barb," "barb-junction," etc., explain themselves on inspection. By a *mane*—a common term in Ireland—is understood a tuft of mohair introduced at some place on the body after the manner of the upper group of Toucan feathers seen in the plate in rear of section-butt **D2**. But as this means of ornamentation is not considered favourable, I shall leave the subject alone for a while.



Caddis: Rooted in the Common Tongue of Britain?

by Ralph W. Moon



ONE OF THE PLEASURES of fly fishing is its universality; it leads naturally to the study of a wide number of related, interdependent fields. The novice flyfisher turns almost at once to fly tying; those with more experience delve into the mysteries of aquatic entomology, limnology, conservation and ecological activities, rod building and collecting; the really dedicated angler may, and usually does, develop an interest in the more esoteric nuances of related knowledge.

The search for the origins of an angling-related word might never have occurred to me—much less interested me—except for the implied challenge and paradox in an excerpt from Gary LaFontaine's book *Caddisflies*. He said, "the origin of the name caddis, or caddice, is a mystery, its roots lying in the common tongue of Britain rather than in the more easily traceable Latin." He goes on to credit British entomologist N. E. Hicken with a "deft bit of linguistic detective work," for having traced the word as far back as Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale* (1611).¹ Hicken postulated that the peddler in the play with his wares all pinned to his clothing has some visual relationship to the case-making larvae of the caddis. Although the comparison is colorful and ingenious, it does leave some room for doubt, and with unwitting aim Gary LaFontaine struck

at the key to the mystery and in so doing raised the paradox.

The difficulty in tracing a word like *caddis* is two-fold. First, and most obvious, the word is reasonably rare; even in modern English it is little known outside of etymological and fly-fishing circles. References to *caddis* before the 17th century are very rare, and before the 15th century virtually non-existent. Word frequency in a language can give many clues to the searcher of word origins, and by the same token the rarity of a word increases the difficulty in tracing it. The second reason for the difficulty in the task at hand lies in the anomaly of our word being a triple homographic-homophonic word. It is actually three separate words which are spelled alike and which sound alike. Little wonder that the waters are muddied! It seems obvious then that we can look only at the meanings of the word as we have it recorded in the language and make our best guess.

Remember? LaFontaine said that the origin is a mystery (probably one which shall never be resolved completely) and has its roots lying in the common tongue of Britain. We shall see that the *caddis* which Shakespeare so casually mentioned in *The Winter's Tale* does not have its roots in the common tongue of Britain, but rather in the more easily traceable Latin and Greek. Thus Hicken's "deft, linguistic, detective work," which

is dependent on the work of earlier etymologists, does not really apply and LaFontaine's opening statement may be even more astute than he intended. Shakespeare spoke of a peddler who had

ribbons of all colours i' the rainbow; points more than all the lawyers in Bohemia can learnedly handle, though they come to him by th' gross; inkles, caddises, cambrics, lawns. . . .

The Winter's Tale, Act IV, Scene IV.²

Even a cursory reading of this passage might lead the reader to a quite different definition of *caddis* than that which Hicken postulated. The appellation, "Caddis-man," was not Shakespeare's term but Hicken's, and *caddis* here is simply another kind of cloth material, like lawn, cambric, or serge or corduroy. It does not refer to the peddler or to his appearance, but rather to his wares. The etymologist Glen Wiggins says of *caddis*, "in reference to cotton or silk materials, various versions of the word date to 1400 and cadyses appeared in Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale* in this sense." He goes on to say that although Hicken has made a connection between the caddis relating to cloth and the insect caddis, the connection has not been established.³ We have come then to the first of the three words involved.

Shakespeare has used *caddis* in a most explicit manner to indicate a type of cloth, or ribbon. Most frequently such

cloth was a form of woollen serge, but there are sufficient references indicating that the cloth was also in the form of ribbons or tape that was used for garter material and trim. Ernest Klein¹ traces the etymology of this meaning from the French *cadis*, through the Old Provençal *cadis* to the Spanish *cadiz* which apparently comes from the name of the city of Cadiz and originally meant material made in Cadiz. It seems difficult to find any sort of relationship between caddis the insect and Shakespeare's use of the word. His precise use of "caddis-garter" in *Henry IV Part I*⁵ and his placing "caddises" in a listing of other cloth materials in *The Winter's Tale*⁶ would indicate that the word was well established in the language with a precise meaning.

The second meaning of *caddis* during the period of the 14th through the 17th century is perhaps more frequent in the early part of the period than in the latter. Klein⁷ defines this word as a worsted yarn (obsol) or lint. He gives its etymology as from the OF *cadaz*, *cadaz* also *cadarce* from the O Pro *cadarz* of uncertain origin. Further, he says that this word is often confused with *caddis*, light woollen serge. Ernest Weekly⁸ concurs in this analysis, but proposes that the etymology can be traced from the Provençal back to the Greek *akartarsis*, meaning uncleaned. The reference here is that *caddis* was probably an uncleaned wool which was used for stuffing of doublets. References to the word in this sense are recorded in a number of manuscripts in the British Museum, and interestingly one of these prohibits its use by certain classes of people.

That noo yoman . . . use nor were in the aray of his body eny bolsters nor stuffe of wolle, coton or cadas, nor other stuffin in his doublet.¹⁰

Despite the fact that the vowel morphology of the word varies—"is" and "iz" endings for the cloth definition, and "as," "az," "arce," "arz" for the lint or stuffing definition—there still seems to be confusion even among noted etymologists between these two meanings of the word.

Although there is a span of nearly forty years between *The Winter's Tale* and *The Compleat Angler*, Walton's discussion

Right: William Shakespeare, illustration from Shakespeare for the Young Folk by Robert R. Raymond (New York: Fords, Howard & Hulbert, 1881). Far right: Izaak Walton, frontispiece from *The Complete Angler or The Contemplative Man's Recreation* by Izaak Walton and Charles Cotton (New York: Ward, Lock and Co., 1891).



of caddis leaves little question in his reader's mind that he knew a good deal about the caddis species and caddis morphology. He discusses several species of the larval form and seems quite well aware of the development of the larva to the caddis fly.

I shall therefore but remember you, that to know these and their several kinds, and to what flies every particular cadis turns, and then how to use them, first as they be cadis, and after as they be flies, is an art, and an art that every one that professes to be an angler has not leisure to search after, and, if he had, is not capable of learning.¹⁰

It seems very logical to presume that such knowledge was extant even before *The Compleat Angler*.

Thus we can see that from the 14th through the 17th century all three forms of the word *caddis* were in general use, and there was no apparent confusion among writers of the period in distinguishing one from another.

In fairness, Hicken's hypothesis must still be considered unless it can be shown by other external evidence that the word *caddis* with the same meaning we fly fishers give it was used contemporaneously in the medieval period and had a dif-

ferent origin. Such evidence does indeed exist, and will, I think, establish quite conclusively that the word was a separate word and that the differences were known by writers of the period. Etymologists Weekly,¹¹ Onions,¹² and entomologist Wiggins¹³ all agree that the word *caddis*, along with the variants, cod-bait, cadbait, cod-worm and cadew, was in general use in the 17th century. Certainly Walton's *The Compleat Angler*¹² in 1653 shows that the word was in contemporary use with reference to the insect.

The Oxford English Dictionary, under the listing of *caddis*, gives an equivalent listing of "Cad," and under this listing says, "(chiefly dial, another form of caddis, dial. caddy; but there is nothing to show the actual relations to each of CAD, CADDY or CADDIS nor which is the primitive form). Caddis or caddis worm called more fully COD-bait, CAD-bait CAD Bote, cadworm." Nonetheless under the listing of *caddis*, the same work states that *caddis* is possibly a diminutive form of cad.¹⁴ The New College Edition of *The American Heritage Dictionary* of the English Language gives the definite etymology of *caddis* from the obs. CAD, a variant of COD from the tube in which the larva lives.¹⁵



As early as 1450, *The Treatyse of Fishing with an Angle* tells of using a codworm as bait.

In june take the red worme & nyp of the hed, & put (of) on the hoke a codworme byfoyr. In (1) julye take the litle red worme and the codworme to-gedur.¹⁶

There is, however, no reference to the form *caddis* in either the 1450 or 1496 editions of this work; however, about 200 years later in 1653, Thomas Barker's *The Art of Angling* shows that by the middle of the 17th century the two forms were linked— "... gentle's paste or cadice which we call cod bait."¹⁷ It seems reasonable, particularly considering the dearth of angling literature in the 16th century and the paucity of it in the early 17th century, that there may have been a transition from the *cod-cad* form to *caddis-cadice*. Walton in all of his discussions of the insect never refers to it with the *cod-cad* morphology, yet Cotton, while generally referring to the insect uses *caddis*, does in one instance use the two forms jointly.

Now the cadis, or cod-bait, which is a sure killing bait, and for the most part, but much surer than either of the other, may be put upon the hook.¹⁸

If such a transition did, indeed, occur, we are left with the almost certain conclusion that *caddis* had its origin not in the romantic or Greek language roots but rather in the common tongue of Britain from the root *cod*. There is apparently no known use of the root *cod* in reference to the insect species before *The Treatyse of Fishing with an Angle*, although the definitive use of the word by Dame Juliana Berners would argue that even then it was in common use. Earlier uses of the word *cod* were almost solely confined to the Old English and Middle English meaning of husk, bag, pouch or (as in Chaucer) stomach, or pillow.¹⁹ The relationship of the earlier meanings to the *caddis* case is too obvious to be coincidental. While the Old English *codd* and its variant *ceod* are firmly entrenched, the similarity of the word to words of the same or similar meaning in a number of Scandinavian and Germanic languages virtually precludes further attempts to discover its source.²⁰

Let it be enough to agree with Gary LaFontaine that the word *caddis* did indeed have its roots in the common tongue of Britain, but most certainly it greatly predates Shakespeare's use of it in *The Winter's Tale*. □

END NOTES

¹ Gary LaFontaine, *Caddisflies* (New York, NY: Nick Lyons/Winchester Press, 1981) p. 153. See also N. E. Hicken, *Caddis Larvae* (London, Hutchinson, 1967)

² William Shakespeare, *The Complete Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare*, edited by William Allen Neilson and Charles Jenkins Hill (Cambridge, Mass. The Riverside Press, 1942) "The Winter's Tale," Act IV, Scene 4, 11-203-212 (p. 524)

³ Glen Wiggins, *Larvae of the North American Caddisfly, Genera Trichoptera* (Toronto, Canada, University of Toronto Press, 1977) p. 3

⁴ Ernest Klein, *A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of the English Language* (Amsterdam, London, NY, Elsevier Publishing Co., 1966)

⁵ Shakespeare, *Complete Plays and Poems*, "Henry IV, Part 1," Act II, Scene 4, 11.77-80 (p. 645)

⁶ Shakespeare, *The Winter's Tale*

⁷ Klein, *Etymological Dictionary*

⁸ Ernest Weekly, *Concise Etymological Dictionary*

⁹ Max Kurath, *Middle English Dictionary*, University of Michigan. This reference is found under the listing of *cadace*, and Kurath has listed a number of manuscripts in the British Museum that illustrate the use of the word *caddis* in this sense. The earliest of these listings is 1286, and the latest is 1464.

¹⁰ Izaak Walton and C. Cotton, *The Compleat Angler* (London, NY, Toronto, Melbourne, Cassell and Company LTD., 1909) p. 216

¹¹ Weekly, *Concise Etymological Dictionary*

¹² *The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology*, edited by C. T. Onions (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1966)

¹³ Wiggins, *North American Caddisfly*

¹⁴ *Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1933)

¹⁵ *The New College Edition of the American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*, edited by William Morris (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1976)

¹⁶ John McDonald, *The Origins of Angling* (Garden City, NY, Doubleday and Company Ltd., 1963). This passage is found in the facsimile of the Yale Wagsstaff Manuscript of "The Treatise of Fishing with an Angle" by Dame Juliana Berners which has been printed in McDonald's book. Page 20 of the manuscript, line 14, p. 173.

¹⁷ Thomas Barker, *The Art of Angling* (London, 1651)

¹⁸ Walton and Cotton, *The Complete Angler*, p. 329

¹⁹ Geoffrey Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales*, edited by John Matthews Manly (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1928)

²⁰ Most etymologists agree that the Old English *codd* and the Anglo-saxon *ceod* have a common origin in primarily Scandinavian and Germanic languages including Norse, Icelandic, Swedish as well as the Germanic Middle Dutch, Old High German, Low German and Slavic. Some sources studied in support of these origins, but not necessarily cited include:

Walter W. Skeat, *Etymological Dictionary of the English Language* (Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1935)

Weekly, *Concise Etymological Dictionary*

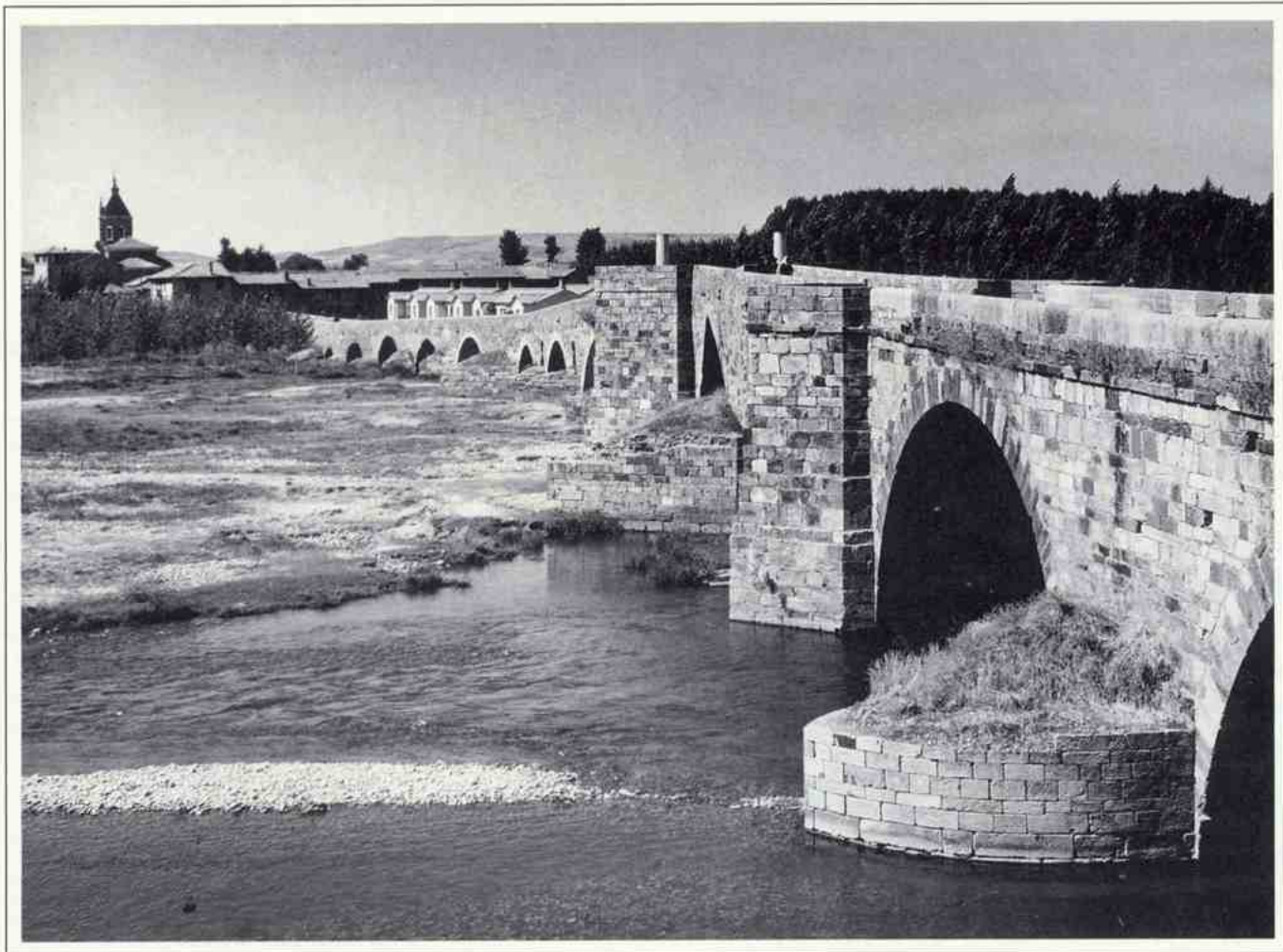
Onions, *Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology*

Eric Partridge, *A Short Etymological Dictionary of Modern English*, (NY, Macmillan Co., 1961)

Oxford English Dictionary

Kurath, *Middle English Dictionary*

Klein, *Etymological Dictionary*



PART II

The Evidence for Early European Angling: The Mysterious Manuscript of Astorga

by Richard C. Hoffmann



It has been six years since Richard C. Hoffmann's *The Evidence for Early European Angling, I: Basurto's Dialogo of 1539* was published here in *The American Fly Fisher*. Angling scholar David Ledlie, who at that time was serving as the editor of this journal, called Professor Hoffmann's work a discovery of "extraordinary importance." And rightly so, for Richard Hoffmann had clearly demonstrated the beginnings of an angling heritage—in this case, Spanish—totally unrelated to the famed manuscript "Treatyse of Fishing with an An-

gle" (author undocumented, 1496).

Herein, Professor Hoffmann again examines our early European angling heritage with a superb documented essay that includes a seasonal list of patterns and the second extant "monument" of Spanish fly fishing in early seventeenth-century northern Spain. His clearly defined intention (in which he succeeds admirably) is to provide a critical analysis of the historical document itself (often comparing it to other "early" angling documents) and to provide parameters for what is known and for what remains unknown about early fly fishing in Spain. D.S.J.

THE SECOND KNOWN MONUMENT of Spanish fly fishing is a superficially self-evident seasonal list of pattern recipes called the "Manuscript of Astorga."¹ Unlike many early angling documents, this appears fully accessible to enthusiasts, for four modern editions collectively provide the text in facsimile, in printed transcription, and in multilingual (French, English, German) translations, complete with commentary:

Jesús Pariente Díez, ed., *En torno al manuscrito de Astorga y la pesca de la trucha*

Opposite, the Orbigo River, near Astorga, is one of many good-sized streams draining southwards from the well-watered hills of the Catabrian Mountain range in northern Spain into the west-flowing Duero River.

Right, the first two pages of the 1624 Astorga manuscript. The original manuscript is reported lost in a fire that swept the library of Generalissimo Franco, where it was last housed. Bottom, one of five examples of artificial flies used to illustrate this article, originally featured in *El Manuscrito de Astorga* ("fly-leaves"), a 1984 edition of the manuscript by Preben Torp Jacobsen.

en los rios de Leon. León: Imprenta Provincial, 1968.

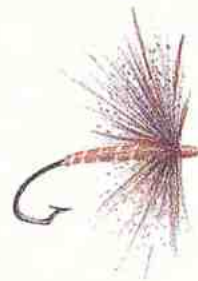
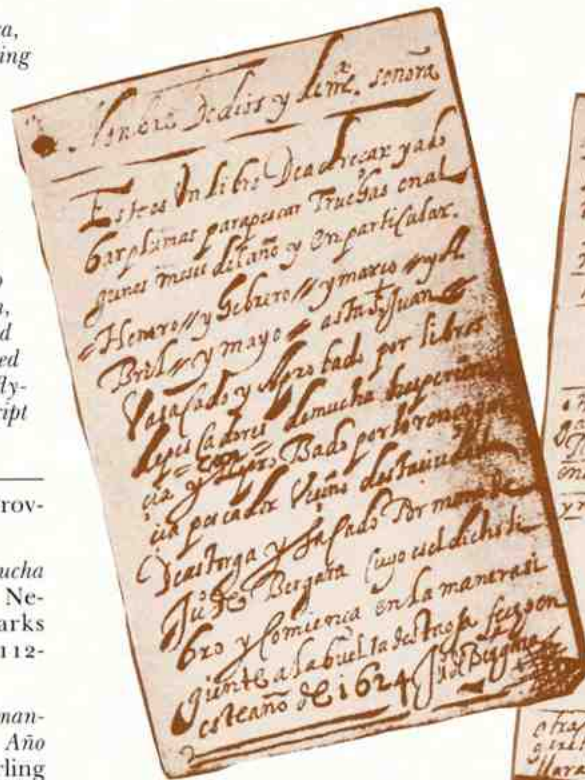
Jesús Parente Díez, *La pesca de la trucha en los rios de León.* León: Editorial Nebrija, 1979 [transcribes and remarks upon the manuscript of Astorga pp. 112-125].

Preben Torp Jacobsen, ed., *El manuscrito de Astorga.* Juan de Bergara. Año 1624. With an introduction by Erling Kirkegaard. Hobro, Denmark: "Fly-leaves" [privately printed], 1984.

H. R. Hebeisen, ed., *Die Astorga-Handschrift verfaßt im Jahre 1624 von Juan de Bergara.* With a discussion of fly tying by Hans J. Elwenspoek. n.p. [Zürich]: HRH Fly Fishing Club [privately printed], n.d. [1988].

Other references and summary interpretations, notably those of the French-resident American George Beall, offer more information.² Yet the closer we look the more we are puzzled.

This essay might in part be construed as a review of the two most recent editions by the Danish fly fisher and angling writer, Preben Torp Jacobsen, and by the Swiss H. R. Hebeisen. In fact, however, my curiosity was piqued well before appearance of the latter—and plainly not satisfied thereby. Hence this treatment is more intended to use the evidence available in those books and elsewhere for critical analysis of the actual document in its context, to identify the limits of our knowledge, and to suggest appropriate strategies of further enquiry for those interested in the angling antiquities of Spain. We examine in succession the historical object itself (a manuscript text), the content of the text, and problems of authorship and meaning, often comparing the Astorga manuscript with other early angling documents. Sought throughout are the boundaries between what is known, what is reasonably inferred, and what remains unknown about the place of fly fishing in early seventeenth-century northern Spain.



THE MANUSCRIPT TEXT

The object now called the manuscript of Astorga is a handwritten Spanish text. Its first leaf reads as follows:

*En nombre de Dios y de Nuestra Señora.
Este es un libro de adereçar y adobar plumas para pescar Truchas en algunos meses del año y en particular Enero y Febrero y Março y Abril y Mayo asta San Juan. Va sacado y Aprobado por libros de pescadores de mucha experiencia y comprobado por Lorenzo garcia, pescador vecino de esta ciudad De astorga y sacado por mano de Juan de Bergara cuyo es el dicho libro y comienza en la manera siguiente a la vuelta de esta hoja y fué en este año de 1624. Juan de Bergara.⁵*

Put into literal English the page says:

In the name of God and of Our Lady.

This is a book about preparing and dressing feathers to fish for trout in some months of the year and in particular January and February and March and April and May up to [the feast of] St. John.

It was assembled and approved from books of fishers of great experience and checked by Lorenzo García, fisher and resident of this town of Astorga, and assembled by the hand of Juan de Bergara, whose is the aforesaid book, and [it] begins

in the manner following on the turning of this leaf and done in this year of 1624. Juan de Bergara.¹

In seasonal sequence thirty-three patterns follow, some with remarks on their use for trout fishing. Four entries will illustrate the manuscript's format, information, and approach.

When transcribed, the first entry after the opening page³ looks like this:

Año de 1624 Henero y Febrero	
Longaretas //	Ay tres diferencias de longaretas
La primera henero	Heva un Negrisco crudo acerado lue ego una pluma de pardo crudo conejado, luego otro negrisco como el primero cuer po sede leonada escura muerta bin co blanco Dura asta Abril //

Let us put into literal English what can now be put into English, but retain the original arrangement of information.

Year 1624 January and February	
Longaretas ⁶ //	There are three kinds of longaretas
The first January	Take a steely-colored <i>negrisco</i> ⁷ Next a <i>pardo</i> ⁸ feather the shade of rabbit Next another <i>negrisco</i> like the first. Body dull dark tawny silk. Binding white. Lasts until April //

Two successive entries about midway

through the manuscript may be reproduced in translation like this:

*Enchubiertas*⁹ Take one light glassy *negrisco*
of March Then one from a kingfisher¹⁰
Then a *pardo* of finely worked
faded light spots. On top another of *negrisco* like the first.
Another bright red from a cock of the dungheap,¹¹ of each item one turn. Body of sieve [material]¹² and white binding and a fine purple thread. Kills well.

+ 13

The well-known reddish green. 1st feather a faded *negrisco* two turns 2d a *pardo* of fine pattern 3d another *pardo* of spotted pattern 4th a *negrisco* more smoky than the first which has some red in it;¹⁴ Body of light green silk and cocoon raw green, and a side for the back of dark silvery silk, *papico*¹⁵ mud-colored, binding silvery and raw green; serves well from March till June

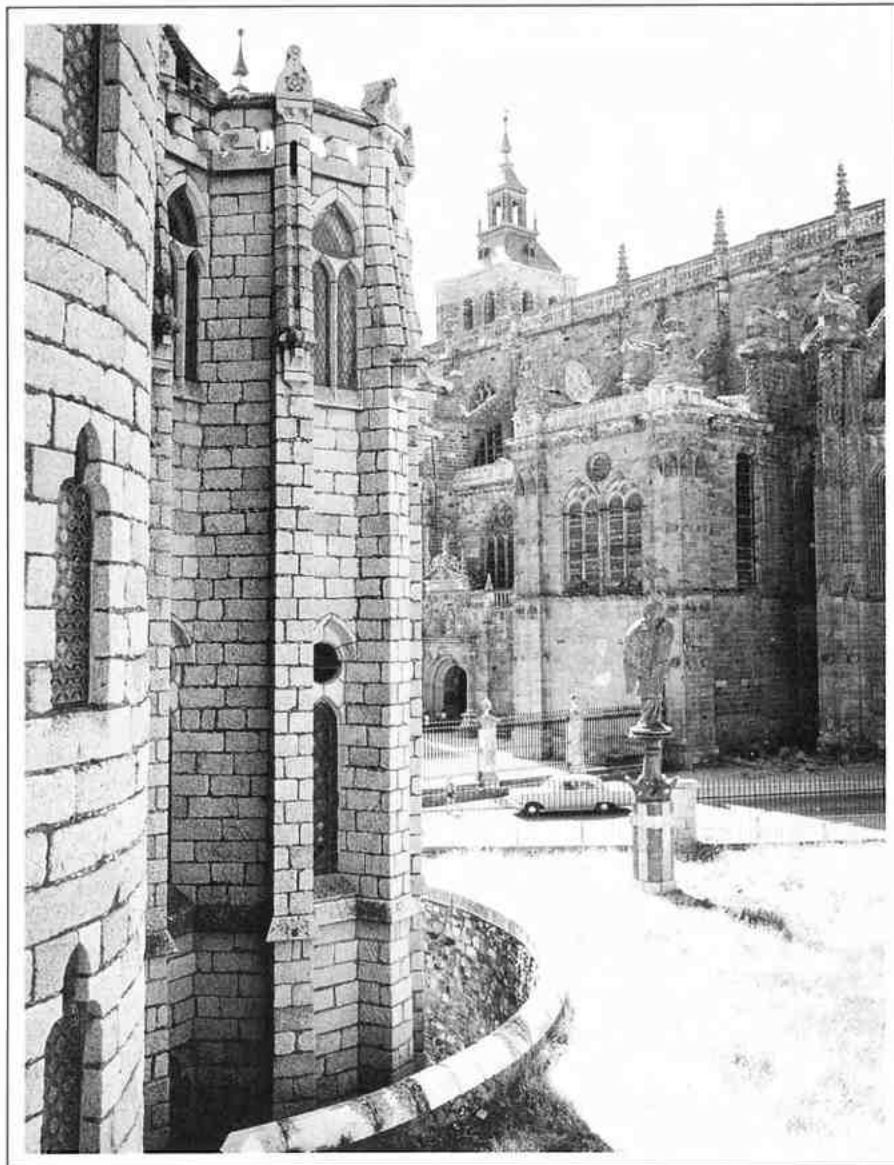
A final example is the last entry in the manuscript:¹⁶

*Salicas*¹⁷ of St. John¹⁸ have three kinds which are called *Pilada*, *Ruzia*, and *Melada*¹⁹; they have two *negriscos* underneath from an ashen-black cock. Above, the *Pilada* [has] one of *Sicion*²⁰ [darkly golden,²¹ the *Ruzia* [one] of *Sicion* [with] the background white, the stem dark, and the *Melada* a darkly marked *pardo*, and all with a feather of *Filomea*²² as a cloak; body of dark silvery silk, sides orangey-yellow; binding orange and raw silk.

We must soon return to the substance and meaning of these and other passages, but should first look more closely at the physical object itself—as now accessible only in photographs. Comparison of facsimile pages 26-27 and 29 reveals that the manuscript text is not continuous nor all in the same hand. In fact, what we may call Hand I or “Juan de Bergara,” since that scribe so names himself on the first written page, appears on pages 7, 11, 14, 15, 18, 19, 22, 23, 26, and 27. Hand II or “pseudo-Juan” follows on pages 29, 31, 33, 35, 37, 39, 41, 43, 45, and 47.

It looks as if the page numbers were added after the photographs which appear in both editions by Diez, for the numbers themselves are not on the sheets reproduced in his books where they appear on those same sheets in the book of Jacobsen.²³ Finally, the photographs in Diez display patterns of wear typical of the free side of a bound leaf such that those pages with odd numbers look like rectos and those with even numbers like versos.²⁴ If so, “Juan”:

wrote his title page on p. 7
skipped 3 pages (8-10)
wrote the first substantive entries
on p. 11
skipped within running text 2
facing pages (12-13)



The Astorga Cathedral and the Episcopal Church. Astorga became a way station on the famous medieval pilgrim's route from France to the shrine of St. James (Santiago) at Compostella.

wrote across 2 facing pages (14-15)
skipped 2 facing pages (16-17)
wrote across 2 facing pages (18-19)
skipped 2 facing pages (20-21)
wrote across 2 facing pages (22-23)
skipped 2 facing pages (24-25)
wrote across 2 facing pages (26-27)
Pseudo-Juan, however, wrote only on rectos, none of which were skipped. Presumably all intervening versos were left blank.

The two different hands also correspond with differences of form (major) and of content (minor). “Juan” placed section titles in the left margin of his pages, used horizontal lines to separate entries, and wrote down the whole of each page; pseudo-Juan ran titles into his text and wrote only on the top half

of each page, placing only one entry on each page. Entries written by pseudo-Juan use more broken and formulaic phrases but provide more specific detail than do those written by “Juan.”

The year 1624 and connection with Astorga are asserted in the manuscript by the very hand of “Juan de Bergara.” Astorga was then a second-rank town in the province of León, part of the Crown of Castile which dominated the early modern Spanish monarchy. Many good-sized streams drain southwards from the well-watered hills of the Catabrian range through terrain apt for grain and into the west-flowing Duero River. Not far above the juncture of the Río Tuerto with the Río Orbigo a road crossing and Iberian tribal settlement was in Roman

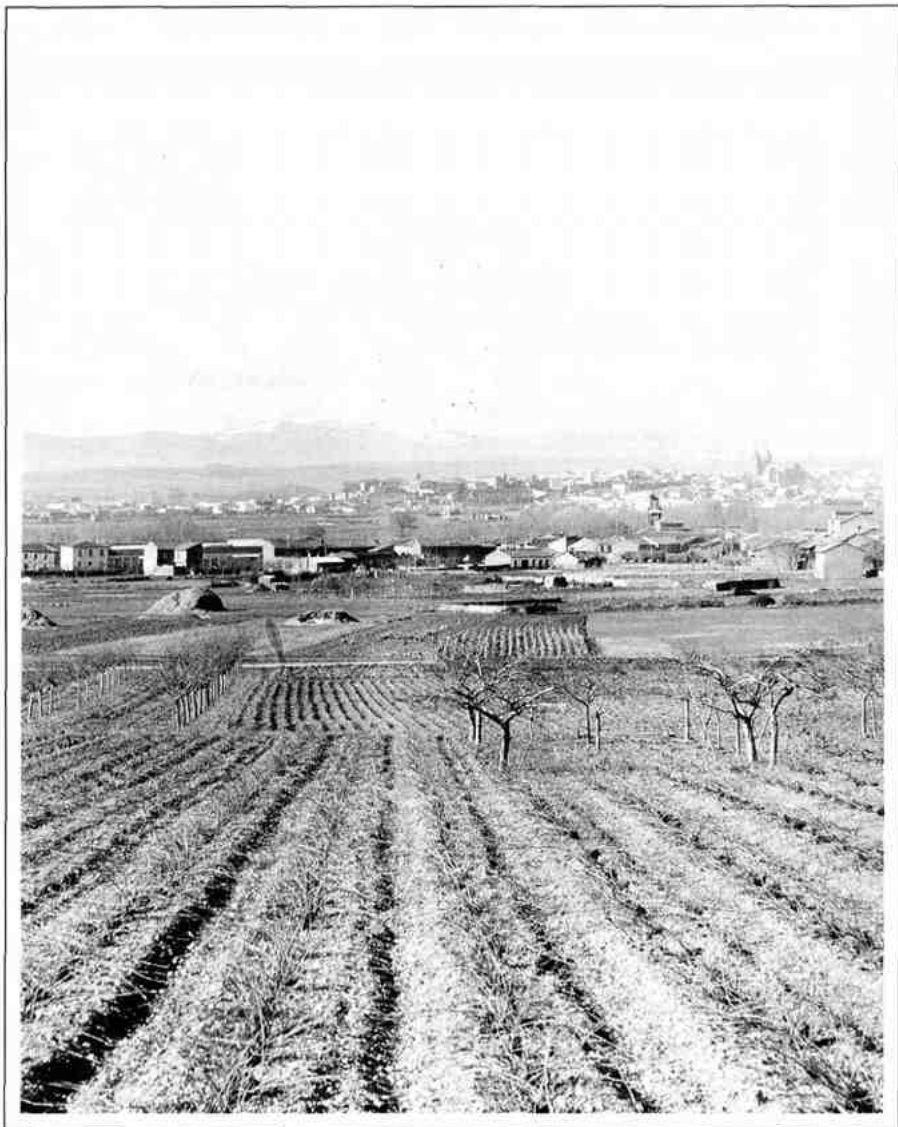
them variously alone or in layered or sequential combinations. Each “feather” may also possess a “body” (*cuerpo*) of silk and/or linen, a “binding” (*binco*) of silk or other thread, “wings” (*ala*), and a “head” (*caueca* is modern Spanish *ca-beza*), all of prescribed material and color.

Careful reading further discovers in several prescriptions written by “Juan de Bergara” himself indubitable allusions to actual insects—or at least to objects distinct from the *plumas* themselves. The “buzzers” (*zumbones*) of February and March, for instance, are called “companions of the *esmoridos*” (“*Son compañeros de los esmoridos.*”), while *encubiertas* of the same season “in mountains and cold waters have very fine orange stripes on their sides and fall as if dead on the water.”³⁶ Pseudo-Juan, however, makes no such remarks.

Both writers offer seasonal and meteorological advice on the choice and use of the *plumas*. This includes but goes beyond mere labelling of entries by months. “Juan,” for example, prescribes in March different *negriscos* for sunny days (*días de sol*), for calm weather (*tiempo de sazon*), and for cloudy days (*en días nublados*). In this context he further notes, “This month is very good for fishing with the rod because it is springtime and the zephyr [west wind] and the *favonio* blow and the waters become more warm.”³⁷ Later in the angling season the second scribe advises the *murón* for chilly days and the *casudo* for afternoons.³⁸

Explicit information in the Astorga manuscript thus sustains several reasonable inferences about this text and the angling practice which lay behind it. For the first, linguistic and ecological references help confirm the document’s origin in northern Spain. In several passages knowledgeable readers recognize names for chickens and their feathers and can identify insects familiar to the language and the region of western León. This is self-evident in the notes and definitions given by Diez and by “the Spanish experts” to whom Jacobsen refers.³⁹ The terms like *negrisco* and *pardo* which Juan de Bergara used to denote certain feathers are still well-known to Leonese fly fishers. In the light-colored *bermejos* and *forcadinas* recommended for sunny late March days, they further see mayflies of genus *Rithrogena*, and in the “well-known reddish green” (*Rubia verde famosa*), the species *Polymitarcis virgo*, all varieties now familiar in the Leonese rivers.⁴⁰ Native to that particular regional environment, too, are the half-dozen varieties of wild birds with useful plumage.⁴¹

Second, the authentic text plainly documents in early seventeenth-century Astorga well-developed empirical knowledge about the catching of trout.



Astorga was long a political, commercial, and religious center for communities of farmers and herders.

This knowledge included (1) a regional sequence of distinct and identified stream insects, and (2) the design and materials for effective “feathers” used to correspond with certain insects, weather, and water conditions.

The manuscript of Astorga implies, but does not plainly state, an imitationist (or at least imitatively impressionist) theory linking particular “feathers” and particular insects. The “buzzers” (*pardos zumbones*) identified as the “friends” of the *esmoridos* of February and March—i.e. insects—are described as artificial: “They have a feather of strong blueish-grey *negrisco* underneath and above that two feathers of *pardo* with the blackest and most speckled pattern you can find. Body dark fawn silk. Binding fawn silk and sieve canvas thread.”⁴² But note that such a theory is nowhere articulated in the manuscript, not even by the word

“fly” (Spanish *mosca*) being applied to the feather creations.⁴³

Yes, it is austere doctrinaire to say the Astorga manuscript lacks conscious imitative awareness, but it is important to distinguish between what was really said in the text then and what we may now wish to read into it retrospectively. And this very matter whether the feather object is itself a[n] “[artificial] fly” is an interesting point of difference among early angling texts. Feathers on a hook are “flies” in the fifteenth-century British Library MS. Harley 2389,⁴⁴ the Boke of St. Albans *Treatyse*,⁴⁵ and later English works. They are “feathers” in the many German references dating from the thirteenth century onward,⁴⁶ in the fifteenth-century English recipes in Oxford Bodleian Library MS. Rawlinson C 506,⁴⁷ and in the manuscript of Astorga. Only in the earlier Spanish rec-



would have him be a monk.⁵⁵ Nothing in the manuscript suggests that. Literacy in Spain in 1624 is no sufficient grounds to infer clerical, much less monastic status.⁵⁶ Beall says he may have been a cook⁵⁷; the statement is wholly unsubstantiated. Nor are there grounds beyond his having written the manuscript for his having been a professional scribe—and there are lots of other equally plausible explanations for his literacy and his exercise of that skill here.

One basis for plausible speculation as to author and purpose is the peculiar quality of that single opening page where "Juan" makes his only non-formulaic statements. The hand of page 7 is the same as those to follow, but the shape and look of the page are distinctive, with aspects reminiscent of formal or notarial practice not evident elsewhere. Visually, look at the heavy inking of many characters. Upper case letters are common. This air of formality carries over into content reminiscent of rhetorical training. There is an invocation, a statement of contents, a reference to "authority" (books and Lorenzo García), instruction to continue for the substance, and then the date. Although plainly this is no official document, someone has a sense of occasion. It would be good to know more about instruction in writing and writing manuals in [northern] Spain in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries to learn what this may signify. The manuscript needs comparison with contemporary notaries' books and with other private manuscript books and *florilegia*.⁵⁸

To learn more about Juan de Bergara and Lorenzo García is, therefore, a major research need—and success a reasonable, if dauntingly time-consuming, prospect. Spanish angling antiquaries

must abandon speculation, step back from the manuscript, and probe into the records of the world which produced it. They possess names, a date (1624), and a location. For a pre-modern society, early seventeenth-century Spain was much governed, and Astorga, the old episcopal town, a node in that web of administration where officers of church and state kept voluminous records. Astorga's *Archivo Municipal* now preserves rich remains from the fiscal, judicial, and managerial affairs of the late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century municipality.⁵⁹ Ordinary citizens took all sorts of everyday legal business to trained notaries, whom the law obliged to record the gist of every document they compiled. Dozens of protocol books from contemporary church notaries are now in the *Archivo Diocesano de Astorga*, and those from Astorga notaries then holding a secular commission rest, together with other public records, in the *Archivo Histórico Provincial de León*.⁶⁰ Given the relatively small size of the community, a male of standing in Astorga is reasonably apt to have been named in some record or another. The right haystacks do exist to absorb the hours of digging it will take to find a needle—or better, a key to the puzzle of the Astorga manuscript.⁶¹ (But even that key may leave unopened the problem of pseudo-Juan.)

Because we do not know who Juan was and he fails to say, we do not know what his manuscript was in his terms and those of his contemporaries. Why did he produce what we have? Until we can better answer that question, we cannot reach beyond narrow technical statements to meaningful historical conclusions.

What we have is Juan's own "book." He tells us that he owns it. So what did

he think he was doing when he wrote into it what we would call a list of patterns for artificial flies? The verb form he uses (twice, both on page 7) is "*sacado*," which Jacobsen's edition first translates as "is an adaptation" ("est extract") and then as "has been written" ("écrit").⁶² This is free to the point of being tendentious, for it emphasizes by implication both a single antecedent object and an act of inscription. But the root meaning of *sacado* is "get," "make," "gather." So Juan "put together" or "compiled" his book, which is not the same as "adapted" and does not mean he just wrote it out (for someone else). And now the organizational peculiarities of the manuscript must come into consideration. What had "Juan" in mind when he wrote his part only on every other set of facing pages? Why, since it is the book of "Juan," is the second part of it written by pseudo-Juan, who followed the plan of "Juan" and also left one blank page between each of his entries? It looks as if both writers anticipated someone inserting further entries or comments among those they wrote down, although, in the event, no one did. Any interpretation of the Astorga manuscript must account for these features.

Diez has advanced and both Beall and Kirkegaard accepted without comment the hypothesis of a scribe who was no fisher recording information from books for the use of professional or craft fishers.⁶³ Nothing in the introductory section (page 7) specifies or demands this scenario; it is wholly speculative and unsubstantiated. On the only evidence we possess, the manuscript itself, this hypothesis of a non-fishing scribe is controverted by the book being Juan's own, by its workbook-like appearance, by the

explicit reference to information from previous written sources, and by the dubious value of a written record for the probable illiterates who then fished for a living.⁶¹

Indeed, one can advance an equally plausible (but no more certain) alternative scenario for the reasoned creation of the Astorga manuscript. Conceive of Juan as a neophyte angler who compiled information for his own use and had it verified by a veteran before provisionally writing it down (with room for additions and corrections). This hypothesis gains support from the design and organization of the manuscript and from Juan's reference to earlier sources. It fails, however, to account for pseudo-Juan. And it would be more robust were Juan and others in Astorga (if not necessarily Lorenzo) demonstrably not unlettered workmen but literate sportsmen with other occupations. Certainly rediscovery of Basurto's book from ninety years before lends to the latter a plausibility unimagined when Diez propounded his theory.

Hence we do not know the socio-cultural place or significance of the fly fishing recorded by Juan de Bergara, and notably not whether the practices were those of professional craftsmen supplying a commercial market, of peasants obtaining protein for household subsistence, or of literate seekers after sport. Clearly none can now be ruled out and they are not mutually exclusive, but likewise not one can be demonstrated from the text as we know it. There was traditional fly-fishing practice in early modern Spain, for the Astorga manuscript shows it in the early seventeenth century northwest as Basurto's *Dialogo* shows it farther to the east in the early sixteenth century. Basurto discussed tackle, presentation, imitative theory, and the techniques of fly tying, but prescribed no models. The Astorga manuscript gives (only) patterns for flies, and merely implies an imitative rationale for them. Basurto's angling with fly and bait was self-consciously recreational. The angling of Juan de Bergara is wholly unexplained—and will remain so until (or unless) more may be learned of the writer(s) and the manuscript produced in Astorga.

An important part of historical knowledge is to know what is not known. In that knowledge, the task of research is to move the boundary between the known and the unknown. □

With thanks to Paul Schullery, whose questions always force thought and research, and to friends and colleagues, among them George Beall, Tom Cohen, Helmut Irlé, and Adrian Shubert, who have helped me try to avoid wrong answers. Remaining mistakes are, of course, my own.

R.C.H.



END NOTES

¹ Readers of *The American Fly Fisher* know a previous monument of Spanish angling literature came from the pen of Fernando Basurto almost a century before. See Thomas V. Cohen and Richard C. Hoffmann, trans., "El Tratado de la Pesca: The Little Treatise on Fishing of Fernando Basurto. . . 1539," *TAFF*, 11:3 (Summer, 1984), 8-13, and Richard C. Hoffmann, "The Evidence for Early European Angling, I: Basurto's *Dialogo* of 1539," *TAFF*, 11:4 (Fall, 1984), 2-9.

² George Beall, "The First Book on Fly Tying?" *Fly Fishers' Journal*, vol. 65, no. 258 (Autumn, 1976) 173-174; and "The Document of Astorga," *The Fly-fisher*, 14:4 (Fall 1981), 34-36. Earlier brief notices of the manuscript are in the works of a French fly fisher long resident in Spain, Louis Carrère (see below).

³ See the facsimile. I have intentionally retained the original spelling rather than accepting the slight modernizations imposed in the Jacobsen edition (p. 25).

⁴ The English version given in Jacobsen, p. 67, is very free.

⁵ Page 11 of the MS is reproduced as Plate 11 in Diez 1968 and p. 6 in Jacobsen. Transcriptions in Diez 1968, p. 18, or Diez 1979, p. 116, are closer to the original than that in Jacobsen, p. 25.

⁶ Literally "elongated"; dialect term for certain natural insects.

⁷ Literally "darkish-blackish"; Spanish name for a sort of chicken.

⁸ Literally "earthen-brown"; the Spanish name for a kind of chicken. For a brief discussion of these birds and their feathers, so special to Spanish and French fly fishers, see Jean-Paul Pequegnot, *French Fishing Flies*, tr. Robert A. Chino. Introduction by Datus Proper (New York, 1987), pp. 60-61.

⁹ The modern Spanish root *encub[ie]r* suggests concealment, hiding, complicity, or fraud. Does it here name an insect or refer to the deceptive device itself?

¹⁰ The European kingfisher (*Alcedo atthis*) is iridescent blue and emerald green above and chestnut below.

¹¹ Jacobsen, p. 72, notes a Spanish belief a bird of the stable acquires a special coloration.

¹² Page 26 of the MS ends here; the last two lines of the entry appear on p. 27.

¹³ Page 29 of the MS. (Most of p. 27 and all of p. 28 seem to be blank.)

¹⁴ I follow the reading of Jacobsen, p. 34 "que tire a bermejo," rather than Diez 1968, p. 20, and 1979, p. 122, "con vinco bermejo."

¹⁵ Jacobsen, p. 34, suggests this is a synonym for *papada*, i.e. "dewlap" or "wattle."

¹⁶ MS, p. 47.

¹⁷ Literally, "pumpers."

¹⁸ The church feast of John the Baptist is celebrated June 24.

¹⁹ *Pilada* may be derived from *pila*, meaning "piled" or "heaped." *Rucia* is probably related to *ruca* "silvery-grey," and *melada* to *melado* "honey-colored."

²⁰ Probably *Sison*, the Little Bustard (*Otis tetrax*), a species of ground-dwelling bird notably native to Spain. It has vermiculated buff plumage above and the female's undersides are streaked black on white.

²¹ The translation in Jacobsen, p. 81, here introduces a reference to spots which is not in the original.

²² Most likely not "thrush" in general, but "nightingale" (*Luscinia megarhynchos*) in particular. This

species of thrush is native to all Spain and western Europe. Feathers of the upper parts are brown, and the lower, whitish-brown.

²³ Close comparison of specific pages (e.g. p. 29) reproduced in Diez 1968 and Jacobsen convinces me that the plates in Diez do display blank space where the plates in Jacobsen show the page numbers and that the numbers were not merely trimmed off for reproduction in Diez. Further, the shape of digits 1, 4, and 6 in the page numbers is distinctly different from those digits as written by "Juan de Bergara" on the first leaf of the MS. The digits of the page numbers appear more like those commonly written by a twentieth-century European.

²⁴ To understand rectos, versos, and page numbers, consider the copy of *TAFF* now open before you. It represents what are now standard conventions of modern Western printing and binding. You see two pages, that on your left (Latin *verso*) bearing an even number and that on your right (Latin *recto*) bearing an odd number. A verso page is free on its left side and bound on its right, a recto page free on its right side and bound on its left. The other side of each sheet (leaf, folio) is a page of the opposite sort.

²⁵ On Astorga, its region, and early seventeenth-century Spain, see the article in *Enciclopedia universal ilustrada europeo-americana* (Madrid, 1958), vol. 5, pp. 784-787; Matias Rodriguez Diez, *Historia de la muy noble, leal y benemérita ciudad de Astorga* (Astorga, 1909); D. Lomax, *The Reconquest of Spain* (London, 1978), pp. 37-38; Claudio Sanchez-Albornoz, *Despoblación y repoblación del valle del Duero* (Buenos Aires, 1966), pp. 253-390; J. H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain 1469-1716* (New York, 1963), pp. 281-337. Unsubstantiated historical claims in Diez 1979, pp. 75-77, are implausibly rosy.

²⁶ Diez 1968, p. 25, and Diez 1979, pp. 126-137. Kirkegaard in Jacobsen, p. 63, erroneously gives 1835.

²⁷ Burnand in Carrère 1937, p. 12:

Louis Carrère m'a montré récemment la photo d'un document extrêmement intéressant, en ce que surtout il prouve que la pêche à la mouche noyée n'est pas une nouveauté, un perfectionnement plus meurtrier de la mouche "classique", c'est-à-dire sèche. Dès 1624, J. de Bergara décrivait dans leurs moindres détails, en espagnol, une quantité d'artificielles, toutes sans exception noyées, et indiquait l'époque pendant laquelle chacune d'elles devait être utilisée. La richesse, extraordinaire si l'on songe qu'elle date de Louis XIII, de cette collection d'araignées, prouve, me semble-t-il, que ce mode de pêche est bien le mode original, celui de qui sont sorties plus tard toutes les autres pêches sportives. Voilà qui devrait suffire à réconcilier avec lui nos purs, amateurs de hautes origines!

Burnand then continues his defense of the wet fly without further reference to Juan de Bergara or the manuscript. Nor does Carrère himself mention this material anywhere in this book. (The contrary assertion of Kirkegaard in Jacobsen, p. 63, seems, therefore, to lack support.)

Louis Carrère's book on wet fly fishing is a bibliographer's nightmare. The Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, which is the library of legal deposit for France (like the Library of Congress for the United States), knows and possesses only two editions: catalog number BN8°S. 19972 P88/278 entitled *Pêche Sportive de la Truite dans les Torrents (Mouche Noyée)*. Préface de Tony Burnand. Toulouse: F. Boisseau, 1937 (92 pp.); catalog number BN8°S21 199 P88/441 entitled *"Mouche Noyée": Pêche Sportive de la Truite dans les rivières et les torrents*. Préface de Tony Burnand. Toulouse: F. Boisseau, 1942 (99 pp.). The editions are substantially identical and Burnand's reference to the Astorga manuscript is precisely the same in both (see p. 14 in Carrère 1942).

Besides the 1937 edition of Carrère, however, Diez 1968, p. 18, and 1979, p. 115, refers to editions of 1946 and 1957 as well as a Castilian translation of 1963. These I have been unable to verify, even though Beall, "Document," p. 34, reports reproduction in Carrère's 1957 printing of four pages from the manuscript.

²⁸ Diez 1968, p. 25, and 1979, p. 115.

²⁹ Kirkegaard in Jacobsen, pp. 62-63. I have found

no independent and specific confirmation of this report.

³⁰ Plates in Diez 1968 show pages approximately 7.5 cm by 12 cm, which seems to make the writing a little small; they may be reduced. Diez 1979, p. 112, makes them smaller still. The original margins are hard to see in Jacobsen's plates, but look about 10 cm by 15 cm. Could a user therefore easily slip the book into a pocket?

³¹ I presume the material is paper, but then would like to know about watermarks which could likely help confirm a date. And did Juan and pseudo-Juan use the same ink?

³² How were the pages assembled into signatures or gatherings? Such information helps indicate the original form and function of the paper sheets as well as whether they were bound before or after being written upon. It could cast light on the oddly discontinuous use of pages in this manuscript and the relationship between those used by the two writers.

³³ Beall, "Document," p. 34.

³⁴ That is really to say they look, to me and to colleagues with more Spanish experience than I, reasonably like other Spanish hands from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Paleography is not an exact science when it comes to dating or localizing an otherwise unknown hand, but if the hand has many features otherwise unknown to its purported setting, this causes suspicion. No features of the hands in the Astorga manuscript cause suspicion.

³⁵ Peña's record thus eliminates any twentieth-century forger seeking, for instance, profit or notoriety among persons interested in angling antiquities.

³⁶ MS pp. 22-23: *En las montañas y aguas calientes las traen las costeras naranjadas muy delicadas y caen como muertas en el agua.* (Diez 1968, pp. 19-20, and 1979, p. 120, is corrected in Jacobsen, p. 31, who translates freely pp. 73-75.)

³⁷ MS, pp. 14-15: *Este mes es bonísimo de la pesca de vara por ser primavera y soplar el cejro y favonio con las aguas mas calientes.* Diez 1968, p. 19, and 1979, p. 118, is revised in Jacobsen, pp. 27-28 and 70-71, where the *favonio* is defined as a [particular] pleasant breeze. Later (MS, p. 26) "Juan" notes that the *forcadinas* of March and April "kill when it rains all day long."

³⁸ MS, p. 41 (Diez 1968, p. 21, and 1979, p. 123; Jacobsen, pp. 36 and 80).

³⁹ Note, however, that Jacobsen incorporates many of the "expert" emendations and comments into both the Spanish text and the English translation. To distinguish these editorial additions from the original the reader must consult in parallel either the facsimile or a version of Diez.

⁴⁰ Diez 1968, p. 35, and 1979, p. 122; Jacobsen, pp. 74 and 77. See also Beall, "Document," p. 36.

⁴¹ Besides the kingfisher, little bustard, and nightingale found in the examples quoted above, the MS (pp. 11, 14, 18, 39, and 47) mentions the stone curlew (*Burhinus oedicnemus*, Spanish *Zarapico real*), sand grouse (*Pterocles* species., Spanish *Ganga*), nightjar (*Caprimulgus europaeus*, Spanish *Pita Ciega*), cuckoo (*Cuculus canorus*, Spanish *Cuco*), and quail (*Coturnix coturnix*, Spanish *Codorniz*). Range maps in Roger T. Peterson et al., *A Field Guide to the Birds of Britain and Europe*, 2d ed. rev. (Boston, 1967), indicate that all these birds are now native to northern Spain.

⁴² MS, p. 22: *Pardos zombones de Febrero a Marzo Llevan una pluma de negrisco muy acerada debajo sobre ella dos plumas de pardo de la mas negra y saltada obra que se hallare. Cuerpo seda leonada oscura. Vinco seda leonada encendida y betica de cedazo* (Diez 1968, p. 19, and 1979, pp. 119-120; Jacobsen, pp. 30-31 and 73).

⁴³ The last sentence of the *rubia verde famosa* in Jacobsen's English translation (p. 77) looks like a telling exception: "This fly [emphasis added] is very advisable from March to June." In fact, however, no corresponding noun appears in the Spanish original (Jacobsen, p. 34, or MS, p. 29), which merely reads, *Sirve bien de Marzo hasta Junio*.

⁴⁴ Fol. 73v "an artificial flye, made vpon your hooke with sylke of dyverse colures lyke vnto the flyes which be on the waters . . . and fethers. . ." W. L. Brackman, *The Treatise on Angling in The Boke of*

St. Albans (1496). *Background, Context and Text of "The treatise of fysshynge wyth an Angler"*, Scripta, 1 (Brussels, 1980), p. 41. For discussion, see Richard C. Hoffmann, "A New Treatise on the Treatise," *The American Fly Fisher*, 9:3 (Summer, 1982), 2-6.

⁴⁵ But only in passages peculiar to the 1496 printed version (see facsimile and transcript in John McDonald, *The Origins of Angling* (New York, 1963) pp. 222-225). The earlier manuscript version has only the word "dub" (McDonald, pp. 170-173).

⁴⁶ For a brief treatment of the *vederangel* and *vedersnur* well-documented for trout and grayling fishing in late medieval Germany, see Richard C. Hoffmann, "Fishing for Sport in Medieval Europe: New Evidence," *Speculum*, 60 (1985), 892-893. A more complete discussion is Hermann Heimpel, "Die Federschnur: Wasserrecht und Fischrecht in der Reformatio Kaiser Siegmunds," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 19 (1963), 451-488.

⁴⁷ Brackman, p. 31, transcribes from fol. 299, "Ye must dubbe your hoke with the federys . . . and ye must loke what colowr that the fley is that the trowth lepyth afur and ye same colowre must the federisse be and the same colowr must the sylke be of for to bynde the federysse to your hoke."

⁴⁸ The relevant section from fols. c viii r-v of Basurto's original is Englished in Cohen and Hoffmann, p. 13, and discussed in Hoffmann, "Evidence, I," p. 9. The key passage reads in the original: *de manera que vaya la pluma arrastrando por encima del agua hasta lo alto de vezial, porque de aquella manera se cevan las truchas a las moscas verdaderas, que por eso las engañan con las artificiales.*

⁴⁹ MS, p. 7 "vevno" refers to membership in the community, not mere or necessarily residence, despite the Jacobsen translation, p. 67.

⁵⁰ Diez 1968, p. 22, and 1979, p. 125.

⁵¹ Basurto, *Dialogo*, fols. c vi recto and c ix recto. See Cohen and Hoffmann, pp. 9 and 13, discussed in Hoffmann, "Evidence, I," p. 7.

⁵² Mentioned by Diez 1968, p. 35, and 1979, pp. 139-160 *passim*; Kirkegaard in Jacobsen, p. 66; and, at length in Beall, "Document," pp. 34-35. The latter's description of "the Spanish manner of dressing flies" with a cape-like wing of individual saddle fibres is not only unmentioned in the MS, it is contradicted by repeated reference by both Juan and pseudo-Juan to "turns" (*vueltas*) of feathers from chickens and other birds (MS, pp. 19, 26, 29, and 39).

⁵³ Hebeisen, pp. 2-19, illustrates dry- and wet-fly forms created by H. J. Elwenspoek.

⁵⁴ In Jacobsen, pp. 65-66, Kirkegaard advances two arguments, neither of which persuade.

(1) He proposes the reference to spring breezes and the use of the term *vara* for rod (MS, pp. 14-15 and see above note 37) is a technical remark about blow-line fishing. This fails to recognize (a) how much spring breezes are a commonplace of early angling writing (e.g. the English *Treatise* and Basurto), or (b) that this sole mention of any rod in the MS can demonstrate no special technical meaning, or (c) that *vara* is also the only term for rod used by Basurto, even, for instance, to fish bait in the sea (Basurto, fol. c vi recto; tr. Cohen and Hoffmann, p. 9).

(2) He notes the wound feathers and their negation of the traditional Leonese wet fly design as mentioned in note 52 above, but infers the dry fly as the only alternative. This neglects the entire history of wound hackle wets like the early palmers, Stewart's spiders, and woolly worms. Indeed, the Astorga manuscript may therefore provide a very early explicit record for precisely this technique.



⁵⁵ Diez 1968, pp. 21-22, and 1979, p. 124; Jacobsen, p. 65.

⁵⁶ That well before 1600 lay literates in Spain greatly outnumbered churchmen is clear from scholarship of Richard L. Kagan, *Students and Society in Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore, 1972), pp. 7-30; Philippe Berger, "La lecture à Valence de 1474 à 1560," in *Le livre et lecture en Espagne et en France sous l'Ancien Régime. Colloque de Madrid, 17-19/11/1980* (Paris, 1981), pp. 97-107; Juan E. Gelabert González, "Lectura y Escritura en una Ciudad Provincial del Siglo XVI: Santiago de Compostela," *Bulletin hispanique*, 86 (1984), 264-290; J. N. H. Lawrance, "The Spread of Lay Literacy in Late Medieval Castile," *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, 62 (1985), 79-94.

⁵⁷ Beall, "Document," p. 34.

⁵⁸ What the Latin Middle Ages called a *florilegium* resembled a later English "commonplace book," a collection of excerpts, sometimes organized, sometimes not, from readings of interest to the collector or to a student. They were a common school exercise, scholar's tool, and personal private activity among the more-or-less learned in medieval and Renaissance Europe.

⁵⁹ José A. Martín Fuertes, *Fondo histórico del Archivo Municipal de Astorga Catálogo*, Colegio Universitario de Leon Unidad de Investigación, Publicaciones 19 (León, 1980).

⁶⁰ Personal communication from Professor José A. Martín Fuertes of the Colegio Universitario de León. Neither archive has published a catalog.

⁶¹ Neither anonymity nor false dating stopped identification of the person responsible and, in consequence, the interpretive setting for two other important early angling documents: Heinrich Grimm, "Neue Beiträge zur 'Fisch-Literatur' des XV. bis XVII. Jahrhunderts und über deren Drucken und Buchführer," *Börsenblatt für den deutschen Buchhandel Frankfurter Ausgabe*, 24:89 (5 Nov 1968), 2871-2887, located publisher and source for the first printed work on fishing, the German booklet of 1493 I prefer to call the "Tract in 27 Chapters"; Thomas P. Harrison, "The Author of 'The Arte of Angling, 1577,'" *Notes and Queries*, (1960), 373-376, convincingly made the case for William Samuel, vicar of Godmanchester.

⁶² Jacobsen, pp. 45 and 67. Hebeisen, p. 1, uses first the German noun *Bearbeitung* ("compilation") and then the verbal phrase *Geschrieben worden ist* ("has been written").

⁶³ Diez 1968, p. 22, and 1979, p. 125; Beall, "Document," p. 34; Jacobsen, p. 65. This theory does almost fit the case of the German "Tegersee Fish Book" of about 1500, where a literate monk from Tegersee Abbey in Bavaria wrote down in a manual of practices (other sections include agricultural calendars and a cook book) information about fly patterns, baits, and presentation, most of which he had obtained orally from the monastery's own fishers. But precisely that demonstrative context is wholly lacking for the Astorga manuscript.

⁶⁴ Considerable recent scholarship on literacy in early modern Europe in general and Spain in particular agrees that, although almost all upper- and middle-class male city dwellers could read and write by around 1600, practical reading ability was rare among men in low-status occupations and in small towns and rural settings. For a European overview including Spanish references see Roger Chartier, "The Practical Impact of Writing," pp. 111-159, in his *Passions of the Renaissance*, tr. Arthur Goldhammer, *A History of Private Life*, vol. 3, (Cambridge, Mass., 1989 [French original, Paris, 1986]), pp. 115-121. Careful treatments of relevant Spanish data include Kagan, pp. 18-24; Marie-Christine Rodriguez and Bartolomé Bennassar, "Signatures et niveau culturel des témoins et accusés dans les procès d'Inquisition du ressort du Tribunal de Tolède (1525-1817) et du ressort du Tribunal de Cordoue (1595-1632)," *Caravelle*, 31 (1978), 17-46; Jacqueline Fournel-Guerin, "Le livre et la civilisation écrite dans la communauté morisque aragonaise (1590-1620)," *Mélanges de la Casa de Velazquez*, 15 (1979), 241-259; Claude Larquie, "L'alphabetisation à Madrid en 1650," *Revue de histoire moderne et contemporaine*, 28 (1981), 132-157; Gelabert Gonzalez [see note 56 above].

Time Like an Ever Rolling Stream

by Gifford Pinchot



Many anglers will recognize the name Gifford Pinchot as that of the pioneer conservationist and father of the U.S. Forest Service. Some keen readers may also know that he was a buddy of Teddy Roosevelt and co-founder, with him, of the Progressive ("Bull Moose") Party in 1912. Not many may know, however, that Pinchot was an ardent angler and a published writer whose stories appeared in the then popular magazines of the late 20s and early 30s including *American Angler*, *Collier's*, *Field & Stream*, *Outdoor America*, *Rotarian*, and *The Saturday Evening Post*.

His book, *Just Fishing Talk*, from which "Time Like An Ever Rolling Stream" is excerpted, was published in 1936, and tells of Pinchot's boyhood apprenticeship in fly fishing on the streams of his native Milford, Pennsylvania (including the Sawkill of his story below), his adventures in the Adirondacks of an earlier era, his pioneering efforts to take Florida tarpon on a fly, and other adventures in the South Pacific in the 20s. Here is the last story in his book. M.P.

MEN MAY COME and men may go, but the Sawkill brook flows on—feeding its trout, protecting its insect, molluscan, and crustacean life—a home and a hiding place for myriads of living creatures—a thing of beauty and a joy forever.

Along its banks giant pines and hemlocks have germinated and grown, flourished and died, decayed and vanished, uncounted generations of them, each leaving its contribution to the richness and glory of the place—and in their branches other uncounted generations of squirrels and birds have fed and quarreled and mated and carried on the business of their world.

Under the shade of little needles on

Above, an antique steel engraving of Pennsylvania's Sawkill River, artist unknown. Frontispiece from Just Fishing Talk by Gifford Pinchot (New York: Telegraph Press, 1936).

great limbs deer and bear drank and listened as they drank. About their roots, cubs, fawns, and baby otters romped and rested and romped again. In winter their cones and leaves strewed the snow after every breeze, and on sunny days melted little cavities for themselves, and froze there as the shadows fell across them.

Buffalo, moose, elk, wolves, and panthers left their tracks beside the semi-human tracks of bears and coons, the webbed tracks of beaver, and the triangular imprints of mink.

Great flocks of passenger pigeons hid the sun, and where they settled the branches of stout trees were broken off and crashed to earth, to the thunder of innumerable wings.

Kingfishers clattered up and down the gorge in high water and low, as through the years the weather and the water shaped the rocks and the floods ground out great potholes with their in-arching rims.

Century upon century of milleniums

passed over the Sawkill and left it very much as they found it. At times great pines and hemlocks fell across the stream, at times the rush of the torrent after great rains moved them away to new positions, to be moved again or to disintegrate where they lay by the slow action of the elements.

Now and again a sandbar changed its place, a pool was deepened by a fall of rock or shallowed by the cutting of a new channel. Great trout grew fat and lazy in the slow current of beaver dams, and the full-fed water snakes sunned themselves where countless forebears had coiled in comfort before them.

When the redmen came, the life of the brook changed, but only a little. For they were no slaughterers, but conservationists, blood and bone, and took no more than the natural increase. Each family had its hunting grounds in which no other family might hunt except for food while passing through, and the penalty for breaking that game law was sometimes death.

Now and again through the centuries a forest fire set by lightning swept one or the other bank, or maybe both, and changed the lives of land and water dwellers for a few or many generations.

For uncounted ages the redmen hunted on the Sawkill, and still the greater and the lesser tribes of wood and stream lived with them, not one destroyed, not one dangerously reduced in numbers by anything the Indians did. Then came the change.

White men appeared. With new weapons of destruction, new zeal for slaughter, new appetite for conquest, they made new demands on nature for the means to live a new kind of life. With their coming the axe began to modify the face of the earth, and the days of the wilderness were numbered.

The slow and uneventful march of the centuries over the Sawkill changed almost overnight to the rush of oncoming civilization. The old order, grown out of thousands of generations of adjustment, and the old balance, painfully won through the life and death and inter-necine struggles of myriad forms of life, suddenly found themselves powerless before a new and strange attack, against which they had no time to develop a method of resistance.

The Indians gave way before it, and disappeared. The buffalo, the elk, and the panther followed them. The primeval forests went down before the need for houses and ten thousand other needs for wood. The white man was reaping where he had not sown, and nature paid the price of the better living, the faster thinking, and the more stable existence of the heirs of all the ages.

Hemlocks that overhung the riffles and pools of the Sawkill when Columbus

discovered America were still vigorous trees when the first Pinchot to set foot in Pennsylvania twitched his first trout out of the Sawkill, and found it good. With him came his son, a boy of nineteen, who the year before had been on his way to join Napoleon's army as a recruit when the battle of Waterloo put an end to his soldiering.

The son threw himself into the life of his new country with the vigor which distinguished him. The tribes of pine and hemlock along many streams paid him tribute, with the years much land passed into his keeping, and he prospered and grew strong, while the Sawkill hurried and tarried on its never-ending march to the sea.

His son, my Father, was born and grew up in the little village which occupied the level plain between the Sawkill and the Delaware, and in the days when artificial flies were yet unknown, became so skillful an angler with more natural bait that few fly fishermen I have known could match him.

I in my turn became a lover of the Sawkill and its sister little rivers, and under my Father's eye I learned the uses of the worm. I took full many a trout with it, and in due and early season graduated to the wet fly and the dry.

But my best performance with any fly was far below the high craftsmanship of my Father's handling of a worm.

When my son announced his participation in the affairs of this world by the barbaric yawp of infancy, his Mother and I destined him to be a fisherman. Anxiously we waited for the time when he might take his first trout, and take an interest in taking it. At the age of three, accordingly, we explained to him about fishing, which dissertation he obviously failed to comprehend, and asked him if he wouldn't like to catch a tiny speckled little trout.

Being, like other youngsters, ready to try anything once, he assented—and the cortege moved in solemn procession to the stream. It was no light matter. The son and heir was about to begin his career—catch his first fish.

So I hooked a trout, handed Giff the rod, and urged him to pull. He pulled; the trout struggled on the bank; and the boy, casting an indifferent eye on what should have engaged his whole I.Q., passed on with no interval whatever to matters of greater juvenile interest.

What a shock was there, my countrymen! Rubia and I were struck with horror. I couldn't be consoled even by the fact that I had just taken several trout on a leader made by myself out of a knotted succession of single strands of Rubia's hair. Was it possible that the son of such parents could fail to love to fish? We couldn't believe it, and, what was more, we didn't intend to stand it.

And we didn't have to. We let nature take its course, and, because we did not press him, before he was ten Giff was casting a workmanlike fly. From then to now on more than one occasion he has brought back more trout than his instructor and progenitor. And he loves to fish about as much as I do.

"Dad," said the fifth generation of Pennsylvania Pinchots on a day when everything was right, "how about fishing this afternoon?"

"I thought I would," said I.

"Hot dog!" replied this worthy son of a slang-infested father. "What rod you goin' to take?"

"Well, I thought I'd take the two-and-three-eighths-ounce Leonard. There's too much wind for the one-and-three-quarters."

"What fly you goin' to use?"

"A spider," said I.

"Hot dog!" said Giff again, out of the limited objurgatory vocabulary of youth.

So father and son settled the preliminary details, and when four o'clock came off we went in the open car, up over the hill behind the house, past the little red Schocopee schoolhouse where Rubia and I cast our votes at every election, to the brook I have been fishing for more than fifty years.

There we put our rods together, first carefully anointing the ferrules by rubbing them on our noses, as good fishermen do. Then we chose white and brown spiders, with long hackles and little hooks, out of my horn snuff box, with Napoleon's tomb carved in relief on the cover; made sure that the barbs had been broken off with a pair of sharp-nosed pliers (we never fish for trout with barbed hooks any more); tied leaders to spiders with the Turle Knot; and oiled the hackles of our spiders with three parts of albolene to one of kerosene. Then the war was on.

It was a good war, and a swift. Before you could say Jack Robinson, Giff had a nine-inch native. Untouched by human hand, back into the stream he went, thanks to the debarbed hook, with nothing but a little healthful exercise to remember his adventure by. I always get great satisfaction out of that.

Then no more rises for a while, until, as the sun sank low, thick and fast they came at last—the little to swim away unhurt, and the less little to drop into the creel after they had been put to sleep with the back of a jack-knife. We had all we wanted long before it was time to quit. So we sat down on a log and held a session on the State of the Union.

"Dad, how long has this brook been here?" asked Giff, after long pondering.

So I told him, as best I could, and when we got home I tried to write it down. And that's what you've been reading. □

Attention Please: Your Participation is Requested

by David Klausmeyer

DURING THIS PAST SUMMER, I took a trip to the headwaters of the Rio Grande River in southern Colorado. This waterway, known more for being a part of the border between Mexico and the United States than for being an excellent trout fishery (which it is), begins in a valley bordered by the jagged, snow-capped Continental Divide. The mountains of the Divide sweep up from the valley's grass- and aspen-covered floor, with the gathering flow of the river emptying through a series of canyons to the East.

I, like just about every other angler planning a trip, conduct at least a small investigation into the insects I might encounter and the general characteristics of the different pieces of water I'll be fishing. I determined that the salmon stonefly would be migrating to the shallows, and in the evening would crawl out onto handy rocks and branches to shed their nymphal shucks. The water of the river, however, might still be a bit high and dingy from the snow melt. Both turned out to be true.

I was told that higher up, well above the larger main flow of the Rio Grande, beaver ponds could add some real spice to this trip. These ponds, slightly murky and with little flow, contained eager brook trout that were infatuated with the Royal Wulff, various hopper patterns, and just about any other dry fly that I cared to flop onto the water. And the grassy banks were a nice break from the rugged wading of the lower Rio.

But these trout were also receptive to the wet fly. The Leadwing Coachman, Brown Hackle, Gray Hackle and White Miller are just a few that I tied onto the end of my leader. I found that these old tried and true favorites, recommended to Mary Orvis Marbury by Colorado anglers who fished that state's waters at a time when American fly fishing was in

its youth, could still turn a fish or two.

Of course, these fly patterns were born in England and the eastern United States. Not looking like any insect in particular, or perhaps because they successfully imitated a wide variety of species, the anglers of that day found these flies to be highly adaptable. Whatever the reason, they worked then, and they work today.

As I stood in the waist-high grass which led to the rims of those high mountain ponds, I wondered about the early anglers. They were pioneers, not just to the land, but to the formation of the Western sporting tradition. At the time they exchanged letters with Marbury, they were using the popular Eastern fly patterns, some of which may have been brought with them when they settled in Colorado. Yet why do I think that

in the true adaptive spirit of the pioneer, these anglers soon devised flies that would better meet the conditions of the Rio Grande, the Gunnison, the Fryng Pan, and those high, still beaver ponds? If only those anglers could have communicated with Mary Orvis Marbury ten or fifteen years later. What would those letters have contained?

Unfortunately, with the passage of time a great deal of parochial angling history is being lost. Flies and special techniques that grow out of local, isolated situations are being discarded in favor of those that are popularized by the angling press. Now, I know the rebuttal to this: maybe those flies and their methods of use are being shunted aside in favor of better alternatives.

Yes, in some cases this may definitely be true (my own fly boxes contain a substantial number of patterns based on the latest styles and employing a variety of synthetic materials). But even when this is the case, it doesn't make those older flies and methods of angling any less worthy of study and discussion. And besides, I don't believe all of us really do approach our angling in so systematic a fashion. Let's face it: fads come and they go. A lot of flies have been tossed in wastepaper baskets simply because some author (and if you become a popular author, you get to be known as a "guru") said that another set of forgeries are what this year's successful angler will be using. Yes, just like cars, boats and ways to invest money, some trout flies are considered "sexy."

The only exception to this seems to be in the world of salmon flies. The renewed interest in the traditional patterns for their sheer beauty, challenge to dress and fascinating history, offers renewed faith that not all anglers are caught up with the latest craze. Indeed, the very existence of the American Mu-



From *Maxims and Hints for Anglers and Chess Players* by Richard Penn (London: John Murray, 1842)

seum of Fly Fishing is one of the greatest tributes to the fact that there is at least a small group of true piscators who are concerned with preserving our angling heritage.

And it is with this concern in mind that I am asking you to get involved in a project which will allow you to both preserve and share the local traditions of your own "home waters."

What the AMFF and I are asking is quite simple, and yet will prove very enjoyable. Record, if you will, the recipes for the locally developed fly patterns for the streams and rivers (and salt water) in your region. Every area, even the most popular fishing destination, has had creations of feather and fur which have gone overlooked, and yet played at least a small role in the development of our sport. These flies will undoubtedly have only local reputations, but due to their parochialism, will possess great charm and be of unique interest.

Please also include a history (if known) of the fly or flies you submit, and if you would like, include an actual sample. Any actual flies you submit don't have to be original or true antiques, although original dressings are certainly welcome. If, on the other hand, you would prefer to submit a contemporary dressing of an old pattern, don't worry—this isn't a fly-tying contest. Your new dressing doesn't have to have that "professional look."

As space permits, the patterns for these flies and their histories will be published in *The American Fly Fisher* or the *Greenheart Gazette*, and proper credit will be given to the angler making the submission. And let me assure you that your contributions will become a part of the Museum's collection of historic angling artifacts.

Just in case you're not sure what is being sought, let me give you a brief example. In an article entitled "Under the Rhododendron Canopy," I described several flies developed in the Great Smoky Mountains of Southern Appalachia. Two of these, the Yellowhammer and the Clay Hart, enjoy great local reputations and yet are virtually unknown outside of the region. In this piece I described the recipes for making these flies and gave, to the best of my knowledge, their histories. There: a small piece of angling history preserved.

You may contact me directly about this project, or you may contact the Museum. All contributions that I receive, after careful recording and referencing, will be forwarded to the Museum for inclusion in the collection.

I hope that you are willing to join me in this project. I know that you will enjoy participating in the preservation of our sport. [You may contact D. Klausmeyer directly at 1708 Branson Avenue, Knoxville, Tennessee 37917.] □

Livingston Stone, J.B. Campbell, and the Origins of Hatchery Rainbow Trout

by Robert Behnke

I WAS PLEASED TO READ the article on Livingston Stone, authored by Frank E. Raymond, in the Spring 1990 issue of *The American Fly Fisher*. I regard Livingston Stone as a role model for the fisheries profession. He was a decent, honorable man and a highly competent pioneer fish culturist. He was also a man of vision who recognized the limitations of artificial propagation to maintain the abundance of the salmon of the Pacific Coast. He recommended that to ensure the abundance of Sacramento salmon, the entire McCloud River drainage be left in control of the native Wintun Indians to protect the virgin environment (a wilderness area set aside for native Americans and native salmon).¹ When this recommendation was unheeded, he promoted the concept of a "National Salmon Park" in Alaska.²

The historical information given in Mr. Raymond's article on Livingston Stone, J. B. Campbell, and the early propagation of rainbow trout from the McCloud River reflects three major points of error that have been thoroughly incorporated into angling and fisheries literature during the past 100 years. I believe *The American Fly Fisher* is an appropriate publication to document the corrections of these errors.

1. The first rainbow trout propagated in fish hatcheries did not come from the McCloud River, but from waters of the San Francisco Bay area, propagated by the California Acclimatization Society starting in 1870.

2. The first hatching of eggs of McCloud River rainbow trout was in 1877 by J. B. Campbell and Myron

Green (an assistant to Livingston Stone) on "Campbell Creek" on Campbell's ranch. The propagation of McCloud River rainbow trout by the U.S. Fish Commission began in 1880, under the supervision of Myron Green on Crooks Creek (later, Green's Creek).

3. The rainbow trout propagated from the McCloud River was a mixture of a steelhead and a monanadromous fine-scaled trout ("red-banded" trout of Livingston Stone). There never was a "pure Shasta rainbow" in fish hatcheries; it was a hybrid mixture from the start.

Thus, the common belief that all hatchery rainbow trout trace their origins to the McCloud River is erroneous. It is also erroneous that "pure" McCloud or "Shasta" rainbows presently occur in Argentina or elsewhere as a result of early stocking (an article in the August, 1990 issue of the *Orvis News* tells of catching a "turbo-charged McCloud rainbow" in Argentina). Besides the few hundred thousand eggs taken and sold by Campbell and Green during 1877-1879, the propagation of McCloud River rainbow trout by the U.S. Fish Commission lasted from 1880 through 1888. During these nine years, only 2,676,725 eggs were shipped. From about 1890 to 1900, the U.S. Fish Commission found new, much more abundant sources of rainbow trout eggs to ship to federal, state, and private hatcheries in steelhead runs from the Klamath, Willamette, and Rogue rivers, Oregon, and from Redwood Creek, California. It can be assumed that any hatchery stocks of McCloud River Trout were overwhelmed by this massive infusion of



Early pioneer fish culturist Livingston Stone, center, with his assistants Myron Green, left, and Willard T. Perrin, right, in San Francisco, 1873.

steelhead eggs (the first shipment of rainbow trout eggs to Argentina in 1904 consisted of "20,000 steelhead" and "50,000 irideus" (probably domesticated hatchery rainbows)).³

Most of my information on the history of rainbow trout propagation can be found in the reports of the U.S. Fish Commission, starting with the first report for 1872-1873 (especially the accounts of the McCloud River operation by Livingston Stone) and the biennial reports of the California State Fish Commission, beginning with the first report for 1870-1871. These documents, supplemented with other key references cited, allow for a relatively precise timing of the parental sources of rainbow trout first used in artificial propagation and the dates of shipment out of California. A gap in our knowledge concerns the arrangements or business relationship between the U.S. Fish Commission as represented by Livingston Stone and Myron Green and J. B. Campbell during the operation of Campbell's hatchery from 1877 through 1879. I have not found any mention of Campbell or his hatchery in any of Stone's accounts in the U.S. Fish Commission reports or other sources. Seth Green⁴ stated that eggs of the McCloud River rainbow trout were first procured from J. B. Campbell in 1878 for Green's Caldonia, New York, hatchery. For the years 1877, 1878, and 1879, the reports of the California Fish Commission list payments of \$182, \$128, and \$200, respectively, to Myron Green for McCloud River trout eggs. Did Green turn these payments over to J. B. Campbell? After the U.S.

Fish Commission began trout propagation on the McCloud River in 1880, payments by the California Fish Commission for McCloud River trout eggs were made to J. B. Campbell.

Given the above facts, an investigative reporter might suspect something underhanded was going on among federal employees benefitting from the sale of trout eggs. Everything I have learned about Livingston Stone, however, argues against any impropriety. I suspect that because Stone's charge from the U.S. Commissioner of Fisheries, Spencer Baird, was to propagate salmon, he had to demonstrate the feasibility of adding trout propagation to the salmon propagation program at little or no additional costs. To do this, Stone's assistant, Myron Green, probably made arrangements to establish a trout hatchery with J. B. Campbell on Campbell's property as a trial run. This is speculation, however, and the type of business-professional relationship among Stone, Green, and Campbell remains unknown.

The mistaken belief that the first rainbow trout used in artificial propagation was the McCloud River rainbow is due to the fact that during the 1870s what we now consider as one species for all forms of rainbow trout was regarded as many different species. In 1870, the California Fish Commission was established. A group of citizens formed the California Acclimatization Society to get a hatchery program established until responsibilities could be taken over by the State Fish Commission. The Acclimatization Society hatched the first rainbow trout eggs

under the name of "California brook trout" in 1870. In the first years of operation, eggs were taken from local waters near San Francisco Bay such as San Andreas Reservoir and San Pedro and San Mateo brooks and hatched in the basement of City Hall and on the Berkeley campus of the University of California (Strawberry Creek). Livingston Stone gives an account of the Acclimatization Society's program in the 1872-73 U.S. Fish Commission report (also found in biennial reports of the California State Fish Commission). The first recorded shipment of rainbow trout eggs out of California was made in 1875 to Seth Green in New York (500 eggs of what Green called "California mountain trout").⁴

Seth Green^{4,5,6} clearly made the distinction between "California mountain trout" and McCloud River rainbow trout. He stated that the mountain trout (from California Acclimatization Society) was first imported in 1875 and the McCloud Trout (from "California state hatching works at San Leandro") in 1878. Green believed the "mountain" trout (from San Francisco Bay area) and the McCloud trout were two different species and that the McCloud trout was the "true rainbow trout"—thus, the belief that the McCloud rainbow was the first ("true") rainbow trout used in fish culture. The first large brood stock and first massive production of fry for wide-scale stocking, however, was with the original Bay area rainbow trout established at the Caldonia, New York, hatchery.

Mr. Raymond quotes from a 1946 ar-

Museum Giftshop



Our popular t-shirts are made of 100% pre-shrunk cotton in the USA. Specify color (navy or cream), and size (S, M, L, XL). \$10 each, plus \$1.50 postage and handling.



These beautiful 10-oz. double old-fashioned glasses are made of hefty 24% lead crystal and deeply etched with the museum's logo and slogan. \$47.50 for a set of four, plus \$4 postage and handling.



Our pewter pin (left), measures 1" h x 1/2" w and features our logo in silver on an olive-green background. Our fully embroidered patch (3 1/2" h x 3" w), is silver and black on a Dartmouth Green twill background. Both are \$5 each, plus \$1 postage and handling.



Please make checks and money orders payable to: The American Museum of Fly Fishing, and send to: AMFF, P.O. Box 42, Manchester, VT 05254. MasterCard, Visa, and American Express accepted. Call 802-362-3300.



title by J. H. Wales on J. B. Campbell and trout propagation. The original paper by Wales on the McCloud River was published in 1939 in *California Fish and Game* 25(4). Wales' statement that J. B. Campbell sent McCloud trout eggs to Seth Green in 1874 is an error that has been institutionalized in the fisheries literature. For example, MacCrimmon,³ citing Wales (1939) as his authority, wrote: "Rainbow trout were first introduced outside their native range in 1874, when S. Green transferred a small consignment of eyed eggs from the McCloud River to his hatchery at Caldonia, New York" . . . "From 1874 to 1879, all rainbow trout shipped outside of their native range were of stock collected by J. B. Campbell." It is clear from the records of the California Fish Commission and from Seth Green's testimony that the first rainbow trout eggs shipped to his Caldonia hatchery occurred in 1875 and these eggs were from San Francisco Bay area rainbow trout. The first record of McCloud River trout eggs received by the California Fish Commission is 1877 (\$182 paid to Myron Green for 45,000 eggs). This timing agrees with remarks made by J. B. Campbell in the December 21, 1882 issue of *Forest and Stream* that, "I have been engaged in fish culture for seven years." If holding ponds and hatching facilities were constructed on Campbell's property in 1876 to take spawn in 1877 (peak spawning of rainbow trout occurred in February on McCloud), then by late 1882, Campbell would have been in his seventh year of fish culture.

In 1962, the late Paul Needham and I published a paper pointing out the fact that, contrary to the common belief that the original rainbow trout propagated by Livingston Stone on the McCloud River was a resident (nonanadromous) form, most of the eggs and sperm actually came from McCloud River steelhead.⁷ I thought it about time the record was corrected on other issues concerning the origin of hatchery rainbow trout. A final correction concerns the introduction of shad into the Sacramento River. Livingston Stone's 1873 introduction was not the first. Seth Green successfully transported shad to California in 1871. □

ENDNOTES

¹ Livingston Stone. 1874. Report of operations during 1872 at the United States hatching establishment on the McCloud River, and on the California Salmonidae generally, with a list of specimens collected. U.S. Fish Commission Report for 1872 and 1873, appendix B VI:168-200. No one knew what species of salmon (it was the chinook or king salmon) occurred in the McCloud River, much less the species of trout. The main reason Stone was sent to California to obtain salmon eggs by the U.S. Fish Commission was to stock Atlantic Coast rivers in an effort to restore "salmon." Because the Atlantic

salmon and all of the then-unknown species of Pacific salmon were all "salmon," it was believed that different species of a "generic salmon" were interchangeable and eggs of Pacific salmon could be obtained at much less cost and in much greater numbers than could the eggs of Atlantic salmon.

² 1892. Transactions of the American Fisheries Society. Stone was one of the five founders of the American Fish Culturist Association in 1870 (later, the Am. Fish. Soc.). At the 1892 meeting Stone correctly predicted the doom of salmon in the McCloud and called for a national salmon park to be established in Alaska.

³ H. R. MacCrimmon. 1971. World distribution of rainbow trout. *Journal of the Fisheries Research Board of Canada*. 28(5):663-704.

⁴ Seth Green. 1880. Transactions of the American Fish Culturists Association. Comments made at ninth annual meeting on propagation of California mountain trout and McCloud River rainbow trout.

⁵ 1881. U.S. Fish Commission Bulletin, vol. 1. Green's comments on p. 23, similar to above.

⁶ 1886. *American Angler*, May 13. Green stated that on May 4, 1878, he obtained 150 McCloud River trout fry at California state hatching works at San Leandro donated by J. G. Woodbury, Superintendent. He arrived at his Caldonia, N.Y., hatchery with 113 live fish on May 16. This shipment, Green believed, was "first of this variety ever brought to eastern states." Green received 7,200 eggs in 1879 and 6,078 eggs in 1880 of McCloud trout, sent by J. B. Campbell.

⁷ P. R. Needham and R. J. Behnke. 1962. The origin of hatchery rainbow trout. *Progressive Fish Culturist* 24(4):156-158.



George Dawson

SOME OF YOU, new to the Museum's ranks, may wonder about the identity of the man holding a fly rod in the engraving that serves as the American Museum of Fly Fishing's logo and that prefaces each article in this journal. The flyfisherman depicted is a Scotsman named George Dawson (1813-1883), who was a trenchant political writer, newspaper editor, author of *Pleasures of Angling with Rod and Reel for Trout and Salmon* (1876), and outdoorsman. His obituary called him "a ready, wise, dangerous writer," but it is for his love of nature that we like to remember him, and for the very fine quality of the engraving by artist T.B. Thorpe. In the publication office of the Museum, Mr. Dawson is more than a symbol, he has become family. We call him, simply, "George." M.P.



Museum News

A FRUITFUL SUMMER: the Museum is awarded two important grants, and launches a major fund drive. The Campaign for the American Museum of Fly Fishing: "Preserving a Rich Heritage for Future Generations." A new computer system is installed and plans for the renovation and expansion of the Museum are finalized.

AMFF Campaign Objectives Outlined

Members of the Museum's Development Committee met near Aspen, Colorado, for four days in July to finalize plans for the Campaign for the American Museum of Fly Fishing: "Preserving a Rich Heritage for Future Generations." Essentially, the campaign has two goals: to improve and expand the Museum's Manchester, Vermont, facility and to create an endowment.

More specifically, the objectives of the year-long campaign, officially launched in mid-September, are:

◇ **RENOVATION/EXPANSION:** Major renovation of the Museum's interior spaces, expansion of exhibition areas from 1000

to 1800 square feet, addition of a publications office and reception/exhibits/giftshop area, expansion of the library. Also in the plans is the creation of an audio/visual area, a children's interpretive area and aquarium.

◇ **EQUIPMENT/FURNISHINGS:** Full computerization, including hardware and software, laser printer, desktop publishing capability, new exhibition cases, audio/visual components, new furnishings for meeting room and staff areas.

◇ **ENDOWMENT:** \$25,000 endowment which will provide the capacity and flexibility necessary to meet the expanding and future needs of the Museum. This resource helps to insure the highest quality of service for the fulfillment of the mission and goals of the organization as a stable financial foundation. It is the difference between excellence and mediocrity. Purposes and restrictions for the application of endowed funds may include use in educational programs, capital needs, acquisitions, research programming, staff appointments, and youth programs. The ultimate goal of endowed funds is to meet the needs of the institution and the interests of the donor(s).

In announcing the start of the campaign, Development Committee Chairman Bruce Begin, an AMFF trustee and Director of Development at Proctor Academy in Andover, New Hampshire, said, "This campaign affords a special, unique and extraordinary opportunity for our leadership and members to propel the Museum forward in giant steps. Our timing and point of history is perfect." For further information on the campaign, contact the Museum office at 802-362-3300.

AMFF Garners Two More Grants

In September, the Museum was awarded two additional grants by the Samuel Johnson Foundation, a charitable, non-profit organization located in Oregon, and the Institute of Museum Services (IMS), a federal agency which serves the nation's museums.

In thanking Elizabeth Johnson, president of the Samuel S. Johnson Foundation, Museum Executive Director Don Johnson announced that the Foundation grant would be utilized in developing educational programming at the Museum and in helping to expand the Museum's traveling exhibits program.

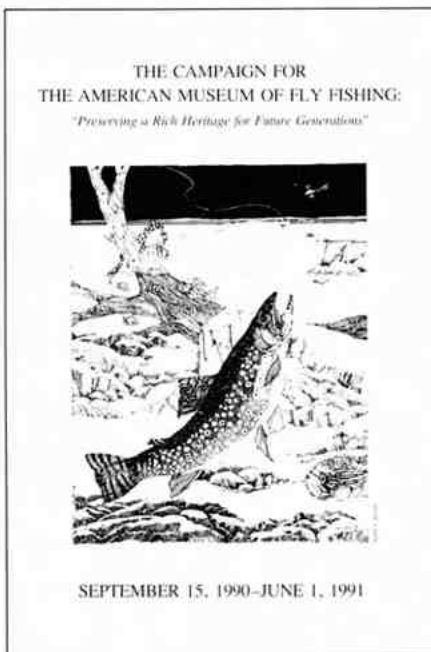
The IMS award, a Museum Assessment Program II (MAP II) grant, is the third IMS grant awarded to AMFF in the last five years. The Museum was awarded a Map I grant in 1985, and an IMS Conservation Survey grant in 1988. The MAP II program will enable AMFF to acquire the services of a professional museum surveyor who will perform a holistic survey of AMFF's collections management policies and practices. MAP II, like MAP I and the IMS Conservation Survey, is considered a prerequisite for attaining national museum accreditation.

AMFF Exhibit at Carter Library and Museum

We've recently added yet another museum, in this case the Jimmy Carter Presidential Library and Museum in Atlanta, Georgia, to the list of institutions due to host AMFF exhibitions in 1991. As many of our readers are already aware, President Carter and his wife Rosalynn, are skilled and, according to AMFF President Leigh H. Perkins, Sr., who recently fished with the Carters in Wyoming, dedicated fly fishers.

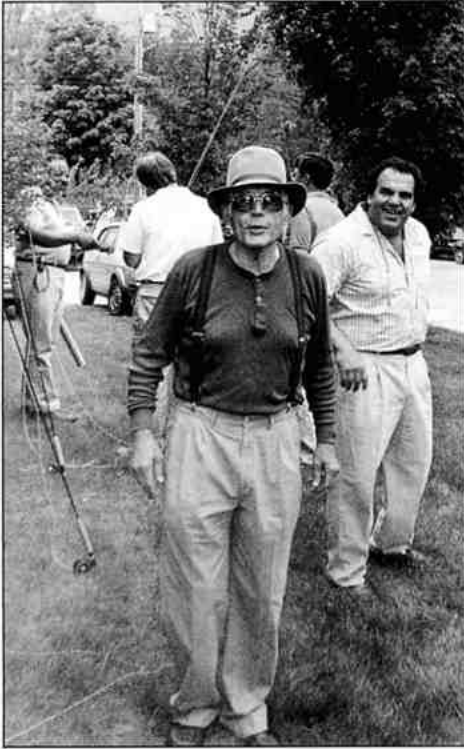
The exhibit now being planned will focus primarily on the history of fly tying in the United States, and among the objects drawn from the Museum's collections for the exhibit will be an assortment of nineteenth and early twentieth century fly-tying equipment and several framings from the Museum's William Cushner Collection. The exhibition will be rounded out with some of President Carter's own fly rods and tackle.

Museum staff members here in Manchester and in Atlanta are hopeful that a gala reception and/or dinner featuring an appearance by President Carter can be planned to formally open the exhibit in April of 1991.



Summer Events

Alanna Fisher



Trustee G. Dick Finlay (foreground) and J. Barton Carver (right) wooed visitors with their casting expertise at our first Annual Museum Festival, June 1990.



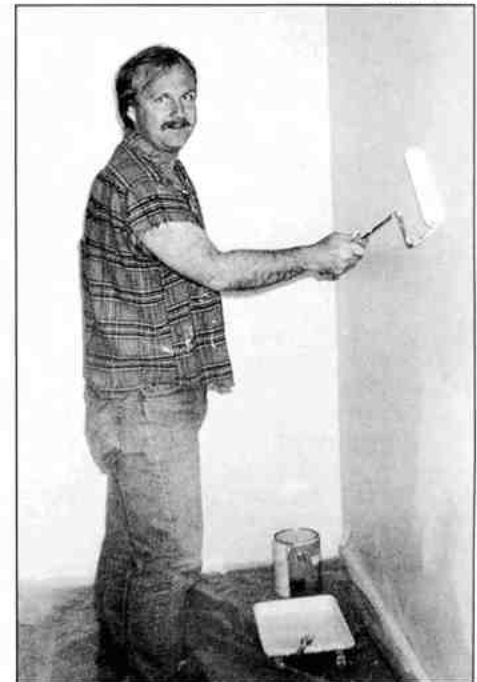
The Museum's Development Committee assembles for a group photo during three days of meetings (and fishing) in mid-July 1990 at trustee Lewis Borden's home at the Ranch at Roaring Fork near Basalt, Colorado. Left to right: Lewis Borden III, Arthur Stern, Executive Director Don Johnson, Forrest Straight, Bruce Begin, Peter Corbin, and Wallace Murray III.

Wallace Murray III



Trustee Arthur Stern of Boston, Massachusetts (left), and Museum Executive Director Don Johnson standing in front of Arthur's Baron Beechcraft at the Aspen, Colorado, airport in July 1990, following a cross-country flight to attend an AMFF Development Committee meeting.

Alanna Fisher



Our painter/surgeon, Dr. Bob McLellan of Boston, Massachusetts, applying a fresh coat of paint to the Museum's gallery spaces in preparation for John Swan's "Time On the Water" exhibition.

at the Museum

Alanna Fisher



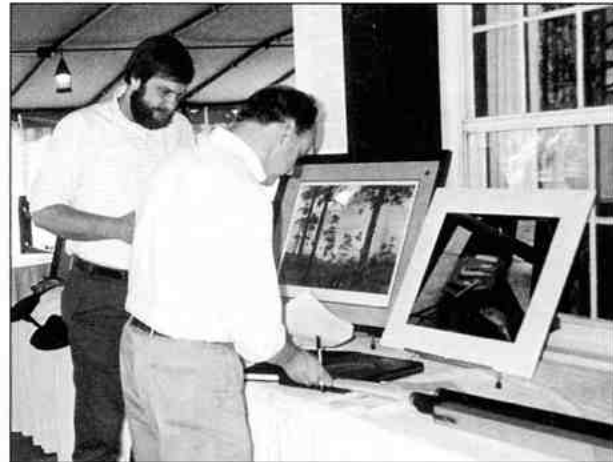
Editor in search of a desk. Margot Page working on copy in the Museum's collections management area. Some of the Museum's growing rod collection and library can be seen in the background.

Don Johnson



Museum curator Alanna Fisher putting the finishing touches on our "Hemingway In Michigan" exhibit. That's trustee Foster Bam of Greenwich, Connecticut, providing expert supervision.

Alanna Fisher



On the road . . . Museum director Don Johnson (left) and auctioneer Lyman Foss arranging auction items for the Museum's record-setting dinner/auction held in May 1990 at the Chagrin Valley Hunt Club, Gates Mills, Ohio.

G. Dick Finlay



Executive Director Don Johnson presented Museum T-shirts and pins to visitors Charles (standing) and Pat Orvis (seated) May 1990. Charles and Pat, descendants of the family which founded the famed Orvis Company in Manchester, Vermont, in 1856, were in town to help celebrate the Vermont Bicentennial.

Canadian author/scholar Richard C. Hoffmann and wife Ellen visited the Museum last July. Richard is seen here examining a volume from our large Austin Hogan Collection.

Alanna Fisher



A Treasury of Reels

The Fishing Reel Collection of The American Museum of Fly Fishing
text by Jim Brown · photographs by Bob O'Shaughnessy

Historians!

A Treasury of Reels



The Fishing Reel Collection of The American Museum of Fly Fishing
text by Jim Brown · photographs by Bob O'Shaughnessy

Collectors!

- *Over 200 black and white photos of individual reels*
- *More than 75 historic illustrations*
- *Printed on acid-free paper*

- *Large 8½"x11" format – over 285 pages*
- *Four-color dust jacket*
- *All proceeds benefit the museum*
- *Comprehensive bibliography and index*

The American Museum of Fly Fishing in Manchester, Vermont, has one of the largest and finest public collections of fly reels in the world. Its collection of more than 750 reels includes a significant number of baitcasting, surfcasting, deep-sea, trolling, and spinning reels as well. Here for the first time this giant collection is brought before the public in its entirety.

Antique, classic, and modern reels are all represented. Reels owned by presidents, entertainers, novelists, and angling luminaries as well as reels owned and used by everyday anglers are brought together in this richly diverse collection spanning nearly two centuries of British and American reelmaking.

The book begins with a lengthy introductory essay on the history of the fly reel that traces the origin of the fishing reel and subsequent development and evolution of the fly reel from earliest times. This is followed by a comprehensive catalog of the

museum's substantial reel holdings. Each reel is fully identified, dated, and described, and more than 200 of the more important examples are expertly photographed by Bob O'Shaughnessy. The result is a volume that should appeal to all anglers, interested in the history of their sport and most particularly to the growing number of reel collectors.

Jim Brown is a librarian who lives and works in Stamford, Connecticut. His first book, *Fishing Reel Patents of the United States: 1838-1940*, is now widely accepted as a standard reference work in the field.

Bob O'Shaughnessy is a Boston-based photographer who has worked in the advertising business for the past 30 years. He is past president of the New England chapter of the American Society of Magazine Photographers and a member of the Fly Casters of Boston and the Atlantic Salmon Federation.

CLIP AND MAIL TODAY

Yes!

I do want to order

A TREASURY OF REELS

directly from the Museum. (Order one for a friend, too!)

_____ *signed and numbered limited-edition copies at \$50.00 each* Postage and handling \$5.00 Total _____

My check to the American Museum of Fly Fishing is enclosed.

Please bill my *MasterCard* *Visa* *American Express card.*

CARD # _____ EXP DATE _____ SIGNATURE _____

NAME _____ ADDRESS _____

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LETTERS

Hemingway Fan

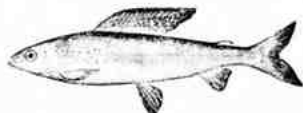
Really enjoyed the Summer 1989 issue of *The American Fly Fisher*. It's an admirable magazine: clean, strong design; entertaining, literate writing. You're to be congratulated.

The Hemingway article you put together was absolutely fascinating. It was interesting to read that he caught a grayling; I thought they disappeared from the Lower Peninsula of Michigan by 1916. I was going to do a story on the Fox River for another publication a couple of years ago, but it fell through (I'm almost grateful, considering that the outfitter wanted me to come in May, at the peak of the blackfly season).

I also visited the Hemingway Room at the John Fitzgerald Kennedy Library last summer. I mentioned I was researching a story, so they let me have access to a photocopied original of "Big Two-Hearted River," not to mention that favorite from my prurient adolescence, "Up In Michigan . . ." How extraordinary.

Tom Davis

Bailey's Harbor, Wisconsin



We were rather hoping one of our readers would comment on "Hemingway's grayling." Ernest was tutored in the natural sciences by his father, Dr. Clarence Hemingway, and having spent his boyhood summers in northern Michigan he was undoubtedly well acquainted with the region's flora and fauna. One could assume that Hemingway knew what a grayling looked like. Or did he? Most authorities [see *Recollections of My Fifty Years Hunting and Fishing* by William B. Mershon (Stratford Company, Boston, MA, 1923) and Austin Hogan's *The Historic American Grayling* (The American Fly Fisher, Winter, 1975)] agree that the grayling disappeared from the Lower Peninsula by the early 1900's. One wonders, then, if a small, remnant population existed in Bear Creek when Hemingway fished there in 1916, or did Hemingway simply confuse the grayling with another fish? Perhaps our readers will help us solve this conundrum? D.S.J.

The Hat Again

You're the expert on those photos (see "Letters," Spring 1990), although I still wonder about that hat—it looks very much like the dress hat (without feather)

worn by the Arditi and the Alpini troops in Italy during World War I. I also saw a home movie of Ernest Hemingway fishing off Key West in which he was wearing the same hat.

I had occasion back in the late 1970s to interview the Horton Bay people who knew Hemingway. I learned a lot about them, not much about Ernie.

My students who fly fish are forever asking me why in his stories and novels his characters almost always seem to use bait rather than flies. Hoppers in "Big Two-Hearted River," worms in *The Sun Also Rises*, and even a salamander once in "Now I Lay Me"—and I tell them he does it to catch fish. Wilson Harris [a character in *The Sun Also Rises*—Ed.] gives Jake some flies he has tied, but thinking back over the fiction I can't recall any of his characters using them.

Paul Smith

South Glastonbury, Connecticut

Paul Smith, who teaches at Trinity College, Connecticut, was recently elected to the Board of Directors of *The Hemingway Society*.

More Hemingway

I excitedly picked up *The American Fly Fisher* and was truly impressed by your presentation of the Hemingway diary along with your editorial preface page and accompanying article. The photographs, map and drawings were great touches that took me back in time. Congratulations on a great Hemingway issue.

Scott F. Schwar, Chairman

The Ernest Hemingway Foundation of Oak Park

Readers wishing more information on *The Ernest Hemingway Foundation of Oak Park*, can write to Scott at P.O. Box 2222, Oak Park, Illinois, 60303. The Foundation is a chartered, non-profit organization which publishes "The Hemingway Dispatch." The Foundation's ultimate goal is to establish a Hemingway Center in one of the two Hemingway boyhood homes in Oak Park.

And Yet More Hemingway

I have read your article with the greatest interest, and think it should be published in *The Hemingway Review*, so all the members of the Hemingway Society could enjoy it. Reading the diary was a thrill—there must be so many things still unpublished by Hemingway.

Ove G. Svensson

Eksharadsgatan 83, 1 tr
S-123 46 Farsta Sweden

Southern Booboo

This week I received the Spring 1990 issue of *The American Fly Fisher* and am very pleased with your treatment of my story about Livingston Stone. It seems appropriate that also this year Stone was

honored by being named to the National Freshwater Hall of Fame in Hayward, Wisconsin.

There is one minor error in my biography on page 28. I was born and raised in South Dakota, not North. I recall that one of the gals I met at the customary Saturday night dance at the Trianon Ballroom in Chicago expressed wonder why I did not talk like I was from the South, and said so in the best possible imitation of a Scarlet O'Hara dialect that could be managed by a Back 'o The Yards Irish woman which she was. Her knowledge of U.S. Geography was a bit amiss.

Best regards; plans for the future of the Museum are exciting.

Frank Raymond
Redding, California

French Info on Dickerson

I greatly enjoyed the article on Lyle L. Dickerson in the Spring 1990 issue of *The American Fly Fisher*. In my youth I knew "Dick" quite well, as he lived not very far from my parents' home in Detroit's East Side.

I bought my first rod from Dick in 1936 or thereabouts. It was an 8014 as I recall, later traded for a three-piece rod (not a Dickerson, alas!) for easier carrying in travel. A year or so later Dick made a seven-and-a-half-foot rod for my brother. Both of these would show in the ledger, I imagine.

The next rod Dick made for me was another 8014, which also should be noted in his ledger. And in the late 60s he made an extra tip for a two-piece, eight-foot Payne rod for me, which I still have. I also had an 8013, acquired in 1975, recently traded to a French collector for a Bedford rod. My brother's seven-and-a-half-foot rod is now owned by a nephew in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, Canada. I doubt if this data will be useful in tracing extant Dickerson rods, but if so I shall be very happy.

George E. Beall
Anglet, France

You're Welcome

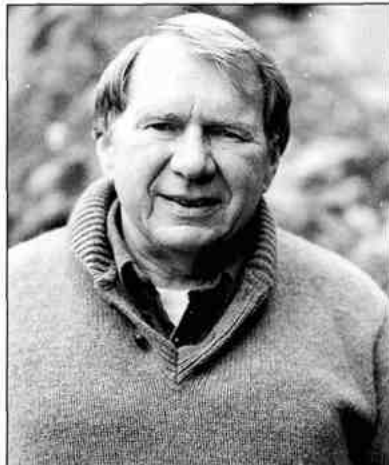
I would like to thank the entire Museum staff for making the first Museum Festival Weekend on June 1-3 a very memorable event for me and all those who participated. I felt honored to have taken part, and thank you for inviting me.

William Chandler
Burlington, Vermont

The American Fly Fisher welcomes letters and commentary from its readers. Please address correspondence to Editor, TAFF, P.O. Box 42, Manchester, Vermont 05254. All letters are subject to publication unless otherwise specified.

CONTRIBUTORS

Jim Yuskavitch



Dr. Robert J. Behnke is a professor in the Department of Fishery and Wildlife Biology at Colorado State University and serves as a cooperater with the Larvel Fish Laboratory. He is a world-renowned ichthyologist and expert on the systematics and biology of trout, salmon, and related fishes (family Salmonidae). He has thirty-five years of experience with fishes and fishery concerns throughout much of the northern hemisphere. In addition to publication of over fifty technical articles, chapters, and books, preparation of numerous reports and presentations, and services as a referee for many journals, Dr. Behnke also serves as Senior Translations Editor for Russian fisheries translations by Scripta Technica. Aside from his academic responsibilities, Dr. Behnke is a private consultant and advisor on fishery and related environmental concerns.

Dee Shatany



Richard C. Hoffmann is Associate Professor and Chair of the Department of History at York University in North York, Ontario. His specialty is social and economic history of medieval and early modern Europe. A fly fisher of twenty years' experience, he was National President of Trout Unlimited Canada during 1985-87, and in 1981 received from the Izaak Walton Fly Fisherman's Club its Haig-Brown Award for "outstanding achievements in fish habitat conservation."

His articles in *The American Fly Fisher*

Fred Houwink



on early English records of fly fishing and on the (re)discovered Spanish tract of 1539 by Fernando Basurto gained him the Museum's own Austin Hogan Award in 1985 and the 1986 Gregory Clark Award of the Izaak Walton Fly Fisherman's Club.

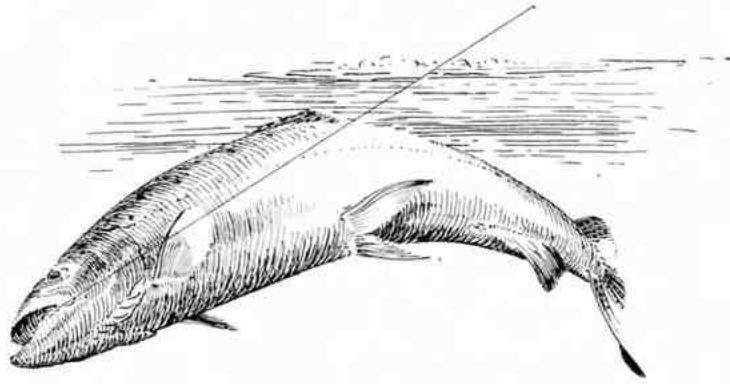
Barbara Arter



David R. Klausmeyer holds degrees in English (B.A.) and Political Science (M.A.) from Oklahoma State University. He was formally a management development specialist with the University of Tennessee. Dave now makes fine cane rods on a full-time basis, and is actively involved in Trout Unlimited. He regularly speaks to TU and FFF chapters and appears at fly shops to talk about cane rod construction throughout the eastern United States. Dave, wife Barbara and his two children Erik and Sandra live in Knoxville, Tennessee.

Ralph Moon spent his career with the Social Security Administration in southern Utah, for which he has written a weekly newspaper column for fifteen years. His articles have appeared in *Fly Fisherman*, *Flyfishing the West*, *The American Fly Fisher*, and *Flyfishing News Views & Reviews*. He is currently an editorial advisor and book reviewer for *Flyfisher*, and editorial associate for *Flyfishing News Views & Reviews*.

He is a member of the Executive Board of the Federation of Fly Fishers, President of the Western Rocky Mountain Council of the FFF, Curator of the Federation's International Fly Fishing Center, a member of the Board of Directors of the Henry's Fork Foundation, and a member of a number of other fly fishing clubs and conservation organizations.



Untitled original drawing by Tommy Brayshaw (1886-1967), a contemporary and good friend of Roderick Haig-Brown, and a noted artist, wood carver, fly tier, rod builder and conversationalist. From the collections of the American Museum of Fly Fishing.

The Collection That Keeps Growing



EVERY DAY is like Christmas at the Museum, with our collection growing dramatically over the last two years. Fortunately, the responsibility of managing and monitoring this assemblage of rods, reels, flies, and other tackle is now in the more-than-capable hands of our curator, Alanna Fisher. During the summer, Alanna and Doug McCombs, the Museum's summer intern, catalogued hundreds of new objects, all

of which are now part of the Museum's permanent collection.

In our next issue, we plan to offer a special journal dedicated to the world of salmon fishing, as an adjunct to the opening of our Salmon Exhibition in 1991. The Spring *American Fly Fisher* will feature a pictorial essay illustrating the outstanding salmon-related components of our collection and a journalistic window on a past world—a trip to one of the grand salmon camps on the Pata-

pedia in the early 30s, as viewed in an old home movie recently donated to the Museum—written by our great writer/friend, Robert F. Jones. We also look forward to presenting a perspective on early salmon reels by Jim Brown, and an excerpt from Trey Combs' upcoming book on steelhead fishing.

As always, it's encouraging to see so many manuscripts arriving at our door. We'll have much to offer our readers in the months ahead. D.S.J.

The American Museum of Fly Fishing

JOIN!

Membership Dues (per annum*)	
Associate*	\$25
Sustaining*	\$50
Patron*	\$250
Sponsor*	\$500
Corporate*	\$1000
Life	\$1500

Membership dues include the cost of a subscription (\$20) to *The American Fly Fisher* and to the *Greenheart Gazette*. Please send your application to the membership secretary and include your mailing address. The Museum is a member of the American Association of Museums, the American Association of State and Local History, the New England Association of Museums, the Vermont Museum and Gallery Alli-

ance, and the International Association of Sports Museums and Halls of Fame. We are a nonprofit, educational institution chartered under the laws of the state of Vermont.

SUPPORT!

As an independent, nonprofit institution, the American Museum of Fly Fishing must rely on the generosity of public-spirited individuals for substantial support. We ask that you give our institution serious consideration when planning for gifts and bequests.

VISIT!

Summer hours (May 1 through October 31) are 10 to 4. Winter hours (November 1 through April 30) are weekdays 10 to 4. We are closed on major holidays.

BACK ISSUES!

The following back issues of *The American Fly Fisher* are available at \$4 per copy:

Volume 5,	Numbers 3, 4
Volume 6,	Numbers 1, 2, 3, 4
Volume 7,	Numbers 2, 3, 4
Volume 8,	Number 3
Volume 9,	Numbers 1, 2, 3
Volume 10,	Number 2
Volume 11,	Numbers 1, 2, 3, 4
Volume 12,	Number 1
Volume 13,	Number 3
Volume 14,	Numbers 1, 2
Volume 15,	Numbers 1, 2
Volume 16,	Numbers 1, 2

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