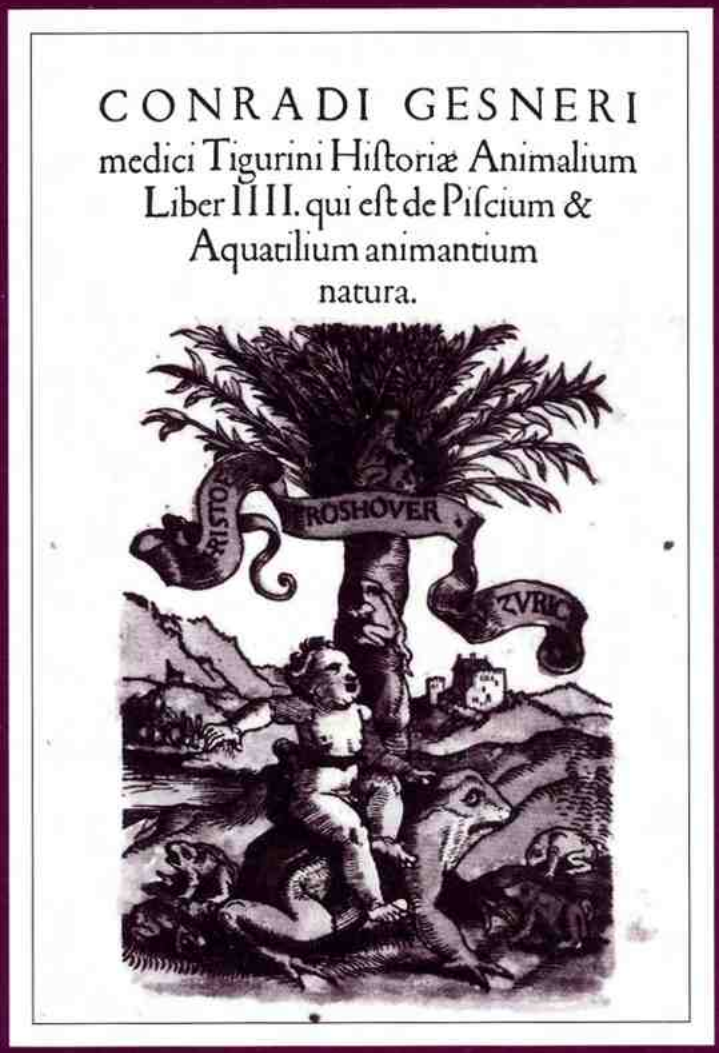
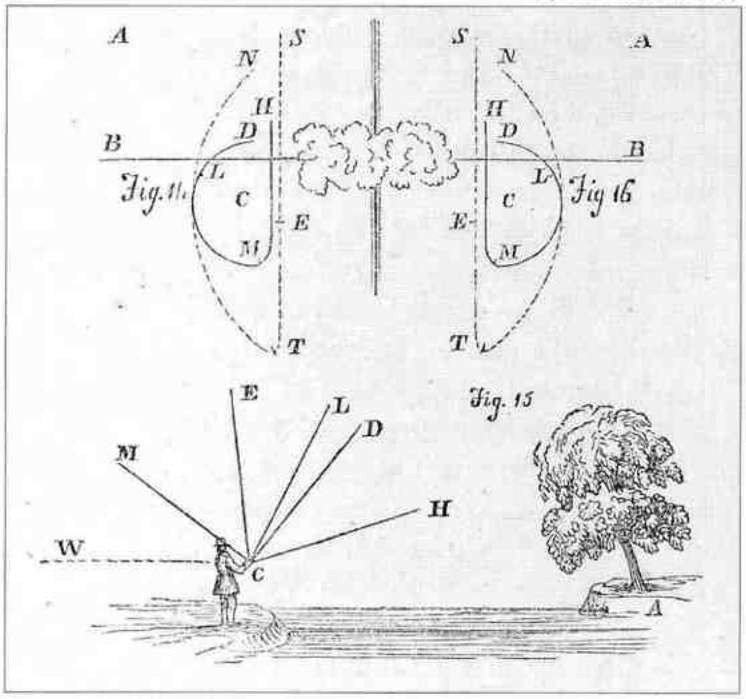


The American Fly Fisher

SPRING 1995 VOLUME 21 NUMBER 2

Fly Fisher's Text Book (1841)



Seasonal Confabulations

THE SPRING ISSUE of *The American Fly Fisher* is always a particular joy and a special labor to put together, fraught as this preseason is with the tantalizing daydreams about sparkling rivers and large wild fish that distract us all. As I write, the fishing season begins next week, but I can already feel my nerve ends tingling. By the time you read this, you will be wedging in reading time with time outdoors. Our goal is to try to make your reading time as worthwhile as your stream time.

In this issue, we are very pleased to present a third article by our most esteemed academic contributor, Professor Richard C. Hoffmann, who with his article "The Evidence of Early European Angling, III: Conrad Gessner's Artificial Flies, 1558," has added yet another dimension to early fly-fishing history (he wrote "Basurto's *Dialogo* of 1539," which appeared in Fall 1984 and "The Mysterious Manuscript of Astorga" for Fall 1990). For those of us to whom the sixteenth century is just some faded images on a needled tapestry, his article on the natural historian Conrad Gessner will prove illuminating. If you want to get an idea of how richly embroidered and how far into our past our fly-fishing history extends, you will appreciate this most sound and detailed perspective on a man of science in the 1500s, his hometown of Zurich, and the abiding love for this sport that stretches back 400 years.

We're also pleased to present a lovely set of angling bookplates that is chronicled by Louis Rhead in an article that first appeared in *The American Angler* in 1918. The excerpt is followed by a decorative spread of angling bookplates from our own library, selected for their stylized personality.

And, in honor of the increasing number of women coming into our sport, we present "A Fatal Success" by Henry van Dyke, a short story from his 1899 book *Fisherman's Luck*. Here is the somewhat mournful story of a "masterful" man who introduces his nonfishing wife to fly fishing with an air of *noblesse oblige*. She grows in skill and interest, outstripping his. Poor soul. I'll leave it at that.

There's lots happening here at the Museum. We've got a great team in place: staff, trustees, and volunteers, and all of us are looking forward to the continued health and evolution of this fine museum. We could not do it without you, our members and supporters. Let us hear from you, especially with your ideas for this, *your* journal.

MARGOT PAGE
EDITOR

The American Fly Fisher

Journal of The American Museum of Fly Fishing

SPRING 1995 VOLUME 21 NUMBER 2

ON THE COVER: *In this issue, Richard Hoffmann details the life of a mid-sixteenth century "man of learning," Conrad Gessner. A medieval natural historian and humanist, Gessner wrote the encyclopedic* Historia animalium *(1551-1558), which chronicled the use of twelve artificial flies. Cover illustration is from the title page of the* Historia animalium *(vol. 4), Otto von Kienbusch '06 Angling Collection, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Libraries.*

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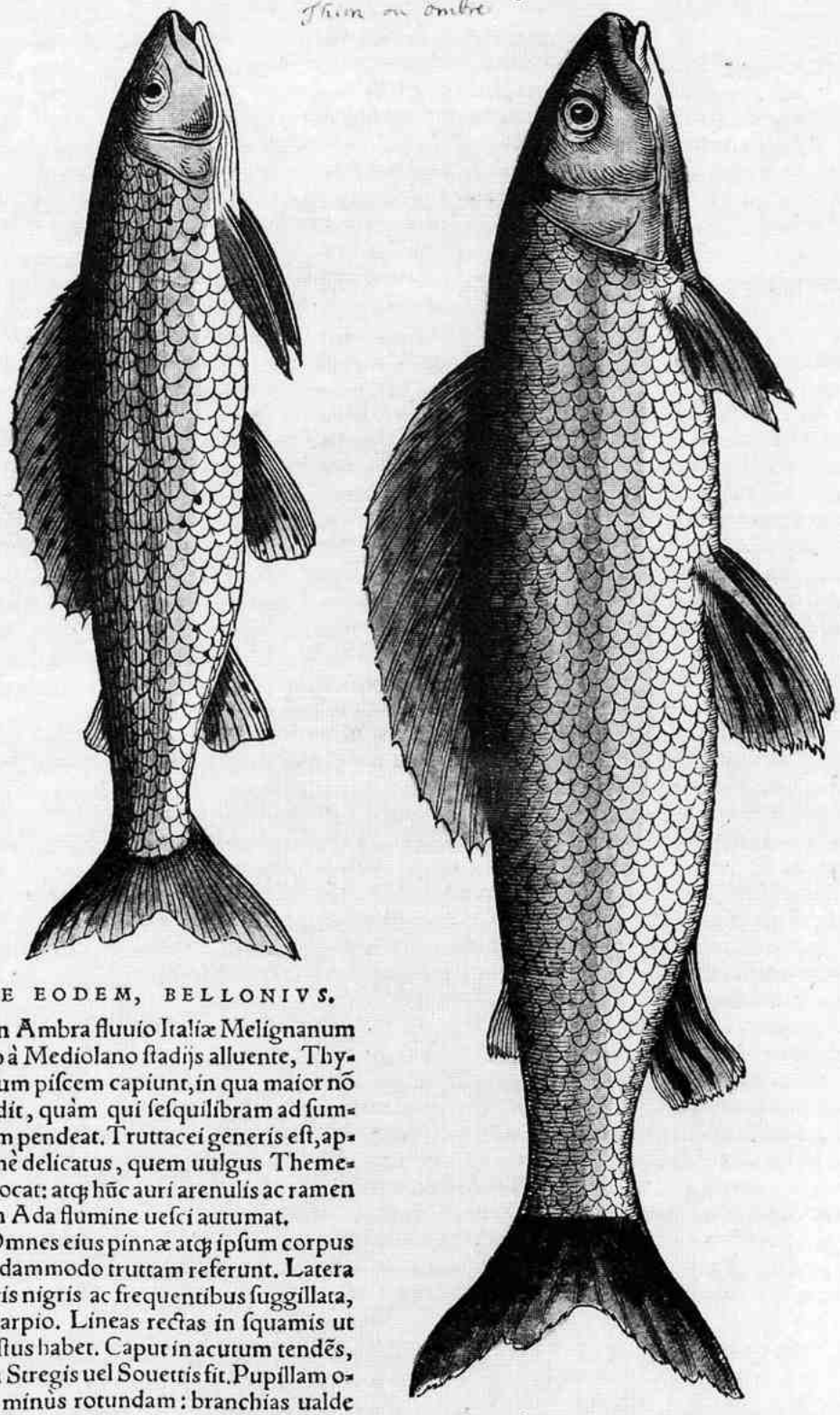
De Aquatilibus.

Pro una Thymalli icone à Rondeletio exhibita, duas noſtras poſuimus, unius quidem piſcis, ſed à diuerſis pictoribus non uno tempore nobis expreſſas. In utraque lineam quæ à branchijs ad caudam deſcendit, deſidero, &c.

Thim ou Ombre



DE EODEM, BELLONIVS.

A B In Ambra fluuio Italiæ Melignanum octo à Mediolano ſtadijs alluente, Thymalum piſcem capiunt, in qua maior nõ euadit, quàm qui ſeſquilibram ad ſummum pendeat. Truttacei generis eſt, apprimè delicatus, quem uulgus Themerũ uocat: atq; hũc auri arenulis ac ramentis in Ada flumine ueſci autumat.

B Omnes eius pinnæ atq; ipſum corpus quodammodo truttam referunt. Latera lituris nigris ac frequentibus ſuggillata, ut Carpio. Lineas rectas in ſquamis ut Myſtus habet. Caput in acutum tendẽs, ut in Stregis uel Souettis ſit. Pupillam oculi minùs rotundam: branchias ualde ſimplices, utrinq; quatuor. Linea quæ eius latera ſecat, à ſuperiori branchiæ angulo ſpineo oritur, & recta ad caudam prætenditur. Linguam oſtendit albam: dentibus caret, imò ne ullis quidẽ ipſorum rudimentis præditus eſt. Pedis longitudinem non excedit, nec trium digitorum latitu-

The Evidence for Early European Angling, III: Conrad Gessner's Artificial Flies, 1558

by Richard C. Hoffmann

This article reports one small finding from a program of research into the environmental, economic, and sociocultural history of fisheries in medieval and early modern Europe. I am grateful for the support of York University, the American Philosophical Society, and the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

Richard C. Hoffmann

Few who read (or write) the English-language histories of angling are aware which early fly-fishing tradition is most fully documented in extant written sources.

It is not the ancient Greek, known only in a thirdhand report about Macedonian trout fishing by the Roman rhetor Aelian (Claudius Aelianus, ca. 170-230 A.D.).[1] It is not the English, who up to 1600 have only a small record: two unattributable mid-fifteenth century manuscripts with unintegrated paragraphs on tactics and fly tying; twelve recipes for seasonal "dubbs" to catch trout listed near the end of that anonymous *Treatyse of Fysshynge wyth an Angle,* which printer Wynkyn de Worde added to his 1496 edition of the *Boke of St. Albans;* then more than a century of uninformative plagiarisms from that same *Treatyse.*[2] Nor is it the Spanish, which is so far evidenced by no more than the theoretical and tactical treatment in Fernando Basurto's 1539 literary *Dialogo* between a hunter and a fisher, and by the cryptic seasonal fly patterns collected in the puzzling "Manuscript of Astorga" from 1624.[3] It is rather the German tradition of the *vederangel* ("feathered hook") or *vedersnur* ("feather line") that can be attributed to many and various sources all the way from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century.

As early as 1210 A.D. the chivalric poet Wolfram von Eschenbach could treat the "feathered hook" as a literary commonplace and its use in angling as worthy of the highest nobility:

> Schionatulander mit einem vederangel vienc äschen und vörchen. . . . Schionatulander . . . vische mit dem angel vienc, dâ er stuont ûf blôzen blanken beinen durh die küele in lûtersnellem bache.
>
> Schionatulander caught grayling and trout with a vederangel. . . . Schionatulander . . . caught fish with the hook as he stood barefoot in the cool, clear brook.[4]

This successful young fly-fisher was a cousin to the (fictitious) courtly paragon King Arthur himself!

The rich legal and discursive record of the *vederangel* in late medieval and early modern German-speaking lands was assembled thirty years ago by historian Hermann Heimpel, helped by the technical expertise and amateur investigations of professional fisheries manager Wilhelm Koch.[5] From the late fourteenth century well into the sixteenth, codified local customs (so-called *Weistümer*) were confirming the right of community members to fish with the *vederangel* on public running and nearshore waters across a zone from northeastern Switzerland through southern Bavaria, Tirol, upper and lower Austria, and Styria. A south German revolutionary tract from the uneasy late 1430s sought to claim this method as a general right for free commoners to fish even in private natural waters. Vernacular instructions written in several obscure manuscripts from the late 1490s into the seventeenth century, and now known to survive in Salzburg, upper Austria, upper Saxony, and upper Bavaria, give cryptic details to construct dozens of different "feathers" (*vedern*) or "hooks" (*angeln*). A typical example comes from the oldest surviving such manuscript, which was written down and kept in the property manager's office at the Bavarian abbey Tegernsee. In the list recommended for August fishing:

> Der drit angel sol gefast sein mit der vedern, die liecht aschen varb sey sam weis, und rauch auf der grünen mit weiß und

Opposite: Woodcut illustrating the article in Gessner's volume on fishes in which he introduces six flies used by "experienced anglers" to catch grayling (Thymallus thymallus). *These cuts of a male and female grayling were taken from the two-volume* Libri de Piscibus Marinis . . . *written by Gessner's friend Guillaume Rondelet (Lyons, 1554, 1555).*

Historia animalium, 1558

Conrad Gessner at age thirty-nine (circa 1550s) while he was working on Historia animalium's *volume on fishes. The woodcut is by Jos Murer, one of the main illustrators of* Historia animalium.

> plab farb seiden, und umb das hertz weisß seiden.
>
> The third hook should be tied with the feather which is light ash color together with white, and rough on the green with white and blue colored silks, and around the "heart" white silk.[6]

Could you tie that pattern? There are forty-nine more in the same manuscript. Does this particular combination of silks and feathers have any special rationale? Some of these objects have names that sound like insects, but none of the early German-language texts call them anything except "hooks," "feathers," or "feathered hooks." The objects and their use in angling are plainly well known in local oral culture and practice, but a clearly articulated conceptual understanding is missing. So are actual practitioners.

Authoritative modern writings on the medieval German tradition of the *vederangel* do not mention the sixteenth-century Zürich physician and polymath Conrad Gessner. This is not surprising, because most of what he published was in Latin, the language of learning. Gessner's discussion of artificial flies in the 1558 fourth volume of his *Historia animalium*[7] is noticed in the introduction to an early twentieth-century Austrian guide to fly fishing, Adolf Stölzle and Karl Salomon's *Die Kunst und die Grundlagen des Fliegenfischens* (Wien, 1931).[8] It is also remarked in passing by the more recent fisheries analyst Andreas von Brandt.[9]

Neither brief treatment provides actual details or analysis of Gessner's remarks, and both are marred by factual errors. When these problems are cleared up, however, we shall recognize in Gessner's report a remarkably insightful and firm record for the self-conscious use of indisputably imitative artificial flies in German-speaking lands. Indeed, historians of fly fishing can determine more from what Gessner has to say than they can from any other single early text now extant from the German lands or anyplace else: we know precisely who wrote it, where, and when; we know how he obtained the information; we know who used the technique and for what fishes; we know how and from what materials the "feathers" were made; we know what they were meant to be. If I am not mistaken, all this can be said about no other record of fly fishing before Charles Cotton's contribution of "Instructions how to Angle for a Trout or Grayling in a Clear Stream" to the 1676 fifth edition of Izaak Walton's *Compleat Angler*.[10]

Physician, Philologist, Natural Historian

Physician, philologist, bibliographer, natural historian, and theologian, Conrad Gessner was a faithful son of his native Zürich, of Renaissance humanism, and of the early Protestant Reformation. His training and career frame our understanding of how he came to describe one particular way to catch certain fish.

Early sixteenth-century Zürich was a miniature city/state of barely more than five thousand townsfolk clustered along the hillsides where the River Limmat drains swiftly out of the Züricher See. Lesser towns and country people in the surrounding district numbered another 50,000.[11] With Bern (slightly smaller) and Basel (slightly larger), the proudly self-governing municipality was a leader among the urban members of that odd but effective alliance between mountain peasant communities and small towns which formed the fiercely independent Swiss confederation. Over the past 250 years, the confederates had coalesced in successful defense of local judicial autonomy that they saw threatened by regional princes, mainly the Habsburgs, who had more recently affirmed their own possession of the Imperial (German) title and of more tractable hereditary lordships further east in Tirol and Austria. The proven battlefield effectiveness of well-disciplined militia or mercenary units gained Swiss pikemen lu-

crative employment with ambitious and warlike Renaissance princes. Back home, however, neither foreign subsidies, nor rising commercial business and agricultural prices, nor the need of underemployed artisans for work prevented occasionally fierce disagreement and conflict among the cantons.

Like many small cities in late medieval central Europe, Zürich was ruled by a municipal council in which guild masters and merchants, not big capitalists, dominated. The peculiar political role of the Swiss, however, made the Zürich elite more familiar with international affairs and movements than were their counterparts in other such places. By the late 1400s most German-speaking townsmen and some townswomen were literate in the vernacular; their clerical and professional neighbors also used Latin. Hence leading elements eagerly shared in the cultural fashion of humanism that spread north across the Alps after the 1480s, and were also ready to respond to religious issues raised by German reformers after 1517. Zürich's charismatic town preacher, Ulrich Zwingli (1484-1531), a humanist intellectual with experience as a chaplain to Swiss troops in the Italian wars, turned Luther's religious revolt into a distinctive response to the social, spiritual, and personal needs of an urban community. In sermons and open debates during 1522-1525, Zwingli led the public magistrates of Zürich to establish evangelical religious institutions and to assume joint responsibility with the reformed pastors for the moral life of the town.

Conrad Gessner grew up poor but promising in Zwingli's Zürich.[12] His parents, Urs and Agathe, eked from a furrier's shop a meager living for their large brood. From about Conrad's fifth year, he was brought up in the household of his great-uncle, Johannes Frick, a canon in the Church of Our Lady (Fraumünster) and something of an herbalist. Young Conrad learned of plants in his uncle's garden and had his support through the local German (elementary) school and the higher Fraumünster school. There Conrad studied classical Latin and Greek with the famous philologist and budding Protestant theologian Oswald Myconius, who would long remain his patron. The teenager then passed into the school at the Great Minster (Grossmünsterschule), Zürich's own advanced theological faculty. During the spring of 1531 Conrad won the municipal scholarship Zwingli had set up for promising but needy students. In October, Ulrich Zwingli and Urs Gessner fell in the bitter battle of Kappel between the Reformed and the Catholic cantons. Leading Protestant thinkers, Myconius among them, thought it best to depart Zürich.

While Zürich stayed in the Reformed camp under the spiritual leadership of Zwingli's successor Heinrich Bullinger, Conrad Gessner spent little of the next ten years there. With the good offices of his teachers, and occasionally with financial help from them or the Zürich authorities, but mainly in almost stereotypical student's penury, he traveled among the schools, teachers, and library collections. Urged into theology by leaders of reform, young Conrad studied in Strasbourg, Bourges, and Paris, sometimes supporting himself as a servant or by giving lessons in Greek and Latin. He left Paris quickly in late 1534, when authorities began to persecute Protestants.

Returning to Zürich, he found a teaching position, but angered his superiors with what they thought an ill-considered marriage to a poor local girl, Barbara Singeysen. They demoted him to the lowest grade in the Latin school, and Gessner decided to study medicine, to which he then devoted all of his free time. Probably with the help of Myconius, Gessner did get a small stipend to study medicine at Basel, but to make ends meet he also worked part-time for a publisher and bookseller, revising a well-known Greek-Latin dictionary. In 1537, the government of Bern invited him to a post as professor of Greek at the academy it had established in Lausanne. Three happy years there let Gessner write on philology and deepen his botanical knowledge on long local excursions. But a visit to Zürich in 1540 brought new encouragement from the local physician to return to medical studies. Conrad left Lausanne for some months at Montpellier, Europe's most prestigious medical school, returned to Basel to receive his medical degree in February 1541, and soon set up a practice back in Zürich, now again his permanent home. He was just twenty-five.

Not even the bright local boy made good could quickly find lots of generous patients. Gessner took a second, poorly paid post as a lecturer in natural philos-

TABLE

Gessner's Flies, 1558, Material Summary

		GRAYLING		TROUT
April	H	red	H	green
	B	white partridge belly	B	red silk
	W	white partridge belly	W	red cock
May	H	blue	H	black
	B	white & black silk	B	red silk ribbed gold
	W	gray hooded crow back	W	red capon feather
June	H	—	H	yellow
	B	green wild duck breast	B	blue & gold silk
	W	dark heron's tail	W	subalar partridge feather
July	H	black silk	H	blue
	B	blue silk	B	green & gold silk
	W	black hooded crow belly	W	yellow feather
August	H	green	H	yellow
	B	gray crane's wing feather	B	peacock herl ribbed with a yellow feather
	W	partridge feather	W	hazel hen back feather
Sept	H	red silk	H	dark
	B	blue silk	B	yellow & red silk
	W	gray hooded crow back	W	ptarmigan back feather

ophy and ethics at the theological academy, now called the Collegium Carolinum, and when that, too, proved inadequate, went back to moonlighting as a writer, translator, and editor. Botanical excursions were now confined to nearby regions of the Alps. The Zürich printer Christoph Froschauer published a booklet on milk, which Gessner had prepared back in Lausanne, and later the first of his botanical writings. Gessner occasionally joined Froschauer on trips to the book fair at Frankfurt, where he impressed well-known scholars and was invited to visit libraries in Italy, which he did in 1544. On a 1545 visit to the Augsburg library of the wealthy Count Jacob Fugger—scion of capitalist financiers made good—Gessner got to examine one of the two known manuscripts of Aelian's *On the Characteristics of Animals*, but turned down a job which would have required him to leave Zürich and become Catholic. That same year Froschauer published Gessner's *Bibliotheca universalis*, the first complete bibliographic catalog of classical and modern learning. For more than a decade and through bouts of severe illness, learned editions and translations of classical works, original studies in medicine, botany, and zoology, and definitive compendia and reference books poured from Gessner's pen. Though made a professor at the Carolinum in 1546, and official town physician in 1554, Gessner's financial situation remained miserable until 1558, when he turned in desperation to Bullinger and the city council. The council responded quickly to the gap between the reputation and the resources of its loyal citizen, and endowed Gessner with the title and income of a canon. This reward of security followed by only a few months the publication of the fourth volume, *De piscium & aquatilium animantium natura*, "On the nature of fishes and aquatic animals," in the great *Historia animalium* series on which Gessner had been working for more than ten years.

Before examining Gessner's working methods and intellectual approach in *Historia animalium*, a few words on his later career. *De piscium natura* was dedicated to the Emperor Ferdinand I, who graciously replied by inviting Gessner to an audience during the imperial Diet at Augsburg in 1559, and then making another nice job offer were Gessner prepared to change his religion. He wasn't. In 1564, Gessner did obtain an imperial coat of arms and patent of nobility, which included privileges extending the legal protection of his rights to his written works (copyright in intellectual property was then in infancy). Since 1561, Gessner had begun organizing his lifetime of botanical studies into a "Historia plantarum," but he also worked on and published a complete edition of the works of the Roman physician Galen, a book on fossils, minerals, and gems, and an autobiography with bibliography of his own works. As an epidemic ravaged Zürich in 1564, the municipal physician worked without respite, cured the aged Bullinger, and exhausted himself. When Gessner diagnosed his own infection on 9 December 1565, he retired to his study and busied himself with writing and discussion of his botanical work until he died four days later, aged only forty-nine. He was buried on 14 December in the cloister of the Grossmünster.

Conrad Gessner was a prodigiously productive scholar, legitimately a creator of the modern disciplines of philology, zoology, botany, mineralogy, and library science. His editions of classical texts remained definitive into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Gessner and his contemporaries constructed the historic foundations for modern biological science. Theirs was not, however, the same kind of work as done by modern scientists, and so needs to be recognized in the intellectual context of its own time.[13] No modern scientist could do what Gessner did. Indeed, no modern scientist could have done modern science in the sixteenth century, either, because (among other things), Gessner's work of humanist scholarship had to be done first. This used the methods of philological criticism to assemble and order human knowledge of nature so scientists could agree on what they were talking about and then go ahead and test the truth of this knowledge.

Gessner's *Historia animalium*

Conrad Gessner's *Historia animalium*, in its original edition of four volumes appearing 1551-1558, and a fifth published posthumously in 1587, was a major and necessary achievement of early modern zoology in general and ichthyology, in particular.[14] The *Historia animalium* took off from the biology of the ancient Greek Aristotle—which had been recovered and absorbed in late medieval Europe—and carried that approach further than had been done by the Roman Pliny or the thirteenth-century encyclopedists Vincent of Beauvais, Thomas of Cantimpre, and Albertus Magnus. This means that Gessner worked within a descriptive and detailed natural history, but one that is less comparative and analytical than modern science. He superseded his predecessors in the sheer amount of information, its clarity of organization, and his practical intent. As a humanist and a reformed Christian, Gessner wanted to make knowledge about the natural world—and thus that world itself—available for human use.

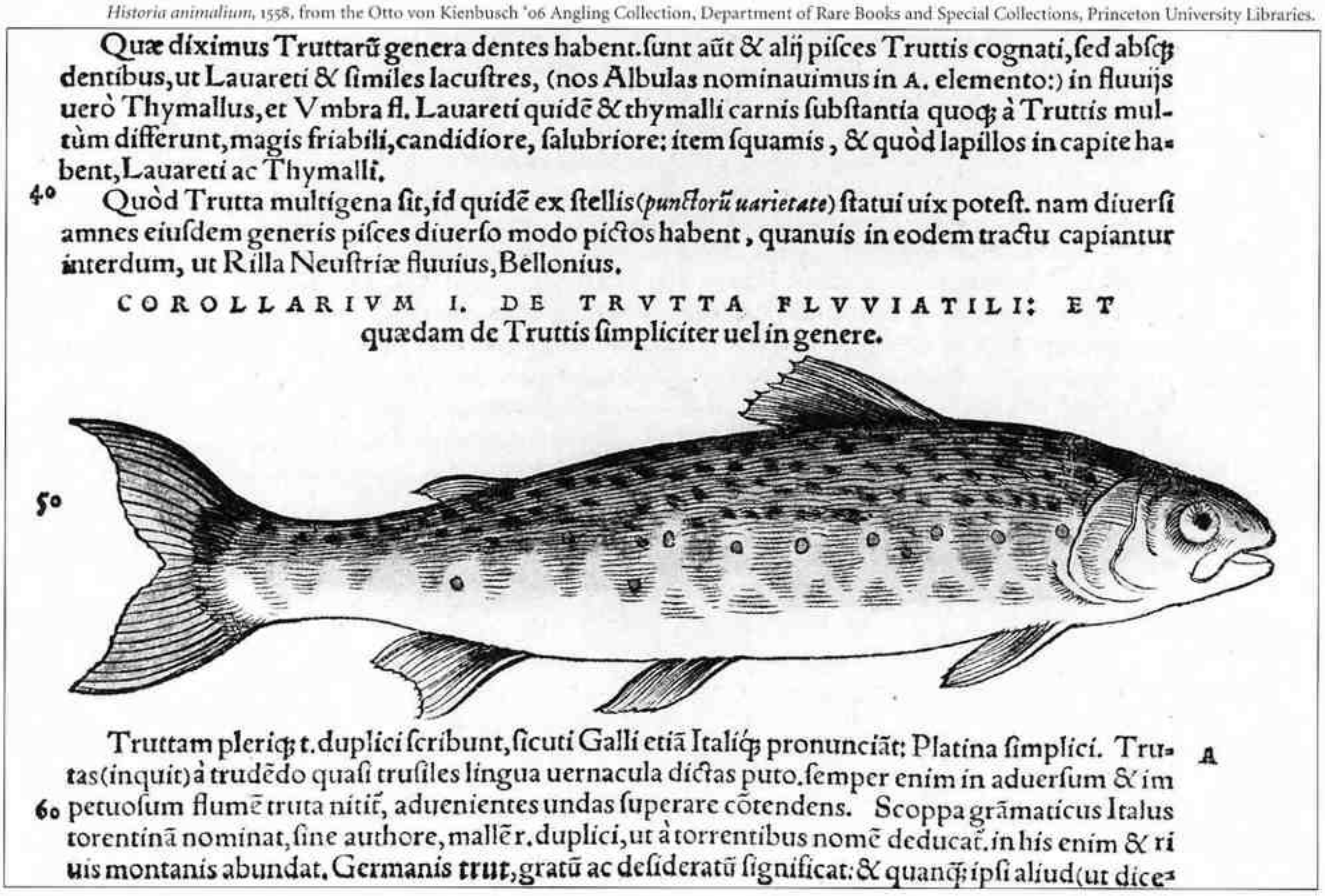
Historia animalium is encyclopedic in character. The topical volumes (1 and 2 on terrestrial quadrupeds, 3 on birds, 4 on fishes, the posthumous 5 on reptiles) have entries arranged in alphabetical order by Latin name. Gessner offers prefatory cross-indexes in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Italian, French, Spanish, German, English, Czech, Polish, a mix of Balkan and east Slavonic languages, and Arabic. The continual worry over nomenclature had pragmatic grounds, lest information about the creatures be mixed up, and was not concerned about systematic relationships as is modern scientific taxonomy. Each entry is then organized under an identical sequence of headings:

A. Names in all known languages
B. Range, habits, external and internal morphology
C. Physiology and diseases
D. Characteristic behavioral and instinctive attributes
E. Human culture, capture, and care
F. Human dietary uses
G. Human medicinal uses
H. Etymology of names; relation/use in names of stars, plants, humans, rivers, towns, fables, holy animals, proverbs

Almost every entry is illustrated with one or more woodcuts, which number in the hundreds. Some came from Gessner's own well-practiced hand, many were done from specimens by various identifiable Zürich artists and checked for accuracy by the author, and others he took from published sources. In particular, many fish for which specimens were unobtainable in Switzerland, Gessner acknowledged copying from the brand-new (1554-1555) two-volume *Libri de piscibus marinis* by Guillaume Rondelet, a friend and correspondent since the days in Montpellier.[15]

Gessner's use of the best new specialist publications was but one aspect of his tracing and acknowledging all conceivable sources of information. He em-

Historia animalium, 1558, from the Otto von Kienbusch '06 Angling Collection, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Libraries.



Quæ diximus Truttarũ genera dentes habent. ſunt aũt & alij piſces Truttis cognati, ſed abſq; dentibus, ut Lauareti & ſimiles lacuſtres, (nos Albulas nominauimus in A. elemento:) in fluuijs uerò Thymallus, et Vmbra fl. Lauareti quidẽ & thymalli carnis ſubſtantia quoq; à Truttis multùm differunt, magis friabili, candidiore, ſalubriore: item ſquamis, & quòd lapillos in capite habent, Lauareti ac Thymalli.

Quòd Trutta multigena ſit, id quidẽ ex ſtellis (*punctorũ uarietate*) ſtatui uix poteſt. nam diuerſi amnes eiuſdem generis piſces diuerſo modo pictos habent, quanuis in eodem tractu capiantur interdum, ut Rilla Neuſtriæ fluuius, Bellonius.

COROLLARIVM I. DE TRVTTA FLVVIATILI: ET quædam de Truttis ſimpliciter uel in genere.

Truttam plerique t. duplici ſcribunt, ſicuti Galli etiã Italiq; pronunciãt: Platina ſimplici. Trutas (inquit) à trudẽdo quaſi truſiles lingua uernacula dictas puto. ſemper enim in aduerſum & impetuoſum flumẽ truta nitit, aduenientes undas ſuperare cõtendens. Scoppa grãmaticus Italus torentinã nominat, ſine authore, mallẽ r. duplici, ut à torrentibus nomẽ deducat. in his enim & riuis montanis abundat. Germanis **trut**, gratũ ac deſideratũ ſignificat: & quanq; ipſi aliud (ut dice-

Brook trout (Salmo trutta) *from the north central Alps region, a woodcut approved by Gessner to illustrate his* Historia animalium *article about six artificial flies. Gessner is called "the most learned man in mid-sixteenth century Europe."*

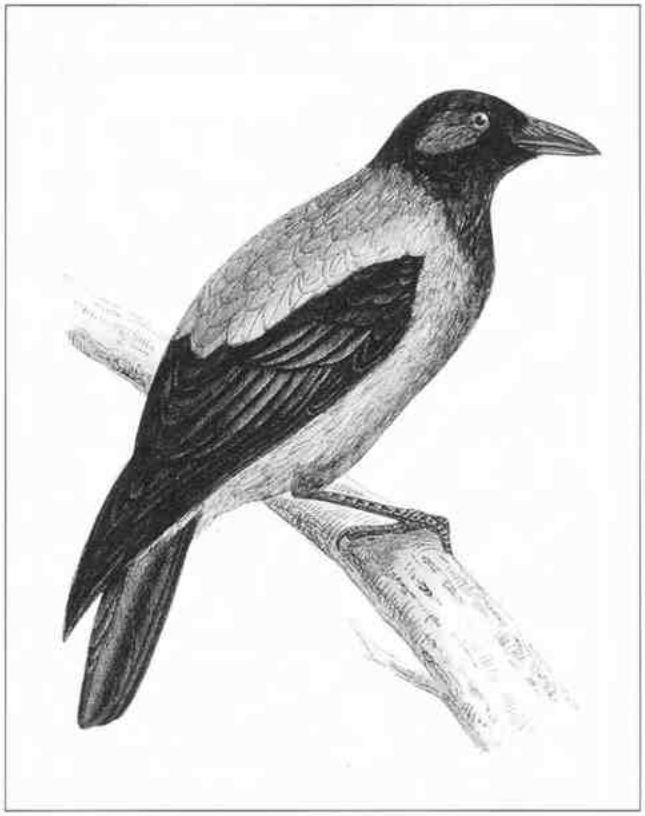
ployed a long string of written works, classical and modern. A partial list in the introduction to *De piscium natura* names sixty-three authors.[16] Part of Gessner's research for that volume involved his preparing and publishing in 1556 the first critical edition and complete Latin translation of Aelian,[17] and another booklet where emended editions of writings on fish by the ancient Romans Ovid and Pliny preceded a provisional list of vernacular German names for fish.[18] Among contemporaries he relied especially on the ichthyological writings of his friends and fellow physicians Rondelet, Pierre Belon,[19] and Ippolito Salviani.[20] Gessner maintained a lively exchange with correspondents all over Europe, and used this to advance his inquiries. In 1557, for instance, he asked a Viennese physician friend about some fish varieties which were native to the middle Danube, but not to his own Rhine drainage.[21] Visitors to Zürich were welcomed to the home of the famous scholar. Gessner's guest book for 1555-1565 holds 227 autographs, among them on 3 January 1557 that of a Pole called "Christophorus Viclewicius" who, Gessner himself noted, reported some fish names from his native language.[22] And, finally, Gessner drew on his personal experience and observation, especially in the course of his travels in Switzerland, Germany, France, and Italy.[23] An anachronistic presentist history of science would complain of too little empirical reporting, and thus fail to recognize the historic role of Gessner and his contemporaries as organizers of data for testing and, especially, Gessner's essential contribution of faithful citation and distinction among his sources.[24] Gessner identified precisely how he could make his statements and differentiated between traditional and empirical knowledge, while giving his readers both.[25] There is no better single source for the state of European knowledge about fish up to the mid-sixteenth century than Gessner's *De piscium natura*.

Gessner's Flies

Now we can look closely at Conrad Gessner's two treatments of fishing with the artificial fly: for grayling and for trout. Each passage from *De piscium natura* is described in its immediate context, transcribed, and translated into English. Analysis follows.

The article on grayling, thymallus, comes first.[26] Under section E, capture methods, Gessner reports that classical writers disagree whether grayling can be taken with any bait, and then he gives instructions for rearing yellow maggots to use as bait for them and trout.[27] He cites this advice "ex libello Germanico De inescationibus piscium" ("from a German booklet on the baiting of fishes"), an item to which he had also earlier referred. This is, in fact, an anonymous booklet first printed at Heidelberg in 1493. By 1558, at least a dozen other printers had put out twenty more editions, most with a title such as "Wie man fisch und vögel fahen soll" ("How

History of British Birds (1870)



Gessner's fly patterns use materials from central European birds, such as the hooded crow (right), hazel hen, and ptarmigan, which are not otherwise found in contemporary patterns.

to catch fish and birds").[28] Gessner's Latin precisely communicates the third of twenty-seven vernacular recipes in the booklet, which recommends rearing maggots by stuffing a black chicken with egg yolks and saffron and setting this in a dung heap for some days or weeks. Gessner continues [italics and parentheses sic]:

> Callidi quidam piscatores ex plumis auium diuersis anni temporibus diuersa uermium & uolucrium insectorum genera mentiuntur, & hamis tanquam escam addunt: pro thymallis quidem genus muscae effingunt (Aprili mense, puto) ex pennis perdicis, capite rubente: corpore & alis candidis, e pennis (itidem) perdicis de uentre. Maio autem mense muscam repraesentant corpore partim e candido partim nigro serico contexto alternis, capite coeruleo, alis uero e dorso cornicis uariae, quam nostri a nebula denominant. Iunio deinde effingunt de pennis e cauda ardeae fuscae (*alas, aut caput, aut utrunque: non enim exprimitur in libello Germanico manuscripto, cuius uerba interpretor:*) corpus uero uiride de pennis e pectore anatis syluestris. Iulio autem corpus e serico coeruleo formant, caput e nigro serico: & alas addunt de pennis e uentre cornicis uariae quam a nebula denominant. Augusto corpus faciunt de pennis alarum gruis, (*alas*) e pennis perdicum: caput uiride. Demum Septembri corpus e coeruleo serico concinnant, caput e rubro: & alas e pennis de dorso cornicis uariae (quam diximus) affingunt.

In literal English translation:[29]

> Certain skilful fishers fabricate diverse kinds of worms and winged insects from feathers of birds in various seasons of the year, and place such bait on the hook: for grayling indeed they make a kind of fly (in the month of April, I think) from partridge feathers, with a reddish head: body and wings white, from feathers (likewise) from the belly of a partridge.[30] But in the month of May they represent the fly with a body partly of white and partly of black silk twined together in alternate layers, the head blue, the wings indeed from the back of the varied crow which our people name after the fog.[31] Then in June they make up (wings or head or both—for it is not specified in the German manuscript booklet whose words I interpret—) from feathers from the tail of the dark heron,[32] but the body green from feathers from the breast of the wild duck.[33] But in July they shape a body from blue silk, a head from black silk, and they attach wings from feathers from the belly of the varied crow which they name after the fog. In August they make the body from feathers of a crane's wings, (wings) from partridge feathers, [and the] head green.[34] Finally in September they put together a body from blue silk, a head from red, and they assemble wings out of feathers from the back of the varied crow (which we have mentioned).

Gessner's discussion of trout, *trutta*, occurs about thirty pages later. Also under E, capture methods, Gessner refers to the minimum length limits set by some German jurisdictions, and goes on to describe ways to take trout by hand, notably what we might call "tickling," which he says he learned "from a certain Englishman" ("ab Anglo quodam"), and which was practiced in that country.[35] As to baits for trout, he refers the reader back to the earlier discussion under *thymallus*, section E, and continues [italics and parentheses again *sic*]:

> Ex libello quodam Germanico manuscripto de piscibus decipiendis, praesertim additis hamo figmentis, quae muscas aut insecta quibus pisces quique delectantur, quam proxime referant: ea autem pro diuersis anni temporibus uariantur. Ad truttas: (Aprili mense, puto,) Muscam finges, cui corpus e serico rubeat, caput uirescat, additis alis gallinaceis ruffis [*sic*]. Maio mense corporis alueum e serico rubro & auro (filis aureis) effinges, caput nigrum: alas uero addes de pennis rubris caponum. Iunio, corpus formetur e serico coeruleo & auro, caput flauum esto, alae uero de pennis perdicum subalaribus. Iulio, corpus e serico uiridi & auro mentieris, caput facies coeruleum, alas autem e pennis flauis. Augusto, corpus fiat e pennis pauonum longioribus, (*Speculis forte uel oculis, ut uocant in pennis caudae pauonum,*) circumalligata penna aureola: caput flauum, alae de pennis medijs [*sic*] inter alas gallinae syluaticae illius quam a corylis Germani denominant. Septembri, corpus fingatur de serico flauo & rubro, caput fuscum, cum alis de dorso lagopodis, quam perdicem albam nominant.
>
> Similem truttas piscandi rationem praescribit Aelianus de Animalibus 15:1. . . .

And again in literal English:

> From a certain German manuscript booklet on deceiving fish, chiefly by semblances placed on the hook, which very nearly recall those flies or insects in which all fish take delight. They are, however, changed for the various seasons of the year. For trout: (in the month of April, I

think) you will fashion a fly in such a way that its body of silk be red, its head be green, with wings of red cocks [' feathers] added. In the month of May you will model the belly of the body from red silk and gold (gold threads), head black, but you add wings of red feathers of capons.[36] In June, let the body be formed from silk blue and gold, let the head be yellow, but the wings from feathers under the wings of partridges. In July, you will fabricate a body from silk of green and gold, you will make a blue head, but wings from yellow feathers. In August, let the body be from the longer feathers of peacocks (prominently with the mirror or eye, as they say about the feathers of peacocks' tails) bound with a golden feather; head yellow, wings from the middle feathers between the wings of that wild cock which Germans name for the hazel.[37] In September, let the body be fashioned from yellow and red silk, head dark, with wings from the back of the Ptarmigan, which is called the white partridge.[38]

A like method of fishing for trout Aelian describes in *De Animalibus* 15:1. . . .

And, indeed, Gessner goes on repeat Aelian's report on the Macedonian fly fishers of some 1,300 years before.

The Idea and Practice of Fly Fishing

What, then, has the most learned man in mid-sixteenth century Europe told us about fly fishing in his day? First, foremost, and most explicitly: these feathers on hooks are *consciously imitative artificial flies.* Gessner's words could not be more plain. Insects are "made from feathers" (*ex plumis auium . . . mentiuntur*). The objects "represent the fly" (*muscam repraesentant*) as "semblances which very nearly recall those flies or insects in which all fish take delight" (*figmentis, quae muscas aut insecta quibus pisces quique delectantur, quam proxime referant*). Indeed, for trout in April you "fashion a fly" (*muscam finges*) of silk and feathers. There can be no talking around about mere "lures"; the feathered objects are not just named after what sound like insects. No other early text puts it so baldly: these things are meant to imitate the bugs fish eat.

Second, Gessner has given us a clear (if incomplete) cultural setting for fly fishing. It is not a mere idea, rumor, or proposal, but the actual practice of "certain skilful fishers" (*callidi quidam piscatores*) who catch grayling and trout during the six warmer months by this means. All that is lacking, really, is the name of an individual who does it. Gessner does not tell us that he does this himself, but he also does not say he knows of it only from books. What he has from a book, however, are the details of making and choosing the imitations. His source—and he specifies it twice—is "a German manuscript booklet" (*libello Germanico manuscripto*), the words of which he has put into Latin. This is not the same booklet as provided the advice on maggots, for that one was printed (as Gessner elsewhere specifies) and mentions neither flies nor feathers.[39] In fact, since neither the explicit imitative philosophy, the organization by species and month, nor the specific fly patterns are replicated in any text now publicly known, Gessner is reporting from a source now lost.[40] But by specifying a work in the vernacular and in manuscript, Gessner has placed the knowledge and practice of fly fishing in the same popular oral culture of the (southern) German-speaking lands that then yielded the other records of the *vederangel* which do survive. Notice that even this most learned scholar has no Latin source for the activity, but puts information from vernacular culture into the language of learning. On the current evidence, we err if we expect medieval fly fishing to belong to the learned Latin culture of monks or other churchmen.

Conrad Gessner did, however, point out that what he knew from popular vernacular writings and practice was like (the same as?) behavior described by the Roman Aelian, who wrote in Greek and about Macedonia. After all, he had just prepared and published the first edition and translation of that ancient work. Of course, Gessner makes no assertion that contemporary popular practice drew in any way whatsoever from this obscure classical text, nor could he. His public recognition should, however, put to rest the myth that knowledgeable post-classical fishers became aware of Aelian only in 1834.[41]

I am excited by the perceptual and social aspects of early fly fishing revealed so cleanly to us in Gessner's work, but many readers will probably get a bigger kick out of the fly patterns themselves. The patterns certainly deserve attention, for they tell us much about the nature and use of the traditional *vederangel* and even offer a reasonable opportunity to make modern replicas. To help discussion and tying, a table on page 5 gives them as modern fly-tying recipes.

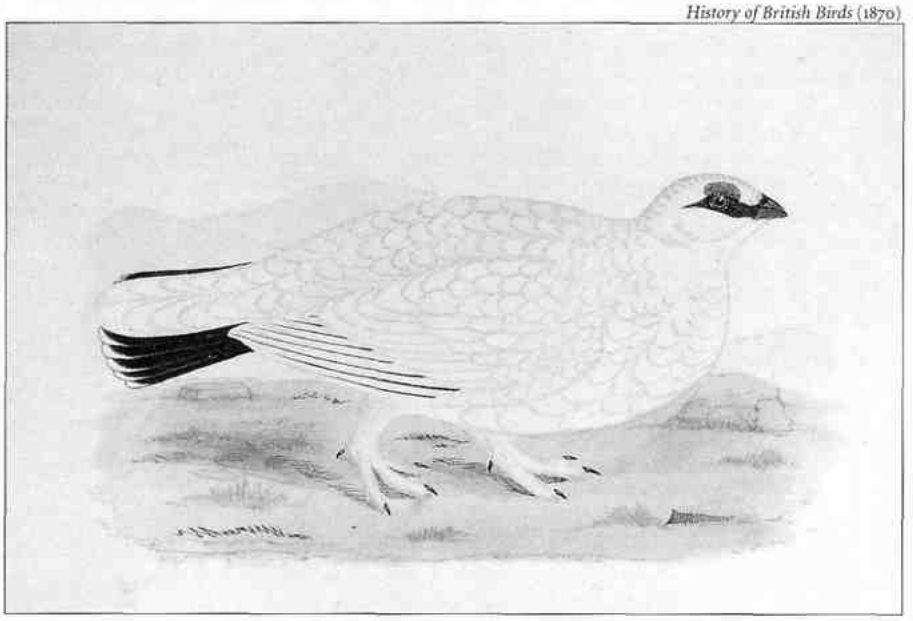
Note that patterns for both species are ordered seasonally, with each list prescribing a fly for each month from April through September. In this respect, Gessner's presentation resembles that of the English *Treatyse* and the Spanish manuscript from Astorga; the older German listing from Tegernsee abbey groups its many patterns more generally for spring, summer, and fall seasons. Although Gessner's imitative rationale is more explicit than is otherwise the norm among early texts, his flies are neither named for nor otherwise keyed to specific natural insects. This, too, differs from the practice elsewhere, where the feathered hooks bear names that sound like those of natural bugs. On the other hand, Gessner's nomenclature for parts of the artificial fly—head, body, wings—parallels that used in the *Treatyse* and in the Spanish sources. In this, he again parts company with other early German texts, whose intent to represent an insect's anatomy remains to be inferred from simple references to a silken body with a feather. So Gessner (and his source?) gives precisely timed and described imitations, but of unidentified insects.

Materials for the fly patterns reported by Conrad Gessner reveal good understanding and careful manipulation of local and exotic resources. Feathers come from a total of seven native wild birds and three domesticates. The latter, namely cock, capon, and peacock, play a rather limited role. Among the wild varieties, the duck, crane, heron, and partridge have broad European distributions, but the hazel hen and hooded crow are more associated with central parts of the continent and the ptarmigan very particularly with the high Alps (and the very far north). Taken together the ranges of these animals identify a territory neatly coincident with that where the *vederangel* is otherwise recorded. Silk thread, which is directly called for in seven of the twelve patterns and probably to be understood in at least another three, came from production areas further south. Most accessible from sixteenth-century south Germany were manufacturers in Italian towns, whose merchants also likely could supply the gold thread (tinsel) needed for a trout fly in May.[42]

Use of the materials is also very precise. Nine of the twelve descriptions specify which part of the bird provides the appropriate feather, and several call further for ribbing, layering, or striping the body silks. Allowing for variations of style, a modern fly tyer needs to make few assumptions to replicate these flies.

Gessner's dozen artificials are not duplicated in other known early sources, whether German, English, or Spanish. The many patterns of the seventeenth-

History of British Birds (1870)



For September trout fishing, Gessner instructed, "... let the body be fashioned from yellow and red silk, head dark, with wings from the back of the Ptarmigan [above], which is called the white partridge."

century Astorga manuscript call for much more complex mixtures of body materials and rely almost exclusively on feathers from domestic fowl.[43] In the twelve flies of the English *Treatyse*, wool bodies predominate, and, although wild birds provide most of the feathers, the latter are rarely further specified.[44] We are left with only a few generic similarities. Reddish bodies and wings of Gessner's trout flies in April and May recall the color pattern of the Ruddy Fly which the *Treatyse* suggests for May; that is probably the closest parallel.[45] Later, Gessner's August grayling fly of partridge and gray could resemble the first Dun Fly (March), possibly a stonefly, of the *Treatyse*, and his August trout fly of hazel hen and peacock with a yellow palmer the Shell Fly (July) with its sedgelike aspect.[46] But that is reaching. In sum, we have no substantive grounds whatsoever to think any of these fly patterns were derived from another known vernacular tradition.

Conrad Gessner reported that skilled German fishers made artificial flies in imitation of the natural insects eaten by trout and grayling. Nothing in the details of his report contradicts that understanding. Can knowledgeable central European fly fishers today reconstruct from Gessner's twelve fly patterns the likely original insects? Might that particular assemblage help further localize or define the area where the original German manuscript booklet was put together? This is a point where the scholar's expertise in archive and text must yield to that of skillful fishers in the field and stream.[47]

Conclusion

Conrad Gessner's descriptions of fly fishing and artificial fly patterns in his 1558 *De piscium natura*, fourth volume of his monumental *Historia animalium*, set a firm benchmark for the early practice of fly fishing in German-speaking Europe. A well-dated, informed, and trustworthy man of learning described the conscious use of insect imitations by native fishers for grayling and trout. He reported the circulation of information on this activity in the vernacular literate and oral culture of his own time. Fly fishing was neither an exotic import nor a recent innovation in Gessner's environment.

None of this information was really new in 1558; other sources trace the use of the fly in that region to at least 250 years earlier. But all earlier German texts heretofore known require us to infer one or more aspect of the consciously imitative native traditional practice they record. Gessner's text makes those inferences more robust and provides details to give them life, even at a tyer's bench today. Now if only we could find that manuscript booklet. . . .

Endnotes

1. *On the Characteristics of Animals*, tr. A. F. Schofield, 3 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Loeb Classical Library, 1958-1959), XV:1. Much less firm allusions to fly fishing are also at XII:43 and XV:10.

2. I particularly discussed the fly fishing references in British Library Harley MS 2389, fol. 73r-v, and in Oxford Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson C 506, fols. 299-300, in the review essay, "A New Treatise on the Treatyse," *The American Fly Fisher*, vol. 9, no. 3, Summer 1982, pp 2-6. All relevant original texts appear in Willy L. Braekman, *The Treatise on Angling in the Boke of St. Albans (1496): Background, Context and Text of 'The Treatyse of fysshynge wyth an Angle,'* Scripta: Mediaevalia and Renaissance Texts and Studies, vol. 1, 1980. A superior facsimile and transcript of the pattern list in the St. Albans Treatyse occurs in John D. McDonald, *The Origins of Angling* (Garden City, 1963), pp. 222-25; McDonald discusses the passage at length on pages 103-30. Use of a "dub" to take "leaping" trout, salmon, and grayling is mentioned, but nowhere detailed, in the fragmentary midcentury manuscript (Yale Beinecke MS 171) of an earlier version of the *Treatyse* (McDonald, pp. 164-65 and 170-73); the catalog of fly patterns is not there and so cannot be interpreted. I know nothing to dispute the meager additions to the *Treatyse* credited to Elizabethan and early Stuart writers in John W. Hills, *A History of Fly Fishing for Trout* (London: 1921; reprinted Rockville Center, N.Y.: 1971), pp. 36-48. In fact, the revised edition of A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland & Ireland . . . 1475-1640*, 2d ed. rev., 3 vols. (London, 1976-1991), nos. 3308-3315, counts but twelve sixteenth-century reprints of the *Boke of St. Albans*, reduced from the wishful sixteen of Hills, who here followed Thomas Westwood and Thomas Satchell, *Bibliotheca piscatoria, a catalogue of books on angling, the fisheries, and fish culture; with bibliographical notes, and an appendix of citations touching on angling and fishing from old English authors* (London, 1883), pp. 24-29.

3. Relevant aspects of the Spanish texts are explored in Richard C. Hoffmann, "The Evidence for Early European Angling, I: Basurto's *Dialogo* of 1539," *The American Fly Fisher*, vol 11, no. 4, Fall 1984, pp. 2-9, and "The Evidence for Early European Angling, II: The Mysterious Manuscript of Astorga, 1624," *The American Fly Fisher*, vol. 16, no. 3 Fall 1990, pp. 8-16. The most pertinent part of Basurto's work is found in Thomas V. Cohen and Richard C. Hoffmann, trans., "El Tratadico de la Pesca: The Little Treatise on Fishing of Fernando Basurto . . . 1539," *The American Fly Fisher*, vol. 11, no. 3, Summer 1984, pp. 8-13. The whole *Dialogo* is edited and translated for the first time in my forthcoming book, *Fishers' Craft and Lettered Art at the End of the Middle Ages.*

4. Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Titurel*, strophe 154:1-2 and 159:1-3 (Walter J. Schröder and Gisela Hollandt, eds; *Willehalm. Titurel* (Darmstadt, 1971), pp. 616-17). In his earlier and more famous *Parzival*, 316, 20, Gottfried Weber, ed., (Darmstadt, 1967), von Eschenbach had used the feathered hook as a metaphor for a cruel deceiver: *"Ir vederangl, ir nâtern zan!"* "You feathered hook, you adder's fang!"

5. Hermann Heimpel, "Die Federschnur. Wasserrecht und Fischrecht in der 'Reformation Kaiser Sigismunds,'" *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 19 (1963), pp. 451-88, acknowledged the personal advice of Koch, as well as use of Koch's writings, namely *Altbayerische*

Fischereihandschriften (München, 1925); "Die Geschichte der Binnenfischerei von Mitteleuropa," in Reinhard Demoll, Hermann N. Maier, *et al.*, eds., *Handbuch der Binnenfischerei von Mitteleuropa*, vol. 4 (Stuttgart, 1925), pp. 1-52; and *Festschrift zum 100 jährigen Fischereijubiläum in Bayern* (Special number of *Allgemeine Fischerei-Zeitung* 81, no. 16, 1956), which also appeared as a separate pamphlet under the title *Zur Geschichte der bayerischen Fischerei* (München, 1956).

6. Original from Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 8137, fol. 98r. The whole "Tegernsee Fishing Advice" text is edited, annotated, and translated in my forthcoming *Fishers' Craft and Lettered Art*.

7. *Conradi Gesneri medici Tigurini Historiae animalium liber IIII, qui est de piscium & aquatilium animantium natura. Cvm iconibvs singvlorvm ad vivvm expressis fere omnib DCCVI. Continentur in hoc volumine Gvlielmi Rondeletii quoq" et Petri Bellonii de Aquatilium singulis scripta* (Tiguri: apud Chr. Froschovervm, 1558). Readers should be aware that the German version, *Fischbuch. Das ist ein kurcze doch vollkomne beschreybung aller Fischen so in dem Meer vnd süessen wassern . . . Erstlich in Latin durch . . . Cuonrat Geßner . . . neuwlich aber durch D. Cuonrat Forer . . . in das Teütsch gebracht* (Betruckt zu Zürych bey Christoffel Froschower, M.D.LXIII [1563]), though done under Gessner's supervision, was sharply abridged from the original Latin, and that all subsequent editions, including the second Latin edition published at Frankfurt in 1604, appeared long after the author's death and were more or less revised by unknown persons. Note further that Conrad Gessner himself spelt his name that way when writing in his native German, though the rules of Latin spelling result in "Gesnerus" in that language.

8. Also available as a facsimile reprint (Nürnberg, 1990), pp. 9-12. Stölzle earlier noted the passage in his "Konrad Gessner über den Asch und die künstlichen Mücken," *Oesterreichische Fischerei-Zeitung*, vol. 10, 1912, p. 14.

9. Andres von Brandt, *Fish Catching Methods of the World*, 3d ed. rev. (Farnham, Surrey: 1984), p. 112.

10. But perhaps, Robert Venables, *The Experienced Angler* (London, 1662); reproduced in facsimile with an introduction by C. G. A. Parker (London, 1969), pp 8-21. But Venables gives no precise fly patterns.

11. A succinct description of the young Gessner's Zürich is the introduction by Edward Peters to Ulrich Zwingli's, *Selected Works*, Samuel M. Jackson, ed. and tr., 2d ed., rev. (Philadelphia: 1972), pp. v-xxx.

12. Useful biographical compendia derive from Gessner's 1562 autobiography, his other publications, and a wide range of corroborative evidence: Hans Fischer, *Conrad Gesner (26.März 1516 - 13.Dezember 1565) Leben und Werk*, Neujahrsblatt auf das Jahr 1966 als 168. Stück von der Naturforschenden Gesellschaft in Zürich zur Erinnerung an den 400. Todestag, den 13. Dezember 1965, des grossen Zürcher Naturforschers, Universalhistorikers und Artzes Conrad Gessner herausgegeben (Zürich, 1966), pp. 9-35; Hans Fischer *et al.*, *Conrad Gessner 1516-1565, Universalgelehrter, Naturforscher, Artz* (Zürich, 1967), pp. 21-22 and 49-50; Hans Wellisch, "Conrad Gessner: a bio-bibliography," *Journal of the Society for the Bibliography of Natural History*, vol. 7 (1975), pp. 151-73; Caroline A. Gmelig-Nieboer, *Conrad Gessner's "Historia animalium"; an inventory of Renaissance zoology*, Communicationes biohistoricae Ultrajectinae, vol. 72 (Utrecht, 1977), pp. 17-20; Christa Riedl-Dorn, *Wissenschaft und Fabelwesen: Ein kritischer Versuch über Conrad Gessner und Ulisse Aldrovandi*, Perspektiven der Wissenschaftsgeschichte, vol. 6 (Wien, 1989), pp. 21-26.

13. Compare the general interpretation offered in Anthony Grafton, *Defenders of the Text: The Traditions of Scholarship in an Age of Science, 1450-1800* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), and the discussion of such scholarly publications in Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), pp. 75-77 and 201.

14. What follows is assembled from works like Fischer 1966, pp. 37-39; Georges Petit, "Conrad Gessner, Zoologiste," in Fischer *et al.*, 1967, pp. 49-56; Christian Hünemörder, "Die Geschichte der Fischbücher von Aristoteles bis zum Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts," *Deutsches Schiffahrtsarchiv*, vol. 1 (1975), pp. 185-200 (especially 193-98); Gmelig-Nijboer 1977; Riedl-Dorn 1989. The approach and some information in E. W. Gudger, "The five great naturalists of the sixteenth century: Belon, Rondelet, Salviani, Gesner and Aldrovandi. A chapter in the history of ichthyology," *Isis*, vol. 22 (1934/35), pp. 32-36, is now superseded.

15. Guillaume Rondelet, *Libri de piscibus marinis, in quibus verae piscium effigies expressae sunt. Universae aquatilium historiae pars altera*, 2 vols. (Lugduni: apud Malthiam Bonhomme, 1554-1555). Compare Gudger 1936 and Hünemörder 1975.

16. Gessner, *Historia animalium*, vol. 4, pp. xviii-xxi.

17. Schofield's definitive modern edition [see note 1 above], p. xxvi, specifies Gessner's 1556 Zürich edition as the first and as including a Latin translation, *De animalium natura libri xvii*, used in all subsequent editions up to 1858.

18. Conradus Gesnerus, *De piscibus et aquatilibus omnibus libelli III. noui* (Tiguri: apud Andream [1556]), with the German vocabulary reprinted in facsimile Manfred Peters, ed., *Deutsche Namen der Fische und Wassertiere*, (Aalen, 1974).

19. Petrus Bellonius [Pierre Belon], *De aquatilibus, libri duo. Cum eiconibus ad vivam ipsorum effigem, quoad eius fiere potuit, expressis* (Parisis: apud Carolum Stephanum, 1553).

20. Ippolito Salviani, *Aqvatilivm animalivm historiae liber primus, evm eorvmdem formis, aere excvsis*, published in fascicles (Romae, 1554-1558).

21. Riedl-Dorn 1989, pp. 48-52.

22. Richard J. Durling, "Conrad Gessner's Liber amicorum, 1555-1565," *Gesnerus*, vol. 22, no. 3/4 (1965), p. 147.

23. His reports are now recognized as documenting, among other things, certain bird species no longer present in the Alps (Fischer 1966, pp. 44-46).

24. A point stressed by Gmelig-Nijboer 1977, pp. 65-96, an explicit criticism of Hünemörder 1975, pp. 193-98.

25. *Ibid.*, pp. 123-36.

26. The European grayling now has the scientific name *Thymallus thymallus*, which was assigned it in 1758 by the path-breaking Swedish taxonomist Karl von Linné (Linnaeus). But here Linnaeus had simply, as in other but not all cases, turned the ancient name for the fish in the Latin language into a technical term.

27. Gessner, *Historia animalium*, vol. 4, p. 1175.

28. I call this text the "Tract in 27 Chapters"; it is the core of the oldest known printed work on how to catch fish. Its origins and publishing history are discussed, before giving a full modern scholarly edition and English translation, in my forthcoming *Fishers' Craft and Lettered Art*; reasons for thinking Conrad Gessner used one of the printings done at Strasbourg by Mathis Hupfuff around 1510 are found in chapter 1, note 89.

29. With thanks, here and below, for the help of my colleagues Jonathan Edmondson and Paul Swarney.

30. Almost certainly *Perdix perdix*, what North Americans call "Hungarian" partridge, the only species native to central Europe. The bird is rusty streaked with buff above and has a gray breast shading to cream.

31. The European hooded crow (*Corvus corone cornix*) is called in German *Nebelkrähe*, literally "fog crow." Its back feathers are distinctively gray.

32. Hence the purple heron (*Ardea purpurea*) rather than the gray heron (*Ardea cinerea*)?

33. But the "green" European duck is the male mallard (*Anas platyrhynchos*), whose head is green and breast purplish-brown, or the similarly patterned but otherwise distinctive and less common merganser species (*Mergus merganser* or *Mergus serrator*).

34. The crane (*Grus grus*), generally slate-gray in color, migrates across most of Europe.

35. Gessner, *Historia animalium*, vol. 4, p. 1208. Did one of the Protestant exiles who had visited Gessner a year or so before (Durling 1965, pp. 141 and 143) tell him about the English poacher's art of tickling trout, or was it one of his several English correspondents, such as the botanist William Turner or the physician John Kaye?

36. This is the only time Gessner varies from a simple *corpus*. *Alveus* is anything hollow; *alvus* is belly, paunch, bowel, or womb.

37. The hazel hen (*Tetrastes bonasie*), in German *Haselhuhn*, a small central European grouse. Upper parts vary in color from grayish in the north of the range to rufous in the south.

38. *Lagopus mutus*, what North Americans call rock ptarmigan, is native to the Alps, and has white wings and white belly in all plumages. The back feathers are white in winter and mottled gray (male) or brown (female) in summer.

39. For example, in *Historia animalium*, vol. 4, pp. 26, 594, 705-6, and 1206, and also ten years earlier in Gessner's first published zoological writing, which was part of his *Pandectarum sive Partitionum universalium . . . libri XXI* (Tiguri [Zürich]: Christophorus Froschouerus, 1548), fols. 219r and 229v.

40. Efforts to track a possible source among the Gessner-related papers in the Zentralbibliothek Zürich yielded no further leads.

41. As asserted in Westwood and Satchell 1883, expanded in William Radcliffe, *Fishing from the Earliest Times* (London, 1921), pp. 187-89, and still occasionally repeated (e.g., McDonald 1963, p. 103). Of course, the perceptive nineteenth-century reader was one Stephen Oliver, writing as "Mr. Chatto" in *Scenes and Recollections of Fly Fishing* (London, 1834).

42. Richard C. Hoffmann, "The Oldest Use of Silk in Fly Fishing," *The American Fly Fisher*, vol. 19, no. 3, Winter 1993, pp. 16-19.

43. See Hoffmann 1990 [note 3 above] and works there cited.

44. McDonald 1963, p. 112, "The problem of the specific feather to be used in treatise flies is more often than not difficult to decide."

45. See discussion in McDonald 1963, p. 124.

46. *Ibid.*, pp. 122 and 128.

47. Compare efforts by George Beall, "More Competition for Isaac," *The Fly Fishers' Journal* (Winter 1987), pp. 53-55, to identify the insects described by Fernando Basurto in 1539.

Angling Bookplates

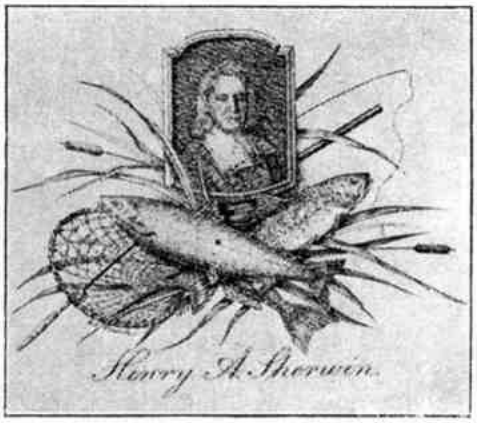
by Louis Rhead

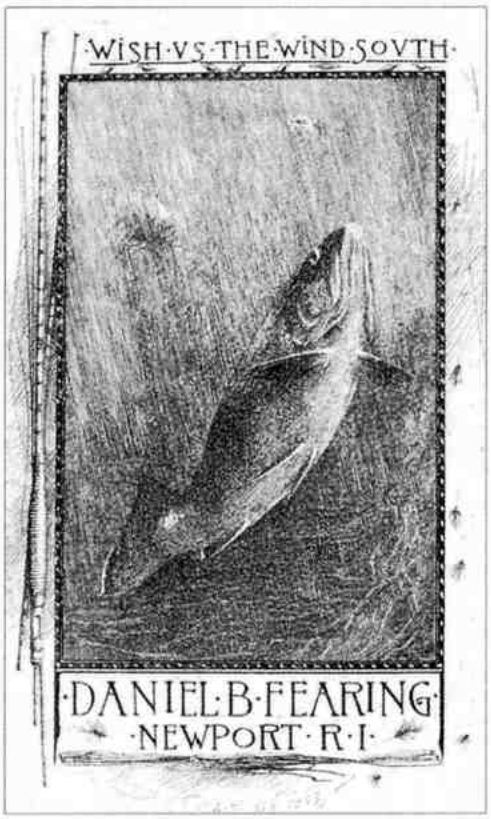
REPRINTED FROM *The American Angler*, FEBRUARY 1918

MOST ANGLERS, I assume, read some of the best books on fishing out of the many thousands of interesting volumes at their command, from the early days of *A Treatyse of Fysshynge with an Angle* by Dame Juliana Berners, printed in England in 1496 and Walton's *Compleat Angler* in 1653, down to the time of the classic *Little Rivers* by van Dyke. And there are sure to be a number that have acquired in the course of time a collection—more or less—of angling literature; books they wish to keep for the pleasure of reading in idle moments, for reference and advice, or from sheer love of their favorite recreation. Just a few, that needs be men of wealth, devote their energies to collecting piscatorial books, forming a library entirely on the subject. Such men as the Hon. Daniel B. Fearing of Newport, Henry A. Sherwin of Cleveland, the late Dean Sage of Albany, the late John Gerard Hechscher of New York, are, and were, true bibliophiles, whose libraries contained many thousands of angling books, some being of almost priceless value.

For these men, as well as the more modest collectors, a bookplate would seem a necessary and indisputable part of a well conducted library—a distinctive and personal charm in connection with books—showing at once a taste and refinement that is common to all intelligent lovers of nature. It seems hardly necessary to explain that a bookplate or *ex libris* is a small piece of paper whereon is printed the owner's name, more or less ornamented, and pasted on the inside cover of a book. A bookplate speaks of the charm angling adds to life by setting down in appropriate prose or verse the owner's joy in the gentle craft. In all the details of its design, the bookplate attempts to portray, concisely and minutely, those lofty sentiments which the sport of angling inspires in the collector. Furthermore, an *ex libris* is a special mark of the owner's taste, and it has now become an object of almost universal use to book lover, piscatorial or otherwise, and many a purchased volume, comparatively worthless as a book, becomes valuable because between its covers lies an *ex libris* of some distinguished author or book collector.

England stands first in its bright array of angling literature because of its passionate devotion to the ancient recreation. Yet we have many charming classics to which our *ex libris* may be affixed, the best of them being written twenty or thirty years ago. What angler of mature years has not on a winter's





night taken down from his bookshelves, to reread, Prime's *I Go A' Fishing,* Hallock's *Fishing Tourist,* Kit Clarke's *Where the Trout Hide,* and, more precious still, *Little Rivers*? It seems to me that in these practical times there is a dearth of such mental angling food.

Yet this painful lack does not arise through want of appreciation or the preference of the public for other forms of outdoor recreation. I know many men who angle that do not read piscatorial literature. Indeed, upon the request being sent to a man of national fame for a copy of his angling bookplate for this article, the reply was, "I do not know what a bookplate is!" There are other anglers who do not incorporate fishing subjects in their bookplates, a fact which seems strange, since no subject, if properly designed, makes a prettier device for the purpose than that of an angling picture, either of fish in repose or their method of capture. It will be seen, however, from the specimens here shown, how very beautiful most of these bookplates are, and likewise, how truly artistic and well executed, thanks to the tasteful guidance of the owners. No detailed description of them is necessary. Each individual specimen shows a tiny work of art—perfect gems, carried to the highest perfection—and fit to adorn any library.

For those happy anglers who take a pleasure in books, an *ex libris* is not difficult to get—the first requisite being a taste to choose the subject and device, then to pay for or beg some artist friend's assistance in drawing the design. If such be not possible, many of the publishers, stationers, and even dry-goods houses will furnish a varied assortment to suit the pocket, if not the taste, that will be pleasing to the angler's taste. After the design is done on paper the plate is made and from that the proof is printed. The cheapest bookplate is an outline pen-drawing, for photo-engraving, to cost from $5 to $50—$2 for electro and $5 for 500 proofs on Japan paper. The specimens shown herewith are mostly from steel engravings or etchings on copper, both expensive, costing from $200 to $500 each, depending upon the artist's fame. This sum does not include the more expensive plate printing of proofs.

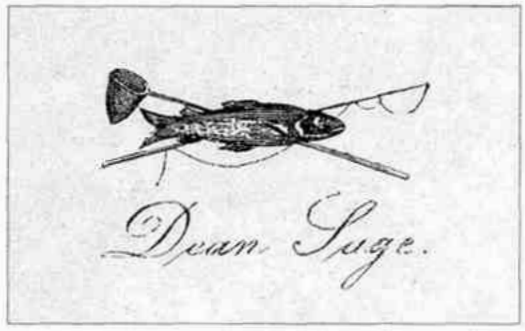
While the plates describe themselves,

one cannot help commenting upon the personal character of the owners, through whose kindness I am permitted to give the readers of *The American Angler* an opportunity of seeing what a variety of charm there is in these bookplates when seen together. The Hon. Daniel B. Fearing was, and is still, no doubt, an ardent striped bass fisherman, yet his plate pictures a fat, lusty trout rising through the pale blue waters to the fly. The original is an etching printed in a bluish green. His charming motto, "Wish Us the Wind South," is the universal desire of the craft and, we might add, both to him and to all, "health and long life to enjoy it." Mr. Fearing is a bibliophile who has long been known as a piscatorial collector and his splendid library of over ten thousand angling volumes has lately been generously given to Harvard College. He is now gathering together a collection of angling *ex libris* which is sure to be a valuable and complete one.

Another well known Waltonian scholar and collector of things piscatorial is Henry A. Sherwin, of New York and Cleveland, Ohio. Mr. Sherwin has two steel engraved plates, both of which incorporate in the design the Houseman portrait of Walton. The late John Gerard Hechscher's fine angling library was dispersed some years ago, and his first, second, and third edition of Walton's *Compleat Angler* brought record prices. Each volume of this library contained his fine bookplate, a prize of itself, aside from the book. The conspicuous feature of this plate is a spirited representation of a leaping tarpon, to my mind one of Mr. French's most powerful steel engravings.

Among the foremost scholars of our day—aside from his angling poetry and prose—Henry van Dyke finds time to do or see everything well, and although I think his bookplate was done a quarter of a century ago its classic excellence will not fade. I had seen a verse printed somewhere, written in a playful mood, referring to this plate, and having forgotten the third line of the quatrain, wrote to the doctor asking for the complete verse. The learned professor courteously sent the verse in full, which is given here in facsimile.

Siddons Mowbray at that time was a popular exhibitor at the various art galleries and James D. Smillie was a prominent etcher. Between the three a result is



obtained that the happy possessor of such a bookplate will hold fast to it!

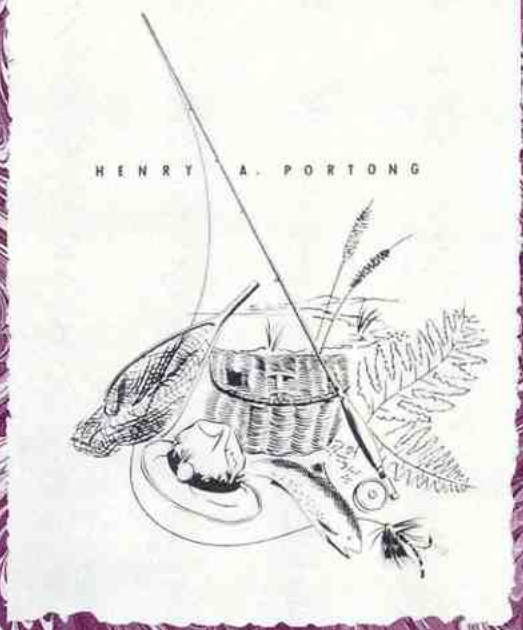
Another very beautiful plate is that owned by R. H. Davis—not "Cap Dick," the novelist, but the genial "Rob" Davis—whose temperament is a joy to his many angling confrères from Labrador to Key West, and whose cheerful smile makes all visitors, when they leave the Flatiron Building, think it an artistic achievement. Mr. Davis's plate is an exceedingly fine pen drawing done in intaglio. This, together with Frank Buckland's little gem and the writer's plate, is the only pen drawing here illustrated.

Judge Howland's splendid plate is heraldic in conception, with its combination of natural treatment of tackle and foliage. I do not know of a modern design as nearly perfect. The plate of the late Dean Sage is modestly small but most effective when seen in a book. It is a fine steel engraving of a trout, rod, and net, beautifully executed. Mr. Sage, up to the time of his demise, was an ardent salmon fisherman, annually fishing the famous Restigouche, and he was, I believe, the founder of the salmon club of that name. Like many other men of great business enterprise, he found time to indulge in the pleasure of a vast library. He published a volume on salmon fishing, gathering together for it many fine illustrations, and making it one of the most superb books on angling ever published.

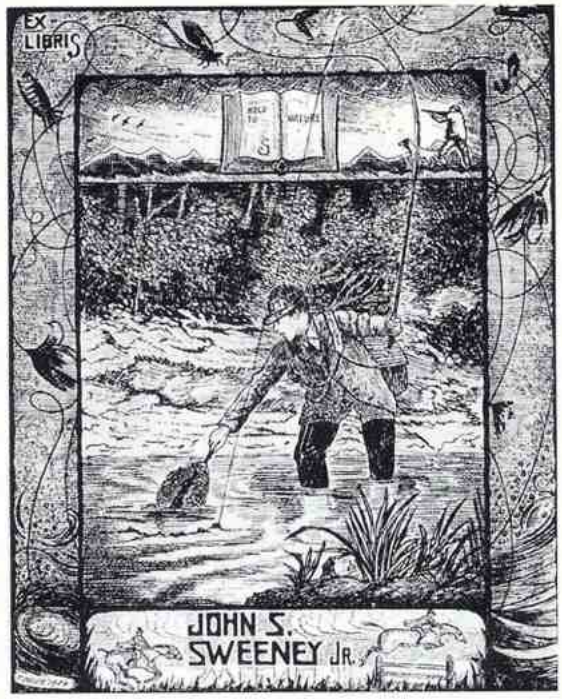
The writer's plate is a recent etching, printed on birch bark, and copied from a pen drawing *ex libris* representing himself landing a trout, and done many years ago when he used the worm as a bait.

No other recreation, ancient or modern, has inspired writers in verse, or prose so much as angling; no other outdoor amusements have found such worthy subjects for bookplates. Hunting as a sport stands side by side with angling in popular estimation, yet of the many thousand plates that have come under my notice I know of no distinctive hunting plate. The literature of hunting is larger and wider than that of fishing, but there is not the simplicity and purity of nature in it to induce such poetic fancy in its devotees.

[About ten years ago, Mr. Rhead contributed to *Forest & Stream* a short treatise on the subject of angling bookplates. Since that time, other new and beautiful bookplates have come into his possession and the interest in these collections has increased materially. —EDITOR of *The American Angler* (1918)]



The British Angler's Manual
by T. C. Hofland (1839)



Fishing with the Fly by Orvis-Cheney (1892)

Ancient and Modern Fish Tattle
by Rev. C. David Badham (1854)

The Angler in Ireland (1834)

Library Bookplates

THE BOOKPLATES that adorn the front papers of books are small emblems of proud ownership and creative design. They bespeak the personalities of people who love books, and though once the fashion, they have since fallen out of favor, probably coinciding with the popularity of paperbacks.

Whether their style is whimsically refreshing, light and sketchy, classically serious, sportingly simple, orskillfully intricate, they are each a work of art unto themselves. We proudly present just a small representation of the fascinating bookplates from the angling volumes in our comprehensive library.

An Angler's Rambles and Angling Songs by Thomas Tod Stoddart (1866)

Walton's Compleat Angler (1891)

Trout by Ray Bergman (1938)

A Fatal Success

by Henry van Dyke

BEEKMAN DE PEYSTER was probably the most passionate and triumphant fisherman in the Petrine Club. He angled with the same dash and confidence that he threw into his operations in the stock market. He was sure to be the first man to get his flies on the water at the opening of the season. And when we came together for our fall meeting, to compare notes of our wanderings on various streams and make up the fish stories for the year, Beekman was almost always "high hook." We expected, as a matter of course, to hear that he had taken the most and the largest fish.

It was so with everything that he undertook. He was a masterful man. If there was an unusually large trout in a river, Beekman knew about it before anyone else, and got there first, and came home with the fish. It did not make him unduly proud, because there was nothing uncommon about it. It was his habit to succeed, and all the rest of us were hardened to it.

When he married Cornelia Cochrane, we were consoled for our partial loss by the apparent fitness and brilliancy of the match. If Beekman was a masterful man, Cornelia was certainly what you might call a mistressful woman. She had been the head of her house since she was eighteen years old. She carried her good looks like the family plate; and when she came into the breakfast-room and said good-morning, it was with an air as if she presented everyone with a check for a thousand dollars. Her tastes were accepted as judgments, and her preferences had the force of laws. Wherever she wanted to go in the summertime, there the finger of household destiny pointed. At Newport, at Bar Harbour, at Lenox, at Southampton, she made a record. When she was joined in holy wedlock to Beekman De Peyster, her father and mother heaved a sigh of satisfaction, and settled down for a quiet vacation in Cherry Valley.

It was in the second summer after the wedding that Beekman admitted to a few of his ancient Petrine cronies, in moments of confidence (unjustifiable, but natural), that his wife had one fault.

"It is not exactly a fault," he said, "not a positive fault, you know. It is just a kind of a defect, due to her education, of course. In everything else she's magnificent. But she doesn't care for fishing. She says it's stupid—can't see why anyone should like the woods—calls camping out the lunatic's diversion. It's rather awkward for a man with my habits to have his wife take such a view. But it can be changed by training. I intend to educate her and convert her. I shall make an angler out of her yet."

And so he did.

The new education was begun in the Adirondacks, and the first lesson was given at Paul Smith's. It was a complete failure.

Beekman persuaded her to come out with him for a day on Meacham River, and promised to convince her of the charm of angling. She wore a new gown, fawn-color and violet, with a picture-hat, very taking. But the Meacham River trout was shy that day; not even Beekman could induce him to rise to the fly. What the trout lacked in confidence the mosquitoes more than made up. Mrs. De Peyster came home much sunburned, and expressed a highly unfavorable opinion of fishing as an amusement and of Meacham River as a resort.

"The nice people don't come to the Adirondacks to fish," said she; "they come to talk about the fishing twenty years ago. Besides, what do you want to catch that trout for? If you do, the other men will say you bought it, and the hotel will have to put in a new one for the rest of the season."

The following year Beekman tried Moosehead Lake. Here he found an atmosphere more favorable to his plan of education. There were a good many people who really fished, and short expeditions in the woods were quite fashionable. Cornelia had a camping costume of the most approved style made by Dewlap on Fifth Avenue—pearl-gray

with linings of rose-silk—and consented to go with her husband on a trip up Moose River. They pitched their tent the first evening at the mouth of Misery Stream, and a storm came on. The rain sifted through the canvas in a fine spray, and Mrs. De Peyster sat up all night in a waterproof cloak, holding an umbrella. The next day they were back at the hotel in time for lunch.

"It was horrid," she told her most intimate friend, "perfectly horrid. The idea of sleeping in a shower-bath, and eating your breakfast from a tin plate, just for the sake of catching a few silly fish! Why not send your guides out to get them for you?"

But, in spite of this profession of obstinate heresy, Beekman observed with secret joy that there were signs, before the end of the season, that Cornelia was drifting a little, a very little but still perceptibly, in the direction of a change of heart. She began to take an interest, as the big trout came along in September, in the reports of the catches made by the different anglers. She would saunter out with the other people to the corner of the porch to see the fish weighed and spread out on the grass. Several times she went with Beekman in the canoe to Hardscrabble Point, and showed distinct evidences of pleasure when he caught large trout. The last day of the season, when he returned from a successful expedition to Roach River and Lily Bay, she inquired with some particularity about the results of his sport; and in the evening, as the company sat before the great open fire in the hall of the hotel, she was heard to use this information with considerable skill in putting down Mrs. Minot Peabody of Boston, who was recounting the details of her husband's catch at Spencer Pond. Cornelia was not a person to be contented with the back seat, even in fish stories.

When Beekman observed these indications he was much encouraged, and resolved to push his educational experiment briskly forward to his customary goal of success.

"Some things can be done, as well as others," he said in his masterful way, as three of us were walking home together after the autumnal dinner of the Petrine Club, which he always attended as a graduate member. "A real fisherman never gives up. I told you I'd make an angler out of my wife; and so I will. It has been rather difficult. She is 'dour' in rising. But she's beginning to take notice of the fly now. Give me another season, and I'll have her landed."

Good old Beekman! Little did he think—but I must not interrupt the story with moral reflections.

The preparations that he made for his final effort at conversion were thorough and prudent. He had a private interview with Dewlap in regard to the construction of a practical fishing-costume for a lady, which resulted in something more reasonable and workmanlike than had ever been turned out by that famous artist. He ordered from Hook & Catchett a lady's angling-outfit of the most enticing description—a split-bamboo rod, light as a girl's wish, and strong as a matron's will; an oxidized silver reel, with a monogram on one side, and a sapphire set in the handle for good luck; a book of flies, of all sizes and colors, with the correct names inscribed in gilt letters on each page. He surrounded his favorite sport with an aureole of elegance and beauty. And then he took Cornelia in September to the Upper Dam at Rangeley.

She went reluctant. She arrived disgusted. She stayed incredulous. She returned—wait a bit, and you shall hear how she returned.

The Upper Dam at Rangeley is the place, of all others in the world, where the lunacy of angling may be seen in its incurable stage. There is a cozy little inn, called a camp, at the foot of a big lake. In front of the inn is a huge dam of gray stone, over which the river plunges into a great oval pool, where the trout assemble in the early fall to perpetuate their race. From the tenth of September to the thirtieth, there is not an hour of the day or night when there are no boats floating on that pool, and no anglers trailing the fly across its waters. Before the late fishermen are ready to come in at midnight, the early fishermen may be seen creeping down to the shore with lanterns in order to begin before cock-crow. The number of fish taken is not large—perhaps five or six for the whole company on an average day—but the size is sometimes enormous—nothing under three pounds is counted—and they pervade thought and conversation at the Upper Dam to the exclusion of every other subject. There is no driving, no dancing, no golf, no tennis. There is nothing to do but fish or die.

At first, Cornelia thought she would choose the latter alternative. But a remark of that skillful and morose old angler, McTurk, which she overheard on the verandah after supper, changed her mind.

"Women have no sporting instinct," said he. "They only fish because they see men doing it. They are imitative animals."

That same night she told Beekman, in the subdued tone which the architectural construction of the house imposes upon all confidential communications in the bedrooms, but with resolution in every accent, that she proposed to go fishing with him on the morrow.

"But not on that pool, right in front of the house, you understand. There must be some other place, out on the lake, where we can fish for three or four days, until I get the trick of this wobbly rod. Then I'll show that old bear, McTurk, what kind of an animal woman is."

Beekman was simply delighted. Five days of diligent practice at the mouth of Mill Brook brought his pupil to the point where he pronounced her safe.

"Of course," he said patronizingly, "you haven't learned all about it yet. That will take years. But you can get your fly out thirty feet, and you can keep the tip of your rod up. If you do that, the trout will hook himself, in rapid water, eight times out of ten. For playing him, if you follow my directions, you'll be all right. We will try the pool tonight, and hope for a medium-sized fish."

Cornelia said nothing, but smiled and nodded. She had her own thoughts.

At about nine o'clock Saturday night, they anchored their boat on the edge of the shoal where the big eddy swings around, put out the lantern and began to fish. Beekman sat in the bow of the boat, with his rod over the left side; Cornelia in the stern, with her rod over the right side. The night was cloudy and very black. Each of them had put on the largest possible fly, one a "Bee-Pond" and the other a "Dragon"; but even these were invisible. They measured out the right length of line, and let the flies drift back until they hung over the shoal, in the curly water where the two currents meet.

There were three other boats to the left of them. McTurk was their only neighbor in the darkness on the right. Once they heard him swearing softly to himself, and knew that he had hooked and lost a fish.

Away down at the tail of the pool, dimly visible through the gloom, the furtive fisherman, Parsons, had anchored his boat. No noise ever came from that craft. If he wished to change his position, he did not pull up the anchor and let it down again with a bump. He simply lengthened or shortened his anchor rope. There was no click of the

reel when he played a fish. He drew in and paid out the line through the rings by hand, without a sound. What he thought when a fish got away, no one knew, for he never said it. He concealed his angling as if it had been a conspiracy. Twice that night they heard a faint splash in the water near his boat, and twice they saw him put his arm over the side in the darkness and bring it back again very quietly.

"That's the second fish for Parsons," whispered Beekman, "what a secretive old Fortunatus he is! He knows more about fishing than any man on the pool, and talks less."

Cornelia did not answer. Her thoughts were all on the tip of her own rod. About eleven o'clock a fine, drizzling rain set in. The fishing was very slack. All the other boats gave it up in despair; but Cornelia said she wanted to stay out a little longer, they might as well finish up the week.

At precisely fifty minutes past eleven, Beekman reeled up his line, and remarked with firmness that the holy Sabbath day was almost at hand and they ought to go in.

"Not till I've landed this trout," said Cornelia.

"What? A trout! Have you got one?"

"Certainly; I've had him on for at least fifteen minutes. I'm playing him Mr. Parsons's way. You might as well light the lantern and get the net ready; he's coming in towards the boat now."

Beekman broke three matches before he made the lantern burn; and when he held it up over the gunwale, there was the trout sure enough, gleaming ghostly pale in the dark water, close to the boat, and quite tired out. He slipped the net over the fish and drew it in, a monster.

"I'll carry that trout, if you please," said Cornelia, as they stepped out of the boat; and she walked into the camp, on the last stroke of midnight, with the fish in her hand, and quietly asked for the steelyard.

Eight pounds and fourteen ounces —that was the weight. Everybody was amazed. It was the "best fish" of the year. Cornelia showed no sign of exultation, until just as John was carrying the trout to the ice house. Then she flashed out:

"Quite a fair imitation, Mr. McTurk, isn't it?"

Now McTurk's best record for the last fifteen years was seven pounds and twelve ounces.

So far as McTurk is concerned, this is the end of the story. But not for the De Peysters. I wish it were. Beekman went to sleep that night with a contented spirit. He felt that his experiment in education had been a success. He had made his wife an angler.

He had indeed, and to an extent which he little suspected. That Upper Dam trout was to her like the first taste of blood to the tiger. It seemed to change, at once, not so much her character as the direction of her vital energy. She yielded to the lunacy of angling, not by slow degrees (as first a transient delusion, then a fixed idea, then a chronic infirmity, finally a mild insanity), but by a sudden plunge into the most violent mania. So far from being ready to die at Upper Dam, her desire now was to live there—and to live solely for the sake of fishing—as long as the season was open.

There were two hundred and forty hours left to midnight on the thirtieth of September. At least two hundred of these she spent on the pool; and when Beekman was too exhausted to manage the boat and the net and the lantern for her, she engaged a trustworthy guide to take Beekman's place while he slept. At the end of the last day her score was twenty-three, with an average of five pounds and a quarter. His score was nine, with an average of four pounds. He had succeeded far beyond his wildest hopes.

The next year his success became even more astonishing. They went to the Titan Club in Canada. The ugliest and most inaccessible sheet of water in that territory is Lake Pharaoh. But it is famous for the extraordinary fishing at a certain spot near the outlet, where there is just room enough for one canoe. They camped on Lake Pharaoh for six weeks, by Mrs. De Peyster's command; and her canoe was always the first to reach the fishing-ground in the morning, and the last to leave it in the evening.

Someone asked him, when he returned to the city, whether he had good luck.

"Quite fair," he tossed off in a careless way; "we took over three hundred pounds."

"To your own rod?" asked the inquirer, in admiration.

"No-o-o," said Beekman, "there were two of us."

There were two of them, also, the following year, when they joined the Natasheebo Salmon Club and fished that celebrated river in Labrador. The custom of drawing lots every night for the water that each member was to angle over the next day, seemed to be especially designed to fit the situation. Mrs. De Peyster could fish her own pool and her husband's too. The result of that year's fishing was something phenomenal. She had a score that made a paragraph in the newspapers and called out editorial comment. One editor was so inadequate to the situation as to entitle the article in which he described her triumph "The Equivalence of Woman." It was well meant, but she was not at all pleased with it.

She was now not merely an angler, but a "record" angler of the most virulent type. Wherever they went, she wanted, and she got, the pick of the water. She seemed to be equally at home on all kinds of streams, large and small. She would pursue the little mountain-brook trout in the early spring, and the Labrador salmon in July, and the huge speckled trout of the northern lakes in September, with the same avidity and resolution. All that she cared for was to get the best and the most of the fishing at each place where she angled. This she always did.

And Beekman—well, for him there were no more long separations from the partner of his life while he went off to fish some favorite stream. There were no more homecomings after a good day's sport to find her clad in cool and dainty raiment on the verandah, ready to welcome him with friendly badinage. There was not even any casting of the fly around Hardscrabble Point while she sat in the canoe reading a novel, looking up with mild and pleasant interest when he caught a larger fish than usual, as an older and wiser person looks at a child playing some innocent game. Those days of a divided interest between man and wife were gone. She was now fully converted, and more. Beekman and Cornelia were one; and she was the one.

The last time I saw the De Peysters he was following her along the Beaverkill, carrying a landing net and a basket, but no rod. She paused, for a moment to exchange greetings, and then strode on down the stream. He, lingered for a few minutes longer to light a pipe.

"Well, old man," I said, "you certainly have succeeded in making an angler of Mrs. De Peyster"

"Yes, indeed," he answered, "haven't I?" Then he continued, after a few thoughtful puffs of smoke, "Do you know, I'm not quite so sure as I used to be that fishing is the best of all sports. I sometimes think of giving it up and going in for croquet."

Reprinted from Fisherman's Luck, *1899.*

In 1994, Donald and Barbara Phillipson of Denver, Colorado, generously presented the American Museum of Fly Fishing with some artifacts from the Phillipson Rod Company. The Phillipson collection is not huge, but does represent an important niche in the Museum's permanent collection. Although it existed for less than thirty years, the Phillipson Rod Company left its mark on the world of fly fishing, not only because it flourished while other rod companies did not, but also because of its dynamic founder and president, Bill Phillipson.

Philip William Phillipson was born in Sweden in 1904, and emigrated to Denver in 1923. In 1925, he found employment in the woodworking department of the Goodwin Granger Company, presumably making bamboo rods. Soon he was department foreman and he managed the factory after Granger's untimely death in 1931. Employment remained steady through the remaining years of the Great Depression, but the Granger factory closed in 1942 as "nonessential" to the war effort.

The company's machines roared back to life after the war, however, and Bill Phillipson tried to buy a controlling interest in the company. After failing in this endeavor, he started his own firm, the Phillipson Rod & Tackle Company, Incorporated. Two years later, they began advertising a variety of bamboo fly rods and quickly became leaders in the manufacture and design of bamboo and fiberglass rods, even winning several industry awards. In 1954, Bill Phillipson received the supreme honor of induction into the Fishing Hall of Fame.

But the early 1960s were a time of change at Phillipson. A fire destroyed the factory in February 1960. They rebuilt the plant, and in 1962 Phillipson sold his company to Johnson Reels, Incorporated. Two years later, Phillipson bought his name back, reincorporating the business as the Phillipson Rod Company. In 1972, Bill Phillipson retired and sold his company to the Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing Company (3M). After making about 300 rods in Colorado, 3M moved the operation to Minnesota. By 1974, they had ceased producing bamboo rods.

Bill Phillipson passed away in 1987 after leaving his own mark on the history of fly fishing. His story is interesting, and is one of more than 150 rodmakers represented in the collection at the American Museum of Fly Fishing.

Jon Mathewson
Registrar

Photograph by Cook Neilson

Museum Find

by Mary Hard Bort

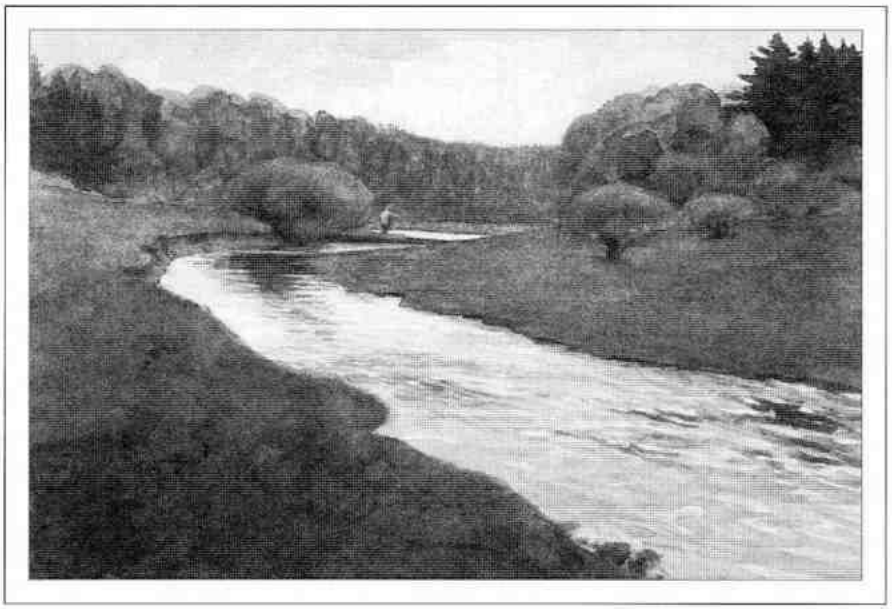
When the C.F. Orvis Company was asked to participate in the World's Columbian Exposition to be held in Chicago in 1892, great care was taken to produce a quality display. Charles Orvis, founder of the company, turned the matter over to his daughter Mary Orvis Marbury whose best-selling book *Favorite Flies and Their Histories* had been printed that same year. It was she who supervised the construction and layout of the exhibit.

A large number of Orvis flies and 158 fishing photographs taken by leading photographers from all over the United States were put together in an impressive presentation of the fly fisher's art. The Orvis display was part of the U.S. Fish Commission exhibit.

Oak frames 2 feet square were hinged together and glass was inserted front and back. Each panel displayed dazzling photographs of fishing and water scenes, along with Orvis flies suitable for the type of fish and locality pictured. Twenty of these panels were attached to a handsome oak upright support and could be turned like the pages of a book. The effort was very well received at the Exposition and was acclaimed in fishing periodicals throughout the world.

The display is now housed at the American Museum of Fly Fishing in Manchester, Vermont, and the Marbury panels are of continuing interest to visitors and staff alike. Not long ago, the panels were being examined by former Curator Alanna Johnson with an eye toward professional conservation of the old photographs. One of the panels had always been a mystery because the captions (carefully printed in ink on the matting material) did not correspond to the photographs. Since such meticulous work was in evidence on every other panel, this discrepancy was hard to understand. In order to uncover the photographs it was necessary to fold back the frame and the glass and lift the mat, and when Johnson did this she discovered to her amazement that each original photograph on the "mystery" panel had been covered by another, fastened in place with paper and glue. Mary Hard Bort, curator of the Manchester Historical Society and Dick Finlay, fisherman, river *aficionado,* and Museum consultant, were called to share in the excitement. The original photographs were of Manchester's main street, Equinox Pond, a pasture of cows, a roadside vista, and a trout. Over these had been pasted river scenes showing the Battenkill with canoes, a pastoral scene on the river, and a Charles F. Orvis Company logo and advertisement.

The original photographs are undergoing conservation so that further discoloration and deterioration can be prevented. The newer photographs, probably dating from about 1910 or 1915, are treasures. Who put them there and why remains a mystery. We can only guess that the original photos were intended to show Exposition visitors what Manchester, Vermont, looked like. We also know that after the Exposition, one panel was displayed in the Equinox House and it may be that advertising the beauty of the Battenkill was more important for that purpose and time. We will never know, but we can certainly enjoy the discovery.



BERWANGER'S PASTURE *by Thomas Aquinas Daly.*

Thomas Aquinas Daly Exhibit at Museum, June 2 to August 15

PICTURE THIS. It's late spring and you have found a quiet stretch on a promising looking limestoner for an evening of trout fishing to sulphurs. The water is smooth with the rose light of approaching dusk. Here and there, bright green banks of river weed break the surface. The air is gauzy, the trees are still. There is a peaceful, dreamy expectancy.

"Limestone and Bright Fox" is one of approximately two dozen paintings by Thomas Aquinas Daly that will be on exhibit at the Museum from June 2 through August 15. Daly is one of this country's most highly respected landscape and still-life artists and, luckily for the Museum and its friends, he is also a fly fisher. Hunting, fishing, trapping, camping, boating, still lifes with game, and flowers are all frequent subjects of his work. For this exhibit, fly fishing will be the primary theme.

Thomas Aquinas Daly was born in 1937 in Albany, New York. He was educated at the University of Buffalo where he majored in graphic art and graduated in 1959. For the next twenty years Daly worked with the Greater Buffalo Press, first as a lithographer and later as art director. In 1979 he began a full-time career in painting.

Working from a studio in his barn loft in rural western New York, Daly has evolved a signature style of small watercolors, usually 10 by 14 inches or less, dealing with sporting subjects. His atmospheric landscapes and poetic still lifes have been compared to the work of George Inness (1825-1894) and Jean-Baptiste-Simeon Chardin (1699-1779) respectively, but neither of these past masters dealt so unwaveringly with the subtleties of the sportsman's world.

Although Daly does an occasional limited edition etching, he does not produce limited edition prints as many artists do today. Most of his originals go directly into private collections, so seeing his work can be something of a challenge. His paintings have appeared in *The American Artist, Gray's Sporting Journal,* and *Sporting Classics,* and can also be seen in books such as *The Sporting Life* and *The Ultimate Fishing Book.* One of the most interesting sources is a book on watercolor technique that Daly wrote and illustrated in 1985 entitled *Painting Nature's Quiet Places.*

Better yet, plan on attending the upcoming Museum weekend preview of the Thomas Aquinas Daly Exhibit on Friday, June 2, 1995, from 6 to 8 P.M., where nearly two dozen of his recent paintings can be viewed and the artist himself will be present to answer questions about his work.

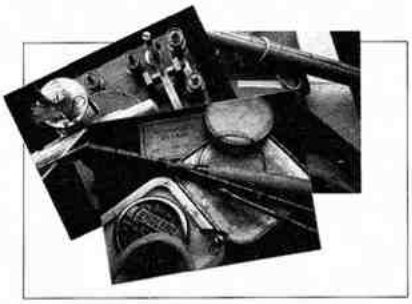
JIM BROWN

Museum Gift Shop

Vest Patch. Museum logo, hunter green with silver/gray $5

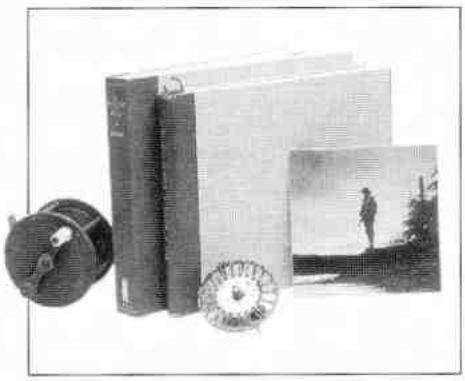
Pin. Museum logo, hunter green with silver $5

T-shirts. Museum logo, specify hunter green with white or heather gray with hunter green $12



Note Cards. Photographs of personality tackle includes Hemingway, Crosby, Eisenhower, Webster, Homer, and Samuel Morse. 12 cards per box, 2 of each image with envelopes $12.95

Ceramic Mug with Museum logo. $6



A Treasury of Reels:
The Fishing Reel Collection of
The American Museum of Fly Fishing

by Jim Brown, photographs by Bob O'Shaughnessy.
Deluxe edition is handbound and boxed, with a signed and numbered print by John Swan. $450 each.

"25th Anniversary Poster"
by Terry Heffernan (20" x 30")
$19.95

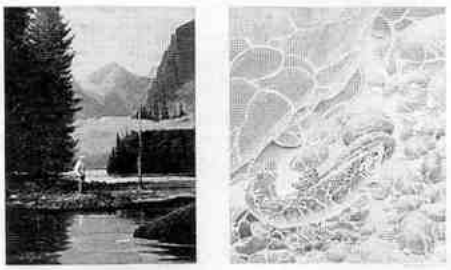
Please add $5 for postage and handling for this item.

Up/Downer Hat. Durham Ranger fly. Specify bright blue or tan supplex $16.50

Baseball-style Hat. Durham Ranger fly. Corduroy available in burgundy or teal. Supplex available in bright blue, teal, or tan $14

American Fly Fishing: A History

by Paul Schullery
278 pages illustrated with historic photographs, prints, and drawings.
Hardcover $35.



"Two Artists"
Luther K Hall & David M. Carroll
(26" x 20")

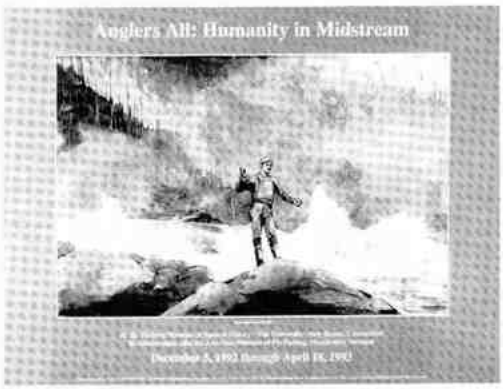
Please make checks payable to AMFF and send to P.O. Box 42, Manchester, VT 05254. Telephone orders: 802-362-3300. Mastercard, Visa, and American Express accepted. $3 postage and handling for first item, $1 for each additional item.

"Lost Pool"
by John Swan (15⅞" x 26¾")
edition of 400
$95 each

Limited Edition Prints

Printed on acid-free paper, ample borders. Each signed and numbered. Postage and handling included.

"Battenkill Afternoon"
by Peter Corbin (30" x 22")
25th Anniversary Edition of 200
$175 each



"Anglers All: Humanity in Midstream"
"*Casting*" by Winslow Homer
(18" x 24")

"World of the Salmon"
"*Wind Clouds*" by Ogden Pleissner
(26" x 22")

"Evening Mist"
by Chet Reneson (27" x 21½")

Exhibition Posters

Printed on high-quality glossy stock with ample borders. Each poster is $15.

"Time On the Water"
by John Swan (26" x 20")

"Water, Sky, & Time"
by Adriano Manocchia (25" x 22")

"An Artist's Creel"
by Peter Corbin (26" x 23")

Please make checks payable to AMFF and send to P.O. Box 42, Manchester, VT 05254. Telephone orders: 802-362-3300. Mastercard, Visa, and American Express accepted. $3 postage and handling for first item, $1 for each additional item.

The American Museum of Fly Fishing

Box 42, Manchester, Vermont 05254
Tel: 802-362-3300. Fax: 802-362-3308.

JOIN!

Membership Dues (per annum*)

Associate*	$25
Sustaining*	$50
Benefactor	$100
Patron*	$250
Sponsor*	$500
Corporate*	$1,000
Life	$1,500

Membership dues include the cost of a subscription ($20) to *The American Fly Fisher*. 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 Alliance, and the International Association of Sports Museums and Halls of Fame. We are a nationally accredited, nonprofit, educational institution chartered under the laws of the state of Vermont.

SUPPORT!

As an independent, nonprofit institution, the American Museum of Fly Fishing relies on the generosity of public-spirited individuals for substantial support. We ask that you give our museum 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!

Available at $4 per copy:

Volume 6, Numbers 1, 2, 3, 4
Volume 7, Numbers 2, 3
Volume 8, Number 3
Volume 9, Numbers 1, 2, 3
Volume 10, Number 2
Volume 11, Numbers 1, 2, 3, 4
Volume 12, Number 3
Volume 13, Number 3
Volume 15, Numbers 1, 2
Volume 16, Numbers 1, 2, 3
Volume 17, Numbers 1, 2, 3
Volume 18, Numbers 1, 2, 4
Volume 19, Numbers 1, 2, 3, 4
Volume 20, Numbers 1, 2, 3, 4
Volume 21, Number 1

Museum News

by Jon Mathewson
REGISTRAR

New Exhibits

Visitors to the Museum will find both new exhibits and new items in the rotating display. In our foyer is a permanent display of new donations to the Museum. The current rotation includes a Leonard rod donated by Raycroft Walsh, Jr., of West Hartford, Connecticut, a Garrison rod donated by famed rodmaker Hoagy Carmichael, and a fly-tying pamphlet issued by Hereters in 1941, donated by Peter Vachon.

The current rotation of our on-going "Personalities in the Stream" exhibit includes tackle and information about Aldo Leopold, Daniel Webster, John Voelker (Robert Traver), and Edward Ringwood Hewitt.

A brand-new exhibit focuses on George Gordon and the history of Trout Unlimited in Vermont. As always, our displays remain fresh, exciting, and educational.

New Employees

Margot Page

Lillian Chace is no newcomer to the Museum, but she has never received a write-up in Museum News. Lil first became involved as a volunteer during our twenty-fifth anniversary celebration and is now our part-time membership coordinator. She comes to us after much involvement with the Southern Vermont Art Center, and has been employed in the customer service department of Hills Court, a local mail-order catalog, as well as in the office of the Ekwanok Country Club. These and other jobs have made Lil an enthusiastic people person.

Margot Page

And **Mary Treadway Ballou** is no newcomer to the world of fly fishing. Her father and her grandfather were not only fly fishers, but were involved in the business side of things as owners of the Horton Manufacturing Company in Bristol, Connecticut. With extensive financial experience, Mary is currently assisting the Museum with development. The owner of a sportswear/readywear company for more than a decade, she has run the golf pro shop at the Basin Harbor Club in Vergennes, Vermont, and managed the tennis gift shop at the Hillsborough Club in Florida. She has been involved with several fund-raising activities for nonprofit organizations, and just two years ago finished up her degree in psychology at Norwich University. More importantly, she tells us that four years ago, on her first bottom-fishing expedition in the Bahamas, she caught thirty-seven fish in just an hour and a half.

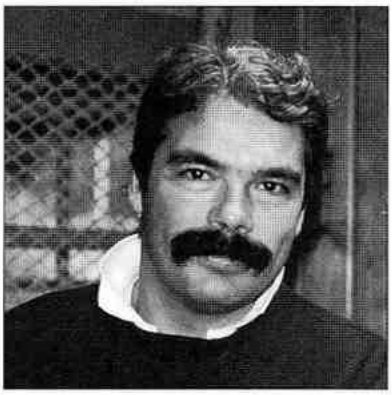
Annual Festival Weekend

Our popular annual Festival Weekend will be held this year from June 2 through 4. The celebration begins Friday evening with an art opening featuring the renowned painter Thomas Aquinas Daly, a retrospective of the works of the late Milton Weiler and some new work by his son, the sculptor Dale Weiler, and the photography of the

innovative photographer *f* Stop Fitzgerald. The following night we will host our gala annual dinner/auction at the fabulous Equinox Hotel, and on Sunday we will present a wide range of activities during our open house.

New Trustees

Our newest trustees include **David H. Walsh** who was introduced to the Museum through the enthusiasm of an old friend and current trustee Jim Taylor. David spent five years with the U.S. Navy followed by time out for an M.B.A. Subsequently he spent twenty-one years in the investment management business with Putnam Investments. Since the end of 1992, aside from managing a small investment partnership, his principal objective has been to control his own calendar in order to allow plenty of time for fly fishing and other personal pursuits. He lives in Framingham, Massachusetts, but owns a second home in Manchester, Vermont.



James C. Woods has practiced environmental law for fifteen years for the United States Environmental Protection Agency in New York City and, more recently, as an Assistant United States Attorney in the district of New Jersey and now in the northern district of New York in Albany. A lifelong fly fisher and fly tyer, his transfer to Albany in 1989 was motivated by his love of fly fishing and his desire to raise his two sons in an environment where such outdoor activities are readily available. He has previously published articles on waterfowl hunting and fly fishing in *Gray's Sporting Journal* and *Fly Fisherman* magazine. He lives with his wife Charity and family in Cambridge, New York.

Passages

The fly-fishing community lost a long-time friend suddenly this past winter. **Bob Philip**, 52, died in a car accident on Friday, February 24, 1995, during his commute from Turners Falls, Massachusetts, to Danby, Vermont. After leaving a government job in 1969, Bob worked at Scientific Anglers, the Orvis Company, and, finally, Thomas and Thomas Rod Company. He was a charter member of the Leon P. Martuch chapter of Trout Unlimited and served on the national board of directors of Trout Unlimited. He was also active in other community concerns.

We are also saddened to report that Museum friend and journal contributor **Richard H. Woods** died January 12, 1995 in Chagrin Falls, Ohio. Richard was a staunch Museum supporter over the years, and managed during a long career in law and government to find the time to fish throughout New England and Canada. He published several articles in *The American Fly Fisher* toward the end of his life. He is survived by his son James C. Woods, one of our newest trustees, and two grandchildren.

Bits and Pieces

- In late February, a film crew from *Chronicle*, a Boston-based television show, stopped by to shoot a piece on the Museum that was aired in early April.

- Executive assistant Ginny Hulett, auctioneer Lyman Foss, and development assistant Mary Ballou drove down to the annual New York Anglers' Club dinner/auction on March 2. The auction was, as usual, a success.

- About twenty-five members of the Upper Valley chapter of Trout Unlimited paid a recent visit to the Museum.

- The Museum installed a temporary exhibit at L.L. Bean Days, in Freeport, Maine, during late March, and participated in Orvis Days, in Manchester, Vermont, the first weekend in April.

- The Museum recently attended both the Antique Anglers Show in Marlborough, Massachusetts, and the Outdoor Show in Worcester, Massachusetts.

- A new natural history museum is being installed at the headquarters of Thomas & Thomas in Turners Falls, Massachusetts. An exhibit, which the American Museum of Fly Fishing assisted with, was unveiled at the Fly Fair held May 13 and 14, 1995. The Museum also cosponsored an auction at the event.

- Orvis and the Equinox Hotel (our village neighbors), in conjunction with the National Trust for Historic Preservation, planned to present a fly-fishing weekend in late April, in which the Mu-

CALENDAR OF EVENTS

May 13-14	Fly Fair at Thomas & Thomas, Turner's Falls, Massachusetts
May 15	Cleveland Dinner/Auction
June 2-4	Annual Museum Festival Weekend, Manchester, Vermont Art Show Opening for *Thomas Aquinas Daly* *Milton C. Weiler & Dale A. Weiler* *f-Stop Fitzgerald*
August 25	Art Show Opening *Chris Clark and Darryl Abraham*

seum would play a small part, cooperating with a Victorian anglers display, and making our space available for a low-impact cocktail party.

1995 Gifts to the Collection

The Museum has received several wonderful additions to the collection this year, including the following items.

❖ Spencer Borden donated a copy of Alfred Rolands's *The Fly Fisher's Entomology*, fifth edition (1856).

❖ Wells Brown, of Dorset, Vermont, gave us a real gem, a fly wallet with flies given to Eddie Collins by Ted Williams and Bobbie Doerr. (All three played baseball for the Boston Red Sox, and all three are in the Baseball Hall of Fame.)

❖ J. L. Chandler has given us paperwork relating to the history of the AFTMA standardization.

❖ Bob Dunn sent us a copy of his newest book, *Australian Fishing Reels: A Collector's Guide* (1994).

❖ Trustee Dick Finlay, ever a fount of favors, has so far this year given us seventy-five issues of *The Fly Fisher* magazine, as well as a Feurer Brothers Taurus Reel.

❖ Don Phillips, another benevolent soul, sent us a copy of his article on the history of the Boron rod, as well as the 1994 update of the fly-fishing magazine index database he generously provided to the Museum in 1993.

❖ Maida L. Riggs of Hadley, Massachusetts, stopped by with a 3-piece Clark-Horrocks rod. Clark-Horrocks was a Utica company founded by former employees of the Divine Rod Company, and later became famous as the Horrocks-Ibbotson Company. This is the only item in our collection from this early phase of this famous company's history.

❖ Bob Wood and Gus Black gave us a Hardy Leader.

❖ Raycroft Walsh, Jr., of West Hartford, Connecticut, presented us with a collection of rods previously belonging to his father and grandfather, including several old Leonards. He also provided colorful information from a bygone era, when the Canadian Pacific Railway would guarantee to keep any caught fish on ice all the way from Nova Scotia to Connecticut. Also, apparently, the Leonard Mills Company sent a repairman out on the road every winter to repair any damaged rods their clients might have.

Addendum

Warren Gilker writes to note that the new weathervane pictured in the last issue of *The American Fly Fisher* (Winter 1995) was caught by Hon. Victor Stanley (of the Stanley Cup) on the Grand Cascapedia River in the Big Camp Pool in 1892. Warren made the weathervane from a cutout of the salmon that hung on the wall at Middle Camp. Warren also notes that he lives on the Grand Cascapedia, Quebec, not New Brunswick.

CONTRIBUTOR

Dee Shatany

Richard C. Hoffmann is Professor of History at York University in North York, Ontario. A fly fisher of twenty-five years experience, he was national president of Trout Unlimited Canada during 1985-1987, and in 1981 recieved from the Izaak Walton Fly Fisherman's Club its Haig-Brown Award for "outstanding achievement in fish habitat conservation."

He has been a regular contributor over the years to *The American Fly Fisher* with his articles on early English records of fly fishing and on the (re)discovered tract of 1539 by Fernando Basurto. He recently completed a book-length study of three major texts on fishing from around 1500, entitled *Fishers' Craft and Lettered Art at the End of the Middle Ages.* He continues to work on the environmental, economic, social, and cultural history of freshwater fish and fisheries in medieval and early modern Europe.

Annual Art Exhibits
June 2 to August 15, 1995

The Fly-Fisher's Landscape

An exhibition featuring the work of the renowned Thomas Aquinas Daly, one of this country's most highly respected landscape and still-life artists. Limited-edition etchings and posters available.

Grandpa's Little Black Book

Selections of original photographs by *f*-stop Fitzgerald, photographer, from his book *Fly-Fishing Logbook.*
Custom color prints available.

Weiler & Weiler—The Vision Continues

A retrospective of the work of Milton C. Weiler (1910-1974), one of the finest painters of sporting art of his generation, which also introduces his son Dale A. Weiler, sculptor in stone, wood, and bronze.
Exhibition scheduled through November 1995.

Visit our galleries and view the work of these talented artists. For more information, phone the Museum at 802-362-3300.

THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF FLY FISHING, a nationally accredited, nonprofit, educational institution dedicated to preserving the rich heritage of fly fishing, was founded in Manchester, Vermont, in 1968. The Museum serves as a repository for, and conservator to, the world's largest collection of angling and angling-related objects. The Museum's collections and exhibits provide the public with thorough documentation of the evolution of fly fishing as a sport, art form, craft, and industry in the United States and abroad from the sixteenth century to the present. Rods, reels, and flies, as well as tackle, art, books, manuscripts, and photographs form the major components of the Museum's collections.

The Museum has gained recognition as a unique educational institution. It supports a publications program through which its national quarterly journal, *The American Fly Fisher,* and books, art prints, and catalogs are regularly offered to the public. The Museum's traveling exhibits program has made it possible for educational exhibits to be viewed across the United States and abroad. The Museum also provides in-house exhibits, related interpretive programming, and research services for members, visiting scholars, authors, and students.

The Museum is an active, member-oriented nonprofit institution. For information please contact: The American Museum of Fly Fishing, P. O. Box 42, Manchester, Vermont 05254, 802-362-3300.

Accredited by the American Association of Museums