

NATIVE FISHING CONFLICTS ON THE SAUGEEN-BRUCE PENINSULA

**NATIVE FISHING CONFLICTS ON THE SAUGEEN-BRUCE
PENINSULA: PERSPECTIVES ON RESOURCE RELATIONS
PAST AND PRESENT**

By

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ABSTRACT

In this study I examine current native fishing conflicts on Ontario's Saugeen-Bruce Peninsula in order to provide insights that can inform the negotiation of a shared-management agreement. I use literature sources and ethnographic data gathered among the peninsula's two First Nations communities. This study builds on various approaches within ecological anthropology, drawing especially on historical ecology, ethnoecology, and political ecology, all of which encourage recognition of social and political aspects of resource relations. This recognition broadens the typical focus of earlier ecological anthropology and allows an adequate framework for examining the complexity of resource conflicts. The insights I provide through this comprehensive examination of the conflicts demonstrate the relevance of a broadly focused ecological anthropology. I point out how essentialized perceptions of groups and their resource relations play a role in perpetuating the fishing conflicts. Resolving many of the conflict issues will depend on a willingness to revise these essentialized notions.

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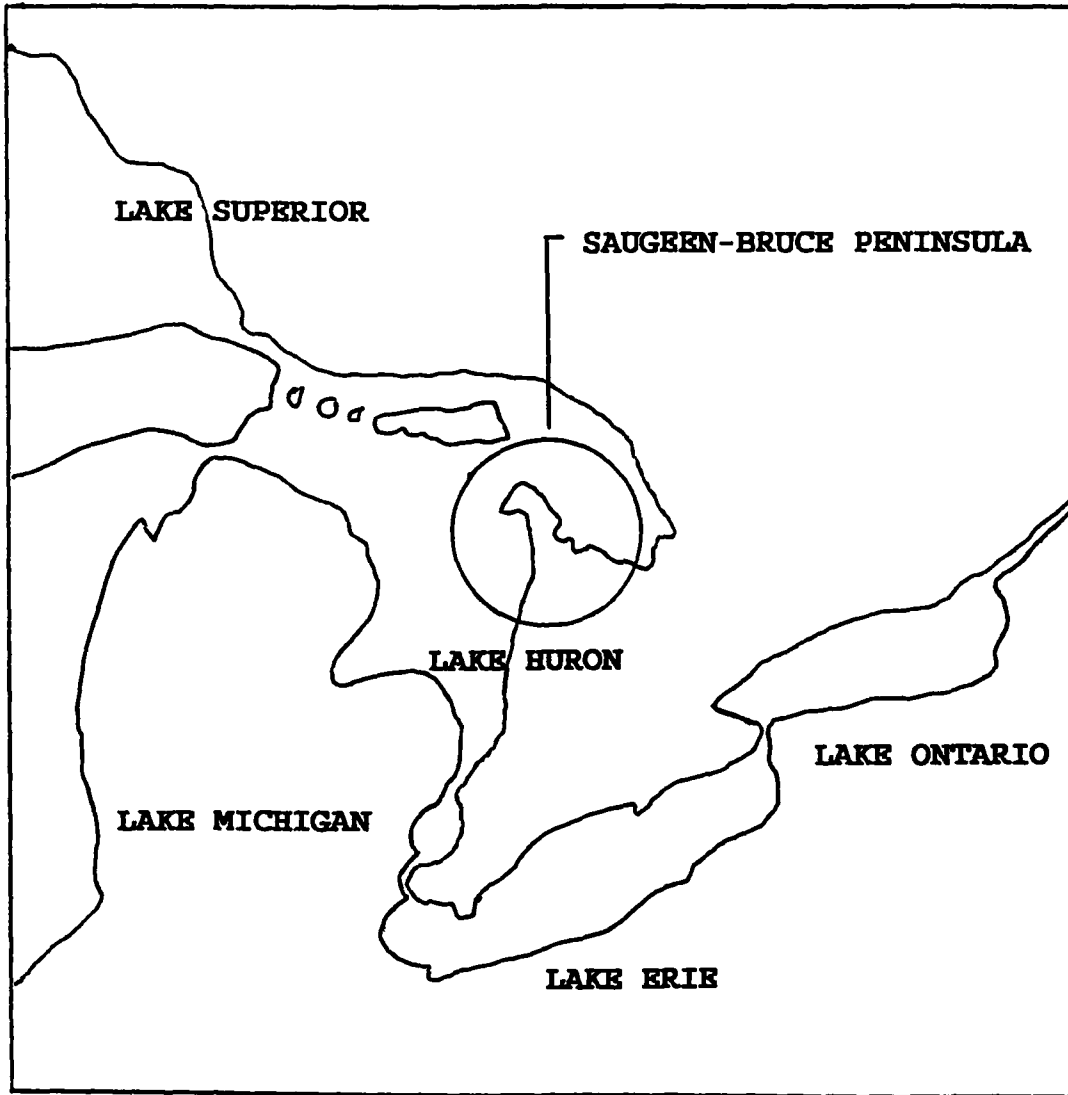
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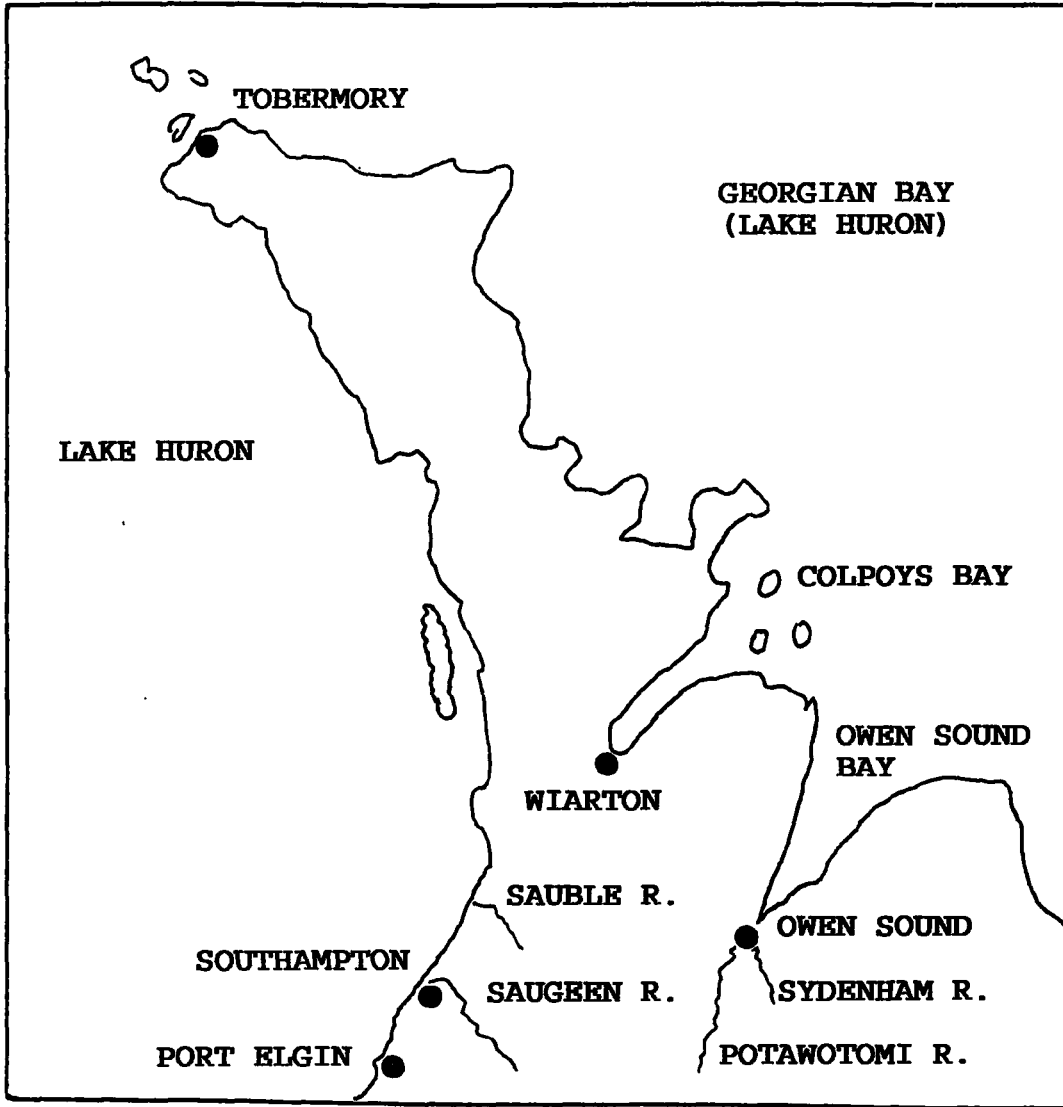
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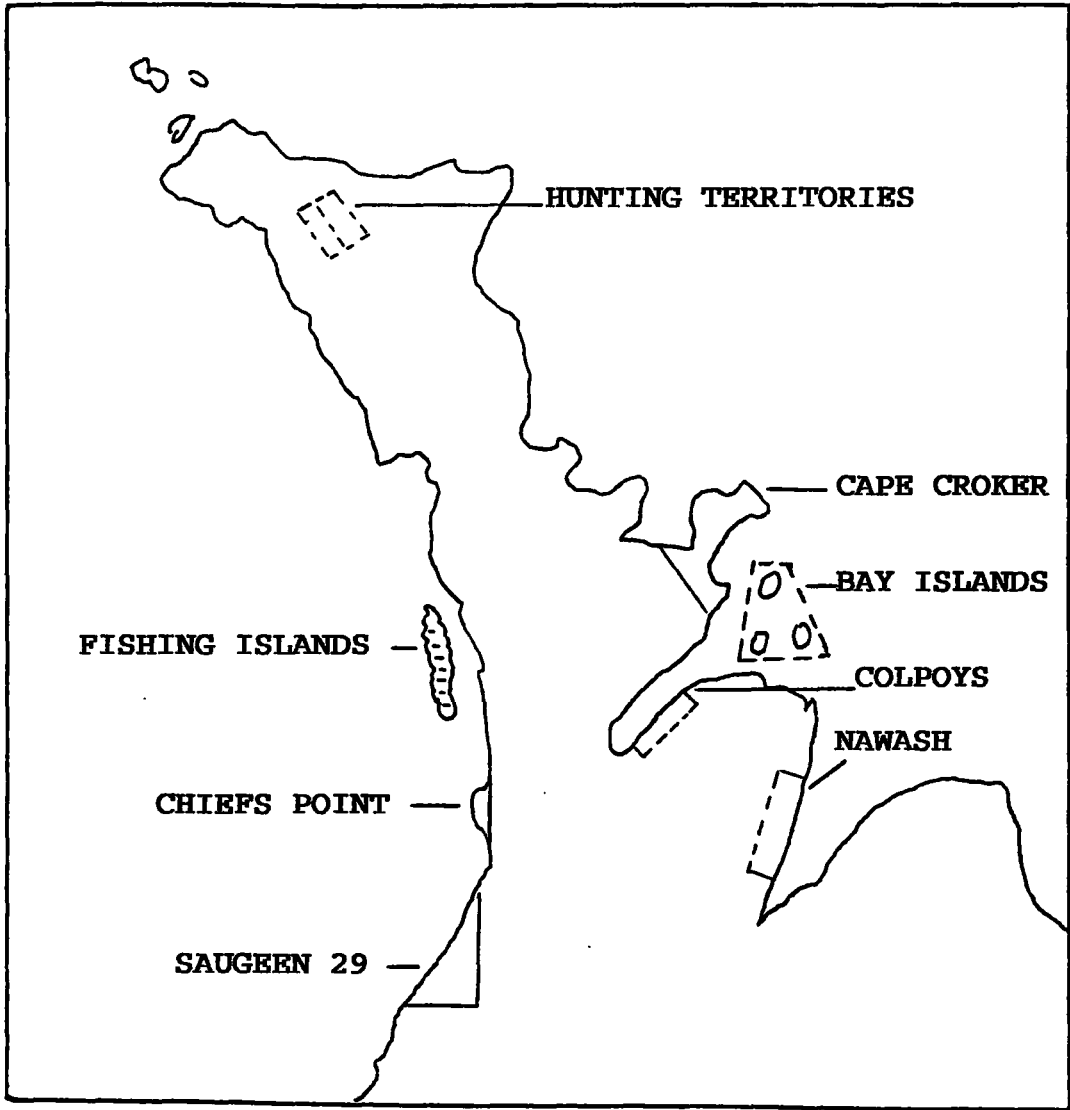
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Map 1. - STUDY AREA: THE SAUGEEN-BRUCE PENINSULA



Map 2. - MAIN TOWNS, WATER BODIES, AND RIVERS



Map 3. - RESERVES

**NATIVE FISHING CONFLICTS ON THE SAUGEEN-BRUCE PENINSULA:
PERSPECTIVES ON RESOURCE RELATIONS PAST AND PRESENT**

INTRODUCTION

The fisheries around Southern Ontario's Saugeen-Bruce Peninsula have long played a significant role in the lifeways of the region's human inhabitants, both as a means of subsistence and as integral to broader social relations. Currently the peninsula's fisheries are shrouded in conflict over native fishing rights. My thesis is aimed at providing insights into current conflict issues. It is based on a reading of literature sources and on fieldwork conducted in the peninsula's two First Nations communities during 1995 and 1996.

I examine the fisheries conflicts from a broad anthropological perspective. More specifically my research approach is situated in the field of ecological anthropology. Ecological anthropologists have long studied resource relations by applying concepts used by ecologists for studying ecological systems. This ecological approach allows insights into particular relationships within systems but is limited for understanding changes in resource relations and how such changes are negotiated by real people in complex social contexts. In this study, I build on new

directions in ecological anthropology that are better suited for incorporating social contexts, and thereby allow a more comprehensive explanation of environmental relations.

A dramatic change in the peninsula's fisheries began in the early 1800s, when a Great Lakes commercial fishery was created and governments started regulating resources that native peoples had long been harvesting. Another major shift occurred around the middle of the 20th century when the lake trout, which had long been a dominant species in the area's open waters all but disappeared.

The last decade has also brought about a significant change in fisheries relations. A 1993 provincial court ruling known locally as the Fairgrieve decision gave legal recognition to native fishing rights around the Saugeen-Bruce Peninsula. This ruling presents new opportunities for native community members, but it poses difficult challenges as well. Natives and non-natives alike are apprehensive about how the Fairgrieve decision will be translated into new resource relations. Apprehensions and uncertainties have inflamed tensions between those who support and those who oppose native fishing rights. The atmosphere of conflict over native fishing rights is most evident on the peninsula itself, but angler association representatives from broader regions, and others with vested interests in the fisheries, have also entered the conflict.

I aim to clarify conflict issues by providing historical contexts, and by examining various current perspectives on fisheries management. While I discuss the

views of many individuals and groups, I give most attention to ideas and concerns articulated in my field interviews with native community members.

I begin my thesis with a background and orientation chapter, wherein I describe the setting, research methods, and theoretical links. The next three chapters provide a historical chronology of fisheries relations, covering prehistoric (before 1615) and early historic periods (to 1830), the remainder of the nineteenth century, and then the twentieth century. I include some analysis in these chapters, but they serve mainly as reference for my subsequent analysis of conflict issues which are permeated by historical assumptions. Chapters 2 and 3 are based largely on a review of historical literature, including archaeological studies. Beginning in chapter 4, I focus more on interview data gathered in the course of my field work.

In chapters 5 through 8 I examine fishing conflicts on the peninsula in broad social-political contexts, giving attention to various perspectives on past and present resource relations. I begin by describing conditions surrounding the Fairgrieve decision. I then focus on the clash between native fishing rights supporters and angler association representatives. In chapter 7 I examine the roles that tradition plays in native perspectives on conservation and fisheries management issues. In the final chapter I discuss challenges that both government resource managers and native community representatives face when negotiating fisheries management.

My research has benefitted in various ways from field interviews. Local perspectives are a source of rich insights into conflict issues. My overall approach to studying the fisheries conflicts has also been enhanced by the access to local perspectives that I gained through interviews, as seen in the following description.

Fred Jones was one of the last native community members I interviewed during my fieldwork. Now in his eighties, he is among the peninsula's most experienced fisherfolk. On an earlier occasion I had approached him about an interview concerning the history of the peninsula's fisheries, and he was straightforward about not wanting to discuss such an important community issue with a stranger. He eventually took me into his confidence.

Fred Jones welcomed me into his small but cozy home and offered me a chair near the wood stove opposite the couch where he sat with his cane leaning at his side. Through the large window behind him I could see MacGregor Harbour, where a fishing boat was tied up at one of the small docks on Jones' Point. I began explaining my interest in the history of the peninsula's fisheries, but before I could utter more than a few words he pointed to a news article laying on the TV tray in front of him: "It all started here," he explained, "when Howard Jones and the Nadjiwon boys were arrested for fishing without a license".

I was originally interested in studying the peninsula's fisheries conflicts because I sensed that this was a place where anthropological approaches might be usefully applied.

But I assumed that I could simply provide an ethnohistorical or historical ecological study of past native fisheries involvements and this in itself would serve to inform the conflicts in a practical way. However, through advice given by interviewees, including Fred Jones, I have come to more fully appreciate the intertwining of history and current social-political conditions. I have shifted my research focus more toward current conditions, and have encompassed as part of this study the ways that history has been invoked in the present.

I begin direct discussion of the implications of the fisheries trial mid-way through this study, in chapter 5. Those who would prefer a fuller description of current issues before considering historical contexts may want to read chapter 5 ahead of earlier chapters.

Resource management policies and agreements need to be created to accommodate the Fairgrieve decision. The effectiveness of these instruments will be in part determined by how well they address underlying realities expressed in the current fisheries conflicts. The overall purpose of this thesis is to provide insights into underlying conditions that can inform potential fisheries management approaches and agreements. I work toward this goal by suggesting places where more attention to the social dimensions of ecological relations is required, and places where more attention to the diversity of perspectives on fisheries relations can contribute to a better understanding of these social dimensions.

CHAPTER 1 - BACKGROUND AND ORIENTATION

In this chapter I provide background information about my study location and my research approach. I introduce research settings with sketches of the peninsula and the communities where my fieldwork was conducted. Next I describe my research sources and methods, and then my theoretical orientation.

RESEARCH SETTINGS

Naming the Saugeen-Bruce Peninsula

Place names are an interesting focus of shared knowledge wherever communities are created. Among various peoples of the world, geographic place naming frequently conveys important information about attachments to particular locations. Names are often descriptive of the landscape, indicating notable features and markings. Mythical individuals are sometimes associated with places through their roles in the stories of how land features were formed. Social relations involving territorial and resource access may be regulated to some extent through the shared knowledge of a group's place names and related stories (e.g. Cruikshank 1990; Tonkinson 1991).

On the frontiers of colonial expansion in Canada, newly designated places were commonly named in honour of European royal family members, government officials, and military officers. As these names are reminders of allegiance to the social order the place name beings represent, this pattern also has implicit social control and resource access regulation functions.

The stretch of land commonly known as the Bruce Peninsula (see Map 1.) is the northern extension of Bruce County. The county was named in 1849, when the land below the peninsula was first surveyed, in honour of James Bruce, Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, and Governor General of British North America (Robertson 1971:38-39). In 1836, under a treaty negotiated at Manitoulin Island by Lieutenant Governor Sir Francis Bond Head, about one and a half million acres below the peninsula was surrendered, and the peninsula was reserved as territory of the "Saugeen Indians". Until around 1854, when most of the peninsula was also surrendered (see Surtees 1984:101-105), it was commonly referred to as the "Saugeen Peninsula". During the 1800s, it was also called the "Indian Peninsula".

Some First Nations members prefer the name "Saugeen Peninsula" because it speaks to their historical connections with the region, and thereby is relevant to land claims that are presently being pursued (Darlene Johnston 1995, pers. comm.). A few contemporary writers, for example Spangler and Peters (1995:105), do refer to the peninsula as the Saugeen.

This may imply the peninsula's proximity to the Saugeen River (see Map 2.), which empties into Lake Huron at the peninsula's south-west corner, but it also suggests recognition of a historic native presence on the peninsula, and perhaps support of current native concerns.

I use the name "Saugeen-Bruce Peninsula" to mark both a historical sequence and a cultural relationship: this two part name is meant to acknowledge the peninsula's multi-cultural history, and to suggest the need to consider various perspectives when looking at the peninsula's current fisheries problems. ¹

The Peninsula: Past and Present

The peninsula extends along the raised edge of a vast bedrock plate that is visible below the lower Great Lakes, up through Southern Ontario, and on Manitoulin Island and beyond. A gradual slope between the peninsula's jutting eastern limestone cliffs and its western lowland shores causes its watersheds to drain primarily westward into Lake Huron (see Chapman and Putnum 1966).

¹I use the term "fishery" to signify either a fish population or both the resource base and human harvesting activity. Unless otherwise indicated, I imply the latter. The terms "fisheries relations", and "resource relations" indicate broad interconnections between people and resources, including both practical use patterns and underlying knowledge.

By about 12,000 years ago, ice sheets were receding from the central Great Lakes region. Since then, the peninsula has been shaped and reshaped by major changes in water level (see Karrow and Warner 1990:28-33). Closed spruce forests that were established in areas of Southern Ontario by 12,500 B.P. began to spread onto the peninsula. Fossil pollen from peninsula lakes suggests that pine forests had replaced spruce growth as early as 10,000 B.P.. However, forest make up was impacted by the fluctuating lake levels, and spruce dominated again when water levels were high. ²

Not long after the glacial recession first exposed the peninsula, it was almost completely submerged under water. During a low water period that followed, Manitoulin Island and the peninsula were connected. High water episodes occurred later, around 5000 B.P. and then again around 3000 B.P. (Daechsel 1994). At these times the peninsula's lowlands were under water, making the top section into an island. Fox (1990a) speculates that an aboriginal (Iroquoian) name for the peninsula, "Onenditiagui", indicates knowledge of this time when the upper peninsula was separated. ³

² I follow standard archaeological style where indicating dates. A.D. is noted before the date and B.C. or B.P. follows the numeral. A.D. 1950 is the date from which the number of years B.P. (before present) are counted.

³An alternative meaning for this name is suggested by W.S. Fox (1952:3).

There are several estimates as to when Southern Ontario's biological environments first approximated today's conditions. Fitting suggests that around 5000 B.P., the end of a period of environmental fluctuations coincided with the beginning of new cultural forms in the development of "essentially modern environmental associations" (1978:14). Trigger (1985:76) places the beginnings of modern environments somewhat earlier, at 6000 B.P., and Ellis et al. (1990:68) suggest that by 8000 B.P. vegetation and animal communities were generally similar to more recent ones. Since the 8000 B.P. figure is based on the most up to date research, it is assumed in this study.

The plant and animal ecology found 8000 years ago throughout much of Southern Ontario was likely established on the peninsula soon afterward. However, the peninsula's proximity to fluctuating water levels no doubt had an impact here as it did on the above mentioned spread of coniferous forests.

As we know it today the peninsula is about 100 kilometers long and 30 kilometers across at its widest points. It roughly follows a north-south axis, leaning slightly to the west. The peninsula's southern boundary, recognized in the 1836 Treaty which partitioned the peninsula as territory of the Saugeen Indians, runs from the bay at Owen Sound across to Southampton.

About a quarter of the way up the peninsula Colpoys Bay cuts more than half way through its width. A network of

rivers and lakes made this an ideal crossing point for early native peoples and later for the first non-natives in the region. Today a paved highway follows part of the old portage trail, joining Wiarton to cottage communities on the Huron shore. There are many islands along the peninsula's east and north shores and especially along its west side.

The peninsula's geological features and unique plant ecology are known to naturalists and vacationers (see Fox 1952; Larson 1996). In 1990 the Niagara Escarpment, which includes the Georgian Bay coastline of the peninsula, was declared a UNESCO World Biosphere Reserve. Bruce Peninsula National Park and Fathom Five National Marine Park are located at the peninsula's north end.

The peninsula can be characterized as an out-of-the-way place in a cultural as well as an ecological sense. Other parts of Southern Ontario have been more obviously affected by industry and urban expansion. Euro-Canadians settled on the peninsula later than they did in most other parts of Southern Ontario, as it was the last place here to be ceded in treaties.

The People

Unlike in most regions of Southern Ontario, the number of non-native residents has not increased substantially since shortly after the peninsula was opened for settlement in the last decades of the 1800s. However, especially in the

summer many vacationers visit or pass through. Apart from the larger centres of Owen Sound, Southampton, and Wiarton, most current non-native residents live in smaller communities along the shore and on the main highway which runs the interior length of the peninsula and serves as a corridor for considerable north/south traffic. A large ferry, the Chi-Cheemaun, carries hundreds of vehicles and thousands of passengers between the peninsula's northern tip and Manitoulin Island each day during the warm weather months. ⁴

The presence of native peoples on the peninsula is hard to miss when passing through, though who these people are is not readily apparent. The Saugeen 29 reserve, known less formally as Saugeen, is located on the main highway that crosses the peninsula's base (see Map 3.). Heading east from Southampton one crosses the bridge from which the end of Southern Ontario's largest watershed can be seen - the Saugeen River flowing deep and wide into Lake Huron. Winding along the top of the bluffs that follow the river, just past the golf course, one enters onto the Saugeen 29 reserve. ⁵ Saugeen 29 is a typical reserve in many respects, with its conspicuously placed band office, marked by a brightly

⁴ "Chi-Cheemaun" means "Big Canoe" in Ojibway. Donald Keeshig, a member of one of the peninsula's two native communities suggested the name in a contest in the 70s.

⁵ Chief's Point, a smaller reserve located a few kilometers up the Huron shoreline, beyond Sauble Beach, is also part of the Saugeen First Nation.

coloured traditional band logo, and its widely spaced rows of small frame houses, interspersed with the occasional larger more modern building. From the Sauble Beach road which runs up the Huron shoreline side of the reserve, picturesque wooded sections stretch for more than 10 kilometers, defining the reserve as a place undisturbed by modern development. On the lake side of the road, the stretch from Southampton to Sauble Beach is lined with cottages built on lots leased from the band. Here it is more difficult to see how the reserve differs from non-reserve lands.

More intimate impressions of the Saugeen 29 reserve can be found on the few backroads that dissect its wooded interior. Several houses are clustered here and there, at a crossroad where one of the old schools might have stood, or where a small church has recently been built.

Over the reserve's almost completely flat landscape, the summer's heat seems to fall in even layers, except when breezes from Lake Huron occasionally sweep in. The winter too seems to blend all but the punctuated cliff shorelines of the river and the edge of the lake into a monotone. From the outside, Saugeen 29 appears homogenous and unchanging. But such impressions fade quickly when one enters the homes of the people who live there, to find a range of perspectives on what the peninsula's fishery means to this community.

Nawash, on the Georgian Bay side of the peninsula, contrasts in several ways with the reserve at Saugeen. While Saugeen is a flat section of western shore mainland, Nawash is itself a sort of peninsula extending out from the more rugged eastern side of the broader Saugeen-Bruce Peninsula; and it is farther away from a main town or highway. When entering the reserve from either of the two entrance roads, one cannot help but be struck by its dramatic landscapes. Below the limestone escarpment lies a narrow lowland, known on the reserve as "The Prairie". Further on, the road winds along the northern side of the cape toward the lighthouse.

There was once a community called Nawash about 30 miles to the south of the present location, at the northern edge of Owen Sound. People from this community were relocated by the government of Upper Canada a few years after the 1854 Oliphant Treaty was signed, and the group that came to the present reserve location brought the name with them (see Schmalz 1977:107-121). While the reserve officially belongs to the "Chippewas of Nawash", it is more commonly referred to on maps and in the community as Cape Croker. Less formally, it is called Cape. Another name, Neyaashiingaming, is recently being revived. Neyaashiingaming roughly translates from Ojibway as "a body of land mostly surrounded by water" (Ernestine Proulx 1995, pers. comm.).

Housing is more widely dispersed at Nawash than at Saugeen, though there are some concentrations around places where the first churches and schools stood. There are also

some newly developed areas where a few modest cottage-like houses are grouped together. The band leases only a handful of cottage lots to non-reserve members, and runs the "Indian Park" for campers, some of whom come to hike reserve sections of the Bruce Trail. The park here is rarely as busy as other peninsula parks.

The visually idyllic settings of the reserve at Nawash are, like the first impressions noted in my descriptions of the Saugeen reserve, only surface pictures. At Nawash too, people bring a variety of individual perspectives to community issues.

Another reserve section known as the Hunting Territories is located farther up the peninsula on the main highway. It belongs to both Nawash and Saugeen. Wilmer Nadjiwon, who was chief at Nawash for several terms, now runs a tourist operation here. As his signs indicate, he sells various interesting items including his Indian carvings. Behind his modern but rustic shop is a small interpretive area where tourists can learn about native heritage through brief engagements with traditions, for example, by exploring the inside of a tipi or participating in story circles.

Proximity to outside centres accounts for some differences between the two reserves. Many Saugeen members have worked in Southampton, which is close enough to reach on foot or by bicycle. People from Nawash, on the other hand, have been more isolated from main towns. Less local

economic opportunity may account in part for the fact that there is a larger off-reserve membership at Nawash. There are roughly 600 Saugeen First Nation members living on reserve and about 800 off reserve. Nawash has approximately the same number on reserve, but around 1200 (one third more than Saugeen) off-reserve. ⁶

When looking at the various group names associated with the peninsula's native peoples, one begins to see a cultural complexity that belies first impressions. Ojibway is typically regarded as the general tribal affiliation of both communities. Chippewa is used as generally synonymous with Ojibway here, as it is elsewhere; though the former term is used mainly with reference to the official band names: "Chippewas of Saugeen" and "Chippewas of Nawash". Many native community members note Potawatomi lineage, though they see Potawatomi and Ojibway as closely linked. As in all reserve populations in the Great Lakes area, there is some non-native ancestry, be it French, English or other.

Many native community members distinguish themselves from non-natives with the Ojibway name "Anishinabe", or a shortened form. This name translates roughly as the original person, or a person spontaneously coming up from the ground (Basil Johnston 1992, pers. comm.). It is not commonly found in historical literature, however Warren referred to the "Anishnabay" in the 1800s (Warren 1984[1885]:46).

⁶ These figures were obtained from Chief Richard Kahgee and Chief Ralph Akiwenzie.

Another designation used to distinguish native peoples is "First Nation", a term that came out of political discussions in the late 1970s and early 1980s involving constitutional recognition (Carol Trudeau 1998, pers. comm.). The peninsula's two native communities have used collective names, including "Saugeen Ojibway Nation", and "Saugeen Ojibway Nations Territories", since the 1980s (Darlene Johnston 2000, pers. comm.), to indicate their shared involvement in various endeavours such as the fisheries trial. ⁷

INFORMATION SOURCES AND RESEARCH METHODS

Literature Sources

I examined a wide range of written materials, including historical works, government documents and records, archaeological studies, and various reports and studies related to resource management issues. I also collected

⁷ I capitalize tribal and band names as well as the term First Nation, which implies a specific group. For writing convenience I do not capitalize broader categories such as non-native, native, and aboriginal. The terms aboriginal and native refer to pre-contact peoples of what is now North America, and those who claim ancestral ties to such peoples. I also refrain from capitalizing the term "white", which I use only where its generalized connotations are part of the context. I employ all of the broader categories with attention to their limits as generic references that gain much of their meaning through assumed exclusion of equally generalized opposites.

newspaper articles. I found information at the National Archives of Canada, the Department of Indian Affairs library, and the Archives of Ontario, and at several university libraries. Some Hudson's Bay Company documents were borrowed through interlibrary loans. Useful information was also gathered on the peninsula at local libraries and in museum archives. I was also given access to a substantial collection of documents compiled by Saugeen Ojibway First Nation researchers.

It was necessary to gather information from various fields because I approach my topic broadly, with attention to both social and ecological questions, and to historical, ideological, and political contexts. Many of the literature sources I build on are discussed with relevance to specific issues examined in the study's analysis sections. I provide a brief review of main historical fisheries sources in Appendix 2.

The attention to social contexts that I adopt throughout this study extends to my assessment and use of historical sources. I regard academic frameworks along with broader social persuasions that may be specific to particular times and places as inevitable ingredients of historical literature. Given the goals of my research, examining how such "bias" is part of ongoing reconstructions of history is a more important challenge than trying to find and eliminate distorting effects. "Seeing through" historical bias in this former sense is a step toward

clarifying current perspectives that are likewise socially embedded.

Fieldwork

Fieldwork data was collected between January 1995 and August 1996, on three or four day weekly trips to the peninsula, where I worked almost exclusively in the peninsula's two First Nations communities. I conducted only a few formal interviews with non-natives, in order to learn about government resource management processes and positions, and sport fishing interests. I followed some of the principles articulated in specific "collaborative research" (see Warry 1990) or "participatory research" (see Perez 1997) approaches. My fieldwork was "community based" to the extent that I maintained contact with key individuals from both communities, and I invited community input during all stages of my research.

Throughout the duration of my research I worked most closely with Saugeen Ojibway Nation research coordinator, Darlene Johnston. Our regular contact allowed me to direct my research attention to areas that were both relevant to my topic and applicable to community concerns that she was involved with. I also depended on her and other individuals when looking for the most appropriate methods and approaches for conducting my research. Feedback on my methods and

topics in itself produced useful insights into particular perspectives on the fisheries conflicts.

I planned to use a fairly formal focus group interview (see Morgan 1991) to gain preliminary insights into local perspectives. However, I eventually opted for a more informal gathering. Groups within the community often hold "pot-lucks" and older community members in particular are more comfortable in this setting than in a formal focus group environment. Group discussions were also engaged at workshop presentations, steering committee meetings, and other gatherings.

I hoped to include a structured interviewer administered questionnaire, and spent several weeks preparing, testing, and revising questions. However, it became apparent that given the political tensions associated with the fisheries conflict, many people were uncomfortable with even the most carefully chosen wordings of survey questions.

At Nawash, where preliminary negotiation meetings with the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources (OMNR or MNR) were under way, the terms "resources" and "management" were particularly contentious, as they implied what was seen as a non-native approach to resource relations. At Saugeen a structured questionnaire was likewise unsuitable. There was particular reluctance to categorize fishing practices as "commercial", "subsistence", or "recreational", since these terms have legal implications. Another factor in deciding

not to use structured surveys is that their quantitative nature was seen as more threatening than less formal interviews which would allow people to voice local perspectives in their own words.

I took every opportunity to inform the communities about who I was and what I was doing. Posting notices, contributing articles to community newsletters, and talking about my research at community gatherings and on local radio, allowed me to interact more comfortably within the communities.

The fieldwork methods I eventually relied on most were participant observation (see Spradley 1980; Bernard 1988:148-179) and indepth interviews. I generally followed whatever avenues would allow me insights into fishing issues. This included visiting fish vendors, stopping by at the Nawash fish plant where people brought their daily catches, talking with fishermen at the docks, and going out on fishing boats.

I was also able to participate through volunteer work with several ongoing community projects. When I was beginning my fieldwork, Nawash was organizing a fisheries co-management conference at Port Elgin, which took place in March 1995. My first interviews were conducted in conjunction with my participation in conference planning.

At Saugeen I also participated in a community project during the early stages of my fieldwork. Under the direction of Fisheries Coordinator Timm Rochon, local students were

researching the history of the fisheries as part of a summer project. By helping them design a survey and conduct test interviews, I gained considerable familiarity with local perspectives on fisheries issues and developed some connections within the community.

In the early stages of my work I also collaborated with a community researcher, Clayton Akiwenzie, who was interviewing elders at Nawash for a life history project. Though our research topics were somewhat different, sharing interviews worked well. He saw fisheries issues as relevant to his work, and I appreciated the opportunity to see these issues in broader life history contexts. Clayton Akiwenzie had relatives in the community, and was well liked there; so people were more willing to be interviewed than they would have been had I contacted them myself.

Indepth interview methods were used to gather information from about fifty key informants, roughly half from each of the two First Nation communities. As most of the interviewees were comfortable speaking English, I only had to arrange the assistance of an Ojibway translator for two interviews.

I videotaped several of the first interviews. Audio tapes were made in all but a few cases when interviewees were not comfortable about being recorded. Brief written notes were also regularly made. The audio tapes proved most valuable for making transcriptions, which I wrote out verbatim, with minor adjustments for clarity.

Following established guidelines for fieldwork research, interviewees were informed that they were not obliged to participate, and they had the option of anonymity. Given the contentious nature of the topic I expected more people to opt for confidentiality, but was pleased when things turned out otherwise, as I feel that open dialogue is productive, and people should be recognized for their contributions. The willingness of people to participate in these interviews also reflects the importance of fisheries issues within the communities, and the desire of community members to contribute to finding solutions to the conflicts. The assistance that I had in developing locally appropriate research methods also played a role here.

When interviews were transcribed, I gave copies back to the interviewees for review. Less than twenty percent of the interviewees asked to make changes, most of which were minor typographic corrections. In some cases valuable elaborations were added. After the interviewees had all given final consent to allow use of their interviews in my research, and for community research and education purposes, I provided a collection of member interviews to the two communities. I provide an explanation of the interviewee coding system I use in Appendix 1. *

* When I was not certain about whether individuals were capable of giving informed consent, I obtained consent from close relatives as well. In three cases, elderly interviewees passed away before I had a chance to get final

An important aspect of community oriented research is returning the research results to the community. I worked toward this end by talking at community gatherings, and on local radio, and by writing short articles and reports, and providing interview copies. Papers presented at conferences were also distributed to community representatives. In an effort to include community concerns and perspectives in these papers and in my thesis, I have maintained an open dialogue with community members, and have encouraged feedback. I plan to continue making my research available to these two communities.

ORIENTATIONS

The Science of Ecological Anthropology

Bernard notes that,

"Anthropology is unique among scholarly disciplines in having two major intellectual traditions - one scientific, the other historical and interpretive" (1988:11).

This duality has been the source of some instability within the discipline; but a broad intellectual scope is also one of anthropology's strengths. It allows one to examine issues from a broad range of perspectives.

copies back to the community. I also obtained next of kin consent to use these interviews.

While ecological anthropology can share its parent discipline's wide scope, early ecological anthropologists emphasized its scientific side. Recent researchers have introduced new directions that better allow inclusion of not so explicitly scientific perspectives. Given these new directions, ecological anthropology is well suited to the goals of this study.

Orlove (1980) explains ecological anthropology in three stages. The first stage is its mid-1900s inception, typified in the work of Leslie White and Julian Steward. The revival of interest in environmental relations initiated by these researchers was a significant contribution to the field of anthropology. Explicit study of environmental relations had previously been viewed with suspicion because it was linked to simplistic and sometimes racist speculations about how environment determined the characteristics of various groups of people (see Kroeber 1953[1939]:6-7). Rather than engaging in dangerous theoretical analysis involving evolutionary sequences and environmental determinants, most anthropologists working prior to mid-century attempted to provide insights into the particular historical sequences by which cultural traits were diffused. They often focused on collecting descriptive data for future consideration.

Early ecological anthropologists saw anthropology as mired in cultural historical relativism. By revitalizing interest in environmental relations they hoped to renew

anthropology's ability to engage grand theory and thereby contribute to anthropology's role as a recognized science.

A strong scientific focus is evident in the work of first stage ecological anthropologists. White theorized that the efficiency of energy capture was the main force behind cultural evolution: technology thereby drove culture change while sociological and ideological domains followed (Garbarino 1977:88-89). White saw his "culturology" approach as the "newest venture of science" (White 1988[1949]:355).

Steward also attempted to renew anthropology as a science; however, as Richard Preston notes (2000, pers. comm.), Steward's research interests were more ethnographically focused, and thereby less abstractly theoretical than White's approach. Steward's "cultural ecology", was aimed at exploring "the relationships among environment, the human organisms present, and the superorganic element - culture" (Garbarino 1977:90). He examined features he saw as central to environmental relations, and looked for patterns in these features such as the association between patrilineal band formation and hunter-gatherer economies (1949:2). Steward hoped to thereby categorize culture types and explain cultural evolution.

Like White, Steward was motivated to find culture's "identifiable cause and effect relationships" (Steward 1949:3), however he did not so readily abandon historical approaches. Steward felt that cultural ecology could

"supplement the usual historical approach" (1988[1955]:322; see also Steward 1949).

Orlove (1980) divides his second stage of ecological anthropology into neo-evolutionism and neo-functionalism. Neo-evolutionists furthered the analysis of culture types and culture stages. They increasingly borrowed concepts and models from the field of biology to explain cultural evolution. ⁹ For example, the Law of Cultural Dominance, proposed by Sahlins and Service, which accounted for the takeover of less energy efficient cultures by more efficient ones, was similar to Margalef's biological concept of "exploitation" (Winterhalder 1984:302).

Neo-functionalist ecological anthropologists (e.g. Rappaport 1967; Vayda 1969; Harris 1979) also looked to ecological approaches and borrowed biological analogies; and they brought an emphasis to quantitative measurement. Various cultural practices, including the potlatch, the treatment of sacred cows in India, and other "ethnographic riddles" (Orlove 1980:243), were explained as functioning to insure protein distribution or other practical needs (see Vayda and Rappaport 1976).

Several writers have considered the limitations of such cultural ecological explanations (see Damas 1969;

⁹ Explaining culture through biological analogy was in part a throwback to 19th century cultural evolutionism, as typified in Herbert Spencer's work. But by the mid-1900s, a new repertoire of biological ideas were emerging within the field of ecology.

Preston 1970; Anderson 1973; Salisbury 1975; Vayda and McCay 1975; Orlove 1980:243-45; Winterhalder 1984:303; Netting 1986:102; Vayda 1986; Moran 1990). Most difficulties noted can be linked to second stage ecological anthropology's strong scientific focus - its preoccupation with biological analogy and quantifiable function. Ecological anthropology's enthusiastic adoption of the concept of "homeostasis", an organism's tendency toward a steady state, was especially limiting, as the concept favours a homogenized or essentialized view of culture groups that was increasingly recognized as problematic.

The concept of culture, which had long implied history and tradition, lost much of its meaning within the dominant scientific ecological anthropology approach. Where scientific explanation overshadowed historical dimensions, groups of people were better understood as "local populations" (Orlove 1980:241).

The value of the culture concept was diminished as well through the favouring of quantifiable biological and material factors over ideological domains. This fueled the already heated anthropological debate between idealists and materialists during the 70s (see MacCormack 1980; Barrett 1984; Ingerson 1994; Midgley 1995). ¹⁰ Many anthropologists

¹⁰ Though most second stage ecological anthropologists (e.g. Harris 1988[1979]:379-403) favoured materialist cultural explanations, Sahlins defended ideational domains as self-determining systems (see Baker 1962:15), an approach that links with White's definition of culture as essentially symbolic.

(e.g. Sahlins 1985:154) now recognize that neither dimension by itself allows a comprehensive view of human/environment interactions. It is also evident that the science of causal relationships, in which the idealist/materialist debate is sometimes framed, is itself limited as a way to grasp the full range of human/environment relations.

Recent Directions in Ecological Anthropology

Orlove (1980) characterizes the third stage of ecological anthropology, which he calls "processual ecological anthropology", as an attempt to address weaknesses of the second stage. Some of the directions he notes are attempts to make scientifically oriented second stage models more precise. But other directions suggest a departure from the dominant scientific characteristics of ecological anthropology. ¹¹

¹¹ I see Orlove's three stage review as a very useful way of explaining some of the main streams of research within the field; however, this is admittedly not the only way to look at the emergence of ecological anthropology. See also Damas (1969) and Netting (1986). Netting suggested that ecological anthropology emerged as the main paradigm in anthropology. It took over from the dominant focus on social organization, which itself had superseded the Boasian concern for individuals as representatives of cultural perspectives. Though Netting's work itself is interpreted by some as indicating a "loyalty to science" (Wilk and Stone 1998:177), Netting implied an awareness of the limits of hard science within ecological anthropology in his call for a trans-disciplinary "unified approach" (1986:vi). "Science" can be many things.

Biersack (1999), in her summary of recent directions in ecological anthropology notes three new areas - historical ecology, symbolic ecology (or ethnoecology) and political ecology. These areas have potential for bringing a clearer focus to the social sides of resource relations which are not easily addressed within a strictly scientific ecological anthropology.

Historical perspective has particular potential for overcoming ecological anthropology's limitations, as noted by several authors (Orlove 1980; Winterhalder 1984; Netting 1986; Crumley 1994; Headland 1997; Kottak 1999). As suggested above, the culture concept has been diminished within ecological anthropology's dominant scientific paradigm partly because its "historical" and "traditional" aspects have little relevance within the typically non-historical perspectives of hard sciences.

Several writers have contrasted the historical and scientific qualities of anthropology (e.g. Sturtevant 1966; Hudson 1973; Abler 1982; Fox 1991:98-104). E.E. Evans-Pritchard was especially critical of the scientifically flavoured functionalism that dominated British anthropology during his time. He argued for the advantages of historical approaches, claiming that anthropology,

"studies societies as moral systems and not as natural systems...it...seeks patterns and not scientific laws, and interprets rather than explains" (1988[1950]:419).

Though Evans-Pritchard may have overstated the opposition of the two fields, his attention to the interpretive qualities

of historical approaches is important. Social aspects of resource relations cannot be adequately explained with tools devised for objective scientific inquiry.¹²

The field of environmental history, which has developed in North America over the last several decades (see Worster 1988:289-307; 1993), demonstrates a range of interpretive insights that can be gained by viewing environmental relations from historical perspectives.

Carole Crumley describes a new "historical ecology approach" (1994) as a framework for understanding relations between people and environments as complex interactive or dialectical processes. The landscape herein reflects the blending of both cultural and natural domains. Since humans are part of the natural world and nature is inevitably understood through socially or culturally constructed perspectives, neither can be fully defined without reference to the other.

Biersack suggests that there is an increasing awareness within all of the new ecologies that culture is inevitably intertwined with natural realities. She refers to this awareness as a "new materialism" (1999:11); but it brings a

¹² My contrast between Evans-Pritchard's approach and the more ahistorical inclinations of most ecological anthropologists is not meant to imply that he played no role in the development of ecological anthropology. On the contrary, as Richard Preston notes (2000, pers. comm.) Evans-Pritchard's ethnography of the Nuer (1940), with its insightful attention to local "oecology" and to the cultural construction of time and space, likely had a substantial impact on White and Steward.

heightened focus to the role of ideological and social domains in the study of resource relations as well (e.g. Crumley 1994:4). Where human/nature interaction are understood in a dialectical sense (e.g. Crumley 1994) the people who engage ecological relations can be considered in a comprehensive fashion. People are not merely homogenized cultural groups or "local populations": they are actors motivated by complex sets of social, moral, and political, as well as ecological concerns.

The other new areas noted by Biersack, ethnoecology (or symbolic ecology) and political ecology (see also Greenberg and Park 1994), also provide useful perspectives for incorporating social action and meaning in studies of resource relations. Ethnoecology is aimed at clarifying perceptions of natural environments. In this sense it is linked to mid-century "ethno-ecology" (Vayda and Rappaport 1976:17), a branch of ethnoscience focused on eliciting cognitive categories of plants and animals - a native perspective on nature. But an ethnoecology informed by more recent perspectives on what knowledge can be has a broader range of meaning. As Rorty (1999) and others have demonstrated, knowledge is not merely a quantity of representational information. It is produced according to complex human purposes in social and political contexts. Given this pragmatic perspective, ethnoecology and political ecology are closely linked.

In his outline of a politically aware ecological anthropology, Conrad Kottak views ethnoecologies as involving both perception and power relations (1997a, 1999). Clarifying local or native perspective is thereby not simply a matter of charting the structures according to which ideas are ordered. This effort also involves explaining how local perspectives are socially and politically embedded. Historical perspective allows one to examine how knowledge and power are enacted and contested in time. Within resource conflicts, such as the Saugeen-Bruce Peninsula fisheries conflict, history, as tradition and culture, is itself often a site of contest and negotiation.

Anthropologists have become increasingly interested in how tradition is maintained and re-invented, especially among those subject to social and political pressures (e.g. Medick 1987; Hobsbawm and Ranger 1988; Keesing 1989; Weeks 1990; Dening 1991; Friedman 1992; Peers 1996). This is awkward work in many ways. Traditions can be invested with the same kind of values that belief systems are given and critical assessment from the outside may be regarded as threatening.

Brosius (1999) suggests that most anthropologists are inclined to support native community members who are engaged in revitalizing their traditions since the groups they belong to have typically been under-represented, and anthropologists can assist in efforts to have their voices heard; but at the same time, many anthropologists are uneasy

about the images evoked when traditions are recreated in political contexts. They have developed a mistrust of essentialized group depictions because they know how they have been used to devalue people and perpetrate political injustices (ibid.). I give attention to the recreation of traditions in this study because I feel it plays a significant role in defining resource relations. Without some focus on this revitalization process the diversity of perspectives within native communities could not be adequately explained, and the various insights into the conflicts that community members contribute could not be fully appreciated.

My historical reconstructions and my assessments of resource relations are not likely to please everyone. But if this attempt to clarify underlying issues and potential solutions can assist in developing informed positions, and can thereby contribute to better informed negotiation, this study will have achieved its goal.

Applied Ecological Anthropology

In the current world system, cultural issues increasingly overlap with resource conservation and management issues. Anthropological approaches allow cultural insights that can be applied in clarifying where local and global ethnoecologies clash in resource conflict situations, and can thereby inform environmental management policies

(Kottak 1997b). Kottak refers to anthropological work aimed at finding more appropriate environmental conservation and management policies as "applied ecological anthropology" (1997a:3).

On the Saugeen-Bruce Peninsula, a negotiated fisheries management agreement is a type of intervention, in the sense that it will redefine external influences on local resource relations. Anthropologists have shown how culturally informed interventions can be more effective and also more efficient than ones that do not take local perspectives into account (Kottak 1997b). While cultural insights are thereby important, accurate readings of local cultures are complex. The relevance of cultural insights will be limited where they reflect essentialized notions rather than the complexity of cultural conditions.

Anthropologists once regarded culture as sets of fixed entities, but culture is increasingly seen as a process, as the negotiation of internal and external influences (Rosaldo 1989). As a process, culture can incorporate both change and continuity. Within this view of culture individuals can contribute valid insights on cultural aspects of resource relations even where they might contradict one another.

Ecological anthropologists have recently recognized that to understand resource relations one needs to take account of choices that individuals make. Some have attempted to include the individual in ecological explanations through the use of decision-making models. This

approach can allow functional insights in particular cases, but it is not adequate to the level of insight needed for understanding the socially embedded meanings associated with resource relations in conflict situations. The more humanistic approach that indepth interviews allows is better suited for gaining access to such perspectives.

Including native voices and histories in research has important potential for bringing meaningful insights to pressing problems. However, the anthropologist's unique work of "representing" others entails substantial poetic and political challenges (Clifford 1986; Deloria 1987; Washburn 1987; Said 1989; Sioui 1992; Sax 1998). Some critics see the representation of non-western peoples as largely the appropriation of other cultures for personal or political purposes. This charge is especially disturbing to applied anthropologists who see the presenting of local perspectives as an important way to contribute to better social conditions.

The critique of anthropological representations is important because it raises awareness of ethical issues involved in research. However, given sufficient attention to these issues, the cultural insights that anthropologists can provide can be both useful and appropriate. The most extreme critique of the anthropological enterprise, which would shut it down because it does not represent "others" appropriately, rests on an assumption of essentialized cultural difference.

Researchers have begun to look critically at how dominant groups assert their own identity and support their own interests by "essentializing" the cultural identities of those with whom they compare themselves (e.g. Grande 1999). Anthropologists have also recently given attention to the essentializing strategies used by less dominant peoples (see Fischer 1999). This is a contentious research area since such analysis can be seen to threaten political positions that are based on essentializing strategies; however, more attention to assumptions about group differences is an important step toward finding solutions to complex resource use problems. These problems are located only partially in culturally discrete dimensions.

Within the modern (or post-modern) world system, cultural groups are defined in complex ways (see Appadurai 1996; Long 2000). As an alternative to more essentialized notions of group affiliation, one can regard cultural groups as "imagined communities", and thereby bring attention to the fluidity and inventiveness involved in creating communities (Anderson 1983; see also Gallaughar 1994:364-366). Attention to the complex and changing structures of social networks and relations allows a more comprehensive view of resource conflicts.

Milton (1995:10) points out that global environmentalism often plays an important role in local resource conflicts. As an example of the global fluidity of environmental thought and action, he notes that the tree

hugging strategy popularized in India was inspired by a European environmentalist and was adopted in North America after its success in India. Without some attention to the "trans-cultural nature of environmental discourse" (ibid.), an analysis of local resource conflicts will likely entail serious limitations.

The interview quotes I present in this study reveal a complex mix of cultural perspectives that do not always fit simple models of "us" and "them". People I interviewed often explicitly stated that their ideas and opinions were personal, that they did not necessarily reflect the way others in the community might see things. The interview quotes I include reflect culture in its complexity and diversity - in motion. They each offer unique and important insights into the peninsula's current fisheries conflicts. My inclusion of these perspectives in this study and my analysis of their meanings will hopefully assist native representatives in coming to their own understandings of how best to incorporate their histories and traditions into fisheries decisions.

I recognize that where I note diversity and inconsistency within native perspectives in my analysis, I may be seen by people who hold essentialized notions of native/non-native differences (on either extreme) as working against native interests. This impression may be amplified by the methodological range of my research project. Since my data was collected almost exclusively within the peninsula's

two native communities, I include perhaps too little analysis and assessment of government or sport fishing association positions. Where I enter politically contentious ground, my intent is not to counter native positions, but to encourage discourse which can lead to better informed and thereby more productive positions on all sides.

While my study is aimed largely at informing potential fisheries management policies, I hope that it might lead to more direct benefits for the Saugeen and Nawash communities as well. Community leaders are developing economic strategies that can improve social conditions, but the instability that currently surrounds the fisheries makes long-term social and economic planning difficult. Where this study can contribute to resolving conflict issues, and finding management solutions, it may enhance such prospects.

Attempts to broaden ecological anthropology deserve greater attention, since the questions ecological anthropologists address are important ones. The Saugeen-Bruce Peninsula fisheries conflict poses very challenging questions. An ecological anthropology informed by awareness of cultural complexity can encourage comprehensive and useful insights into this conflict.

Conservation: Anthropocentrism and Ecocentrism

I conclude this chapter by outlining some fundamental assumptions associated with the meaning of conservation that

I refer to in my analysis of conflict issues. I explain "conservation" as a historically constructed concept that has had various implications for understanding how social and political intentions and ecological well-being might be connected.

A central debate in the current environmentalist literature concerns the relative strengths and weaknesses of two approaches to conservation - anthropocentrism and ecocentrism (see especially Pepper 1993; and Eckersley 1992). Anthropocentric conservation (a human centred perspective) is founded on instrumental values, and is typified in the American conservationist movement that began around the mid-1800s (Worster 1977), wherein resources are viewed in terms of how they can best meet human purposes. This classic conservationism is also referred to as the wise use approach. It is a kind of utilitarianism, as it embodies the ideal of the greatest good for the greatest number of people.

Ecocentrism (an ecosystem or environment centred perspective) is premised on intrinsic, rather than instrumental value. Intrinsic value is the worth something has in and of itself, apart from human purposes. Ecocentrism is typified in the preservationist approach that is often traced back to the nineteenth century American poet/naturalist and founder of the Sierra Club, John Muir. In broad usage, the term conservation may imply both approaches, but by the distinction given here, conservation

is anthropocentric while preservation is ecocentric. Muir rejected the conservationist focus on productive exploitation of resources and envisioned ecological relations that are not based on social purposes.¹³

Aldo Leopold's land ethic is often cited as an example of an ecocentric perspective. Leopold's life long career in wildlife management parallels changing notions about conservation in North America during the past century. In the early 1900's, he followed ideals of efficiency and productivity, and wrote the standard American wildlife management text (1933) in the classic conservationist style. Leopold's "Land Ethic" (1989[1949]:201-226; see also Worster 1977:205-12) marks a shift from conservationist to preservationist principles. He envisions a historical progression of moral obligation that has begun to include plants and animals, and even the land, water, and air. The land ethic proposes that people become members of the biotic community, rather than conquerors, as assumed in the classic conservationist approach.

Following Leopold, ecocentric environmentalists see recognition of nature's intrinsic value as key to developing appropriate environmental relations (e.g. Taylor 1986; Callicott 1989, 1993; DesJardin 1993; Griffin 1993). But the

¹³ Henry David Thoreau is another writer who articulated a preservationist vision. Grey Owl can also be seen as an ecocentric or a preservationist, since he rejected the notion that animals have value mainly as consumable products (Dickson 1973).

notion of intrinsic value is problematic where it implies that the interests of the ecosystem or any non-human member can be regarded above human interests. One can envision a moral or social bond with the environment wherein non-humans are given human values, but where decisions about conservation or preservation are made they are inevitably made by humans in social and political contexts (see Eckersley 1992:61-65).

Without some human instrumental priorities there is no basis for deciding which species might receive consideration. Eco-egalitarianism might protect disease carrying insects and perhaps even viruses. Some "deep ecologists" have in fact proposed that we devote less effort to countering epidemics, famines, and refugee disasters, because these are the ecosystem's way of dealing with human overpopulation (see Merchant 1992:175). Some see this willingness to sacrifice people for the greater good of the system as environmental fascism (e.g. Regan 1983, cited in DesJardin 1993:201-202). Ecocentrism's focus away from human affairs is also rejected by socially conscious eco-feminists who distrust the dissipation of unique female perspectives in deep ecology's submission to the ungendered eco-community (e.g. Spetnack 1993).

Another problem with the ecocentric position is that it assumes a stark separation between human and natural domains. Nature is imagined as that which is untouched by humans. But this view is itself constructed in social,

cultural, and political contexts - by people. Where they adopt the view of wilderness as untouched by humans, ecocentrists are suspected of being environmental elitists, hoping to "preserve" nature to suit leisure activities that they incorporate into their own particular lifestyles.

In light of such problems, alternatives to ecocentrism have been presented by various environmentalist writers. Pepper (1993) suggests an explicitly anthropocentric politically focused approach. He objects especially to ecocentrism's political naivety, pointing out that without a direct focus on the human interests underlying resource uses we cannot hope to counter environmental resource abuses. Ecocentrists, in return, point to the ecological destruction that has resulted when governments, be they capitalist, socialist, or other, have engaged efficiently organized anthropocentric efforts to benefit their citizens.

When anthropocentrism is defined in classic conservationist terms, or as all past efforts aimed at benefitting people through resource extraction, its lack of environmental friendliness is fairly obvious, and ecocentrism is an interesting alternative. But within a historical context both ecocentrism and recent anthropocentric perspectives, such as Pepper presents, are significant. They have both played important roles in advancing our understanding of the limits of our ecological relations. Current anthropocentric approaches and the anthropocentrism of classic conservationism were developed

in different historical contexts. Ecocentrism, especially as articulated by Leopold, has served as a valid warning against the short-sightedness of classic conservationism. Recent anthropocentric approaches point to the need to re-evaluate ecocentric views along with earlier anthropocentric ones.

As represented in environmental ethics debates, ecocentric and anthropocentric approaches conflict: the one is focused on environmental well-being and the other on social benefits. But when seen in historical sequence, the two are part of the same effort to find solutions to problematic aspects of society's environmental relations. From an ecocentrically informed anthropocentric position, society and nature are engaged in a dialectical relationship: human and environmental well-being are ultimately interconnected. In the long term instrumental and intrinsic values are one. Social and political relations can therefore not be ignored when examining ecological relations or when considering resource conservation and management measures.

CHAPTER 2 - PREHISTORIC AND EARLY HISTORIC FISHERIES

The current fisheries conflict is deeply embedded in the past. For example, Chief Richard Kahgee who was Chief at Saugeen during the fishing trial (1992-1993) summarizes his perspective on the current conflicts with reference to its historical roots:

"Basically we were forced out of the fishery by regulations which never contemplated aboriginal interests" (SG-RK).

He asserts that native peoples had unfettered jurisdiction over the fisheries prior to the 1800s, when governments began to establish regulations that increasingly impinged on their rights, and suggests that there is historical evidence to support this scenario:

"There is evidence of aboriginal interest in the fisheries prior to white contact. There are fishing sites up and down the peninsula...you have the fact that native peoples have fished historically in the fishing grounds - they named the islands. There is a continuing use and ownership; and certainly we have historic reference to establish this" (SG-RK).

In the next three chapters of this study I provide a historical context intended mainly as background information for later analytical chapters. This section is focused more on information sources than on current issues, but it has implications for the current fishing conflict. I show that there was a substantial level of past native fishing

activity around the peninsula, which may support efforts to establish native rights to the fisheries. But I also note the complexities of interpreting past native fishing activities, and I bring attention to the problems of connecting past and current groups of people. Defining the past inevitably involves current factors. The search for a better understanding of the region's past fisheries therefore entails both discovery and intention.

The native fishing history that I provide here admittedly reflects some of my own concerns and assumptions. I feel that efforts to find an effective solution to the fishing conflict are impeded where narrowly conceived historical assumptions are asserted to support political agendas. I note the limits of historical explanations in an effort to encourage a broader view of history - a greater appreciation of past social and ecological diversity and interconnection. My intent in reopening what I see as overly generalized historical assumptions is to encourage a rethinking of ongoing social and ecological potentials.

I discuss the past fisheries in chronological order. In this chapter I examine prehistoric and early historic fisheries.

PREHISTORIC FISHERIES

My depiction of prehistoric fishing is based on archaeological and ethnohistorical studies pertaining to the

Saugeen-Bruce Peninsula and surrounding areas. From earliest to most recent, I describe Paleo-Indian, Archaic, and Woodland period fisheries. In the last section of this chapter I critique Charles Cleland's (1982) study of the overall importance of prehistoric fishing in the region.

Paleo-Indian Fisheries

Until recently, researchers thought that the first new world occupants arrived no earlier than 15,000 years ago, when much of the North American continent was still covered with ice. But archaeological evidence now suggests that a date as early as 25,000 B.P. is possible (Kottak 1997b:202). Ancient peoples who came to the Great Lakes region around 11,000 years ago during the Paleo-Indian period may have been the first humans to take fish from the peninsula's waters.

Paleo-Indian peoples are characterized by distinctive stone tool forms, notably large points or blades, which were remarkably similar throughout North America, as were the kinds of stone they used for making tools (Ellis and Deller 1990:37). ¹

¹ The Paleo-Indian period in Southern Ontario stretches from about 11,000 to 9,500 B.P. Regarding this time placement, and distinctions between Early and Late Paleo-Indian periods see Ellis and Deller (1990:52-55; see also Funk 1978:16; Julig 1994:21-24).

No evidence of Paleo-Indian occupation has yet been found directly on the peninsula, but there are sites close by. Kolapore and Fisher (see Ellis and Deller 1990:41-52; Storck 1994) are located south-east of the peninsula, within 50 km.. Another site, Sheguiandah, is on nearby Manitoulin Island (Funk 1978:17; Ellis and Deller 1990:37; Julig 1985). Given this proximity, it is likely that the peninsula was known to some Paleo-Indian peoples. Because of water fluctuations, Paleo-Indian shoreline sites may currently be submerged along the peninsula's coast.

The possibility that fish were used by Paleo-Indian peoples has only recently been considered by archaeologists. Though no Paleo-Indian fishing tools have been found, spawning fish could have been taken by hand, or with a variety of wooden implements such as rakes or clubs which are less likely to be preserved in the archaeological record than stone tools.

Given their typical large point tools, Paleo-Indian people have been thought of as big game hunters. But fishing may have been important among some of these people. Stone tool assemblages are not precise indicators of resource use. Paleo-Indian peoples living in environments where only small animals were available used the same Paleo-Indian tool kits employed by hunters who had access to big game (Ellis and Deller 1990:38).

Recently, archaeologists have questioned the extent to which Paleo-Indians were big game hunters (Ellis and Deller

1990:38). Storck suggests that because archaeologists have been preoccupied in their search for evidence of hunting, they may have ignored indicators of fishing practices (1994:39).

Evidence in support of Paleo-Indian fishing activity in Southern Ontario comes from use-wear analysis of tool fragments, and a documented find of fishbones at a Pennsylvania Paleo-Indian site (Storck 1994). Lakeside camp locations, which they sometimes chose, may reflect an interest in fishing (Storck 1994). And they likely used watercraft occasionally, which would have increased their access to fish (Ellis and Deller 1990:51-53).

It is quite possible that Paleo-Indian peoples around the Great Lakes depended on a variety of resources, including fish. The significance of fishing within their broader subsistence patterns is more likely to be clarified if archaeologists continue to expand their scope of research in that direction.

Archaic Fisheries

Southern Ontario's Archaic time range covers three periods: the early from about 10,000 to 8,000 B.P., the middle to 4,500 B.P., and the late to roughly 2,600 B.P. (Ellis et al. 1990:67-69; see also Funk 1978:20). Archaic peoples differed from Paleo-Indians in several ways, many of which more clearly suggest resource use diversity (see

Ellis et al. 1990:65-66). Some stone tool types were dropped or were not as well made, while new tools and tool making techniques and materials were introduced. A focus on woodworking is more apparent, and greater regional variation is seen both in tool kits and in site types.

Among the new stone tools found on middle period Archaic sites, were the earliest grooved net sinkers which date to about 7,500 B.P. (see Ellis et al. 1990:65-67). This raises the possibility that fishing nets were used this early in time; however, the use of these stones is not certain, and their association with netting materials is only indicated clearly in later periods.

Fishing implements make up a large portion of the bone tools found at Archaic sites.² These include harpoon heads, barbed points, fish hooks, gorges, and large needles possibly used for making nets (Ellis et al. 1990:86).³

The abundance of Archaic fishing artifacts suggests that in some areas fish gained importance over other resources. Population increases, a decrease in the geographic range of annual harvesting cycles, and more established settlement patterns, may be connected with increased fishing activity (see Ellis et al. 1990:91-93).

² Due to the quick rate of decomposition, estimates of the increased presence of bone fishing tools, which could indicate an increased use of fish, are problematic (Ellis et al. 1990:66).

³ Gorges are small splinters sharpened at both ends. Also referred to as "bait holders", they were likely used much like fish hooks (Rostlund 1952:113).

Fishing was clearly important among some Archaic period peoples who lived to the east of Georgian Bay. Many of their camp sites were located at river rapids, where spawning fish runs could have been harvested (Trigger 1976:109). A fish weir at the Atherly Narrows, near Orillia, is dated at around 4,500 B.P. (see Ellis et al. 1990:91).

Just south of the Saugeen-Bruce Peninsula bone fishing tools were found at two Archaic sites occupied prior to 3000 B.P. (Ellis et al. 1990:94,111). Fishhooks made of native copper, likely mined on Lake Superior, were also found on both sites. ⁴

Late Archaic interior winter camps have been found on the peninsula (Fox 1988:18), and Archaic activity is indicated on the west coast of the peninsula, where fishing opportunities were available. At a beach area near the top of the peninsula, archaeologists located Archaic period dog excrement containing fish bone (Fox 1987:3). Archaic peoples also came to the peninsula's northern islands. Stone fragments suggest a connection between these island sites and sites near the peninsula's base (Daechsel 1994). There are also possible associations between the people who came to the peninsula during the late Archaic and a group centred west of Lake Erie (Spence et al. 1990:137), who are known by mortuary features including exotic burial goods (Ellis et al. 1990:115).

⁴ The earliest copper tools found in the Great Lakes region date to 5,600 B.P. (Ellis et al. 1990:69).

Given the general importance of fishing for Southern Ontario's Archaic peoples, along with fishing artifact finds adjacent to the peninsula, and site locations on the peninsula where fish were accessible, it is most likely that various Archaic peoples took fish from the peninsula's waters.

Woodland Fisheries

The Early Woodland extends back into the last centuries of the Archaic, and up to about 2300 B.P. (see Spence et al. 1990). It is characterized by the appearance of earthen pots. A net from this period was found in New York state, which supports the interpretation of notched stones as net sinkers (p.136). A net sinker, probably used for spring fishing, was found at the Ferris site, near the peninsula's south-west corner, which is the only known warm season Early Woodland site in Ontario (p.132-137).

The Middle Woodland extends to about 1200 B.P. (Spence et al. 1990; see also Fox 1990b:171-173). It is marked by a new pottery impression style. Grinding techniques for tool making, which began during the Archaic, were no longer practiced, and in some places burial mounds were built (see Spence et al. 1990:142). The Donaldson site on the Saugeen River has an important Middle Woodland component, as does the nearby Inverhuron-Lucas site. Both represent an archaeological tradition called the Saugeen. While the

peninsula is in closest proximity to the Saugeen tradition, it is also transitional to two other Middle Woodland traditions, the Laurel, centred on Manitoulin Island and farther north, and the Point Peninsula, centred farther east (Daechsel 1994).

Middle Woodland fish remains found at the Donaldson site include sturgeon, drum, pickerel, channel catfish, and bass (Spence et al. 1990:151). The near absence of sinkers at the Donaldson site indicates that nets were rare. Given an abundance of harpoon heads, found in association with burials, spearing was likely an important fishing method. On the nearby Inverhuron-Lucas site, fish remains are also found, but in less abundance. No harpoon heads were found here, but net sinkers and copper hooks have been located (Spence et al. 1990:151).

Finlayson (1977:601-602) interprets such data as suggestive of an annual cycle in which fishing played a central role. People came together in the spring to fish at the Saugeen rapids, mainly with harpoons. They may have brought those who died during the winter for reburial (Spence et al. 1990:153-155). During the summer, smaller groups went to shore sites such as Inverhuron-Lucas, where along with other subsistence activities, a variety of fish were taken with nets and hooks. In the fall, people moved inland to winter camps.

The Late Woodland phase extends to the contact era. Its inception is identified in Southern Ontario by the

introduction of agriculture and more permanent settlements, some of which had palisade fences.

Much of the archaeological interest in Late Woodland peoples is directed at their possible connections to contact era groups, who are known through historical records. A good deal of attention has been given to possible links to historically known Algonquian and Iroquoian speakers.⁵ Much of this analysis centres on resource use patterns associated with each of the two groups. Algonquian speakers are typically regarded as highly mobile hunter/gatherers, or hunter/gatherer/fishers. Iroquoians are seen primarily as settled horticulturalists. While horticultural villages have come to typify Iroquoian groups, some contact era Algonquian groups were also cultivating crops and built similar housing structures (see Waisberg 1977; Rogers 1978:762). And most Iroquoians also engaged fisheries practices. While these linguistic distinctions are useful as broad generalizations, they have limited value for assessing the peninsula's Late Woodland period fishing activities.⁶

⁵ Algonquian refers to a language group that at contact times was spread through the Great Lakes region, from the Atlantic seaboard to Manitoba. Within this area, Iroquoian languages were spoken in the south-eastern Great Lakes region.

⁶ Researchers have speculated on possible Algonquian and Iroquoian connections going back to the Middle Woodland (e.g. Spence et al. 1990:168); however, no links to the Middle Woodland Saugeen tradition have been suggested (ibid.; see also Fox 1990b:171).

It is unclear whether Late Woodland period sites below the peninsula in South-Western Ontario, representing the Western Basin tradition (see Murphy and Ferris 1990:231-244), are more characteristically Algonquian or Iroquoian. They have been linked to later Algonquian peoples because of their subsistence practices, which included some reliance on fish, and because of their housing structures (Murphy and Ferris 1990:238). But because they practiced horticulture, some view them as Iroquoian peoples who were expanding into the area (ibid.).

There is similar uncertainty about group affiliation at the Nodwell site, a 14th century palisaded village located near the peninsula's south-west corner (see Stewart 1974; Wright 1974; White 1991:47). Because horticulture was practiced, and because of its building structures, the village is generally regarded as proto-Iroquoian (e.g. Dodd et al. 1990:324). But Algonquian tools and outlying fishing camps (see Wright 1974:303-305) suggest an Algonquian presence. While most regard Nodwell as a proto-Iroquoian intrusion into the area, others (e.g. Rankin 1998) view it as having evolved "in situ" as local inhabitants took on agricultural practices. In either case, the site had an important role as a centre for trade and other social exchanges (see Wright 1974:304). A diversity of people and lifeways appears more evident here than does any typical linguistic group affiliation.

Linguists have also attempted to trace prehistoric origins by linking proto-language words to the resources found in particular geographic places. Hypotheses about Algonquian origins include a 3200 B.P. homeland in Southern Ontario (Seibert 1967; cited in Ellis et al. 1990:121). Goddard (1978:586) notes a possible Algonquian homeland at a place between Georgian Bay and Lake Ontario. Feidel, suggests an eighth century migration from the Great Lakes region to the Atlantic coast (Feidel 1991:29), and has linked Algonquian fishing words to potential original fishing locations (1987:6; 1991:23). Similar linguistic correlations are attempted for Iroquoian groups (see Ellis et al. 1990:121). Unfortunately, such proto-language reconstructions tend to be inconsistent, and many contradict archaeological evidence (see Ellis et al. 1990:121).

A cluster of sites at the south-west corner of the peninsula, is associated with the Princess Point tradition, the best known Late Woodland complex in Southern Ontario. This cluster includes another component on the Donaldson site, along with the Hunter site, which is on the present Saugeen 29 reserve (see Fox 1989; Prevec 1988), and the Chief's Point site, on the present Chief's Point reserve section. These sites appear to have served as seasonal harvesting stations. Fishing was a main resource focus at these sites.

The Inland Shore Fishery

There is little doubt that precontact fishing activity around the Great Lakes was substantial. Berkes (1990:39, cited in Lovisek 1991:393) states that the northern Great Lakes fisheries were pivotal in the lives of precontact peoples. Hickerson claims that,

"The importance of the fisheries for the proto-Chippewa peoples cannot be stressed too much. I should go so far as to say that without fishing there would have been no human life in the northern Great Lakes region under aboriginal conditions. Fisheries permitted settled populations; the fisheries were the villages" (1962:81; see also Lovisek 1991:375).

Richard Preston suggests (2000, pers. comm.) that Hickerson may have overstated the importance of fish here: having recently discovered that fishing was much more substantial than had been supposed, he may have been overly enthusiastic in reassessing its importance.

Cleland, in his article entitled, "The Inland Shore Fishery of the Northern Great Lakes: Its Development and Importance in Prehistory" (1982), provides what is generally regarded as the most definitive statement of the importance of precontact fishing activity in the northern Great Lakes. His view is cited widely (e.g. Tanner 1987:19-23; Spangler and Peters 1995:103; Koenig 1996:40). Cleland makes a substantial contribution by bringing attention to the region's prehistoric fishing activities, but his claims are not altogether clear.

Cleland describes aboriginal fishing in the Northern Great Lakes as becoming progressively more efficient through technological improvement (1982:761). He sees the gill net as the pinnacle of aboriginal fishing technology. According to Cleland (1996:1), the earliest fishing tools were the spear and harpoon, which date to about 5000 B.P.. The harpoon was originally designed for hunting mammals, such as seals, and was adapted for taking large fish, which people began to discover as their knowledge of the environment expanded (1982:774). Other so called primitive fishing implements such as gorges and hooks were added, and then came nets: the first nets were used "during the first millennium B.C." (ibid.;, see also 1996:2). By A.D. 800, gill nets were made by adapting seines for use in the deep waters on the shores of the northern Great lakes (1982:774). According to Cleland, the gill net became dominant, because it gave people access to a more secure food source. A coincidental benefit was that whitefish and trout, taken in the open waters in late fall and early winter, could be preserved by freezing.

Cleland argues that the "unique prehistoric fishery" in the upper Great Lakes "provides the most important single organizing concept for understanding the cultural development of this region" (1982:761). He claims that the addition of gill net technology during the Late Woodland period led to a reorganization of social relations, based around the need for female work groups who made and

maintained gill nets, and prepared and preserved fish for winter use (p.779). This new resource use pattern allowed large groups to extend their aggregations for several months into the early winter (p.780), and it allowed population increases (p.775).

Susan Martin (1989) challenges Cleland's theory. One problem she notes is that settlement types and locations do not coincide with the cultural shifts and population increases that Cleland hypothesizes: they would have better accommodated more diverse subsistence strategies (Martin 1989:594). In Cleland's rebuttal, he backtracks somewhat on his earlier suggestion of population increases, stating that while gillnetting provided the most secure food source, it was simultaneously a high risk venture, subjecting its practitioners to periods of starvation and population declines (1989:606-608). But he maintains that his theory of an increasingly efficient fishery best explains the region's prehistory. Martin's assertion that Cleland ignores evidence of cultural and ecological diversity is important. There are several other substantial problems in Cleland's theory as well.

As Lovisek (1991:119-122) points out, one problem with Cleland's technologically centred claim is that archaeological evidence for a progression in net fishing, from seines to more efficient gillnets, is difficult to establish. The difference between seines and gillnets can be more in their function than their design. Seines are pulled

through shallow water to trap fish (see Cleland 1982:774). Gill nets are set in place, usually over night. Fish are snagged by their gills as they attempt to pass through the gillnet mesh (see Cleland 1982:775-76; see also Rostlund 1952:81-100). Gillnets always have anchor stones and floats to keep them spread upright, but both anchors and floats are often attached to seines as well to assist in their operation. The poor preservation qualities of mesh materials also contributes to confusion between the two net types. Distinguishing fall and spring fishing sites is also problematic, which has a bearing on Cleland's use of the former as evidence of increased gillnet use (Lovisek 1991:119-122).

Another problem is the lack of clarity in Cleland's main concepts. Cleland's theory is based in large part on Rostlund's study entitled, "Freshwater Fish and Fishing in Native North America" (1952). Cleland cites "Rostlund 1952:152" as the source of his concept of an "inland shore fishery" (Cleland 1996:1). This page includes a reference to the Great Lakes as "great inland seas", and a comment that the fishery there was "essentially a shore fishery", but Rostlund does not herein use the term "inland shore fishery". In another explanation of the origin of this concept, Cleland states:

"Rostlund made an extensive review of literature pertaining to the upper Great Lakes. Calling this fishery the 'inland shore fishery' to distinguish it from the ocean coastal fisheries, he believed that in its technological uniqueness and success it compared favorably with ocean fisheries" (Cleland 1982:761).

Here Cleland explicitly equates the inland shore fishery and the upper Great Lakes. Cleland then cites several lines from Rostlund (1952:29-30), which mention a "deep-water gill-net fishery", but once again, not an "inland shore fishery".

Rostlund uses the term "inland shore fishery", in only one place in his 1952 study, and in a different geographic context than Cleland implies. Rostlund states that the "Great Lakes Province" is primarily a

"region of lake fishery rather than river fishery, and aboriginal fishing in the main lakes may even be called an inland shore fishery" (Rostlund 1952:73).

Rostlund's "Great Lakes Province" is an approximation of the native range of a group of food fish (see Rostlund 1952:302). His "inland shore fishery" pertains to a range stretching from James Bay and Lake Winnipeg, through all five Great Lakes, and beyond. The "upper Great Lakes" is a small area within the geographic range of Rostlund's "inland shore fishery". The two are not synonymous, as Cleland suggests.

Cleland's geographical ambiguity is further problematic. He formally defines his "Northern" or "upper" Great Lakes fishery as mainly the northern shores of Lake's Huron and Superior (1982:761), but he illustrates it through historical evidence of gillnet fishing by Huron peoples in southern Georgian Bay. It is not clear whether Cleland uses the Huron fishery as an example, or includes it as part of the inland shore fishery of the Northern Great Lakes (pp.762-769).

The concept of an inland shore fishery is also loosely defined in terms of netting methods. In places Cleland refers to an inland shore fishery and a gillnet fishery interchangeably (1982:761-62), but in other places he implies that a variety of net fishing methods are included. This ambiguity makes it difficult to assess his notion of a progression toward more efficient nets.

The gill net is depicted by Rostlund (1952) as a significant development, but he does not see the origin and spread of any one net fishery as readily explainable in either diffusionist or evolutionary terms (pp.92-99). More broadly, he suggests that in a region that includes the Great Lakes (p.303), nets of various kinds, "must have accounted for more captured fish than any other method" (p.85). In his continental mapping of the relative importance of fish in annual aboriginal food economies, the Great Lakes region is marked within a broader range where "fish was a staple food, but not more important than game or plants" (p.304). Rostlund marks the channels at Sault Saint Marie and Mackinac as the only well known interior location on the continent where fish were the primary aboriginal food source (p.304).

While open water fishing appears to have become an important resource focus by the end of the Late Woodland period, its importance should not be overstated. Like Leslie White's notion of how the efficiency of energy capture might induce cultural evolution, Cleland's techno-evolutionary

model asks interesting questions. But by simplifying technological change, both approaches ignore ecological diversity and social-ecological complexity.

Prehistoric evidence from the peninsula supports shifts toward more reliance on fisheries opportunities at various times, and it suggests possible associated social changes (e.g. Finlayson 1977:601-602). But such shifts seem to indicate diversity within resource relations more clearly than they do an emerging technological uniformity.

EARLY HISTORIC FISHERIES

In this section I interpret available information concerning the peninsula's early historic fisheries, covering the Contact Period (1615-1650); the Iroquois Wars Period (1650-1700); and the French and British Period (1700-1830). Though European trade, exploration, and mission activities had begun in Ontario by the early 1600s, the native peoples who came to the peninsula during the early historic period are not known through historical records. The Jesuits came within a few miles of the peninsula, as Champlain likely did, but neither left conclusive descriptions.

The peninsula is vaguely represented on several maps made during the Iroquois Wars period (Fox 1952:31-32). The most detailed map was made by Galinee, who along with the Sulpician missionary, Dollier de Casson, travelled by

sailing canoe up the peninsula's Lake Huron shorelines in the late 1660s (Coyne 1903, 1923; Cruikshank 1923). Galinee's map provides previously unrecorded detail of the peninsula's Fishing Islands (see Coyne 1903:xxxii). It may also include the first charting of the Saugeen River mouth (see *ibid.*:xxvii). But unfortunately, only passing mention of the shoreline is recorded in Galinee's narrative (see *ibid.*:xxvi). Until a survey was conducted by Gother Mann in 1788, the peninsula was virtually non-existent in written records (Fox 1952:34).

Given the absence of documentation of the peninsula's early historical period, I look to neighbouring regions to draw inferences about the importance of fisheries activities on the peninsula. Since it is difficult to establish clear cultural affiliations for early historic period peoples on the peninsula, general resource relations in the area are perhaps more suggestive than are any typical cultural patterns. When connecting local and regional archaeological evidence with regional historical accounts, it appears that throughout most of the early historic period the peninsula's fisheries were likely used by native peoples. There is insufficient evidence to clearly establish uninterrupted continuity of fisheries activities at any particular location on the peninsula, but neither is there good reason to exclude the possibility.

Contact Era (1615-1650)

During the Late Woodland period substantial population increases occurred in Southern Ontario (Trigger 1985:214). However, our understanding of cultural affiliations during and immediately after this period remains speculative (Brose 1978:582). The contact era peninsula is sometimes mapped as territory of Iroquoian speaking peoples who had villages to the southeast of the peninsula (e.g. Tanner 1987:27).⁷ A map made in 1650 by Sanson inscribes the peninsula as the domain of the Petun Nation (Coyne 1903:xvi), who are generally thought of as Iroquoian speakers. However, many researchers regard the contact era peninsula as hunting and fishing territory of Algonquian speaking peoples (e.g. Fox 1990c:459). A third perspective, equally feasible, is that the peninsula was used by both Algonquian and Iroquoian peoples (Lovisek 1991:188). A blend of typical Algonquian and Iroquoian affiliations among some peoples on and around the peninsula is also worth considering.

The Huron, or Wendat, as they called their own confederacy (see Heidenreich 1978:368) played an important initial role in the fur trade, which was a focus of contact relations. Because they allowed Jesuits into their midst, historical accounts of Huron lifeways are relatively

⁷ The linguistic term "Iroquoian" includes several other groups besides those located south of the lower Great Lakes, who made up the Iroquois Confederacy, or League of the Iroquois (see Tooker 1978; Weaver 1978).

plentiful. Additional information about Huron lifeways has been advanced through archaeological studies (e.g. Ramsden 1990).

The Huron numbered perhaps as many as 30,000 people in the early seventeenth century (Heidenreich 1978:369). They lived in villages and smaller camps around the southeast corner of Georgian Bay. Like other Iroquoian groups in Ontario such as the Neutral and Petun, they were involved to a high degree in horticulture; but they fished, hunted, and gathered as well. When first contacted, Huron dependence on the fisheries was "second in importance only to agriculture" (Trigger 1976:31). The Huron fished more actively than did other northern Iroquoian groups (Trigger 1976:100). Hunted game was not as important as fish among any of the northern contact era Iroquoian groups. *

Huron fishing activities are richly described in historical literature (e.g. Wrong 1968[1939]:185-191; see also Kinnietz 1972[1940]:9-48; Rostlund 1952:162-203). A gillnet fishery was practiced in open water and nets were set under the ice. When fishing with spears through the ice, the Huron used small huts that covered the upper bodies and increased underwater visibility. They speared fish from canoes at night using torch light, and weirs, lines, and various nets were among their other fishing tools. Species

* It is possible that this strong dependence on fish reflects a shift away from hunting that accompanied declines in game availability which occurred when human populations increased during precontact times (Trigger 1985:214).

harvested include sturgeon, trout, pike, and whitefish (Trigger 1976:31; Ramsden 1990:380).

While the Huron were very active fishers, they are also known to have procured fish through trade with Algonquian speaking peoples (Trigger 1976:168, 1985:205; Barry 1978:43). There is also an account of trade with people living across Georgian Bay (see Lovisek 1991:155), though it is unclear whether this refers to nearby islands, or a more distant place such as the Saugeen-Bruce Peninsula.

Beliefs associated with Huron fishing practices are recorded in historical records as well (Trigger 1976:75-76; Lovisek 1991:153-171). A "fish preacher" performed fishing success rituals, including a ceremony called the "marriage of two virgins to the seine" (Lovisek 1991:167-171). There were various social feasting activities involving especially the sturgeon (Lovisek 1991:165-166). Fisheries related ceremony and ritual were shared between the Huron and their Algonquian neighbours, from whom the fish preacher ceremony may have been borrowed (Lovisek 1991:168-169).

The close proximity of the Huron fisheries to the Saugeen-Bruce Peninsula, and the broad range of importance that the Huron fisheries had in both group and intergroup contexts, suggests that the people who harvested the peninsula's fisheries were likely involved to some degree in these or similar patterns.

The Petun were one of the two most likely groups to have come to the peninsula, or to have been most closely

tied to those who were on the peninsula during the contact era. Also known as the Tobacco or the Khionontateronon, they lived to the west of the Huron. When the Jesuits began establishing a constellation of missions among them, their population could have been anywhere from 3,000 to 8,000, with up to 1,700 people in one village (Garrad and Heidenreich 1978:395).

Since there is little in historical records to distinguish the Petun from their Huron neighbours, Tanner defines the Huron and Petun as two branches of the "Wendat" (1993:115). Petun social organization was similar to that of the Huron, but it is known that the Petun were comprised of two main groups, the Wolves and the Deer (Garrad and Heidenreich 1978:395). The Petun were involved in a trade network and military alliance with the Neutral to their south and Ottawa groups (Garrad and Heidenreich 1978:396). Though it is assumed that the Petun spoke mainly an Iroquoian language, many were fluent Algonquian speakers, and they had much in common with nearby Algonquian speaking Ottawa groups, with whom they may have shared access to the peninsula's fisheries.

The Ottawa appear to have covered a broad and diverse territorial range.⁹ The name was applied in earliest contact times to Algonquian speaking peoples who were met on Georgian Bay's north east shore, on Manitoulin Island, and

⁹ The term "Odawa" is preferred by some writers (e.g. Rogers 1978:760).

near the bottom of the Saugeen-Bruce Peninsula. Garrad and Heidenreich state:

"Ottawa bands wintered regularly near the northern Petun villages and in the areas farther west along the shore of Nottawasaga Bay and the Bruce Peninsula" (1978:396).

They also note that on occasion Ottawa visitors had considerable influence in Petun villages. Their influence might reflect the importance of trade or military ties, but it might also indicate that there were many other Ottawa already living in these villages (ibid.).

The contact era Petun are considered to be a recent amalgamation of several earlier groups (Trigger 1985:159). Since Algonquian was the primary language spoken in some Petun villages (Garrad and Heidenreich 1978:396), it is possible that Algonquian speaking peoples (perhaps some Ottawa bands) were among the smaller groups that came to comprise the contact era Petun.

The Ottawa were first contacted in 1615, when Champlain met a party of several hundred men near the French River on Georgian Bay's east coast (Feest and Feest 1978:772-775; Fox 1990c:458). Because of their distinctive raised hair style, Champlain named them the "Cheveux Releves". The next year, Champlain visited a group located west of the main Petun villages. He identified these as the same people he had met at the French River. Garrad (1970) suggests that this latter meeting took place at the most westerly of the Petun villages, rather than at a yet undiscovered site farther west or on the peninsula. An extensive archaeological survey

conducted by Fitzgerald (1979) revealed no new settlements west of the Petun centres, which supports Garrad's deduction (see also Fox 1990c:458).

Prior to mid-century, various groups to the north-east were also referred to by the French as Ottawa (Feest and Feest 1978:772). Feest and Feest write:

"Seventeenth-century sources apply the term Ottawa not only to a local group...but also to the total of totemic or local groups that together formed the tribe (Kiskakon, Singo, Sable, Nassauakueton; later others) and to all other 'upper Algonquians' who came down to Montreal to trade" (1978:772).

Both the Algonquian language and a trading lifestyle became markers of Ottawa group affiliation (see also Waisberg 1977:73). The name Ottawa is currently used as roughly interchangeable with contact era Algonquian speaking trading peoples (e.g. Garrad and Heidenreich 1978). Given this generalized application, it is difficult to say how closely affiliated various Ottawa groups were. The absence of any definite Ottawa village sites prior to the 1660s (Feest and Feest 1978:772-774) also makes it difficult to trace connections.

The Ottawa also became known as especially active fishing peoples (Feest and Feest 1978:774). Several writers have attached the Ottawa name to the people who came to the peninsula's Late Woodland and early contact era fishing sites.

At the Glen Site, located on an island at the top of the peninsula, there is evidence of substantial lake trout harvesting during the contact era. Wright (1981:45-46)

suggests that this site was a fishing camp occupied by the Cheveux Releves at the beginning of the 1600s. He doubts Iroquoian occupation because of the presence of Algonquian "pukaskwa pits", and because the level of navigational skills necessary to reach the site was more typical of Algonquian people.¹⁰ But he notes that it

"...appears to be impossible to distinguish between the Odawa, the Nipissings, the southeast Ojibwa or the Algonkins of the upper Ottawa Valley", that the "ethnic discreteness of these constructs in the early 17th century is...questionable" (ibid.:58).

Instead of designating this site as Ottawa, Wright uses the name that Champlain gave to the first non-Iroquoian speakers he met in the area.

In contrast, William Fox (1990c:461-462) suggests that Ottawa, or Odawa, ethnic affiliation can be confidently ascribed to late precontact and contact era sites on the peninsula. He regards the peninsula's Hunter site as a fishing camp, used for fishing and hunting in the ninth and then in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, "probably... by the Odawa and their ancestors" (1989:14; see also Prevac 1988). Fox provides no substantial support for his claim of an Odawa affiliation on the peninsula. He sees Late Woodland Iroquoian pottery finds on the peninsula as indications of trade relations between the peninsula's Odawa

¹⁰ Pukaskwa pits are depressions lined with stones. Such pits are usually regarded as vision places or burial sites, but they may have served a variety of other purposes including storage.

inhabitants and the nearby Petun (1990c:461-462), but this could as readily be seen as evidence of a Petun presence.

The cultural affiliations of Late Woodland and contact era peoples who fished at places like the Hunter site and the Glen site remains open. They may have been Petun, who were themselves a multicultural amalgamation of other Wendat peoples and Algonquian speakers. The Algonquian speakers among them may have been Cheveux Releves, Ottawa, or other. As well, the peninsula's northern fisheries may have been accessed across open water by Algonquian speaking groups from Manitoulin who were among the first to be known as Ottawa (see Lytwyn 1990:3-5). There is, however, little doubt that by the contact era the peninsula's fisheries were being integrated into the resource use patterns of the region's aboriginal peoples.

Iroquois War Period (1650-1700)

During the Iroquois war period, native peoples had abandoned much of Southern Ontario; but given the remoteness of some parts of the peninsula, the mobility of aboriginal peoples, and the level of diversity within their resource use patterns, it is premature to assume that the peninsula's fisheries were altogether abandoned during this time.

Just prior to 1650, warriors from Iroquois Confederacy groups began moving into Southern Ontario. Neutral, Petun, Huron, and Algonquian villages and camps were destroyed and

the people who were not killed or captured were dispersed, mainly to the north and west.

If one assumes that the Petun were heavily involved in the peninsula's fisheries then a substantial drop in fishing activity on the peninsula might be assumed, since the Petun as a group vanished. Given their close ties to Algonquian peoples, some of them could have joined Algonquian groups. The extent of Algonquian population displacements during the dispersals is not as clear. Some refer to Algonquian dispersals as an "exodus" (e.g. Lytwyn 1990:6), but others suggest a more gradual movement (e.g. Rogers 1978:760).

In some cases, Iroquois attacks were successfully countered by Algonquian groups (Rogers 1978:760). People living at Lake Nippissing returned prior to the end of this era of warfare (see Waisberg 1977:63). Many Ottawa peoples who left Manitoulin Island during the initial Iroquois incursions also returned during the following decades (see Feest and Feest 1978). After the Huron were dispersed around 1650, Algonquian bands assumed control of trade with the French (see Trigger 1985:280,285) which might have encouraged them to maintain territorial access wherever possible.

The Iroquois were also battling the French, but during a twenty year period beginning in 1667, hostilities between the Iroquois and French subsided (see Coyne 1903:xxi), and this truce allowed renewed trade, exploration, and mission activity around Lake Huron (see also Tanner 1987:29-35).

Such fluctuations in conflict intensity, along with the localized nature of the conflicts, make it difficult to generalize demographic changes and impacts on resource relations. The presence of war parties could even have temporarily increased fisheries involvement at particular locations, as locally available supplies of fish would be needed to sustain them.

Two emerging centres especially important during the late Iroquois War period were the Mackinaw region, where the three northern Great Lakes join, and the Detroit region. These places were expanding because of trade, military, and later settlement activity; but they were located at fishing sites of longstanding importance (Feest and Feest 1978:774; see also White 1991:130). Some of the most detailed descriptions of fisheries activities in North America during this period come from records made by explorers, military officers, and missionaries in the Mackinaw region.

Dollier and Galinee claimed that the fisheries at Michilimackinac could support 10,000 people (Coyne 1903:73; see also White 1991:44). Lahonton was also astonished by the whitefish and trout fisheries in the area, suggesting that the Ottawa and Huron there could not subsist without them (Thwaites 1970[1905]:147-148). Cadillac likewise recorded his impression of fish species and fishing techniques (cited in Kinietz 1972:239; see also Tanner 1987:39-47). Perrot included details of Mackinaw region fishing practices and provided rich descriptions of beliefs associated with

fishing activities (Blair 1969 [1911]), as did Joutel (see Kinietz 1972:29), Marquette (see Repplier 1929:35-48), and Dablon (see Repplier 1929:49). ¹¹

Toward the end of the period of Iroquois wars in Southern Ontario, dispersed peoples, mainly Algonquian speakers, also began moving into parts of Southern Ontario, some of which had been occupied by Iroquoian horticulturalists prior to the dispersals (see Rogers 1978:761; see also Schmalz 1991:18-35). The name Mississauga was associated with many of these people, some of whom originally inhabited the area around the Mississaugi River, on Lake Huron's north shore. These people maintained a strong focus on fisheries resources, as suggested by the locations of their new camping sites. Given the strong focus on fisheries that these people maintained, it is likely that aboriginal peoples would have used the Saugeen-Bruce Peninsula fisheries during the latter half of the 1600s wherever possible.

French and British Periods (1700-1830)

During the first half of the 1700s, and leading up to the change from French to British rule in the early 1760s, trade, particularly with the French, became increasingly important in the Lake Huron region. Native peoples in the

¹¹ Other references to 17th century fishing in the Mackinaw area are included in Rau (1884).

area delivered trade commodities, including fish, to trading posts, and also provided fish directly to local markets, especially at military centres (Tanner 1987:39-43; see also White 1991:130-141).

Increased contact with the French did not necessarily diminish native peoples' traditional reliance on their fisheries, as might be expected. On the contrary, the growing market for fish gave the resource additional importance (see White 1991:130; Lovisek 1991:260).¹²

The most detailed accounts of fisheries activities around Lake Huron during the period of French control are again descriptions of the vibrant fisheries in the Mackinaw region. La Potherie described the techniques, species, and local groups involved (see Blair 1969), as did Raudot (see Kinietz 1972). Historical documentation of this period is unfortunately limited because French traders, unlike earlier French missionaries, and later British traders, rarely kept detailed records of their activities.

Rogers notes the Mackinaw, or Sault Saint Marie region and other locations around Lake Huron where the native fisheries of this period were especially important:

"The people living along the north shore of Lake Huron were migratory except for certain seasons of the year when they remained in those localities most productive of fish... During the summer....some....travelled to

¹² The French built several forts and trading posts in the Lake Huron region, and there is some suggestion that one or more posts were built on the peninsula; however, no substantial evidence is currently available.

Sault Saint Marie. The rapids there supported an extensive fishery during September and October... An individual had to stand upright in a bark canoe among the rapids and thrust a dipnet deep into the water to secure the fish... The Mississauga gathered at the mouth of the Mississagi River where they took sturgeon and other fish...The Amikwa secured trout, sturgeon, and whitefish...the Saulteaux speared sturgeon. (1978:762).

Many of the settlements that grew at productive fishing areas such as Mackinaw, Chequemagon, and the Detroit areas during the early 1700s were amalgamations that included Ottawas, Hurons, and an Algonquian speaking people who came to be known as the Ojibway (Tanner 1987:29-39; see also Feest and Feest 1978:772).

Like the name Ottawa, Ojibway has been used in both broadly general ways and in more specific contexts. In its general sense the term is ascribed to various mobile Algonquian speaking peoples, and is almost interchangeable with Ottawa. The company of "Ottawa" men that Champlain encountered on the French River in 1615, are sometimes noted as "Ojibwa" (e.g. Rogers 1978:760; Schmalz 1991:14-15). Today's Ojibway (or Ojibwa), Chippewa, Mississauga, and Saulteaux have similar historical roots, and are closely tied to Ottawa, Potawatomi, and at times Huron peoples; and in Southern Ontario there are historical links to Shawnee and Menominee as well (Rogers 1978:760). ¹³ "Ojibwa" once

¹³ First mention of the Ojibway people was in a 1640 French report in which they were referred to as "Saults" (Tanner 1974:351). "Saulteaux" or "Saulteur" are other French designations for the Algonquian peoples inhabiting the "falls" or "rapids" regions around the channels between Lakes Huron and Superior.

identified a village on the north shore of Lake Superior, and later was applied more broadly (Tanner 1987:62). Ojibway and Chippewa are generally regarded as synonymous, and are perhaps both derivatives of the term "Ochipoe" (Skinner 1911, cited in Greenberg and Morrison 1982:91). The historic spread of the Ojibway is not clear, but diffusion of the name itself was likely a factor, along with actual population movements (see Mason 1976:352-357; Ritzenthaler 1978:743; Rogers 1978:760-70; Greenberg and Morrison 1982:75; Greenberg and Spielbauer 1991:31-33).

The close of the period of French control and the beginning of British rule in the Lake Huron region corresponds with the beginning of government land acquisitions. Rogers refers to the time that I approximate as the British period, from 1760 to 1830, as the era of "Land Cessions" (1978:763).

Relations between native peoples around Lake Huron and the British differed from their interactions with the French (see Lovisek 1991:258-261). Alexander Henry, who provides accounts of native fishing activity at various locations along the French River route, from Montreal to Sault Saint Marie (1964[1901]:29-64), notes a good deal of initial resistance to British control. Relations were strengthened where native peoples made excursions to receive presents at Mackinaw, Penetanguishene, and Niagara. Presents were given as payment for land cessions, or in recognition of military

alliance. At these locations, a reliable fish supply was necessary to feed the crowds (Tanner 1987:130).

An interesting historical source from the late British Period is the narrative of captivity in the Sault Saint Marie area published by John Tanner. The Ojibway vocabulary that Tanner recorded (1975[1830]:311-314) offers a glimpse into the knowledge of the fisheries that Ojibway people had maintained into the early 1800s. I include excerpts from his vocabulary in Appendix 3.

Fishing activities became an increasingly important focus of native/non-native interaction during the British Period. Fishing was already established as an important part of the fur trade economy (Lovisek 1991:316; White 1991:491). Fishing tools, especially nets, became common trade items. Fishing activity was also a consideration in land cession deals, in which quantities of seines and hooks were sometimes negotiated. New technologies, such as salt barrel packing, and transportation improvements on the lakes, also accelerated fishing activity in places. With increased access to growing settler markets, Lake Huron's native peoples increasingly participated in an emerging commercial fishery (Lovisek 1991:262-323). While most native involvement was carried out at remote posts and fishing stations, native fishers also supplied fish directly to those living at expanding centres in Upper Canada (Guillet

1938:142-49; Henry and Paterson 1938:83). ¹⁴ The spectacle of natives spear fishing from canoes by torch light where Toronto now stands was recorded as early as 1760 (Guillet 1938:149). Upper Canada's fisheries were also increasingly harvested by non-native settlers (Henry and Paterson 1938:77-83,190). ¹⁵

By the early 1800s, commercial fishing operations were bringing substantial quantities of fish into growing towns in Upper Canada, and shipping fish from Upper Canada to cities in the United States (Guillet 1938:151; Strachan 1968[1820]:182,216-17). During the first decades of the 1800s, the Saugeen-Bruce Peninsula was not yet open to settlement, but markets for the peninsula's resources were coming closer.

Written accounts from the late British Period provide the first detailed depictions of native fisheries activities on the peninsula. The earliest documentation of any activity on the peninsula was made in 1788 by the surveyor, Gother Mann, who took shelter during a storm near a native village where Owen Sound now stands (see Armitage 1994:12). Captain Owen mapped the peninsula in 1815, and Captain Bayfield charted it in 1822 (Fox 1952:108). Bayfield's map marks the

¹⁴ After the British assumed control, what is now Southern Ontario was known by several names as part of British North America. After 1791 it was part of "Upper Canada".

¹⁵ Gourlay (1822:175-182) notes a large variety of fish species found in Upper Canada's rivers and lakes during the early 1800s.

Fishing Islands on the peninsula's Huron shore as "Ghegheto". Fox suggests that this is a Huron word for island (Fox 1952:108). When I was conducting my field work some of the native community members I spoke with felt that the name Ghegheto was connected to the Ojibway word "Ghego", meaning fish (e.g. Darlene Johnston 1996, pers. comm.). However, in light of recently discovered information, it appears that Bayfield named Ghegheto Island in honour of his native assistant who he refers to as Ogima Ghegheto - an Ojibway name indicating a position as chief speaker (Darlene Johnston 2000, pers. comm.).

Records from a Hudson's Bay post at La Cloche Island, at the east end of Manitoulin, provide information about fishing activities in the Lake Huron north shore area at the end of the British Period (e.g. Lovisek 1991:314). Post factors accounted their personal gillnet fishing success, as well as the wider fish trade (HBC B.109/a/2). Post employees recorded trips made to various locations around Lake Huron, including "Saguingue". The peninsula's Saugeen River, was formerly referred to by that name, however, these post accounts likely pertain to a location with the same name on Huron's Michigan shore, as suggested by an August 27th 1829 entry that describes Saguingue as being "on the other side of the Lake" (HBC B.109/a/2).

There are, however, brief records of trade activities on the peninsula in other sources from the early 1800s. Pierre Piche traded independently at the mouth of the

Saugeen River for a few years beginning around 1818 (Lamorandiere 1904:46-48; Cadot 1920:21). Besides fish, trade items collected here from native peoples included maple syrup and venison (DeMille 1971:39).

To summarize, this chapter provides background information on prehistoric and early historic fisheries activities around the peninsula, and demonstrates the past importance of the peninsula's fisheries for native peoples. The current re-evaluation of the dominance of big game hunting among Paleo-Indian people has encouraged a greater appreciation of diversity in prehistoric resource use, and has brought attention to the possible role of fishing in early resource use patterns. Cleland, in his attempt to explain the importance of prehistoric fishing, in technologically driven evolutionary terms, raises interesting questions, but his argument appears to oversimplify resource diversity. Though he links resource relations and social domains, by explaining social conditions according to technological change, he takes on the problems of causal explanation that earlier ecological anthropologists encountered. Though we have little evidence of social domains, the dialectical role that this aspect of resource relations plays should not be ignored.

Where horticultural villages developed during the Late Woodland period, fishing was often still important for subsistence. Many people who continued to follow more mobile practices likely had trade contacts in such villages. Gift

exchange had been carried on between bands of people in the Lake Huron region probably since Paleo-Indian times (Ellis and Deller 1990:54). By the Late Woodland period, fisheries products were likely common exchange items. Fishing activity no doubt had both economic and ceremonial aspects that were integral to group and intergroup social relations.

Though it is difficult to identify the aboriginal groups in the area during the Contact era, it appears that such peoples fairly regularly engaged in fishing activities at various locations on the peninsula, as indicated by archaeological evidence. Upheaval during the Iroquois War period obscures aboriginal fisheries relations, but does not necessarily negate them. By the end of the Early Historical era, aboriginal fishing activity on the peninsula is noted in written documents.

Emerging non-native centres and the beginnings of settler expansion provided some new fisheries opportunities for native peoples throughout the Lake Huron region. Fishing also remained important as part of a traditional lifestyle. Annual fishing gatherings had long been important as opportunities for broader social activities (Rogers 1978:762). Resource relations had been substantially influenced through non-native contacts by the end of the early historic period, but during the remaining decades of the nineteenth century native peoples would have to incorporate even greater levels of external influence into their ways of life.

CHAPTER 3 - LATE HISTORIC FISHERIES

In this chapter I examine the region's fisheries during the 1800s, beginning around 1830, when missionary-run reserves were established in Upper Canada (Graham 1975). I first discuss how fisheries relations were affected by adaptations to the reserve system, with attention to changing demographic conditions, land cessions, shifts in resource use patterns, and the settlement of the peninsula. Next I look at the expansion of fisheries activities and the roles that both natives and non-natives played in this expansion. I then note responses by native peoples and governments to developments associated with the fisheries expansions and examine the era's fisheries conflicts.

My general goal in this chapter is to describe the continuing involvement of native peoples in the region's fisheries. In the current conflicts there is a tendency to view native and non-native late historic fisheries as entirely separate spheres of activity. Each is unique in some respects but to gain a comprehensive understanding of the late historic fisheries shared involvements should be considered as well.

POPULATION MOVEMENTS AND LAND CESSIONS

With reference to the beginning of the late historic period, Rogers states that,

"As the occupation of southern Ontario...by Euro-Americans continued, the Ojibwa had to restrict their movements and utilization of the land more and more" (Rogers 1978:764).

This generalization contrasts in some regards with the intensification of native fishing activities that sometimes occurred during previous periods where new trade and market opportunities were presented.

On the peninsula, and at other places on Lake Huron, fishing was very important for native peoples through the first decades of this period. This reflects their efforts to take advantage of new trading opportunities. But as Rogers indicates, a growing settler presence brought greater resource use restrictions.

Early in the 1800s, the Great Lakes Region underwent dramatic population shifts involving both native and non-native peoples. By 1830 Upper Canada was home to over 200,000 non-natives and five times as many lived on the American side of the lakes (Robeson 1977; Tanner 1987:122). Between 1830 and 1870 the non-native population in Upper Canada had increased seven times: it continued to expand rapidly toward the end of the century. In contrast, during the first four decades of the late historic period the overall native population in Southern Ontario remained at around 9,000 (Tanner 1987:178).

By the end of the early historic period many native groups in the southern Great Lakes region were subjected to government forced relocation programmes. About one third of the Potawatomi expelled from American territories moved into Upper Canada between 1830 and 1850 (Clifton 1975:ii.), where they joined small native groups or found their way onto newly established reserves along with other native peoples in the region.

As noted in chapter 1 with reference to the relocation of the original Nawash community some groups of native people were moved to minimize contact with non-natives in areas increasingly populated by settlers. Missionaries were often in favour of natives relocating to more remote areas, as this could protect them from contact situation vices, especially alcohol (see Cadot 1920:22). There were other possible benefits for native groups as well. More remote areas may have allowed better access to particular resources in some cases. But native groups also lost access to particular local resources. And as in the Nawash case, some lost the rewards of their early efforts to establish farming communities. The more obvious beneficiaries of relocation policies were the non-native settlers who gained access to productive farmlands and new resources.

The Saugeen Peninsula became a refuge for many displaced native peoples (Surtees 1984:100). Some of the groups of Saugeen Indians that these newcomers joined were descendants of people who had been in the region since the early historic period or longer. Many of the people I

interviewed, especially at Nawash, recounted stories about the arduous journey to the peninsula made by their Potawatomi ancestors.

In the current conflicts critics of native rights have argued that few current native people on the peninsula have ancestors who were here prior to the mid-1800s. They further assert that native peoples were essentially nomadic and thereby had no real entitlement to the peninsula (Chief Kahgee 1995, pers. comm.). Many Algonquian people in the Great Lakes area were highly mobile, even after amalgamated tribal villages were set up during and after the Iroquois war period. French and British trade networks encouraged localization for some, but trade opportunity also encouraged the continuation of seasonal rounds by which various resource products such as fish, fur, and maple sugar could be gathered and processed. Small mobile groups typically returned to particular resource harvesting locations annually.

Some native rights are based on continuous occupation of particular geographic locations. But where rights negotiations address current imbalances that are historically rooted, a broader historical perspective, which includes national and international colonial expansion pressures provides a relevant context.

There is little doubt that some native peoples regularly occupied sites on the peninsula at the end of the early historic period. They are briefly documented as trading peoples, and their presence at shoreline villages

and fishing locations was recorded by the first surveyors. Indian trails which connected various occupation sites were already part of the landscape encountered by the first Euro-Canadians who came to the peninsula (Robertson 1971:19,50). Human remains found in the 1830s at the Fishing Islands and in other places also attest to the presence of native peoples at the end of the early historic period (see Fox 1952:70).

Land Cessions

Land cessions brought some advantages for native peoples but they also required complex adjustments to new social and economic conditions, and in some contexts, they may have greatly disadvantaged native groups. As I note in later chapters, perceptions about the fairness or unfairness of past treaties play a role in the current fishing conflict. Though I am aware that political implications cannot be avoided when commenting on this era, I save the main part of my discussion of the moral and political issues associated with past land cessions and past political relations for later chapters. This section is intended primarily as a descriptive account of the land cession era.

Before examining fisheries relations more directly I provide a summary of negotiations and cessions that roughly follows a chronological outline explained by Darlene Johnston (1996) at a Saugeen community meeting I attended. Robertson (1971:1-16) includes the texts of some of the main

treaties noted here. I cite other sources throughout this section.

Johnston notes two early documents on which late historic period treaties were based: the 1763 Royal Proclamation by King George III, which "guarantees First Nations' territories"; and the 1764 Treaty of Niagara, at which the "Chippewas of Lake Huron enter[d a] formal relationship with [the] British Crown" (Johnston 1996:1).

The 1836 Manitoulin Treaty is the first negotiation to deal with the Saugeen-Bruce peninsula as a separate region. Negotiated by Bond Head, it includes two land cession agreements. In the first, Manitoulin Ottawa and Chippewa bands traded their claims to the island in return for its recognition as protected territory for all native peoples. A second part of the agreement involved the region south of Manitoulin Island. The Saugeen Peninsula became, like Manitoulin Island, recognized "Indian Territory", while the Saugeen Tract, 1.5 million acres south of the peninsula, was ceded (Surtees 1984:89-93). In her outline, Johnston (1996:1) cites promises that the Crown would protect the Indian peninsula from encroachment and remove non-natives who were fishing in native fishing grounds.

In 1847 the peninsula's First Nations requested and were granted a "Declaration by Her Majesty in favor of the Ojibway Indians respecting certain Lands on Lake Huron" (cited in Johnston 1996:2), which confirmed rights to the peninsula and its islands within seven miles of shore. In

1851, a half-mile strip that ran from Owen Sound to Southampton was surrendered.

In the 1854 Saugeen Surrender (Surtees 1984:101-105), also known in honour of its Crown representative as the Oliphant Treaty, the peninsula was ceded, apart from reserves which were established at Saugeen, Chief's Point, Nawash (at Owen Sound), Colpoy's Bay and Cape Croker. In 1857, just three years after the Oliphant Treaty, the Nawash reserve at Owen Sound was given up.

Several other negotiations transpired during the following decades. In 1861 the Colpoy's Bay reserve near Wiarton was surrendered. In 1885 reserve territory at White Cloud Island near Colpoy's Bay was ceded (Schmalz 1977:134). Also in 1885 the Fishing Islands and the Cape Hurd Islands were surrendered (Robertson 1971:8; Fox 1952:108).¹ In 1896 a sixteen acre section of Griffiths Island, next to White Cloud Island, was surrendered. Also in 1896 the Saugeen Hunting Ground Reserve No.60A was established (Schmalz 1977:140).

Partly due to its remote location the peninsula was one of the last regions in Southern Ontario to be ceded. Some native resource uses were therefore not affected as rapidly as they were in the rest of Southern Ontario. But native fisheries activities were already interwoven with the broader fisheries prior to the 1836 treaty.

¹ In the late 1960s most of the Fishing Islands were returned by the federal government and are now native territory (Schmalz 1977:145-146).

Changing Resource Use Patterns

Rogers summarizes the economy of Southern Ontario's native people during the late historic period as follows:

"While farming played a crucial role in the economy, the Ojibwa also collected wild rice and maple sap, hunted, and fished... Hunting and fishing supplied the Southeastern Ojibwa with food, and trapping supplied the pelts for exchange with Whites for merchandise and sometimes food. Undoubtedly, considerable variation existed from group to group depending on the availability of game resources" (1978:765).

As in other areas where there was good fishing the peninsula's fisheries were harvested for both food and trade at the beginning of the late historic period. The first missionaries who came to Saugeen (the village near the Saugeen River mouth) in 1828 stated that natives lived primarily by fishing (DeMille 1971:78-79). Two decades later Paul Kane described the same village:

"The land hereabouts is excellent, but only a small part is cultivated, as the inhabitants subsist principally on fish, which are taken in great abundance at the entrance of the river" (1974[1859]:2).

Horticulture, or small scale farming, was already practiced in the woodland period within the Great Lakes region so farming may not have been altogether foreign to late historic native peoples, but settler farming methods were an adjustment. Prior to the 1836 treaty missionaries at Saugeen encouraged farming (DeMille 1971:78).² The Nawash band near Owen Sound had also already been farming in a fashion similar to their settler neighbours.

² Many such missionaries were of mixed native and non-native descent.

With the establishment of the reserve system, reliance on some traditional resources diminished. While hunting and trapping declined during this transition period fishing did not (DeMille 1971:1). In some places throughout Upper Canada missionaries discouraged native fishing because it allowed unsupervised contact with white traders who commonly made grog available (Morrison 1994:62; Schmalz 1991:154). Farmers were more easily supervised and protected.

There was mixed opinion, however, among Upper Canada's missionaries and among government officials regarding the benefits of fishing and farming for native peoples. Fishing was seen by some as at least temporarily necessary, but farming was more generally recognized as in line with the effort to bring non-native life-ways to native peoples (Surtees 1984:90-93; Shanahan 1994:16).

There was likewise mixed opinion among native peoples about the desirability of farming. White education which was tied to agricultural pursuits was seen as a bright prospect by some, but others preferred fishing (Schmalz 1991:153-183). On the peninsula farming was part of the package of mixed blessings that came with increasing white influence, but it was not enough to immediately diminish fisheries involvements.

Settlement of the Peninsula

The peninsula's fisheries were also an important focus for the first non-natives who came to the peninsula during the 1800s. They set up fishing operations on the Fishing Islands in the early 1830s, and continued to fish there through the 1800s. Fishing crews came up to the peninsula from newly established ports on the Huron shore south of the peninsula. Tobermory became a regular station for fishers from Goderich in the 1840s. Southampton was by then emerging as a ship building and fisheries centre (Armitage 1994:90,151). Through the 1850's and 1860's, fishing operations were developing at Kincardine as well (Fox 1952:117). Over the next decades, fisheries grew on the east side of the peninsula around Wiarton, at Lions Head, and at Wingfield Basin (Fox 1952:207; McLeod 1969:148; McLeod 1979:39-40; Gatis 1980:12; Wyonch 1985:18; Armitage 1994:84).

Following the signing of the 1854 treaty most of the former "Indian Peninsula" was put up for sale. Lumber was taken from peninsula lots several years before settlement farms were established. Most of the first settlers on the peninsula were from nearby places in Upper Canada. Many were recent immigrants from the British Isles, especially Scotland and England, and some had German heritage (Smith 1923:264; Robertson 1971:10-37; Schmalz 1977:15-16). Settlers on the peninsula considered fisheries opportunities

when selecting their village locations (Robertson 1971:17; Armitage 1994:126; Wyonch 1985:17).³

Where lumbering and farming were main resource activities fishing typically played important secondary roles. Seasonal fishing was an essential part of the farming economy. At lumber based settlements such as Dyers Bay and Pike Bay settlers combined winter logging with some seasonal fishing and some farming. A general shift toward a more generalized mixed economy occurred during the 1880s and 1890s, as lumber resources became less plentiful (Fox 1952:117-118). Where timber was depleted fishing often took over as the main economic resource, a pattern typified at Stokes Bay (Armitage 1994:116-117).

Land cessions were part of an effort by Upper Canada governments to provide resource access for growing non-native populations. The growth of non-native settlements provided new trade opportunities for native peoples, but their access to resources simultaneously became more restricted. Within this ambiguous process native peoples played important roles in the expansion of the region's fisheries.

³ This settlement pattern was followed in many other places on Lake Huron as well, where fishing activities preceded lumbering, and the first village sites were chosen because of good fishing opportunities (Landon 1944:113-120).

AN EXPANDING FISHERY

In 1830 Upper Canada's largest centre, York (now Toronto), as well as its growing number of smaller settlements, were located on lakes and river systems (Tanner 1987:127). Waterways provided transportation for people and for trade products and powered mills which were the heartbeat of new settlements. These locations also gave settlers access to fisheries.

Settlers in Upper Canada had begun harvesting locally available fish prior to 1830 and they continued to do so into the late historic period. Several studies of pioneer life in Upper Canada highlight the abundance of fish stocks that settlers encountered.

Soldiers used their swords to spear sturgeon. Boys caught fish with their bare hands. Settlers used pitchforks, clubs, and flannel petticoats. Pike could be stunned by the sound of a rifle and then gathered where they floated. More typical fishing methods include the use of spears, jacklights, nets, lines, and weirs; and settlers also practiced ice fishing (Scherck 1905:205-207; Guillet 1938:147-150; Henry and Paterson 1938:82-83).

Along with the above mentioned sturgeon and pike, settlers harvested pickerel, herring, bass, trout, salmon, and suckers. Suckers, salmon, and trout were caught in largest numbers during their annual spawning runs when they came into rivers and streams. As noted by Scherck, some were especially vulnerable where they encountered new obstacles:

"In the spring of the year the sucker would swim up the rivers and creeks to spawn in the shallow running water. Being stopped in their course by the dams, people would set nets for them at this point and catch large quantities, enough to supply the whole country round" (1905:206).

The streams and rivers along Lake Ontario's north shore provided trout and salmon in great numbers (Jameson 1990[1838]:169). Salmon were especially important for newcomers who had little access to winter vegetables. They often prepared several barrels of fish for winter use (Henry and Paterson 1938:83-84). Fish were also marketed by local settlers who brought them to the fish market at York (Guillet 1938:144,151), or shipped them in barrels to other markets (Henry and Paterson 1938:190). Some settlers "paid for farms and built houses from the sale of salmon" (Guillet 1938:148).

By the mid 1800s fishing had become Upper Canada's third most important industry, after lumbering and potash production (Henry and Paterson 1938:190). On a national scale the Canadian fisheries of this period had an export value second only to lumber (Rowan 1972:84).⁴

A substantial commercial fishery had been established in Lake Huron by the 1820s (Spangler and Peters 1995:106), but it emerged more fully during the 1830s and 1840s when the extensive use of large nets resulted in unprecedented harvests of fish (Guillet 1938:152). Using seines, typically anchored at one end to the shore, crews hauled in great

⁴ A secondary advantage of the fisheries was that it served as a school for seamen. Canada was at the time among the world's six largest ship-owning countries (Rowan 1972:84).

numbers of whitefish, trout, and herring. Guillet (1938:151) states that as early as 1812 a thousand or more whitefish were netted at a time. These numbers grew dramatically during the 1830s and 1840s. A haul of 14,000 fish on Georgian Bay's east coast is recorded and accounts from Lakes Erie and Ontario claim 90,000 whitefish landed in a single net (Guillet 1938:151). The pound net, a kind of fish trap, was also used to harvest great numbers of fish (Landon 1944:113; Spangler and Peters 1995:110). In the Detroit River fish were driven into these nets by the "hundreds of thousands" (Guillet 1938:151). These depictions of large catches are anecdotal, but even if only half accurate the numbers are of impressive magnitude.

Much of the Lake Huron fish harvest was sold to Americans, especially at Detroit and Chicago (Landon 1944:190; Barry 1978:56,109). Around the beginning of the late historic period American fishing companies based in Chicago and Detroit began operating along the Canadian shores of Lake Huron (see Fox 1952:119). American fishing companies maintained a presence there throughout the century. The first scheduled steamers at Tobermory belonged to the Dominion Transportation Company, a subsidiary of the giant Booth Fisheries Corporation of Chicago (Gatis 1980:25; Armitage 1994:93).

The expansion of Lake Huron fisheries was accelerated by technological innovations. The earliest use of large seines and gillnets in Lake Huron is uncertain, but their

impact on production was arguably dramatic. ⁵ Innovations for making and operating nets also increased efficiency (Barry 1978:106-110; Spangler and Peters 1995:107-108). The expansion of the gillnet fishery is also linked to innovations in boat building which allowed easier access to open water. Huron boats, mackinaws, and later fishing tugs, were adapted for working nets, and both fishing and shipping efficiency improved when the paddle and sail were augmented by steam power (Barry 1978:105-112; Spangler and Peters 1995:107-108). Steam tugs did not immediately reduce reliance on other modes of power. Lake Huron's sail powered fishing fleet in fact increased from 229 to 418 boats between 1881 and 1894, partly because newly introduced steam tugs could be used to tow them in difficult conditions (Spangler and Peters 1995:109).

Innovations in fish processing played an important role in the expansion of Upper Canada's commercial fishing industry. The American Fur Company introduced the method of packing salted fish in barrels in 1809 on Lake Huron (Guillet 1938:151; Spangler and Peters 1995:106).

Advances in other modes of transportation also contributed to the industry's expansion. The railroad reached Collingwood on Georgian Bay's southern shore in the mid 1850's and soon Lake Huron fish were shipped to Upper Canada's main centres via rail (Barry 1978:105). Expanded

⁵ Different estimates of the earliest uses of large seines and gillnets in Lake Huron are noted in Landon (1944:113), Barry (1978:106), and Spangler and Peters (1995:107).

land transportation networks also increased access to fish markets in growing American cities such as Buffalo (Wyonch 1985:14). Packing fish on ice became the preferred method for shipping fish, though salt barreling methods continued to be used for some time (Spangler and Peters 1995:108).

Native Involvement in the Fish Trade

At the beginning of the late historic period many native peoples living on the Great Lakes relied on fishing in terms of both food and trade. In some locations traditional practices associated with fishing were maintained, as indicated by Kohl's observations made during his travels around Lake Superior in the mid-1800s (1956[1860]:325-331). Continuity is also suggested in Densmore's field observations made among Ojibway groups at the end of the late historic period at places west of Lake Huron. Densmore noted that fishing was practiced there "almost the entire year", and recorded clans named after fish, magic fishing charms, and fish symbolism in religion and myth (1970[1929]:124-125).

But there were also adjustments to new circumstances and opportunities among the late historic period's Great Lakes native peoples. Tanner (1987:132) notes that by the 1830's trading companies in the Upper Great Lakes were focusing less on furs and more on fish products. Fish had long been traded by natives at fur trade posts and this shift increased native fisheries involvements even more.

In the Upper Great Lakes substantial native-run fishing operations were established. Preserved fish were sold along with other fish products such as isinglass, a substance extracted from sturgeon swim bladders, used for making glue and other commodities (Lytwyn 1990; Van West 1990).

Jameson, who toured Lake Huron in the mid 1830s, recorded natives packing fish in salt barrels for export (1990:313-314). They participated in the shipment of 8000 barrels of fish from the St. Mary's rapids region in 1835, where the whitefish dipnet fishery was still impressive (pp.448-450). Other Lake Huron fishing activities noted by Jameson also demonstrate an increasing involvement by native peoples in the fish trade (pp.512-540; see also Landon 1944:103-111; Barry 1978:105-108).

Paul Kane, who traveled Lake Huron a little more than a decade after Jameson, also noted fish trade activities. He stated that at Manitoulin Island native peoples,

"subsist chiefly on salmon and whitefish, which they take in such quantities as to be able to barter away a surplus beyond their own wants for other necessaries" (Kane 1974:6-16).

Many native peoples participated in the economic opportunities that the expanding Lake Huron fisheries provided. ⁶

⁶ Kane's "salmon" is likely a "lake trout", which is a member of the salmonidae family. Various salmon, trout, and char are related within the salmonidae family, and the common names often overlap. Some "trout" are closer by scientific classification to "salmon" than to other "trout", and vice versa. In early and late historic period literature, the terms "salmon", "trout", and "salmon trout" are used in reference to Lake Huron's indigenous "lake trout" or "lake char" (*Salvelinus namaycush*). The

Fisheries products had been traded by native peoples in the region prior to white contact and the fish trade engaged during the late historic period can be seen as a continuation of this pattern. Natives often traded fish informally with local settlers and they frequently brought fish to town markets (Jameson 1990:151,522).⁷

The Upper Canada commercial fishery was in part an extension of activities engaged in by Lake Huron traders who regularly arrived in southern ports with shipments of "fish and furs and maple sugar" (Landon 1944:305). They gathered and delivered various commodities, but collecting barrels of salted fish from natives camped at fishing stations was a substantial part of their operations (Barry 1978:105).⁸

There was also a great deal of cross-cultural sharing of fishing technologies. Wyonch (1985:7) suggests that the gillnet was introduced to the peninsula's first non-native settlers by native inhabitants, though it would have also been more widely used by this time. Fishing methods used by settlers in other parts of Southern Ontario, including the weir and jacklight spearing, may have been learned from

generalized term "salmon" is easily confused with the Ontario salmon, a variety of Atlantic salmon (*Salmo salar*) which was indigenous to the waters downstream from and including Lake Ontario (see MacCrimmon 1977:86-90).

⁷ See also Brown (1932) for an interesting fictional depiction of informal fish trade between natives and non-natives around the peninsula during this era.

⁸ Noting occasional acts of piracy, some have portrayed these fish trade relations as highly competitive (e.g. Barry 1978:144; Lovisek 1991:87).

native peoples (Scherck 1905:207). In the other direction aboriginal people acquired steel hooks, net materials, and salt and barrels from white traders.

Native peoples benefitted from trade opportunities that accompanied the rapid settlement of Upper Canada, but through government policies aimed at settling native peoples, coupled with new government approaches to regulating the fisheries, which are discussed in the next sections of this chapter, native peoples were forced to make rapid adjustments in their resource relations.

FISHERIES CONFLICTS

In 1797 in response to native concerns about non-native encroachments, a government proclamation to protect native fisheries on Lake Ontario was issued (Schmalz 1991:106). Similar complaints were voiced in other locations (ibid.:150). Fisheries conflicts around Manitoulin Island are worth special note because of their proximity to the peninsula and because they played a role in shaping government policies that pertained to the peninsula's fisheries. °

Lytwyn (1990:12-14) states that while fishing rights were not mentioned specifically in the 1836 treaty documents protection of fisheries access was raised in preliminary

° My sketch of the region's emerging commercial fishery is only preliminary. Tough (1996), in his study of resource development in Northern Manitoba, engages native involvement in emerging resource economies in much greater detail.

negotiations and is suggested in the wording of subsequent treaties. Native peoples would certainly have been aware of their reliance on the fisheries, since the large group that attended negotiations lived on corn porridge and fish (Jameson 1990:491-498). Native interest in maintaining access to fisheries is also implied in the good fishing at most of their reserve locations (Lytwyn 1990:14).

When the 1836 Manitoulin treaties were negotiated the island's fisheries were already coveted by non-natives (Tanner 1987:160; Shanahan 1994:25). Lytwyn (1990:15) suggests that by 1855, 200 to 300 American boats were fishing around Manitoulin. In the midst of increasing competition for fisheries resources Colonial governments began regulating Lake Huron's fisheries.

Following the enactment of fishery legislation in 1857 and 1858, William Gibbard was appointed fisheries overseer (see Lytwyn 1990:16-17). Among other duties he traveled the lakes to issue fishing leases. During his tenure (1859-1863) his encounters with natives were generally hostile.

In 1862 Gibbard and a posse of constables were forcibly expelled from Manitoulin Island by armed natives who he had intended to apprehend because of fishing lease violations. Several months later Gibbard was drowned in the Upper Great Lakes amid circumstances that remain unknown (Leighton 1977; Tanner 1987:178; Lytwyn 1990:20; Morrison 1994:63). A native

man was arrested as a suspect in the drowning but was later released. ¹⁰

Another site of conflicts was the peninsula's Fishing Islands. In the 1830s, the village at Saugeen just south of the Fishing Islands had over 300 native inhabitants (Lytwyn (1992:85), making it comparable in size to Goderich, which was established in 1829 and quickly grew to be the largest non-native settlement in the area. Captain Alexander McGregor came up from Goderich and began fishing at the Fishing Islands in 1831. In 1832 he procured a license of occupation from the government which allowed him to establish fishing stations and thereby fish the islands (Lytwyn 1992:86).

The operation that McGregor established was one of the most active fisheries on Lake Huron. McGregor erected the peninsula's first stone building at Main Station Island, the centre of his fishing operations. His company harvested trout, herring, sturgeon, and especially whitefish for several years. Large schools of fish were spotted from tall trees and hauled in with long seines. Authors cite accounts of from one hundred to one thousand barrels of fish taken in a single haul, and note that when not enough salt was on hand, or when the nets were too heavy to pull, some of the catch had to be released (Fox 1952:110-112; Robertson 1971:22; Armitage 1994:143). McGregor apparently believed he had discovered an unlimited resource at the peninsula's

¹⁰ These confrontations occurred about the same time as the Dakota uprising in Minnesota (Tanner 1987:178).

Fishing Islands (Robertson 1971:21; DeMille 1978:41-42). By 1834 he was annually shipping 3,000 barrels of whitefish and herring from the Fishing Islands to buyers in Detroit who paid one dollar per barrel.

A fishing company owned in part by the prominent political figure, William Dunlop, took over operations on the Fishing Islands in 1834. To gain a license of occupation for his own company Dunlop argued that McGregor's operation allowed Americans to reap the larger part of the profits from Canadian resources. However, after thereby driving McGregor out of the area, Dunlop's company engaged American trade to the same effect.

After leaving the Fishing Islands Captain McGregor continued fishing for a time at the peninsula's northern islands and around Owen Sound and Cape Croker, where he married the daughter of Chief Wabatic (see Fox 1952:115; Robertson 1971:24). He later established fishing operations at the eastern end of Manitoulin Island, and developed social and economic ties with natives there.¹¹

According to Lytwyn (1992:87-89), Dunlop's license of occupation was given on the condition that an appropriate leasing agreement be made with native representatives, which was subsequently arranged. But in the same year Saugeen representatives tried unsuccessfully to terminate the lease, suggesting that the company's "harvest of fish...proved to

¹¹ Photographs of McGregor's descendants and other information about McGregor's career in this area are exhibited at the museum in Sheguiandah on Manitoulin

be excessive" (cited in Lytwyn 1992:88). During the late 1830s native representatives voiced concerns about the government's failure to protect their fishing grounds, as was implied in the 1836 treaty negotiations; and noted problems with the collection of lease money (Schmalz 1977:70-77; Lytwyn 1992:86).

Confusion and disagreement over regulation of the Fishing Islands fishery continued. After 1840, Dunlop's operations were taken over by William Cayley. He apparently had no leasing agreement with Saugeen representatives, who issued leases to other fishermen (Lytwyn 1992:90-91). Confusion over whether the license of occupation that Cayley had purchased from Dunlop's company took precedence over local native leases seems to have played an important role here as it did over the following decades, and the rapid changes of company ownership, and accompanying ownership of licenses of occupation, seems to have added to the confusion (Darlene Johnston 2000, pers. comm.)

In 1843, four Saugeen men went to the islands to drive Cayley's men away, but were themselves chased off (see Lytwyn 1992:90-91). The following year, Metigwab, a Saugeen Chief, met with government officials in Kingston to resolve this dispute. Chief Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Samuel Jarvis, voiced his support for Saugeen's position, but encouraged Metigwab to resolve the dispute by having Saugeen sign a leasing agreement with Cayley, which they did in 1845 (ibid.).

In 1849, Saugeen struck a lease with Alexander MacDonald, a representative for a trader from Southampton named William Kennedy (Lytwyn 1992:92). Kennedy had grown up at a Hudson's Bay Company trading post on the Saskatchewan River, with his father, the chief factor, and his mother, a native woman (Weichel 1998:21-22). ¹²

Leases and licenses of occupation continued to change hands. Lytwyn (1992:92-95) notes the consecutive involvement in the fisheries of persons named Hamilton, Calder, and Jardin, and he states that Saugeen representatives continued to protest government and fishing company actions. Lytwyn further claims that throughout this period "rent was rarely paid to the Saugeen Nation" (1992:95).

Native fishermen from Saugeen were themselves fishing in Lake Huron for food and trade. During the 1840s and 1850s some leaders saw potential for expanding their fish trade, but encountered obstacles to commercial expansion (Lytwyn 1992:90-94). Saugeen leaders complained in 1850 that Kennedy's men were depleting the area's timber which was needed for making barrels. In 1851, Saugeen's commercial operations were apparently set back by the late arrival of government trust funds needed to buy salt for preserving

¹² There are slight differences between the chronology that Lytwyn presents, which he derived from public archive documents (1998, pers. comm.), and the one noted by Fox. Fox (1952:115) states that in 1848, after downturns in productivity, Dunlop's company was sold to two retired Hudson's Bay Company traders, John Spence and William Kennedy. Fox does not mention Cayley's tenure in his account of the Fishing Island companies, and Lytwyn does not mention Spence as a partner of Kennedy. See also Weichel (1998:21-23).

fish in barrels. Similar difficulties were encountered in 1856 and the government denied purchase of other fishing equipment in 1857. In spite of such difficulties Saugeen sold 1000 barrels of fish at five dollars per barrel in 1857 (Lytwyn 1992:94).

Lytwyn suggests that because of the importance of the Fishing Islands fisheries native leaders demanded rights to the Fishing Islands in the 1854 treaty negotiations (1992:93). Following the 1854 surrender fishing disputes continued and native representatives continued to voice concerns about encroachments (Schmalz 1977:80-89; Schmalz 1991:220).

In 1859, following enactment of fishing legislation and the establishment of the government leasing system, Saugeen leaders met with Gibbard, the above mentioned fisheries overseer, and demanded that the Fishing Islands not be leased to non-natives. They unsuccessfully offered to bid on the lease themselves (Lytwyn 1992:95). Because of their dissatisfaction with the leasing system leased fishing stations were sometimes destroyed by natives, as reported by Gibbard in 1861. Lytwyn (1992:96) states that in 1864 Saugeen unsuccessfully applied to lease Whitefish Island, one of the Fishing Islands; but the Indian Agent advised that Saugeen already had more fishing opportunities than they needed. Lytwyn seems to imply that Saugeen requests for leases were ignored; however, by 1862 the "Saugeen Indians" had been issued a lease for some of the islands, and fishing

leases were likewise issued to bands on the other side of the peninsula (NAC, RG 10, vol.252 pt.2, no.12601-12700).

But the government take-over of leasing authority was no doubt a turning point in the story of native fishing rights on the peninsula. Between 1830 and 1870, amid regulatory confusion, the Saugeen community's control of the fisheries shifted substantially. When this period began, they were issuing leases, and when it ended, leases were being issued to them. Evidence of native resistance to diminished control indicates that government regulatory authority came at some expense to native community members, and likely set a discordant tone that was echoed in future relations (Darlene Johnston 2000, pers. comm.)

Around the beginning of the late historic period, fisheries conflicts were likewise building on the other side of the peninsula. Prior to the relocations to Cape Croker in the 1850s, the cape was already occupied by some native peoples who, like the newcomers, no doubt recognized the fishing opportunities there as valuable. Though native community members were already in the process of starting farms, the local fisheries were still of major importance when the government began issuing leases.

During the late 1850s, the waters around the newly established Nawash reserve were also a focus of disputes. Of particular concern was the area around the islands south of the cape in Colpoy's Bay, where cases of tampering with non-native nets, and threats to white fishermen were recorded (Schmalz 1977:119-120). When Gibbard visited Cape Croker on

his leasing rounds, it is not surprising that he met hostile threats there (see Lytwyn 1990:18).

Records from the 1890s suggest considerable tensions. In 1890 the band protested overfishing by American crews and requested that the Indian Agent give a "history of the decrease of the Indian fishing at this place" (cited in Schmalz 1977:187). In 1891, band leaders submitted an unsuccessful request to have what they saw as unfair fishing area restrictions relaxed; and they raised a similar matter again in an 1893 council meeting held jointly with Saugeen (Schmalz 1977:186-187; 1991:221-222). The following year native representatives asked the local parliamentarian for assistance in easing restrictions, but with no luck.

Around the turn of the century tight restrictions and encroachments remained major concerns for Nawash leaders (see DeMille 1971). In 1897 the Nawash fishing territory was reduced as a result of disputes with residents from nearby Hope Bay. Nawash officially protested this in 1902. In 1903, they noted hardships invoked by fishing territory reductions when requesting permission to cut timber: because they had to go into rougher water in their remaining territory a greater number of nets were lost (Schmalz 1991:222-223).

Fisheries Depletions

In some areas of Upper Canada the growth of settlements and the expansion of fisheries operations had negative impacts on late historic period fisheries resources, and

thereby on the resource options available to native peoples. By the end of the early historic period, once abundant fish stocks in Southern Ontario were threatened by settlement activities. It was common knowledge through the 1800s that fish had been driven away from many rivers. Dams and lumbering debris obstructed spawning beds (Scherck 1905:207; Henry and Paterson 1938:82; Rowan 1972:377). Other threats included fishing intensity, the vulnerability of spawning species at dam sites, and disturbances caused by steamboats and other traffic on water systems. Many salmon fisheries on Upper Canada's river systems were completely destroyed (Guillet 1938:147).

As elsewhere in Upper Canada, the peninsula's first settlers built dams and mills soon after they arrived. Wathke (1987:20) notes that since 1844 the Saugeen River alone has powered 156 mills. Though there is no record of their exact impacts, it can be assumed that at least some species fared poorly on the Saugeen River and its tributaries during this period. This may have had an impact on local native peoples who continued to fish in the river.

It is very probable that fish stocks were also affected by the intense level of commercial fishing that began around the beginning of this era. Guillet suggests that within a few decades of large scale seining some of the coastal fisheries were depleted and commercial operators had to fish farther off shore with gill nets and other open water nets (1938:152; see also Landon 1944:113; Spangler and Peters 1995:106). Technological innovations which made deep water

fishing more feasible may have played a role as well in this shift, but given the large numbers of fish taken from particular shore stocks some negative impact on particular stocks is likely. The most vulnerable Southern Ontario fish stocks were used for more than just food. For example, Lake Ontario whitefish were sold to farmers in the 1860s for crop fertilizer (Guillet 1938:152). By the end of the 1800s it was apparent that sturgeon were greatly depleted throughout Lake Huron.

Barry (1978:110) notes that there are no accurate statistics for Lake Huron fisheries production through the 1800s. Giving a general picture he estimates the annual catch between the mid 1870s and the end of the century for white fish, lake trout, and pike combined at between two and seven million pounds. The harvest of other species such as herring and sturgeon would put the annual figure much higher.

Fox (1952:116) suggests that a gradual decline of stocks on the Fishing Islands coincided with the sale of the leases to Spence and Kennedy, but he also indicates some recovery following the sale. Native fishery opportunities on Lake Huron may have been reduced due to commercial over-fishing in some places, as suggested by Lytwyn (1990:3,25; 1992:97) and Schmalz (1977:186; 1991:150,221). But given the lack of harvest records, the level of depletion in particular locations remains speculative. And given that native peoples were involved in various ways in the

expansion of the fisheries, resource depletions can not be ascribed totally to external forces. ¹³

Though it is difficult to confidently state the extent of suggested fisheries depletions around the peninsula, late historic period native peoples on the peninsula recognized large commercial fish harvests as threats to their fisheries options. Fisheries depletions throughout Upper Canada were also suspected by government officials, who, prior to confederation, were already engaged in developing fisheries management policies and regulations.

Fisheries Regulation

The first laws aimed at curtailing the destruction of local fish stocks had already been made prior to the late historic period (Rowan 1972:47). In an unsuccessful attempt to stop the over-exploitation of salmon, an 1806 regulation forbidding their netting in some creeks was enacted (Guillet 1938:147). In 1857, Canada's first Fishing Act restricted certain nets and river obstructions, and set closed seasons for some species (Forkey 1995:54). In the following year the governor-in-council was granted the authority to issue licenses and leases, and appoint fisheries superintendents

¹³ There is some confusion over the date of a report Schmalz uses as evidence of overfishing impacts on native peoples. Schmalz notes a report of low harvest levels as an 1885 account (1977:187), but elsewhere cites it as from an 1894 annual report (1991:221). Aside from this confusion, a reasonable assessment of past ecological conditions can hardly be based on one or two recorded statements.

(ibid.). Anglers were also subject to this regulation (Rowan 1972:381,417-418). In a broader context fish trade was already regulated in international treaties such as the Treaty of Washington, which stipulated a duty free trade between Canada and the United States (Rowan 1972:47). ¹⁴

In 1858 Fishery Act amendments approved the establishment of sanctuaries and an 1865 law gave fishery officers the power to enforce regulations by seizing illegally caught fish. In the following decades, provincial governments were given the responsibility to administer fisheries regulations, while the federal government maintained legislative authority (Forkey 1995:54).

In an attempt to rehabilitate depleted salmon stocks, hatcheries were established on several rivers around mid-century (Rowan 1972:415-416). Samuel Wilmot played a leading role in developing hatchery programs. In 1867 he set up the first government-run hatchery in North America, and was appointed overseer of fisheries in 1868 by the new federal government (Forkey 1995:55; Guillet 1938:148).

Nawash cooperated in some of these early restocking efforts. In 1889 they provided parent trout for the Newcastle hatchery. Under regulations and rehabilitation programs developed during the late 1800s, some depleted stocks became plentiful again (Scherck 1905:207; Guillet 1938:152).

¹⁴ Rowan states that after this deal was signed, the Americans put a duty on tin cases and "drove a four-horse team through the spirit of the treaty" (1972:47).

As noted in the discussion of conflicts on the Fishing Islands, government positions on native fishing rights during the 1800s were ambiguous. Native approval for leases was not consistently negotiated, and native leases were not reliably enforced by the government. The government responded to native concerns by offering natives the right to fish for food, but they did not fully recognize native ownership of fisheries resources (Lytwyn 1992:97). Amendments to the Fishery Act in 1865 included the first references to native peoples (Lytwyn 1990:22).

In an attempt to clarify government jurisdiction and responsibility regarding native fisheries, several reports were commissioned during the 1860s and 1870s. Within government, there were differences of opinion on how to regulate native fishing activities. Not all government officials were as confrontational as Gibbard. William Plummer, a superintendent with Indian Affairs, recorded his concern for the government's neglect of native fishing rights (Lytwyn 1992:97). However, reports generally gave colonial notions of common law precedence over implied treaty obligations. Given this ambiguity no clear definition of the government's authority over native fisheries was established during this period (Lytwyn 1990:18-23).

Not all native peoples were opposed to government fisheries leasing programs (King 1994:47) since these were a potential source of band revenue. But during the 1800s it became clear that there were many unanswered questions concerning jurisdiction over the fisheries.

In summary, increased contacts associated with settlement and fish trade expansion entailed new opportunities for native peoples in the peninsula region. Native involvement was important to the growth of the fish trade, especially during the first half of the 1800s. With the establishment of the reserve system farming was generally favoured over hunting and fishing, but on the peninsula some continued to fish for subsistence and trade.

New leasing regulations initially provided revenue for the peninsula's natives, but within the broader scope of authority that governments exercised, new regulations served to limit and sometimes exclude native fishing involvement. Governments were unwilling, or unable, to consistently define native ownership of the fisheries.

With the inception of the reserve policy, native peoples in the peninsula region entered a new phase in their relationships with settler governments. The important role they played in the fishery during the early decades of the nineteenth century was substantially diminished by the end of the century. Band leaders often voiced their dissatisfaction with new restrictions, and on occasion, native peoples more actively resisted encroachments by outsiders. But during the nineteenth century native and non-native fishing activity had become firmly enmeshed. Native community members who continued to fish during and after this century were participating in a fishery that was increasingly defined and managed by outside authorities.

CHAPTER 4 - THE TWENTIETH CENTURY'S FISHERIES

In this chapter I focus on the continuing adjustments that native peoples made to changing fisheries opportunities, and on continuing native/non-native relations within these adjustments. I first examine how fishing was integrated into other economic activities prior to the middle of the twentieth century. Next I discuss the dramatic changes that began around the end of the war years.

General insights into the peninsula's fisheries around the end of the late historic period and throughout the following decades can be garnered from published portrayals of individuals who fished during this era. Such accounts are typically anecdotal, and should be regarded critically if one is looking for reliable factual information, but they have general descriptive value. Through such descriptions one can begin to imagine how fishing activities became part of people's lives.

Fox's (1952:117-118) sketch of William Simpson's life characterizes the economic blend of fishing and lumbering prior to the turn of the century. He describes Gilbert McIntosh who built a local shipping business that was later taken over by a large American company (ibid.). Jack McCauley who ran a fish house in Wiarton in the early 1900s is recalled by local historians (Gatis 1980:61; McLeod

1979:38), as is Orrie Vail, a Tobermory fisherman, museum keeper, and story teller (Armitage 1994:95-97,117-118).

Vincent Elliott (1987), a non-native fisherman, describes local fishing operations on the peninsula's Huron side prior to mid-century:

"A typical day for a fisherman would be to get up at 4 a.m. and leave by 5 a.m. and run out into the lake in a certain direction for a certain time. (a boat went 10 m.p.h.) They lifted nets by hand at first and later used rollers and net winders. When the fish were taken out of the nets they would be put back in again unless they needed to be treated or mended. The fishermen had lunch on a gas stove or baked whitefish on the hot engine. A gang of nets, four boxes, about 1000 feet, would be set by early afternoon and the fishermen would be back in about 4 p.m. Hook lines were used up around Fitzwilliam Island sometimes. At Stokes Bay the nets were put out in 7 to 8 feet of water around Gobbler shoals or Goodrow shoals South of Lyal Island. This was risky as a sudden storm could roll the shallow nets up in an impossible mess" (p.38).

"The water was so deep in 1920 that sailboats would come across what is now sand flats and up into the 'river'. Nathan Doran, from Southampton was setting pound nets in Stokes Bay and so many fish were caught that a barrel factory (cooper) was built on the river and fish were salted in these barrels and sent to the big cities" (p.37).¹

While the peninsula's native community members also fished during this century, there are few accounts of such activities. The field interviews, which I use extensively in this chapter in order to provide insights into local fisheries involvements, contribute to a fuller picture of twentieth century fishing activities around the Saugeen-Bruce Peninsula.

¹ Several of the peninsula's older fishermen were interviewed in the 1970s by David Loftus, an Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources employee.

THE EARLY 1900s: MIXED ECONOMIES

After several decades of settlement expansion, which peaked around the end of the 1800s, the resident population of the Saugeen-Bruce Peninsula stabilized. In contrast, most nearby areas of Southern Ontario were settled earlier and their populations showed marked growth during the early to mid 1900s. The peninsula did however begin to attract growing numbers of seasonal visitors during the early 1900s, some of whom came mainly to fish. Though particular fish stocks were being depleted, fishing was still important in a variety of economic contexts during the first half of the 1900s. Amid adjustments to changing social and economic conditions, many of the peninsula's native peoples maintained an interest in fishing.

My reference to the first part of the century as a time of mixed economies indicates several areas of overlap. In both native and non-native communities fishing was blended with other economic pursuits. A second overlap is seen in the mix of several kinds of fishing activities carried out at different times of the year. Especially on the reserves the term mixed economy further implies the integration of commercial fishing and less formally structured activities. Finally, the fishing economy was mixed through the interactions of natives and non-natives. All of these kinds of blending were to a large extent continuations of earlier patterns, but new economic opportunities and pressures gave a different tone to this era.

Recreational Fishing and Tourism

By the beginning of the 1900s the peninsula's fisheries were harvested by well established commercial fishers, but many of these were fairly small operations, sometimes involving only one or two people. As in the previous era, fishing was incorporated into broader economic patterns that varied according to local opportunity. The growing tourist industry brought new fisheries related opportunities for many of the peninsula's inhabitants.

Fishing as a leisure activity was part of the cultural repertoire of Europeans long before settlement of the Great Lakes Region. Seventeenth and eighteenth century writers, including Lafitau (1977[1724]:187) commented on the availability of fish and game around the Great Lakes, as did nineteenth century writers such as Rowan (1972) who promoted outdoor sporting opportunities as an attraction for Upper Canada's prospective immigrants.

Guidebooks and brochures advertised southern Georgian Bay's fishing opportunities prior to 1880 (Barry 1978:148). By the turn of the century, sport fishing enthusiasts and other vacationers travelled by rail and boat to the shores of the Saugeen-Bruce Peninsula where they hoped to find temporary retreat from the pace of social life in increasingly industrialized cities and towns (see Jasen 1995). The growth of tourism on the peninsula also reflects the efforts of local residents who were looking for ways to replace resource based economies that were being depleted.

An important focus of the peninsula's early tourist trade was its abundant recreational fishing, which was long known to local residents who enjoyed "the angle" (Fox 1952:208). At Pike Bay, sports enthusiasts arrived by 1900 to fish perch and pickerel (Armitage 1994:123). Summer people began arriving at Dyer's Bay in the 1920's to fish and camp (ibid.:80).

Armitage suggests that patterns of commercial and recreational fishing on the peninsula show an inverse relationship. At Stokes Bay, increases in recreational fishing corresponded with down turns in commercial fishing (1994:118). He depicts a similar pattern of recreational fishing replacing or heavily supplementing commercial fishing along the beaches between the Saugeen and Sauble Rivers, where summer visitors began arriving in the 1890's and started building cottages in 1904 (Armitage 1994:149). Fishing shanties were located on these beaches when the first tourists arrived. During the first decades of the century cottagers and fishermen coexisted, but as the number of cottages increased, the number of fishfolk declined. The largest boom in cottage building came just after the second world war (ibid.) when the most dramatic depletions in the peninsula's fish stocks occurred.

This correlation appears paradoxical at first. Both recreational and commercial fisheries targeted some of the same fish stocks, so where depleted stocks account for commercial fishing declines they would be expected to diminish recreational fishing as well. But tourism involved

broader activities, which could offset the impact that particular stock declines might have. And each sector did target a somewhat different range of species. Tourist activities, whether related to fishing or not, provided another set of options that could be incorporated into the peninsula's already mixed economy.

Prior to mid-century, recreational fishing rivalled the peninsula's commercial fishery in overall economic importance (Wyonch 1985:20-21). This created some conflict, but for many of the peninsula's local fisherfolk, the two were not incompatible. Some incorporated tourist fishing into their annual cycle of fishing, within their broader mixed economies:

"In the spring the nets were usually set on sand bottom in 10 to 20 fathoms (100 feet). In summer they guided parties of tourists or caught tullibeets (ciscos, fresh-water herrings) or chub (deep-water cisco). Fall was a good fishing season again for trout or whitefish and then herring again last of all" (Elliott 1987:38).

Similar adaptations to changing opportunities were made among reserve community members.

Fishing Economies at Cape Croker

Though they had less access to the peninsula's fisheries than in previous eras, Nawash community members continued to fish throughout the first half of the twentieth century. Many of the people I interviewed have vivid memories of the people, places, and community interactions associated with fishing on the reserve during this time.

"Way back when I was a child, my grandma's nephews were all fishermen...there was a lot of fishing done. I remember them talking about fishing... talking about their boats and their gear and what have you. I've seen them maybe coming in from the waters of Georgian Bay... coming into the harbour... and all landing there and cleaning their fish" (CP-WA).

Fishing activity continued along side other occupations, some newly introduced, and some that had been long part of economic life:

"Oh yes, there were a lot of them that used to fish; everybody used to fish, at some time. Old Mike Lavalley used to fish; and the Akiwenzie boys all fished; my brother Edgar fished. But there were other types of employment going, such as farming. My brother was a plasterer, and there were other trades. A lot of them used to work in the bush all year around" (CP-FJ).

"Now it's a good life. We used to go on horse and wagon trading crafts, like axe handles and boxes, for food and clothes. 'Do you want to buy baskets'? That's what I learned in English" (CP-R4).

While some were essentially full-time fisherfolk others fished to a lesser extent. Some fished for only a few weeks during the year when fish were most readily available:

"Prior to Dad joining the army in 1940 or so, he'd fish twice a year on a commercial basis, in the fall and in the early spring. He had a little rowboat that was parked down along the shoreline here. The catch wasn't all that great as I recall because I think he only had 1 or 2 nets that he would put in. There were two different types of net. The herring net was about a two and five-eighths mesh. And there was the large four inch mesh that they used for whitefish and lake trout. Dad was a farmer, and he had the farm to look after, so this fishing thing only took him twice a year" (CP-TJ).

Vincent Nadjiwon outlines different fishing methods that were employed according to the season:

"I started fishing when I was young you see...trolling line. That's the lake trout. There was nets too. I did trolling in the summer time. In the fall and spring there was whitefish and trout... We went ice fishing for lake trout and whitefish. Trolling we would use some long and some short lines. Ice fishing was about 30

fathoms. That's how the people lived long ago... ice fishing" (CP-VN).

Though gill nets were most widely used, seines were also employed, especially for whitefish in the fall. Gill nets were set when the elements permitted:

"We would go out to fish up at about 5:00 in the morning, and we'd be out till about 10:00. That was called before breakfast. We would come in and they would have breakfast ready. They would have a meal and then clean the fish, then patch the nets and get them ready to set in the evening" (CP-RJ).

"We would set in the evening and then we would watch the weather. If a storm came up we went out to grab the nets, even in the middle of the night. The water pressure would rip the nets in a storm, cause this was before they had the nylon ones - just ordinary cotton. They would get tangled up. I've seen nets after a storm that just had the top and bottom lines left. We would have to clean those up and repair them" (CP-RJ).

"We would troll until late fall and then use nets until it got too cold" (CP=GK).

Trolling and gill netting were sometimes combined:

"We used to set our nets on the shoals this time of year. The first run would be the lake trout. They called them the 'Red Fins'; their fins were all red by this time of the year. They would come onto the shoals to spawn. We would set nets along side the shoal and during the day we would troll that shoal, with about four or five fathom of line and a spoon on the end of it. We could see where the nets were by the corks and we went along side" (CP-RJ).

Locations and fishing methods varied according to season:

"We used to go half way to Rabbit Island, then to Benjamin Point. We followed the fish. When I fished with my father we started in the spring, and by June we moved toward Rabbit Island. Then we'd move again, to Cove of Cork. You know where to set... When fish were getting scarce there, we'd move over again toward the lighthouse. It took about two and a half hours to row from the Harbour where the government dock is now to the lighthouse. At six in the morning the water is calm so we would row along the shore. We had a fish camp, two shacks, at Rabbit Island and anyone could stay there if they got stuck. They could come back the next morning" (CP=EA).

"The end of November till about the 18th of December we would move from Pine Tree Point to Clay Banks. Clay Banks used to be an old log skid. We would set on the shoals there for whitefish. The whitefish come in fast and furious and then they dry up quickly. When there were only one or two fish in the nets we would clean the nets up and put them away for the winter" (CP-RJ).

Given the various kinds of fishing practiced and the different degrees of involvement, it is difficult to characterize fishing on the reserve during this period as a particular type of economy. Since fish provided an important food source the term food fishery can be applied, but fish were also part of broader economic activities. Fish were distributed both informally and in market contexts. They were both a subsistence and a commercial resource.

Where particular fishing activities fit between these two economic poles is not always evident. During economically difficult times generalized and balanced forms of reciprocity, or sharing, were common:

"Before the war, during the depression, things used to get pretty tough. I used to get tired of salted fish and potatoes, but that was what we had. My dad had a small farm. We always had a lot of potatoes, carrots, beets and turnips. When people got hard up on the reserve he would go around and take them food. He also put down pork in the fall of the year, two or three pigs" (CP-RJ).

In her description of the "livelihood" that fishing provided, Winona Arriage interconnects various kinds of economies:

"I married a fisherman...and some of the family there were fishermen. He loved fishing. And that was our livelihood. He'd either trade fish on the outside for vegetables, if we didn't have enough... or eggs, butter... all these essentials. People out there took fish. And then sometimes when there was a good catch, he'd sell to fish buyers. There was always fish buyers around... So that gave us our extras, like our clothing. At this time of the year, planning on Christmas, it was

just something extra that he made money on... He didn't have any other job. That's the only thing we had... the fishing" (CP-WA).

Philomene Chegahno uses the term "bread and butter" to indicate fishing as a way of obtaining basic necessities, either through direct resource harvesting or through a market transaction:

"My first husband fished too....He fished in... Gravelly Bay they call it. They didn't have outboard motors at that time. They only had rowboats....He only had a few nets....He must have had two or three nets. That's all they could afford. Everything was expensive. That's the only bread and butter they had, from fishing, that's all they got" (CP-PC).

"We sold a few just for our bread and butter like I say, or things that we need. There was no income coming in. Fishing is all we had; but we farmed too....A lot of people had cattle... little farms" (CP-PC).

Ted Johnson explicitly refers to his father's seasonal fishing as "commercial", in contrast to the small scale farming economy which was more informal:

"Between 1935 and 1940, I remember Dad fishing commercially. It was one of the only means of income that there was around the farm because everything seemed to be on a barter system. You raise a cow and you trade with someone else for eggs and potatoes" (CP-TJ).

Fishing provided a rare opportunity for reserve members to participate in the broader market economy; especially at particular times of the year when large catches could be taken. High returns for fishing effort were often achieved when seining for whitefish:

"Did you ever see a seine? They used to throw it out along here... One pull I've seen enough to fill a good sized boat with whitefish... Yes pulling that is hard work. They'd wait for the wind. The wind blowing from the east. And the fish seemed to be in the harbour. I bought a seine for the boys, something for them to do when they're out of school. I supplied everything and would get half the fish" (CP-DK).

"We would start in the spring by pulling a seine. We would watch the waters, cause you could never tell. We could see these ripples on the calm water, indicating that the fish are more than likely coming in. Then we would go out and pull a seine. It is a deep net, very heavy. We watched in the spring. If we only got a few whitefish we would watch and try again. They would run for one or two weeks. There was a lot of whitefish at that time of the year, mostly whitefish. We would seine night and day. There were people down on the beach cleaning the fish and loading up the boxes with ice, and we had trucks coming from Toronto, Detroit. I think we were selling fish at that time for about fifteen or twenty cents a pound" (CP-RJ).

A few reserve members also fished commercially on boats owned by off reserve relatives or neighbouring non-native fishermen:

"When I was fishing back in the thirties, I went across to Parry Sound and fished over there. A cousin of mine, who I was fishing for, used to run the fish back here and sell them in Wiarton. It's only fifty miles across there" (CP-FJ).

"We fished right around here; and we went up as far as Tobermory, fished up that far... In the 30s I fished for Hepburn, at Hope Bay. We used to fish up to Lions Head and up further" (CP-FJ).

When I interviewed Ainsley Solomon, a resident of the nursing home in Wiarton, and asked him how important fishing used to be, he stated: "You could not eat without fishing" (CP-AS). His comment made more sense to me when I learned that there were local stores on the reserve where people could sell or trade fish. Within the local economy fish were in effect a form of currency. If one had no other means one could buy other food with fish:

"Tommy Jones had a store, and everyone had a bill there; and if you had a fish he would weigh it and take so much off your bill, so you could get food" (CP-EA).

"We sold what we could catch, maybe three or four a day. We sold them at Tommy Jones' store across from the community centre. He was my mother's uncle - Uncle Tom. He was a fish buyer. Uncle Tom's store was at the cross

roads between the community centre and the Anglican Church. And Lennox Johnson had his store on the other corner" (CP-TJ).

Local ice was used by store keepers to preserve the fish that they traded for:

"There were two or three ice houses, they called them, and they put some of those fish in there for their own use or the use of the community" (CP-WA).

"I used to have an ice house for fish. I used to buy fish, near the dock. I cut a lot of ice for Tom Jones. You use a certain kind of saw. It looked like an ordinary cross cut saw but it was made different, about six feet long. The ice used to be thick there in the harbour" (CP-VN).

Along with the two local stores run by reserve members, and some peripheral buying activity such as Vincent Nadjiwon describes above, there was another store where people could trade fish, run by Donald Cameron, a non-native. Donald Keeshig showed me the place where Cameron's store once stood, and recounted the economic activities carried on:

"That used to be our regular store. The guy's name was Donald Cameron. Very few white people would come here, back in the 20's and 30's. He used to play soccer with the kids. I was named Donald after him. That was a damn good house, the best one around, stone and plaster with a big veranda. Two of my sisters worked for him. He had no kids. He had a big barn. All this here was covered with row boats. The Indians made them and he bought them and then he rented them back. If you owed him money you fished and he also rented you the boat. I was old enough to talk to him man to man and he told me how much it cost him to build it. It was quite lively here when Cameron did business with Indian people" (CP-DK).

Outside buyers took fish when they could be harvested in large numbers:

"Tom Jones bought them at his store over by the monument. And Lennox Johnston had another store. White fellows would come in to buy them. They would compete for the highest prices. But most kept to Tom and Lennox cause you never knew when the others would quit buying. We got seven or eight cents for a trout in the 1930's. Some time we would get a lot of fish at Rabbit Island in

the fall, and we'd bring them across and take them to Wiarton by wagon. Finally the fellow from Wiarton came out here to buy them, mostly trout" (CP-GK).

"I just remember John McCauley from Wiarton. If the fish was over five pounds, he would cut the head off and then weigh it. The old people collected the heads and brined them - salted them. Then they would soak the salt out and make soup for the winter. We got four cents a pound for fish. We had to catch a three and a half pound trout to buy a loaf of bread" (CP-VJ).²

As George Keeshig notes above, extra fish were taken to Wiarton by wagon. They were taken as well by boat or sleigh, and later by motorized vehicle. There are also accounts of people skating to Wiarton with fish to sell (DeMille 1971:215). Along with this trade value, fishing on the reserve had secondary economic benefits associated with boat building and equipment making (DeMille 1971:211-214).

Reserve members traded with people "on the outside" informally and dealt with outside buyers when they had large surpluses; but they appear to have preferred dealing with buyers from their own community. They were suspicious of off reserve buyers, as noted by George Keeshig and Verna Johnston. Donald Cameron was not a member of the reserve, but because his store was adjacent to the reserve he developed closer social and economic relationships with community members than did other buyers.

Tom Jones is fondly remembered as a fish buyer. He was a community leader and a trusted member of the community.

² Verna Johnston also comments on the early and mid-century reserve fishing economy in a biography written by Roz Vanderburgh (1977:78-93,166).

His store is remembered for its social as well as its economic functions:

"I worked at Tommy Jones' store. People used to come out and sit there and tell their stories" (CP-DK).

These various reflections on early twentieth century fishing activities at Cape Croker suggest that social relations were regarded during this period as important aspects of economic activity. The evidence of this is only anecdotal but it matches the general anthropological awareness that economies are everywhere embedded in social relations, even where these relations are obscured by formally structured institutions. In any case, the way people remember this era's fishing activities attests to the current value placed on social aspects of economic relations.

Tourist Fishing at Cape Croker

During the late 1930s and early 1940s Nawash became an active centre for tourist fishing. Native fishers were already engaged in summer row boat trolling, and during the thirties they began taking out non-native tourists who were eager to land the area's renowned lake trout. "A lot of people from the States came for trolling" (CP-AS).

By the early 1940s, dozens of trolling boats set out daily from the reserve's government dock (DeMille 1971:215). Angus Elliott, who trolled for trout in two person row boats in the 1930's at Cape, estimates that about fifty row boats

could be seen out on the water at one time (CP-AN). Others recall similar numbers:

"I was involved in the trolling some. I was farming then. But it was nothing... There were about sixty row boats along the shore there. And they used to go out and troll all day for a living" (CP-FJ).

George Keeshig indicates that the period of the lake trout trolling fishery was a memorable time. He

"fished with Ely Chegahno in the trolling season, during the big boom" (CP-GK).

Tourist fishing continued into the war years:

"During wartime, to make a little extra money, a lot of... the young people that didn't go into service... there wasn't many people left here... they used to take the tourists out... trolling... in their small boats....So they made so much an hour for going out there....They called it guiding. They were Indian guides, they called them, for fishing" (CP-WA).

While most people involved in tourist fishing used row boats, Nawash residents began to use outboard motor boats during the 1940s. Angus Elliott notes Peter Desjardin and George Jones as among the first to have motor boats (CP-AN). Ainsley Solomon mentions that he and the store keeper, Lennox Johnston, also used gas boats during the trolling boom (CP-AS).

Schmalz (1977:189; 1991:223) portrays this tourist fishery at Cape Croker as a last gasp effort on the part of native peoples to gain a living from a fishery that was being rapidly destroyed by non-native commercial fishing. His depiction of reserve members as merely victims in a resource squeeze does not account for the initiative of reserve members who participated in this new economic

opportunity, nor does it recognize their own impacts on fish stocks.

Some reserve members with whom I spoke were guarded about their involvement with tourists, noting the inconvenience of taking out people who were inexperienced:

"Yes, lots of tourists. For about 20 years. When we started we used to pull in a cotton line, then we decided on wire, galvanized wire. And we had big reels inside the boat. The tourists would tangle the wire all up, cause they didn't know how to handle it, so we would put plastic on and when the fish were biting we'd pull the plastic tight" (CP-VN).

Several people also stated that they could make more money trolling on their own than they could taking tourists out:

"Some people turned out to be better trollers than others. The ones selling fish did better. If you were guiding, two or three a day was alright" (CP-WN).

"After I didn't take people out because I could catch more fish by myself. I got just one dollar an hour for trolling, but for one fish I could get two dollars" (CP-AS).

"Just after the war, if you got a dollar an hour, you were right up in the money. But it was nothing for these fellows out here to go and catch twenty fish a day. And each fish would be worth anywhere from three to five dollars. And if you caught twenty fish a day you were in the money" (CP-FJ).

Since so many community members did get involved in this tourist fishery, some of its advantages must have been apparent. Recalling tourist fishing as inconvenient may in part be a kind of cultural boundary maintaining mechanism. Like outside buyers, tourists were not as quickly trusted as local people were. This local/non-local dynamic still exists. However, people I spoke with about the tourist trolling fishery recalled the community activities it entailed with considerable enthusiasm.

Fishing in general at Nawash during the first half of the century is recalled as an important part of the community's history. People remember the period prior to mid century as an economically difficult time, but still it is viewed as a better time in some ways:

"People weren't as unhealthy as they are today. Because we ate those foods, we ate the fish and the wild meats" (CP-WA).

When local fishing history is recounted, it extends social links into the past. The places where people fished are closely associated with the people who fished there:

"I used to help my brother-in-law fish at Benjamin's point, lifting nets. There were a lot of fishermen. Bob Nadjiwon had a camp at Benjamin's point. That was his livelihood" (CP-GK).

"Uncle Willy, had a fishing camp down at Prairie Point and they would stay right down there when the season was on. In 1940... We used to go down and catch enough fish for our personal use" (CP-TJ).

Family connections and broader social structures are often central themes in recollections of past fishing activities:

"I learned to tie my own nets when I started. My Dad taught me everything. We caught a lot of lake trout. Today you can get out there in fifteen minutes, when it used to take us two and a half hours to row out there" (CP-EA).

"The old people told us where to fish" (CP-VN).

"I fished with my father and quit when he died, but then fished with my partner Harvey Ashkewe for one fall season" (CP-R1).

"We come from a strong fishing family. My dad was of that generation where fishing was a mainstay of his livelihood, and as a boy he used to accompany his dad and uncles fishing in the nearby waters" (CP-RA).

"Everyone had a little camp there, and would watch the sky at night. If we saw a cloud with a big line across it we knew there was a wind coming. Just cloudy with a low ceiling was alright. A line is an indication of high pressure. Or they would watch the sunset. The older

fellows could tell if there would be a storm just by the atmosphere" (CP-RJ).

Summer fishing camps, which were set up at various reserve locations around the cape, were recalled with particular fondness as places where fishermen and their families and relatives gathered and shared participation in a common activity. The appeal of summer fish camps suggests a connection to traditional native seasonal resource harvesting patterns, wherein social ties were established through the transmission of useful knowledge.

Fishing during this era is also remembered in connection with tensions over enforcement of fishing restrictions. Native fisheries conflicts continued to surface during the first half of the 1900s. The fishing license system was seen as restricting native fishing opportunities significantly. In 1913 Nawash boats were confiscated for fishing out of season (Schmalz 1991:222). Resistance to such restrictions was a significant dimension of pre-war fishing.

Seines were occasionally used even though forbidden by regulations from outside. Nawash fishermen sometimes set gill nets in areas that were off limits to natives at the time:

"We used to fish in Colpoys illegally, set four or five nets for trout when they spawn on points in shallow water - shoals. Three or four boats fished there but hardly went off the reserve, except for those with nerve. We set nets when it was getting dark; then we slept in the woods. Game wardens had search lights. We'd drag the boats right into the bush. Then we would lift the nets on the way back - get back by daylight. That was before we knew that those were our waters... The Martin boys got picked up once and got put in jail. They took everything, the boat, nets... MNR must have known

it was our water but wanted to scare us. Wardens used to pretty well hunt the Indians... We would paint the boats grey so they did not see us and we put grease on the oar - had to be quiet when setting corks. Couldn't smoke or they would see you" (CP-R4).

This era's fishing restrictions are remembered in connection with broader negative relations with people from the outside. Ross Waukey recounted times when he went into Wiarton with the reserve's brass band, and was treated poorly by some non-natives (CP-R5). He notes that these experiences are still with him. Outsiders who enforced fishing rules on natives were no doubt often regarded with the same suspicion as were other outsiders who assumed superiority over native peoples.

"They would take everything if we got caught" (CP-R1).

"We caught just enough suckers to last you. Because we were always afraid of white people. If they'd catch us...if we'd get too much they would put us in jail. That's what my grandmother used to tell us. And we were never let to catch more than we need..." (CP-PC).

Fishing at Saugeen: A Disappearing Economy

At Saugeen, fishing activity was greatly reduced by the beginning of the twentieth century. Hunting and trapping is remembered as the main local resource use activity:

"No, they didn't talk much about fishing. Our dad was a hunter, mostly for deer. We got raised on that when we were kids in the 40s" (SG-EM)

"No, I don't remember anything about fishing. My parents used to hunt... beaver... amik. Beaver are still around over here. They hunted rabbit, groundhog, porcupine, deer, raccoon... asibim... deer is wawashgesh... and muskrat... shashko... partridges... pne... They are still around. They are just like a chicken. We would have one per person... They sold furs in Owen Sound... all kinds of furs... muskrat, weasel, minks" (SG-RA).

Only a few people from Saugeen fished as a main occupation during the twenties, thirties, and forties. Since the reserve itself does not have a dock, they worked out of the nearby Southampton docks and were thereby in close contact with other fishing operators who used the docks. Saugeen community members have only vague memories of pre-war fishing activities:

"There has always been someone working at it" (SG-CS).

"I remember my father talking about people fishing..." (SG-CS)

"Maybe eight, ten, or twelve worked on boats" (SG-LK).

"The only one I knew that was fishing was....Bill Johnston. He used to work on a boat" (SG-EK).

"I don't know much about fishing; but my mother and father told me some. My father worked on fishing boats out at Southampton. He would get up at 2:00 a.m. to go to Southampton on bicycle" (SG-LK).

"A couple of uncles used nets... There was a group of people that used to fish. A boat used to sit at Ruth Roote's fathers place. In the 30's they used it" (SG-AS).

Chief Mel Roote (1998, pers. comm.) suggested that for a time his father, Isaac Roote, was one of the few left at Saugeen who still fished independently. Ruth Roote recalls her husband's grandfather as a fisherman, but it is unclear whether he worked on his own or was employed on a non-native fishing boat, like her husband later was:

"My husband was a born fishermen. His grandfather used to fish. He took after his grandfather - learned to fix nets from him. His grandfather was James Roote. He fished out of Southampton in the 20's and 30's" (SG-RR).

It appears that apart from those who found work on non-native fishing boats, fishing was disappearing as a primary occupational option for Saugeen community members during the

first half of the century at Saugeen. However, fishing did continue on a more informal scale:

"Times changed and along the way fishing was dropped except for angling..." (SG-AS).

"My father didn't fish, outside of a little line fishing - a lot did that. And in the spring and fall there is a traditional way of fishing with the spear" (SG-CS).

"We just fished the river... People waited for the break-up and then the suckers would come in. That was a treat - to get the first suckers. Who would think of eating those things now? ...My brother made his own spear. He used to go back to Stoney Creek.... When I was a child they used dip nets - a square net, and they would lower it into the river and get suckers and the odd steelhead... They used to smoke the suckers to preserve them. I remember when I was a kid I used to see them hanging on the clothes line to be smoked and dried... My dad used to have a regular smoke house for meat and he smoked the fish in it. He built it himself. My dad was a farmer I guess you would say - had pigs, cattle, horses, chickens, even geese" (SG-EK).

"When we were kids we fished with spears. We also caught smelt... just enough for dinner. We fished at Stoney Creek... We used to spear spring rainbow, sometimes suckers. We used to eat the suckers too. They have a lot of bones. We'd boil them" (SG-EM).

"I have taken fish with a spear, when I was ten or twelve years old. We would walk to the lake, following the creek up and down, hoping to scare up a trout" (SG-LK).

The limited amount of involvement in fishing by Saugeen reserve members suggests that the economic benefits of fishing were gradually overshadowed by other economic opportunities provided by proximity to Southampton and other towns. Fish taken from the Saugeen River and small streams had some importance as a food source, and local fishing, especially during spawning seasons, may still have allowed opportunities for renewing social relations to some degree. Apart from this, the fisheries near the Saugeen reserve during the first half of the century were less significant

for native peoples than they likely were in previous decades.

MID-CENTURY AND BEYOND

"The lake trout went away so fast: we never really knew why they disappeared" (CP-VJ).

Fisheries Depletions

There are indications of serious stock depletions around the peninsula prior to mid-century, most notably, sturgeon depletions at the beginning of the century. But the most dramatic stock devastations occurred around mid-century. During the early 1950s herring stocks dropped to near extinction (Spangler and Peters 1995:114), and a less dramatic, but also serious drop in whitefish stocks followed (Wyonch 1985:23). But most dramatic of all was the almost complete loss of indigenous lake trout.

Prior to mid-century, the indigenous lake trout was a dominant species within Lake Huron's aquatic ecosystem. It was prized by the peninsula's commercial and recreational fishers alike. By 1936, significant stock declines became noticeable, and numbers continued to diminish through the 1940s (Wyonch 1985:20; Spangler and Peters 1995:112-114). By the mid-1950s, the lake trout had all but disappeared.

Currently, small stocks of indigenous lake trout remain at three locations on Lake Huron, none around the peninsula.³

Pollution may have been a factor in mid-century fish stock depletions, as there was considerable industrial activity during this time at some Lake Huron port cities. Sewage run-off may have already been more detrimental to the water systems than industrial waste by mid-century, as it has been since then (see Barry 1978:158). One of the people I interviewed suggested that garbage from nearby towns was regularly dumped from barges into deep water (CP-RJ). Logging debris on Lake Huron rivers might also have been detrimental to fish spawning. But water habitat quality is rarely regarded as a main cause of mid-century fish depletions.

Overfishing is suspected as a main factor in these depletions, but the most frequently cited explanation is that the lake trout were vulnerable to sea lamprey, thought to have made inroads into the lakes after expansion of the Welland Canal in 1932 (Fox 1952:120; McLeod 1969:4; Barry 1978:111; Gateman 1982:38). Another suspected intruder is the Atlantic smelt which likely competes with trout for food, and may even have toxic effects when eaten by trout (Wyonch 1985:22-24).

³ As well as indicating an indigenous lake trout species, the name lake trout is sometimes used in reference to stocked hybrid crosses of original lake trout and speckled trout. The hybrids are also known as splake and back-crosses.

Like previous eras, there are no precise harvest figures available by which to accurately assess the impact of overfishing on fish stocks in the region leading up to mid-century, but there are rough estimates (e.g. McLeod 1969:5). Barry's (1978:110) general picture of Georgian Bay's fish harvests indicates that main commercial stock harvest figures fluctuated between two and seven million pounds for about eighty years, and then plummeted at mid-century to under 100,000 pounds. They rebounded in following decades, but only to a small fraction of pre-war levels. Figures for all of Lake Huron published by the Great Lakes Fishery Commission (1995a:13, 1995b:18) suggest that during the first half of the century annual harvests of all species averaged about twenty million pounds, with a drastic decline beginning around 1940.

There is little doubt that the quantities of fish harvested placed considerable pressure on particular stocks. Spangler and Peters (1995:112) suggest that Lake Huron maximum commercial catches for all species were reached by 1915: subsequent technological innovations did not provide access to new resources, but instead allowed for increasingly efficient harvesting of existing target stocks. Elliott (1987:37-39) notes various mid-century innovations:

"It was not until the 1950's that scientific fishing was done with depth recorders. Ken McLay got a maximum-minimum thermometer from a malting company and started to record temperatures. He found that trout like about 50 degrees Fahrenheit or colder best and whitefish like 54 degrees Fahrenheit. Later the fishermen used Loran C equipment...to locate their nets...Later plastic corks were used. The amount of nets put out each day was measured in 'boxes'. A net-box would hold about three nets of 325 ft. each. The first nets were only about 14

meshes (6 feet) deep but by 1940 they were making meshes of about 36 meshes deep and by 1950 some nets were 60 meshes (20 feet) deep...After about 1950 when all-nylon nets were used the nets could be left in the boxes, and the big drying reels along the shores fell into disrepair".

By 1950, nylon nets that were about three times as efficient as cotton ones were commonly used, as were mechanical net lifters (Barry 1978:110).

Commercial fishing is primarily implicated when considering overfishing as a factor in the depletion of the lake trout. However, recreational fishing also exerted pressure on particular stocks. The boom in tourist fishing on the peninsula, in which both native and non-native fishers participated, coincides with stock depletions. Wyonch (1985:20) notes a marked increase in sport fishing during the 1930's, when lake trout numbers were becoming a concern for commercial fishers.

Competition between commercial and recreational fishing groups is noted prior to the 1930s. In 1928 recreational fishing representatives requested that commercial fishermen be allowed only outside a three mile limit so they would not harvest stocks along the shore (Wyonch 1985:20). As with the commercial fishery, there are no detailed catch figures by which to assess the impacts of pre-war recreational fishing.

The rapid spread of the sea lamprey is highlighted in most non-native explanations of the lake trout's demise. Overfishing is typically regarded as an additional factor. Assessments made by most native fishers on the peninsula weigh in the other direction. Most see the lamprey's impact as only part of the picture:

"The lamprey weren't that bad" (CP-VN).

"I don't think it was so much the eels. They overfished them" (SG-EK).

"At one time lake trout were indigenous, but the lamprey took care of that.. so they say. But it was overfishing" (SG-TM).

"The MNR says the lamprey was a major cause in wiping out the trout. So you would think that it would be mostly trout that you would see them on, but they are on all the fish - whitefish, you even see wounds on suckers" (CP-BJ).

"There was quite an abundance of lake trout at one time. And I guess people never ever thought of them disappearing. And somewhere, between the commercial fishermen and other fishermen... and pollution took the weaker fish... they fished them out to the last one. They weren't satisfied... the trout were the first to go. Then the herring went... Lamprey had something to do with it, no doubt... But those lampreys weren't a problem till the trout got down in numbers. They try to tell me that the lamprey came from the ocean. Well maybe it did or maybe it didn't. But the lamprey was always here in the Great Lakes. When the lake trout were in abundance, they probably kept the lamprey population down, because the lake trout is quite a predator. He will eat snakes and all kinds of stuff like that. So without a doubt, he kept the lamprey population down. And then when he got down in population, why then the lampreys came up with nothing to stop it. So he took the rest of the trout, or whatever he could" (CP-FJ).

"Lamprey were always here. No doubt, a lot of them came in the canals, but the species was always here. When I was a kid we caught racers (nothing but skin and bone) and you could see a scar where the fish had been bit by an eel of some kind - so that's what makes me think that the lamprey was always here... If one of the lampreys stuck to a fish another fish would come along and eat the lamprey. That way they kept the species from running out. But when the lake trout got down and the lamprey increased, they didn't have a hope" (CP-PT-FJ).

Native community members tend to link questions about mid-century fisheries depletions to current fisheries issues, because of current accusations of natives depleting the resources, which I discuss in the following chapters.

They are defensive about their community's possible roles in local stock declines during the 50s:

"We caught a lot of lake trout. Toward the end of the 50s they were all fished out. When we used rowboats there were lots, but the whiteman had more nets, 500 yards, and gas powered boats and lifters. They fished close to here and caught ten to fifteen boxes a day while we were getting three to four boxes with our gill nets. That's how they were fished out....They fished it out with bigger nets, thousands of yards of net... You just need little boats, not the big fish tugs" (CP-EA).

Like Earl Akiwenzie many people on the reserve equate native fishing with smaller scale fishing, and see the whiteman's operations as more technologically advanced, and thereby more detrimental to fish stocks:

"When commercial fishing got going after the war I noticed the fish going. It wasn't Indians that caught the most. Just lately, since the court decision we are taking more" (CP-R2).

When I was interviewing Vincent Nadjiwon at an old age home in Wiarton, a non-native fellow from Hope Bay came into the sitting room. When he recognized that I was interested in the history of the fisheries he immediately suggested that the mid-century depletions of local stocks occurred because big boats out of Lions Head set thousands of yards of nets in the 1930s (CP-VN).

It would be overly simplistic to believe that native fishers had no impact on local stocks in the decades during and just after the war. A few were already using powered boats and net lifters, as noted earlier. Some were also working on non-native commercial boats that were harvesting large quantities of fish. And some of the spawning run harvests at Nawash were substantial. Still, the impact of native involvement in fishing on the peninsula was no doubt

very small compared with overall commercial and recreational fishing efforts. Winona Arriaga is generous in her assessment of this question:

"When I hear the arguments about fishing, if anyone depleted the fishing of lake trout... I would say it was on both sides. We got our fish, and everybody else got their fish" (CP-WA).

Responses to Fisheries Depletions

There was a great deal of confusion in the commercial industry as to the causes of the lake trout declines (Wyonch 1985:21). This crisis led to an alliance between the government and the fishing industry (Fox 1952:120). In 1943, the Ontario Federation of Commercial Fishermen was formed, and a representative from the Lake Huron/Georgian Bay Fishermen's Association became its vice-president (Wyonch 1985:21). At the federation's insistence, the government's Fisheries Department agreed to stock millions of trout fingerlings, but lake trout continued to decline in Lake Huron, Georgian Bay, and the North Channel at Manitoulin Island. Tensions between the Fisheries Department and commercial fishers rose: fishermen claimed that the department was not planting enough fish, and the department blamed fishermen for overfishing and not observing closed seasons (Wyonch 1985:21).

Fish had long been stocked around the peninsula. McLeod (1969:148-151) notes that in 1909, a hatchery at Wiarton planted fourteen and a half million fingerlings. Around mid-century, a major effort was made to improve the

effectiveness of fish stocking techniques, and otherwise improve fish habitat.

New fisheries research, especially the work of Harkness (cited in Richardson 1974:69,113), improved ways of recognizing the suitability of particular streams as trout habitat. Habitat clean-up and restoration projects were engaged by newly formed organizations such as the Saugeen Valley Conservation Authority (McLeod 1969:116; Richardson 1974:70). Fish ladders were built to provide access for fish to spawning beds (Richardson 1974:70-73), and new dams aimed at creating ideal fish and wildlife habitat were constructed (McLeod 1969:119; Richardson 1974:45-49).

Economic Shifts on the Reserves

Mid-century fish stock depletions affected native community members as well. Their responses to diminishing fisheries opportunities were intertwined with broader social changes.

Schmalz (1977:210) suggests that the Nawash community deteriorated because of lost mid-century fishing opportunities; however, various social and economic shifts were under way and it is difficult to discern a direct impact of declining stocks on the reserve communities. Some people appear to have stopped fishing largely because of stock depletions:

"Lake trout left us... Well the herring left, that's what they eat. They disappeared too. Big herring and small ones. That's when I quit fishing" (CP-VN).

"People were pulling their boats up on the shore and just leaving them. I remember this Lennox Johnson used to have a couple of gas driven boats down at the dock, and he had taken them out of the water and not put them back in. They sat in behind his little store and they rotted there" (CP-TJ).

Since the whitefish were not drastically reduced, there were still gillnetting opportunities; but the recently expanded trolling fishery at Nawash was focused on lake trout, and many who were involved in this rapidly diminishing fishery looked to other means of livelihood. Economic opportunities outside the community were becoming increasingly apparent, especially for reserve members who had received training and made social contacts through participation in the military. Some tried fishing for a while just after the war, but eventually opted for other work:

"He bought a motor boat when he returned. But lake trout were going, we didn't get any lake trout and it wasn't too good then, so he went to work out" (CP-WA).

"I joined up because there was no other way to make money....After the war everyone had money and got boats... there were no fish left..." (CP-AS).

"After the war I went to the Department of Veterans Affairs and they set us up with a new set of nets, and I went out and paid for them that first year, but the fishing was really bad. It took all fall to pay off the nets. It was about \$500. That would be about \$5000 now. We just pulled them up and set them aside and went out looking for work" (CP-RJ).

During this period native fishing activity at Nawash reached its lowest levels. Though fishing continued as an occasional activity only a few continued fishing as a main occupation:

"They never quit fishing as far as that goes. They just didn't do it as big. Maybe the fish weren't there; I don't know. But they never gave up fishing" (CP-WA).

"Maybe the younger ones went off the reserve to work more after the war, but not my two husbands anyway. In 1965 or 67 my second husband got a custodian job, looking after the school, and that's when he quit fishing....He still had one net he was setting....The odd time if we wanted to have some fish he would go" (CP-PC).

"I was the only fisherman at one time on Cape Croker. It was right down but nothing else to do. In one week you were lucky to get 100 pounds" (CP-WN).

While fishing all but disappeared, farming which had become a main occupation prior to the war completely collapsed:

"There was the gardens... planting. And that sort of disappeared as well after the war. Everything changed after the Second World War here... everything" (CP-WA).

Since fishing provided a supplemental income for some farmers, the fisheries depletions could have played a role in the abandonment of farming, but an at least equally apparent explanation is that increasingly available job opportunities on the outside became better options than subsistence farming, which had long provided only a meager living even when combined with seasonal fishing. Beginning in the sixties some took work at a nearby nuclear plant which employed a large work force (CP-DK). A variety of other outside jobs were taken (CP-R5).

At Saugeen fishing was already a greatly diminished occupation prior to mid-century. Here too the availability of off-reserve work had likely been a factor in reduced fishing involvement. Some had taken factory jobs in nearby towns. After the war the trend toward taking other off-reserve jobs continued, but some followed in the footsteps of those who worked on commercial fishing boats:

"My husband worked on fishing boats out of Southampton, and Lake Erie - a place called Ereo, near Blenham Ontario. He started when he came back from the war overseas, in 1946, until he retired at 65 - almost 20 years... We moved down to Lake Erie... He worked on a boat out of Southampton, and a boat at Tobermory; and on the North Shore at a place called Britt" (SG-RR).

Commercial fishing was not an easy job, but it was a living:

"I was a commercial fisherman... worked on tugs for 10 years... Southampton, Meaford, and on Erio near Blenham - mostly perch there. On Huron we fished chubs (tullibeas) and white fish... 500 pounds of whitefish a day was a good catch... Chubs went for smokers... There was a little smoke operation here... There seemed to be a dollar if you went after it. Sometimes we left Southampton at 2:30 in the morning and got back at 8:00 at night. We'd see the sun come out of the water in the east and watch it set in west the same day... You needed weather, fish, and a market. Something would go wrong. One spring I was fishing on Lake Erie... We were getting seventeen cents a pound for perch. We got lots, but by the time we got back to the dock, the price went down to three cents. That ended my fishing that spring. I could not support my family and work down there" (SG-WK).

"They just had commercial fishing or factory work. It's better than factory work" (SG-TM).

More broadly the number of fisheries workers around the peninsula dropped significantly around mid-century, and many who remained, devoted less time during the year to fishing (Barry 1978:111). The number of fishing tugs operating out of the peninsula's harbours has fluctuated since 1950, according to harvesting opportunities (David Loftus 1996, pers. comm.). Greater efforts have been made to record commercial fishing harvests around the peninsula in the last five decades, especially since the inception of a quota system in 1984; however, the complete picture is certainly far from clear. Since the sharp mid-century stock declines the fisheries around the peninsula have supported only about ten or twenty small commercial fishing boats at the best of

times (each employing two or three people). Tobermory, once a thriving fishing port, had less than a handful of full time fisherfolk remaining by the mid-1980s (Wyonch 1985:23). In the early 1990s, after the Fairgrieve decision, the MNR began buying back quotas, which has further diminished the number of commercial non-native fishers on the peninsula.

While commercial fishing has been declining, recreational fishing has increased around the peninsula. Though recreational fishing is by no means the main focus of the peninsula's tourist activities, it is a significant part of it. Anglers are especially active during annual derbies hosted by local sporting associations. In keeping with their emergence as a vital fishery sector the sport fishing industry is increasingly attentive to current fisheries management issues. Native peoples have also recently taken more assertive roles with regard to the peninsula's fisheries, as will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5 - CURRENT FISHERIES CONFLICTS

In the subsequent chapters of this study I analyze current fishing conflict issues more directly. In this chapter I examine how the conflict is perceived by native community members and how it has affected them. I first describe the Fairgrieve decision and note conflict incidents that have occurred since this decision was handed down. I then discuss how the court decision has affected native fishing activities.

THE FAIRGRIEVE DECISION

On the 26th of April 1993, Judge Fairgrieve announced a legal ruling known officially as "R. v. Jones [1993] O.J.No.893 (Ont. Prov. Div.)", and less formally as the Fairgrieve decision. In this ruling he dismissed charges against Howard Jones and Francis Nadjiwon, members of the Chippewas of Nawash First Nation, who had been accused of "taking more lake trout than permitted by (the) band's commercial fishing license contrary to Ontario Fishery Regulations" (Ontario Reports 14[3d]:421). Judge Fairgrieve found that the quotas assigned to them by the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources (MNR) "unjustifiably infringed on (the) defendants' existing aboriginal and treaty rights"

(ibid.). Applying principles set out in the Sparrow case, a 1990 Supreme Court decision, Judge Fairgrieve recognized aboriginal and treaty rights as giving the Saugeen Ojibway First Nations "priority (access to the fisheries) over all other groups after conservation needs (are) met" (ibid).¹ Non-native commercial and sport fisheries can be allotted access to resources only after the first two priorities are satisfied.

Judge Fairgrieve's ruling in this case is seen as a "highly significant precedent" (Notzke 1994:72). Though it is a lower court ruling it may apply beyond the subsistence rights dealt with in Sparrow, since it recognizes "an aboriginal right of some sort to fish commercially" (Woodward and Jordan 1993:2f; cited in Notzke 1994:72). The extent of this commercial right is however, not yet clear.²

Conditions leading up to the fisheries trial were explained in an interview with David McLaren, a non-native researcher employed by Nawash.

¹ Regarding interpretation of the Sparrow ruling see also Boldt (1993:32-38) and Crystal (1996). This ruling helps clarify how "the constitutional recognition of treaty and Aboriginal rights works" (Crystal 1996:120). More specific to fishing rights, it establishes a priority order for groups wanting to harvest fish, and it clarifies government responsibility for any actions they might take in the name of conservation which might infringe on native rights.

² The challenge of defining the extent of native commercial fishing rights has more recently come to the forefront in Canada, in light of the 1999 Supreme Court ruling in the Marshall case which more explicitly recognized native rights to fish commercially (The Record 1999, A3).

"The Nawash First Nation fishermen were targeted by OFAH (Ontario Federation of Anglers and Hunters) as over-fishing their lake trout quota. There were charges laid pretty well every year for fishing over their lake trout quota. These charges were laid by the MNR (Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources) every year that the Band had to apply for a license. Nawash applied for the license every year under protest because they figured that they didn't need a license to practice their rights. One of the charges was laid in connection with fishing too many splake, over their quota. And again it was a sting operation by the conservation officers. They set up a truck outside of the reserve and bought fish from some fishermen and managed to spend \$140,000 of tax payer's money. They spent eighteen months doing this and hauled in 20,000 pounds of 'illegal fish' and then charged the First Nations for fishing over quota. Well finally the First Nation just let some of the charges stand, took them to court, and the end result of that was the Fairgrieve decision, or the Jones-Nadjiwon decision of April 1993. And that decision turned everything upside down for the sportsmen and for the MNR. It basically said the First Nations weren't breaking the law after all. They weren't bad conservators of the resource... they had a perfect right to catch fish and sell it, and therefore the licensing requirements, including the quota system that the MNR was imposing was illegal - illegal and unconstitutional. The Judge found the people who were charged not guilty, and basically ruled that the quota system as it applied to the First Nations was invalid" (CP-DM).

McLaren further explains his view that the quota system in place prior to the court decision was unfair to native community members in several respects:

"The result of treating unlike people alike is discrimination. The best example of that in this area is how the MNR came up with the quota system in licensing the First Nation here. As the Fairgrieve trial revealed, although the MNR's quota system was intended to treat all commercial users equally, it ended up discriminating against the Native fishery.

As I understand it the quota system came in 1984. The MNR took all the commercial users at that time, and for each one they took an average of their yearly takes over the previous six years for each species and based their quotas on that. The MNR did that for all of the 10 or 15 non-native fishermen, and when it came to Nawash, it was a communal license; there were 10 or 15 Native commercial fishermen operating under that one license. So when the MNR added up the Nawash catch, they did not include the fish that was given away in

the community, or sold in the community, or sold off of the back of a pickup truck. They counted only the fish that was registered through the fish buyers. Before 1984 there was no requirement to register all the fish sold through the fish buyers, or all the fish sold period. So the numbers that the ministry had on record for Nawash were woefully low" (CP-DM).

The licensing system also is seen as unfair in that it did not account for the kind of fishing that reserve members practiced:

"They also did not take into account the nature of the native fishery. They arbitrarily slapped a ceiling of 5000 pounds of splake on the native fishery. Now the native fishery by practice was an inshore fishery, and they have historically fished for trout along the shore for generations and generations... thousands of years. So although the license they had included chub and whitefish, they were unable to get at the chub because the chub is a deep water fish and the whitefish to a great extent had been displaced by the splake stocking that was happening at the same time. So although the license shows a range of species, the fact is that there was only one species that the Native fishermen had access to, and that was the lake trout or splake in this case. Initially they only had a 5000 pound quota, and they probably would fish out three, four, or five times that amount in a season. So that's how the quota system was developed. By applying it equally to all the users the MNR ended up discriminating against the First Nations" (CP-DM).

Howard Jones, one of the two men charged, explains that they were not only accused of exceeding quotas, but also of not complying with harvest reporting regulations:

"I was Chief before the Fairgrieve decision. When the charges came the license was in my name. Since I was overseeing the license, I was charged. So the charges occurred when I was Chief, but the decision to fight the case was made after....We were charged for exceeding the quota, but also for not reporting what we were catching properly. That is what....made me determined to fight it" (CP-HJ).

He notes the importance of current constitutional and legal contexts for the outcome in the case:

"After I heard all the evidence I was not surprise that we won. I have suffered through a history of

the community, or sold in the community, or sold off of the back of a pickup truck. They counted only the fish that was registered through the fish buyers. Before 1984 there was no requirement to register all the fish sold through the fish buyers, or all the fish sold period. So the numbers that the ministry had on record for Nawash were woefully low" (CP-DM).

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He notes the importance of current constitutional and legal contexts for the outcome in the case:

"After I heard all the evidence I was not surprised that we won. I have suffered through a history of



seeing us lose on all these little charges because no one knew how to handle it properly. I think the court case was won partly through good timing. The Canadian Constitution had come into play, which recognized that our rights were still existing. I think that was a big thing, and the Sparrow Case. Although Fairgrieve was a lower court ruling I think the Supreme Court would uphold it because Fairgrieve used a Supreme Court ruling in making his determination" (CP-HJ).

Howard Jones sees the legal process that led to the Fairgrieve decision as positive, because local conditions and perspectives were taken into account:

"They got a change of venue to Orangeville to stay away from the media better. And we felt that local judges had handled too many cases. Actually they found that they couldn't get a judge locally, just a justice of the peace; and they wanted a learned judge....Fairgrieve had an open mind and wanted to be educated about the case and he made the proper decision" (CP-HJ).

Current Nawash chief, Ralph Akiwenzie, also sees the Fairgrieve decision as locally appropriate:

"Judge Fairgrieve took the time to study the material, and made an effort to come and hear the testimony of the elders in the community here. We were on pins and needles for nearly a year, but the outcome was exactly as we expected... I felt exhilarated to know that all the effort had been worth while" (CP-RA).

Chief Akiwenzie further articulates what the ruling meant to him personally:

"When I come to think about it now, it was the highlight of the time I have spent in political office, having been called upon to testify in Orangeville. Those 10 or 12 minutes speaking at the trial was the highlight because I felt very strongly about the rights issue and the re-affirmation of the right that we do have for trade and commerce in fishing... augmented by the fact that we have treaty rights that have never been given up even though we have surrendered land. I really felt a sense of destiny being the one to testify in court substantiating the details. It was time well spent in 1992 and 1993" (CP-RA).

Chief Akiwenzie also explains how the ruling is important more broadly within the community:

"It was a milestone in our involvement as First Nations people. It helped to educate an unsympathetic public to our rights. I regard it as a very historic day... It substantiated our right. It gave us a strong sense of identity and it was very empowering. And it cleared us of the accusations in the media about us always overfishing. We use the ruling as an important guideline in day to day activity and long range planning" (CP-RA).

As indicated here, recognition of fishing rights has far reaching effects within the native communities. Along with new economic potentials, implied above as "day to day activity and long range planning", the ruling brings recognition of personal, social, and cultural values. But these potential benefits are limited to the extent that the Fairgrieve decision will be applied. The Fairgrieve decision has left important issues unresolved, including the level of commercial activity to be recognized. While some, including David McLaren (1996, pers. comm.), interpret the Fairgrieve decision as having established a commercial right, many see it as only a vague statement of rights to commercial fishing:

"Fairgrieve only provided a cursory review of the rights issued and didn't define rights such as subsistence and commercial" (SG-RK).

The broad jurisdictional issue of who has ultimate ownership of the fishery, and thereby ultimate authority to manage it, also remains open:

"There has to be a change reflected not only in attitudes, but in the management of the fishery. There are still problems there: the regulation of the fishery, the management of the fishery, the various jurisdictions" (CP-RA).

More specific issues concerning the geographic and regulatory range of native fishing rights are not yet

defined either. And an especially complex point left unresolved in the decision is what "conservation" means:

"I don't think it will be overturned. Maybe the parameters will be defined more closely in succeeding court cases, should they happen....By parameters I mean details about where and when to fish, and what 'conservation' is" (CP-HJ).

Judge Fairgrieve indicated in his ruling that he expected the MNR and the First Nations to negotiate appropriate harvesting regulations and conservation measures. Several months after the trial, a "Statement of Political Intent" was presented to MNR representatives by the Saugeen Ojibway First Nations, but negotiations never materialized. Nawash began holding meetings with the MNR on their own, but no productive negotiations have yet taken place (David McLaren 1999, pers. comm.).

Chief Richard Kahgee of the Saugeen First Nation asserted that his people's jurisdictional rights to the fisheries were never relinquished, and therefore negotiation was unwarranted. He also saw negotiation as problematic because it could be regarded as consultation. The MNR's obligation to consult with Native communities (as also set out in Sparrow) could then be met, even if the communities opposed whatever regulations the MNR decided on. This impasse demonstrates the serious level of distrust that has been created.

On the 23rd of September 1995, at an international conference in Duluth, Minnesota, Chief Kahgee announced the Duluth Declaration. On the 2nd of October 1995, it was formally signed at a public ceremony at Saugeen. The

document is a claim of jurisdiction to the "waters in their entirety, which includes the fisheries, lands and minerals, above and below the waters, including the lake bed" around the peninsula, "to the median point in the water between the Saugeen Nation territory... and all other national territory" (Duluth Declaration 1995). The declaration also served notice that commercial and sports licenses would be issued by the band. Shortly after releasing this declaration, Chief Kahgee stated that beginning in January 1997, licenses would be enforced by Saugeen's conservation officers (Sun Times, 3 Oct. 95, p.1). Chief Kahgee's defiant stance was supported by perhaps the majority of community members at Saugeen, but a significant number were concerned that his position might unduly worsen the already tense social atmosphere.

In light of Chief Kahgee's refusal to negotiate, Nawash's decision to enter preliminary discussions with the MNR placed a strain on the Saugeen Ojibway First Nations alliance. One fisherman at Saugeen suggested that Nawash tried negotiating because they were in a weaker financial position than Saugeen was. Chief Kahgee's demands were recognized by some at Nawash as ambitious but perhaps presently unrealistic:

"Chief Richard Kahgee's Duluth Declaration could be a good thing for the Indian. But whether it's working too fast is another thing" (CP-FJ).

Given the potential economic and social importance of establishing native fishing rights, and the historically rooted tensions connected with resource regulation, it is

not surprising that there were a variety of perspectives within both communities on how to best proceed following the Fairgrieve decision.

CONFLICT ISSUES AND INCIDENTS

"Like any court case that affirms rights it has to be recognized by the outside parties, and I don't know what degree of acceptance we are getting" (CP-RA).

There is some support from outside the First Nations communities for assertions of fishing rights. Some church groups, for example, have circulated documents that sympathized with native positions. The Canadian Auto Workers also voiced support of native fishing rights, and provided a venue for a conference on co-management possibilities. But many non-natives have expressed frustrations about how native rights will impact their own access to the fisheries. Issues are debated in the local media and at local meetings.

A local television station covered the conflict in a five part series in late 1995. Around the same time a segment about the peninsula's fisheries dispute was featured on the national CBC network program, "The Fifth Estate" (see Sun Times, 29 Nov. 95, p.1).

The most emphatic objections to assertions of aboriginal and treaty rights come from sport fishing association members. They see native commercial fishers who set gillnets near sport fishing areas as unfairly exploiting stocks maintained by their hatchery and stream rehabilitation projects (Sun Times, 15 Aug. 95, p.1; Globe

and Mail, 11 Sept. 95, p.A6). Non-native commercial fishers have an informal agreement with the MNR to leave Owen Sound Bay and Colpoys Bay as sport fishing areas; however, native commercial fishers do not participate in this agreement. They feel they have a right to fish there since the bays are within their traditional territory as defined in the Fairgrieve decision.³ Even though there has actually been little (if any) native commercial fishing in the Owen Sound bay, the position that native fishers take on this issue is seen by sporting association representatives as a threat to sport fishing, and thereby to the local economy (Sun Times, 15 May 96, p.1). The Ontario Federation of Anglers and Hunters (OFAH) supports the position of local sport associations members who oppose priority native fishing rights, and has published statements to this effect in several magazine articles (e.g. 1991).

The hostility surrounding the fisheries is demonstrated in acts of property damage and personal violence. Several Nawash community members claim that their nets were damaged or stolen (Sun Times, 28 Aug. 95, pp.1). One Nawash member faced charges relating to alleged attempts to ward off tamperers by booby trapping his net lines with razor blades (Warton Echo, 13 Sept. 95, p.14).

In another set of incidents, a fishing boat owned by native fishers suspiciously sank while docked at Howdenvale,

³ Judge Fairgrieve viewed "traditional territory" as extending seven miles out around the peninsula. However, there is uncertainty as to whether this line completely encloses the bay at Owen Sound.

opposite Lake Huron's Fishing Islands (Sun Times, 28 Aug. 95, pp.1-2). Only days after it was lifted, it caught fire (Sun Times, 5 Sept. 95, p.3). These events followed a series of less direct confrontations involving use of the dock facilities in this harbour:

"The Reeve of Howdenvale....he's the one that's making all the fuss. We don't pay the \$1000.00 docking fee, but non-natives have to pay. Its our inherent right" (SG-TM).

"The township was not happy with the native fishermen using the dock at Howdenvale. So after they repaired it they put in three posts. But one of my boys got wind of a law that you can't block the dock in case an emergency vehicle has to get in, and he called someone. They wanted the fishermen to carry the fish all the way down the dock. But then when the boat was set on fire the fire truck couldn't get through, and the fire burned the dock. Now my son Francis got a bill for repairing the dock, but it would not have burnt if the posts weren't there" (CP-WN).

Native community members and supporters suspect that local residents who had been actively trying to prevent native fishers from using the docks were involved in these acts of property damage. Sport fishery advocates in general are also suspected.

Several other occurrences are linked to the tensions surrounding the peninsula's fisheries. In August of 1995 a group of angry citizens, including sport fishing association members and an elected local government official, marched to the Owen Sound market where they confronted native fish vendors. There they protested against what they saw as the government's lack of support for non-native interests (Sun Times, 8 Aug. 95, p.1). From native perspectives this demonstration was a racist act - an effort to intimidate an already marginalized group.

Within a few weeks of the market demonstration, two native youths sustained knife wounds in a late night street fight in Owen Sound. According to native witnesses, police officers were in the area and could have stopped the fight (Sun Times, 5 Sept. 95, p.1). A police spokesperson suggested that because there were other fights on the same evening, they did not have sufficient numbers of officers to break up this particular one, but natives suspect a link between the police inaction and the fisheries conflict (The Record, 5 Sept. 95, p.A3):

"The police couldn't care less. Our boys get knifed in Owen Sound and the police are there and didn't see a thing. Yet there are three men knifed. Two weeks later a white guy is hit with a beer bottle and there is a Native in jail within 24 hours" (CP-WL).

While these confrontations have primarily occurred on the Nawash side of the peninsula, hostility is also evident on the Saugeen side, where fishing association members have stated that violence could erupt if natives try to enforce their own fishing regulations as defined in the Duluth Declaration. Tensions increased as the January 1997 enforcement deadline approached, but direct confrontation was avoided, partly due to Chief Kahgee's announcement that his community's regulation of the fishery would take place gradually.

In early April of 1997, Richard Kahgee resigned as Chief of the Saugeen First Nation, due to conflicts within the band council (The Record, 5 Apr. 97, p.F16). The seven council members who continued carrying out band business, under protest from Richard Kahgee, five other council

members, and a considerable portion of the community, suggested that they may not support the approach that was asserted in the Duluth Declaration. This factionalism was a serious disruption to community life. Several people noted the stress on personal relations caused by this internal political division. One older community member indicated that the roots of this struggle go back several decades, and are linked to perceived favouritism in family property allotments on the reserve. Though the exact impact of past and current conditions within this factionalism is not clear, it is obvious that reserve life has no shortage of socially stressful situations. While the fisheries conflict initially consolidated the two First Nations, and has brought each reserve community together at times, it has also brought new social and political stresses.

Fisheries conflicts on the Saugeen-Bruce Peninsula are about control of local resources, but local hostilities are linked to broader regional native rights issues. In 1995 there was more exposure of native rights issues in the Ontario media than there had been since the 1990 Oka stand-off. ⁴ Several members from both peninsula reserves joined the demonstrations at Ipperwash, in protest of the first native person killed in connection with a land claims

⁴ Regarding the Oka stand-off see Fleras and Leonard-Elliott (1992:92-99). In this incident native reserve members and their supporters barricaded roads in an effort to draw attention to their claim to a section of land that was slated for development by the village of Oka. The scenes of violence that followed have been, as Fleras and Elliott state, "etched in our collective consciousness as Canadians" (1992:93).

dispute in Canada in over 100 years (Sun Times, 12 Sept. 95, p.11). The clash between RCMP officers and natives at Gustafson Lake in British Columbia, which also occurred at this time, has similarly fueled apprehensions surrounding native rights conflicts on the peninsula (see Sun Times, 12 Sept. 95, p.11). Current fisheries conflicts on the peninsula are also affected by ongoing native land claims:

"I think some tension is also linked to the land claims. It involves all the townships of the peninsula" (CP-RA).

These tensions have seriously polarized local native and non-native peoples:

"I believe there has to be accommodation made, and soon. There was a situation that developed in August stemming from the derby that was planned in Owen Sound Bay. There were a number of outstanding issues raised that have not been resolved, including damage to nets, the Howdenvale incident where a craft was set on fire, and there was an unfortunate incident when several of our youth were involved in some stabbings and some free-for-alls just at the end of the derby in Owen Sound. We are hoping these issues will be resolved. There are investigations going on but there have not yet been any charges laid, which indicates that these actions are condoned and accepted, and this will make it more likely for similar actions to keep happening" (CP-RA).

"It was a poor investigation of the boat burning. And there was a big fight in Owen Sound. The cops stood there and watched. They put the Natives in jail and let the others walk. But its not just that. Everyone's attitudes have turned against natives. Some have always been like that" (SG-PS).

"There is a rumour in Tobermory that the white fishermen are going to be bought out. Everyone is uptight. I am up there in the white community. Nothing is moving, they can't sell lots, everyone is afraid... I had a lot of good friends, I used to visit in their homes. They were willing to listen before... There is a lot of tension now" (CP-WN).

"I used to have a lot of friends there. During the Salmon Derby I walked into the bar, and people I used to play pool with got up and left. It was so tense in

there....The picture of me and Miles fishing at Vail's point, supposedly it said 'Fishing in Owen Sound Bay', but we were out at Vail's point. It was posted in the laundry mat - like a wanted poster. People in the car parts store knew who we were right away. You just felt like you weren't wanted" (CP-WL).

"When I was in high school it used to be very bad like this. Its twenty years and its full cycle coming back" (CP-WL).

"There are benefits from the Fairgrieve ruling like more people fishing, but there have been a lot more hardships....The children feel the tension when they go to school off the reserve....Things are bad" (CP-WL).

"Every once in a while when I was a kid there was a problem. I remember Vincent Nadjiwon setting his nets at Barrier Island. That was his area for fishing. He had fished there for years and so had his dad. In around 1939, I think they put him in jail. The courts threw it out, but they didn't compensate him. There has always been some conflict. This last while it has been quite bad. I don't like shirts with logos anyway, but I won't wear those Neyashiingaming shirts to town anymore. You are a target for people who want to pick a fight" (CP-RJ).

CURRENT NATIVE FISHERIES INVOLVEMENTS

Within the atmosphere of resentment and uncertainty that characterizes current fisheries relations on the peninsula, some community members see the court decision as an opportunity to revitalize past fishing involvements, and pursue new ones. At Saugeen, Chief Kahgee supported the setup of a small fisheries department, which included a newly hired non-native programme coordinator, Timm Rochon; a community member, Harold Thompson; honorary fisheries guardians; and occasional summer student staff. A boat was purchased for departmental duties such as fisheries monitoring, and a contest to name the boat encouraged

community interest in the department. Harold Thompson, who is also an artist, designed a crest for the boat. Regular community fish-fry events also promoted community interest and served as venues for disseminating information concerning the fisheries. The band council also established a fisheries committee to oversee fisheries activities.

The fisheries department purchased a few small open boats, in an effort to encourage younger people to take up fishing. A few tried it for a while, but most did not stay with it:

"We bought seven small boats, but there is only one still in the water cause fishing is not for everyone. It's cold, windy, wet... especially in the smaller boats" (SG-TM).

"Fishing on boats separates the men from the boys - lots wanted to in the last few years but few did. The percentage works down again. It's hard work and you are at the mercy of the elements" (SG-WK).

Community members are unsure of the economic prospects that fishing might hold:

"The last few years people are more interested in it. Don't know if they can make a good living at it, but....they are getting more interested" (SG-CS).

Reflecting on her own life, and her husband's work on non-native commercial fishing boats, Ruth Roote advises that one must like the work to start with, and financial expectations should not be too high:

"I hope that fishing will appeal to younger people. It's something you're born into; you have to like water and have respect for water, and the weather....I certainly wish them success. You will never get rich fishing. Its a living. We never got rich" (SG-RR).

More generally, there is a sense within the community that economic development in the fisheries is much needed in light of current limited economic opportunities:

"There is not much to hunt and not much work" (SG-RA).

"The community developing the fisheries is a good idea. I hope it continues....There is not much employment on the reserve" (SG-RT).

"There is good potential in the fisheries for a variety of fields of employment....Unemployment is very high....maybe it's higher than 38 percent. Some are on social assistance who could also be working....Some young people leave the reserve to find work, but it's not attractive or feasible to work for minimum wage, with income tax and living expenses. To compete outside you must have a good paying job or be motivated by the kind of work, or it has to be important to your career" (SG-A1).

"It is important....to develop the fisheries because what else have they got" (SG-LK).

"You see in the news the welfare problems. Fishing development could help break that cycle" (SG-WK).

Some also see fishing development as having potential for improving broader social conditions:

"Developing the fisheries could be useful. We as a fishing committee might be able to develop a program for kids who drop out of school and do nothing. We could teach them how to properly do things and respect creation" (SG-HT).

Several community members became very active in re-establishing a fishery since the court case began. Lorne Mandewaub became especially involved both on the water and as an organizer. Theodore Mason (SG-TM) had previous experience on larger closed boats, and was glad for the chance to fish with other native community members. Jim Ritchie (SG-JR) became part owner of two larger boats, and opened a fish store on the reserve. For those who have increased their fishing involvement, economic potentials are

part of their attraction to the lifestyle. It is difficult to assess the current economic benefits that the native fishery offers. Participation is changing rapidly, and the fish market itself is constantly fluctuating:

"Right now we are going to set 2200 yard of net and out of that we will get anywhere from a ton to a ton and a half of fish, and there is only a three man crew. And then the boat gets its share to buy all the equipment and the nets. So we make out all right" (SG-JR).

"The prices haven't changed in 30 years. They shoot up to four dollars a pound then down to 50 cents. The processor makes the money. But it's still a good living. I fished the last two years. You can make \$1500.00 on a good day in the fall and the spring" (SG-TM).

"Some small boats do good. I know a guy from Cape with a 18 foot boat. He sometimes would get three boxes (135 pounds each) per day. At two to three dollars per pound he does alright. Then when fishing gets good the price drops" (SG-TM).

"Most of the fish go to the States or to Europe. The truck picks them up here and goes right to New York to the street market. People take the whole truck load there. We had a truck that came from Michigan last year. And we sell the spawn. We get one dollar per pound for spawn" (SG-TM).

While economic prospects are a concern for Saugeen members currently active in the fishery, fishing is also seen more broadly in cultural contexts. As noted by Jim Ritchie, fishing is regarded as a link to the community's past:

"I think to be a fisherman you've got to have it in you. For us it's part of our history, something we lost. When I was nine my grandfather, who taught me how to speak Ojibway, used to make furniture. He used to make a dip net, twelve feet square. He said you've got to have fish, and he wanted me to know how to make these things" (SG-JR).

When I asked people at Saugeen if they thought developing the fisheries could benefit the community, most

interpreted the question in terms of individual versus community benefits, rather than just in terms of the community itself as I had assumed they would. Given their concern for how some individuals might benefit at the expense of others, they regarded the prospect of building a plant that might employ several people as a way to more fairly distribute benefits:

"If it goes it will create some self employment. There is nothing much to do on the reserve. It would be good if they could start a company, but it should not be just for the benefit of individuals...Could build storage facilities or something; create plant employment" (SG-EM).

"Some people think fishing is just helping a few, not the whole community; but that will change when we get our own processing plants and bigger boats, and a few more people employed" (SG-PS).

As noted above, there was a split between Saugeen and Nawash over approaches to negotiating. Those who supported Chief Kahgee's Duluth Declaration seemed proud that Saugeen's fisheries policies were their own. But on the water, at least around the Fishing Islands where much of the spring and fall fishing is carried out, there is considerable cooperation between Saugeen and Cape fishers:

"Sometimes we fish with people from Cape. Marshall Nadjiwon, mostly the Nadjiwon boys, Philip Jones was on our boat last year, Al Podonequot was on the boat that burnt. Turtle, Marshall and Al own it. We use each other's boats if one is broke down... If it is too rough for smaller boats we pick up their nets. No one charges anyone cause someday you will be in the same place" (SG-TM).

"I've had this boat going on three years now. We just bought the other one two weeks ago. I have some partners on it cause its too hard to come up with the money on your own. Marshall Nadjiwon is my partner. He's the one who taught me how to fish. Right after the fishing protest in 1990. I didn't know the first thing about it. His brother Francis was the one charged in

the Jones/Nadjiwon case. They had charged Marshall too, but his charges were dropped" (SG-JR).

At Nawash, several fisheries researchers and organizers have been hired, and a fish plant which employs about a half dozen people was built. A fisheries assessment programme was put in place:

"Overall the programme isn't too bad. The majority of the fishermen are bringing their fish to the plant. I think there has been a lot of good information obtained... We count and weigh the fish and then we individually assess one out of every 20. That's five percent of the total, from shiners and suckers right on up to carp, whitefish, trout... We check for lamprey wounds, tags, clippings" (CP-BJ).

Some fish cages are also operated on the reserve, along the Colpoys Bay shoreline. I would estimate that two or three dozen people there in total are currently dependent to a significant degree on the fisheries. A more accurate figure is difficult to establish, due to the fishery's seasonal nature, and the various levels of part time, temporary, occasional, and full time occupation it affords. Many people see changes since the trial as positive in both economic and broader social terms:

"It was exciting to get up early, and see that people did not have to be on welfare. Like the reserve was alive again" (CP-WL).

"Economically and morally the decision has made a difference. People are gaining back some of their self-respect because they can do work that they are accustomed to. They like the job: they like fishing. They turn themselves to the task quite vigorously. Socially they have improved because you see a different attitude in people. They are not so worried about getting charged and having to pay fines. And it has put more money back into the community" (CP-HJ).

Some community members, including Ted Johnston, continued to fish in a small way after the trial:

"This last year I haven't done any fishing because I have arthritis in my hands and my hands are a little bit sore....and it's easier to buy a fish from the local fishermen. But I enjoy setting the net....This is the first year that I didn't set a net....I usually set only one, about 300 to 400 feet. It's only for my own use....whitefish, or splake or whatever" (CP-TJ).

There has also been some new growth:

"Since the Fairgrieve trial the fishing is more stable. They get enough to support a bigger outfit. There are three or four tugs here now, which never happened before. There were mostly just 12 or 14 foot boats" (CP-FJ).

Howard Jones notes secondary economic benefits associated with increased local fisheries involvement:

"I have a spin off business. I do maintenance on the tugs, mechanical setups and welding. If they need advice we usually do that for free because a lot of them are my customers. People have kept the work at home as much as possible with me. They have to go off the reserve to get some work done. Sometimes they use me as an expediter to get other people to do work for them, if I don't have the tools and machines to do the job. They do not know where all the services are and what to expect. I have had a barge for quite a few years. We take machinery across to the island, and with the fish farm we do quite a bit of work. Usually it is a one man operation here, but as we have grown we have part time work come in on a weekly basis" (CP-HJ).

Howard Jones speculates on the directions of current changes in the native fishery at Nawash:

"Right now you see a lot of people fishing because they have been fishing on a smaller scale and they think that you can just buy a big tug and you go out and fish. And a lot are learning that it costs more to run. I think when we get over this hump, a lot of people who are trying to get their own crews together will be actually working for someone else. I think that the five, six, or seven tugs right now will be cut back to three or four. There will be more of an emphasis on the Lake Huron spring and fall fishery" (CP-HJ).

"Some of the people think that fishing is a get rich quick scheme, but I don't think it is any different than any other job. It is not a lottery win or anything. Every fish you catch costs something in overhead. Some people this year replaced their gear six

times. They don't have the experience that non-native commercial fishermen do, and they are playing catch up now....They are trying to get up to the place that they would have been now if their rights to fish were recognized all along" (CP-HJ).

The reason that more people from Nawash than Saugeen are currently engaged in fishing no doubt has to do with economic trends that were already in place prior to the Fairgrieve decision. Though the Fairgrieve ruling provided only a tentative statement of native fishing rights, both communities have had opportunities to expand their fisheries in the last five or six years. But very limited expansion has so far taken place. As Ruth Roote and others note, precarious work is not for everyone. In spite of the limited economic opportunities on the reserve, and even with community promotion, the fisheries have attracted only a few new people.

A few of the older community members, notably Earl Akiwenzie, are fishing mainly for the same reasons they always have - to maintain their livelihood. People who have more recently begun fishing are likewise concerned about their livelihood, but they are also aware that native rights, and associated cultural values, are now explicitly interwoven with the economic prospects the fisheries offer. The events surrounding the Fairgrieve decision have brought various important values to the surface within the two reserve communities:

"I think fishing is very important. What other job is there for us? This was our main resource from the time I was growing up, and when I was married, when my husband was a fisherman. That's what we used for everything....And we believe as Indian people, these fish were provided for us... like everything

else....it's the resources... that we believe our creator gave us... strongly believe that" (CP-WA).

"We have a right to these waters, for our people to try and develop some sort of income. We have a right to it. If an outsider would do it, it would be called entrepreneurship, but not if a native person does it" (SG-CS).

The idea of conservation is central to the current fisheries conflicts on several levels. In the priorities established in the Sparrow case, and affirmed in the Fairgrieve decision, conservation supersedes native fishing rights; but at the same time, the native fishery is protected by conservation concerns, as it is the last fishery that can be closed should resources need to be threatened. But conservation was not clearly defined in either court ruling.

The meaning of conservation is a major focus of debate within the conflict between native and sport fishers. Conservation ethics are evoked in judgement of the actions of those involved in conflict incidents. For example, when native nets were allegedly cut, native fishers were quick to point out the conservation threat posed by lost gillnets which could continue to trap and kill fish. Conservation is also argued in contexts that involve broader questions about what fisheries resource management should be, and how jurisdictional issues can be incorporated into conservation approaches:

"The most important issues are; who owns the fishery; who manages it; whether the stocks are adequate to sustain a commercial harvest....basically whether or not there is a future in fishing" (SG-RK).

To summarize this chapter, the Fairgrieve decision presents important resource opportunities for the peninsula's native community members, but the extent of native rights that it recognizes is yet to be negotiated. The decision's recognition of native rights has been perceived as a threat by many non-natives, and has led to a great deal of polarization between native fishing rights supporters and opponents. This ruling has also stressed relations within and between the two reserve communities to some degree. Within this tense climate both communities have attempted to expand fisheries activities, but there have been some setbacks, and increases in fishing effort have not been as dramatic as might be expected. The concept of conservation has been given a central role in the current fisheries conflict, within a yet to be defined legal sense that rests on assumptions about what resource management should be, and more specifically as related to the ethics of particular conflict incidents.

In the analysis of conflict issues which I provide in the next chapters, I note how conservation's range of meanings are employed. I give attention to anthropocentric and ecocentric perspectives on conservation, and to related assumptions about the role of human interests in conservation approaches. I also examine problems associated with the way that essentialized images of particular groups are employed in the conflicts, especially where such images are built on ecocentric and anthropocentric notions of

conservation.⁵ Attention to these perspectives allows insights into places where ethnoecologies clash. It further helps to clarify the potential of linking conservation concerns and social issues within a prospective fisheries management agreement.

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⁵ Anthropological contexts for the concepts of "essentialism" and "ethnoecology" are provided in chapter 1., along with definitions of anthropocentric and ecocentric conservation approaches.

CHAPTER 6 - SPORT FISHING AND NATIVE FISHING

"God never did make a more calm, quiet, innocent recreation than Angling."

- from *The Compleat Angler* by Izaak Walton (1653, cited in Guillet 1938:141)

"I believe the whole re-stocking programme has to be re-examined, because we feel that it is destroying the fishery in order to create a viable sports fishery. That is where the problem lies, in the effort of the sport fishery to overtake the commercial fishery" (CP-RA).

In this chapter I examine the relationship between sport fishing and native fishing with particular emphasis on points of contention. I begin by stating some of the objections that angler association members have made and noting how their approach is linked to the classic conservationist tradition. I then discuss notions about native ecological relations that have been asserted in political debate by angler representatives. In the final section I focus on how the sport fishery is perceived within the native communities. I examine these various ethnoecologies, or perspectives on resource relations, in order to provide insights into places where divergent perspectives fuel the fishing conflict. I suggest that it is necessary to consider social and political connections when attempting to gain a comprehensive understanding of resource relations, and note how essentialized notions can limit this effort.

SPORT FISHING ASSOCIATIONS AND CLASSIC CONSERVATION

The Ontario Federation of Anglers and Hunters (OFAH) is the largest of the Canadian Wildlife Federation's twelve affiliates (Forsey 1994:22). It is established as a conservation group, but also functions as a political body when promoting its approaches to conservation which are understandably linked to the sporting interests that bring the group together. OFAH spokespersons see priority recognition of native fishing rights set out in the Sparrow case and applied in the Fairgrieve decision as a threat to their access to natural resources: they see access to wildlife resources as a right they hold as equal citizens within a democratic system (OFAH 1993).

An article entitled "Conservation Laws Should Apply to All" (1991:3,44-49), published in their outdoors magazine, was presented by then club president Dave Ankney as the organization's official policy. His position is that natives and non-natives are no different in their capacity to over-hunt if given the opportunity; therefore, in the interest of conserving the resource all Ontario citizens need to give up their particular rights and interests and comply with one set of conservation laws. Ankney warns that recognizing rights that exempt native peoples from universal conservation laws will open a flood gate of unregulated harvesting activity, resulting in the over-exploitation and destruction of natural resources. These concerns are noted as well in several OFAH position papers presented to

government committees (1994a; 1994b). While a few conservation groups in the region (e.g. The Morden Creek Conservation Club) have voiced objections to OFAH's position in their news letters, spokespersons from local angler associations on the peninsula have generally supported it.

The definition of conservation implied in OFAH's position papers indicates a strong connection to the classic conservationist tradition, and its utilitarian ethic. OFAH's claimed goal is resource "sustainability for the benefit of the people of Ontario" (1994b:15; see also 1994a:11). Conservation is viewed here as a framework for bringing the greatest good to the greatest number of people. Given their utilitarian definition of conservation, it is not surprising that angler association spokespersons see native rights supporters, who assert historic distinctions, as working against a conservation founded on common interest.

OFAH spokespersons state that insuring the conservation of resources is more important than recognizing historical treaty rights and obligations (Ankney 1991:44; Morgan 1991:45). This perspective bears similarities to the views held by conservationists in the early 1900s who also attempted to supersede native resource rights by claiming conservation concerns (see Tough 1992:70). A Commission of Conservation operated from 1910 to 1919 under the motto "use without abuse" (Tough 1992:62). Members of this commission claimed that native fishing and hunting patterns were unregulated and unorganized. They suggested that since native peoples had not established territorial boundaries

they could not be using resources productively. Some saw this as a good reason for expropriating native land where it might be managed more efficiently.

Anthropologist Frank Speck has attempted to counter such efforts. He asserted that among many Algonquian groups specific territories had been passed down within families since time immemorial (1914; see also Feit 1991). Through fieldwork, Speck documented wise use practices that were carried out within hunting territories. He noted, for example, the selective sparing of beavers and the practice of allowing regeneration periods when resources were becoming depleted. Speck also alluded to ecocentric conservation domains in his assertions of the longevity and continuity of native ecological relations, which imply a value that is not primarily instrumental. Ecocentrism is also implied in his statement that Algonquian hunters followed a "natural law of conservation" (cited in Feit 1991:118), and regarded hunting as a "holy occupation" (cited in Martin 1978:113).

It is uncertain whether family hunting territories and associated utilitarian conservation practices date back to precontact times as Speck suggests (see Bishop and Morantz 1986). They may be adaptations to resource scarcities associated with the fur trade, and some might have been introduced as trade company conservation programmes.

Whether or not family territories were aboriginal, the way Speck used ecocentric and anthropocentric notions of conservation demonstrates how they can be connected to

aboriginal resource rights issues. The wise use management practices he documented, in defending against political threats to native resource access, spoke directly to classic conservationist concerns. Speck's assertion of the historical and cultural depth of native resource relations evoked intrinsic values which added moral weight to the instrumental values he noted.

Like some of Canada's early twentieth century conservationists who brought reports of native over-hunting and over-fishing to resource management policy forums (see Tough 1992), OFAH representatives have recently given considerable attention to accounts of native resource relations that can be seen as anti-conservative. To emphasize the impending threat to resources that might accompany the breakdown of a universal conservation code, Ankney (1991:44) reports on recent conservation law violations by native peoples and notes academic studies that imply destructive native ecological relations:

"One source states that Indians literally declared war on beaver in the 18th and 19th centuries".

The author referred to here is Calvin Martin, whose ethnohistorical explanation of native ecological relations (1978) has stirred considerable controversy. Since such notions about past native ecological relations are brought into the peninsula's fishing conflict they deserve some attention.

NATIVE ECOLOGICAL RELATIONS AND CONSERVATION

Assessments of the conservative qualities of prehistoric resource relations are worth noting briefly, as they are sometimes brought into the broader debate about indigenous resource rights and they are linked to Martin's claim. Assumptions about prehistoric ecological relations are also implied in Ankney's depiction of all people as inherently exploitative predators, which is his premise for asserting that universal conservation laws are necessary.

Archaeological evidence suggests that in some instances prehistoric North Americans hunted big game animals with methods such as buffalo jumps which yielded much more than could be eaten or otherwise used. A "pleistocene overkill theory" (Martin 1978:169; 1992:33), the idea that early hunters played a significant role in the extinctions of some big game species, is based on such evidence. The theory is criticized for several reasons; for example, some suggest that it is contradicted by the big game species that did survive prehistoric human predation (e.g. Olsen 1990:103). However, many archaeologists agree that Paleo-Indians played some role in prehistoric extinctions (e.g. Jones 1990:79).

Evidence from the North American continent and from other regions of the world (see Berkes 1999:148-151) does indicate that plant and animal species did not always survive the impacts of prehistoric human activity, especially where groups were newcomers to particular areas. But given the large time spans and geographical ranges

involved, it is difficult to say how relevant essentialized generalizations about prehistoric peoples' resource relations are to current questions about conservation practices and ethics. Since resource relations and values are negotiated in social contexts, and we have only minimal evidence through which insights into prehistoric social relations can be gained, claims in either direction are highly speculative. Assessing prehistoric resource relations according to current conservation ethics is further problematic because notions about appropriate environmental relations change through time; and even in the approximate present, conservation ethics are not unanimously defined.

Regarding ecological relations among historic native peoples, records written by early explorers, traders, and missionaries have been cited in arguments for and against their conservative characteristics. These are often debated in the classic conservationist sense. For example, the nearly one hundred uses for the buffalo shows native ecology in a non-wasteful light (see Vescey 1980:9; McNab 1984:98-100). Radisson's 1660s account of the selective sparing of young beaver on the south shore of Lake Superior is also cited as evidence of wise use conservation (see Brightman 1987:123).

Historic accounts also suggest excessive levels of resource exploitation which seem contrary to a wise use approach. Le Jeune claimed in the 1630s that the Montagnais killed all the beaver they encountered without sparing the young for the future (cited in Brightman 1993:254; see also

Trigger 1981:27). An account from 1746 describes wasteful caribou slaughter "for the sake of their Tongues only....leaving the Carcass to rot" (cited in Brightman 1993:255-256). Even the buffalo was wastefully killed by some historic native hunters (Brightman 1993:255). Historic accounts are thereby suggestive of both conservative and non-conservative native ecological relations in the classic conservationist sense. Two theories have been presented in an effort to resolve this apparent contradiction.

The War on Animals and the Infinite Renewal

Most of the above noted evidence for and against conservative native resource relations is framed in classic conservationist terms, but ethnohistorians have also increasingly viewed native ecological relations in ways that link with ecocentric definitions of conservation. This reflects attention in the field of ethnohistory, and anthropology more broadly, to beliefs, worldviews, or perspectives; and it may parallel a broader trend in society toward preservationist environmentalism. Calvin Martin and Robert Brightman comment on the question of whether early historic Great Lakes native peoples were conservative, through reconstructions of native perceptions.

In his book, "Keepers of the Game" (1978), Martin suggests that prior to white contact boreal forest hunters lived in harmony with nature (p.40). People shared social relationships with animals (p.71). Animals gave themselves

to hunters in compliance with a sacred reciprocal relationship between hunter and hunted (p.148). But this ideal state ended due to white contact: with the advent of disease epidemics, a widespread "despiritualization" occurred (p.113). Martin claims that Algonquians believed disease was brought by angry animal spirit "masters" (1981:190), and when they could no longer appease the masters through traditional methods they turned against animals, including the beaver, slaughtering them where they could in a "holy war" (1978:155).

Brightman (1987; 1993) provides another explanation. He shares Martin's thesis "that the boreal forest game shortages need to be understood from the perception of the Indians and (their)...conceptions of animals" (Brightman 1993:284). But Brightman states that Martin "popularized the fiction of the aboriginal and religiously motivated conservation ethic" (ibid.). According to Brightman, the traditional native ethic encouraged, not discouraged, the indiscriminate killing of animals (1987:129-132; 1993:287). Brightman suggests that pre-contact boreal forest natives believed that the more animals they killed the more plentiful those animals would become - a belief in the infinite renewal of resources.

Brightman states that in the native perspective, the spiritual bond existing between hunter and hunted committed animals to giving their bodies which would be reincarnated

(1987:132). ¹ Brightman notes that other factors such as the introduction of western technology affected the efficiency of resource exploitation during the early fur trade years, but he claims that the belief in infinite renewal was the main motivation behind historically documented cases of over hunting.

Both Martin and Brightman comment on more recent examples of conservative native resource relations noted in ethnographic accounts (e.g. Feit 1973; Tanner 1979). Martin views them as a "recrudescence of a kind of aboriginal land ethic - a sentiment which...lay dormant throughout the period of heavy exploitation" (1978:175). Brightman claims that recent accounts of conservation practices indicate native peoples' reinterpretation of beliefs, and their attempts to adjust to new economic conditions (1987:125-138; 1993:287-319).

Martin's theory of "despiritualization" has been accepted by various scholars (see Vescey 1980:21), but it also met substantial objections (Krech 1981). Brightman's theory has so far received little critical attention.

One of the problems with Martin's theory is that he presents it as applicable not only to Algonquian boreal forest hunter/gatherer groups, but also to other hunter/gatherers, and even to neighbouring horticultural

¹ Brightman links the lack of interest in food storage, noted in several historical accounts, to this reciprocal bond of trust. Storing food might insult the animal spirits as it would demonstrate a lack of faith in the relationship (1993:367-368).

peoples (1978:8). Trigger points out that in some regions epidemic diseases did not afflict all groups in the Great Lakes region just prior to recorded over-hunting episodes, as Martin suggests: among the Huron, for example there were beaver shortages before epidemics occurred (1981:29-34).

Martin's generalized use of evidence from various times and regions is also problematic (Krech 1981). He creates an essentialized image that ignores the possibility of different beliefs among various native groups. Brightman likewise generalizes examples in his argument about a specific cultural group's environmental ideology (1993:289-91). Both thereby contribute to the essentializing of native ecological relations.

Another problem common to both theories is that neither adequately explains how perceptions or beliefs might actually shape resource use practices. Within resource relations ecological values can leave room for a wide range of resource use practices (Hames 1987:106; Black 1981:112). Native resource uses cannot be adequately explained merely in terms of perception or ideology. Any "native perspective" can only be understood in a very limited way apart from the social and political relations that are, along with environmental beliefs, integral to ethnoecological relations.

The concepts of conservation used by both authors also affect the validity of their theories. There is considerable ambiguity in Martin's linking of native resource relations and a "Western-sounding conservation ethic" (Bishop

1981:52), but he implies that native ecological relations were very close to Leopold's ecocentric land ethic (Martin 1978:157,187). This might be expected, since emphasis on perceptual or ideological perspective is a common characteristic of ecocentrism. Martin's ecocentric assumption limits the application of his theory to the wise use historical accounts of native resource relations that he attempts to explain. These may be more directly assessed according to instrumental rather than intrinsic values.

Brightman's native ecology is likewise largely ecocentric, and his measurement of native eco-perceptions against an anthropocentric definition of conservation is more explicit than Martin's. He defines conservation as "limiting kills to what is needed for survival, utilizing all products of slain animals, and deliberately managing animal populations on a sustained yield basis" (1993:281). Focusing on the latter of these three wise use principles, he states that Algonquian peoples did not practice conservation because the native world view did not include knowledge that human actions can have consequences on animal population dynamics (1987:130-132; 1993:368).

Several other writers, such as Berkes (1987:83), agree that some native groups were not inclined to the western management approach of assessing the effects of human predation on whole populations; and that in this sense, it is misleading to consider them as conservationists. But, as Berkes further notes, this view emphasizes only part of conservation's current range of meaning: various native

resource harvesting practices fit some definitions of conservation but not others (1987:86-87).

The relevance of Martin and Brightman's theories to current native resource relations in Ontario and to the peninsula's fishing conflict is more apparent in social and political than in ecological contexts. As political rhetoric, the studies may serve the purposes that OFAH representatives intend. They contribute to the effort to dispel or at least radically complicate a notion of indigenous ecological relations as unquestionably conservative. A critique of the eco-Indian image may be useful where idealized notions impede a more practical understanding of the quality and potential of ecological relations. However, the two noted theories contribute little in this direction, since they address only a thin ideological slice of ecological relations. When focusing on belief systems without sufficient attention to how these systems are connected to more practical domains, there are few barriers to speculation, as demonstrated by the stark contrast between the two theories.

While a more accurate appreciation of native ethnoecologies can contribute to better fisheries management approaches, the strategy of debunking the eco-Indian, which OFAH representatives have engaged, should be understood in more than ecological contexts. It is clearly a political strategy. Though OFAH representatives claim to be arguing for a more universal view of human/ecological relations, they essentialize native and non-native environmental

relations when pointing to suggestions of a historically rooted anti-conservationist native ecology. Further, by positioning this dramatic debate within a framework of conservation norms that they assume as given, they deflect attention from questionable assumptions within current notions about what conservation is, and avoid uncertainties surrounding their own approaches to conservation.

NATIVE PERSPECTIVES ON THE SPORT FISHERY

"I see policies as heavily oriented toward sport fishing. Stocking of fish not natural to the area is not the best thing as it creates competition for natural species. It could ruin their habitat. I don't know much about fish ecology....but I would like to see more control by our community" (SG-A1).

As indicated here, when voicing their objections to the sport fishery, native community members frequently straddle social and ecological issues. While they make ecological arguments they most readily see angler association activities in terms of historically rooted social inequalities. They strongly object to the power anglers demonstrate when stocking fish that suit sport fishing activities but are not necessarily useful for native commercial fishers:

"It's just providing the sports fishermen with a hobby - something to do....I heard once that the reason the MNR is buying out the commercial fisheries in Georgian Bay was to make it a total sports fishery lake, so it's their own little play area... for the sports fishermen. Some of the local angler association people were under that assumption. That may be why they are fighting so hard cause they were trying to make Georgian Bay just one big bay for sports fishermen, and it's hard for them to relate that we have the right to the fisheries now" (CP-BJ).

"Whenever there is a big issue it seems to be play versus sacred burial grounds, their leisure versus our livelihood. Oka was a golf course and here they want to go out with their buddies to have a few drinks and catch fish" (CP-WL).

"The anglers have had the rule of the roost for so long that they just don't understand it" (CP-HJ).

"They bill themselves as Ontario's oldest conservation group. Well they conserve alright, but so their members can go out and fish and hunt" (CP-DM).

Angling activities are contrasted with the economic hardships associated with native life:

"The sports fishermen do not know what hardship is. They are running around with their expensive beautiful boats and down riggers, and they've got good jobs. They don't know what our people had grown up with. We had nothing. I'd like to see the shoe on the other foot. I did see some of that this year when the native people were hiring whites to work on the boats" (CP-WL).

"The almighty dollar. That's the reason for stocking salmon. We call salmon 'junk fish'. They're just for sport fishing" (SG-LK).

"Stocking exotics is not fair if it's going to benefit just one part of the population....Looks like MNR and sportsmen are just in it for the bucks and the tourists" (SG-HT).

"The sports fishermen are causing all the problem. That's a million dollar industry. They are fighting to hold on to it. It's greed" (SG-EK).

Local angler association representatives claim that recognizing native fishing rights will bring hardship for local non-native communities because of lost tourist fishing revenue (e.g. Cronzy 1994). Native fishing rights supporters counter such claims by stating that the local tourist fishing economy does not benefit those who require economic assistance the most. They compare the tourist economy unfavourably to the benefits that might result from developing the native fishery:

"I know that tourist fishing is a big thing but there are people here who just want to make a living. I don't know how much money it guarantees but they are mostly just buying meals and rooms, not much else in the communities" (SG-CS).

"They keep saying that sport fishing is a big economic interest, but I know an old bait dealer in Southampton, he don't have a Cadillac yet. The five to six million that comes in - we don't see it" (SG-WK).

"All other issues aside, the anglers are reduced to the money argument. Local anglers figure their derbies are worth a million dollars in tourism a year. Well that's fine, but I think you have to balance that with the cost that they are imposing on the fishery by stocking with non-indigenous fish....If you want to look at how much money is injected into local economies, you have to look at how much First Nations inject into local economies, and just in the purchase of goods and services like cars, groceries, appliances, and all that sort of stuff. I think it is about 3 million dollars from Nawash alone" (CP-DM).

Assumptions about economic inequity are linked to ecological issues:

"It's fine if 400,000 dollars comes into the local economy from having this derby for two weeks; but in the long run if the perch and all the indigenous fish are gone it's not worth it" (SG-TM).

Some view broader business interests as underlying the threat to native fishing rights that anglers make explicit:

"Anglers and hunters are the vocal ones, but it is actually the business men's associations that are pushing to do away with the Native fisheries. Everyone is pointing the finger at the sportsman, but they don't realize who the real opposition is yet" (CP-HJ).

There is also criticism of the power structure by which stocking choices are made. A close relationship between sporting associations and government resource managers is suspected and is regarded as a blatant conflict of interest:

"MNR bows to public pressure... non-native pressure. We obtained different papers. Doctors and policemen belong to OFAH... people in high places. They bow to that kind of pressure" (SG-WK).

"The government keeps washing their hands of it and the sports people have a lot of money there, doctors and lawyers. They are the squeaky wheel" (CP-RJ).

"They have men in pretty near every department of the government. So how are you supposed to fight them? Maybe at election time, but there are so many sport fishermen that vote them in" (CP-FJ).

"The MP's belong to OFAH and these groups. When there is a conflict of interest they vote for their own benefit. If they are connected with a sports group they should not be able to vote" (SG-AS).

David McLaren has investigated OFAH's political connections as part of his research for Nawash. He suggests that OFAH's links to government makes their anti-native propaganda more effective:

"The current minister, Chris Hodgson was or still is a member. The Premier of Ontario was a member of OFAH. I know that the Conservative government took OFAH's message to the floor of the legislature when they were in opposition, because their questions there reflect the OFAH lobby" (CP-DM).

"We got a lot of letters between the MNR and OFAH. They show a pattern of sniping away at First Nations people, making them out as criminals or poachers, or abusers of the resources...Most, or a lot of the conservation officers are members of OFAH, so they get the propaganda" (CP-DM).

One way that David McLaren and other native fishing rights supporters defend against accusations of ecological damage caused by unregulated native fishing is by pointing to the unregulated nature of the sport fishery:

"OFAH members are hypocritical when they complain of First Nations people taking fish. Certainly when it comes to angling, sports fishing... that's got to be the most unregulated user group in the whole province. Nobody really has a good handle on what sports fishermen take out. There are not enough MNR agents to go around to do creel surveys" (CP-DM).

"They claim they are sportsmen. The derby at Southampton allows 4000 people to take five fish; maybe now it's three. And then the ministry has a weekend where you can fish without a license. We used to enter

that derby. A handful of natives fishing does not seem to be a big factor" (SG-TM).

"The thing is, the sport fishermen are never kept track of. The commercial fishermen have to keep track and account of every fish that they sell. The sport fisherman is not selling it, at least he shouldn't be, so he doesn't have to keep track of it. Now there are so darn many sport fishermen that they take as much if not more than the commercial fishermen" (CP-FJ).

"I can't see how the Indian people can be depleting the fish stock. You see how many fish the sports fishermen take out of the water. Look at how many sports fishermen came through. Someone said that the amount of fish they took out would cover a football field. What the Indian people take is just a drop in the bucket" (SG-EK).

Partly in response to negative portrayals of native resource uses, native rights representatives from both reserves have begun publicly criticizing non-native conservation and resource management practices, especially the stocking programmes engaged by angler associations:

"There are still problems....the whole question of conservation....There seems to be a gulf between what is called re-stocking the sports fishery versus the natural species, because some of these stocked species are overtaking the natural species and are changing the whole ecosystem which will impact both areas" (CP-RA).

Steve Crawford, a fisheries biologist hired by Nawash has been focusing on this critique along with David McLaren. Objections to stocking practices were presented in local news articles (e.g. Sun Times, 1996, July 17, p.3) and were the focus of a co-management conference organized by Nawash, which was held in nearby Port Elgin in 1995. As evidence supporting a native approach as a viable alternative to current management practices, native fishing rights supporters point to scientific studies that show the ecological dangers of stocking practices.

Ecological dangers of introducing new species are noted in a growing number of studies (e.g. Billington and Hebert 1991). Exotic introductions can increase stresses on indigenous fish populations through predation, competition for food sources, genetic diversity loss, and disease transmission. But the stocking of non-indigenous salmon and hatchery-reared trout hybrids is still largely regarded by angler association members as a hallmark of their conservation work.

Almost all native community members that I interviewed were of the opinion that exotic species are detrimental. The gluttonous characteristic of introduced salmon is viewed as especially problematic:

"According to a biologist who was up here a while ago, these salmon double their weight in the fourth year. Up to four years they are only 15 to 20 pounds, and the possibility of them going to 40 or 45 pounds occurs in the fourth year when they never stop eating, they eat constantly....They probably eat their weight every day....You put 4 or 5 million of them things out there. And everyone is putting them in. The States is putting them in and all the fishing associations in Ontario are putting them in... There is a hatchery in Owen Sound that puts them in. There is a hatchery in Wiarton that puts them in, a hatchery over in Port Elgin that puts them in" (CP-TJ).

"There is enough food to feed the fish that are naturally here, but these salmon get to be up to forty-five pounds, and they have to eat their weight in a day. So whoever puts them in should put food in for them so they don't eat the other fish. But they don't care as long as they make money selling fishing lures and down riggers and that" (SG-JR).

"Salmon is killing everything now. It's black with salmon: 25 to 30 pounders. There was no run of rainbow at Stoney Creek this year; no smelt. Salmon got them....There does not seem to be any small salmon, all big ones. Maybe the big salmon ate the small ones too" (SG-PS).

"Anglers feel that they put the fish in the lake so they have a right to them. But they don't understand that they are putting a voracious eating machine out in the lake to eat the native strains" (CP-HJ).

Along with the salmon, the recently introduced skamania is known as a voracious predator:

"They breed trout, like splake and skamania, which is half trout and half salmon....Skamania are bred as a strong fighting fish. Maybe their aggressiveness is detrimental to local fish" (SG-A1).

"The skamania that they put in, several different breeds, mixtures of rainbow trout, like the salmon it is just a glorified eating machine. It never stops eating" (CP-TJ).

Ted Johnston further notes that the impact of gluttonous exotic fish is coupled with stress on local species exerted by another exotic, the cormorant, a fish eating water fowl that has recently expanded into the more northerly parts of the Great lakes.

"There is another thing that has come about now. I don't know what prompted it, but within the past ten years all of a sudden you see a lot of the cormorants, huge flocks of cormorants....You take the cormorant eating that much, and the salmon eating that much... What's left for the rest" (CP-TJ)?

The threat that exotics pose for other introduced species such as the trout (splake) and smelt through predation or competition is noted as an example of the inadequacies of current stocking programmes:

"Anglers don't fish for whitefish; the majority of their fish is the trout and salmon. The salmon is an up in the air thing because they say that they are trying to bring the lake trout back but the salmon is taking away from the trout" (CP-BJ).

"The salmon is a bigger glutton than the lake trout, and they get that much bigger. So it takes that much more to feed them. Now will our food supply feed a lake full of salmon? I doubt it" (CP-FJ).

"Too many fish put into the lake. These big salmon eat the smelts up. I think the salmon will eat the lake trout, any fish smaller" (CP-EA).

The low reproductive capacity of introduced species is also seen as a weakness in stocking programmes:

"The splake are the donkey of the fish world. They don't reproduce. So if you are going to spend money on putting something back in there, you might as well put money on something that is going to reproduce itself" (CP-FJ).

Most urgent for native community members is the threat that introduced species pose for indigenous fish:

"I don't like them stocking exotic species. What do these fish do to fish that are already here" (SG-RT)?

"I'm not really in favour of all the stocking programmes that the MNR have, particularly the ones that they let out to the sports associations, like the stocking of salmon and skamania - the fish that are not native to the waters here....A lot of our natural fish have disappeared; our perch have practically all disappeared now. The bass are on the decline, the smaller pickerel are gone. When you turn a huge eating machine like that salmon loose in the water it just devastates the local stock, the native stocks" (CP-TJ).

As noted in several of the above quotes, indigenous species are referred to as "native" species. They are also seen as "natural", as opposed to "artificial".

"I think it would be more desirable to go to the natural type fish... the lake trout" (CP-TJ).

"It would be a good plan to try and get the trout back if they could figure out a way. That's the natural fish for the Great Lakes" (CP-FJ).

"The whitefish is not an artificial species, it's a natural species.....The splake....are artificially reproducing, they are man made" (CP-RA).

The concern for maintaining nature as a balanced system is commonly indicated in critiques of stocking programmes:

"Its trying to overtake nature. Fish raised by hatcheries hurt the other ones. They take away all their food so other fish have nothing to eat....New

species don't get along....I don't like the idea of putting different fish in one pond" (CP-R3).

"It would be good to try and revitalize the lake trout. It was one of the original fish here. There must have been a reason for it to be here, to keep the system in sync" (CP-BJ).

"They (people involved in stocking programmes) have interrupted the natural life cycle" (CP-BJ).

Awareness of the dangers that exotic species pose for indigenous fish has been increased through discussions at community meetings and other local gatherings, and some of the ideas associated with this critique were no doubt spread this way:

"I am wondering about bringing these fish in. Basically we were mostly a lake trout area, and whitefish. When they started to introduce foreign fish into the Great Lakes, they overpowered the original fish that we had here. I have heard people talking at band fishing meetings, and I found it quite interesting that these strange fish that they are bringing in eat all the food that our fish would normally eat, so they are sort of overpowering their presence here" (CP-RJ).

But the widespread interest in the threat of exotic fish suggests a deeper resonance.

A metaphorical association between exotics and "people on the outside" who also threatened indigenous ones, is indicated in the previous quote, especially with the use of the term "overpowering". The analogy was noted in a conversation I had with Ernestine Proulx, an Ojibway language instructor (1995, pers. comm.). I am not certain how explicitly it is recognized within the communities, but this association seems to play an important role in local perceptions of stocking programmes. It is also apparent that historically rooted social-political tensions implied in this metaphor contribute significantly to the way that

angler-run stocking programmes are assessed within the communities.

Attention to the social-political dimensions of people's assessments of angler associations and their stocking programmes, allowed me to more comprehensively interpret apparently contradictory statements. At first I assumed that stocking programmes of any sort were rejected, because they intervened with nature; but several people thought stocking was fine in some circumstances:

"Stocking is okay, but just indigenous fish" (SG-TM).

"Stocking local fish is alright - lake trout, whitefish, perch, bass, herring" (CP-R3).

"Whitefish is the most important fish these days. If you can keep them multiplying you can keep fishing. Stocking exotics is crazy. You don't put anything in that you have no control over. You can't teach an exotic fish not to eat small whitefish and trout. If we were to re-introduce herring it would be alright" (CP-WN).

Stocking itself is not then the problem, as long as the species is indigenous, and thereby fits the community's interest in the minimal disturbance of natural things and processes.

"Natural" processes are often explained in ecological terms, but they are also wrapped up in complex social and political contexts. Even opinions about the edibility of different fish seem to reflect social-political dimensions linked with particular species. Some people thought stocked fish were fine to eat, but many were quick to point out that they tasted bad:

"If you've ever fished salmon, they are the ugliest fish you've ever seen. They don't taste good. They get so big. I don't know if anyone eats them. Even the

rainbow trout I don't like. Splake is too strong. I like smoked chub, whitefish, perch, pickerel" (SG-TM).

"You can't eat salmon. They have a strong taste. I tried to eat small ones too, but you couldn't eat it" (SG-WK).

"Put a salmon in and the small fry will disappear in no time. In my view they are a garbage fish. I wouldn't eat them" (SG-AS).

It seemed that those most opposed to the fisheries being controlled by people on the outside, were most adamant about their dislike of the taste of exotic fish. Claiming that exotic fish are not edible implies a political and economic critique, when coupled with the common assumption that the native approach is to eat fish, not just catch them for sport. If exotics cannot be eaten, stocking programmes only serve anglers. But more generally, stating that exotics do not taste good seems to communicate an underlying message of resistance against outsiders, and the control they have over the local fishery.

Another apparent contradiction that became clearer in social-political context is that native fishing rights supporters claim to be vehemently opposed to anglers; but many are themselves anglers:

"I used to fish with a pole with my dad" (CP-RA).

"I do a little bass fishing once in a while. It's not as good as it used to be when I was a kid" (CP-RJ).

"I have fished mostly for sport: rainbow, bass, pike, pickerel, when there was pickerel; mostly in the river but I also fished along the lake for rainbow. I was mainly a rainbow fisherman because of my father. My dad fished for rainbow and hunted....Four of my uncles were....avid fishermen, mostly in the angling sense" (SG-AS).

"I just do sport and hobby fishing....I fish inland lakes and little streams for bass and pike. I camp with

my daughter. We go up north on fishing trips" (SG-A1).

"I used to rod fish for my own use up in Manitoba, at Oxford House Lake. There were so many fish there that when you'd cast, you knew you were going to catch something" (CP-FJ).

"I have done some fishing up in Northern Quebec. I was up there with a helicopter group....The guests we took out included Governor General Vincent Massey. He always seemed to select me to go fishing; not that I was the best fisherman, but in his own mind he thought that I would know where all the best fish were" (CP-RJ).

Though the popularity of angling among native peoples seems opposed to their anti-angler sentiments, native community members have various ways of distinguishing locally appropriate angling from the angling that characterizes outsiders:

"The majority of the native commercial fishermen are sport fishermen too. Come the spring time, all the commercial fishermen will be down at the point fishing, with their rods and reels. The anglers don't see this; but their point of view on sports fishing is different" (CP-BJ).

The distinctions they see are linked to long standing and recently more urgent social-political relations. One example of this, as already noted, is that the native approach, even when angling, is to fish for food, not just for sport:

"And through the winter a lot of the men went on the ice and fished through the ice. That was more like a sport; they liked doing it, they liked being out there. But yet that was food they brought home" (CP-WA).

"Natives are blamed for overfishing....but there are a lot more fishermen off reserve than on. Here people fish for food. I still ice fish once in a while....It's something to do with the guys" (SG-PS).

"It's interesting to look at the other side. I grew up sports fishing. I fished with my grandmother all my life... mostly for perch and bass. But it seems that sports fishermen consider us strictly commercial fishermen. Even when we do fish for sport we don't throw it back in, we take it home and eat it" (CP-BJ).

When natives do practice catch and release fishing, even this similarity is distinguished from outsider approaches:

"We put them back if they are too small to eat. Some non-native fishermen take all sizes, don't know what they do with them" (SG-PS).

"But in the last few years some of the native sport fishermen are starting to catch and release. But even then they found research that says that the longer a fish is kept on a line, the more likely it is not to reproduce. The more you play it the more harm there is" (CP-BJ).

While there is considerable overlap in species fished by both natives and outside anglers, especially at Saugeen where rainbow are available, another understood distinction is that natives tend to favour fishing for indigenous species:

"If they are going to stock something they should stock perch... or pickerel is a good sport fish.. bass... it doesn't have the fight like the big salmon though. I don't know what it does for them to catch the big ones" (SG-JR).

Outside sportfishing is also generalized as too individualistic in comparison with the community oriented approach natives take:

"Sports clubs are just out for their own personal interest. It's got to be for the people, not individuals" (SG-AS).

Trophy fishing is seen as typical of the non-native approach to angling as well. It epitomizes the outside angler's lack of care about the food value of fish, and shows a boastful individualistic attitude that links with the economic privileges that they appear to have:

"There are a lot of people that think that Indians overhunt and overfish. But we depend on it more for food not just for trophies" (CP-DK).

"The fish taken by the anglers is more big time, like for the big splake, the big trout, the big salmon, more trophy fishing. For me fishing is for a relaxing time. I go for the bass or perch... It seems ironic that they catch it so they can brag about it, but if they put it on the wall they can't tell stories that exaggerate its size" (CP-BJ).

"I remember some used to boast about getting the biggest deer or fish, but they never did it to get a trophy like our white brothers who do it for the fun of fishing. We've never done it for trophies; we've done it for consumption; and they blame us for spoiling their fun" (CP-PT-DK).

"They started a sportsmen show at the CNE but eventually it was taken over by all the commercial products. They moved to the International Center but the same thing happened" (CP-PT-SN).

The distinction based on trophy fishing also has internal contradictions, since natives have not totally abstained from recording unusually large catches for posterity:

"My grandfather used to have his picture in the smoke shop. Also my dad. They had their pictures there with the big fish that they caught. I had my picture there too. The fish was as tall as me when I was seven or eight, a rainbow" (SG-PS).

"There is a picture somewhere of the forty pound fish that Bert Ashkewe caught. He needed help: the galvanized wire was cutting his fingers. Norman McLeod helped land it. The biggest one I caught was twenty pounds. Ask Ella Waukey; her dad caught that forty pound fish. Tom Jones had some pictures. Maybe it was in the Wiarnton Echo, around 1930" (CP-GK).

But these fish likely were eaten after they were photographed. And community references in these accounts, distinguish community members from outsiders.

Though there are undoubtedly more similarities between native and outside anglers than this native community perspective suggests, the above noted distinctions allow native community members to make sense of the social, political, and economic inequalities that they associate

with outside anglers and resource managers. The native approach to fisheries relations is historically rooted; but at the same time it is reconstructed in ongoing comparison to the outside. The native perspective on outside anglers and their activities is essentialized in ways that fit the social and political concerns of the community. Their images of outsiders allow only a partial view and are thereby not well suited for assessing (either more critically or more generously) the diversity of interests that anglers might represent. But the aggressive promotion of essentialized anti-conservationist Indian images engaged by some angler association representatives has contributed significantly to the essentialized understandings of outsiders that have been recreated within native communities.

In spite of apparent inconsistencies in native critiques of angler association activities, some of the points made are important ones. It does not seem prudent to allow angler associations to stock the lakes with just their own economic and political benefits in mind. This indicates a short sighted approach to conservation that might have been adequate in an earlier period of history, but is poorly matched to our current awareness of human-ecological complexity and interdependence.

Social, political, and ecological conditions need to be regarded more carefully. Relevant factors in all of these domains are too easily overshadowed by essentialized images promoted through the political rhetoric that fuels this fishing conflict.

CHAPTER 7 - TRADITION AND ENVIRONMENTAL KNOWLEDGE

In this chapter I continue my analysis of the current fisheries conflicts by examining how ideas about tradition and traditional knowledge are incorporated into critiques of established fisheries management approaches. I outline local perspectives on outside management and management science, and discuss attempts within the communities to define traditional knowledge and assert it as a critique at a co-management conference hosted by Nawash. I extend this discussion into a broader analysis of how traditional environmental knowledge is being negotiated and reconstructed in the political context of the fisheries conflicts. I bring attention to a wide range of perspectives within native communities as well as influences from the outside. This allows a better assessment of underlying social and political relations that influence native perspectives, and thereby allows a more comprehensive view of conflict issues than can be gained by focusing only on essentialized perspectives.

Outside Management

In the fisheries conflict, native fishing rights are often argued with reference to the relative appropriateness

of native and non-native conservation approaches, as noted in the last chapter with reference to stocking programmes. While stocking is a central issue, native community members have voiced dissatisfaction with established management approaches in broader contexts as well:

"I think that the whole situation has to be re-thought because the ministry itself does not seem to have a real good track record as far as I am concerned" (CP-TJ).

Some people remarked that since they are not knowledgeable enough to assess management science they generally accept it; but many see the science on which management decisions are made by the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources (OMNR or MNR) as out of touch with local realities and thereby ineffective:

"MNR aren't managing it. They don't know what's out in the water. By the time they finish their studies three years is gone by. Talk to the fishermen; they can tell you what is out there" (SG-TM).

"The perch went here within the last twenty years. And yet you try to tell MNR that they are not there. MNR insists that they know how to run the fishing and how to manage that; but they can't tell us what happened to the perch" (CP-FJ).

Scientific findings are viewed with suspicion, especially where linked to stocking practices. Some assume that biologists who provide studies in support of stocking are biased in favour of angler associations:

"There are a number of MNR bureaucrats and biologists who are OFAH members, and there is a lot of cooperation between MNR biologists and OFAH in stocking programmes even though they may be harming the ecosystem" (CP-DM).

"Sporting clubs will say they have done tests, but they use their own biologists, not independent ones. They will say the salmon is not doing any harm. They can pay a man to say almost anything" (SG-LK).

On the other hand, science is assumed valid where it supports critiques of stocking programmes:

"This minister was applauding a hatchery that dumps 200,000 to 300,000 fish in. There is no scientific data on these fish" (SG-WK).

"They are all hatchery raised. Even the full lake trout that they say is natural is raised in a hatchery. So that's what some people in the scientific world are studying now, whether a lake trout raised in a hatchery can actually reproduce in a natural system" (CP-BJ).

Science is also often accepted as a potential part of the approaches that some native rights supporters see as alternatives to current fisheries management:

"We would use scientific data and use a quota system. We would have to be strict with that. It would have to be on the fishermen's minds. We can't deplete the stocks" (SG-WK).

"The preference is to let the system regenerate itself, over time. And of course that would have to be augmented by data, scientific data" (CP-RA).

Science, as ecological knowledge, does not seem to be as problematic as the social-political structures by which scientific knowledge is delivered. However, given the political contexts of current fisheries conflicts, scientific approaches are often viewed as essentially non-native, and compared unfavourably to a native approach.

A fisheries co-management conference was hosted by Nawash in March, 1995, in Port Elgin, just south of the peninsula. The stated purpose of the conference was to provide a venue for comparing native and scientific approaches to fisheries management. In the context of the fisheries conflict it was quite evident that scientific knowledge was generally equated with outside political power, and it was assumed that part of the conference's

stated purpose was to critique the science of established fisheries management.

At the conference several invited fisheries scientists provided evidence of the dangers of current stocking practices, evidence that supports the main critiques asserted by native representatives:

"Scientists from the University of Toronto substantiated the impact and devastation of stocking foreign species" (CP-RA).

"At the Nawash Fisheries Conference the University of Toronto biologists showed that if you stock with non-indigenous fish, especially sports fish, you are looking for trouble. They compete with the lake trout in the area for food; and there is evidence of salmon attacks on some of the only remaining indigenous lake trout stocks in Georgian Bay....We know they (hybrid lake trout) don't breed well in the wild; or if they do manage to breed with wild fish then they pollute the gene pool. And they introduce disease into the wild. If the goal of fisheries managers is, first do no harm, as I think it ought to be, then they have to take another look at their programme" (CP-DM).

In this last quote there is a possible contradiction between the dangers of polluting the gene pool and the ineffectiveness of stocked trout that cannot breed, however each critique in itself has some validity.

The Port Elgin conference was an interesting political event in that native rights supporters created the opportunity to turn science against those seen as having traditionally used its authority. In a broader context native rights supporters participated in the process of advancing knowledge through scientific debate.

Traditional Knowledge

Contrary to the stated purpose of the co-management conference, there was little substantial dialogue between those who had traditional knowledge of the fisheries and those who had scientific knowledge. The traditional environmental knowledge that was to be compared or linked to science was not readily apparent.

Berkes (1999) provides comprehensive definitions, discussions, and illustrations of traditional environmental knowledge (or TEK). TEK generally refers to experiential knowledge of the environment that is accumulated and transmitted in social contexts. Its "traditional" quality, like "tradition" in general, is best regarded as flexible. Traditional and local environmental knowledge can overlap, but they can mean different things as well, since local knowledge is more explicitly dependent on place than on multi-generational social patterns and affiliations.

I was asked to help with the conference preparations by contacting some of the elders at Nawash and encouraging them to share their traditional knowledge of the fisheries at the conference. Partly due to my own uncertainties about what traditional knowledge might be, I was not particularly helpful. About half a dozen elders attended the conference. A few noted some general points in workshops, but none addressed the topic of traditional knowledge of the fisheries in the main sessions. Instead, a younger community member, Eric Johnston, described a dream in which he was

convinced of the connection between himself as a native person and the animal world. His presentation revealed his strong personal and political commitment to native ways, native rights, and the idea of traditional environmental knowledge; but it brought little clarity to what traditional knowledge is or how much of it might exist in his community, or how TEK might be connected to other kinds of environmental knowledge.

Conference organizers were working with various notions of what traditional knowledge might be. The main conference coordinator, David McLaren, asked us to look for specific examples of traditional environmental knowledge, based directly on local fisheries experience and passed down within the community - what might be called "local traditional environmental knowledge". But we were all aware as well that traditional environmental knowledge is situated within a global movement in support of indigenous resource rights. Conference organizers had access to various examples of TEK research that was presented in global contexts, including Johnson (1992), Suzuki and Knudtson (1992), and Inter Press Service (1993). Several such publications were made available at the conference. The effort to gather local TEK seemed to be overshadowed by interest in the ideology and politics of global TEK.

A few possible examples of local TEK were located:

"I was talking to Charlie Akiwenzie. He was talking about all the people who were involved in the egg....stuff that was going on with lake trout, and how they noticed the rapid decline in 54" (CP-AE).

The first example noted here was the kind of local TEK that conference organizers were looking for (CP-AE-DM): if native fishermen were involved in fertilizing and planting spawn on shoals around the cape, perhaps they were practicing conservation; and these practices may have been passed down through the generations.

This example may reflect elements of traditional knowledge; but the extent and cultural range of this practice is not clear. Spawn was planted in local waters prior to mid-century (see also CP-R1); but whether this was "traditional" is uncertain. Spawn planting was more clearly linked to hatchery programmes in nearby towns:

"That was back in the thirties....I took spawn in there when I fished with Hepburn....All you done was to take the spawn and put it in the pail. Then take the male sperm... rub the fish on the belly and that sperm would come out in the pail and then you'd swish it around and let it set for about fifteen minutes... drain it off and then pour these spawn on a screen. That's where you kept them damp, with just a damp cloth over them....The hatchery there was still running when the war was on. I don't know when it finished" (CP-FJ).

The other specific example of local TEK noted above is an observation of mid-century fisheries depletions. Native fishers no doubt accumulated considerable "local" knowledge on which their fishing success depended. This allowed then unique perspectives on changes in the fisheries:

"In the middle 50's, in January, Charlie Shoot asked me if I had a net cause the bay had not frozen up like it usually had....As soon as we started pulling the net it was white with fish, nothing but herring....I have never seen so many. And that was the last time I saw so many, in the middle 50's" (CP-PT-DK).

"I mostly catch splake and whitefish and chubs. But there is not many chubs left, and hardly any smelt left. You used to get a truck load of perch or chub, but now you just get six or seven. And that's what the

other fish feed on, chubs and alewife, at the bottom" (CP-EA).

"The old people know the shoals" (CP-WN).

A level of local environmental knowledge is also reflected in the way that Nawash fishermen timed seasonal fishing patterns:

"When the wild strawberries ripened then the spring trout were ready so we could start trolling" (CP-GK).

This kind of local experiential knowledge is important in ecological contexts, as it could be combined with scientific information and used to enhance fisheries management. Non-natives who have also gained indepth knowledge through their involvement in the peninsula's fisheries have much to offer in this regard as well.

Rituals associated with fishing were of special interest because they take knowledge beyond the local into the cultural. The most notable example we found relates to the treatment of fish bones:

"They had little ways to show spiritual connections. The fisherman would boil a fish but never put the bones in the fire. They had a spiritual kind of respect for them bones" (CP-WN).

Fred Jones notes specific people who practiced this ritual at Nawash:

"I remember my brother Edgar. Now he would never throw his fish bones back in the fire. He always threw them out, to feed some other thing, some other form of life. That was the Indian's way of conservation" (CP-FJ).

This example seems to show a traditional native environmental practice at Nawash that is linked to perceptions about resource relations. However, it is not clear how locally specific this example is:

"That is mostly what I've seen on the West Coast, if they were fishing by the river they wouldn't throw the bones back in the fire. They would put them there by the side of the river. Some people said they believed that another fish would take that frame, and it would come back to life. Or it was put there to feed animals, and save the other fish" (CP-FJ).

This example implies a less manipulative or controlled approach to resource relations. This approach might not be practical in current contexts, as the remains of larger fish harvests cannot be reasonably handled in the same way that smaller catches were. The main value of this example, whether regarded as local or pan-Indian, is more in its ideological and political contrast between the ways that native and non-native peoples have understood resource relations.

In both George Keeshig's example of seasonal fishing and Fred Jones' examples of spawn planting and fish bone rituals, there are only subtle hints of very old ecological relationships - of knowledge passed down from the earliest times within a community. However, the other conference planners seemed to have accepted these as TEK, without question - without critical assessment of how the peninsula's histories of native resettlement and cultural interaction must have become part of the flow of knowledge. From my perspective it was evident that the strong political commitment these organizers had, coupled with their politically essentialized perceptions of native/non-native differences, was limiting their efforts to look for examples of TEK in more objective ways.

There are obvious problems with the assumption that all ecological knowledge noted by older native community members on the peninsula is "traditional". When I interviewed Frank Shawbedees he began talking about the disappearance of Ontario's passenger pigeons in the early part of the century. I first thought I might have stumbled on a splendid bit of TEK that was transmitted through several generations. When I asked where his information came from, he replied, "From the Discovery Channel" (SG-FS). Since almost everyone on the reserve now has access to an amazing range of information through television and the print media, it is naive to assume that current knowledge of native traditions or traditional environmental relations must have been passed on orally within the community.

This does not mean that traditional environmental knowledge is non-existent on the peninsula, just that a more critical assessment of possible examples is needed if one hopes to find environmental knowledge that is unique within the peninsula's native communities. It is also likely that the rather rushed approach we took, which was dictated by the conference planning schedule, also reduced our chances of finding out what people really knew about the fisheries. Further, the knowledge that does exist may be located as much in social processes as in fixed practices or ideas.

Traditionalism

The recent interest in traditional environmental knowledge on the reserves is part of a broader native environmental politic which is itself part of an emerging ideological traditionalism. Austin Elliott, who was one of the first people I interviewed typifies an interest in famous pan-Indian figures and an interested in pan-Indian environmentalists that is shared by many native community members:

"Natives teach to respect. It will be acknowledged in time. Don't have to seek glory and fame. Sitting Bull was a humble man. He only did what his people wanted him to do" (CP-AE).

"There were things that happened here long before the whites arrived. There were prophecies of the whites coming. Black Elk was a prophet. His prophecies dealt with the environment....He was talking about pollution of the waters and how this would effect fish life" (CP-AE).

The current global environmentalist critique is easily adapted to native environmental politics. "Western science" has been implicated in various environmental problems over the last several decades, and TEK serves as an ideal comparison.

"The thing that's been running through my mind is the difference between traditional knowledge and western 'civilized' knowledge" (CP-AE).

"Pollution came from western science and from western civilization. There hasn't been any of that sort of thing introduced by native people prior to the landing of Columbus 500 years ago....There are some rivers now that are on the verge of dying completely. That's all western science. It's time we start using traditional knowledge in hopes of avoiding more damage" (CP-AE).

As indicated in this quote, traditional knowledge may be seen as a corrective to the destructive spread of western knowledge and influence. Some also link the preservation of traditional knowledge and traditional cultures:

"There are people who....should be left untouched or they will lose the traditional knowledge that they have. People lose their identity, their culture"
(CP-AE).

Given attention to this global native environmental politic, local community values can be sharply defined in contrast to those held by the "state":

"I like the way Native people live....If they couldn't look after you then a relative would take care of you. With state regulations that is all gone. We are finding out now that traditional methods have a more solid ground to them. Where they still have that community contact they still learn traditional values of respect....I was raised with values to respect others and respect elders. I have to teach my children this. These traditional values have been lost in the western world. They teach you to take care of yourself, not to work as a team. Get an education so you can stand on your own or take somebody else's job" (CP-AE).

While older community members are critical of government approaches to resource management as well, they seem to base their views less on essentialized notions of what is traditional and what is not. While there are exceptions and variations, the older generation's orientation is typically more local than global, and more practical than ideological. People old enough to remember the war years seem more concerned about immediate conditions than global political ideology. Old and young identify their community in contrast to outsiders, but while differences were once largely understood in practical social and

economic terms, they are seen more and more in essentialized ideological contrast.

I use the term "traditionalists" somewhat hesitantly in reference to those most actively engaged in ideological redefinition of their communities. I do not mean to overstate differences within the communities. Several older community members are actively engaged in reviving native traditions, and in that sense have much in common with the younger more politically active community members who first come to mind as traditionalists. Traditionalists and others are working toward many of the same community goals. But I think that giving attention to traditionalism at least in a general sense allows useful insights into the range of perspectives on the fishing conflict.

The fact that only a few older people on the reserves are actively involved in revitalizing traditions presented a problem for me when I assisted in gathering traditional environmental knowledge. Most do not associate past fishing practices with native philosophy or native spirituality. I asked George Keeshig in a variety of ways what special importance traditional fishing activities had for the community. He repeatedly told me about the very real economic significance fishing had, and seemed a bit confused about why it was taking me so long to get the point. When I asked him about the way that native peoples used to think about the environment and how they looked after it, he replied, "Well there used to be a conservation officer" (CP-GK). His response to my attempt to learn the difference

between native and non-native fishery activities was, "They had different quotas" (CP-GK).

Fred Jones is interested in traditions, but when considering sacred rituals he does not lose sight of practical contexts:

"Fishing and hunting was the native's main source of livelihood, so naturally that went with all his ceremonies" (CP-FJ).

Perhaps because he does not so readily view native/non-native differences in essentialized ideological terms, Fred Jones assesses the prospects of MNR stocking programmes without rejecting them outright simply because they are non-native. He is more focused on their impracticality, and their lack of attention to local conditions:

"And the lake trout... when they did try to replant them... They had those hatcheries going, and they used to hatch the fry, and take them out by boat and let them go out in the deep water. Well if there was any predators around... goodbye lake trout. So they never got anywhere with that reproducing. What they would have to do is let the fish go where those other fish used to breed. And then as he found his way out he would find his way back there again. That is my theory anyway" (CP-FJ).

Fred Jones also provided an example of how local and non-local knowledge were integrated in a fluid way in past fisheries activities:

"As I first remembered the smelt, we didn't know what it was....When we pulled up the herring net we found a small herring that had teeth....When we took it home nobody around here knew what it was, so we sent it to Toronto. Word came back that it was a smelt. That was the first I'd ever seen of them. After ten or fifteen years or so, you could find them in any creek" (CP-PT-FJ).

Though often reluctant to trust outsiders, older community members have made the best of social and economic

opportunities where they could be found, and have incorporated various sources of information and influence into their communities where they could best contribute to community needs and aspirations.

After my interview with Fred Jones (CP-FJ), I turned my tape recorder off, and he ended up telling me a story. Looking back now, the story seems to convey a message about my efforts to locate traditional environmental knowledge. He told me that once when he was in town some of the fellows at the car dealership, whom he often visited, asked what kind of winter they should expect. They wondered if he might have some inside information, so to speak, since he was an Indian. Fred gave a prediction, I think it was for a very cold winter, based on several natural signs such as the abundance of different kinds of berries. His prediction turned out to be way off. When they asked him the next year for his prediction, he told them, "You better ask the guy upstairs". Perhaps the message was that I had my work cut out for me if I was looking for idealized notions of native ecological relations. Or, maybe he was saying that traditional environmental knowledge has a lot to do with social situations.

Tradition and Social Control

Another aspect of TEK of interest to conference organizers was attitudes about the uses of resources, and how these are passed on to children. This has both local and

global dimensions. Globally it is linked to ongoing debates about the existence of conservation ethics among indigenous peoples, and criticisms of the lack of conservation ethics within non-indigenous societies. Locally, it reflects on the prospects of developing and maintaining fisheries regulations within the two reserve communities.

Several people provided interesting examples of how they learned lessons about the appropriate uses of resources as children:

"The only fishing we ever did was by hook and line. We used to go down to the river; the whole family would walk down. We'd catch bass and catfish, take them home, clean them, cook them and eat them. We'd eat all the fish we caught, nothing went to waste" (SG-EK).

"If one family did not have as much luck they would share it. And if you caught too much you got heck cause you are not to overfish or waste" (CP-PT-RW).

"I remember I was taught a wonderful lesson when I was a boy. Dad left me at the lake while he went and hunted some place else. I shot a duck but I didn't want to wait for it to come to shore because it would be dark before I got home. Dad says 'What did you shoot'? I said 'I shot a duck'. He said 'Did you kill it'? I says 'Yes'. He told me to go right back and get it. He said 'If you don't want it, don't kill it'. So I went back in the dark to get it" (CP-PT-FJ).

Donald Keeshig regards conscientious resource use as an ethical native teaching:

"An old Indian philosophy is not to overdo what you depend on; and not make fun of what you depend on" (CP-PT-DK).

He invokes an ideological context here as a way to pass on knowledge about appropriate environmental conduct. Arguing the validity of his statement according to historical or ethnographic data would miss the point. His statement is meant to admonish appropriate behaviour through appeal to

community norms. One's identity as a community member can be asserted by upholding such community norms. In this context the basis of Donald Keeshig's statement in actual practice is secondary to its validity as a mechanism for encouraging behavioural standards.

The function of tradition as a mechanism of social control is seen in how native tradition is employed by the few older community members who have begun to actively engage native spirituality. These individuals appear to be exceptions to the older generation's tendencies toward practicality and locality, but it is evident that their traditionalist interests are based on practical community concerns.

Winona Arriaga was one of the few older community members who spoke at the Port Elgin conference workshops. She expresses her ideas about native traditions in an unassuming way:

"In my own way... my age... I still believe in the old teachings of the people... that we will continue to fish... we will continue to hunt. We will continue to do what our ancestors have done... to raise families" (CP-WA).

"I know the people... they had means of... they did what they had to do to keep the fish going. Let's put it that way. They knew what they had to do. They were taught from generations back... to keep the fish going" (CP-WA).

Practical concerns that she shares with her peers are evident in the above quotes: she hopes to improve the well-being of families within the community.

In her role as elder, Winona Arriaga provides guidance to various younger people. Ideas associated with ecological

relations are especially noticeable within the current political climate:

"Like Winona says everything is connected. The water is polluted because of the air" (CP-PT-DJ).

In 1995, a sunrise ceremony welcoming the return of spawning fish was performed just outside of the Nawash reserve, at Colpoys Bay. It was not known to have been held in the area previously. This ceremony provides an example of the social and political contexts in which the revitalization of a tradition can be embedded. The ceremony's organizer, Brad Kiwenzie, described the native perspective that the ceremony was intended to demonstrate:

"It is a way of respect; a way that sees the fish and the fishery as part of a world we all share" (Bruce Peninsula Press, Early May, 1995).

Winona Arriaga, who performed the ceremony, stated that,

"In the old days everything had a ceremony; it was a way of showing gratitude to the Creator for what he gives us. We offer tobacco to welcome the fish back. But the ceremony is not just for native people - we share it with our brothers from the four directions" (Bruce Peninsula Press, Early May, 1995).

The sacred nature of this ceremony is explicit in these descriptions, but the event was also clearly political. The fish that were ritually offered during this ceremony were taken from a restricted area. MNR authorities contemplated laying charges, but because of jurisdictional and political uncertainties, declined. There was some disagreement at Nawash about whether they should have taken fish from a restricted area, but among traditionalists the ceremony was a political victory.

Several years later, native fishers tested the political waters without ritual association by netting fish at a restricted place on the Sauble River. In this case, local enforcement officers took no action because they interpreted native fishing rights as allowing them to take fish from such places for their own consumption (Sun Times, April 4, 1997).

Winona Arriaga's participation in the welcoming ceremony shows that the social control function of tradition and traditional knowledge works on several levels. As a statement of appropriate resource relations, the ceremony has specific normative implications within the community. And by participating as an elder she extends connections with members of the younger generation that may allow her to advise them in other matters. In the politically charged atmosphere of the fisheries conflict the ceremony has normative meaning beyond the community as well. Tradition has been evoked here as a moral argument for changing the rules that regulate resource relations. In both local and broader contexts, evoking tradition seems to test the willingness to maintain social relations as much as it does the acceptance of the accuracy of a recreated past.

While traditional knowledge is constructed and constituted within communities, it also has personal dimensions. Though Ross Waukey is reluctant to speak about traditions in public, younger community members often talk with him individually or in small groups. On the one hand,

Ross Waukey sees native and non-native perspectives as quite distinct:

"Indians have their own thinking. They see nature differently" (CP-R3).

But he is also careful to state that his ideas are not necessarily shared by all Indians, as noted in the following quotes:

"When you plant a garden and put too many seeds in, once they grow you have to start thinning. Same thing with nature; it balances everything... dead trees... nature balances it. Indian people thought of nature as a person looking after things. That's my opinion anyway" (CP-R2).

"Nature is alive - a living person - just like you and I. You can only do so much to nature and it will eventually give you a disappointment, just like a human being. Because if you distrust nature it will do the same back. The creator put these things here for us to use, not to disrespect. That's about all I can say...Different people have different ideas. This is my own" (CP-R3).

Ross Waukey's descriptions of a native view of nature emphasize personal awareness of a place within the environment:

"We are part of nature but don't recognize this. Its up to the individual. All trees and animals are like humans. We have to communicate with them because they tell you something - show you something" (CP-R3).

"I think that is why humans are here, to look after trees... help keep the balance" (CP-R3).

"There has to be a regrowth for humans to live" (CP-R3).

But his concerns extend beyond individual connections to the environment. His traditional knowledge has social control functions as hinted at above in reference to not disrespecting nature. Social control issues are indicated in

his discussions of various traditions, wherein he describes what he sees as the right way to live:

"You have to take medicine with a right mind; have to believe in it for it to work. Maybe this is respect" (CP-R4).

"Most of the Indian ways, for myself anyway, is that you have to believe in it - respect it. Guk chinendon. Respect everything" (CP-R4).

"If you don't respect a thing the thing won't respect you" (CP-R5).

Ross Waukey links the kind of respect one should have for nature to respect within social relations. He suggests that people who discriminate against others or become too greedy are falling "off the path" (CP-R5). The "path" is both social and natural.

There are traces of old Ojibway ideas in Ross Waukey's expressions of traditional environmental knowledge. He is fluent in the language and he listened to older people, particularly an aunt, when he was young. He also has ideas about the personification of thunder and other natural elements which seem similar to descriptions noted in Ojibway ethnographies (e.g. Hallowell 1992). But Ross Waukey's insistence that his ideas are his own points to the individually constructed qualities of traditional knowledge.

Individual interpretation seems to contradict the idea that traditional knowledge is an absolute set passed on unchanged through the generations. But especially where traditional knowledge has social normative functions, it is bound to change, according to the changing social conditions that the community which embraces traditions needs to address. Old messages will be maintained where they are

socially useful. The fact that a community's stories are sometimes passed on for long periods with little alteration may indicate that they are evocative of very prevalent social conditions.¹ But efforts to replicate the past always need to be balanced against necessary adaptations to changing social and ecological conditions.

Given the adaptive aspects of traditional knowledge, Ross Waukey's view that he is only giving a personal opinion does not conflict with his insistence that he is explaining the Indian perspective. "The Indian life" in the past century has entailed rapid changes for many, and has certainly been different for different people. Ross Waukey begins to explain what native life is when he discusses his traditional beliefs and links them to appropriate social relations. He describes Indian life more directly as well:

"Indian life was rough. I remember times when we had nothing to eat in the house. We preserved fruits - wild apples for the winter....We used to live on hunting and fishing: we would make sure nothing was wasted"
(CP-R4).

Ross Waukey's ideological notions about relationships with nature seem to be grounded in practical social concerns. When one has the right relations with resources and with people, resources are shared and social hardships are alleviated. In this context necessity might encourage both conservation, in the classic sense of not wasting resources, and social order. Ross Waukey articulates an

¹ The method or practice of transmitting knowledge (e.g. reciting stories at ceremonies) is also likely to have an affect on its consistency (Trudy Nicks 2000, pers. comm).

ecocentric ideology as well when speaking of respecting nature, but he typically brings his ideas about the individual's responsibilities toward nature back into contexts of social responsibility. The necessity he experienced while growing up on the reserve is evident in his view of current ecological relations. People need each other's help, and resources cannot be taken for granted. Those who receive this wisdom have the task of deciding how it can best be applied in adapting to current conditions.

Revitalizing Traditional Knowledge

The belief that many of the problems within native communities are the result of contact influences inspires traditionalists within the peninsula's two communities to revitalize the old ways. They see reasserting traditions as a step toward regaining confidence that has been diminished due to social and economic marginalization. Efforts to promote the Ojibway language, especially among young children, have particular potential for linking younger and older generations, and thereby might allow older people to more easily share their knowledge.

But there is not unanimous agreement within the communities about how far the revitalization of traditions should go. It has already gone beyond the traditions with which most among the older generation are familiar. A real danger of headlong revitalization is that practical gains toward being included in the broader society that the older

generation has made may be overlooked in the effort to re-establish essentialized native ways that have little to do with local realities. Rather than renewing links between elders and the younger generations, extreme traditionalism may bring new discontinuities.

At both reserves there are at best only vague recollections of most of the fisheries practices and ideas traditionalists are interested in reviving:

"This fellow... used to make cedar chairs, from the bush. He used to tell us: 'every time you take something from the ground, you put tobacco there'. He used to put tobacco in the stove when there was a thunder storm" (SG-RT).

Apart from the examples already noted in this chapter, and those discussed earlier in chapter 4, few traditional ways are generally known within the communities. Many see traditionalism as something completely new:

"There wasn't any Indian religion when I was young. They said their prayers in English every night. No ceremonies as far back as I can remember, or my father could remember. He was 94 when he died and he told me that he never ever saw this kind of stuff that's going on now, the dancing, the tradition and that... I can't remember any of that" (CP-EA).

Many older people understand traditionalist efforts as an attempted correction to the suppression of native ceremonies in the past:

"Traditional native religion is coming back, but its not quite the same. The older people are gone...Laws were passed to outlaw drumming, singing, dancing. The government said it was non-productive" (SG-FS).

Older people who as elders have developed their own interests in native traditions provide guidance for those engaged in revitalization. They are sometimes asked to help sort out particular traditions:

"There is always some good and some bad. That's why when people ask me about some ceremonies, if they are right or wrong, I say they are not right or wrong. How you were taught is right for you" (SG-FS).

Not surprisingly, pan-Indian themes are incorporated in the revitalization of native ways on the peninsula, as indicated in Harold Thompson's descriptions of his paintings:

"It comes to me when I am drawing. It's about what the elders talk about: appreciating gifts; tapping into the source; unknown spirits" (SG-HT).

"It refers to fish and native people. The fish would give itself to people and in return people would let fish multiply. My other paintings also refer to respect for animals or mother earth" (SG-HT).

The old ways can also be renewed through incorporation of ideas from various other sources:

"When I went to school out west I used to hang around with Chinese and Japanese and a lot of their beliefs are the same... the four elements: fire, water, wind... water represents life... water belongs to a woman... when a woman is pregnant a child is in water, so it is life" (SG-RT).

Some see native spirituality as very flexible:

"Spiritual belief is in you; and that's what I read in scripture. Traditional people use sweetgrass, but I don't know how to do it. I'm not saying I don't believe it, but I've never done it. It would be like reading your bible, talking to the creator" (SG-RT).

Like on most reserves in Canada there is a high level of involvement in organized Christian religion on the peninsula's two reserves. Many among the older generation are skeptical about the possibilities of maintaining more than one religious conviction:

"Christianity was creeping in. It did not care if you threw the whole damn fish in the fire. Even back then Bob Nadjiwon was more prone to go to church than to his old ways. He was already in a no man's land, a 'nothing time' or something, neither one nor the other. Even at my age I cannot take on this new spirituality. I believe it, but I can't take it on. Although I left the

church a long time ago, you still have a conflict in your head. When I was in the war, in the trench, you were praying to a God, to keep you till morning. I never seen any atheists in the front line. Now they want to go back, to get their roots. I don't blame them, but I don't know whether they can or not. If they grow up in it they'd be alright, but if they go to church one week and then the sweat lodge the next, they are going to have a tough time" (CP-WN).

"The religious beliefs that come through now would have a lot of conflict with the European religious beliefs" (CP-PT-FJ) .

Some see revitalizing essentialized native ways as a contradiction to more general current realities:

"I think they should leave it and look ahead, not look back, because those days are gone by. They don't know what it was like" (CP-EA).

"It's hard to go back to tradition: you have to wear a war bonnet to look like an Indian" (CP-EA).

Older peoples' skepticism about revitalizing traditions does not stem from a lack of concern about culture change or culture loss. This is implied in the way Fred Jones shifts, in the following quotation, from the topic of traditional ceremonies to the subject of reserve authority structures:

"I don't really remember anything like rituals or ceremonies here at Cape? The only thing I remember....is that at that time they had the Indian Grand Council. And they were supposed to be able to talk to the government....but nothing ever came of it....They had the Indian agent here then and if the Indian agent said 'shit' you were supposed to stoop and strain to the utmost. This Indian Grand Council had representatives from all the reserves, probably about 50 people. But it never went any place because the Indian agent had all the say anyway" (CP-FJ) .

Past experience dealing with non-native authority figures has left a lingering mistrust, but most among the older generation seem unconvinced that the new traditionalism is the only solution to current problems.

They regard it with some caution, as they might regard other ambitious plans aimed at changing local conditions.

Traditionalists respect elders as potential sources of tradition, but where traditional knowledge is viewed in essentialized ways, as different from all that is non-native, it is difficult to see what can be learned from the older people who have gained their traditional wisdom through efforts to understand and adapt to realities that were not just distinctly native.

Several of the older community members at Nawash were invited to a potluck dinner, as part of the preparation for the Port Elgin co-management conference. Conversations recorded there between elders and younger people who were engaged in revitalizing traditions provide insights into the state of traditional knowledge within the peninsula's reserve communities. Both knowledge and wisdom are demonstrated in the way members of the older generation dealt with sometimes unrealistic expectations.

Wondering why community ideals were disappearing, Sidney Nadjiwon asked,

"Is it too late to change it back" (CP-PT-SN)?

Fred Jones replied:

"You would have to take a person away from all the influences here" (CP-PT-FJ).

Eric Johnston speculated on how one could bring about changes needed in order to revitalize native traditions:

"A lot of things shape a culture, but at the end you have to have your change in values" (CP-PT-EJ).

Fred Jones might have agreed to some extent:

"It's a hard thing to talk about. I could say it in Indian, 'Nah wab in ah - Cup chin wah wi yah'" (CP-PT-FJ).

But I suspect that his language shift was part of his answer. It was difficult for him to discuss native values with those who speak little Ojibway.

Getting back to their discussion of local traditional knowledge Sidney Nadjiwon noted:

"My brother says over by Parry Sound the smelt are twice as big as they are here" (CP-PT-SN).

Fred then employed a tactic that has many other purposes besides maintaining traditions:

"That's possible. I wouldn't want to contradict him. You see, a fish grows a hell of a lot faster after its caught" (CP-PT-FJ).

At the end of this meeting, the elders were encouraged to attend the Port Elgin co-management conference and to participate in planned discussions of traditional knowledge. With reference to part of the shoreline at Cape Croker known by the same name, Donald Keeshig joked:

"Port Elgin is on the reserve 'Little Port Elgin'" (CP-PT-DK).

He then added:

"Our forefathers were great story tellers and we are losing it" (CP-PT-DK).

His references to a local place and to the contributions of older community members did not go unnoticed.

As noted earlier, my analysis is not meant to characterize the reserve communities as rigidly factionalized along traditionalist and non-traditionalist lines. Since tradition means different things to different people, the lines are not so clear. Most of the people I

interviewed were surprisingly flexible in their abilities to see various perspectives. But a few seemed fundamentally attached to nativist ideology. Interestingly, some of the most ardent traditionalists are non-natives employed by the bands.

Neither do I mean to imply that the wisdom of most older people on the reserves, who are not necessarily traditionalists, is generally disregarded. On the contrary I remain impressed by the high level of attention and respect that older community members receive. This seems to indicate that social relations remain grounded in a notion of community that is currently broad enough to incorporate traditionalist ideology. Those who are engaged in revitalizing essentialized native ways, and those who are uncertain how these old ways apply to the native life they have experienced, have similar concerns for the well-being of their communities. Though the knowledge accumulated by the latter is a broader kind of traditional wisdom than most traditionalists focus on, it is the substance of the communities as they currently exist, and will hopefully not be overlooked when information is gathered from other sources for community building purposes. The wisdom that older community members have gained may be particularly important in current attempts to find practical management-sharing agreements.

CHAPTER 8 - FISHERIES MANAGEMENT CHALLENGES

As noted in chapter 5, Judge Fairgrieve indicated that native and government representatives were expected to negotiate fisheries management agreements that could incorporate both native rights and conservation concerns. Seven years after this ruling, no such agreements have been put in place. Saugeen participated in negotiations with the MNR for a few months shortly after the ruling and Nawash has engaged in various negotiation initiatives intermittently. More recently both reserves took part in a round of negotiations headed by an agreed upon arbitrator, but as of early 2000, this effort has also failed.

In this chapter I discuss obstacles that I see as standing in the way of a negotiated fisheries management agreement. My assessment is admittedly limited by the fact that I did not participate in negotiation meetings. But I suspect that the clashes between perspectives noted in this study have contributed to negotiation failures. I begin this chapter by outlining a range of perspectives found in government resource management approaches, in light of how well suited they are for incorporating native rights into broader fisheries management policies. I give special attention to the danger of overlooking relevant social and political factors where ecocentric views are over-

emphasized. I then attempt to clarify some of the fisheries management challenges faced within the two native communities, with attention to the difficulties of developing local regulations and local management approaches that can incorporate the diversity of local views on fisheries issues that exist in both communities.

GOVERNMENT FISHERIES MANAGEMENT AND NATIVE RIGHTS

In this section I discuss how native fishing rights accord with various approaches that have been applied in Ontario fisheries management, and suggest that over-emphasizing concerns for the ecosystem in government management approaches might obscure efforts to find socially equitable resource management approaches.

As noted in chapter 6, much of the confusion and resentment surrounding the current fisheries conflict is linked to confusion about how native fishing rights accord with more general rights, and how this balance can be reflected in government resource management policies and regulations. Lack of clarity where native rights are involved has long been evident in government fisheries management, as noted in my discussion of the nineteenth century Fishing Islands conflicts.

Hansen states that soon after the colonial government introduced the 1857 Fishery Act "conservation principles....became paramount" (1991:1). In 1866, the federal Fisheries Branch took over the responsibility of

dealing with native fishing issues from the Indian Department (Lytwyn 1990:23); thereby explicitly linking native rights and fisheries conservation concerns.

Assumptions about what conservation includes have long had an impact on how governments viewed the various resource rights that native people retained under treaties. As in the United States during the 1800s, Canadian notions of conservation were closely tied to the classic conservationist ideal of achieving maximum benefit for citizens through the efficient use of resources. Because native resource rights are not the same as the rights held by all citizens, they pose an obvious problem for classic conservationists. This discontinuity may account for some of the ambiguity in the way that native resource rights were regarded during the 1800s.

Increased fishing restrictions that native peoples experienced during the 1800s can be regarded as an inevitable outcome of colonial expansion - a cost best understood alongside benefits gained within the colonial process. But for many native rights supporters the introduction of fisheries regulations and the accompanying erosion of native peoples' access to resources is seen as a more deliberate political injustice:

"Some of those regulations... which restricted access for Saugeen fishermen, were unilateral actions that fundamentally changed the treaties" (SG-TR).

In his depiction of the injustices of the introduction of fisheries management policies in this region, Lytwyn (1990:24) suggests that the government's claimed interest in

conservation was largely a disguise for its efforts to deprive natives of their resource rights. To support this suggestion Lytwyn claims that nineteenth century Lake Huron fisheries depletions prove that governments were not actually interested in conservation (ibid.). Given the limited historical evidence of both ecological and political conditions on which Lytwyn bases his claim, his conclusion appears premature.

As noted in previous chapters, the extent of mid-nineteenth century fisheries depletions in Lake Huron is unclear. Though some local stocks likely suffered, there is no reliable indication of wide spread collapses until at least the turn of the century. Even if management failures were assumed they would not necessarily imply that government conservation concerns were merely hypocritical posturing. Such failures would reveal the ineffectiveness of particular management approaches, but not necessarily the motivations behind them.

While it seems doubtful that the first fishery regulations were enacted simply as a way to take ownership of the fisheries away from native peoples, there is little doubt that they had serious implications for native resource rights. The fact that we are still grappling with the difficulties of blending resource conservation and native resource rights attests to the substantial nature of these implications.

During the early and mid twentieth century in Ontario, government resource regulation and conservation efforts

likewise indicate a dominant classic conservationist perspective. Governments funded conservation projects where there was a need to create employment for returning soldiers. The deadly storm of 1954 known as Hurricane Hazel inspired projects that might protect against nature's unpredictable force (Richardson 1974:ix,29). Ecocentric resource management ideas were only occasionally voiced in Ontario prior to mid-century. Subsequently, ecocentrism became increasingly evident in definitions of conservation and associated management approaches adopted by resource managers.

During the late 70s and early 80s, a Draft Agreement on Ontario Native Fisheries was developed by native, Federal, and Provincial negotiators, in an effort to incorporate native rights into resource policy (Berkes and Pocock 1983). After aboriginal fishing rights were recognized in the 1990 Sparrow decision several definitions of conservation have been articulated in MNR documents. A Fishing Agreement (MNR 1991) and then an Interim Enforcement Policy (MNR 1992) were developed as temporary measures to allow for differences in the application of resource regulations to natives and non-natives.

The first document states that "Conservation embraces the protection, maintenance, use, and rehabilitation of the natural environment in a manner that insures its sustainability for the benefit of the people of Ontario" (MNR 1991). The latter agreement (MNR 1992) breaks away from this predominantly instrumental approach, using the same

definition minus the phrase "for the benefit of the people of Ontario". It notes "nature's inherent value" as an element of sustainability, and claims "an ethical responsibility to share the planet with millions of other life forms". This indicates a shift away from classic conservationism toward ecocentrism.

Bocking (1997) suggests that a general shift in Ontario's fisheries management strategies over the last few decades, away from maximized harvesting approaches, toward principles of ecosystem protection, is quite evident. He sees this shift as a positive one because it indicates a growing recognition of human impacts on the fisheries. But as noted in my discussions of ecocentric perspectives in chapter 1, and in later chapters, ecocentrism by itself is not well suited for addressing social aspects of environmental relations. Since social issues are integral to fisheries management policies, especially where native rights are involved, the trend toward ecocentric management approaches may bring problems along with potential benefits.

Olver et al. (1995) explicitly argue that the Ontario MNR should adopt a less utilitarian conservation approach to fisheries management. They call for an ecological approach explicitly modeled on Leopold's land ethic, which is widely regarded as ecocentric. But they attempt to avoid ecocentric dilemmas¹ by distinguishing their management principles

¹ Though Olver et al. (1995) claim to be looking beyond utilitarian issues, they present principles that could as easily be based on instrumental as on intrinsic values (see p.1587-1590). Here and elsewhere they evoke the paradox of

from both early anthropocentric and ecocentric ones. They regard their view as "less constrained by the cultural biases" (p.1587) that impeded these previous approaches. With "current science" as a foundation, they feel they can determine the values of other-than-human species without the lack of information suffered by the "pre-ecological" sciences that inspired classic conservationism, and without the "quasi-religious" implications of Muir's preservationism (p.1587). Muir, as noted in chapter 1. of my study (see pp.39-40) is regarded as the author of North America's first ecocentric perspective.

The assumption that "modern science" will enable one to determine and regulate the interests of an ecological system and its human and non-human constituents is problematic. If by "modern science" the authors mean the study of non-human aspects of ecological systems, there is little evidence to support their assumption. Given the level of cumulative human impact in the world, assuming the separation of human and non-human domains can lead only to limited insights into environmental conditions. Basing a management approach solely on the qualities of "modern science" would reflect a wishful acceptance of established authority more than it would a rigorous commitment to discovery and explanation. If the authors imply a broader definition of science, which could include social and political factors as relevant to

humans claiming to be able to represent the interests of other-than-humans.

management issues, their approach is more substantial.

An approach that focuses solely on ecosystem protection, without addressing the social and political dimensions of ecological relations, is itself highly political. Such a framework appears to have little potential for bringing the more complex social and political concerns associated with native fishing rights into management policies.

The importance of including human factors in fisheries management approaches is noted by McEvoy (1988). He suggests that in the last two centuries, North American resource management has been based on four visions that "incorporate a gradually more inclusive view of the essence and genesis of environmental problems" (p.229). In the laissez-faire approach of the nineteenth century both natural resources and market forces were seen as essentially uncontrollable. During the era of progressive conservation that followed, an interrelationship between harvesting and resource productivity was recognized, and experts attempted to find sustainable yield levels as the solution to resource crises.

The third vision, which coincides with Leopold's later writings, includes greater attention to human impacts on the environment. ² While Leopold pointed to a lack of respect

² The genius of Leopold's land ethic appears to be in the paradoxical way that it allows one to understand humans as both separate from and connected to ecological domains. To make human impacts on the environment more vivid, he had to first articulate a vision of the non-human centred eco-community that was being effected.

for the environment, Hardin devised a "tragedy of the commons" model that demonstrated human competitive self-interest as the bottom line, and either privatization or government regulation as the solution to inevitable resource depletions. ³

McEvoy's fourth stage is characterized by an awareness that resource relations are socially interactive. This view recognizes government regulation, and the scientific data it is based on, as not completely separate from the economy of resource competition. People are not purely competitive automatons as Hardin assumed: economic values are interconnected with social and cultural values. As an example of how awareness of the complexity of human domains has been incorporated into fisheries management approaches, McEvoy notes the concept of "optimum yield", which was defined by American policy makers as a management standard in the Fishery Conservation and Management Act of 1976.

Optimum yield is

"maximum sustainable yield as modified by any relevant economic, social, or ecological factors" (cited in *ibid.*:225).

This definition implies the realistic assumption that

³ The promotion of local management represents a challenge to Hardin's hypothesis (see McCay and Acheson 1987:2-6). Those who see already established local patterns as having important potential for making resource management more effective, see Hardin's assumption that "common property" is the same as "open access" as problematic. Common property is often regulated, if only informally, within the protocols of local social relations, and is therefore not well defined as open access.

"ultimately the economic interests of human beings and the survival interests of their resources are one" (McEvoy 1988:225).

An ecocentrically informed anthropocentric framework such as McEvoy describes seems well suited for developing management agreements where native fishing rights are pending, since the issues at stake have complex social, political, and economic dimensions. These dimensions cannot be adequately addressed through either the old conservationist perspectives, wherein environmental impacts are ignored or regarded as inevitable, or through new ecocentric approaches, wherein there is a general distrust of environmental relations. A closer focus on the social relations involved in resource interactions can help clarify the complex issues involved in each particular situation where management is required.

While broad management principles can be helpful as general guidelines, a more pragmatic approach may also be needed, especially where knowledge of management factors and conditions changes rapidly. Several writers (e.g. Norton 1996:122-24) note the potential of an "adaptive management" approach, wherein management decisions may follow general guidelines but are more specifically determined by the situations that they are applied to. Berkes (1999:125-26) sees an "adaptive management" approach as especially appropriate where native concerns are involved. In combination with workable general guidelines, an adaptive management approach can encourage attention to the complex

issues that have not yet been addressed adequately in the peninsula's fisheries management negotiations.

NATIVE FISHERIES MANAGEMENT CHALLENGES

The prospects of productive management sharing negotiations are greatly diminished by the level of mistrust for outside resource management authorities felt by many native community members. This problematic relationship has historical roots, but it is also linked to more recent experiences. Many within the native communities assume that fisheries regulations have long been imposed unjustly, and the perception of broader social inequities permeates local attitudes toward fisheries management-sharing negotiations.

Given these sentiments, many native community members are inclined to believe that outside negotiators are not really interested in community concerns, that fishing regulations will be defined on the outside in spite of the court ruling:

"We have tried and tried to get the Ontario government to sit down with us and work out something...but to no avail. They won't sit down with us at all. The only time those people came here for a meeting...they didn't come here to try and negotiate something. They came here to tell us what we could do and what we couldn't do. And then they left. They didn't listen to our angle of it at all. So how are you supposed to negotiate with someone that won't talk to you? And yet the Fairgrieve decision said that we were supposed to negotiate with the Ontario government and they were supposed to negotiate with us. Negotiation is a two way street. But when you just have it going one way there isn't much sense to the negotiation" (CP-FJ).

Some point out that internal challenges faced by government representatives limit their ability to appropriately negotiate native fishing rights:

"I don't think that the provincial government has any idea about native rights. When the federal government handed things over they didn't know much about it, and I don't think the province knows much more" (CP-RJ).

"There will always be questions about provincial and federal jurisdiction" (SG-RK).

Recent inconsistencies in how different political parties in Ontario have approached native rights also makes some skeptical of the negotiation process. When the New Democratic Party was in power in Ontario in the early 1990s, they developed interim agreements that temporarily allowed some native resource harvesting, in response to the Sparrow ruling; but these were no longer recognized when the Conservatives came to power in the mid 1990s.

"The NDP gave us a bit of a break, but then when the Conservative government got back in with such big support, they killed that. And the Liberals were not any better... I don't like politics that much" (CP-FJ).

Another cause for concern is the OFAH lobbying effort which is suspected of contributing to the rigid stance against "co-management" that Conservative resource Ministers have taken:

"There was a lot of hemming and hawing by the MNR on their way to the negotiating table. These things were supposed to be ironed out, but we know that OFAH, not publicly but certainly privately, was pressuring the government not to negotiate with the First Nations, or if they did negotiate, to make sure the MNR remained the manager and not to share any management responsibilities with the First Nation. They were pressuring the MNR to allow OFAH representatives at the negotiating table. Their tactics basically resulted in stalling negotiations, and they stalled them long enough for the Harris government to get in. And now the

Harris government does not want to even hear the word 'co-management'" (CP-DM) .

Howard Jones explains that his community's demand to share fisheries management responsibility is linked to a more general trend in Canada toward increasing political assertiveness among native peoples:

"I can see they need to ensure the practice of conservation, but not unilateral conservation. I think it has to be through direct negotiation. Indian groups have to have a full voting part. Indians have gone through a long period where someone else has always imposed their rules on them. And we are at a time in our history when Indians are digging their heels in and saying we are not going to be pushed anymore" (CP-HJ) .

This trend has been accompanied by a series of legal rulings that have defined native fishing interests favourably, but inconclusively.

Some are suspicious that the Ontario government will attempt to counter the Fairgrieve ruling through further court action. Some are also suspicious that the ministry is planning to use its authority as defined in the Sparrow case to impose regulation on native fishing (in the absence of negotiated agreements) where there is a question of safety, or a threat to conservation:

"If they determined that the fishery is in danger, one of their options is to close the fishery to everyone; and if the Native people then continued to fish they would charge them. And I think that we are being set up for that already by the allegations the MNR and sports people are leveling against First Nations people for taking lake trout" (CP-DM) .

Given that the Sparrow priorities adopted in the Fairgrieve decision already state that the native fishery would be the last to be closed where there is a conservation concern, some native negotiators may not be as interested in

reaching an agreement that would further clarify such priorities as Ministry negotiators might be:

"We have been negotiating about whether or not to negotiate. The MNR has more trouble with that than we do at the present time" (CP-DM).

"...it gets to the point of who is affected first. And the way it is stated it is first the sports, then non-native commercial, then native commercial that have to cut back....It would be interesting to see what would happen if they keep pushing and pushing the lake trout and saying that the fishery is depleting. The sports fishermen are the first ones that have to leave now. I don't know if they have thought too much about that" (CP-BJ).

By harvesting more fish, native fishers would be able to turn the tables of power on the sport fishery. The actual impact of this temporary regulatory guideline is unclear; however, where it might serve as a counter-incentive to negotiation, resource stability needs to be considered along with more immediate political concerns.

Some native community members link negotiation failures to the broader lack of recognition of treaty rights:

"I am stunned that they still don't acknowledge treaties even though they are signed....Fairgrieve recognized native fishing rights, but we still have the MNR and anglers associations denying this" (SG-HT).

"People have trouble realizing that Indians have rights. They don't want to live up to something that happened 100 years ago or more; but I must tell you that the Canadian and American Constitutions are very old documents that we live by every day. An Indian treaty to me is no different than a house mortgage. The government made the deal that you give us your land and resources and we will supply education and you can fish and hunt and whatever" (CP-HJ).

In Saugeen's initial negotiating position, ultimate jurisdictional authority over resources was an explicit issue, as indicated by Chief Richard Kahgee:

"It is important to establish who has jurisdiction to control the resource....Those issues have to be resolved in relation to whether we are capable of having an impact in the management of the resource" (SG-RK).

In his view, native fishing rights exist outside of the Canadian constitution:

"I see us as having ultimate responsibility. The federal or provincial governments never acquired ownership. They can't just say it's theirs by virtue of their own constitution. That does not divorce us from the resource. Our ownership of the resource goes back into pre-confederation" (SG-RK).

A native resource relationship that rests on pre-confederation jurisdiction is central to Kahgee's Duluth Declaration:

"The Duluth Declaration sets the parameters of our interests in terms of what our objectives are in relation to resources, and also our responsibility. Everything we do now has to go back to that. A more positive assertion of ownership has to come from the communities because they have to start defining for themselves and for Canada how they see themselves fitting into the resources, and what the relationship is between the federal crown, provincial crown, and themselves as aboriginal people. So its more or less a self-identifying process where the community takes a greater responsibility for its actions, and will be in a better position to look at key issues where they have had little or no involvement in the past. It basically puts them back into the role of stewards" (SG-RK).

As noted previously, the Duluth Declaration, and its assumption of Saugeen's absolute sovereignty, was regarded as too radical by some of the peninsula's native community members, notably by band council members who succeeded Kahgee's council. However, the issue of ultimate jurisdiction remains a central challenge within resource management negotiations.

A paradox surrounding native fishing rights is that they may be asserted as coming from within the community, but they might only be fully "recognized" from the outside, through the constitutional definitions on which the Sparrow priorities are based. Kahgee's assumption of an exclusive native source of jurisdiction sharpens distinctions between native and non-native domains, and thereby makes jurisdictional issues more problematic. Negotiation of a shared-management agreement is likely only possible when all parties acknowledge that native resource interests are different, but not altogether separate. History speaks to both the distinctiveness and the collaborative nature of native resource relations.

Particular perspectives on jurisdictional issues seem to be based as much on perceptions of social equity as on legal details and definitions. Kahgee's view of resource issues seems inseparable from his view of the past:

"You had draconian laws that wouldn't even allow us to get legal counsel. And up until 1958 we weren't even classified as Canadians. There was no way to resolve treaty matters because there was no dispute mechanism built into the process" (SG-RK).

Negotiators may have to give attention to past social inequalities such as Kahgee notes, as a way to find a jurisdictional framework on which a management-sharing agreement can be built.

Mixed feelings toward the Canadian legal system, through which jurisdictional issues might also be clarified, is another factor affecting native perceptions of resource-sharing prospects. The legal system is seen by many as not

effective in addressing the social inequalities that Ontario's native peoples have encountered in the past:

"The justice system is power. If you have power, you have your own justice system. But if you are not powerful, you are just at the whim of someone that is powerful. That's the way they display it. You take Camp Ipperwash. That is another demonstration of the justice that they are trying to hand the Indian. I remember when that camp was taken over....The Canadian government just walked in and said, 'We are moving you out....You'd get it back after the war'. Fifty years after the war and they still haven't got it back yet. And that's the justice system they are trying to hand the Indian" (CP-FJ).

Some view the courts as having an impact, but an excessively cumbersome one:

"We are starting to stand up but that makes people madder. Courts are thirty years down the road. People want something right now" (SG-PS).

However, considering that only three decades ago the Canadian court system was not even regarded as a feasible avenue for clarifying native rights, there has been substantial progress, especially since the entrenchment of treaty rights in section 35 of the 1982 Canadian Constitution Act (Feit 1996). Legal rulings may be ideally based on the objective weighing of evidence, and application of established rules and guidelines, but the legal system is also adaptive. Social power structures that played roles in the establishment of Canadian law did not often include native peoples; but changing social attitudes, which have an impact on the legal process, are evident in many recent rulings concerning native resource rights.

Yet legal recognition does not itself dictate change. As seen in the Fairgrieve decision, a court ruling is only one step toward changing resource management policies and

practices. Newly recognized resource rights will be resisted where they "run counter to prevailing power relationships" (Pinkerton 1992:330-338). ⁴ Implementing native resource rights is dependent not only on legal decisions, but also on efforts to overcome obstacles that stand in the way of negotiated management-sharing agreements.

Environmentalism and Native Management

Political connections between native communities and environmentalist groups can benefit both groups. For example, environmentalist organizations and native representatives worked together in hopes of curtailing a construction project on an island adjacent to Nawash (Darlene Johnston 1996, pers. comm.). But this relationship is likely to be problematic where anthropocentric concerns are ignored in favour of shared ecocentric interests.

People interested in environmental well-being frequently view native peoples as representatives of alternative ecological relations. Many regard native peoples as living more harmoniously within nature, as members of an eco-community, in Leopold's terms. The ecocentric Indian has thereby become something of a spiritual leader for many environmentalists (see Jacobs 1980:57-58; Vescey 1980:35-36;

⁴ In her analysis of fishing rights issues on the west coast, Pinkerton notes that following the 1974 Boldt decision it took seven years before government representatives decided to abandon alternative legal strategies in favour of negotiating with tribal communities (1992:331).

Wilson 1991:318). ⁵ Though a critique of environmentally destructive practices is vital, environmentalists may be contributing to overly-idealized images of native peoples' ecological relations. When emphasizing values and ideologies, at the expense of practical realities, native/non-native differences can be easily essentialized: the ecocentric values held by native peoples serves to highlight anthropocentrism among non-natives. ⁶

One danger of viewing natives in overly ecocentric terms can be shown with reference to the Brundtland Report, an international document that recognizes native ecological relations as potential models of ecological sustainability. The Brundtland report promotes the incorporating of traditional environmental knowledge into international development projects as a way to improve the plight of peoples in developing countries and reduce stress on the environment (see Jull 1991:452; Miller 1991:447-467). ⁷ The 1992 Earth Summit documents restate the Brundtland Report's

⁵ Scarcely is an environmentalist critique of modern society made without contrast to indigenous peoples' ecological relations (e.g. Wittbecker 1986:265-267; Johnson 1991:268-269; Jull 1991:453; Eckersley 1992:54; Suzuki and Knudtson 1992; Rasmussen 1993:177; McPherson and Rabb 1994:63).

⁶ Native ecology is more explicitly linked to ecocentric values by environmental philosophers, such as Overholt and Callicott, who suggest a similarity between Ojibwa environmental relations and Leopold's land ethic (1982:154-155; see also Callicott 1989:207-215).

⁷ In Canada, the Berger Commission brought similar attention to traditional environmental knowledge (McPherson and Rabb 1994:57).

theme of working to improve both social and ecological conditions. However, ardent ecocentric environmentalists, who view indigenous people as secondary to ecological considerations, criticized the Earth Summit resolutions because their focus on human concerns appear as a threat to ecological well-being (Miller 1991:78; Pepper 1993:27).

Ecocentric environmentalism also has local implications for a potential agreement on shared-management of the peninsula's fisheries. Both the Federation of Ontario Naturalists (FON) and the World Wildlife Fund, Canada (WWF) released discussion papers concerning native resource rights in Ontario following the Sparrow ruling. Conservation is defined in these papers in ecocentric terms. The FON paper, entitled "Putting Nature First" (1993) explicitly acclaims Muir's preservationist approach, and highlights the welfare of an other-than-human nature in its list of conservation principles. The WWF mission statement likewise indicates an ecocentric focus. It proposes,

"conservation of the planet's biodiversity by...ensuring that the use of...resources is sustainable... for the benefit of all life on Earth" (1993:39).

This definition includes reference to an instrumental use of resources, but the last phrase, "for the benefit of all life on Earth", tips the definition's balance toward ecocentrism, since it is an obvious departure from the utilitarian motto, "for the benefit of all people".

Both naturalist organizations suggest that they share a conservation ethic with aboriginal peoples (WWF 1993:3; FON 1993:25), and both see an opportunity to pursue common

interests, like slowing the spread of urbanization. But neither the WWF nor the FON downplay the discontinuity between their goal of protecting nature from human intrusions, and native peoples' assertions of rights to harvest resources without interference from outside.

The preservationist definition of conservation is central to the concerns stated in these position papers, because it emphasizes human impact on the natural world. Where native peoples are at a distance from the dominant society, they can be seen as an alternative to society's destructive tendencies. But if native peoples step out of their image as part of nature's balance, for example by using fishing technologies that are not regarded as traditionally native, they are no longer seen as part of the natural world: they are members of the utilitarian society and part of the problem.

During the summer of 1995, members of Greenpeace, an international environmentalist organization, came by boat to hear the concerns of the peninsula's native peoples. A statement made at the time by Greenpeace representative Jeanne Moffat seems to support native positions:

"Aboriginal culture has a long tradition which respects the intricate balance of all living things and the fact that every part of nature has an intrinsic value outside of its economic potential. This approach is essential to the survival of the planet." (Bruce Peninsula Press, Late September 1995, p.9).

I was at first surprised to learn that most people in the community were not all that enthusiastic about the visit from these environmentalists. Their guarded response no doubt is linked to the cautious assessment of outsiders that

is typical in native communities. But it may also reflect an awareness that the view of native life that these particular outsiders revealed is not closely matched to their own experiences.

With the essentialized ecocentric view of native ecological relations that these environmentalists came and left with, they may have provided some ideological and political support for traditionalists who also believe there are major differences in the ecological relations maintained by natives and non-natives. Given the press coverage that fisheries conservation issues received, Greenpeace representatives were successful in their own campaign to bring attention to ecological dangers of human impacts, which is the forte of ecocentric environmentalism. But given their focus on ecological conditions, and the short duration of their visit, they were unable to contribute more substantially to an understanding of the complex social realities that permeate environmental conservation and resource management issues on the peninsula.

Local Regulations and Management Approaches

In spite of their critical view of non-native management most people on both reserves feel there is a need for local fishery regulations. Theodore Mason notes that developing local regulations is both ecologically and politically important:

"We have to start regulating ourselves. Area four/four is such a small area. We can't take out and not put

back. We have to regulate it not only cause it makes us look good, but we are actually putting back for the future" (SG-TM).

Harold Thompson states that for local regulations to be effective they have to be accepted by the community at large:

"Regulating would have to be a community effort. We would need to get people together. If the community backs up the ideas there will be less hassles. The community has to be involved" (SG-HT).

Some are hopeful that local regulations might evolve as an extension of already existing local approaches:

"Yes, they would need rules, bylaws or more like a code of conduct... simple practices that are easily followed... more or less like tradition" (SG-AS).

At Nawash, concerns about local fishing regulations are discussed at regular community fishing meetings, and draft bylaws, though they exist outside of government resource management programmes, have been put in place. Given current uncertainties within the fishery, it remains to be seen how consistently local fishers will comply with these local regulations. *

At Saugeen, there were preliminary local regulation plans underway during Chief Kahgee's tenure:

"After we get rolling we are going to maybe set up a time to leave this area alone and let those fish spawn, maybe just let the small boats fish here for a while" (SG-JR).

* Events that occurred during the last two years seem to confirm the apprehensions that I note here. Several local fishers who rejected participation in the band regulation system were charged by the MNR for not reporting harvest amounts. Some have chosen to report directly to the MNR in exchange for having charges dropped.

But following his resignation, fisheries issues have been given less attention, and after the term of his contract expired, the fisheries coordinator, Timm Rochon, was not rehired or replaced.

Incorporating local perspectives in local regulations is likely to make them more effective and more enforceable, but where these are intended to reflect cultural traditions, their success may depend on whether there is sufficient clarity about what these traditions are. It may also depend on whether local knowledge is vital enough and adaptive enough to support local regulation.

Developing fishery regulations is a very specific local challenge, but it is linked to more general efforts to articulate a native fisheries management approach, from which regulatory guidelines might be drawn. Given the moral and political issues at stake within the fisheries conflict, a native approach is sometimes articulated in essentialized oppositional terms, rather than in contexts that more accurately reflect other local conditions. The native fisheries management approach most often expressed are ecocentrically focused. Like ecocentric approaches in general, these are well suited for highlighting the destructive impacts of human activities. They serve well in political and moral critique, but are limited as frameworks for specific management decisions.

Ecocentric perspectives were especially clear in articulations of native fisheries management approaches

given by individuals who were politically involved in fisheries issues:

"I think that there is a difference in principles. At Saugeen the resource is not viewed as something detached from the community - it is treated with respect" (SG-RK-TR).

"If I were to sum it up, what we are actually doing is giving the resource equality with us. Its an odd concept because the resource has rights as much as you do. As a living entity it has certain things that are required in terms of a relationship: respect, being conscious of its needs" (SG-RK).

"...the non-native looks at things in terms of owning, conquering, and controlling. Native people don't believe that nature can be controlled, not to the extent that non-natives do" (SG-RK).

"I think we have to start looking at it again as a viable entity that requires respect like any other living being" (SG-RK).

Such ecocentric articulations suggest that concern for environmental well-being is paramount; however, it is clear that native leaders also consider fisheries management issues in terms of the goals of their own communities, as should be expected:

"The ministry looks at the economic level, but overlooks the social implications such as job creation and how self-government fits in" (SG-RK).

This last quote demonstrates the limits of the ecocentric perspective. Ecocentrism initially serves to distinguish native concerns for environmental integrity (intrinsic value) from the economically motivated (instrumental) anthropocentrism of MNR approaches:

"Traditionally fishing was always done with the intent of trying to maintain the integrity of the resource. And I think these are the type of management principles that should be brought into the fisheries now; so that again, its not just a commodity, its a living entity" (SG-RK).

But the relevance of this perspective seems to end where local social and economic issues come into play. This discontinuity between ecocentrically expressed native approaches and current social realities causes confusion where both economic and ecological management decisions are needed.

An extreme focus on ecocentric values is apparent in the guarded approach to management language that some traditionalists, who draw sharp distinctions between native approaches and non-native approaches, maintain. When I was developing survey questions, I found it nearly impossible to avoid words such as "resources" and "management", but these were deemed inappropriate by some of the community representatives with whom I consulted. The terms were regarded as embedded in a western classic conservationist notion of efficient use, which does not reflect the more spiritual environmental relations held by native peoples. Terms such as "resources" thereby carry "ideological baggage" (Notzke 1994:1).

This is a challenging issue, since language can define frameworks and thereby limit insights; but reluctance to employ such words for practical purposes seems extreme. There may have been good legal and political reasons for not wanting to define native resource relations in the accepted language of resource management; but both dialogue and insight are limited where such terms are regarded as irrelevant to native resource relations. The historical reality of native/non-native interaction in resource

relations on the peninsula warrants a common language. The fact that even the most active traditionalists cannot avoid management language, as seen in the following examples, is evidence of the relevance of these terms:

"In the late 70's I got interested in the environment and I got interested in fishing through my concern for the sustainability of resources" (CP-AE).

"And that's why First Nations need co-management. They need a guarantee that their old ways, their ways of knowing the resource will have some effect on management" (CP-DM).

"An integrated management plan would be most appropriate - taking both the American and Canadian data, reconciling it to the resource, working on integrated assessment programmes, mapping out the lakes in relation to establishing how fish migrate, their habitat, spawning cycles" (SG-RK).

I do not doubt that there are additional terms, especially native language ones, that can enhance insights into the ways that native peoples have understood and expressed their own environmental relations. But established management language includes terms that reflect both instrumental and intrinsic values, and most of these terms are already widely used within the peninsula's native communities, as noted in these last quotes. Reluctance to engage such language more openly can impede insights into management issues, and can serve as a stumbling block in management negotiations.

A tendency to essentialize native ecological relations in ecocentric terms can also limit historical interpretation of native resource relations. While essentializing provides an avenue for understanding very general native perspectives, it may obscure important economic contexts. For example, Lytwyn's interesting assessment of the

nineteenth century Fishing Islands conflicts (1992) might be even more insightful if an essentialized contrast between ecocentric natives and anthropocentric non-natives was not assumed. By juxtaposing native "stewardship" with the "European notion of ownership", Lytwyn seems to imply that economic interest was absent from native land relations, but central to non-native ones (1992:81). He states that native peoples had a spiritual connection, a "sacred bond...with the spirits of the fish in Lake Huron" (pp.81,97). His oppositional description seems to cloud his brief discussions of native economic activities, such as dealings with lease holders, and plans to expand commercial native fisheries (pp.94-95).

An uneasy tension between practical and ecocentric interests is also noted in Lytwyn's claim that "the Saugeen people realized the health of the fish stocks was in trouble, and brought this to the attention of the government officials" (1992:95). It is possible that Saugeen fishers considered the well-being of fish, but the petition that Lytwyn quotes in support of his interpretation speaks more clearly of concern for the native community than for the fish community: "...it will be for our interest and advantage to have them for our own use" (cited p.95). This statement of conservation concerns seems closer to classic conservationist approaches than to ecocentric preservationism. The wording of this petition may have been fashioned to a degree to match the language of government management, but it may also reflect legitimate economic

concerns which are obscured by an ecocentric vision of native ecological relations. By the mid-nineteenth century, native peoples on the peninsula were experienced in both informal and formal fish trading relations, as noted in previous chapters. They had already participated in the commercial fishery for several decades, and had been for a longer period familiar with other European trade practices. For an even longer duration, native groups had traded amongst themselves. Cultural differences in economic approaches no doubt existed. Economic activity in the Saugeen community was likely more embedded in social relations than it is now, or than non-native economies were then; but insights into these social relations can be only partial without a focus on both instrumental and intrinsic values.

Many of the older community members I interviewed saw fisheries issues in less essentialized ways, and were therefore less guarded when discussing local economic interests and activities:

"We are so oriented to the whiteman's way that our Indian ways don't work anymore. When you are earning dollars and cents you have to keep looking for more fish" (CP-PT-FJ).

"The fisheries plant still has a lot of wrinkles in it. They could operate a fish market right out of there if they so desired. But in order to get a fish market going... you are dealing with food, and you need so many inspectors and you have to meet the high standards. It isn't just anyone can afford to get into that" (CP-FJ).

"I think that what has to be done, is the people have to realize that when the price of fish drops they should pull their gear out of the water. The reason it drops is that there is a glut on the market. Catching twice as much is not going to alleviate the situation.

They have to stop feeding the market till the price comes back up. In the long run they would be farther ahead" (CP-TJ).

"The processing plant is a failure because there is no boss; there are five different guys running it. Business is generally a one person dream. Once you have confidence then there is a possibility of business" (CP-WN).

While ecocentric perspectives can bring attention to the need to guard against the excesses of economic interest, the practical view that the older generation brings to local fisheries management issues seems more relevant to the development of local regulations and consistent local management approaches. Their pragmatic knowledge can better contribute to an understanding of economic issues, and of ecological questions as well.

The need to address ecological issues within a local fisheries management approach brings special challenges. As noted earlier, there is a general consensus within both communities about the undesirability of stocked exotic species. With its focus on maintaining established ecological integrity this preference can be seen as ecocentric. But it also has anthropocentric dimensions in light of the fact that the preferred species are the ones most likely to benefit native communities.

The expressed preference for indigenous species is compatible to a certain extent with a non-interventionist approach to fisheries management which is often expressed by native community members. But this approach entails some difficult issues, which cannot be assessed comprehensively

without reference to social as well as ecological well-being issues.

I recorded at least one example of a purist indigenous species management approach. Timm Rochon suggested that introduced species should be eliminated and then nature should be left alone. He viewed any species introductions as a kind of pollution:

"Asking whether we would try to deal with these problems (the presence of exotic species) is like asking whether we would try to clean up an oil spill" (SG-RK-TR).

But more commonly, a non-interventionist approach toward at least accidentally introduced exotic species was considered. Even here, nature would take care of things:

"I don't believe in lamprey control. Should let it take its course. Nature would balance the lamprey problem" (CP-R2).

"I figure nature will take care of its own. There is a reason for those zebra mussels being here. There must have been something wrong or they wouldn't have come. There must be a purpose, maybe to clean the water or something. There is a reason for everything....The cormorants are sure coming back here. Everything has its purpose. We shouldn't interfere with nature" (SG-JR).

Chief Kahgee's initial responses to my questions about his approach to fisheries management issues reveal a preference for non-intervention that is similar to the views noted above:

"I think all these things are subject to some kind of control. Man tries to intervene with Purple Loostripe or mussels or lamprey, but nothing really happens. There are probably natural cycles and control mechanisms that we should rely on more. Like everything, these introduced species have to run their course" (SG-RK).

But as indicated in his further discussion of management issues, non-interventionist guidelines are limited in their application to specific issues, especially where social and political realities are confronted:

"On a practical level though...there is little we can do about what is happening outside of our jurisdiction in the lakes. But within our jurisdiction it might be alright to run a lamprey program at Denny's Dam, for example. Another thing is to find a use for them. People consume them, so maybe we could start a new market for them" (SG-RK).

Likewise, a non-interventionist approach provides only a general guideline for addressing stock rehabilitation issues:

"We would try to re-establish the lake trout if we could find some that were indigenous to the area. I see fish as being adapted to particular areas... Transplanting would have adverse effects... because of natural selection. The food chain might not be complementary. If you could totally duplicate things it might work; but otherwise the fish is probably traumatized being out of its natural habitat. Given a chance to develop, the resource will come back" (SG-RK).

Since strict non-interventionism is an ecocentric perspective, it cannot be expected to offer more than general solutions to complex practical problems.

Where ecocentric principles are more strictly viewed as inherent to a native fisheries management approach, making fisheries management decisions is more problematic. For example, Chief Akiwenzie refers to the aquaculture fish cages that the band has been running since shortly after the Fairgrieve decision, in this context:

"I believe there are methods in place whereby there would be regeneration, and the First Nations people strongly favour the natural way. We have also in this last while had a natural going process established by the Nawash Fish Farm. Setting up cages in the water is

one way to add to the resource that we think has a lot of potential" (CP-RA).

Most of the support for the fish cage project within the Nawash community seems to stem from its potential social and economic benefits, rather than its potential for enhancing the environment. Some have in fact voiced concerns about ecological impacts:

"I like the idea of them running the fish farm....I think there is potential to create employment through fish farming, but one thing that bothers me is the question of how much pollution comes from these fish. They were going to monitor the waters to make sure there was no pollution" (CP-RJ).

Some also point to the apparent contradiction between the community's criticism of sport fishing hatchery operations and their own fish farming:

"There is a lot of concern too about the disease that comes with stocked fish. Fish coming out of a hatchery could carry some sort of a virus that could be devastating to the natural fish. This fish pond, that they've started behind the fire hall, leads me to believe that we are talking in two different directions. We are talking about them stocking salmon and skamania from the fish hatcheries, and they are afraid of this virus and disease; and at the same time, we bring the same fish here and put them in the cages where they are still in the same water....At the fishing meetings that I have gone to, concern about diseases coming from hatchery fish was one of the big things; but we turn around and do the same thing" (CP-TJ).

Given the widespread objections to sport fishing hatchery programmes, I was somewhat surprised to find a great deal of interest in establishing a hatchery at Nawash. Older community members are particularly enthusiastic about this prospect:

"They should start a hatchery to get a restocking programme going" (CP-EA).

They see hatchery activity as a way to contribute to ecological well-being:

"I think a hatchery would be worth pursuing....As far as putting fish back in, our lakes are going to take a long time to recover" (CP-RJ).

Those concerned about accusations from the outside note that establishing hatchery operations would also be a statement of the community's concern for conservation:

"We should have a hatchery so we can put fish back and won't be accused of just taking" (CP-R2).

Some openly assess the potential economic benefits of a hatchery:

"This is the lake trout country. There is no two ways about it....We have to have a hatchery and then use all the shoals around the Cape....The demand for lake trout could come back. The purchaser is not aware of the lake trout any more. He hears whitefish and trout, but he is not sure what the trout is so he buys whitefish. Trout was a greater demand all my life. It would grow. You could get \$.75 for lake trout and maybe \$.15 to \$.35 for whitefish. Now trout is \$.50 and whitefish \$1.90" (CP-WN).

"Ninety five percent of the people at Cape Croker became trollers for lake trout in the summer time....If you could develop that - maybe splake could be used the same way....You could have guiding for tourists" (CP-WN).

Ted Johnston states that the community's decision not to set up a hatchery seems to indicate that concern for ecological well-being has been preempted by economic interest:

"At one time I thought they were going to go into a stocking programme - stocking the natural species that are in the lake; but it has not progressed yet to my knowledge. As a matter of fact I see where one of the things noted in the Fairgrieve trial was that people at Cape used to mix eggs and milk and return it to the water. But with the economy sliding they are selling the eggs to the States instead. They have moved away from concern about what is in the lake and what should be in the lake, to monetary concerns. What is more valuable, a dollar a pound that they are getting from

the States or a pound put back into the lake as a fertilized product" (CP-TJ)?

Such critiques from within the native communities might be viewed as anti-conservation evidence by outside opponents who may still be looking for inadequacies in native resource relations as a way to distract attention from the ecological impacts of their own practices. This political context makes asserting such open critical assessment of local fisheries decisions a special challenge. Where it does occur, it is a healthy step toward dealing with local fisheries management challenges that are too often glossed over with a simplistic traditionalist rhetoric that does not address the full range of relevant social and ecological factors any better than does the classic conservationist rhetoric that many angler association members still find appealing.

Sharing and Fisheries Management

Several of the elders who spoke at the Port Elgin co-management conference workshops noted that they have always known "sharing" as an important value within the reserve community. They stated that this value would have to have an important place in a good management approach, and in any solution to fisheries conflict issues.

Sharing can be regarded as a unique native tradition. It might also be seen as a more universal relationship pattern that, given sufficient goodwill and an awareness of the importance of developing social ties, can emerge

anywhere. Where levels of social-economic advantage coincide with other social group difference, contrast between two groups can make the importance of sharing within the less advantaged group more apparent. Given that there are still vivid memories of the transition from informal to formal economies within native communities, contrasts between their own economic relations and the monetary orientation of economic relations on the outside are likely to make the importance of sharing as a local value easily recognizable.

The local tradition of sharing has potential relevance to the development of a local fisheries management approach, but translating this value into practice is likely to entail many challenges for the peninsula's two native communities.

A factor that might assist in linking sharing values and local fisheries management is the importance that fish have had in the expression of a local sharing value. Even during the hardest times, fish could be quite readily caught and distributed to those most in need:

"If anybody came along they could have a fish" (CP-EA).

"Being that Grandma's nephews were fishermen she'd just go down there to the shore where they landed and she'd go and get a fish or two, but she always took the heads. She had a wooden barrel, a lard bucket they used to call them at that time, and in the fall of the year, around November I guess, she would salt these fish heads down for use in the winter months" (CP-WA).

Given such memories, sharing fish still has special meaning for community members. As Winona Arriaga notes this special meaning also extends to people in other native communities:

"I like pickerel....They get them where native people are fishing on the Thames River down south....Of course there are some of the people from down there married up

here, so we get the pickerel up here. They bring it up for us, just to give us a treat of their fish... pickerel" (CP-WA).

The local sharing ethic also has potential for encouraging the observance of community oriented fisheries regulations, since it operates on one level as a kind of social control mechanism:

"Dad used to go down if there was a boat there that had fish, and he'd take one without asking for it, and nothing was ever said. You were welcome to take what you wanted....Any of the older people could do that....Well I guess they still do that, but not too much. I would go up where those fishermen are fishing, and they will just give me what I want. Or if they had a different kind of fish that they didn't have a sale for they would offer it to me. So I guess sharing is of the same value that it was then" (CP-FJ).

In the above quote, Fred Jones suggests that today's native fishers share like they always did. But more importantly, where he hesitates in making this statement, he demonstrates the kind of critical involvement that helps keep this ethic in effect.

While the sharing ethic shows the goodwill of community members it also entails a high level of social commitment, which is maintained through close scrutiny of how resources are being distributed. This became evident to me when I discussed over-fishing problems with community members. I associate the idea of over-fishing quite directly with the over-exploitation of an ecological resource; but for many native community members over-fishing more directly means that individuals are benefitting from the fishery at the expense of others or at the expense of a whole community:

"Fishing might be the only way to earn a living for some. Not sure if it will help the reserve but some

people might help themselves. We need to watch, not to overdo it. There is always someone who will over-use the fish. Natives should have their own conservation officers" (CP-GK).

Given this focus on community benefit, reserve fishermen who own larger fishing tugs are sometimes suspected of taking too much:

"Everyone should have equal rights to fish, the same opportunity. If you have a big tug it should be the same. I sometimes get three or four boxes" (CP-EA).

"Maybe more people could get involved in fishing; but not with such big nets cause the fish would be gone. Even now we should be careful. When we used row boats we only got about fourteen fish each day" (CP-R2).

"Oh, lots of people used to fish with row boats, almost everybody, mostly for their own use. Not like today, just for the money. Every year we fished, we would buy something we needed for the family. When I was small they asked someone for a quarter. Now it's a loonie. I bought a freezer one year, a washer, a dryer the next" (CP-EA).

The suggestion in this last quote that some people may be in the fishery "just for the money" can be a powerful sanction, since it questions ones commitment to socially appropriate economic relations, and thereby ones place within the social group. This kind of social pressure could contribute to the effectiveness of a local fisheries regulation system. It is likely not powerful enough to eliminate fishing tugs; however, it would allow such concerns to be taken more seriously than they would be where sharing is not so highly valued.

Some regard the presence of a sharing ethic in native communities as itself a kind of native conservation approach:

"Concepts of conservation, although not widely publicized are followed by most native peoples in terms

of sharing resources and having a sense of community instead of living an individualistic life" (SG-RK).

A collective framework, such as Chief Kahgee suggests in this last quote, might be beneficial when dealing with some local fisheries management questions, but there are issues that may not be usefully clarified through reference to community interests alone.

The challenge of balancing community and individual rights is especially daunting for native community members. A focus on community rights is encouraged by many of the factors that distinguish native communities from the outside. The collective nature of native fishing rights in itself contributes to the identification of group difference.

Within the broader society in which native people also participate, individual well-being and achievement is often encouraged with only vague reference to the broader social benefits of individual accomplishments. Participating positively in a society that privileges individual rights requires that a great deal of trust be invested in that society. Individuals can only develop this trust through their own assessments of how the society's ideologies might indeed bring benefits for themselves and others. Each individual has their own culturally derived or modified visions of ecological, social, or economic well-being that they use as criteria for comparing and evaluating such ideologies.

The negative implications of an individualistically focused ideology may be more apparent to members of well defined smaller communities, but the peninsula's current fishing opportunities and problems transcend reserve boundaries in both social and ecological contexts. Given the historical and political conditions that help to define reserve life, a sense of community is very vivid within the peninsula's reserve communities. Community benefits will therefore have to be a central focus of a local fisheries management approach. But this approach will also have to address broader present realities, wherein fisheries opportunities and responsibilities are shared by individuals who participate in various levels of community. The reserve communities are likely to benefit most from fisheries involvements where local management approaches are based on notions of community and community benefit that are flexible enough to allow for a practical balance of individual and community concerns. From this perspective individuals may be better able to articulate how their own interests and those of their communities are inevitably connected.

In summary, in examining the range of perspectives on fisheries management within both government groups and native communities, it is evident that there are many outstanding challenges that negotiators yet have to address if they hope to develop workable fisheries management approaches. Meeting these challenges will require broad management frameworks that allow a focus on both social and ecological factors. These frameworks should also allow for

and encourage a level of critical debate and self-reflection that can bring practical insights into current fishing conflict issues.

CONCLUSION: TOWARD A LESS ESSENTIALIZED FISHERY

As I have shown throughout this study, the current fishing conflict on the Saugeen-Bruce Peninsula involves a complex mix of social and ecological issues. I have also demonstrated that the tendency to perceive these issues according to essentialized notions about groups of people and their resource relations limits the prospects of negotiating a workable fisheries management agreement. Past efforts to formulate an agreement that might promote long term social and ecological well-being have failed. Positions on all sides need to be reformulated to allow a more open dialogue aimed at clarifying underlying concerns and building on shared interests.

This study extends recent trends in ecological anthropology. Early approaches were focused mainly on ecological questions. This focus is not well suited for examining social and political dimensions of resource relations. Three recent approaches - historical ecology, ethnoecology, and political ecology - allow closer analysis of these dimensions. With the incorporation of these recent approaches, ecological anthropology can serve as a framework for examining the many complex factors that constitute resource conflicts.

Historical Ecology Perspectives

The historical ecology approach is compatible in various ways with areas of focus within ethnoecology and political ecology. Perception of the environment, which is a central focus area in ethnoecological study, is also of interest to historical ecologists who aim to clarify the dialectic of human/environment relations. Attention to time depth, an explicit characteristic of historical ecology, is key to many of the questions studied by political ecologists who trace the dynamics of power within changing resource relations.

Historical ecology's attention to change through time serves to broaden ecological anthropology's typically synchronic scope. A developmental perspective complements the attention to quantifiable factors and relationships that earlier models encouraged.

Time depth makes historical ecology well suited for research in native communities. Native community members who I interviewed were especially interested in examining historical aspects of their fisheries relations. Most regard the lack of attention to their history as a factor contributing to their marginalization. They see social inequalities as historically rooted, and regard the rights that they assert as historic rights.

Because opponents to native fishing rights also recognized the importance of history, historical context is central to many of the conflict issues. The very process of

contesting history adds tension to the conflict, since cultural identities are tied to historical interpretation. Disputing a group's history can be viewed as contesting their identity.

In this study I have shown that with a more comprehensive view of past fisheries relations one can avoid narrowly focused points of contention that contribute little to understanding present conditions. The historical descriptions I provide, especially in chapters 2, 3, and 4, may be regarded as evidence for various interpretations of the past. But my reconstructions are aimed only in part at clarifying factual historical questions. Their main purpose is to re-open perspectives on the past: to show the past in its complexity and diversity.

I encourage a rethinking of the past by demonstrating where many of the assumptions about indigenous peoples and their resource relations are speculative and generalized. Such generalizations are not identical to the essentializing process noted in more explicit political contexts, but the two are linked where historical images are brought into the fishing conflict.

In describing the prehistory and early history of the peninsula's fisheries I pointed out several examples of problematic interpretation. The prehistoric big game hunter image is already being re-evaluated by archaeologists who are bringing attention to at least the possibility of resource use diversity. I noted that Cleland has made a valuable contribution to broadening our view of prehistoric

resource relations in the Great Lakes region with his attention to fishing activities. However, in building his explanation on a simplified techno-evolutionary model, he does not appear to have gone far enough toward recognizing the complexity of fishing patterns.

With historic documents as an additional information source, there is substantial evidence of fishing activity around the peninsula in early historic times. But there is much we still do not know about the peninsula's contact era peoples and their resource use patterns. Even at the level of generalization assumed when comparing typical Algonquian and Iroquoian modes of subsistence, we cannot be sure about who the peninsula's contact era people might have been.

It remains uncertain how fishing activities might have been influenced by population shifts associated with the Iroquois invasions of Southern Ontario in the mid 1600s. Military alliances appear to have galvanized some group affiliations while refugee dispersals and increasing interactions with non-natives contributed to new amalgamations. The lack of clear evidence of continued native settlement on the peninsula during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries does not exclude the possibility that native bands of various origins relied, at least intermittently, on the peninsula's fisheries.

Essentialized notions also impede a more comprehensive appreciation of late historic period fishing patterns. Lake Huron's commercial fishery grew not so much through the creation of a distinct non-native fishery as through

increased non-native involvement in an already existing native fishery. As the Great Lakes commercial fishery expanded, native participation did not necessarily diminish. Expanding job and market opportunities were pursued, and there was a short lived benefit for native communities from fisheries leases.

It is difficult to assess the disruption to native resource economies that contact with non-natives might have entailed around the beginning of the late historic period. Trade was already incorporated into seasonal harvesting patterns for most native peoples who still lived primarily by harvesting natural resources. Game and fish stocks in particular places were likely pressured by population increases around early settlements. Such increased pressure on natural resources may have been comparable to pressures exerted when native populations increased rapidly in Southern Ontario during the centuries leading up to the contact era. Social and political factors associated with the newly established reserve system likely had a more obvious impact on native peoples' resource relations around the beginning of the late historic period. Native fishing was increasingly subject to outside control.

Within the new reserve system, fisheries activities were not immediately reduced. Many of the people at Cape Croker continued fishing as a main or seasonal occupation, but new economic options were made available. When the trolling fishery boomed, people fished more; but after the war, fishing dropped to its lowest levels since the reserve

was established. As the reserve community at Saugeen was being established natives continued to fish commercially, but given jurisdictional pressures and the promotion of other reserve-based occupations, the native commercial fishery was eventually abandoned. People continued to fish, but on an informal basis. Some worked for local non-native fishing boat owners.

Fishing has played substantial roles in the peninsula's changing social and ecological landscapes for hundreds and likely thousands of years. Through historical interpretation we have been able to know something about past peoples and their fisheries involvements. This knowledge is useful as it contributes to explanations about how the present has been constituted, and how we might best negotiate the future. But to make historical interpretation more relevant to current issues such as the fishing conflict, we need to continue working toward more comprehensive historical interpretations. We need to take into account the limits of generalized notions and give more attention to how resource relations are part of both group identity and intergroup relations.

Ethnoecology Perspectives

Ethnoecology approaches focus on how different groups understand resources and how these understandings are connected to broader cultural dimensions. Ethnoecology has special relevance to the fishing conflict when linked to

historical ecology and political ecology. Within the broad context provided through this combination of approaches, clashes of perspective and ideology, both between and within groups, can be made more apparent.

Anthropologists have long attempted to explain "native perspectives". While attention to cognition, worldview, and philosophy can enrich our understanding of "other" people, an over-emphasis on ideological aspects of native perspective can reduce recognition of social and ecological factors. I counter this tendency in my study by defining "native perspectives" as not just ideological but also practical.

As I have shown, the tendency to ignore practical dimensions when reconstructing a native perspective is evident in Martin's theory of precontact ecological relations. It is also present in eco-Indian images articulated by ecocentric environmentalists. In ideological depictions of native resource relations, statements of value are asserted. These depictions can be understood only in part according to factual evidence because they are asserted as self-evident truths, expressions of personal commitment intended to influence social and political relations. Their validity in this context rests more on moral ground than in other domains of rationality.

Native peoples' historical dependence on natural resources can be seen to set them apart from the more complex social orders within modern society. Traces of indigenous cultural and ecological values linked to more

direct resource relations can be found on the peninsula. But the reserve situation differs greatly from the world assumed by traditionalists who promote essentialized differences in order to evoke social and political change. Though one might point out contradictions in the way that traditionalists draw history into the present, such uncertainties are not a main concern where ideology serves as a statement of value meant to counter forces that devalue native peoples.

But the values at stake can also be asserted through a more open and more comprehensive approach to understanding ethnoecological aspects of resource relations. There is little doubt that a cross-culturally shared historical process of re-interpretation has contributed to the current eco-Indian image. Many famous statements of sacred native land relations that are claimed to be the words of famous native orators are in considerable part the creations of non-native writers and translators (Kaiser 1987; Gill 1990:131-2; Kehoe 1990:196). The fluidity by which these expressions have been reinvented indicates the highly ideological nature of such "native perspectives".

When eco-Indian images are promoted by non-native environmentalists as value statements, they are typically aimed at countering perceived forces that devalue the environment. Environmentalists may identify with the eco-Indian image because it expresses their deeply felt affinity with the natural world, which unlike the current social world that they perceive still represents some higher purpose. Such ecocentric perspectives can increase awareness

of ecological relations and environmental degradation, but they offer few workable solutions to complex conditions created within the inevitable presence of social order.

A less essentialized perspective on resource conflicts can be gained by bringing attention to the interplay of ecocentric and anthropocentric views within various positions. Though native ecological relations are so often associated with ecocentric qualities, practical concerns are foremost for many, particularly among the older generation. Opinions on fisheries issues often reflect classic conservationist ideas as clearly as they do preservationist notions. In this regard there is some common ground with typically conservative angler association representatives. Some such overlap might be expected, since many native community members are themselves active anglers and hunters and it is not uncommon for natives and non-natives to participate in outdoor activities together.

One of the few local non-native peninsula residents I interviewed (SO-AN) runs a business that provides services for tourist anglers. When I asked him what he thought of MNR conservation programmes, his answer seemed to typify a wise use approach to conservation, but it was not substantially different from some of the opinions noted by reserve community members. He suggested that MNR officers should spend more time working on the river instead of in the offices. They should be keeping a better eye on the number of fish caught. He regards hatchery programmes aimed at increasing rainbow trout stocks as very important because he

sees tourist fishing as offering the greatest benefit for the greatest number of local people. While his support for hatchery programmes conflicts with the official native traditionalist position, it is not so distant from the perspectives of many reserve members in its practicality. The particular species that reserve members value is the primary difference here.

While angler association members seem to hold mainly conservative notions, they too are better understood in their diversity. They are portrayed by many native rights supporters as classic conservationists in the worst sense, efficiently controlling and exploiting an already endangered fishery for short term personal gain. While some may fit this depiction, and while it is not hard to understand why native peoples are likely to focus on features that pose a threat from the outside, anglers incorporate preservationist approaches in their activities to some degree as well. Fish habitat restoration programmes, for example, appear to be motivated by a combination of instrumental and intrinsic values.

It should also be noted that the level of anti-native rhetoric seen in OFAH magazine publications during the early 1990s is no longer evident. This may reflect a toning down response to opposition from native rights supporters, coupled with recognition of diverse perspectives on native rights within the association's membership. It might also reflect the fact that OFAH representatives are currently more concerned with other political issues. They are

defending their group's fishing and hunting interests against opposition from a rapidly growing animal rights lobby.

While some common ground is evident, OFAH's opposition to native fishing rights is still a factor in the fisheries conflict, and it still inhibits negotiations. The classic conservationist doctrine of the greatest good for the greatest number no doubt remains a guideline for angler association representatives in their promotion of what they see as the interests of their constituents. And this doctrine still clashes with approaches that suggest more specific ways of allocating resource access. But given the diversity of perspectives within both angler associations and native communities, there would appear to be room for movement on several important fisheries management issues, though this would require an effort by all sides to transcend essentialized perspectives.

Political Ecology Perspectives

Within the peninsula's fishing conflict, political opposition has been consolidated through challenges to resource rights, and through the use of images of resource relations which serve to define opposition groups in threatening ways (see Rubinstein 1994:1000). This process obscures more complex social and ecological factors relevant to fisheries management.

While the fishing conflict centres on fishing rights, broader social issues are involved. The feeling of marginalization prevalent in native communities filters perceptions of the way fisheries are managed and controlled by people on the outside. A better understanding of this sense of alienation may be a necessary first step toward productive fisheries management agreements.

From the outside, the social conditions that discourage people from more fully participating in the broader society and its ideologies cannot be appreciated in the same way that they might be from within the reserve communities. However, some factors may be more apparent from the outside. Anthropologists who study revitalization movements (e.g. Wallace 1956; see also Warry 1998:208-213) have provided insights into how various groups of people deal with social stresses by turning to ideological visions that offer hope for the revitalization of their worlds. To some degree, the current interest in nativistic traditions within the peninsula's reserve communities reflects such an effort to deal with social stresses associated with culture loss.

While all people encounter stress in their lives, reserve conditions pose a unique kind of dilemma in that social difference is delineated by the reserve boundary, which protects the integrity of the community, while at the same time maintaining a level of marginalization. This structured marginalization has been compounded through bad experiences on the outside, as was noted by several of the people I interviewed. Such social tensions are clearly part

of many peoples' opinions about fisheries issues (see SG-PS).

From a marginalized perspective, a sensitivity to political aspects of cultural representations can be expected. Native community members display generalized traditions at powwows and elsewhere to express cultural values. It may seem paradoxical that some native representatives object when outsiders invoke similar images of native culture in apparently non-political contexts such as sporting events. These objections are undoubtedly connected to broader political perceptions typically held by members of a marginalized group. They might expect that the outside use of stereotypes will be followed by efforts to devalue their group (see Kottak 1997b:59-67; Warry 1998:20-28).

Where OFAH representatives challenge ecological values associated with general native perspectives on resource relations or traditional native fishing methods, they invite dramatic responses. Being blamed for depleting the fisheries is taken seriously by people who already feel devalued within the arena of cultural politics.

It would seem that part of the solution to the conflict and to more general problems on the reserves is to reduce the factors that contribute to the marginalization of native people. But with escalating tensions, the native community is increasingly marginalized through efforts to emphasize native/non-native difference for political purposes.

Band leaders and researchers have countered accusations of native overfishing by pointing to the negative characteristics of those who oppose native fishing rights. A good deal of effort has been put into showing native fishing rights opponents as racists. Such messages are disseminated within the native communities through newsletters, council reports, and by other means. The OFAH campaign is depicted as bringing politically established anti-native sentiments from far and wide to fan the flames of local racism, which has infected local citizens and MNR fisheries regulation enforcement officers alike (e.g. CP-DM; see also The Sun Times, September 1995, p.1.). History teaches that there are few greater dangers than racism. But given the rampant promotion of difference on all sides within this political conflict, it is difficult to distinguish legitimate fears from fabrications. Fervent defenders of native fishing rights may see any opposition to their positions as evidence that their already marginalized group is being further devalued by racist opponents.

Drawing attention to possible racist motives among opponents of native fishing rights has obvious strategic value within the fishing rights conflict. But if negotiating a fishing agreement is a community goal, it may be necessary to devote as much effort toward promoting awareness of what native and non-native groups have in common. This later focus is more likely to bring insights into how shared interests might serve as the basis of more equitably arrangements.

Several native community members see better communication with the outside as a step toward resolving the fisheries conflicts:

"Anglers are accusing the Indians of slaughtering, of rape and pillage, but they are not showing an atmosphere of trying to understand what is going on with the native fishery" (CP-HJ).

"This problem could be corrected by better communications. Whoever is on the other side, they don't know who all is fishing. If they found out more they would realize more, not jump to conclusions" (SG-PS).

"It is also important to bring people here to see who we are. There needs to be more of that. A lot of misunderstanding is created by artificial walls" (CP-RA).

"And when I see what is happening... to me, it is unnecessary, if everyone learned to share. And that is part of our history, as a people... is to make sure you share... Too bad today that there's anger included in dealing with fishing and land claims. And I believe why this is happening is no one knows us. That part of our history was never known... was never even in the history books" (CP-WA).

Some native representatives have been actively trying to counter this lack of communication by conveying their histories at local speaking engagements and in various publications. Given current political tensions, such representations of native communities, past and present, are typically focused on cultural differences. The political atmosphere discourages more substantial insights that might be gained through showing the diversity of perspectives found within native communities.

Over the last decades, anthropologists and other researchers have given attention to how native communities have maintained their unique cultural values in spite of social and technological accommodation. Such research is

often presented explicitly in order that the achievements of native peoples in Canada can be better recognized and respected (e.g. Asch 1988[1984]). This work is important since the contributions of native peoples have been often overlooked in the writing of Canadian history. Harold Innis (1988[1956]:32-33) is exceptional in his explicit recognition of native people's achievements. He notes the important role that native peoples played in the fur trade, and how this served as a foundation for the first institutions on which Canada was built. The primary role that native peoples played in the building of Lake Huron's fisheries is likewise an achievement worthy of greater recognition. Native peoples' contributions can be more fully recognized and valued if we look not only at their uniqueness. Achievements that both native and non-native peoples have shared in are more valuable than we have imagined.

Global Perspectives

The main points I make in this study of native fishing conflicts on the Saugeen-Bruce Peninsula can be extended to aboriginal resource rights conflict situations in other parts of Canada and around the world: attention to both social and ecological contexts is needed for gaining a more comprehensive understanding of resource conflicts; and it is necessary to look beyond essentialized notions when

attempting to understand conflict issues and management potentials.

The global linkages that I noted in my discussions of ecocentrism and traditionalist revitalization are worth examining more closely. Native resource rights conflicts have a bearing on how the world system is currently being defined, contested, and re-invented. Both human rights and environmental protection concerns converge in the negotiation of native rights.

Traditional environmental knowledge has become an important concept within international eco-politics (Conklin and Graham 1995). This knowledge is a source of power used in efforts to promote biodiversity (e.g. Shiva 1993) and to regulate biotechnology (e.g. Shiva et al. 1991). Biodiversity and biotechnology issues are created where new resource use technologies are proliferated through corporate marketing structures. The current debate about genetically engineered food in Canada demonstrates some of the overarching world system issues with which native resource rights are connected. Opposition on both fronts has been crystallized along some of the same divides.

Genetic engineering is a dramatic example of the ability of humans to manipulate nature. Given the uncertainties involved in attempting to control nature, many would prefer not to go in this direction, or at minimum, to tread lightly. Another issue is the question of who stands to benefit from the spread of genetically engineered food. Corporations that have been granted rights to engineered

seeds can clearly profit from a resource use pattern shift toward greater dependence on engineered foods. But the possible risks, be they to social, physical, or environmental well-being, can affect all people.

This issue of social equity seems to be linked in complex ways to the preference for nature's way that I note above as the first main objection to genetically engineered foods. The genetic engineering system can be seen as replacing a "natural" farming pattern more closely linked to the "family" farm with a system that reflects much more distant social relations within corporate bodies and civil structures. These new relations are maintained by society's formal rules which are much less predictable and secure than more immediate family relations are supposed to be. Genetically engineered food is not "safe" in an important social context as well as in an ecological or biological one.

On the peninsula's two reserves, resource use patterns are understood in similar ways. As already noted, many are very apprehensive about intervening in what they see as natural processes. A strong preference for nature's way is especially evident in the opinions people have concerning angler association fish stocking practices.

Native community members have obvious instrumental reasons for preferring lake trout, whitefish, and other indigenous species to exotics. And there are social equity issues involved, since sport fishing enthusiasts and the tourist industry are seen to be benefitting from the species

they stock at the expense of less well off native communities. The potency of the metaphor of indigenous ones being consumed by aggressive outsiders, which I note in earlier sections, suggests that affinities between social and natural worlds are easily grasped in the context of community concerns. An indigenous species is safer because it is "natural", it is part of local experience and social order - part of the community. It is not, like the exotic species, part of a much more distantly ordered civil society.

While ecological science is enlisted in the argument for a more natural fishery, reserve community members value an indigenous fishery because it fits their social perspectives as well as their ecological concerns.

The ecological landscape of the fishery has long been in flux, and there is no way to comprehensively know, let alone recreate, its earlier stages. The waters around the peninsula have been stocked with various interactive species, both "indigenous" and "exotic", for over a century (McCrimmon 1977). Even earlier human interventions, both native and non-native, may have occurred. But an indigenous fishery does not necessarily have to be an ecological replica of the past, or even devoid of human action. It can be achieved in part each time a step is taken in favour of a species that represents something "natural" because it has "social" value.

Working toward an indigenous fishery would not conflict with all sport fishing interests. Not all sport fishers

prefer fishing exotics. Some travel substantial distances for the experience of fishing for a species that has adapted to its habitat over a long period. Stocking programmes aimed at re-introducing indigenous species have recently been set up in Ontario. Such programmes are potential sites for native shared-management involvement since common interests might be easy to establish.

The safety associated with close relationships within a small community is no doubt part of what attracts environmentalists to the eco-Indian image as well. Amid the complexities of modern life which spins out increasingly distant social relations, we are all attracted from time to time to the promise of simpler relationships with nature and community. Such promises may be more than illusion; they may at times be necessary visions.

Yet natural assurances can be found amid more distantly structured orders as well. Community exists where it is created. The world system appears to be increasingly fragmented and unaccountable, but at the same time it is increasingly interconnected through accelerated movements of people, products, and information (Appadurai 1996), which brings potential for sharing knowledge that might enhance social and ecological conditions in both local and global contexts.

Canadian governments have long been frustrated in attempts to apply conservation regulations that uphold common interests while accommodating special native rights. There is also a history of frustration within Canadian

native communities, where the authority of outsiders who impose fishing restrictions is often resisted. These problems are not likely to go away on their own.

In the last few decades, native resource rights supporters across Canada have become more assertive. The broad jurisdictional battles for native rights in Canada, will impact the prospects of a negotiated agreement on the peninsula. But along with this dynamic the prospects of finding a local agreement can be enhanced through a more comprehensive examinations of the issues underlying this conflict.

Insights into underlying issues can best be gained where fisheries management is recognized as a social and political, as well as an ecological, challenge. Unfortunately, Bocking (1997) notes that compared with the focus on biological aspects of fisheries management, social factors have received little research attention within Ontario's resource management programmes. Research into the social contexts of resource management challenges should be encouraged. A more comprehensive understanding of the social interests associated with management decisions, as they exist within and among various groups, can contribute to the quality of management decisions. Such research should give attention to common problems and common ground as well as conflicting interests.

As McEvoy notes, effective resource management should present "opportunities for participation and criticism" (Nonet; quoted in McEvoy 1988:228). This presents special

challenges where native rights are involved, but a broadly based dialogue on management issues is necessary.

Several writers (e.g. Iverson 1987:141; Fogelson 1989:138; Trigger 1992:xi-xii; Sioui 1992:38) have noted the high levels of interest in historical contexts of environmental issues that can be found in native communities, and have noted that this presents good potential for collaborative research. Such collaborations might provide special opportunities for clarifying social issues especially within native communities.

In spite of consultations conducted in the past, native community members on the peninsula continue to feel that their perspectives are overlooked. But many are still hopeful that their views will be heard (e.g. SG-AS). I encourage efforts to continue such consultations, and hope that my study can contribute to a much needed open dialogue on management issues.

Because my study is based largely on fieldwork carried out in the peninsula's native communities, I have directed my analysis of the challenges associated with negotiating a management agreement mainly toward native communities. I would encourage future research aimed at analyzing perspectives and positions within groups that I did not focus on in detail in this study, particularly angler associations and the various levels of government involved in resource management. It is likely that such research could clarify other factors that inhibit an open dialogue on management issues.

Kottak (1997b:434) explains the advantages of incorporating local perspectives in management policies with reference to an interesting story he calls Romer's Rule. Romer, who studied natural selection and the evolution of life forms, explains how a physical trait that was developed for one purpose can end up having broader implications. He uses the example of fish developing leg-like appendages where fins once were, so they could get around more easily in the mud, and eventually on land. It has been assumed that they developed legs because they were motivated to exploit new land resources. In contrast, Romer saw their gradual development of legs as motivated by their desire to return quickly to the water when danger approached. They were concerned more about maintain existing patterns than about finding new ones. New patterns developed gradually through the broader application of an adaptation aimed at maintaining old patterns.

With this story Kottak brings attention to the universal tendency people have for maintaining existing relations. Established social relations and resource strategies provide a sense of security that is not part of newly available options. Kottak suggests that the need to maintain existing patterns has to be taken seriously when considering management policies that impact people's resource options. Interventions that jeopardize established ways will typically be resisted, and thereby are not likely to be effective. Understanding local cultural complexity is

therefore a necessary step toward developing policies that will be accepted, and thereby made effective.

This speaks to the importance of recognizing and incorporating local knowledge in resource sharing agreements. Various researchers have pointed out that government managers may be able to improve resource management by working with, rather than against, locally established approaches (e.g. Rettig et al. 1989:283). Aspects of local knowledge have been successfully incorporated into some resource management practices (e.g. Feit 1988; McDonald 1988; Berkes 1989; DeWalt 1994; Pinkerton and Weinstein 1995).

As I note in chapter 7, the local or traditional environmental knowledge pertaining to the fisheries that may exist in native communities on the peninsula is not readily apparent.¹ Finding traditional fisheries knowledge in the peninsula's native communities will require a clearer definition of TEK, one that can incorporate the complex social and ecological factors involved. Ideological obstacles also appear formidable: the tendency to look toward an idealized past and overlook actual conditions and important ongoing adaptations; and the problem of bringing self-evident religious assumptions together with testable rational approaches (see Usher 2000). A more open assessment

¹ Though fisheries traditions appear to be obscure, TEK may be more evident in other ecological domains. Some of the older women, for example, have learned and transmitted information about local plants such as berries through social activities.

of current resource relations may be necessary in order to achieve the social and ecological good that traditionalists along with others desire.

While maintaining accepted patterns is important for all communities, it also needs to be recognized that not all traditions are adaptive or conducive to social-ecological well-being. Some traditions may not be adequate for dealing with rapidly altered conditions such as are often encountered in the modern world. Some traditions may be counter-productive. Each community has the responsibility of finding a workable balance of old patterns and new adaptations - of continuity and change.

In a broad sense traditional knowledge is alive in the peninsula's native communities as a shared commitment to the ideal of doing things in useful ways. The body of knowledge may have changed substantially under reserve conditions, but a strong social commitment to tradition remains.

Because of their complex histories, and because of the current reserve conditions in which cultural identities are recreated, the peninsula's reserve members have a very transparent commitment to ensuring the security of their communities by "respecting nature". Older community members, be they seniors or elders, still play important roles in upholding this ideal, and they may have special contributions to make toward developing local and regional fisheries management approaches.

While the current fisheries conflict is a source of anxiety and tension, it provides an opportunity for better

understanding how we have engaged resource relations in the past and how we might best share them in the future. Negotiators on all sides will play a pivotal role in determining what can be learned from these conflicts.

As already noted, some within the native communities are doubtful about negotiation prospects, but others are more hopeful. Ted Johnston views some sort of negotiated agreement as both necessary and inevitable. He points out that an agreement is required at least in order to have a say in ecological issues within the broader region, since ecological factors do not stop at the borderlines of the reserve (CP-TJ). Likewise, social dimensions are only partially separated by territorial boundaries.

Howard Jones was the chief at Nawash when he and one of the Nadjiwon boys were charged in the case that led to the Fairgrieve decision. While he points out the need to redress historically rooted social imbalances, he indicates that the community would like to see an agreement, and he hopes that community representatives will demonstrate flexibility in negotiations:

"You have to be able to give a little bit. If you become too rigid you become brittle....I think it is important not to forget the past, because the past has taught us what the future should be. But I think we have to be able to talk proper sense and proper good management" (CP-HJ).

His approach is a step toward a less essentialized fishery; it is a step that many more people will have to take if they hope to participate in the negotiation of a Saugeen-Bruce Peninsula fishery agreement.

Through this research I have become a participant in the debates surrounding the fishing conflict. While I have voiced positions on several specific issues throughout the study, I have chosen not to line up along with any one group that bases its approach to the conflict on the promotion of essentialized native/non-native differences. I have in fact argued against the usefulness of doing so.

This study is however motivated by a desire to assist native community members who are attempting to understand and change the complex conditions that contribute to the social disadvantages their communities have experienced. While I see the points that I make in this study as important for many people, I hope my insights will be especially useful for these individuals in their ongoing efforts to find the right pathways between change and continuity. I remain indebted to the native community members who allowed me to gain insights into resource management challenges through participation in their worlds.

I suspect that for most people in both native and non-native communities, who have been impacted by the Saugeen-Bruce Peninsula fisheries conflict, my arguments are not all that startling. It is likely apparent to almost everyone that complex social issues need to be addressed along with ecological ones, and that there are diverse perspectives on these issues not only between groups but also within groups. But I feel that it is none the less important to reiterate these points, since they open important possibilities, and

they are too often disregarded by a politic which rarely looks beyond the shallower truths.

I am hopeful that my study will encourage a more open dialogue on the fishing conflict and its underlying issues, and will encourage both native community members and management negotiators to continue in their efforts to find ways for the peninsula's native communities to more fully participate in defining and achieving effective management of the Saugeen-Bruce Peninsula fisheries.

APPENDIX #1 - INTERVIEWEE LIST

This list includes the names of people who were formally interviewed during my fieldwork. Quotes from nearly all are included in this thesis. A copy of the interviews was returned to each community with the names of interviewees noted, and permission to include interviewee names in my thesis was received during the interview process.

The first two letters in the interview codes refer to the reserve community (SG = Saugeen; CP = Cape Croker). The last two letters are derived from the interviewee names. I occasionally attach a third set of initials to the main interviewee designation where citing a statement made during an interview by someone other than the main interviewee. A third set of initials is also used to indicate specific people within the "PT" group interview. This referencing scheme does not apply to the anonymous interview conducted at Saugeen, or the two anonymous interviews conducted with non-natives that are noted at the end of this list.

CP-AE	Austin Elliott
CP-AN	Angus Elliott
CP-AS	Ainsley Solomon
CP-BJ	Blake Jones
CP-DK	Donald Keeshig
CP-DM	David McLaren
CP-EA	Earl Akiwenzie
CP-FJ	Fred Jones
CP-GK	George Keeshig
CP-HJ	Howard Jones
CP-PC	Philomene Chegahno
CP-PT	Potluck Group Interview:
CP-PT-EJ	Eric Johnston
CP-PT-DK	Donald Keeshig
CP-PT-FJ	Fred Jones
CP-PT-SN	Sidney Nadjiwon
CP-PT-DJ	Darlene Johnston
CP-PT-LK	Lenore Keeshig-Tobias
CP-PT-RW	Ross Waukey
CP-PT-ED	Ed Koenig
CP-R1	Ross Waukey
CP-R2	Ross Waukey
CP-R3	Ross Waukey
CP-R4	Ross Waukey
CP-R5	Ross Waukey
CP-RA	Ralph Akiwenzie
CP-RJ	Ross Johnston
CP-TJ	Ted Johnston
CP-VJ	Verna Johnston
CP-VN	Vincent Nadjiwon
CP-WA	Winona Arriaga

CP-WJ	Wayne Johnston
CP-WL	Wilma Nowell
CP-WN	Wilmer Nadjiwon
SG-A1	Anonymous
SG-AS	Arnold Solomon
SG-CS	Carol Solomon
SG-DR	Darlene Ritchie
SG-EK	Emma Kahgee
SG-EM	Esau Mitchell
SG-FS	Frank Shawbedees
SG-HT	Harold Thompson
SG-JR	Jim Ritchie
SG-LK	Leonard Kewageshig
SG-PS	Perry Solomon
SG-RA	Rosa Anogot
SG-RK	Richard Kahgee
SG-RK-TR	Timm Rochon
SG-RR	Ruth Roote
SG-RT	Rita Root
SG-TM	Theodore Mason
SG-WK	Willard Kewageshig
MN-AN	Anonymous
SO-AN	Anonymous

APPENDIX #2 - INFORMATION SOURCES: PREHISTORIC AND HISTORIC

As research focused on the peninsula is limited, I draw on wider regions where useful information might be inferred. Several broad studies convey a sense of the antiquity of fisheries relations, and indicate the various ways fishing methods have been employed in the past. Radcliffe's study (1974[1921]), based primarily on old world sources, includes illustrations of ancient fishing activities. About half of Rau's (1884) study is focused on North America. Rostlund (1952) remains the most comprehensive source on North American aboriginal fisheries, in spite of a few tentative speculations, some of which have been subsequently refined (see for example Lister 1993:265). Cleland (1982) builds on Rostlund's work. Brief descriptions, but fairly extensive reference lists for aboriginal fishing and related topics, are found in the "Handbook of the Indians of Canada" (White 1969[1913]). Jennings (1989) is a good introduction to North American prehistory. A collection of articles edited by Chris J. Ellis and Neal Ferris (1990) is among the most informative and up to date studies of Southern Ontario prehistory.

Until about 200 years ago, the peninsula was peripheral to recorded history. Some maps of the Lake Huron region were made during the late 1600s and early 1700s (see Fox 1952:27-37), but these maps are typically poor in detail, suggesting a lack of first hand familiarity with the area. A few rough survey sketches and notes were made in the late 1700s and early 1800s, but the peninsula's past was otherwise not written down until the 1830s, when the first records of resource activities on Lake Huron's shoreline were made.

Information about the Saugeen-Bruce Peninsula's native peoples has been published in a few recent historical works. Schmalz (1977) includes reference to 19th century fishing conflicts. DeMille (1971) provides valuable insights into the history of the peninsula's reserve period native peoples and their resource relations. Lytwyn (1992) is the only substantial article focused primarily on the peninsula's aboriginal fisheries. Polly Keeshig-Tobias, a First Nations community member, presents a local perspectives on the history of the peninsula's native fisheries (1996).

Useful references to the peninsula's native fisheries are included in studies of groups adjacent to the peninsula (e.g. Waisberg 1977; Lovisek 1991) and in broader regional studies (e.g. Rogers 1978; Schmalz 1991). Several researchers (e.g. Lytwyn 1990, Van West 1990, Hansen 1991, Wright 1994) have focused on the history of the regulation of native resource uses in Ontario. Scattered descriptions of mainly non-native fishing activities on the peninsula are included in McLeod (1969), Robertson (1971[1906]), and in less formal local histories (e.g. Gatis 1980; Wyonch 1985; Armitage 1994; see also Fox 1952; BCHS 1967). Other references are noted throughout this study.

APPENDIX #3 - OJIBWAY VOCABULARY FROM TANNER (1975:311-314)

Fish Species:

- [Ke-goi-yug] fishes
 [Nah-ma] sturgeon
 [Mas-Ke-no-zha] maskenonge, or pike
 [O-zhaw-wush-ko-ke-no-zha] green pickerel
 [Ke-no-zha] pickerel; from [Kenose] long
 [Na-ma-goosh] trout
 [Na-zhum-ma-goosh] brook trout
 [Ne-git-che] buffalo fish
 [Bush-she-to] sheeps head; [Bush-she-toag], plural
 [Mon-nuh-she-gun] black bass.
 [Ad-dik-kum-aig], [Attai-kum-meeg menom] whitefish;
 from [Ad-dik] rein-deer, and [Gum-maig] water
 [Buh-pug-ga-sa] large sucker
 [Mis-kwaw-zhe-gun-no] red horse
 [Nah-ma-bin] sucker; [Mis-kwun-nah-ma-bin] red sucker
 [Ug-gud-dwawsh] sunfish
 [Sah-wa] - perch (yellow); [Sah-waig], plural
 [O-ka-ah-wis] fresh water herring
 [We-be-chee] a fat fish larger than herring; only found
 in the Red River
 [Mon-num-maig] great cat fish
 [Ah-wa-sis-sic] little catfish (The indians say this fish
 hatches its young in a hole in the mud and that they
 accompany her for some time afterwards.)
 [Ke-na-beck gwum-maig] eel (water snake)
 [O-da-che-gah-oon] gar
 [Shig-gwum-maig] shovel nose, only in the Mississippi
 [Kuk-kun-naun-gwi] little toad fish, in Lake Huron
 [O-gah-suk] little dories, in Lake Huron.
 [O-gah] dory
 [Bug-gwut-tum-mo-goon-suk] (These are small fishes that
 make their appearance in ponds having no connexion
 with rivers or lakes, and which are sometimes quite
 dry. But though they all perish in times of drought,
 they re-appear when the ponds are filled.)
 [Shaw-ga-she] crawfish.
 [Ais] - clam, [Ais-sug] clams.
 [Ais-ainse] little clam
 [Mis-koan-sug] red clams

Totems:

- [Ke-no-zha] Pickerel, of [A-ke-win-de-ba]
 [Ad-dik-kum-maig] White fish, of [Wawb-o-jeeg] the white
 fisher
 [Nah-ma-bin] Sucker, of [Nain-no-we-ton]
 [Ah-wa-sis-se] Small Cat Fish, of [Matche-kwe-we-zainse]
 (Sometimes they call the people of this totem "those
 who carry their young" from the habits of the small
 cat fish.)

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