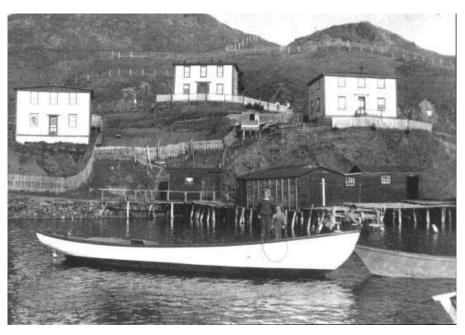
# Echoes: Newfoundland Outport Fisheries and Indigenous Traditions

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Darby family's new trap skiff. Photo credit: Darby family collection, ca. 1950

## **Abstract**

This article argues the need to phase out the industrial fishery model and prioritize small-scale fisheries – but not just smaller versions of current practices. A different paradigm is needed, embodying the fundamental principles that underlie traditional Indigenous approaches to harvesting, and embracing the time-tested knowledge and wisdom of Indigenous and outport communities. The authors describe features and characteristics of both Indigenous and outport fish harvesting traditions, highlighting how both contrast with the present-day large-scale industrial approach. They note how, despite fundamental differences, outport and Indigenous traditions sometimes echo each other, and suggest that those echoes represent valuable insights.

Based on those insights, they urge a shift away from large-scale extractive industrial fishing to a predominantly small-scale alternative that effectively recognizes human harvesters as part of the ecosystem. Within a framework of respect and reciprocity as Indigenous traditions teach, this regenerated fishery will draw on the practical knowledge and harvesting methods that enabled the sustainable outport fishery of Newfoundland and Labrador's past. Integrating scientific capabilities with the wisdom of both sets of traditions, this alternative can form the basis for long-term health of the marine environment and the fisheries that depend on it.

# Introduction

Small-scale fisheries must play a major role in any sustainable future for humans on this blue-green planet. Here in Canada and on a global scale, they represent a rich range of historical and contemporary alternatives to the corporate-dominated industrial model that now predominates in our fisheries.

That industrial model has evolved to dominance over the past seven decades or so, faithfully implemented by a fisheries governance system that tries to 'manage' ocean ecosystems by selectively applying Western science, macroeconomics and quotas. Big corporate-owned factor-freezer trawlers fish year-round on the high seas, dragging the ocean bottom or scooping up

entire aggregations of pelagic fish from the water column, using every means offered by modern mega-technology to maximize their short-term financial gains. That kind of capital-intensive, high-carbon, industrial fishing has marginalized – though not eliminated – the more economically beneficial small-scale fisheries that have sustained people and preserved marine life for generations (Pauly 2019, p. 33-47).

The industrial approach with its technocratic governance system has been shown to be unsustainable and destructive, ecologically, economically and socially. If we are to build a more hopeful future, that is the wrong way to go, especially in this era of climate change and planetary crises. We need a dramatic change of course.

In order to navigate on that new course, we need to look at the range, diversity and success of many small-scale fisheries, particularly those that embody the traditional knowledge of Indigenous people and that of others who fish for a living. Recognition of this necessity is increasing in <a href="scholarly circles">scholarly circles</a> (Neis & Felt 2000) and beyond. That growing understanding is reflected in the research and advocacy of fishery workers, their <a href="union">union</a>, and progressive environmental organizations. The recently amended federal <a href="Fisheries Act">Fisheries Act</a> and <a href="some policies and advisory committees">suggest that the government is noticing.

However, the destructive industrial fisheries model and its failing management system are deeply entrenched and entwined with powerful vested interests. They cannot be fixed by trying to incorporate traditional knowledge and community involvement into something that clearly doesn't work. What's needed is a fundamental change in policy and practice, a new paradigm grounded in the traditional knowledge of both Indigenous and outport harvesters.

The authors come to this subject from two very different backgrounds. Barry was a commercial harvester on Newfoundland's South Coast in the 1950s and '60s, has kept abreast of fishery conditions and policies ever since, and is out on the water with his small boat for every food fishery season. Helen was involved with farming, forestry and <u>permaculture</u> on the mainland and has learned much from Indigenous people through three decades of shared

environmental advocacy and solidarity. As we work together on fishery policy, we hear echoes of Indigenous knowledge in aspects of traditional outport fishing culture, and vice versa. Examining those echoes more closely can offer valuable insights for the future.



Barry Darby and Helen Forsey. Photo Credit: Karen Smith

# Stories and Observations

# a) Traditional fish harvesting in outport Newfoundland

**Barry**: I was born in 1941, the sixth generation of a fishing family on Great Burin Island in Placentia Bay. I grew up on a fishing 'room' – the stage,

store, house, sheds, wharf and flakes that made up our premises. The family enterprise included catching, processing and selling what we harvested from the sea, as well as the subsistence farming and other production activities that made us largely self-reliant.

Fishing was the mainstay of our outport community, and when I was a boy it was much the same as it had been for decades. We didn't think of it as 'small-scale' or otherwise: it was just what we did, how we made a living. We fished mainly cod and lobster, a few salmon, and occasionally other species – capelin, herring, pollock. We read the sea and the signs, and within those opportunities and limits, caught as much as we could.

My father would set out his two cod traps in early June when the capelin drew the cod near shore. He had a crew of four or five, a 30-foot trap skiff and a dory. When the fish struck in, they'd be up at daylight, steam out to the traps, haul one or both, and be back for breakfast, empty or full. If fish were plentiful they might make four trips a day, hauling each trap twice; a good week's catch could total 100,000 lbs.

We didn't stay ashore very often. If it was stormy we might wait a bit, but still go out, just bring in a smaller load. We'd split and salt the catch and let it sit, salted, until after the cod moved offshore. Then we'd take up the traps, wash the salted fish and spread it to dry - 30-35 quintals at a time on the rickety flakes of boughs and longers that lined the harbour. From late July until into September, we did nothing but spread and dry fish.

Our family also had a small general store and a small lobster factory, and my father did some coopering and tin-smithing. We had a cow and a few sheep, pastureland and hay, and a kitchen garden. But the main thing was the fish, and that was governed by Nature's seasons – lobster and salmon in spring, then cod all summer and into the fall. The whole family – grandparents, parents and children – pitched in and did what was needed, when it was needed. In winter there was maintenance to do on buildings, wharves, flakes, boats and motors; twine to make; traps to repair; livestock to care for, and more. Then the fishing cycle started again.



Site of former Darby fishing room, Great Burin. Photo credit: Darby family collection

Though risky, trap fishing could be quite lucrative, but only some fishing families had cod traps. For the others, hook and line harvesting provided steady work for a much longer season. Typically a two-man crew would leave for the grounds before daylight, set 2,000-plus baited hooks on two miles of lines, and start hauling after an hour or so. A good week's catch for two harvesters would be 10,000 lbs – 1,000 to 2,000 lbs a day. There were no quotas; you caught whatever you could catch. Expenses were quite low for both types of gear, so most of the money received was direct harvester income.

In 1953 when I was twelve, our island community dispersed after a major storm demolished most of the premises. The family moved a few miles up Burin Reach to Collins Cove, set up a stage and shop and continued fishing. By then the Fishery Products plant in Burin was taking an increasing part of the inshore catch, so we sold most of our cod to them and no longer salted very much.

As a teenager I built 40 lobster traps and took on maintaining and repairing them. In spring I'd get up before dawn to go out with Dad and bring in the

catch before walking to school. Unlike cod, the lobster fishery had regulations that set the season and required small lobsters and spawners to be returned to the ocean (Government of Newfoundland 1927). We knew this was to ensure future harvests, and it worked – lobsters never got scarce.

Starting in 1957, I fished cod commercially on Dad's crew for seven summers, and the earnings paid my way through university. The work itself taught me a lot, as did my Dad and my fellow crewmen. Some of them had previously fished offshore on the Grand Banks, working in two-man dories from banking schooners – essentially small-scale fishing on a grand scale.

But at that time the entire fishery was undergoing a major transition which was changing its very nature (Etchegary 2013). By 1958, although cod was still king, the salt fish trade had declined, and fish was being fresh frozen in more and more processing plants like the one in Burin. Offshore, powerful draggers with otter trawls had taken over from the banking schooners, while inshore, nylon gillnets were rapidly replacing longlines as the gear of choice.

Not everyone was happy with the changes. Many older harvesters saw major problems with the indiscriminate way the new gear fished, catching everything in the water, regardless of size or species. Gillnets got a bigger catch faster, but it was lower quality, with too many fish damaged or dead, and a disproportionate number of big fish, which we knew were the most prolific. I heard older fishermen exclaim in dismay, "They're killing the mother fish!" But the ingrained goal of catching as much as possible did not stand us in good stead once modern technology enabled us to overfish.

So I grew up seeing both worlds – the traditional small-boat fishery of pre-Confederation Newfoundland outports, and the 'bigger is better' model of modern fisheries, 'managed' from the top down by the federal Department of Fisheries and Oceans and viewed as just one more 'industry' in the global corporate economy.

Through the 1970s and '80s I worked in St. John's as an instructor at the College of the North Atlantic.In 1990, when the rapid decline of the cod fishery began forcing some fish plants to close, I became Coordinator of the College's Fisheries Adjustment program. Working to develop and deliver retraining programs for people who had lost their jobs made me gut-

wrenchingly aware of the realities of the fishery's demise – the economic and social disaster of the Moratorium. In July, 1992, the federal Minister of Fisheries and Oceans declared that the Northern Cod – once so plentiful that John Cabot claimed they could be scooped out of the sea in baskets – were commercially extinct, and that all harvesting of cod must stop. With the Moratorium, the cod fishery – the mainstay of most of our province's coastal communities – came to a crashing halt. 40,000 people lost their livelihoods, young people had to leave to work away, communities became virtual ghost towns, and the skills and knowledge of generations faded into the past.

Seeing what was happening to the fishery and our way of life affected me profoundly and changed me. Since retiring in 1996, I've pursued every available avenue to develop my understanding of the complex issues involved in fishery policy, particularly harvesting – and to <u>explore solutions</u> (Darby 2019).

# b) Learning from those close to the land

**Helen**: In 1991 I moved to a rural co-operative in the forested hills of Algonquin territory on the Ontario side of the Ottawa River watershed. Part of what drew me there was the story of 'the <u>Rice Wars'</u> a decade earlier. That was when the Ardoch Algonquin community, with help from their settler neighbours, succeeded in preventing the destruction of the local beds of wild rice, <u>manomin</u>, which they had cared for and harvested in the traditional way for generations (Green 2004).



Wild rice traditional harvesting. Photo credit: Plenty Canada

The Ontario government had given a commercial company a license to harvest the Mud Lake rice, claiming the Algonquins were 'missing' a lot of the crop. The Algonquins said 'No,' and their settler allies stood with them. Photos of the 1981 confrontation show the fleet of police cruisers and motor-boats trying – and failing – to get the company's mechanical harvester past the protesters and into the water. The outcome was a victory by local people over the dominant commercial and bureaucratic mentality that views wild rice, fish, and all the other riches of land and sea as mere 'natural resources', commodities for humans to exploit.

I come from generations of settler ancestry in the Maritimes and Newfoundland, and grew up in a mainly urban post-war Ottawa. As a teenager in the 1960s I worked on a small mixed farm in New Brunswick, then studied agriculture before volunteering with CUSO in South America. Working in Indigenous communities in the Ecuadorian Andes gave me a glimpse into their ways of living and farming, and opened my eyes to the institutionalized racism which was devaluing and eroding those traditional ways. The realities I saw severely challenged the patronizing 'gringa' attitudes I had arrived with – the idea that 'we' were there to help these poor people modernize and

become more like us. It was a painful transition, but my colonial assumptions finally succumbed to the evidence that 'integrating the Indian peasant' into the mainstream economy and society was wrong on every level.

Those new understandings grew and deepened with my subsequent work in international co-operation, farm advocacy and part-time farming, as I saw more and more instances of marginalization and injustices and witnessed the amazing resistance of those affected. As I became increasingly involved in the environmental and solidarity movements, I've been privileged to watch, listen, read and talk with Indigenous fellow activists and colleagues. All those actions and connections have profoundly influenced how I see the world and humans' place in Nature's ecosystems, furthering my education and developing my analysis (Forsey 2019). Much of what I've learned about traditional fishing and outport life since I began spending time in Newfoundland two decades ago echoes some of those understandings.

# Features and Principles of Traditional Harvesting Cultures

Within the vast subject area of small-scale fisheries, our focus is on harvesting – the ways humans fulfil our ecosystem role as predators by taking living organisms for our own use. Exploring the accumulated wisdom of traditional ways – in their present forms as well as past – can help us respond to the challenges now being posed by the transformations that have come to our fisheries within living memory.

Our use of the term 'traditional' here is both nuanced and critically important. Colonialism attacked and subverted the traditional world views of Indigenous peoples even as it took over their territories. Our urban-centred culture today – modern patriarchal capitalism – continues that shameful history. As a result, not all Indigenous people or governments today see the world in traditional ways. Nor is it only Indigenous cultures that have been subject to erosion. As Barry outlines in Section 2a) above, outport traditions have also undergone huge changes in recent decades, particularly in relation to fish harvesting. For clarity and accuracy, then, when we write

of 'traditional cultures' or 'traditional people,' we are referring not to origins or identity, but to values, approaches and practices.

The knowledge and cultures of traditional people, both Indigenous and settlers, come from an intimacy with the local environment and all its inhabitants – a deep-rooted and constantly renewing familiarity and connectedness. All traditional knowledge involves paying attention – observing, listening and learning from what the land and water, the birds, fish, and plants can tell us. But the frameworks that determine how that knowledge is understood and practiced are fundamentally different between Indigenous and non-Indigenous traditions (Chippewas of Nawash 2007).

Indigenous peoples have been harvesters for millennia – hunting, fishing and gathering what their particular environment provides, and learning how to make sure that way of living continues. Although the people who settled in the outports of Newfoundland and Labrador a few centuries ago also had to learn how to survive by harvesting, their cultural and economic starting points were European-based and very different.

A primordial principle that underlies traditional Indigenous cultures is embodied in the phrase 'All Our Relations.' Humans are recognized as part of the planet's ecosystem, children of the Earth, intimately related to the rest of the natural world. This world view entails genuine respect for our non-human relatives in their own right; they cannot be seen as mere 'resources' for our exploitation or amusement.

The human relatedness to all of Nature is inherent in Indigenous cultures and embodied in their languages. This 'grammar of animacy' recognizes the living nature of every element of the environment, each of which is known and named (Kimmerer 2013, p. 48-59). Indigenous harvesting methods respect the integrity of the life being taken, the inherent characteristics of that life form and the need to enable its continuation.

Gratitude and reciprocity – giving thanks and giving back – are part of each Indigenous harvesting activity as well as of feasts and ceremonies. The guidelines of 'the honourable harvest' are embedded in practices that have evolved and persisted for millennia – harvesting selectively and with deep respect for the life forms that sustain us. This means taking only what is

needed and is given, avoiding damage or waste, leaving plenty to reproduce, and giving back to help carry life on (Kimmerer 2013, p. 175-201; Chippewas of Nawash 2005, 2007).

Inherited through the ages and inculcated through story and custom, this Indigenous philosophical and spiritual framework, practiced differently by different nations and groups, is a defining characteristic of traditional Indigenous cultures. It contrasts dramatically with outport culture, which was inherited from 18<sup>th</sup>-and 19<sup>th</sup>-century Europe. Though limited by geography and available technologies, harvesting in the outports was nonetheless extractive and primarily commercial, as people there fished not just to live but to earn a living. In any exploration of the two harvesting cultures, it is essential to keep this contrast in mind.

That is not to deny the similarities between the two that come from the people's intimacy with and dependence on the natural environment. The Teme Augama Anishnaabe map of their homeland shows pools, bogs, rocky outcroppings, forest clearings all identified with names that tell what happens there. Similarly, outport culture is intensely local, reflecting the human inhabiting of that place. Newfoundland and Labrador's <u>outport language</u> is rich with words reflecting every imaginable distinction, variation, or use for fish, seabirds, kelp, twine, boats, rocks, wind and water (Story et al. 1982). <u>Place names</u> like Stepaside, Bareneed, Deadman's Bay and Foxtrap evoke topography and history (Scott 2012); and local fishing grounds, sunkers, coves and tickles all have their unique identities – Mad Moll, Danger, Capelin Cove, Pushthrough.

This is not romanticism; far from it. In these societies, past and present, people are extremely practical; they have to be. Through hard work, resourcefulness and hard-won knowledge, they create what they need from whatever Nature provides. Small-scale traditional fisheries in northern North America provide multiple examples – Algonquins and Chippewas spear-fishing walleye, (Whaley et al. 1993), Labrador Inuit and livyers ice-fishing with nets or hooks, and Fogo Island harvesters handlining cod for top quality and price.

Since life and work must be shaped to fit Nature's dictates, harvesting

cultures tend to foster attitudes of acceptance and adaptation rather than of control. Traditionally, Algonquin and Innu families followed the food and fur into the country. Outport settlers built their communities close to the fishing grounds, moving to more sheltered winterhouses when the cold weather arrived. Communities grew organically, with dwellings, stages and flakes built where the shape of the land allowed, and paths appearing where needed.



Fish drying on the beach, Grand Bank, ca 1910. Photo credit: Blanche Forsey photo album, MUN Archives, COLL 301



Fish drying on flakes, Burin, early 1900s. Photo credit: Blanche Forsey photo album, MUN Archives, COLL 301

Timing and weather determine not only human activity but that of all living things. Plants grow, reproduce and decline according to the season; similarly for animals, whether they be prey or predators like ourselves. In Algonquin territory, springtime temperatures tell you when to tap your maple trees; in Newfoundland you watch the seabirds to know when to get out your dipnets for capelin. True 'fishing seasons' are established, not by the Department of Fisheries and Oceans but by winds, currents, plankton and the fish themselves. This seasonality is an inherent and essential characteristic of harvesting; Indigenous and traditional outport people respect that reality and work with it. They hold the knowledge and skills to do so, harvesting fish when fish are there, and doing other work at other times.

In addition to patience, attention and resourcefulness, traditional ways of living require and encourage a strong sense of community, with norms

of mutual aid, co-operation, and sharing of knowledge and resources. Individually and collectively, people in outports and Indigenous communities possess a vast range of capabilities for meeting their needs (Hall 2017). To live and thrive in a seasonal natural environment, every man and woman needs a variety of skills. To the extent that individuals specialize, they do so in that broader context. Local ecological knowledge is absorbed from childhood on, and is shared and integrated in the life of the whole community, not hoarded by a few or stored in silos. Travel, trade and gatherings enhance and complement what is known and practiced locally.

For reasons both cultural and economic, waste is frowned upon among both Indigenous and outport people living in traditional ways. As far as possible, what they take from Nature is fully utilized, including much that modern industrial societies throw away. Leaving food on your plate is an economic issue as well as bad manners – disrespectful of where the food came from and the work involved in providing it. In addition, most things harvested also have multiple uses: fish, for example, may be eaten fresh or preserved, shared, sold, or traded, or used for bait, while bones and offal become garden fertilizer. Very little is seen as 'garbage.'

Embracing the past is characteristic of traditional cultures in general, with ancestors and history vividly present in songs, stories and customs. But in Indigenous traditions the future is also equally present, with all major decisions considered in terms of their effects on the next seven generations. This conscientious awareness of long-term consequences is part of the Indigenous understanding of our relatedness and responsibilities to all life forms, including those gone before and those yet to come.

Thus, while traditional Indigenous and outport societies share some similarities, the differences between them are fundamental, and it is essential to explore both.

### Discussion – Similarities and Contrasts

Crucial to the future of our fisheries and oceans will be the choice between the dominant industrial model and a diverse, more traditional small-scale approach in policy and practice. The process of choosing is already happening, here and now, with traditional understandings informing both our resistance to what's wrong, and our research, creativity and imagination in shaping a better way.

Traditional people living close to Nature depend on their observations, noticing, interpreting and responding to changes according to everything their individual and collective experience has taught them. Indigenous and settler harvesting communities have survived through generations by accepting the often harsh realities imposed by geography and Nature, and creating ways to live in harmony with them. But it's not easy, and it requires the kind of sharing and mutual support that keeps traditional rural communities going.

In contrast, the modern industrial approach to harvesting is based on corporate individualism, acquisitiveness and entitlement. The industrial model is directly antagonistic to Nature, aiming to dominate, control or circumvent it. It depends on large-scale, expensive, energy-gobbling, environmentally destructive gear and vessels ranging far afield to harvest year-round in defiance of natural rhythms and conditions.

Traditional small-scale harvesters have always met the challenge of fishery seasonality by working at other occupations when fish are not around. This 'occupational pluralism' has long been a natural way of life for both Indigenous and outport harvesters, though it is complicated nowadays by labour market considerations, employment insurance, rural transportation and infrastructure issues (Williams 2019, p. 71-124).

Small-scale fisheries in Canada cover a spectrum, from intermittent harvesting for family-level subsistence purposes, through 'moderate livelihood' commercial harvesting to a few opportunities for earning high incomes. Both Indigenous and non-Indigenous people fish at different points along that spectrum, according to variables like location, stage of life, economic and

biological cycles, other income sources, etc.

In this context, 'subsistence production' from land and sea is a key element of food security and an important economic mechanism that is currently under-recognized. Far from being economically irrelevant, non-commercial harvesting, usually together with some level of commercial operation, represents 'import substitution' at the family and community levels, where individual or collective self-reliance partially replaces dependency on money (Omohundro 1994, p. 182-187).

Many outport harvesters have insights and understandings that coincide closely with Indigenous knowledge: they know that humans are vital predators in the ocean ecosystem, that fish alive in the ocean can't be owned, that small boats fish more efficiently and sustainably than big draggers. Kids catching conners off the wharf see agile hungry young fish winning the race for the bait, and later apply the lesson: baited gear like hook and line lets more of the bigger, slower mother fish survive, helping maintain the stock's 'reproductive capital' (Darimont et al. 2015). Much of this is gut-level knowledge, but it is crucial knowledge, applied in practice to good effect and increasingly confirmed by scientific research (Marshall et al. 2021).

While these commonalities distinguish traditional ways from the industrial model, the differences between Indigenous and settler knowledge systems are equally important, especially their basic philosophical principles. Traditional Indigenous harvesting is governed by a view of humans as simply one element of the ecosystem, with 'original instructions' and obligations to all our relations, including generations to come (Chippewas of Nawash 2007; Kimmerer 2013, p. 206-210; Drissi 2020). Embedded in stories and practices passed from generation to generation, those instructions and the principles of the 'honourable harvest' continue to stand the test of time. Just one example is the way First Nations on our Pacific coast maintained a steady abundance of herring through millennia, until industrial fishing began dramatically depleting the stocks of this Indigenous dietary staple (Frid 2020, p. 63-70).

Outport culture does not include that foundational Indigenous concept of 'all our relations', with its corollaries of respect for all life, gratitude, reciprocity and restraint. Traditional inshore harvesting was sustainable, but it was not mainly cultural attitudes that prevented overfishing. The limits were imposed by weather, sea state, distance, daylight, and human energy, along with the market and the social prohibition against fishing on Sundays. Those restraints restricted fishing effort, and were, in effect, input controls. Now they've been replaced by government-imposed output controls in the form of quotas (Cochrane et al. 2009. p. 220-252). But for most harvesting, the intent is still extractive – not aiming to fulfil our obligations to the ocean and the fishery's future, but to maximize the catch.

### Conclusion

Large-scale industrial fishing is not only environmentally unsustainable, it is also inefficient in economic terms and counter-productive socially. Seeing a dragger arrive in Burin with 500,000 lbs of cod, Barry's Uncle Frank commented: "Dere's enough fish in 'er to keep two or three families going for a year, but all the crew's getting is two weeks' wages." Caught between a rock and a hard place, and 'managed' by DFO, Newfoundland and Labrador's small-scale harvesters were steered – in different ways and to different degrees – into destructive compliance on the margins of the industrial model.

Like industrial agriculture, industrial fisheries are part of the toxic legacy of patriarchal Western renaissance ideas about controlling Nature (Forsey 2019, p. 99-102). The very term 'fisheries management' embodies this approach, which has been thoughtfully challenged at a fundamental level (Bavington 2010). The ongoing depletion of marine life worldwide is the result, echoed by parallel disasters in forests and farmlands.

If we want a viable future for ourselves and all our relations, we must step off our current destructive path and choose a better way. There are signs that can be done. In Ardoch, Algonquins and their allies still harvest their rice from canoes and 'dance' it to edible form. In Fogo and Petty Harbour, harvesters catch top-quality fish by handlining in gillnet-free zones. But it will take more than that.

Small-scale fisheries, like other low-impact ways for humans to live and thrive on this planet, have too often been invisible, ignored or discounted

as irrelevant in the modern world. However, they are anything but. In fact, given the escalating threats facing us, they represent the only survivable way forward.



Washing the catch, Grand Bank, early 1900s, Photo credit: Blanche Forsey photo album, MUN Archives. COLL 301

Indigenous prophesies describe our era as that of the Seventh Fire, a time when humanity must choose what path we will take into the future. (Kimmerer 2013, p. 365-373). That demands that we abandon the industrial model and shift to small-scale fisheries, and for that shift, the wisdom and knowledge of traditional harvesters will be essential.

Importantly, though, that knowledge is of two very different kinds. The vast knowledge system of Indigenous people – their deep and radical understanding of the natural world and humans' place within it – must form the framework in which we move forward. Within that framework, the

practical local knowledge and traditional fishing methods of both Indigenous and outport people, proven through centuries of sustainable harvesting, can be relearned and adapted for continuing use.

As we embark on our voyage of change, hope lies in using the marks of our Indigenous and outport past to set a course based in respect and reciprocity, to navigate safely and to harvest honourably the stormy waters of the future, listening through the fog for the echoes that can tell us how.

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