Tape 1Interview with Ken McRae. - 1975. - 1 videocassettes (00:30:00)

Ken McRae was a fisherman from Tignish, Prince Edward Island, who began fishing with his brother in 1942. His father was a charter member of the Tignish Fisheries and his sons also fished for the Fisheries. In 1954 Ken also became a member of the Tignish Fisheries and was President of the Company in 1960 when it amalgamated with Skinner's Pond to become the Tignish Fisheries Cooperative Association. He was still President at the time of this interview.

The interview focuses initially on the growth of the Tignish Fisheries from the early 1950's when Wilson Shea took over as Manager to its status at the time of the interview and on the reasons for the change to a cooperative status. McRae discusses the expansion during this time period when outside boats were allowed to become shareholders and more facilities were built. The main reason for the latter was the recognition of the need to process the larger catches of an expanded membership.

The formation of a Cooperative in the 1960's allowed for the needed expansion by creating open membership and for the incorporation of Skinner's Pond. Prices and catches had increased after WWII and the process of getting into Tignish Fisheries had become easier. In the early years you had to belong to the Union and to serve an apprenticeship before being allowed to be a shareholder. McRae did not think the Cooperative was a huge change from the Tignish Fisheries except for the open membership and the appointment of a manager by the Board of Directors. Previously he had been appointed by the membership at the annual meeting.

McRae touches briefly on the Fishermen's Union which had been a force for getting supplies, talking to the government, and creating a link with other fishermen across the Island. Fishermen had more input into the Union which had regular meetings than they did with Tignish Fisheries where they attended only the annual meeting. He felt that the decline of the Union was partly because there are more things to do now and people don't attend meetings the way they used to. Also, most of the work of the Union had been taken over by the Board of Directors of the Tignish Fisheries.

He felt that the Tignish Fisheries joined with the United Maritime Fisheries in the 1960s primarily as a means of solving marketing problems and providing a way of getting rid of their substantial inventory. The association with UMF also allowed the manager of the Fisheries more time for day to day operations and for communicating with the fishermen. The contact between manager and fishermen was facilitated with the move of headquarters to Jude's Point. There were financial problems initially however as fishermen did not identify as much with UMF as with their own company and were reluctant to put money into an operation which they felt meant loss of control by the community.

Tape 1Interview with Ken McRae. - 1975. - 1 videocassettes (00:30:00) Cont'd.

There was discussion as well about Tignish Fisheries involvement in the moss industry, short-lived due to the problems of marketing and the monopoly of two private companies. He thought that the new Marine Plants Cooperative would have a very difficult time making a go of it unless they could set up an extraction plant. Unfortunately, he felt, Tignish Fisheries could not extend itself any further to help the moss cooperative as it could handle only what its membership was currently producing with the possible exception of lobster. With the current drop in catches, it did not seem to be a good time to expand into other areas. Moreover, although corporations have a special branch for research into other what might be good avenues of expansion, i.e. other species, Tignish Fisheries must depend on government for such research.

Interview continues on Tape 2

Tape 2AIrish Moss processing at Marine Colloids Ltd. - 1975. - 1 videocassette
(00:22:00)

The videocassette contains footage of the exterior and interior of Marine Colloids Ltd. in Miminegash, Prince Edward Island. It includes images of the machinery and some of the staff. Sequences include loading the moss into the plant, removing rocks and sand, drying the moss, baling it and loading it unto pallets. Also included are still shots of mossing along the shore, by hand or with horses as well as images of mossing equipment on boats including rakes, baskets and dragging equipment.

Tape 2BInterview with Ken McRae. - 1975. - 1 videocassette (00:06:00)

There was a brief discussion about whether there are still giants in the fisheries cooperative movement as there were in the early years. McRae felt that there is always a need for pioneering but that it may be more difficult now with an open membership and the Board of Directors changing by three members every few years so the continuity is not there to accomplish major changes. However he indicated that fishermen are evincing more interest in the industry than they did a few years ago and more educated people are now participating. This is evidenced by the good attendance at the yearly information session. As education is no longer looked on a reason for not becoming a fishermen, Tignish is keeping more of its young people. This however may change if the proposed new government regulations to phase out fishermen are passed. Under those regulations licences would be sold only within the family.

Tape 5Interview with Urbain LeBlanc. - 1975. - 1 videocassettes (00:33:00)

Urbain LeBlanc was the Secretary of United Maritime Fisheries. He was interviewed prior to a meeting with the Acadian Fisheries Cooperative. He had previously worked for the Rural Development Council and St. Dunstan's University's Department of Extension.

The interview concentrates primarily on the history, philosophy, objectives, and progress of the United Maritime Fisheries and the philosophy of cooperatives in general.

LeBlanc outlines the conditions which created the United Maritime Fisheries beginning with the depression of the mid 1920s when fishermen could not sell their marketable cod for more than 3/4 of a cent per pound. Buyers were not buying because the markets were poor and fishermen were forced to take whatever price was offered. In 1925/26/27 the Antigonish movement to organize the fishermen, spearheaded by two clergymen from St. Francis Xavier University, Frs. MosesCoady and Jimmy Tompkins got underway.

Acting on a submission by Father Coady which recommended the setting up of cooperatives, the McLean Royal Commission on the Fisheries recommended that an organizer be set up for the region. In 1929, Coady travelled throughout the region and spread the message of cooperatives. Two delegates were appointed from each community, making a total of 158, to attend a meeting in Halifax where the constitution of the UMF was formulated. The aim of the UMF was to be a source of information to the fishermen and to organize cooperatives in any community in which there were 20 to 25 fishermen.

LeBlanc alludes to the fact that a union, basically the same as a cooperative, had already been operating in Tignish and sent delegates to Halifax. However, when their suggestion that the headquarters of UMF be in Charlottetown was defeated in favour of Halifax, Tignish withdrew as did the rest of PEI. They did rejoin in the 1960s.

By 1934 the UMF realized that it needed to get into commercial activities including marketing. Their objective was to be the instrument through which fishermen could produce, process, and market their products as close as possible to the source and receive the highest prevailing price in keeping with quality. In the early days the smaller cooperatives were producing the same product and selling to the same market, thereby competing with one another. Centralization was the only option and LeBlanc felt that the fishermen understood and accepted that and that most would not go back to small processing plants in their community.

Tape 5Interview with Urbain LeBlanc. - 1975. - 1 videocassettes (00:33:00) Cont'd.

LeBlanc describes the structure of the UMF as corporate as it is a union of cooperatives although the UMF Central does own a number of processing plants and supply depots. In 1974, under the Canadian Cooperative Act, they will now accept individual fishermen as members as long as they do not have a cooperative within a reasonable distance.

The educational imperative is not as strong now although meetings always provide for an exchange of ideas and UMF still puts on training sessions. He himself works full-time in that area. Social concerns which were high priority in the philosophy of cooperatives have been taken over by other organizations and the government. But it was the cooperatives that raised the social consciousness so that this could happen. Also, the private companies learned from the cooperatives and centralized, becoming more efficient so that the difference between the price paid by the cooperative and the companies has decreased. It was the cooperative that ensured that the fisherman got a fair price for his product.

Interview continued on Tape 6A

Tape 6AInterview with Urbain LeBlanc. - 1975. - 1 videocassettes (00:09:00)

See Tape 5 for Biographical information

LeBlanc indicates that a cooperative is operated by the same basic business principles as private business and it is only natural that it might take on a corporate structure. He doesn't feel that the UMF can be a political force. It does not have a political ideology and fishermen who want to do something politically should do it individually. There are some who might like to get into politics but there is a question of conscience involved. If they are in management positions they would have to resign their positions as soon as they decided to run.

Asked if he thought that United Maritime Fisheries had moved away from the idea of a cooperative by owning things, LeBlanc stresses that although the UMF runs many operations, the control and decisions belong to the local fishermen. He asks "who in fact owns the Central?". Often fishermen in a particular collective ask UMF to continue to run their operation even though it has been turned over to them. Customer demands create the need for management control and the fishermen understand the need for centralization and utilize the facilities of the UMF to their advantage. He feels that everyone in benefitting from association with the central organization and if the move had not been made when it was, they would not be in business.

Tape 6BMoss harvesting. - 1975 - 1 videocassette (00:25:00)

The videocassete contains footage of raking over drying moss in someone's yard, of scooping moss from the incoming tide by hand, of using a horse and horse scoop to harvest moss a few feet from shore, and of raking the moss into the wagon for transport.

Tape 7Interview with Wilson Shea. - 1975 - 1 videocassette (00:22:00)

Wilson Shea was a fisherman from Anglo-Tignish. He was manager of the Tignish Fisheries joint stock company and its successor the Tignish Fisheries Cooperative Association from 1950 to 1972. He was also the manager of the P.E.I. Marine Plants Cooperative from 1972-1975 and later managed the Tignish Normalization Cooperative and the Inverness Oyster Cooperative.

Shea believes that cooperatives are a philosophy and a way of life as old as society itself. The fishermen's cooperative in Tignish followed an old pattern established by the Farmers Institutes and the dairy cooperatives. It grew out of a need and was a method of survival. People were poor and they needed bread on their tables before you could deal with the less material issues.

Nevertheless the idea of the cooperatives was to develop the whole person and he feels that the movement got away from that and concentrated too much on the material side. One of the mistakes they made was to try and do things the way the big companies did in order to try and compete with them. Things would have been better if they had stayed closer to the people and remained in small communities. Now all small institutions are gone and you can't get into business without 2-3 million dollars. The people are ultimately to blame for this as they allowed it to happen. Shea felt it was still possible to be successful on a small scale because there is more focus and more pride in doing it for yourself.

He felt that Tignish Fisheries was successful because they grew to a limit they had set for themselves. He felt that perhaps Tignish was more successful in the cooperative movement than other areas because it was at the extreme end of PEI and to survive the people had to do it themselves. They had always cooperated in community things such as building the church and the school. Also ninety-nine percent shared a religion and each of the various races represented in teh community brought different abilities to the task at hand.

He talks about the determination of Anglo-Tignish to maintain their own small school rather than see too many children attending the same school too far away from home. It would be run by the teacher and the parents. He was certain that they could do this if they wanted it badly enough.

Shea talks about the beginnings of the Fishermen's Union, brought about by people sitting and talking about their situation. This happened in the lumber camps and also at the shore when fishermen used to live at the shore. That is where the ideas developed.

Interview continues on Tapes 8-10

Tape 8Interview with Wilson Shea. - 1975. - 1 videocassette (00:33:00) Cont'd.

See Tape 7 for Biographical information

Shea felt that the fishermen talked more about their situation before the union than they did afterwards. But they did more than talk about it, they did something about it. They were fortunate enough to have a man who could and did do something, Chester McCarthy. McCarthy was born in Seacow Pond and his father ran a small lobster canning factory for W.S. Logie. Chester, who had fished as a young man brought the knowledge of both fishing and processing to the Tignish Fisheries.

He discusses the early years of the Tignish Fisheries which didn't change a lot for some years. It was tough enough just to survive. Success was dependent on the understanding and tolerance of both the management and the members for one another until it made some impression on society and its success became apparent.

He felt that good times economically were generally bad for cooperatives. Times are currently tough now because we are making the wrong use of cooperatives where the thrust is mainly money instead of the development of the people. If there is bread on the table it is harder to see the necessity for development yet there is more need now than ever for people to look after their own needs and rights. People working together have a lot of power and there is a lot of potential in this country. Scientists can conduct the research but if someone doesn't act on it it has no value. In this action comes the development of the people. Economic necessity makes people grow as does education, more particularly life experience. Christianity, AA and the cooperative movement are very similar.

Although he felt that Tignish could use more knowledgeable people, he also felt that sometimes people who come to offer advice get caught up in the bureaucracy and don't achieve what they could. Cooperatives, by offering an alternative and a yardstick by which to measure the corporations, force the private businesses to do better. But he cautioned that the cooperatives also had to judge themselves against the corporations and learn what they can from them. He felt that he had had a good relationship with the private companies and never felt he had to compete with them.

He felt that there had been quite a bit of interference over the years from government whose job it was to protect the consumer. Some of the people writing the regulations were not all that knowledgeable and could not see the necessity of making practical exceptions. He talks about trying to get \$1500 for a dryer from the government but not accepting it in the long run because there were too many strings attached. He had turned down other grants as well when they meant turning over ownership and control of the Cooperative.

Interview continues on Tapes 9-10

Tape 9Interview with Wilson Shea. - 1975 - 1 videocassette (00:34:00)

See Tape 7 for Biographical information

Shea points out that the Joint Stock Company was in fact a cooperative but there was no cooperative act at that time. He talks about the accomplishments of the first twenty-five years of the Tignish Fisheries, 1925-1950. The Company organized and began to do business, stayed together as a group, and survived the first difficult years and helped organize other similar organizations in P.E.I. and Nova Scotia Although there was not much increase in fixed assets or property, they did better than the private companies some of which went out of business. The membership had approximately doubled to 45-50 shareholders and 15 outside boats.

In 1950 the bread and butter of the Tignish Fisheries and all fisheries companies was lobster. Tignish Fisheries was also producing a boneless dried cod, which had an excellent reputation. It was sold under the label of Abegweit Sea Products which was a company of companies including Jenkins, Myricks, Alberton Fisheries and Tignish Fisheries.

He makes brief mention of the Alberton Fisheries cooperative which did not have as many members and was more of a closed shop. Shea felt that the Tignish fisheries had been more amenable to bringing in more shareholders as the plant was expanding and could handle the product from more fishermen and there were more fishermen in the community and bigger families. There was pressure from fathers to get their sons in the Fisheries.

There was considerable discussion about the role of the Tignish Union as opposed to the Joint Stock Company. Shea explains that the union was an educational organization, that members got together about twice a week to talk over problems and then those issues were brought to the Tignish Fisheries. They talked about regulations, poaching, the salt fish business which was basically run by the Union until taken over by Tignish Fisheries in the early 1950's. Shea didn't think of them as a radical group but they did make statements as a group and probably the organization educated them and made them more comfortable expressing themselves.

When asked about the connection between the Antigonish movement and the Fishermen's Union, Shea felt that the cooperative movement in Tignish had been there before the Antigonish movement had gotten underway and that the cooperative movement in Tignish did not start with the Union. He again points that there had been previous institutions in Tignish which were basically cooperatives such as the Farmers Institute, the Palmer Road Dairying Company, egg circles, potato growers associations, etc.

He felt that the conservatism of the Tignish Fisheries concerning allowing new members in the first twenty-five years was that the plant could only handle a certain number of lobsters. There were losses in the early years when the catches

Tape 9Interview with Wilson Shea. - 1975 - 1 videocassette (00:34:00) Cont'd.

were really good and the volume arriving at one time was too large for the plant. Also times were very hard and this was a radical change from being basically a hired hand. Perhaps they were enjoying a little prosperity and were reluctant to share it.

He remarks on the fact that the first twenty five years had developed the Tignish Fisheries to the point where someone like himself could come along and manage it. The Fishermen's union had sponsored people to learn their jobs like Mike MacPhee, Pete Gallant and Leslie McCarthy. If those people with their experience and ideas had not been available the Fisheries would not have been able to expand the way it did in the next twenty-five years. Shea in turn left a good crew both in the office and in processing.

Shea felt that there were both good and poor fishermen in the Tignish Fisheries just as there were good fishermen fishing for the private companies. Some who were poor fishermen were good in the organization. Perhaps those who joined the Tignish fisheries initially were more self-reliant and had more courage and daring.

He begins to talk about his priorities when he took over in 1951, the first of which was to build a new lobster cannery as the buildings were in great disrepair.

Interview continued on Tape 10

Tape 10Interview with Wilson Shea. - 1975 - 1 videocassette (00:33:00)

See Tape 7 for Biographical information

Shea continues talking about conditions in the early 1950s when he became manager. At that time there was no gasoline engine to run the boiler, everything was dependent on steam and was not too reliable. Everything was primitive then, for example no one ever thought about the cans requiring a vacuum seal. Also money was very scarce and most sales were by contract, a practice that he stopped selling only what the company had. It was in 1953 that the revolving fund was started to supply loan capital to finance new buildings and otherexpansion.

A discussion of the various changes in the structure of the organization follows. Shea felt that the Union had faded away after the Tignish Fisheries became a Cooperative and its place was taken by various fishermen's organizations. He felt that the UMF had had little impact in the 1950s as the Tignish Fisheries markets were still primarily local. It was viewed as pretty much a New Brunswick and Nova Scotia organization.

In 1960 the Tignish Fisheries became a Cooperative, took in Skinner's Pond and rejoined United Maritime Fisheries. Shea thinks this happened because the Fisheries already had close ties with the Tignish Cooperative who did their books for them and they also began to to see the advantages of belonging to UMF. Nevertheless there were some areas where the Tignish Fisheries did not agree with UMF and said so, e.g. the policy regarding control and ownership. In Tignish policy and practice remained pretty free and not everything was sold through UMF. Shea points out that many of the cooperative institutions in Tignish were founded by the men who also founded the Fishermen's Union and the Tignish Fisheries.

When asked what it meant to be a member of a cooperative, Shea felt it gave you a little more prosperity, let you have control to change things you didn't like, and built a closer relationship with your neighbours and co-workers. Within a cooperative the role of the manager was one of a servant. He felt it was easy for him because he had been a fishermen and knew the people in the industry and their problems. The same ahd been true of Chester McCarthy. Except for Chester, Shea believed, the fishermen would never have been able to organize the way they did. He also felt that the cooperative had been built without any outside help; certainly the Government had never given any help until recently.

Responding to a question as to whether the Union and the Tignish Fisheries Joint Stock Company was more a cooperative in spirit than the current Cooperative Association Shea felt that that was inevitable as the organization got bigger and moved further away from the community. When this happens, people no longer know what's going on and lose interest. This is true at the Director level as well and

Tape 10Interview with Wilson Shea. - 1975 - 1 videocassettes (00:33:00) Cont'd.

in almost any sphere of life today. He cites the school system as an example. It is the price of largeness and is not an improvement.

He felt that the fisherman ideally should still be working for himself but in concert with other fishermen throughout the Maritimes to do something he couldn't do by himself. However neither the Tignish Fisheries or the United Maritime Fisheries had matched the original dream. Mistakes based on unsound reasoning were made. Fishermen need to get serious about trying to realize the original dreams and to do this they need first to develop themselves. There is no way, contrary to some opinions, that they can now extricate themselves from United Maritime Fisheries and make local independent cooperatives succeed.

Tape 11Interview with Milton Keough. - 1975 - 1 videocassette (00:33:00)

Milton Keough was a ground and lobster fisherman from Tignish who later turned to moss fishing. He was a member and director of both the Tignish Fisheries and the Marine Plants Cooperative.

The interview concentrates primarily on the impact and future of the Tignish Fisheries, the United Maritime Fisheries, the Marine Plants Cooperative and the cooperative movement itself.

Keough describes his first years of fishing for Portland Packing in the 1920's when he was making 4 cents a pound for canner lobsters and 8 cents a pound for large and coming out \$48 in the hole at the end of the season. He wasn't able to get into the Tignish Fisheries joint stock company at first because it cost \$50 for a half-gear share and \$100 for a full-gear share. Eventually he joined and fished for 2-3 years on a half gear.

He and other fishermen joined the Union because it was a way to help yourself, to get better prices and a better way of life. Word of the Union passed from fisherman to fisherman. Boats got bigger and better equipment made the life easier. Union meetings were a means to discuss the fisheries and the business of Tignish Fisheries. Co-op study sessions taught people how to start their own businesses and how to get things for themselves. Many speakers were older fishermen who had been instrumental in forming the Union and they passed this information and experience on to the younger men. The cooperative idea worked and gradually the outside buyers and the private companies went out of business. People left the stores and the banks and went to the Tignish Cooperative store and the Credit Union.

Keough sees the benefits of Tignish Fisheries being part of United Maritime Fisheries as obtaining a better price through the pooling of lobsters and the availability of money to Tignish Fisheries to run their business. He discusses the responsibilities of the Directors of the Tignish Fisheries, particularly the process of deciding on new memberships. Some discussion also centres on the importance of the position of Manager for the Tignish Fisheries and the necessary qualities to make a good one, particularly the interest and experience in cooperative endeavours.

He explains that he changed to moss fishing as he felt there were too many in the lobster fishery and the ground fish were disappearing. The latter he blames primarily on the draggers.

Interview continues on Tape 12

Tape 12Interview with Milton Keough. - 1975 - 1 videocassette (00:30:00)

See Tape 11 for Biographical information

The conversation opens with Keough indicating that he does not know why the Miminegash Fisheries Cooperative failed. He indicates that membership in the Marine Plants Cooperative is not very different from membership in the Tignish Fisheries. It wasn't anything new to him as the principles are the same in all cooperatives. The Marine Plants Cooperative last year didn't have a dryer and couldn't operate but this year they are set to go. Unfortunately the demand is down now as there was a lot of poor moss purchased last year which brought prices down and put the buyers off buying this year. He indicated that the previous year he sold half his moss to the private company and half to the Marine Plants Cooperative. With the rebate and the share capital he made 4 cents more a pound from the Cooperative. Most of the fishermen would rather moss for the Cooperative if they had a choice so there has been no problem getting members.

He didn't feel that Tignish Fisheries could or should go back to buying moss as they did not have the capacity for drying and there was too much to do to run the two separate businesses.

He thought that an extraction plant would be a good thing for the industry and there would be enough moss to sustain one if it processed moss from the Eastern end of the Island as well. However such an operation would be very expensive and unfortunately the government doesn't seem much interested in helping the Marine Plant Cooperative with such a plant, perhaps because it would hurt the two private companies who have extraction plants in other countries.

He felt that the cooperative movement had been primarily responsible for the betterment of the community of Tignish but that the movement was starting to slack off. This may be because the younger people have no idea the role the cooperative played in providing the things they have now.

The last half of the tape is very poor quality shots of moss gear and one of the plants.

Tape 13Interview with Gerald Handrahan. - 1975 - 1 videocassette (00:34:00)

Gerald Handrahan was an member of the Tignish Cooperative Association. He is interviewed at his home in Tignish by Gary Webster.

Handrahan talks primarily about the cooperative movement in the 1930's in Tignish, which resulted eventually in the Cooperative Union and the Credit Union. This movement he felt was spearheaded by the earlier Fishermen's Union and the Tignish Fisheries as well as by the influence of the Antigonish movement. He talks about the development of the Credit Union initiated by the visit of Dr. Croteau to Tignish 1936. "Kitchen meetings" were held throughout the area and the Credit Union was formed in 1937, followed almost immediately by the buying clubs.

He describes the mood that led to the cooperative movement in Tignish as one of desperately seeking a way to be able to make a living on Prince Edward Island rather than going elsewhere. Although there was no broader vision at the time, once it got underway the cooperatives were willing to help others get started.

He describes the early Tignish Fisheries as somewhat capitalistic, wanting to keep things for themselves and keeping the membership closed. You could not join unless you could show yourself to be independent and stable. He felt that the study sessions of the 1930s cooperative movement which taught the principle of community sharing helped to change that although it wasn't implemented in the Tignish Fisheries until the 1950s when Wilson Shea became manager.

As well as their own educational program, the cooperative movement, particularly that of the fishermen, fostered an interest and improvement in education in general in Tignish. He felt that perhaps the movement placed too much emphasis on severe social criticism rather than on teaching people about cooperation and trying to build an alternative to the current social system. There was "too much emphasis on getting loans and not enough on building up savings".

There is some discussion about producers' cooperatives being more exciting than consumer cooperatives as the members are working for themselves. Fishermen have been better at this than farmers, perhaps because their produce is perishable and must be processed or sold immediately. Therefore they see the benefits sooner. Successful agricultural cooperatives have also been those dealing with a perishable product, e.g. dairy products. He agrees that cooperative stores have moved away from the traditional pattern and are now much like other stores. He feels they are not strong enough to be truly cooperative as they do not have enough good quality co-op label goods.

Tape 13Interview with Gerald Handrahan. - 1975 - 1 videocassette (00:34:00) Cont'd.

A brief discussion of Tignish Fisheries withdrawal from United Maritime Fisheries in the 1930s leads to a discussion of the tensions between centralization and local autonomy with its concomitant loss of local interest. He felt that although the Fisheries Cooperative has done a good job in developing its processing and providing local employment, it has fallen down on the educational side which was one of its strengths in the beginning.

Interview continued on Tapes 14A and 47

Tape 14AInterview with Gerald Handrahan. - 1975 - 1 videocassette (00:20:00)

See Tape 13 for Biographical information

Handrahan discusses the need for the Tignish Fisheries, and the Cooperative and Credit Unions to work together to develop a program for the community. It is difficult to get people in the community to work at this as it is easy to belong to the Cooperative compared to the difficult times which brought about the Fishermen's Union and the Tignish Fisheries. People are too prosperous now and don't have to work together to better themselves.

There is a brief discussion on whether the employees of the Tignish Fisheries Cooperative should be allowed membership. Handrahan points out that they are mostly related to members and so are not all that far from a say in things.

He talks about the difficulties cooperatives have in comparison to private firms in accessing sources of funding for research and expanding into different activities. While a private company can spend money and wait for a return for several years, members of the cooperative are reluctant to give a portion of their rebate for something that won't happen for years. He also mentions briefly the cooperative's revolving fund.

When asked if, given the cooperative principle of cooperation between cooperatives, whether the Tignish Fisheries, Cooperative Union, or Credit Union could assist the troubled Marine Plants Cooperative, Handrahan pointed out that all three were already engaged in other financial outlays such as expansion, paying for a new store, and lending money to individual members and there wasn't a lot of money to go around. However, he did feel that they should all be working to help one another. Money was being directed to individual members' problems instead of planning for expansion and short-term considerations were paramount over longterm, private concerns over cooperative goals. To turn this around an educational program to teach people about cooperation and the need not to be complaisant was essential. Commitment to the long term was needed and younger people needed to be convinced of this.

Interview continued on Tape 47

Tape 14BTignish Harbour. - 1975 - 1 videocassette (00:12:00)

The videocassette contains footage of the approach to Tignish and of the harbour and docks with boats and fishermen forking moss and unloading lobster traps.

Tape 15Interview with Donald Feltmate. - 1975 - 1 videocassette (00:34:00)

Donald Feltmate was the manager of Tignish Fisheries Cooperative, seconded by the United Maritime Fisheries.

Feltmate discusses the role of the manager of a cooperative and the differences between that position and a similar position in a private company. As manager of the Tignish Fisheries Cooperative it was his job to work between the Board and the shareholders in order to do the best for both. The Board sets the policy but the manager is given the scope to oversee the day to day operation of the Fisheries; to hire, to make sales decisions in cooperation with United Maritime Fisheries, and to decide on processing schedules. In a corporation, the end is strictly profit and the producer has no say. In a cooperative, employees and producers work with the manager, not for the manager. In the Tignish Fisheries, the fishermen/producers are the employer.

Tignish Fisheries needs a manager who believes in the cooperative movement. A good cooperator is one who believes he is working for a purpose, who is working together with others in ownership for control. Most of the fishermen in the Tignish Cooperative understand that they are the owners although Feltmate feels there is some lack of an educational program and that fishermen need to be a little more active in their cooperative, to understand that it is not price alone that is important but also that the cooperative itself succeeds.

He believes that the most important development in the movement was when people first realized they needed to band together to get what was rightfully theirs and formed first the Union and then the Joint Stock Company. It was a logical progression from there to the Cooperative and membership in the United Maritime Fisheries. The latter organization ties Tignish fishermen into the fishing industry in the Maritimes and provides assistance and information. But the Tignish Fisheries is still free to run its own operation and prices paid to the fishermen reflect the efficiency with which the particular member cooperative is run. He felt that fishermen are confident that their local organization is doing its best for them.

There is some discussion as to whether employees in the processing plant should also be members but Feltmate explains that, although this might be a good idea, it is not possible at this time as this is a "producer cooperative". Also no employee could serve on the Board of Directors which might be a drawback.

As a producer of a primary resource cooperative, the Tignish Fisheries is vulnerable to the decline in fish stocks making it difficult to plan ahead, forcing it to deal with things on a yearly basis. Feltmate hoped that the proposed 200 mile limit might allow them some control by cutting off certain areas and allowing the fish to

Tape 15Interview with Donald Feltmate. - 1975 - 1 videocassette (00:34:00) Cont'd.

come back. He did not feel that the Tignish Fisheries had the luxury of being able to diversify into other species. Off-shore fishing was not an option as Tignish Harbour is not suitable for the necessary equipment, however the Fisheries might be able to process if catches were trucked in from other locations. He indicates that within UMF there is the possibility of diversification in the ways of assigning work between the individual member cooperatives.

Interview continued on Tape 16

Tape 16Interview with Donald Feltmate. - 1975 - 1 videocassette (00:18:00)

See Tape 15 for Biographical information

Feltmate talks briefly about the decline in interest by young people in fishing as a career in some areas of the Maritimes due to the decline in catches but indicates that in Tignish the interest is still there. The cooperative will survive as long as people believe that the fish is theirs and that they have some control on how it is caught and how it is processed and also have confidence in themselves to better their situation.

There is some discussion about the new Marine Plants Cooperative which is having the same difficulties as the Tignish Fisheries in the early years, namely the competition of private companies. Although most fishermen now fish both lobsters and moss, neither the Tignish Fisheries nor the United Maritime Fisheries has the financial resources or the moss marketing knowledge or experience to purchase and process moss.

Feltmate felt that although cooperatives had steered clear of a political agenda perhaps they had missed an opportunity. They had not wanted to force cooperatives on anyone as cooperatives only work where people want and believe in them, where they look at them not simply in terms of raising prices but in bringing a better way of life to the whole community. Lack of these conditions have resulted in the many failures of cooperatives in Prince Edward Island. There is no guarantee that success will not breed lethargy. You must keep a connection through grass roots education and a mutual trust among all those involved, fishermen, management, employees.

Tape 17Interview with lobster and moss fishermen. -1975 - 1 videocassette (00:40:00)
Two of the fishermen were identified as Claude Cormier and Junior Bernard.
Three other first names were given as Clifford, Freddie and Jack. All appeared to be
members of the Tignish Fisheries and were from Tignish or Skinner's Pond. Junior
Bernard was a Director of Tignish Fisheries. One of the fishermen from Skinner's
Pond was also fishing ground fish.

The first topic of conversation was the increase in the lobster catch this year and whether or not the larger traps had played a role in this. The fishermen felt that they seemed to be working at West Point but not on the North side. Various reasons were put forward for this including the natural home of the spawn and the collection and dispersal of spawn by the research boats.

This led to a discussion of the regulations concerning the number of traps and the licensing of the fishery which was not doing much in their opinion to protect the lobster. In spite of regulations there was more gear in the lobster fishery than ever because people were buying licenses from other areas and fishing them in the Tignish area. They felt that a license from one area should only be sold to someone who would fish in that area. Licenses should be able to be sold to family members but not to a stranger. In the latter event the government should buy the license.

The fishermen spoke of the main advantage of joining the Tignish Fisheries Cooperative as getting the full return for your product after overhead in comparison to the private buyers who set a price and used the fishermen badly. They felt that fishermen lost a good deal of money by not belonging to the Cooperative.

There was a good deal of concern expressed over the decline of the ground fish, particularly in the last year when one fisherman reported that his catch from nine nets went from 18,900 lbs. to 3,000 lbs.. This they feel is caused by the draggers who are blocking the cod and herring from the inshore. The opinion was expressed that the Government knows more about this than they are passing on to the fishermen and that Government also did not listen to the Tignish Fisheries or the fishermen but came to meetings with their own agenda already decided.

They felt that the record of the Department of Fisheries in helping the fishermen was poor. Although the Department officers were trying to keep a limit on the lobster, poaching was very prevalent and many short lobsters were being sold on the side or canned. Suggestions were made that number and hours of the fishing officers needed to be increased and that they should be rotated around the Maritimes so that the officers were not policing their own harbours.

Ultimately however it was the fishermen themselves that were the problem and they should be more involved in policing themselves. Otherwise the lobster would go the way of the groundfish. It was suggested that they needed to band together and appoint leaders and hold meetings to discuss these things and this group should talk to the poachers.

Tape18Interview with lobster and moss fishermen. -1975 - 1 videocassette (00:30:00)

See tape 17 for biographical information

Discussion carried on concerning whether the Tignish Fisheries Cooperative is the body to implement the above suggestion as it should be part of the Cooperative's business to protect the industry.

One fisherman expressed the opinion that the moss baskets which had been in use almost exclusively since 1975 should be banned because of the damage they were doing to the lobster fishery by taking in the small lobsters with the moss. Opinions on this varied. Some of the fishermen said that it was a lot more of a problem on the West side than on the North side and that they could be picked out, others felt the rakes were equally destructive by tearing them up. The fisherman who had returned to ground fish indicated that he might have to go back to moss but the future there does not look promising either.

Discussion returned to the advantages of the Tignish Fisheries which they felt had kept the fishermen fishing by getting and maintaining better prices and by instituting a rebate. You could lose \$900 in a year by not belonging to the Fisheries. The revolving fund was also a good thing. Tignish would be a pitiful sight without Tignish Fisheries. Look at Miminegash Fisheries which had to join with Egmont Bay. They felt that Tignish Fisheries had survived because of its members being "hard core" fishermen.

There is further discussion of the policing of the fisheries, the future plans of the Tignish Fisheries and the factory at Jude's Point, as well as their opinion of being part of United Maritime Fisheries.

Tape 19Interview with Clifford Wedge. - 1975 - 1 videocassette (00:35:00)

Clifford Wedge was a long-time resident, moss fisherman and farmer from Miminegash, Prince Edward Island. Although he had also worked away from Prince Edward Island twice, he had returned home to fish lobster and mackerel in the intervals. Returning to Prince Edward Island permanently in 1969 he turned to moss fishing as his principal occupation. He was one of the organizers of the Marine Plants Cooperative and served as a Director of the Cooperative.

Wedge talks about his earlier attempts at life away from the Island and his desire to come back to Miminegash, a desire shared by many others of the area. He describes his first few years in the moss fishery when he had to learn where the moss grew and how to harvest it. This involved long days and low monetary return. Prices for moss were low and going down further because the private companies had a monopoly and could pay what they wished.

He describes the beginning of the Marine Plants Cooperative when he, Adelard Gallant, Gus Bernard and a few others started talking about such an enterprise and went to talk to Wilson Shea about managing it for them. After an organizing meeting the cooperative began in 1972 with 12 members. There are now approximately 200 paying members.

He discusses some of the early and continuing difficulties with financing the operation including the difficulties of persuading fishermen of the need to pay dues and of getting assistance from the Government who wouldn't accept personal notes from individual members as collateral when they wished to purchase a dryer. The few small grants which they did get were tied to "no extraction".

He felt that Government did not have any interest in seeing the Marine Plant Cooperative succeed. Government was more interested in establishing the private companies which had a lot of political influence and in financing their various experiments. The companies in turn would like to see the cooperative fail as it takes away from their business even if it is only a small percentage. In the past, they have claimed to have a lot of moss stockpiled in order to lower prices in the spring and then they came looking for moss in the fall.

He talks at some length about Marine Colloids taking a lot of moss indiscriminately the previous year, some of which was bulldozed later, but now demanding better quality "clean" moss at a lower price. He felt that the quality of the moss was the buyer's concern and that Marine Colloids knew what they were getting yet took it anyway in an attempt to break the Marine Plants Cooperative as the price for moss had jumped the year after the Cooperative had started.

Interview continued on Tape 20

Tape 20Interview with Clifford Wedge. - 1975 - 1 videocassette (00:32:00)

See Tape 19 for Biographical information

Carrying on from a question on tape 19 concerning alleged company talk about growing their own moss in tanks on the shore and getting it from different locations in the world, Wedge didn't believe that that would happen although he felt that the companies would like to eliminate the fishermen from the process.

He again expressed the concern that the Government had given a lot of money to set up these plants owned by outsiders and to supply them with labour for the first few years but would not help the Cooperative or their own people. Even when the Credit Union offered money, the Government was unwilling to be a guarantor.

If he had any choice he wouldn't sell to the private companies except to Wendell Stewart who built the place up, treated people fairly, and helped the community. He stresses the importance of the buyer in establishing the moss industry and indicates that Wendell Stewart got Marine Colloids established while Jim Shea was instrumental in establishing Genu. These men did more than just buy moss, they were important in the local people's lives. Fishermen still feel a lot of personal loyalty to these men.

In the controversy over moss baskets versus rakes, he felt that the damage was the same. Rakes tore the lobsters up but most small lobsters could be picked from the moss baskets and returned to the sea. Few would be hurt in the process. Taking large lobsters however was damaging to the industry. With respect to the moss fishing industry, he thought that taking the rocks did serious damage and that they should not be taken ashore but returned to the water.

Asked if he thought cooperatives paralleled unions he was of the opinion that unions had gotten too big and controlling, taking over the companies which was wrong. They had served their purpose. People in unions worked for companies while cooperatives were people working for themselves. With respect to the future of the Cooperative and teh industry, he would like to see the Marine Plants Cooperative sell its surplus moss, and get big enough to serve all the moss fishermen. He did not want to see the private companies completely put out of business as competition was necessary. He would also like to see the Cooperative run any extraction plant which might be built because this would keep the money at home.

Tape 21AInterview with Ronnie Costain. - 1975 - 1 videocassette (00:09:00)

NB Tape 22 precedes this tape and includes biographical information

Discussion continues about an extraction plant as there have been rumours floating around recently although noone seemed particularly motivated to start up such a plant. Costain felt this might be because such a plant had always been an election issue. If the Marine Plants Cooperative had such a plant, there would be more money for the product because there would not be the shipping charges for the dried seaweed and this would allow higher returns for the fishermen. He felt that the Cooperative would be willing to entertain a collaboration with one of the private firms in the carrageenan business on a buying basis.

When asked if he thought that the fishermen who got the Marine Plants Cooperative made as great an effort as those who began the Tignish Fisheries, he indicated that he did. They gave a lot of their time to attend meetings to get the Cooperative going and some gave personal notes. As the market has not been good recently, Costain didn't feel it was right, as the government had suggested, to ask the fishermen to contribute a \$1000 share each to set up the Cooperative although he thought many would be willing to do so.

In the next few years it will be crucial for the Cooperative's existence to get a stable market year after year. This is his responsibility and will require a lot of study and effort.

Tape 21BLocal entertainment at Tignish? - 1975 - 1 videocassette (00:20:00)

Footage on this videocassette appears to be of a local entertainment show featuring electric guitars, drums, guitar and vocals, fiddler and tap dancer.

Tape 22Interview with Ronnie Costain. - 1975 - 1 videocassette (00:33:00)

Ronnie Costain followed Wilson Shea as Manager of the Marine Plants Cooperative in 1975. He had previously worked for Genu Products.

Costain discusses the contribution made by Wilson Shea and Glen Costain to the organization of the Marine Plants Cooperative. Shea donated the land and Costain supplied the lumber at cost. He felt the Cooperative was organized because the fishermen wanted a share in the industry and wanted to get some of the profits. The Tignish area seemed particularly appropriate as a location although the plant was not located near a port which made trucking costs higher. Fishermen from Miminegash were as involved as anyone else in the Marine Plants Cooperative but that community was closer to the competition and there was more room where the plant was built.

The current financial difficulties of the Cooperative which led to the closure of the plant for two weeks had developed as a buyer who had contracted for the moss in January had withdrawn the offer. However the carrageenan market was starting to move again and the Cooperative would soon start buying again. He felt that the fishermen understood that there were financial problems and remained loyal to the Cooperative in spite of the setbacks. He indicated that there was room for the private companies as well and that the Marine Plants Cooperative would be happy with onequarter of the share of Irish Moss landed in West Prince. Even if the companies felt differently, they would have to accept the Cooperative eventually as it has over 200 members who were in it for the long haul.

He talks briefly about membership in the Marine Plants Cooperative indicating that if the Cooperative feels they can handle a man's product he is accepted. However it will take years to expand and the market situation is less bright than it might be.

There is some discussion of the world market for carrageenan and the threat of competition from the Phillippines. Costain indicates that he feels there will always be a market for good quality weed which he describes as 85 % Irish Moss in a load. He says that, in spite of Marine Colloids complaint that they weren't getting good quality moss, the Cooperative has no problem meeting this standard. If they turn down a load one day it comes back the next cleaned up. He does not feel that Atlantic Canada will be put out of the moss industry.

Cooperation between the various cooperatives is good and the Marine Plants Cooperative tries to help other communities set up their own cooperatives. He indicates that all the fishermen, members and non-members alike, work with the Cooperative. Many members of the Marine Plants Cooperative are also members of Tignish Fisheries and this causes no conflict. Both the Cooperative and the private companies help one another in terms of parts and repairs to equipment.

Tape 22Interview with Ronnie Costain. - 1975 - 1 videocassette (00:33:00) Cont'd.

There is brief discussion about the controversy about using baskets to harvest moss and some mention of education of the Cooperative members.

Costain felt that there would be good future for an extraction plant, that this had been discussed when the Marine Plants Cooperative was organized and that it should be done through the cooperative movement. The Cooperative however is not financially stable and does not have a solid enough market yet to get involved in such an enterprise in the near future.

Interview continues on Tape 21A

Tape 23Interview with Glen Costain. - 1975 - 1 videocassette (00:30:00)

Glen Costain was a moss fisherman and farmer from Miminegash who was one of the first members of the Marine Plants Cooperative and a Director for 4 years.

Costain remembers that mossing really began in the early 1940s and his first sales were to Joseph Gallant. He describes the current situation with the private companies, Marine Colloids in particular, which was taking anything in 1974 and paying 3 cents per pound in the western portion of the Island and 4 cents in the eastern portion where it wasn't even Irish Moss but a mixture. The quality of some of this moss was so bad they later buried it. He attributes both actions to the fact it was an election year. This year the private companies are very hard to sell to, particularly Marine Colloids. They are inconsistent making it difficult to know what they want.

He relates his involvement with the Marine Plants Cooperative from the beginning when he cut, sawed, and hauled the lumber to build the cooperative building for 8 cents a board foot, less than the going price. Even before the Cooperative started he had suggested that the fishermen get together and build a building to store moss which they would then sell to the companies. He was the first to pay the \$10 fee for membership and has been with the Cooperative ever since. He feels it is the only thing keeping fishermen and the moss industry afloat. A cooperative is the only suitable organization for farmers and fishermen as they are so far from the markets and their product is perishable. Unions do not work for fishermen and farmers.

Costain tells us a little bit about his early life when he wanted to be a farmer but couldn't make a living at it. He went to Winnipeg but walked back determined never to work for anyone else again. He wanted to be his own boss and went into moss fishing which was a godsend even though the life was hard and he had many setbacks. He also discusses the fluctuation in prices for moss over the last 6 years.

When asked if he thought the private companies wanted to grow their own moss he replied that they probably did and the Government would likely help them do it. He believes the government has done little for the moss fishery and, instead of giving financial assistance to the Island fishermen, is spending it all in financing research projects for the private companies. The government does not trust Islanders to do the job but they most certainly can.

He expresses the desire to see the Marine Plants Cooperative set up an extraction plant. Wilson Shea talked a lot about this and even bought a lot of equipment but it never happened. Costain talks about an earlier building supposedly built for this purpose at North Cape and a dryer which eventually was sold and moved to Newfoundland although the Marine Plants Cooperative had wanted to purchase it. He felt that if there wasn't an extraction plant built on the Island, it would be the end of getting any kind of price for moss.

Tape 23Interview with Glen Costain. - 1975 - 1 videocassette (00:30:00) Cont'd.

An extraction plant set up by a private company with the Cooperative doing the buying would also work but this would not be the best solution as the proceeds would not go back to the fishermen. The Cooperative would also be interested in investigating other weeds that might be harvested and extracted, something the private companies would not do. This would benefit the community and provide jobs.

This interview continues on Tape 24B

Tape 24AInterview with Vernon Gaudet. - 1975 - 1 videocassette (00:25:00)

Vernon Gaudet was a buyer of Irish Moss for the Marine Plants Cooperative. in Tignish. He worked previously for four years as a buyer for Genu Products and prior to that was a farmer and a mechanic and operated a gas station.

Gaudet describes the feelings of the fishermen and himself about the Marine Plants Cooperative. They would like it to expand and build and operate a processing plant. An extraction plan owned and operated by the Cooperative would make the fishermen feel that they owned it, prices and rebates would be better, and profits and other benefits such as employment opportunities would stay in the community. He was of teh opinion that almost all the fishermen wanted such a plant including those from Miminegash and Skinner's Pond. An extraction a plant would bring in more members. It would be a "gold mine". Wilson Shea was the first to spread the idea of an extraction plant around and perhaps more people were listening than Wilson thought. With the new building last year, fishermen have become more optimistic getting an extraction plant.

He talks about the difference between working for an international company and for the Cooperative, the latter being much better as the people are easier to get along with and the members bring in good quality weed because there is something in it for them. Although the quality of the weed he bought for Genu was often the same quality as he buys for the Cooperative, the Company often said it was poor quality. Still they accepted it and did well by it. He speculates that it was an excuse to lower the price.

A good buyer has to be friendly with the fishermen and use considerable tact If he's good, the fishermen are happy to see him on the dock waiting to buy their moss.

He expresses the concern that if the Irish Moss industry fails, it will mean disaster for the community of Tignish and for the west end of the Island. Although the lobster fishery is important there is more money in moss. A moss fisherman, unlike a lobster fisherman, gets his money on a daily basis and this is important in the economy of the community.

An extraction plant would bring many benefits to the community such as more employment, better prices, and rebates. This in turn would create a thriving economy which would create more businesses. In the beginning, as it is a complicated procedure, it might be necessary to bring in outside help but control must remain with the Cooperative. Fishermen believe that such a plant must be part of the Cooperative. Government should not be involved except to supply seed money. It would get a better deal if it gave this to the Cooperative which would

Tape 24BInterview with Vernon Gaudet. - 1975 - 1 videocassette (00:25:00) Cont'd.

invest it and put it to work rather than a private company where it would simply disappear. The Government would also benefit from such a loan by tax monies recouped from income and sales taxes as more people are employed.

He was convinced that the fishermen were determined to make the Cooperative work and if getting money from the government didn't work some were prepared to hold the moss until there was a market and/or to put up personal securities.

The tape has numerous breaks in the sound and picture.

Tape 24BInterview with Glen Costain. - 1975 - 1 videocassette (00:08:00)

See Tape 23 for Biographical information

Costain reiterates that the cooperative is the only organization of any use to a fisherman. Although the Marine Plants Cooperative is moving slowly, it has come a long way. A cooperative is a way out of welfare because you can draw on you rebate when you need it, you don't have to present your stamps or beg and plead. He indicated that the fishermen would see the Cooperative survive even if they had to donate their moss to it. A carrageenan plant would provide year round employment and he feels that there is sufficient moss to support one. There is some difficulty with financing as matching money is required and he is very wary of an association with a private company as "once you let a big fellow in he can take over".

He briefly discusses the controversy about moss baskets which he does not feel harm the lobsters but may be stripping the bottom. Any decrease in lobsters he blames on the research boats collecting the spawn and taking it other places. If you take away the baskets the farmers will get the moss as they own the shoreline. There is more money in moss than in lobsters and moss often provides a little ready cash for poor people.

Tape 25Interview with 4 Irish Moss fishermen. - 1975 - 1 videocassette (00:35:00)

One of the fishermen interviewed is Junior Bernard who was a member of both the Tignish Fisheries and the Marine Plants Cooperative. He was also a Director of the Tignish Fisheries. The other fishermen are unidentified only as Ernie, Glen, and Ronnie. They are all moss fishermen and members of the Marine Plants Cooperative. Some also fish for lobster and are members of the Tignish Fisheries.

The fishermen share reminiscences of fishing for individual buyers and never making more than enough to pay the bills for renting the gear, etc. and having to look for other work after the fishing season. There is also some complaint of being cheated on their credit bills.

With the advent of competition in the form of the Union and Tignish Fisheries who set shore prices, private companies and buyers were forced to raise their prices to the fishermen in order to compete. They feel that the private moss companies on the Island are trying to put the Marine Plant Cooperative out of business because it will cut into their profit. Fishermen prefer to belong to the Cooperative in spite of their current difficulties and this is also a threat to the private companies. In addition the Cooperative also pays a rebate and has a revolving fund which represents a hold back from the rebate in order to run the Cooperative but which can be drawn on by the fishermen when they need it.. If there was no Cooperative to sell to, the private companies would get the moss for nothing.

There is discussion of the use of moss baskets with some divergence of opinion as to whether they damage the moss beds by bringing in a lot of rocks. Some felt that if you eliminate the baskets then the farmers will get the moss off the shore as open rakes are not bringing in much moss anymore. However there is a large amount of rock being brought in. They felt that any research done into the damage done by baskets would most likely be too late.

The fishermen indicate that the current closure of the Cooperative was because of financial difficulties and the loss of contracts which were underbid by the private companies who are hoping to get the Cooperative's moss in a bankruptcy sale. They also felt that the P.E.I. Lending Authority which did help the Marine Plants Cooperative get started unfairly cut the Cooperative off from more funding at a time when it had incurred big expenses for the building and equipment. The private companies are getting the contracts because they are large and can afford to accept lower prices for their moss. Still they thought that the Cooperative would sell their surplus in the fall or winter.

There is considerable expression of discontent with the government which they perceive to have spent millions of dollars on tourism and tourists by way of

Tape 25Interview with 4 Irish Moss fishermen. - 1975 - 1 videocassette (00:35:00)
Cont'd.

parks and entertainment and yet will not support its own citizens in building an Island industry. They suggest that powerful businessmen and politicians who know very little about fishing have invested in the private companies and want to protect that investment.

Opinions vary on the best way to start up an extraction plant. Most felt that it should be for the people and should not be run by a large corporation as the proceeds would then go elsewhere and would not afford the fishermen a better price. The government should back it but they thought it would inevitably be turned over to a company. The Cooperative could operate such a plant it if the government was behind it. The best location would be at the west end because that's where most of the moss is, where people are working at the moss, and therefore trucking would be cheaper.

A brief discussion of the closure of the east end of the Island to moss dragging allowing only the use of the old pole rakes led back to the subject of moss baskets. One fishermen said that there was a natural rate of mortality for lobsters anyway and another that the lobster catches didn't seem to have been affected by raking. They agreed there was probably more damage done by poaching and taking short lobsters.

Interview is continued on Tape 26

Tape 26Interview with 4 Irish Moss fishermen. - 1975 - 1 videocassette (00:33:00)

See Tape 25 for Biographical information

The discussion returned to the benefits of the Cooperative which paid a \$350 rebate last spring and the problem of governmental support of the private companies, particularly in the funding of research. One fisherman complained that the companies would provide moss fishermen with rigging with money gained by paying lower prices but that once you take their equipment they expect your moss. Nevertheless, Junior Bernard felt they needed the private companies as the Cooperative currently could not handle the product from all of the fishermen. He thought the Marine Plants Cooperative needed to follow the pattern of Tignish Fisheries.

The fishermen say that they are being told that the reason the prices are low is that the moss is not good quality. They argue that the buyers know what they are getting, they can tell if there is a lot of rock in the load, and yet last year they bought it anyway. One fisherman felt that the buyers would not give you any more even if the moss was good quality. On the other hand one fisherman pointed out, it did not do them any good to sell rock or other things in the moss to increase the weight because they were only hurting themselves in the long run as witnessed by the lower price this year as compared to last.

There was some suggestion that an extraction plant would encourage the use of other types of seaweed such as kelp which are currently being ignored. This led to a discussion of Marine Colloids attempt to lease the moss beds. There was also mention of experiments by Marine Colloids in harvesting their own moss which would effectively cut out the fishermen or turn them into employees. It was suggested that the managers of the private companies were hanging around the Marine Plants Cooperative trying to find out what was going on waiting for an opportunity to get their surplus moss at a lower price.

They discuss the rising cost of living, escalating prices for things such as gas, rope, lumber, food and, alternatively, the stagnant prices to the fishermen for lobster and cod. They say that the companies blame this on a poor market. The real problem the fishermen feel is that there are too many middlemen. Farmers are in much the same situation receiving little for their meat and produce. Big companies can afford to hold the moss and wait for their profit but the fishermen can't do that as their product is perishable. An extraction plant with good stable markets might be a solution to this as well as it would lower costs of trucking and shipping and would eliminate some of the middlemen.

Tape 26Interview with 4 Irish Moss fishermen. - 1975 - 1 videocassette (00:33:00)
Cont'd.

They feel that if the moss industry goes that will be the end of the fishermen. As it is, at the end of the season most fishermen have to find other jobs in order to survive. They can't depend on the moss, cod is a thing of the past, lobster is the only reliable fishery. It is not easy to find other jobs and welfare is not that easy to come by. It is difficult to make enough money to replace old boats and equipment. Still fishing is what they want to do, in fishing you are your own boss.

Tape 27Interview with Harold Cormier. - 1975 - 1 videocassette (00:38:00)

Harold Cormier was a lobster fisherman from Tignish, a member of the Fishermen's Union and a charter member of the Tignish Fisheries. He was also a Director of the latter organization.

Cormier describes his early fishing days beginning in the 1920's for Dr. Johnson who had a lobster packing operation. At that time he fished for only two months a year and then went to work on the railway or in the lumber camps. Dr. Johnson had six boats fishing for him and paid cash at the end of the season at a set price per pound for the lobster. Johnson paid a little better than the other buyers. He supplied the boats and all the gear including bait and paid the fishermen to get them ready every spring. Dr. Johnson was only putting up lobster but Myricks had a cod operation in addition to lobster.

The Union was organized in 1923 but it wasn't until 1925 that they bought Dr. Johnson's plant for \$3,500 and the Tignish Fisheries Company got started. He believes that Dr. Johnson went bankrupt because he was holding out for the lobster price to go higher but instead it went down. Johnson's boats were also sold to the Fisheries and were purchased by fishermen, including Harold Cormier, who did not have their own gear. Between the time the plant ceased operation and the Tignish Fisheries bought it, Johnson's six boats fished for Myricks or other buyers.

With the formation of the joints stock company and the purchase of the packing plant, the lobster packing operation began although the first year of the Fisheries the company had no boiler and so sold only live lobsters. After a few years, probably around 1929, they built a dryer, sent two men to Halifax on a course to learn how to bone and salt cod and started a salt cod operation as well. The two businesses gave employment to a lot of people. An operation at Higgin's Wharf operated by Tignish Fisheries which sold green did well for only about one year. At that time (1929-1931), before the boundary line was established and fishing two seasons was banned, Cormier was fishing on the West Shore as well as the North Shore. He recalls 1930 as a bumper year for lobster.

Cormier talks a little about the organizing of the Fishermen's Union which came about primarily through the work of Joe-Aime Arsenault, Cletus Gavin, and William MacLeod. He mentions Dr. Coady coming from Nova Scotia to hold a meeting to explain how to organize a union. The idea of a Union was talked up among the fishermen and he was invited to the first meeting which was held at the community hall. After that there were meetings every second Saturday.

After the Tignish Fisheries got well underway Myricks and Portland Packing remained for a few years but the other buyers couldn't compete. After they left a lot of their fishermen began fishing for Tignish Fisheries. Relations between Tignish Fisheries and Myrick's remained cordial and Myrick's actually packed for Tignish Fisheries the first years.

Tape 27Interview with Harold Cormier. - 1975 - 1 videocassette (00:38:00) Cont'd.

The Union/Tignish Fisheries tried to help the new fishermen by giving them loans. The manager, Chester McCarthy, would intercede for them. A man had to belong to the Union before he could be a member of the Tignish Fisheries. Cormier explains that the number of shareholders had to be limited to correspond with the financial worth of the Company. Also, the Tignish Fisheries could only accommodate as many fishermen as the processing plant could handle. As the value of the Company grew so did the number of shares and the membership.

Cormier describes briefly how most fishermen in the early years lived in the cookhouses at the shore. This gave fishermen a chance to get together in the evenings and discuss new ventures such as salting cod. You could go home if you wanted but you had to walk. Some farmed part time so went home more often to do the farming chores.

He believes that without the Union/Tignish Fisheries the fishermen would still be in the same situation of getting only what the buyers were willing to pay. They would still have no control. They would be in debt to the private companies who would still set the shore price and not tell the fishermen until after they started fishing. He briefly describes the growth of the Tignish Fisheries as shown by the buildings and equipment.

He returns to the beginnings of the Union/Tignish Fisheries and describes Chester McCarthy as a good organizer who had helped to organize 27 other unions across the Island. He describes the principal difference between the Union and the Tignish Fisheries as being that the Union met more often than the Board of the Tignish Fisheries and talked things over, bringing matters of concern to the attention of the Board. Cletus Gavin and Joe-Aime Arsenault were also involved in the movement towards a Cooperative store and the Credit Union. He felt that Tignish was more successful at their Union than other places because they would not sell to the other buyers who came to the shore offering better prices.

The quality is poor with breaks in conversation. Also conversation wanders and the abovenotes do not necessarily reflect the order of the conversation.

The interview is continued briefly on Tape 28

Tape 28Interview with Harold Cormier. - 1975 - 1 videocassette (00:06:00)

See Tape 27 for Biographical information

Cormier talks briefly about the expansion to take in Skinner's Pond and some members from other areas, the life at the wharf when fishermen stayed there, the communication between the Tignish Fisheries and the fishermen, and the shift from Chester McCarthy as manager to Noreen Johnson, Chester's secretary, and then to Wilson Shea.

Tape 29Interview with David Lank. -1975 - 1 videocassette (00:38:00)

David Lank was Vice-President in charge of administration of the Marine Colloids Ltd. plant in Miminegash, Prince Edward Island at the time of the interview.

Lank sets out the Marine Colloid's explanation for the sharp decline in the purchase of Irish moss in 1975 over the previous 1974 season. This is based on the fact that there has been a slump in sales as inflation keeps people from buying luxury products and the company also has a lot of the product stockpiled from 1974. In 1974 the companies felt there was going to be a shortage of moss, panicked and bought bad quality moss with a large amount of rock, sand and foreign weed thereby increasing their costs.

This has created a need for Marine Colloids to implement a quality control program as well as an educational program to explain the need for quality control to the fishermen. Lank feels that all the companies should be working together to bring the quality of moss back to standard, i.e. 80-85% moss in each load. The four companies buying moss should cooperate to communicate this need to the government who should institute regulations concerning equipment and seasons. Meanwhile the fishermen should come to look at the companies as someone they are working with to make a living. He looks to Bennett Keefe, Department Manager, and Lee Doucette, Plant Manager as the people responsible for comunicating this idea to the fishermen and for soliciting ideas from the fishermen. Marine Colloids recognizes that using local people who know the people they are dealing with is often an advantage.

He describes the structure of Marine Colloids Ltd., how it operates, affiliations with other companies, who they supply to, and their share of the PEI market which he figured was about 50%.

He discusses the ecological implications of the use of moss baskets which started 2 years ago and is now virtually universal on the Island. He is of the opinion that they trap small lobsters which could get out of the way of the slower moving rakes and also remove many of the rocks which are then dragged in the baskets over the bottom thereby ruining the moss beds. This is detrimental to the livelihood of both the lobster fishermen and the moss fishermen many of whom are one and the same.

Competition between Marine Colloids, Genu Products, Lytex (P.E.I. Seaweeds) and the Marine Plants Cooperative is welcome as it keeps you sharp. There is good cooperation between the companies and Marine Colloids would like to see this expand to pool their resources, for example in the making of rakes. He looks at the Marine Plants Cooperative as a Company operating in the business world. and thinks it might have a special advantage in communicating with the fishermen that the private companies do not.

Tape 29Interview with David Lank. -1975 - 1 videocassette (00:38: 00) Cont'd.

Lank felt that an extraction plant would be a good thing for the Island as it would provide year round employment but that there were drawbacks such as a need for a strong sales force in the United States where the competition is high and where there is a duty on the seaweed, the lack of technical abilities, and the amount of employment for the average person. On the other hand he foresaw a growing market for carrageenan in developing countries. He indicated that if a company was to set up an extraction plant the government would have to guarantee them a certain share of the market for raw material. Marine Colloids had considered setting up such a plant but would not do so in the immediate future.

He outlines some of the projected uses of the carrageenan and describes some previous experimentation by Marine Colloids in the cultivation of weeds. He does not see this as doing away with the wild harvest as the process is very expensive. However it would allow the Company to be selective. The fishermen are still the most important ingredient in the fishery, cultivation would only allow them to grow a little more moss if they weren't meeting their quotas from the fishermen's product.

Lank briefly discusses the lack of receptiveness by governments, particularly the Federal Government to the moss industry.

Interview continued on Tape 30

Tape 30Interview with David Lank and Lee Doucette. -1975 - 1 videocassette (00:34:00)

See Tape 29 for Biographical information about David Lank. Lee Doucette was the plant manager at Marine Colloids.

Lank talks about the major outlets for carrageenan which is primarily an additive used in food products, toothpaste, cosmetics, and pharmaceuticals. Marine Colloids probably supplies 60-70% of the carrageenan to the North American market and 80% of the ground bleached moss to Canadian breweries. He also discusses the interrelatedness of the moss and lobster fisheries and sees no conflict between the two. On the contrary, it would not be beneficial if either were to go.

He spends a considerable amount of time discussing the competition from the Philippines which produces primarily spinozum. The advantages of the Atlantic market over the Philippines is its proximity to the American market and the stability of our way of life and relations with the United States. On the other hand in the Philippines the weed is cheaper to buy, can be landed in Maine cheaper than from here because processing costs are less and ocean freight rates have gone down. However in his opinion Irish moss extract was very versatile and the best available at the best price and consequently not in too much danger from competition from other species from foreign locations. Also, although it is cheaper to buy weed from the Phillippines, Marine Colloids feels it should make a contribution to the community by hiring locally, etc.

He returns to the idea of quality control which includes both the percentage of Irish moss in a load and the amount of extract per pound of material. For every 100 pounds they would like to see 90% moss. Responding to an allegation by the fishermen that Marine Colloids had been moving around a lot this year and had been very hard to sell to, Lank explains that the Company is not looking for quantity but quality and that boycotts which took them by surprise forced them to pull their buyers out of various locations if they were not getting their fair share. Although they put in four unloading devices for the benefit of the fishermen, these had not been well accepted. They have a big investment in West Prince and need to remain economically viable.

He indicated that the Company had tried to institute a tiered system of payment for moss depending on its quality but this had not succeeded because it is difficult to prove to both the fisherman and the Company the quality of the load. It is possible that a mobile testing system for carrageenan content will be in operation soon.

Lee Doucette continues the discussion of the reasons for and problems with the quest for quality and selective buying. He indicates that as much as 50% of the moss offered this year to Marine Colloids has been turned down but gets accepted

Tape 30Interview with David Lank and Lee Doucette. -1975 - 1 videocassette (00:34:00)
Cont'd

elsewhere. When they started buying in the spring there was as much as 11% rock in the loads. It is difficult to communicating quality concerns to the fishermen, whose livelihood it is when the same load will be bought elsewhere. He felt that the companies should all be following the standard of 80% moss. Next to Marine Colloids the Marine Plants Cooperative probably had the best quality control program. Although there was a quality control program in place in 1974, it wasn't followed because of the competition resulting in little profit.

He also mentions the installation of a de-rocker built by himself and Eddie Sentner which removes 95 % of the rock. There is a brief further discussion about the moss baskets which Marine Colloids did not make this year as they felt the moss harvested this way was not as good quality. All companies agreed to eliminate the baskets but the others did not honor the agreement. Last year they had to put them on because of the demand but they would not be doing this again. There will never be another year like last year in the moss industry.

Tape 31Interview with Emile Gaudet. - 1975 - 1 videocassettes (00:33:00)

Emile Gaudet and his wife were moss fishers from Pleasant View, Prince Edward Island. Emile was also a lobster fisherman at one time.

Emile Gaudet talks about the raking of moss with 18-20 foot long rakes and pulling up about 15 pounds of moss on a rake. In one summer following the shore he made \$4,000. There were no horse scoops at Miminegash then and he felt they shouldn't be allowed now as they scatter the moss and there is nothing left for the women and children to rake. Baskets should also be eliminated as they pull up the rocks on which the moss grows. They used to rake right into the back of the truck. now there are 6 to 8 rakes a boat and sometimes 50 to 60 boats in one patch.

He relates that he fished 300 lobster traps at one time and that his father was also a fisherman who fished cod, mackerel and lobster. He discusses the larger traps which are being used now for lobster and describes fishing for lobster with a trap like a bag which was pulled up when it was full.

He talks about the abundance of moss at a time when it was hauled for manure as you couldn't sell it and everyone was fishing ground fish and lobster. The quality was much better then as it came off in bunches, now it is all chewed up. If they had known what was coming they could have built a few buildings and stored the moss. When moss became popular a lot of people switched back to moss and seven or eight years ago a lot of farmers also started raking moss. Farmers often follow the shore with horses and tractors but many build boats as well. There is not enough moss for these numbers. The same is true for other fish as well, particularly cod, mackerel, and herring as the draggers take it all. There are few ground fish at Miminegash any more. Smelts and scallops are also scarce. Bait for lobster used to be cod now it is flatfish and most fishermen are buying it.

Gaudet sold his moss to Wendell Stewart at West Point, a great buyer who wanted your moss, knew where it was from by looking at it, and treated you fairly. Wendell felt the moss in this area was the best moss on the Island. Jim Shea was also a good buyer.

When questioned about what went wrong with the market this year, Gaudet indicated that the moss must have been dirty to be refused as it was possible to get clean moss. Fishermen were getting it out of holes where it tends to be slimy. He indicated that it was hard to get good moss every day and that he never sold his moss completely dry as it was difficult to handle and you lost money on it. Also the processing plants preferred some moisture in it as it was difficult to bale otherwise.

Tape 31Interview with Emile Gaudet. - 1975 - 1 videocassettes (00:33:00) Cont'd.

Gaudet felt that the coming of the plants had adversely affected the moss industry. Before the plants were established, there were only three or four buyers, e.g. Jim Shea, Wendell Stewart, and Josie Doucette who bought good moss. With the plants supplying equipment and the price going up everyone got heavily into moss fishing. The private companies at first bought it with anything in it and yet paid the same price for good quality moss. He thought there should be a grading system whereby payment was according to quality. Companies would likely do their own testing and inspection but this might not always work as "they have a lot of friends".

Interview is continued on Tape 32.

Tape 32Interview with Emile Gaudet and Mrs. Gaudet. - 1975 - 1 videocassettes
(00:20:00)

See Tape 32 for Biographical information

Mrs. Gaudet joins Emile on the tape which is quite disjointed and rather difficult to follow. They talk about the problem with the seiners cleaning out the fisheries, about the abundance of moss many years ago, and the difficulty for women and children to get much shore moss any more. Mrs. Gaudet describes the way her father used to dry and bleach the moss and the way she and the children hand scoop moss. Money raised from her raking is used to provide things for the house.

They again indicate they would like to see the horse scoops and the baskets banned and think the fisheries officers should do this. This equipment is also hurting the lobster industry but so is the taking of short lobsters. Fishermen should work with one another and report on one another if they are abusing the fishery.

There is a brief discussion over the changes in equipment over the years including horse rakes and horse scoops which were invented in Kildare, poles with ropes, etc. Mr. Gaudet also returns to the need for grading moss.

Tape # 34Interview with Freddie Richard. - 1975 - 1 videocassette (00:35:00)

Freddie Richard began fishing in 1926/27 with his father. In the beginning he fished for lobster, cod and mackerel, landing to Myricks. In 1929 both he and his father joined Tignish Fisheries. Before the boundary line was established, they used to fish both sides. After fishing at West Point until 1931 they shifted to Higgin's Wharf where Tignish Fisheries bought and sold green for one year. Richard built his own gear in 1932 and is still fishing. He was married and had 16 children.

Richard talks about the early days of fishing, the boats, the gear, the methods of fishing, poaching, the size of catches and the prices. In the early years he got 25 cents a hundred for hake and 90 cents a hundred for cod. Lobster were as low as 4.5 cents per pound. Boats were 5 horsepower, one head, approximately 28 feet long. But you could take in more lobster than you can with today's boats. Fishing was good in the 1930's with1931 a record year when fishermen brought in as much as 15-20,000 pounds in the season. Fishing was done with trolls, 400 hooks to a line. Some days there were so many you couldn't bring them all in.

After joining the Tignish Fisheries fishermen still had to sell to Myricks as the company wasn't processing fish for the first few years. He remembers Chester McCarthy buying for himself for a few years and paying more than Myricks, perhaps 20 cents per hundred more. Later he bought through the Tignish Fisheries. He describes the advantages of belonging to Tignish Fisheries such as better prices, the feeling of working for yourself, cheaper supplies handled through the Union, rebates at the end of the season, and improvement in fishing practices encouraged by biweekly meetings.

The Union also tried to get the practice of poaching stopped by making representations to government but was unsuccessful. Richard feels that those who poached had to do it to make a living. It will never be done away with completely but it has decreased significantly with better prices. Today you need to bring in between 6000 and 9000 pounds of lobster to make a living.

He describes the changes in the industry and in fishermen including the use of hydraulic equipment which has made fishing much easier. He laments the loss of comradery and exchange of information among fishermen, nourished in the earlier days by living together in bunkhouses at the shore and by the lack of alternative entertainment in Tignish. Young fishermen today want only to get out and back in as quickly as possible.

He indicates that there are now too many boats. He feels that the trap limit of 400 should have been even lower and that licenses and gear should be sold for use only within the area from which they came. As it is, with licenses in the Strait being sold to West and North there are more fishermen and just as many traps. The initial outlay is too costly for young people to go into fishing now. If you like fishing its your pleasure, if you don't like it you shouldn't be in it.

Tape 35Interview with Ferdinand Gaudet. - 1975 - 1 videocassette (00:30:00)

Ferdinand Gaudet from Tignish, Prince Edward Island started fishing for lobster in 1910/11. Although he went to Labrador and St. Catherine's to work as a sheet metal worker, he always came home to fish. He was an original member of the Tignish Fishermen's Union and a charter member of the Tignish Fisheries joint stock company.

Gaudet describes his early days of fishing including the first two in a 20' sailing vessel at the age of 16 or 17. He fished for several of the companies including Myrick's, Senator Murphy, Portland Packing and Dr. Johnson. In the early years companies paid by the season no matter the amount of fish. Later he got paid for half his catch as the boat and gear belonged to the company. The best price he realized was \$2.50 per hundred pounds. He used to fish both sides of the Island. The second year of the Tignish Fisheries he got his own boat in partnership with Michael Gaudet who had previously fished with Joe Aime Arsenault. This partnership lasted for 40 years.

He talks briefly about living at the shore every season for four months boarding with farmers who were paid by the company. Trips home were on foot or by horse and wagon. Living at the shore with other fishermen provided a good chance to talk over fishing concerns such as the cost of gear and the price they were receiving for their catch.

These conversations were instrumental in the conception of the Fishermen's Union. Gaudet talks about the individuals involved such as Joe Aime Arsenault, Cletus Gavin, Earl McRae, Hubie Gaudet, Jim Fitzgerald and others who would get together to talk to the fishermen. Joe Aime Arsenault had been to the United States and involved with unions and was probably the principal mover towards the Union which was organized at a meeting on a Saturday evening. Chester McCarthy was invited because he was a lawyer and was interested in fishing. Chester also helped set up unions in other places on P.E.I. including Nail Pond, Rustico, and Miminegash, but was unsuccessful in other communities. He was the first to discuss setting up a cooperative and also took the Tignish Fisheries briefly into the United Maritime Fisheries.

The Union and later the Tignish Fisheries handled the buying of supplies for the fishermen making them cheaper, raised the price fishermen received for their lobster, and improved the quality of fishing by hosting meetings with speakers to educate fishermen about the way to handle fish. They also forced the private companies to pay rebates in order to remain in competition.

Tape 35Interview with Ferdinand Gaudet. - 1975 - 1 videocassette (00:30:00) Cont'd.

Gaudet discusses the transformation from the Union to the Tignish Fisheries and then to the Cooperative. In the early years the Union played a strong role in the Tignish Fisheries but under Wilson Shea it faded away and now with the Cooperative, there is no more Union. He sees the future of fishing as poor as there is more competition from outside buyers, too many fishermen, and a lack of real union men, loyal to the Fisheries and ready to fight for what they get.

Tape 38Interview with Arthur Chaisson. - 1975 - 1 videocassette (00:33:00)

Arthur Chaisson was a fisherman from Tignish who started fishing at the age of 14. He fished at West Point, Higgin's Wharf and the Brae. He was an original member of the Fishermen's Union and a charter member of the Tignish Fisheries joint stock company. His father ran the lobster factory at Nail Pond and had five boats supplying him.

Chaisson describes his early days of fishing starting with the first year which was in a sailing boat. He fished for 7 or 8 years for Myricks beginning with a price of \$2 per hundred between two men. He was often in debt and worked at home in the fall digging potatoes or bringing in the crops. It was hard to make a living and he often lived on credit. But he loved the life on the water and the fishing.

He describes learning about the Union from Chester McCarthy and about talking it over with other fishermen who decided they had nothing to lose and it was worth a try. So he became a member and attending all the meetings which required a password to get in. There were 24 members originally, only 4 of whom are left. He had his own gear when he joined as it was obligatory. He had the first gasoline engine for his fishing boat in the area.

He describes the changes brought about by the Union; fishermen had a say in what happened, higher prices were forced on the private companies by the competition, fishermen actually made money instead of constantly being in debt and could provide for their families. Without the Union the people would have starved. The biggest difference was the rebate which meant something was coming in in the fall as well. He talks briefly about the first year of the Tignish Fisheries when lobster was shipped only and the purchase the following year of the Johnson plant so that it could be processed as well.

He touches briefly on illegally fishing both seasons and poaching which he felt fishermen had to do to make a living. However the start of the Union was fairly effective in reducing poaching.

Chaisson felt that the strength and success of the Union was due to Chester McCarthy who was a very good manager and the fishermen who worked together with Chester and each other and who maintained a say in the Fisheries. He also talks about the later management of the Fisheries and indicates that there seems currently to be a loss of strength in the Fisheries which he attributes to too many bosses.

Tape 39Interview with Max McInnis. - 1975 - 1 videocassette (00:33:00)

Max McInnis, lobster fisherman from Tignish, first fished at the age of 14 in 1926. He was a member of the Fishermen's Union and later a shareholder in the Tignish Fisheries.

McInnis discusses the need for fishermen in the 1920s to better themselves, to make a better living and provide a better way to bring up their children. He talks about the persons responsible for starting the union, Joseph Aime Arsenault, Cletus Gavin, Hubie Gaudet and Chester McCarthy, charter members of the Tignish Fisheries. The Tignish Fishermen's Union was established10 years prior to such activity in other places and maintained close ties with the Antigonish movement and helped other unions get started both on and off-Island,

Participation by members was very good in the early years and bi-weekly meetings were well attended. Discussions at meetings resulted in the development of a cod liver oil business, a salting operation, and in the hauling and storing of ice. The Union was also involved in working with the government towards the elimination of poaching and was responsible for an increase in prices. The cod fishermen doubled their price for their fish.

He discusses the Union's activities in holding study clubs and its pivotal role in the cooperative movement. The members also held social events. He felt that the Fishermen's Union was really the impetus for the later cooperative movement which resulted in the Cooperative Store and the Credit Union some twelve to fifteen years later. Fishermen and some farmers were the backbone of the cooperative movement in Tignish. This movement was then responsible for the Tignish Fisheries opening up its membership in the 1950s and 60s and taking in the members of the Skinner's Pond Fisheries.

Until that time the Tignish Fisheries was a fairly small, stable, and conservative group. It was difficult to become a shareholder and McInnis, although a member of the Union/Fisheries in the late 1930s did not become a shareholder until 1945/46. As a member you still got a better price for your lobster than from the local buyers but you did not get the rebate so did not realize the full benefit of membership.

He felt that the Union has a role to play now in preserving the ailing fishery by cutting down on licenses, instituting a trap limit, getting the fresh fish filleting plant going and helping the Marine Plants Cooperative.

Tape 40Interview with Mrs. Harold Cormier and Mrs. Joseph Gallant. - 1975 - 1
videocassette (00:35:00)

Both women are the wives of fishermen who belonged to the Fishermen's Union and the Tignish Fisheries and served as Directors of the latter organization.

The interview focuses on the social and family life of fishermen in the 1930's as compared to the present day, the difference made by the union, and other influences.

The women describe Tignish in the 1930s as being about the same size with two major stores Myricks and Morris and Bernard and several smaller stores including a tinsmith. There were woollen, grain, and sawmills outside the village. They talk about the impact of television and how it has taken away the close friendships and the visiting. They describe the numerous dances and card parties held in homes before they started to use the Community Hall. Men would discuss politics and other things at these home meetings and early meetings of the Fishermen's Union were also held in people's homes.

Although the women did not participate in these meetings except to provide lunch they could listen to what went on. Mrs. Cormier expressed a real interest in these meetings where the men discussed ordering their supplies, choosing Directors, the best ways of making traps, having a good road to Jude's Point, etc. She thought the meetings were good for the men as it gave them a chance to learn about managing their own business and made them better able to stand up and speak for themselves.

They talk about providing meals for the buyers and describe pie socials.

They also describe the hardships of the fishing life such as early mornings for their husbands, the walk to the shore, the farming to be done when the weather made it impossible to fish, having to take food with them which made more work for the women until the cookhouse were established, and going away to other work in the fall to make enough money to support their families. Although looking back it seems like a hard life it didn't at the time.

After the Fishermen's Union there was more money and an easier life. They could get better homes and finish them better, buy new clothes and vehicles and other luxuries like a gas motored washing machine. They were able to take their children on excursions although Mrs. Doucette describes great times earlier when she would play the organ and her husband would fiddle and the children would dance. They discuss the lack of social life and employment opportunities for their children in Tignish.

Mrs. Cormier describes Chester McCarthy as a quiet soft spoken man who knew how to get his point across. He fished to put himself through school to become a lawyer and was a good friend to the fishermen and always interested in the industry. Although the parish priest didn't play much of a role in the formation of the Union, there is a great difference in the influence he had then and now.

Tape 40Interview with Mrs. Harold Cormier and Mrs. Joseph Gallant. - 1975 - 1
videocassette (00:35:00) Cont'd.

They describe the changes in Tignish between the thirties and now. In the thirties they had three doctors and now they have one. They also had their own lawyer and a tinsmith. However there was no Credit Union and no Cooperative store and those have been an improvement as it is nice to go to a place which you feel is your own. Mrs. Cormier deplores the fact that many do not understand the cooperative concept and so are not loyal to the cooperative. The social activities such as dances and card parties have stopped and the children do not stay in the community after graduating from high school. They are uncertain about the future of Tignish with the scarcity of fish and the farmers leaving the land.

When asked about Women's Lib, they felt there were probably some good things about it but they were happy with the lives they had had. They had done their duty and this was very satisfying.

Tape 41Interview with three lobster and moss fishermen. - 1975 - 1 videocassette
(00:37:00)

Two of the fishermen interviewed are identified as Gerald and Leonard. They are lobster and moss fishermen from Tignish and all are members of the Tignish Fisheries and have been directors at one time or another. Gerald is also a director of the Marine Plant Cooperative.

The fishermen describe getting into fishing and landing to the private companies before switching to the Tignish Fisheries. The latter offered them better prices and security through the revolving fund. Also the Fisheries gave one a feeling of owning your own business and knowing that you were getting your fair share of what there was. They talk a little about the growth of the Fisheries through the years but think that further expansion will be limited because of the recently instituted district boundary line. Also the plant is not big enough to handle more fish and for this reason they were unable to take in the Alberton fishermen who wanted to join.

They suggest that the Tignish Fisheries did well because of the dedication of its members and because the fishermen of Tignish got along well and always pulled together while fishermen in other ports seemed to fight among themselves. The unique success of the Tignish Fisheries is duplicated in other cooperative activities of the Tignish community. Without the Tignish Fisheries the private companies would still be taking advantage of the fishermen.

The fishermen feel that young people now seem to have no interest in fishing, perhaps because of the hard life and the long days. However one fisherman indicates that there is no hard labour in fishing anymore as the gear makes everything much easier. Unfortunately now that the life is easier, there are no fish.

Some discussion centres on the Marine Plants Cooperative and its problems with private competition similar to those of the Tignish Fisheries in the early years. In the three years the Cooperative has been in operation, prices paid for moss have gone up. Members of the Cooperative would like to see it run in a similar fashion to the Tignish Fisheries and would like to sell all their moss to the Cooperative because they will get an honest share out of it. Some are willing to forego a rebate to see the Cooperative get ahead.

Gerald felt that the Marine Plants Cooperative's difficulties this year were primarily because it was new and faced a lot of competition from the two moss drying and shipping plants which had the support of the Government. He was however optimistic about the ultimate success of the Cooperative. When asked if there was any way Tignish Fisheries could help, the fishermen felt that financial help

Tape 41Interview with three lobster and moss fishermen. - 1975 - 1 videocassette
(00:37:00) Cont'd.

was not possible as they were dealing with different products and each had to look after their own shareholders. They suggested that moss is different because you are buying a raw product and shipping it whereas the Tignish Fisheries is processing and selling a finished product. Big companies are world wide and unless the cooperative can establish an extraction plant it cannot compete. Although the Tignish Fisheries and Marine Plants Cooperative can't help one another, a fisherman can belong to both.

Interview continued on Tape 42

Tape 42Interview with three lobster and moss fishermen. - 1975 - 1 videocassette
(00:34:00)

See Tape 41 for Biographical information

The fishermen felt that political lobbying is not considered to be something fishermen have ever gotten anything out of and that it was not something cooperatives should be involved in. They felt that the Government did not want to help cooperatives, that if you are doing well the Government won't help you. It only tries to help those who aren't helping themselves and is doing even that badly. Most things Government has tried to do in the fisheries have not turned out well. For example, they lowered the number of traps a lobster fisherman could fish but didn't regulate the licenses. Now there are more traps than ever as people are buying licenses from one port but fishing out of another one. Government needs to consult with the fishermen in the area before going ahead and doing things the wrong way. The fishermen know what they need and how to do it. It has to be the people doing it for themselves to be successful.

One fisherman felt that the Tignish Fisheries membership in United Maritime Fisheries was the best thing that ever happened. He indicated that there is strength in the number of member cooperatives and that the fishermen get better prices for a recognized label.

There is a return to the discussion of the problems of the Marine Plant Cooperative and a discussion of the possibility of a network of cooperatives across the Island which could eventually take over a monopoly of the moss industry. This included a discussion of the dollars which the private companies were making out of the labour of the local fishermen. The fishermen felt the idea was unrealistic given the cost of the facilities required to process all that moss as well as an extraction plant. They also felt that the Government would not let it happen. Marine Plants Cooperative would be lucky to get 30% of the business. Gerald indicated that the Cooperative would hold the moss they hadn't sold until there was a market.

When asked for suggestions to improve the future of the cooperatives, the fishermen felt that the government needed to send some support to "this end" of the Island and that fishermen had to stick together and cooperate among themselves.

Tape 43AInterview with Terrence Gavin and Josie Doucette. - 1975 - 1 videocassette
(00:20:00)

NB Tape 44 precedes this tape and includes biographical information

Doucette feels that the decline in the lobster fishery is due to the taking of large female lobsters which are the ones that spawn and therefore more important to the industry than the small lobsters which are regulated. This led to a discussion of poaching which both men felt was a necessity in the early days but which the fishermen themselves took care of when times were better.

They express little enthusiasm for outside experts. Chester McCarthy and Wilson Shea who spearheaded the Union/Tignish Fisheries were local people and had some experience of fishing and of processing. Most of the movement ideas came from West Prince, the home of the fishery. Even the Antigonish movement came more to learn from the Union than to help. It was the little guys who kept it going not those who professed they would die for the cooperative cause.

They discuss the reasons for a change from the small tidy organization which existed up to 1948 including the need to lighten the manager's role, particularly in the area of marketing. They felt that going with UMF solved some of those problems at the time but that it was not doing such a good job now. However part of the blame lies with fishermen who expect too much monetary return.

There is some discussion of what went wrong in Miminegash where the Cooperative membership has decreased and everyone seems to be fishing for Paturel's. Gavin and Doucette explain that some places just can't seem to make a cooperative work. Doucette feels that this is also because some of the fishermen make price demands that the Cooperative can't afford to meet and stay in business. Such men are not interested in the long view and don't understand the idea of a cooperative. The older members of the Tignish Fisheries valued what they got when they started, today some do not.

The future of the Cooperative depends on the younger generation and they can't be expected to do more than hold the line. People need to learn to provide more for themselves and not spend what they don't have. Unless times get hard again, an educational program such as that of the original union will not do much good.

Tape 43BMiscellaneous footage. - 1975 - 1 videocassette (00:15:00)

The videocassette contains footage of the interviewers and other interviewees, the dock and buildings at Miminegash, scenes of a pond with ducks, Tignish Fire Department Pumper No. 1, and Fred. J. Doucette and his trophy presented at the 1970 annual meeting of the Tignish Fisheries for being the Oldest Active Member.

Tape 44Interview with Terrence Gavin and Josie Doucette. - 1975 - 1 videocassette
(00:38:00)

This tape precedes tape 43A

Both Terrence Gavin and Josie Doucette were active in the lobster fishery for many years beginning in the early 1930s. Both served as Directors of Tignish Fisheries in the late 1940s and early 50s.

Gavin and Doucette talk about the years before the Union when the gear was owned by private companies such as Myricks and Portland Packing and fishermen fished for a half line, i.e. full price for half the lobsters or half price for all of the lobsters. Very few fishermen had their own gear prior to 1922/23 and basically were employees of the companies. Some acquired their own gear when the private plants were sold.

The men who started the Union mostly owned land and farmed as well as fished. Some had their own gear, others did not. The Union helped to bring the fishermen up to the standard of living of the farmers who were better off because they raised their own food and also fished.

In 1935 both Gavin and Doucette were active fishermen fishing half-gear. Both relate being in the hole financially at the end of the fishing season in the year they built their gear. In 1932 the price for lobster was 3 cents a pound. There was little cash, most fishermen operated on credit given by the companies. They recall that times were very different in the 1920s and 30s and Doucette felt that young people today wouldn't make the same sacrifices because money is much more readily available today. Nevertheless people were just as happy then as now, you could take your time and "what you work hard for is what you appreciate".

The Union was prompted by fishermen who thought they were being taken for a ride, that they weren't getting what they should out of the fishery. They were all in their early forties and had been fishing for some time. They were men of initiative and wanted to run their own business. Both Gavin and Doucette saw a difference in their income after becoming shareholders, receiving 3-4 cents more than the shore price and also getting a rebate. In 1937/38 a \$50 share paid a \$70 rebate.

In the 30's anyone could join the Tignish Fishermen's Union. They didn't have to be from Tignish or even be fishermen. Application to become a shareholder in the Tignish Fisheries however was pretty strict and you had to own your own boat. You had to prove yourself but the Directors of the Fisheries would give a good man a break. Those who weren't shareholders didn't get the rebate but still got a better price than the shore price and also cheaper equipment and supplies. In the 1950s

Tape 44Interview with Terrence Gavin and Josie Doucette. - 1975 - 1 videocassettes
(00:38:00) Cont'd.

and 60s, membership had increased to 60. By 1955 all the charter members had retired but the basic philosophy of the Tignish Fisheries remained the same. Under the Cooperative Act of 1961, all members became shareholders. In 1975 the membership was 150.

They remembered Chester McCarthy as a fine man and a gentleman who ran a tight ship. He helped the fishermen and they in turn respected him. He also held meetings throughout the Island to help other fishermen organize. He joined the United Maritime Fisheries in the beginning but quickly lost faith in it.

In the 1940s the fishing and prices were very good. Terrence Gavin was a Director of Tignish Fisheries then. Wilson Shea succeeded Noreen Johnson, who had replaced Chester McCarthy after his death in 1948, as manager of Tignish Fisheries. Shea changed things a lot, improving and expanding the plant, getting new equipment and processing new products. He also took in other areas such as Seacow Pond and Skinner's Pond. He, with Joe Gaudet, Manager at Rustico came up with the idea of a revolving fund. Gavin recalls that initially some members were not too happy about the idea of Tignish Fisheries withholding some of their money for 10 years.

In the late forties there was an increase in men getting into the fishery and into the Tignish Fisheries. Many were younger men and some were veterans of the War. Gavin and Doucette did not feel there was any rivalry between the fishermen who fished for the private companies and those who fished for the Tignish Fisheries although there may have been some antagonism in management. If a man left a Company to join the Tignish Fisheries, the Directors made sure that he had first paid all his bills with the Company.

Both men felt that the Tignish Fisheries had done its job and solved the fishermen's problems and had built a wonderful plant which had flourished and provided a fishermen with the assurance of getting rid of his fish for what they were worth. Unfortunately the fishery itself is now in bad shape.

Interview is continued on Tape 43A

Tape 45AInterview with L. Gallant. - 1975 - 1 videocassette (00:15:00)

Tape 46 precedes Tape 45 and contains Biographical information

Continuing from tape 46 Gallant feels that the Cooperative needs to be organized all over again and remain local. It should sell to the companies, stay out of processing, and divide the profits among the fishermen. He indicated that the Cooperative was trying to build all the things they have in Egmont Bay in Miminegash and yet there are no fish.

He discusses the overcrowding in the fishery where everyone is fishing lobster and moss. Most start with the moss for four months and then move to fishing lobsters. The harbour is full of boats and if the catch is good there will be twenty more next year. He feels that the big traps which started in Howard's Cove are going to ruin the lobster fishery as they take a lot of space and it is difficult for smaller boats to set their gear among them. Moreover they take all the large female lobsters. Two of the bigger gear lobster vessels take five times that of the smaller gear and if they increase in number they will soon clean all the lobster up. The quantity of moss seems okay but there may be a problem with the rock being moved from the beds. He felt that the future of the fishery is up to the fishermen and the choices they make.

There is some brief discussion concerning the price for moss this year and the need for the Marine Plants Cooperative to find a buyer. With respect to a carrageenan extraction plant, Gallant indicated that it was difficult to get anything going. Previous meetings called to get the fishermen interested had been very poorly attended. He felt there might be more interest this year since the prices were low. He thought the Government should stop wasting money and put it into something like an extraction plant for the general area of West Prince.

Tape 45BScenes of moss and lobster fishing. - 1975. - 1 videocassette (00:20:00)

The videocassette contains approximately 20 minutes of footage of sorting moss on a truck bed, fishing boats going out the run empty and coming in loaded with lobster traps and buoys and traps being unloaded from the boats and stacked on the dock. There is also a horse and wagon loaded with moss and a horse scoop moving from the shore through the dunes.

Tape 46Interview with L. Gallant. - 1975 - 1 videocassette (00:33:00)

L. Gallant was a lobster and moss fisherman from Miminegash, Prince Edward Island.

Gallant describes the early fishing of lobsters in small boats and the first use of car engines in fishing boats as well as the first moss rigs in the 1940s. Dragging for moss began when Josie Gallant broke his pole and rather than go in tied a rope on it and continued to fish. Scallop booms were also used for moss for a time. Myricks was the first to buy moss in 1939, pressing it by horse power in Tignish and shipping it to the United States.

In the 1940s the fishing was good, and included cod and mackerel. Three hundred hooks would fill a fifty foot boat with 1800 to 2000 lbs. of fish. This changed gradually over the fifties and sixties when fishermen left mackerel and trolls and went to cod. Now there is just moss and lobster. A recent survey using 1500 hooks brought in only 400 lbs. of fish overnight. No one today can afford to fish ground fish although he himself would rather fish cod than moss. There are no herring and herring fishermen go to New Brunswick for two months to fish. Scallops were good a few years ago but have been fished out. Fishermen can't make a career out of lobster alone and have turned to mossing to supplement their lobster fishing.

Gallant indicates he joined the Marine Plants Cooperative this spring because they were paying a higher price. The Cooperative was taking about 23,000 lbs. of moss from Miminegash but when it closed due to financial difficulties, the Cooperative fishermen went to Wendell Stewart. Previously he had sold to all the buyers who were all good to do anything for you if you sold good moss. They would repair your equipment, weld, buy engines, lend you money, and supply rakes at no charge. Wendell Stewart was particularly popular as he lived in Miminegash all his life and could probably have all the boats if he wanted.

He relates that the talk around the Harbour is that the next year will not be as good as this one for moss and this year wasn't as good as last year. The price went down, the amount of moss fished was down and the market was plugged up. He indicates that it doesn't cost much to rig for moss if you have your own boat as the companies supply and repair the equipment and build baskets for you. This led to a discussion of the use moss baskets which he didn't feel hurt the lobster fishery. If you're raking over the side you can pick them out but you can't do this if you are using the boom and they get crushed. It is harder on your boat if you are using the boom and winches because the pull on the boat is less even. Consequently many fishermen, including himself, have switched back to fishing over the side as you can do just as well in terms of catches.

Tape 46Interview with L. Gallant. - 1975 - 1 videocassette (00:33:00) Cont'd.

He gives a brief description of Miminegash in the early years and says that few leave and most come back in 3-4 years. Even those who have been away a long time come back to find that the people who stayed probably have done better than they have and are more independent. Not too many people in Tignish owe anybody anything. He feels that you just need enough to get by but some younger fishermen want to spend it a lot faster.

Gallant also talks briefly about the Miminegash Fisheries Cooperative. Although the Cooperative is essential to stop the Companies from taking complete control, membership has dropped to some 5-20 boats. Things, he felt, were much better before amalgamation with Acadian Fisheries in Egmont Bay and United Maritime Fisheries.

Interview is continued on Tape 45A

This videocassette is disjointed with many breaks in conversation and filming making it difficult to follow the conversation. It is also difficult to hear.

Tape 47Interview with Gerald Handrahan. - 1975 - 1 videocassette (00:16:00)

See Tape 13 for Biographical information

Handrahan talks briefly about the new Tignish Health Centre Cooperative, a answer to the Government's less that satisfactory response to the community of Tignish on this issue. It is primarily a young people's project and they are learning about cooperatives through this. People in the community are behind it because it is a cooperative and they are used to working this way. It may not work in other places as you must have a certain amount of business and enough people to guarantee stability. People involved must have time and enthusiasm, willingness to work hard, patience, and tenacity.

There is some discussion about the government's centralization policy and the Development Plan and the lack of enthusiasm for both of these in the community of Tignish. Handrahan believes that in a small isolated community centralization discourages cooperation and that, although developers have a plan on paper, implementation does not work too well if you do not involve the local people in the discussions.

Handrahan feels that young people do not understand the pioneering spirit because the times have changed so greatly. In the early years you had to do without and it gave you time to think about your situation and how to better it. Things will undoubtedly change again at some point.

Tape 48Interview with Jamie Ellsworth and Bradford Doucette. - 1975 - 1 videocassette
(00:34:00)

Jamie Ellsworth and Bradford Doucette were fishermen from Miminegash. Both had fished ground fish, lobster and moss for a period of time. Doucette had given up moss fishing and gone back to ground fish and was a member of the Miminegash Fisheries Cooperative and, since its amalgamation with Acadian Fisheries at Egmont Bay, a member of that organization. Ellsworth was a member of the Marine Plants Cooperative.

Ellsworth and Doucette discuss the declining fishery and the necessity of fishing moss. Almost any other kind of fishing is more interesting but moss is about the only thing you can make money at now as the overhead is less than at other kinds of fishing. Even so in a good year it still only provides about \$10,000 to \$12,000 before expenses. There are a lot of people in the moss industry now and few boats in the Harbour that do not rake moss. New regulations are apparently going to require you to have a license which may cut down on the numbers.

They discuss the lower price for moss this year and the failure of the fishermen's rotating strike to change this because they did not stick together. Ellsworth expresses some disbelief about the companies' assessment of the quality of the moss and figures if there is rock, the buyer can certainly see that.

There is some talk about the history of cooperatives in Miminegash and they consider that the Marine Plants Cooperative is the only thing going for the moss fishermen. Mossers in Miminegash didn't sell to Marine Colloids which eventually stopped buying moss in Miminegash but to Wendell Stewart who was a local man. They also sold to Genu when Wendell was affiliated with it. However they have now started selling to the Marine Plants Cooperative because there was a good rebate last year which was the first year the cooperative was buying. The Marine Plants Cooperative had had some financial difficulties and was slow getting started but probably half the moss fishermen now belong.

Ellsworth briefly considers the change to baskets which are used all the time now in mossing at Miminegash and whether or not this hurts the lobster fishery. He indicates that most of the complaints about the baskets come from the North Shore lobster fishermen but even though there have been a lot more people in the lobster fishery in the last ten years there was still a really good catch last year.

There was some discussion about the employment provided by the moss industry in Miminegash and whether or not people in the area could make a living any other way should the industry go under. They felt that this would be very difficult as other species of fish were also dwindling but that the Irish Moss would

Tape 48Interview with Jamie Ellsworth and Bradford Doucette. - 1975 - 1 videocassette
(00:34:00) Cont'd.

be around for a while yet. It has only been a short time that there have been so many boats mossing so it is difficult to know what the damage has and will be. They had heard no recent talk about a extraction plant as the Marine Plants Cooperative's activities were limited now but thought it was a good idea. They thought that the lobster fishery was perhaps in a better position with fewer fishermen and a trap limit of 250.

Tape 49Interview with Roy McLeod. - 1975 - 1 videocassette (00:30:00)

Roy McLeod was the assistant manager of Tignish Fisheries, responsible for the operation at Skinner's Pond. His father, William McLeod, was a charter member of the Fishermen's Union Station #1 and the Tignish Fisheries.

McLeod describes the fishery in Skinner's Pond prior to the organization of a Cooperative when lobster were landed to individual buyers who were not stable as many were getting older and there were no replacements. Prior to the building of a harbour, they landed fish on the lee shore to private buyer George Doucette. Father Simpson, parish priest for Skinner's Pond and Tignish, formerly of Rustico, was instrumental in getting the fishermen to meetings to talk about a cooperative in the winter of 1952. Skinner's Pond Fisheries got started in 1953 with 15 members and Joseph E. Gallant as manager. At the time they had two buildings, an office and a salting facility for their ground fish. They initially sold to North Shore Packing and Melanson.

Feeling the lack of capital and strength of numbers, meetings of the fishermen were held to discuss possible amalgamation with Tignish Fisheries. In 1961 Skinners Pond Fisheries approached Tignish Fisheries with this proposal and was accepted. This move allowed them to maintain control over their own product by having their own directors in Tignish Fisheries while giving them more buying power, better prices, cheaper equipment and supplies and profits returned to the fishermen. In addition the factory provided employment for local people. The operation at Skinner's Pond is smaller than that at Tignish with 38 boats at Skinners Pond and 21 at the Cape landing to the Cooperative.

Although the price fluctuation pre and post Cooperative was not dramatic, the market was more stable and the fishermen were more secure and generally pleased with the move. Some were initially against the move, but amalgamation with Tignish Fisheries has helped the community. Fishermen have better homes, boats, and equipment. Their children can go to school instead of starting fishing so young.

McLeod describes his early reluctance to come to Skinner's Pond to run the operation but says he grew to like it quickly and sold his fishing gear after the first year. He also talks a little about the start of the Tignish Fisheries, the union meetings and the study sessions, as well as the difference between a union and a cooperative which is mostly legislative.

He felt that conservation of the fishery depends on the fishermen. They are the ones who decide whether to take and pack short lobsters. There is not much that a conservation officer can do. Although he didn't think there was too much trouble with trawlers in the Gulf, fish stocks were definitely going down. He didn't think laws had too much to do with it and indicated that there were too many laws already. It was the fishermen who must realize the problem and decide what to do about it.

Tape 50Interview with Will Shea. - 1975 - 1 videocassette (00:32:00)

Will Shea was a fisherman from Seacow Pond (?) who fished for over 45 years, primarily for lobster. He was a shareholder and founder of the Tignish Fisheries.

Shea describes fishing in the early years when he fished for the private companies for 9 years before joining Tignish Fisheries. In 1916, he made \$1.50 a day and \$75 for the season. He fished 400 traps on long lines which were pulled by hand. He refers to Dr. Johnson going out of business and his boats being bought by the fishermen who generally shared a boat thereby fishing half gear. He himself did this and later purchased another half gear to become a full-gear member.

The Union was started because fishermen felt they were not getting fair treatment from the private companies. Chester McCarthy and Cletus Gavin were the people he remembered as being the leaders. Perhaps getting more for their poached lobsters than for the legitimate ones started people thinking about doing something to change the low prices they were getting from the companies. Under the Union they got a better price, got their supplies cheaper, and the Union would help them get new equipment such as boats and engines. Some fishermen never joined because they were afraid something might go wrong and they would lose something.

Gradually under the Union/Tignish Fisheries the other smaller companies went out of business except for Gerry Buote who eventually took over Myricks. A lot of fishermen stayed with Buote because he had a store and a farm and supplied them with a lot of things.

He indicated that there were both good fishermen and bad in the Tignish Fisheries. To him a good fisherman was one who stayed at it whatever the weather. Max McInnis and Claude Gavin were examples of good fishermen. A good manager was one who liked to see the fishermen making money. Chester was a good manager. Wilson Shea was not as good as Chester although he had gotten the road built to the Point and had been responsible for the new buildings. Noreen Johnson, Dr. Johnson's daughter, had also been a good manager.

In the 1920s there were only a couple of stores in Tignish. There wasn't much entertainment but they did have whist parties. The price of a good tailor made suit was \$18. Money was very scarce and the Union changed that so that you could actually make some money. Shea spent his on land and went into farming as well as fishing.

With respect to the future of the fisheries, Shea remarks on the lack of herring for bait. Fishermen now have to buy their bait, something unheard of in the early years. Mrs. Shea thinks it is not that there are fewer fish but too many fishing. The fish will eventually run out. If it does the area will have to turn to farming.

The interview is somewhat disjointed and these notes do not necessarily follow the sequence of the tape.