

INGRAM, Darcy – *Wildlife, Conservation, and Conflict in Quebec, 1840-1914*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013. Pp. 272.

Darcy Ingram's *Wildlife, Conservation, and Conflict in Quebec, 1840-1914*, is a welcome addition to the growing literature on wildlife conservation in Canada. Its overall argument is that conservation in Quebec was in many ways unique when compared to the rest of North America. Conservation not only emerged earlier in Quebec than it did elsewhere, but according to Ingram it also took a rather unique form: that of a "public-private partnership (p. 132) between the colonial state and elite sportsmen. Faced with declining fish and game resources, in the second half of the 19th century state officials forged an alliance with what Ingram calls an "associational network" of elite Anglophone sport hunters and fishers, collectively referred to as patricians. At the heart of this partnership were exclusive hunting and fishing leases that enabled those who held them to control wildlife resources over very large areas. By the early 20th century, Quebec had created private leases covering many of the best and most accessible fish and game resources in the province.

Wildlife resources were important, not just to the patricians who wanted to protect and conserve them for sport and other purposes, but also to Quebec's sprawling rural population who relied on them for food, trade, and, in the case of indigenous peoples, a whole range of social and cultural purposes. Rural peoples worked within the new conservation rules, but as Ingram shows they also broke them. In Quebec, as elsewhere, wildlife conservation created a new legal subject – the poacher. Law was not the only, or even the most important, means by which the new conservation rules were enforced, however. As Ingram observes: "In an effort to divide opposition and to recast the limits of patrician authority as forms of paternal benevolence, the state also *gave* aboriginals the right to take salmon, lessees *gave* their catches to locals, and prosecutors *forgave* the deserving poor" (p. 100 emphasis in original). In this context, with conflicts over resources becoming more common, the point of paternalism was to encourage compliance, not simply to impose it.

Nonetheless the new system continued to generate opposition among rural and indigenous people, especially after 1880 as the original patrician approach, with its mix of paternalism and benevolence, gave way to a more rigid application of the law. The fish and game clubs who controlled wildlife at the end of the century had an economic interest in enforcement: a portion of the fines associated with poaching went to the clubs doing the regulating. It was also the case, however, that the original patrician vision of conservation had narrowed over time, leaving even less room for rural people. Increasingly, wildlife was valued simply for the sporting opportunities it afforded the middle and upper classes, and as a source of revenue for the provincial state.

If all this sounds somewhat familiar – the enclosure of fish and game resources by elite sport hunters, and the marginalization rural and indigenous uses of resources have become basic themes in the North American literature on conservation – the story of Quebec nonetheless offers some striking new insights.

For one thing, there was the public-private partnership that in the Quebec case enabled a few people with hunting and fishing leases to control resources over very large areas. According to Ingram's analysis, there was nothing like the Quebec system of leases anywhere else in North America. The closest comparison, according to Ingram's analysis, was Scotland, which had also pursued a system of private estates and more or less exclusive hunting and fishing areas as a means of conserving resources. The overwhelming reliance on hunting and fishing leases in Quebec is striking when compared to other jurisdictions that pursued a different path.

A second, and perhaps related insight, has to do with the ways in which conservation has been variously imagined and carried out in different provincial and national contexts. The patricians at the heart of Quebec's early conservation movement were committed, not only to protecting and conserving resources, but also to notions of progress, improvement, and social order that no doubt had had parallels elsewhere in the world, but that nonetheless also reflected Quebec history and society in the second half of the nineteenth century. It is true that leases created an exclusive system of wildlife conservation that favoured elites. But Ingram also wants us to understand that the patricians who shaped conservation in the second half of the 19th century took a broad view of what wildlife conservation could achieve. Faced with declining resources, they set out to protect and improve fish and game populations in ways that would support broad social goals. This became less apparent over time as hunting and fishing clubs narrowed their vision, essentially becoming evermore exclusive. But as Ingram argues, for the first generation of patricians at least, conservation was about more than simple self-interest. It was also about progress, improvement, and, at the broadest level, social order in Quebec society.

Wildlife, Conservation and Conflict in Quebec is a carefully written and convincingly argued study that makes an important contribution to Canadian history. It also raises questions about conservation that may be relevant for future research. Ingram does not draw from geographic theory, but as an historical geographer I was especially struck by the degree to which conservation in Quebec was a spatial strategy: controlling resources implied a particular production of space. More and better maps might have made this point much more explicitly, but perhaps that is another study. Reading this book I also wondered about *informal* regulation of resources by rural and indigenous people before the patricians and their hunting and fishing leases arrived. Ingram acknowledges that "Euro-North American conservation strategies typically negated longstanding indigenous material and cultural practices that were in themselves alternate forms of conservation" (p. 21), but the details in Quebec case are left largely unexplored. Finally, at times I wondered about the evidence for depletion, and thus the need for conservation at all, at least as the patricians understood it. At times it seemed as though the only evidence that a fishery was being depleted was that someone of social standing (a patrician) had said so. How were local animal populations counted and evaluated? In fairness, these too may be entirely separate studies, with Ingram's excellent analysis of the origins of conservation in Quebec serving

as essential context. Indeed, as it stands *Wildlife, Conservation and Conflict in Quebec* is still a substantial historical study. It ought to be of interest not only to Canadian historians, but also to historians of conservation and social movements more generally.

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LADERMAN, Scott & Edwin Martini (eds.) – *Four Decades on: Vietnam, the United States, and the Legacies of the Second Indochina War*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2013. Pp. 344.

“All wars are fought twice, the first time on the battlefield, the second time in memory” (p. 132), declares Viet Thanh Nguyen, one of the eleven contributors of *Four Decades On*. The edited volume analyzes the legacies of the Vietnam War which ended in April 1975, when Communist troops unified the country under Hanoi’s rule. To justify the need for such a book, the editors Scott Laderman and Edwin Martini cite the lack of research on the war after 1975 (p. ix) and propose to offer more. This work gathers scholars from various backgrounds as well as from different generations. There is no clear thematic or theoretical articulation though, and it seems to move along a time loop: the first and the last chapters underline the importance of the late 1960s in understanding postwar Vietnam, while almost all other essays proceed from 1975 to the present. From this, two themes emerge, war memory and post-1975 transnational relations. To Laderman and Martini, all the essays in this collection demonstrate that there is a link between nation and narration (p. 11) and that “official narratives must contend with the ways in which memory, conflict, and trauma are inscribed in and out through artistic expression, cultural commodities, and everyday life” (p. 12).

Ngo Vinh Long studies the last years of the Republic of Vietnam in Saigon and shows how political, social and economic bankruptcy eliminated political and social diversity even before the Communist victory of April 1975. The next five essays focus on war memory. Walter Hixson studies the cultural rehabilitation of the war through Hollywood movies and the creation of the war memorial, whereas Alexander Bloom insists on its consequences on both American war experience and presidential discourse. Heonik Kwon reveals that despite the Cold War logic of the conflict, families in their private sphere in Vietnam perform “ambidextrous practices” (p. 98), allowing those who mourned a revolutionary martyr to have a greater leeway in commemorating their sons fallen for South Vietnam. Schwenkel studies sites of memory and highlights how visitors reflect on the experience of all sides of the conflict. English literature and American studies scholar Viet Thanh Nguyen shows that compassion in various memoirs does not translate into a desire for peace, nor self-identification with the opposite camp, but manifests itself in resounding calls of despair and hope.