

Nature's Improvement: Wildlife, Conservation, and Conflict in Quebec, 1850-1914

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Nature's Improvement: Wildlife, Conservation, and Conflict in Quebec, 1850-1914

Abstract

This dissertation presents a new perspective on the history of conservation in North America. In contrast to historiography that locates conservation-oriented approaches to the North American environment as the product of late-nineteenth-century concerns within Canada and the United States, this study links wildlife conservation in Quebec directly to longstanding European land tenure, estate management, and associational strategies. Through a range of materials including state documents, associational records and personal and family papers, I show how advocates of fish and game protection in the province drew heavily on Old World customs and traditions, particularly those of British landowners, who displayed in their varied social, economic, and political commitments an ongoing engagement with improvement. These 'patrician sensibilities,' I argue, formed the basis of the regulatory system that developed in Quebec during the period 1850-1914, first on the remote salmon rivers of the north shore and Gaspé peninsula, and by the First World War on the bulk of the province's best and most easily accessible hunting and fishing territories. In addition to the regulatory strategies that developed during this period, the dissertation deals with forms and limits of resistance on the part of aboriginal and non-aboriginal subsistence, commercial, and sport hunters and fishers. The dissertation's major contribution lies in its demonstration of the longstanding patterns that underpinned the development of conservation strategies in North America. Class and gender are central to the project, and it also has important implications for our understanding of civil society and state formation.

Abstract

Cette thèse propose une nouvelle perspective de l'histoire de la conservation en Amérique du Nord. Cette étude démontre les liens entre les stratégies de conservation de la faune du Québec et les traditions européennes de régime foncier, de gestion du territoire et de vie associative. Cette démonstration se démarque d'une majorité d'ouvrages sur l'histoire du mouvement conservationniste au Canada et aux États Unis où l'on situe l'origine de ce mouvement en Amérique même. En effet, l'examen de sources primaires de différents types (documents étatiques, archives d'associations privées, papiers de familles) révèle que les partisans de la protection de la faune s'inspiraient grandement des pratiques européennes. Les grands propriétaires terriens britanniques furent un modèle particulièrement important à cause de leur engagement de longue date envers l'amélioration du territoire. Ces « sensibilités patriciennes » sont à la base même du système de régulation de la faune au Québec de 1850 à 1914. Ce système se met d'abord en place dans les rivières de la Côte-Nord et de la péninsule gaspésienne. Au début de la Première Guerre mondiale, quasiment tous les meilleurs territoires de chasse et de pêche du Québec sont sous l'emprise de ce régime. Au delà des stratégies de régulation, cette thèse se penche sur les formes de résistance émanant des pêcheurs et des chasseurs autochtones et non-autochtones. La contribution majeure de cette thèse est de relier le mouvement conservationniste nord-américain à la tradition européenne. Les catégories de classe et de genre sont au centre de cette enquête, et ses principaux résultats nourrissent aussi la recherche actuelle sur la formation de la société civile ainsi que sur la formation de l'État.

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Only after spending a good deal of time searching the province for sources did I discover how many of the materials for this project were underfoot. McGill University holds a wealth of sources on elite society in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Quebec. Staff at the McGill University Rare Books and Special Collections Division, the Government Documents Division, and the Serials and Microform Services Reading Room of the Humanities and Social Sciences Library were always keen to help. At the Osler Library of the History of Medicine, Pamela Miller fielded my questions about doctors, sport, and conservation. McCord Museum archivist François Cartier responded with enthusiasm to my project; together we discovered the richness of the museum's collection regarding the history of wildlife conservation in Quebec. Throughout this time the staff of the history department, in particular Jody Anderson, Georgii Mikula, and Colleen Parish, helped me to negotiate administrative and other perils of graduate life.

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List of Abbreviations

BAnQ-Q	Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec-Québec
CSN	<i>Canadian Sportsman and Naturalist</i>
CSP	Canada. <i>Sessional Papers</i>
DCB	<i>Dictionary of Canadian Biography</i>
JLAC	<i>Journals of the Legislative Assembly of Canada</i>
JLAPC	<i>Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada</i>
LAC	Library and Archives Canada
MRB	McGill University, Rare Books and Special Collections Division
OSP	Ontario. <i>Sessional Papers</i>
QSP	Quebec. <i>Sessional Papers</i>
RGC	<i>Rod and Gun in Canada</i>
SPCA	Society For the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals

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In a country like ours, so recently wrested from the hands of nature, and blessed by Providence with such magnificent preserves for the finest of Fish and Game – preserves that, by proper management, could be made almost inexhaustible, and from which might be drawn a large and valuable portion of the food of the people, – it is surely lamentable to see a war of utter extermination so ignorantly and recklessly carried on, – to see that [we] have nearly succeeded in destroying all within our reach.

Montreal Fish and Game Protection Club, *Annual Report*, 1864¹

Nous ressemblons de plus en plus aux territoires des vieux pays, où les paysans étaient sous le joug de lois de chasse tyranniques.

F.-G. M. Dechene, Assemblée nationale du Québec,
Débats, Séance du 10 décembre 1895²

Tell Lady Macdonald that salmon fishing in Scotland is not half the fun it is in Canada.

George Stephen to John A. Macdonald, 1891³

¹ Montreal Fish and Game Protection Club, *Fifth Annual Report of the Montreal Fish and Game Protection Club*, 3-4.

² Assemblée nationale du Québec, *Débats*, 1895, Séance du 10 décembre, 1895, 250-51: 250.

³ LAC, John A. Macdonald Papers, 272, George Stephen to John A. Macdonald, 12 April 1891, cited in Gilbert, *The Life of Lord Mount Stephen. Vol. 2: The End of the Road, 1891-1921*, 3.

INTRODUCTION

Wildlife Conservation in Quebec: the Case For Improvement

The Fish and Game of Lower Canada have within the last twenty years diminished greatly in numbers; Rivers which were formerly resorted to by Salmon when about to spawn are abandoned; Lakes which at one time, were celebrated for their Trout now yield but small return to the fisherman, and grounds which a few years since swarmed with Game are now deserted. Under these circumstances, it became the duty of your Committee to enquire into the causes which have produced these results, and also if possible, to discover the means by which the abundance of former days might be restored.

Fish and Game Protection Club of Lower Canada, 1858.¹

Introduction

Between 1858 and 1914 there developed in Quebec a system of wildlife conservation different from anything else that took shape in North America. Based heavily on state-administered private leasehold tenure strategies and on a civic or 'associational' network of upper class and upwardly mobile middle-class men, it reflected a worldview shaped both by contemporary socio-economic concerns and by centuries of European custom and culture. To introduce a term that informs much of what follows, this system was the product of a segment of society that sought actively and in broad terms to *improve* the world in which they lived. This vision of improvement, I argue, dominated the development of wildlife conservation in Quebec from the 1850s to the First World War. Put another way, this dissertation explores the application of what I call *patrician sensibilities* to the protection of fish and game resources in Quebec.

This contention gives reason to pause. It is commonplace for North American historiography to emphasize the development during the nineteenth century of an urban, industrial, capitalist, and democratic order. Less common is it for historians of this

¹ Fish and Game Protection Club of Lower Canada, *Report, Constitution and By-Laws of the Fish and Game Protection Club of Lower Canada*, 4.

period to emphasize the endurance of centuries-old customs and culture.² Nonetheless, it is the latter perspective from which I write. True, the latter half of the nineteenth century saw the development of a new conservation-oriented approach to wildlife in Quebec as throughout much of North America. But what is most striking about this transformation in Quebec is the degree to which it reflected a much earlier period. When one looks at the land tenure, legal, and broader social strategies that were applied to the regulation of fish and game resources in the province, one is struck by how 'Old World' it all is. This is the stuff of feudal society, one might argue, imported by newcomers familiar with European society and environment. In fact, when one looks at the development of wildlife conservation in Quebec, what is most remarkable is how the advocates of fish and game protection continued throughout the period of this study to integrate longstanding attitudes and practices into their changing social and environmental contexts.

It is for this reason that the above-mentioned terms work well to describe the wildlife conservation movement that took shape in Quebec from the mid-nineteenth century to the First World War. Historically, the term 'improvement' can be traced to the early fourteenth century, and is most often attached to agriculture, in particular to the work of British landowners who sought through a sense of Christian stewardship and the application of scientific experimentation and techniques to make their estates more productive, and who served as model for like-minded Europeans. It is important to note, though, that farming was only part of the culture of improvement. Improvement was also

² On the persistence of older forms of power in nineteenth-century Quebec see for example Young, *In Its Corporate Capacity*; Coates, *The Metamorphoses of Landscape and Community in Early Quebec*.

social, encompassing a belief in self-improvement and, more importantly, a paternal sense of responsibility and duty in regards to the betterment of society overall. In control of the British parliament for centuries, landowners were engaged in the political process and in civil society, and their views of cultivation extended beyond farming to include art, leisure, and empire. Both the landed elite and the merchant and capitalist classes who emulated them assumed a sense of authority in regards to both society and environment, and worked accordingly to bring about a new social and environmental order. As David Hancock argues in *Citizens of the World*, these men

were not content with maintaining the status quo. This is clear toward the end of their lives, as they built estates, houses, art collections, gardens, farms, factories, and charities. Improvement, as they defined it, meant more than an increase in crop yields; it touched most aspects of everyday life, and it manifested itself in programs that were at once polite, industrious, and moral. Running through most of their noncommercial activities and even some of their business ventures is an intense drive for a broadly based civility, a persistent attention to the possibility of bettering man's condition: their own, as they became gentlemen, and others', since they believed society as a whole was advancing from barbarism toward civility.³

Hancock intended this to be a description of London merchants in the middle of the eighteenth century, but it could easily be used to describe Quebec's capitalist classes a century later. Coming for the most part from Quebec's anglophone population living in

³ Hancock, *Citizens of the World*, 16.

and around Quebec City and Montreal, these men like their British counterparts were neither strictly urban nor rural, but as Colin Duncan suggests were “amphibious,” as they regularly and comfortably moved between urban and rural settings.⁴ Even as agriculture was waning in Britain as a base of power and as landowners’ portfolios came to resemble those of other British, European, and North American capitalists who held diverse investments in rail and steam transportation industries, manufacturing, wholesale trade, timber, and banking as well as agriculture, status and power remained associated themes of agriculture, landownership, and rural society. Conscious of this, many of Quebec’s upper classes kept farms and country homes where they bred livestock and pursued agricultural and horticultural experiments. Likewise they moved in and out of the political world, they were active in the military through the militia, and they were committed to larger social projects through their participation in intellectual, social, scientific, philanthropic, art and other organizations. In short, they shared with their predecessors a worldview in which eighteenth-century and earlier notions of improvement, estate management, and civil society were very much alive.⁵

That this vision of improvement continued to reflect the patrician culture in which it took shape is not surprising. Despite obvious temporal, social, and geographical differences, the situation in Quebec loosely recalls E. P. Thompson’s discussion of patricians in eighteenth-century England. What we have in the context of fish and game protection in Quebec in the middle of the nineteenth century resembles to some degree the social order of Thompson’s “patricians” and “plebs”: a society not of three distinct

⁴ Colin Duncan, “Teaching Environmental History: Why Have We Waited So Long?”

⁵ See for example Young, “Death, Burial, and Protestant Identity in an Elite Family: The Montreal McCords.”

classes, each with its own sense of identity and consciousness, but rather of two sharply divided groups. The first of these was a relatively small group of upper and some middle class men who continued to idealize landed society, who wielded significant political power, and who practiced what Thompson calls a 'studied technique of rule' based on establishing hegemony through social as well as economic relations.⁶ Though mainly anglophone, this group was not without its francophone participants, who were similarly drawn to the upper ranks of this evolving social order. The other group, in contrast, was a large and divergent population who made direct use of fish and game as commercial and subsistence resources. Composed of both aboriginals and Euro-North Americans, and encompassing peasant farmers, resident and transient fishers, wholesale and retail traders, and others who integrated fish and game resources into their diet or income, this rural populace admittedly differed in many way from the plebs of eighteenth-century England. That said, latter groups had at least one important thing in common. Considered as a whole, Quebec's rural populace like Thompson's plebs lacked the broader forms of class consciousness, institutions, and resistance that were developing within the ranks of the waged working classes.⁷

Taking shape from this was a regulatory system that reflected both the tenets of nineteenth-century liberalism and more conservative socio-economic relations. While 'feudal' appears on closer scrutiny to be more hyperbole than accurate description, the

⁶ Thompson, *Customs in Common*, 38, 64.

⁷ On the diverse socio-economic strategies employed in rural Quebec see Hardy et Séguin, *Forêt et société en Mauricie: La formation de la région de Trois-Rivières 1830-1930*. Major studies of rural Quebec include Séguin, *La conquête du sol au 19e siècle*; Courville, *Entre ville et campagne: l'essor du village dans les seigneuries du Bas-Canada*; Bouchard, *Quelques arpents d'Amérique: population, économie, famille au Saguenay, 1838-1971*. See also the series *Atlas historique du Québec*, in particular Courville, *Population et territoire*.

term nonetheless helps to emphasize the degree to which longstanding forms of power remained an important part of the regulation of fish and game resources. Indeed, critics have applied the term to Quebec's system of wildlife conservation since the system first took shape, and it continued to inform opposition arguments until the system was dismantled in 1977 in the wake of the Quiet Revolution and the campaign promises of the newly-elected Parti Québécois government.⁸ In his important survey of hunting culture in the province, *La chasse au Québec*, Paul-Louis Martin describes the system as a series of "seigneuries forestières, à la fois différent mais si ressemblant, avec ses concessions, ses redevances, ses obligations, ses gardes particuliers, ses châteaux aussi, ses fastes et ses exagérations."⁹

That said, it is important to note that Quebec's wildlife conservation movement did not grow out of the seigneurial order of New France. Rather, it reflected the British set of patrician sensibilities, which entered the colony during the decades following the Conquest and adjusted to fit Quebec's changing society and environment. In fact, when compared with the system that began to take shape in the 1850s, the regulatory patterns of New France gave a tremendous degree of latitude to farmers and others occupying seigneurial lands in regards to local fish and game resources. It was, rather, this British set of patrician sensibilities, at once progressive and conservative, that saw Quebec's supporters of fish and game protection continue to think within the framework of landed

⁸ Critiques voiced during the Quiet Revolution include that found in the FLQ manifesto of October 1970: "Nous en avons soupé, et de plus en plus de Québécois également, d'un gouvernement de mitaines qui fait mille et une acrobaties pour charmer les millionnaires américains en les suppliant de venir investir au Québec, la Belle Province où des milliers de milles carrés de forêts remplies de gibier et de lacs poissonneux sont la propriété exclusive de ces même Seigneurs tout-puissants du XX^e siècle."

See also Poupart, *Le scandale des clubs privés de chasse et pêche*.

⁹ Martin, *La chasse au Québec*, 99.

society and to keep close ties to civic and judicial forms of power.¹⁰ Proponents of leasing in Quebec sought to establish a form of order based on that of rural Britain, in which the rural and wilderness regions of the province would be dotted with sites of local authority. On these rural and wilderness 'estates', landlord-lessees would work to improve their holdings' fish and game populations for sporting purposes, and would in turn integrate into the surrounding region as employers and as representatives of judicial, police, and in more general terms elite power. Such a system, advocates believed, would give lessees a significant degree of personal control, including the flexibility to shape laws to fit local social and environmental conditions.

Indeed, if we are to make sense of this system, we need to approach wildlife in much the same way as did protection advocates themselves: that is, to consider fish and game as they fit more broadly into the province's economic and social contexts. Deeply informed by utilitarian principles as well as by Romantic views of wildlife and the wilderness environment, these men looked to transform on a massive scale the society and environment of northern North America. Education, public health, and the myriad challenges posed by urbanization were part of this, as was the development of transportation infrastructure, of settlement, of resource extraction industries, commerce, manufacturing, and trade. In like manner Quebec's landed and capitalist classes remained deeply concerned with the economic capacity of those regions outside of the St. Lawrence valley and the Eastern Townships that held little or no agricultural potential.

¹⁰ British newcomers, for example, continued to wield seigneurial title long after abolition of Quebec's seigneurial system in 1854: on British interest in seigneurialism during the nineteenth century see Coates, *The Metamorphoses of Landscape and Community*. A classic study of Quebec's seigneurial system is Harris, *The Seigneurial System in Early Canada: A Geographical Study*. On the regulation of hunting and fishing in New France see Martin, *La chasse au Québec*, 21-24.

Fur, timber, mining, and ocean-based fisheries were all sound examples of the value that could be derived from such spaces, and patricians believed that an effectively regulated fish and game resource base could function in the same way – first as the source of subsistence and market products for new settlers, and later as part of a tertiary economy based on the development of sporting interests and investment. It was to this end that the supporters of fish and game protection sought not simply to conserve, but to *improve* in productive terms the province's fish and game resources. Far from being a project concerned with maintaining a 'natural' wilderness environment free of human culture, protection was about actively shaping that environment, about opening it up to human influence in order to make it generate more fish and game. As is clear from the work they did on this front, Quebec's protection advocates were not self-interested sportsmen using science or animal welfare issues as vehicles for their goals. Inspired by local, regional, and imperial contexts alike, they retained considerably broad social and environmental perspectives on wildlife and its place in the world.

In part, the presence of this patrician culture in Quebec was a significant factor in the development of the province's unique approach to fish and game protection because it fit well with Britain's class-based laws and customs surrounding wildlife. As James A. Tober points out in his analysis of wildlife regulation in the United States during the nineteenth century, wild animals were by English common law "the property of no individual until reduced by possession by capture or control." Best understood as a type of "fugitive resource" comparable to oil, gas, and water in regards to the difficulty they pose in terms of ownership, animals were in formal legal terms under control of the Crown, which could establish both legislation regarding their treatment as well as private

and public access rights through various forms of land tenure.¹¹ In practice, though, rights regarding wildlife in Britain were nowhere near as clearly defined as the above laws suggest. Regulated through property rights, wildlife was in practice the domain of landowners, and as such was subject to a wide range of local customs and conditions. These legal and proprietary traditions spread in various forms throughout Britain's colonies, and would play an important role in shaping regulatory strategies in Canada, where as H. V. Nelles reminds us, the massive degree of Crown land ownership of non-agricultural lands gave the federal and especially the provincial governments a considerable role in the regulation of timber, mineral, water, and other resources.¹²

Complementing this legal framework were more broadly defined social and environmental conditions specific to Quebec. Unlike much of Britain and the northeastern United States, Quebec retained in the nineteenth century a relatively intact wilderness environment – one could call it a wilderness *frontier* – and an abundance of fish and game resources. Unlike the frontiers of the Canadian and American west, though, this frontier was in close proximity to two of Canada's largest urban centres, Montreal and Quebec City. In turn, these cities were closely connected by ship to Britain and Europe, and by rail to the major cities of the northeastern United States, many of which were by the turn of the century less than a day's travel from some of the province's best sporting grounds. As we will see, these conditions drew to the province hunters and anglers from both sides of the Atlantic. But the impact of these conditions went further still. Concentrated in the regions of Quebec City and Montreal, the landed and capitalist

¹¹ Tober, *Who Owns the Wildlife? The Political Economy of Conservation in Nineteenth-century America*, 19, 23.

¹² Nelles, *The Politics of Development: Forests, Mines and Hydro-electric Power in Ontario, 1849-1941*.

classes of Quebec were more than a bunch of prosperous individuals. They were, in effect, a community, a group of individuals significant enough in number and in common interests and circumstances to generate a patrician *culture*: that is, to establish, maintain, and reinforce a set of beliefs and practices – in a word, *sensibilities* – that reflected their position.

The proximity of this patrician culture to the wilderness environment was key to the development of Quebec's unique system of wildlife conservation. For it meant that there was in place by mid-century a patrician *infrastructure*, a social network capable of shaping the province's fish and game protection movement in its own image. It meant, for example, that there were in place in the province enough men of similar mind to form in Quebec City in 1858 the Fish and Game Protection Club of Lower Canada, and a year later in Montreal the Montreal Fish and Game Protection Club. It meant too that, in initiating in 1858 a system of leasehold tenure on the salmon rivers of the Lower St Lawrence River and the St Lawrence Gulf in order to protect that fishes' breeding grounds, the colonial government could base its legislation around a class of men who would be interested in acquiring exclusive salmon angling rights in return for a yearly fee and a commitment to enforce state fishery laws. While this strategy was also applied to the salmon rivers of New Brunswick, nowhere did it become so thoroughly developed as it did in Quebec, where it would soon be applied to both fish and game on all of the province's rivers, lakes, and forests under Crown ownership, and would become the lynchpin of a regulatory system based heavily on the work of patricians and their civic institutions – in particular a handful of protective associations along with hundreds of fish and game clubs.

That said, it is important to note that this patrician culture did not remain static. In fact, an analysis of the fish and game protection movement between 1850 and the First World War reflects in broad terms the transformation of Quebec, from a society of considerable patrician power to one that was influenced increasingly by a new alliance of anglo-American business interests and a growing francophone political elite.¹³ In terms of fish and game protection, the decades between 1850 and World War I can be divided into two distinct periods. The first of these, covering the 1850s, 1860s, and 1870s, was a period of significant patrician influence: it was during this period that the groundwork for Quebec's system of protection was laid, from the establishment of colonial, federal, and provincial fish and game legislation to the formation of civic associations devoted to the protection of fish and game resources. Important during this period was the broad, improvement-oriented vision through which patricians approached fish and game resources: supporters of fish and game protection during these decades were not interested only in sport, but anticipated that the effective regulation of fish and game resources would benefit society in general. Commercial and subsistence users, while they would find their activities regulated, were by no means excluded from this vision. Focused as they were on the development of the province's fish and game resources, protection advocates saw commercial and subsistence use as an ongoing part of the system they hoped to establish.

From the 1880s to World War I, this patrician vision would be overshadowed by a narrower interpretation of the place of fish and game resources in the province. Brought about by the growing interest of the Quebec government and anglo-American business in

¹³ See Linteau, Durocher et Robert, *Histoire du Québec Contemporain: De la Confédération à la crise (1867-1929)*.

the profits to be made from the province's wilderness-based resources – namely forestry, mining, and hydro-electricity – this period was one of increasing provincial jurisdiction over Crown lands and resources. In terms of fish and game, the Quebec government would take control in 1882 of the province's inland waters, and with them the system of angling leases that had taken shape during the previous decades. Expanding this system of leases almost immediately to all of the province's inland waters, and encouraging with this the formation of fish and game protection clubs modeled on those formed during the late 1850s, the Quebec government expanded dramatically the relatively small system of leases and club culture that had existed, and oriented it increasingly towards the interests of a growing number of Canadian and American sportsmen. Not surprisingly, this transformation would change considerably the interpretation of fish and game resources: for the new breed of protection advocates that emerged, Quebec's fish and game were part of a new economic order, in which the rural masses would no longer hunt and fish themselves, but would be integrated into a sport-based tertiary economy. Here, protection advocates thought, former commercial and subsistence hunters and fishers would no longer hunt or fish themselves, but would benefit from the province's fish and game resources indirectly, through the wages and the market created by growing numbers of landlord-sportsmen. This process in turn would integrate nicely, supporters believed, into the larger resource-based export economy taking shape on the fringes of and beyond Quebec's agricultural lands, in particular on the north shore of the St. Lawrence River, where often only a thin strip of arable land separated the river from the Canadian shield.¹⁴

¹⁴ This for example was the situation in the Mauricie region north of Trois-Rivières; see Hardy et Séguin, *Forêt et société en Mauricie: La formation de la région de Trois-Rivières 1830-1930*.

While a few patricians would continue until the First World War to influence the province's fish and game protection movement, they would prove to be the last of a dying generation. Overwhelmingly, it was this new set of interests, reflected in the policies of Quebec's Liberal government under premiers Simon-Napoléon Parent (1900-1905), Lomer Gouin (1905-1920) and Louis-Alexandre Taschereau (1920-1936), and not patricians, that would set the agenda during the decades to follow.

Still, it would be a mistake to write off patricians too hastily. For while patricians themselves were on their way out, their way of thinking about society and the environment remained an important influence on Quebec's approach to fish and game protection. What we have, in effect, is a patrician *moment*: a period of roughly three decades that saw a set of decidedly 'patrician' values embedded in state legislation and an associational culture that would remain the basis of wildlife conservation in Quebec for well over a century. That this moment took shape only in Quebec attests both to a number of distinct environmental factors as well as the unique social conditions that existed in the province during the nineteenth century.

There is of course another side to the development of this system of conservation, and it returns us to the class and ethnic relations described above. While we can interpret fish and game protection in Quebec during the nineteenth century in terms of improvement, we can also think about the system of protection that developed in the contexts of enclosure and absentee landownership, both of which reflect centuries of patrician culture and are easily applied to circumstances in the province. The regulatory system that took shape in Quebec, after all, recalls in many ways the treatment of Britain's own rural poor, who during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were pushed

off of common lands in order that landowners could pursue their interests in improvement and agricultural efficiency. Though in the case of Quebec we are dealing with different social and environmental dynamics – namely a mix of aboriginal, anglophone Protestant, and francophone Catholic populations and a large wilderness land base that was not under the explicit control of a landowning class – a similar spirit informed the strategies that patricians applied to Quebec’s fish and game resources and to those who used them. What we had, in effect, was a massive act of dispossession, in which commercial and subsistence users of these resources were pushed off of the province’s better hunting and fishing territories, stripped of former claims to fish and game resources, and left to cope with seasonal and other restrictions on those remaining territories not let to absentee sportsmen.

There were, however, considerable obstacles to overcome. For the protection movement was not a simple act of dispossession on the part of an all-powerful patrician culture. To a considerable degree, the regulation of fish and game resources was also a desperate attempt on the part of state and civic authorities to establish social order in a vast and thinly populated land where competition for fish and game resources could be fierce. As one observer noted in 1875, there remained in the province “a strong element of a totally different character; a class rude and difficult to deal with, and only to be subdued by a show of force.”¹⁵ Comments like these were unfair. In fact, this “rude” class was a varied group of commercial, subsistence, and some sport hunters and fishers whose practices were threatened as much by the new regulatory system as they were by

¹⁵ *CSP*, 1876, no. 5, “Eighth Annual Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries Being For the Fiscal Year Ended 30th June, 1875,” “Synopsis of Fishery Overseers’ and Guardians’ Reports in the Province of Quebec For the Year 1875,” W. H. Austin, “Special Report on Lake Memphremagog Division,” Appendix 9, 146-148: 147.

local competition. Given the difficulty of establishing effective surveillance and enforcement strategies, this class found it easy to ignore, to evade, and even to challenge the regulatory system that was taking shape. Not surprisingly, the rural populace's response to the patrician model of protection could be hostile and violent. Communities sympathized with and in some cases actively supported local poachers. Throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth, commercial and subsistence users retained a belief in traditional and customary rights to fish and game, and continued to defy state and civic authorities in order to express these rights.

Ultimately, though, this resistance was of limited effect. Reactionary, local, and conservative in their own way, commercial and subsistence users opposed to the new regulatory system did not share the broad organizational capacity of their counterparts, and remained unable to reach higher levels of power. In the end, the battle over access to fish and game resources was one that commercial and subsistence users would not win. It was not until the turn of the century that more highly organized forms of resistance began to appear, and these were not led by commercial or subsistence users. Rather, this new opposition came from the growing numbers of middle-class sportsmen who found themselves outside the associational networks that had developed during the previous decades, and were thus locked out by a leasehold system that had placed most of the province's hunting and angling territory in private hands. While by World War I lessees and the state would find themselves on the defensive in regards to the regulatory system they had developed, the conflict that ensued was no longer that of sport and protection-minded improvers set against commercial and subsistence users; instead, but was now a debate over access to fish and game resources for sporting purposes. Commercial and

subsistence users would continue to take some fish and game, but by this point the province's sport-based system of protection was more or less secure.

Historiography

This dissertation draws on the social and environmental perspectives of a number of Canadian, British, and American historians. It is shaped largely by two bodies of literature. The first of these is the large body of work on conservation in North America, in particular the work of U. S. environmental historians that has inspired a good deal of the work currently being done in Canada. Second is a field less integrated into Canadian studies of conservation, which comprises the work of a number of British historians working in the areas of social, environmental, and imperial history. The combination brings to this project a unique sense of the European as well as the American influences that informed the development of wildlife conservation strategies in Quebec.

In regards to the first, a significant amount of work has been done on conservation in North America, much of it by U. S. historians, for whom the study of conservation fits into that nation's growing field of environmental history. In regards to conservation, a landmark text is Samuel P. Hays' 1959 study of the progressive era's conservation movement *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency: The Progressive Conservation Movement, 1890-1920*.¹⁶ Here Hays identified conservation as a turn-of-the-century project characterized by a belief in efficiency, scientific management, and the centralization of power at the federal level. While his study continues to resonate today as a framework for the history of the American conservation movement, it has been nearly five decades since *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency* was first published,

¹⁶ Hays, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency: The Progressive Conservation Movement, 1890-1920*.

and environmental historians unsatisfied with Hays' temporal framework and his emphasis on the role of the state have continued to push the subject in other directions. One such work is *American Sportsmen and the Origins of Conservation*, in which John F. Reiger shows how wildlife conservation in the United States can be traced well into the nineteenth century, in the conservation-oriented activities of elite sportsmen. More recent still is Karl Jacoby's *Crimes Against Nature*, in which Jacoby cuts through the more celebratory aspects of America's conservation experience to examine the impact of nineteenth-century state conservation policies on rural communities that found their hunting, fishing, timber, and land use practices increasingly marginalized under the new conservation regime. Another highly successful approach has been that of Richard Judd, whose study of conservation in northern New England, *Common Lands, Common People: The Origins of Conservation in Northern New England*, demonstrates the importance of local conservation strategies and their often conflictual relationship to the federal conservation agenda. Through all of these studies there emerges a view of conservation as a complex amalgam of power relations in the United States' varied social and environmental contexts.¹⁷

Though far less developed than in the United States, the study of conservation has followed a similar thematic trajectory in Canada. This is immediately evident in Janet Foster's important study of wildlife conservation in Canada, *Working For Wildlife: the Beginning of Preservation in Canada*. First published in 1978, *Working For Wildlife* applies Hays' approach to conservation to the development of wildlife conservation

¹⁷ Reiger, *American Sportsmen and the Origins of Conservation*; Jacoby, *Crimes Against Nature: Squatters, Poachers, Thieves, and the Hidden History of American Conservation*; Judd, *Common Lands, Common People: The Origins of Conservation in Northern New England*.

strategies in Canada. Beginning with the establishment of Rocky Mountains (Banff) Park in 1885 and outlining the subsequent activities of the federal government to the early 1920s, Foster argues for the important role of the federal state and of civil servants in the protection of Canadian wildlife.¹⁸

Since then, Canadian historians too have taken more complex approaches to conservation. In Canada as in the United States, emphasis on the role of the federal government has come under considerable scrutiny. As Michel Girard shows in his work on the short-lived Canada Conservation Commission of the early twentieth century, the federal commitment to conservation was in many ways limited. This is not surprising, given the shape of federal-provincial relations in Canada. As Tina Loo and George Colpitts make clear in their work on wildlife, the nuts and bolts of wildlife conservation in Canada during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were often not to be found at the federal level, but rather at the level of the provinces and in the work of local sportsmen's and other associations.¹⁹ For others, the roots of conservation go deeper still. Anthropologists Colin Scott and Harvey Feit, for example, show in their studies of the Cree in Quebec how conservation attitudes and practices are embedded in aboriginal society, and have for centuries shaped native-newcomer relations.²⁰ As Marshall Sahlins

¹⁸ Foster, *Working For Wildlife, The Beginning of Preservation in Canada*.

¹⁹ Girard, *L'écologisme retrouvé: Essor et déclin de la Commission de la conservation du Canada: 1909-1921*; Loo, "Making a Modern Wilderness: Conserving Wildlife in Twentieth-Century Canada"; Loo, "Of Moose and Men: Hunting For Masculinities in British Columbia, 1880-1939"; Colpitts, "Fish and Game Associations in Southern Alberta, 1907-1928," *Alberta History*; Colpitts, *Game in the Garden: A Human History of Wildlife in Western Canada to 1940*.

²⁰ Feit, "Waswanipi Cree Management of Land and Wildlife: Cree Ethno-Ecology Revisited"; Scott, "Science For the West, Myth For the Rest? The Case of James Bay Cree Knowledge Construction"; on aboriginals' relationship to Quebec's fish and game policies see Parenteau, "Care, Control and Supervision"; Morantz, "Provincial Game

reminds us, such practices on the part of gatherer-hunter societies inform an entirely different approach to wealth, leisure, and the environment from that of western societies.²¹

Amongst their varied approaches, Canadian historians have been particularly adept at exploring the relationship between conservation and broader social patterns of power. Wildlife conservation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries has been linked effectively to a number of issues, among them sport, tourism, the growth of the middle class culture, and that era's patterns of anti-modernism, Romanticism, and muscular Christianity. Along with class, gender has been an effective vehicle for exploring the contexts of sport hunting and fishing, and its relationship to the conservation agendas of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Work by Bill Parenteau on the Atlantic Canada salmon fishery and by Tina Loo and Greg Gillespie on big game hunters in British Columbia and the Canadian West shows how sport in these regions was informed by patterns of masculine behaviour, most notably in a loosely shaped sportsmen's code of conduct, an approach to sport modeled on aristocratic and gentlemanly behaviour that set informal rules for sport, and that for many historians underpinned a self-interested process of exclusion that marginalized other users of fish and game resources.²² Such studies complement recent work on nineteenth-century sport

Laws at the Turn of the Century: Protective or Punitive Measures for the Native Peoples of Quebec?"; Panasuk and Proulx, "Les rivières à saumon de la Côte-Nord ou 'Défense de pêcher – Cette rivière est la propriété de....'"

²¹ Sahlins, "The Original Affluent Society."

²² Parenteau, "A 'Very Determined Opposition to the Law'"; Parenteau, "Care, Control and Supervision"; Loo, 'Of Moose and Men'; Gillespie, 'I Was Well Pleased with Our Sport among the Buffalo': Big-Game Hunters, Travel Writing, and Cultural Imperialism in the British North American West, 1847-72." See also Forkey, "Anglers, Fishers and

and conservation outside Canada. John Reiger, for example, illustrates the role of the sportsmen's code of conduct effectively in the American context, and John M. MacKenzie puts it to good use in regards to British sporting practices in Africa and India in *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism*.²³

A picture is also emerging of the ways in which growing numbers of women participated in sport hunting and fishing during the nineteenth century. An important backdrop to this is the development of tourism, which, as Patricia Jasen shows in *Wild Things: Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario, 1790-1914*, has roots in Canada that stretch to the eighteenth century.²⁴ Sources make clear during the period of this study that it was not uncommon for upper and middle class women to hunt and particularly to fish, and Parenteau argues that women's views of sport often reflected a determinedly modern vision of the relationship between their sporting activities and the place of women in society.²⁵ Such work is important because it brings women into an area dominated by studies of men and masculinity, and in doing so complicates the gendered dimensions of sport hunting and fishing. As this project shows, it was not so much the activity of hunting or fishing itself, but rather the organizational aspects of sport and protection from which women were excluded. The world of wildlife conservation reflected far more the notion of 'separate spheres' than did the many philanthropic and

the St. Croix River: Conflict in a Canadian-American Borderland, 1867-1900"; Moyles and Owrap, "Hunter's Paradise: Imperial-Minded Sportsmen in Canada."

²³ Reiger, *American Sportsmen*; MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism*.

²⁴ Jasen, *Wild Things: Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario, 1790-1914*.

²⁵ Parenteau, "Hunting and Fishing for Gender Identities in the Canadian Wilderness, 1890-1914."

religious contexts that reveal women to be active participants in the public sphere.²⁶

Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, wildlife conservation remained a determinedly male world. I say determinedly because this masculine identity was not only implied, but was actively created, through a range of formal rules and implied patterns of behaviour. To 1914 and after, the regulatory system discussed in this study remained a male sphere of activity, wrapped up in issues of military tradition, political, and economic leadership, fraternal social relations, and networks of power and privilege.²⁷

No less important are the ways historians have approached class and ethnicity. Tina Loo shows how these social categories were reinforced in the context of sport and conservation in the relations between elite white sportsmen, and their aboriginal and metis guides. Bill Parenteau's work on the Atlantic Canada salmon fishery similarly shows how patterns of class and ethnic marginalization underpinned conservation strategies in Atlantic Canada, where attempts to regulate the region's salmon fishery met with stubborn opposition on the part of local aboriginals and Euro-North Americans who continued to lay claim to these resources.²⁸ Such dynamics were no less a part of Quebec

²⁶ On regulation and social order see Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925*; Strange and Loo, *Making Good: Law and Moral Regulation in Canada, 1867-1939*. On the public sphere activities of Protestant women in Montreal during the nineteenth century see Harvey, "The Protestant Orphan Asylum and the Montreal Ladies' Benevolent Society: A Case Study in Protestant Child Charity in Montreal, 1822-1900"; a good study of the influence elite women in Britain during this period is Jalland, *Women, Marriage, and Politics, 1860-1914*.

²⁷ For studies of sport hunting and fishing in Canada that address masculinity see Loo, "Of Moose and Men"; Gillespie, "I Was Well Pleased With Our Sport Among the Buffalo". See also Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917*.

²⁸ Parenteau, "A 'Very Determined Opposition to the Law'"; Parenteau, "'Care, Control and Supervision.'"

society, and were readily apparent during the period in question in the divisions separating anglophones from francophones and Catholics from Protestants. But as Quebec historians show, further layers of ethnic identity – among them English, Scots, Irish, American, Jewish, and aboriginal – made these basic social divisions still more complex.²⁹ Also important was the growing urban / rural divide separating the province's "amphibious" patricians and their successors from its rural popular classes, for it had an important role to play in the development of two increasingly disparate views of the place of fish and game resources. Though they may not always have recognized it, rural francophone Catholic farmers, forest workers and fishers had something in common with anglo-Protestants of the same socio-economic background, and both shared a similar discontent in regards to the new regulatory system as that of Quebec's aboriginals, for whom the implications of this system were even more severe.

As for the supporters of fish and game protection, they were well aware despite their differences of the ground that they shared. The patrician culture that underpinned many of the province's anglophone civic institutions was also part of the province's francophone society, hearkening back to its longstanding seigneurial roots and surfacing in the willingness of upper-class francophones following the 1837-38 rebellions to integrate into existing Anglo-American frameworks of political, economic, and social power.³⁰ This is certainly the case in regards to fish and game protection, a movement that had its share of French-Canadian as well as Jewish and Irish supporters, but that

²⁹ Quebec's multi-ethnic composition is an important theme in Dickinson and Young, *A Short History of Quebec*. On Quebec's anglophone populations see Rudin, *The Forgotten Quebecers: A History of English-Speaking Quebec, 1759-1980*. A recent collection that addresses these complexities is Bradbury and Myers, *Negotiating Identities in 19th- and 20th-Century Montreal*.

³⁰ See for example Young, *George-Etienne Cartier: Montreal Bourgeois*.

retained a predominantly Anglo-American identity in regards to the movement's associational networks. By the turn of the century a number of francophone politicians were prominent within the movement, and their views of rural Quebec were no less informed by these patrician sensibilities than were those of their anglophone counterparts. By this time protection advocates had come to identify Quebec's aboriginal and rural francophone populations as representatives of a distinctly antimodern way of life, a vision that Ian McKay argues both provided for this class a comfortable antithesis to modern life and de-politicized the lives of people grappling with the consequences of rapid social and economic change.³¹

Clearly, the history of conservation in Canada has captured the interest of a growing number of historians. But it must also be noted that the powerful American historiography on which Canadian historians have built so effectively poses problems for the study of conservation in Canada. For to draw on the American conservation historiography is to draw on a long tradition of American exceptionalism. As Tober, Reiger, and others point out, access to wildlife resources have traditionally been seen in the United States in terms of abundance and within a larger vision of egalitarianism, what Tober describes as "deeply held beliefs about New World freedoms" in contrast to the strict controls that placed wildlife in the hands of the aristocracy and landowners throughout much of Europe.³² As such, it is a historiography that focuses on the differences between Europe and North America, and has placed less emphasis on the

³¹ McKay, *The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia*. See also Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920*.

³² Tober, *Who Owns the Wildlife*, 19; see also Reiger, *American Sportsmen*; Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*.

continuities that shaped approaches to conservation during the nineteenth century.

Despite Reiger's assertion of the important role played by English immigrant Henry William Herbert – known by his popular books on sport hunting and fishing as 'Frank Forester' – in bringing British sporting values to the United States in the 1840s, or the German educated Gifford Pinchot's role in Hays' work, U.S. historiography continues to focus on conservation as a product of late-nineteenth-century America, and historians continue to pursue canonical figures such as Emerson, Thoreau, George Perkins Marsh, Theodore Roosevelt, and John Muir.

This model is difficult to maintain in Quebec, where during the nineteenth century a British framework was being imposed on top of a former seigneurial order. Arguments regarding the abundance and the accessibility of fish and game resources relative to Europe surfaced here too, but these were mediated by an ongoing relationship with Britain and by the province's own social dynamics. In bringing out these dynamics, this study recalls the discussions of imperialism, society, and environment found in the works of Richard Drayton, Richard H. Grove, David Hancock, and others who look to the mutual influences between the British metropole and its peripheries, and who underline the ways in which 'improvement' was part of a longstanding world view underpinning the social and environmental attitudes and practices that took shape both in Britain and abroad.³³ These historians reveal conservation to be part and parcel of the landowners and merchants estate and wealth management practices. Complementing this is the rich work done by British social historians. As noted above, E. P. Thompson's work on

³³ Drayton, *Nature's Government: Science, Imperial Britain, and the 'Improvement' of the World*; Grove, *Green Imperialism: Colonial Expansion, Tropical Island Edens and the Origins of Environmentalism, 1600-1860*; Hancock, *Citizens of the World*.

patricians offers an alternative framework with which to approach wildlife conservation in Quebec. So too does Thompson's study of poaching in eighteenth-century England, *Whigs and Hunters*. Outlining the development of eighteenth-century legislation known as the 'Black Acts', through which poachers became subject by statute to increasingly harsh penalties including transportation and death, Thompson underscores the power of patricians in regards to wildlife, and demonstrates in the process how management strategies for sporting resources could carry significant social repercussions in the English countryside.³⁴ Also important to this study is the work of Peter Clark and Robert J. Morris, both of whom demonstrate the longstanding importance of civic or associational forms of power in Britain and North America. For Morris, the kind of associational activity in which Quebec's patricians participated is a product of the late eighteenth century and the industrial revolution, while for Clark the origins of this associational culture can be traced to the sixteenth century. Combined, their work demonstrates effectively how the upper and middle classes continued throughout the nineteenth century to adapt longstanding customs and traditions to new and changing contexts.³⁵

As in the case of North American conservation historiography, the key here is not simply to adopt these perspectives, but to adapt them to the context in question. The

³⁴ E. P. Thompson, *Whigs and Hunters*. For a classic study that emphasizes the adaptability and persistence into the twentieth century of British landed power see F. M. L. Thompson, *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century*. Similar considerations of British landed power surface in the work of Cannadine; see for example *Aspects of Aristocracy: Grandeur and Decline in Modern Britain*.

³⁵ Clark, *British Clubs and Societies 1580-1800: The Origins of an Associational World*; Morris, "Civil Society and the Nature of Urbanism: Britain, 1750-1850," *Urban History*; Morris, *Class, Sect, and Party: The Making of the British Middle Class: Leeds, 1820-1850*.

class dynamics that informed fish and game protection in Quebec, for example, are at once similar to those described by Thompson and unique to their own social and environmental contexts. Care must also be taken before applying to Quebec and similar regions Mackenzie's excellent work on the imperial contexts of wildlife conservation. Though tempting to use Mackenzie's analysis of big game hunting on the part of colonial adventurers as a picture of British and imperial attitudes overall, there remain significant differences between European big game hunters in Africa and India and the protection movement that developed in Quebec or in Canada. In the case of the former regions, Mackenzie and others rightly point to a class of self-interested sportsmen who exploited natural history and science as respectable guises for their destructive actions. Canada, by contrast, was a settler society in which patricians assumed a much greater interest in and responsibility for their immediate social and environmental contexts.³⁶ By balancing between North American and British historiographies, I think, we are able to better grasp those patterns of continuity and change that shaped the development of wildlife conservation in Quebec.

A number of issues remain beyond the scope of this project. In his study of salmon conservation, Bill Parenteau breaks with traditional political boundaries, and makes effective use of 'Atlantic Canada' as his geographical framework. This is an important conceptual strategy for social and environmental historians to consider, for by doing so Parenteau places salmon and the St. Lawrence ecosystem rather than political

³⁶ Mackenzie, *The Empire of Nature*; see also Gillespie's emphasis on a relatively small number of big game hunters in "I Was Well Pleased With Our Sport Among the Buffalo."

boundaries firmly at the center of his work.³⁷ For environmental historians in particular, such breaks with national or political frameworks represent a critical re-thinking in environmental terms of long-established parameters. In the case of Quebec, though, there remain good reasons for working within political boundaries. As we will see, the wildlife conservation strategies that developed in Quebec remained significantly different from those that took shape elsewhere in British North America or in the United States. Originating in the province's unique social and environmental contexts, these differences ultimately found expression at the level of the provincial state, which by 1914 held jurisdiction over most of the areas affecting wildlife and wilderness habitat.

Two further qualifications to this project must be noted from the start. First, I have chosen to leave outside this study Quebec's important ocean and estuary-based commercial fisheries. While to some degree this was necessary in order to keep the project at hand in check, the exclusion from this dissertation of Quebec's marine fisheries also reflects the differing contexts that existing during the period in question. While protection advocates recognized the importance of these resources, the regulatory system that took shape around Quebec's fisheries quickly divided inland from ocean waters, and it was towards the former space that the fish and game protection movement would devote its energy.

Second, readers may notice that this study does not focus in detail on issues such as the evolution of elite sporting practices or the growth of leisure, tourism, and middle

³⁷ Parenteau, "A 'Very Determined Opposition'"; Parenteau, "Care, Control, and Supervision."

class culture.³⁸ While these issues do come up, I deliberately focus less on sport in order to draw out dynamics that are less thoroughly understood. For if hunting is to be considered a sport, it is a sport like no other. Certainly, it shares aspects common to many sports, from its imperial, military, and national connections to issues of fraternity, masculinity, fair play, and the tension between group and individual identities. But no other sport has such deep and wide-ranging implications, or poses such problems, whether in political, economic, social, or environmental terms. The period in question is indeed a period of transformation. Considered from a macro-historical perspective, it marks the final assault on a practice that sustained humanity for almost its entire period of time on earth, a way of life that some argue has been part of human identity for so long that it has been hard-wired into our brains.³⁹ As a mode of production, the gatherer / hunter economy has been a dominant framework for practically all of human history. In the wilderness regions of northern North America, fish and game resources were invaluable socio-economic resources. For those aboriginal societies that were able to grow food in this environment, animals remained important resources, whether as food or trade items or as part of their broader understanding of the world in which they lived. More recently, some Europeans integrated fish and game resources into their own subsistence and commercial socio-economic strategies. Considered in these terms, it becomes clear how the transformation of hunting and fishing in Quebec into a sport rooted in the tertiary economy was part and parcel of the rapid transformation of the

³⁸ On the development of sport in Quebec during the nineteenth century see Guay, *La conquête du sport: le sport et la société québécoise au XIX siècle*; see also Guay, *La chasse au Québec: chronologie commentée, 1603-1900*; Poulter, "Becoming Native in a Foreign Land: Visual Culture, Sport, and Spectacle in the Construction of National Identity in Montreal, 1840-1885."

³⁹ Shepard, *Nature and Madness*.

North American continent, and marks the point at which these earlier modes of production were pushed aside for good. Given the magnitude of this transformation, it seems worthwhile to connect it to the broader social and environmental sensibilities that were behind it, and that continue to shape the way we deal with wildlife today. Though compelling, the paradoxes of sport and fair play remain but part of the story.

Overview

The dissertation is divided as follows. Part One, "Beginnings, 1850-1880," sets out the social and environmental parameters of wildlife conservation as they developed in the province at mid-century, when patricians dominated Quebec's fish and game protection movement. Chapter One, "Establishing a Regulatory Regime," outlines the various interests at mid-century in the province's fish and game resources, the connection between wildlife conservation and improvement, and the establishment beginning in 1858 of state and civic regulatory institutions. Chapter Two, "Regulation and Resistance on the Lower St. Lawrence," examines land tenure and regulatory strategies as they were first applied to the salmon rivers of the lower St Lawrence. Here I show how improvement-minded patricians and the state set out to make these waters more productive, and look at the ways in which the province's rural inhabitants responded to the new regulatory system.

Part Two, "Expansion, 1880-1914," covers the development of land tenure, associational, and state strategies for fish and game protection during latter period of this study. Chapter Three, "Fish and Game Protection Under the Provincial Government," outlines the transfer of control over inland waters from the federal government to the provinces; this marks the point at which the Quebec government expanded the leasehold

system formerly under colonial and federal control from the roughly thirty rivers on the lower St. Lawrence to encompass all of its inland waters, and soon after initiated a parallel system of hunting leases. It was during this period that the province encouraged the establishment of fish and game clubs, which quickly integrated into the leasing system and became part of a regulatory regime based heavily on the interests of a new alliance of francophone politicians and anglo-American capitalists in the economic development of the province's wilderness resources. Chapter Four, "Improvement and Club Culture," outlines the application by clubs and lessees of estate management strategies to the improvement of their holdings, while Chapter Five, "Civil Society and Protection," explores in more detail the broader civic culture in which protection advocates worked.

Part Three, "Dissent, 1880-1914," deals with forms of opposition and resistance that took shape during this latter period, amongst commercial and subsistence users and within the ranks of the sporting community itself. In Chapter Six, "Social Order and Resistance," I explore how commercial and subsistence users continued despite increasingly strict legislation to resist attempts to regulate their activities. Chapter Seven, "Sporting Opposition," charts how club culture and land tenure strategies became targets for a growing number of sportsmen who found themselves locked out of much of the province's hunting and fishing territory. While opposition on the part of this class of sportsmen placed the fish and game clubs and the state on the defensive, their failure to change in any significant way the shape of Quebec's regulatory system is also a good indication, I argue, of the degree to which the patrician model of protection had become firmly entrenched within the province.

PART I: BEGINNINGS, 1850-1880

Chapter One:

Establishing a Regulatory Regime

Lower Canada possesses in her forests, rivers and marshes, if due care is shewn for their preservation, inexhaustible sources of profit and wealth, but that if the present state of things is permitted to exist any longer, the fish and game of the country will soon be numbered amongst the things that were.

Fish and Game Protection Club of Lower Canada, 1858¹

The Contexts of Fish and Game Protection at Mid-Century

Two issues lay behind the fish and game protection movement that emerged in Quebec. First and most obvious was the deteriorating state of the province's fish and game resources. While the nineteenth century's supporters of fish and game protection lacked the kinds of statistical or scientific knowledge that exist today in regards to wildlife, they were nevertheless aware by mid-century of the detrimental effects of human activity on these resources. Commercial and subsistence hunters and fishers were active throughout the province, and in some cases caused significant reductions in wildlife populations. Adding to this was the detrimental impact of the timber industry on wildlife habitat, which took shape in the form of pollution, dams, and deforestation. Sport too posed problems, particularly near settled regions frequented by sportsmen. Among those to note such damage was the popular Quebec City writer and historian James MacPherson LeMoine. "By the mighty shades of Hawker, by the ramrod of the Great Saint Hubert, we adjure you not to waste powder and shot in the neighborhood of

¹ Fish and Game Protection Club of Lower Canada, *Report, Constitution and By-Laws of the Fish and Game Protection Club of Lower Canada*, 6.

large cities,” Lemoine warned his readers in 1862: “Spring shooting and pot-hunters have, for the most part, extirpated the game in such localities.”²

The other issue that motivated protection advocates was a deep concern for social order. At mid-century, it must be remembered, Quebec society was familiar with violence, rebellion, and war. The Lower Canada Rebellions of 1837-38 were a recent memory in the province, and Montrealers were still cleaning up the rubble following the 1849 riot over the Rebellion Losses Bill that culminated in the burning of Parliament in that city. Behind these events and other daily concerns was the violent political and socio-economic change that marked the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and that ranged from imperial, revolutionary, and civil wars throughout Europe and the Americas to class and ethnic conflict in the context of urbanization and industrialization. In short, it was a context in which stability could not be assumed, neither in the province’s urban centers nor in its rural regions, where the majority of the population resided. Well placed in the colony’s political, social and economic circles, protection advocates were aware of the tensions that underpinned their society, and it did not escape their attention that the destruction of fish and game resources went hand in hand with examples of conflict, violence, and social turmoil. In the Eastern Townships, residents who opposed poachers on Lake Memphremagog ran “the risk of having their houses and barns burned by the vagabonds who follow this nefarious trade, and who do not hesitate to threaten this as the result of taking any steps against them.”³ Similar complaints surfaced in regards to

² James MacPherson LeMoine, ‘Fin and Feather in Canada’ *Quebec Mercury* 14 October 1862, 2. Among LeMoine’s considerable writings on sport and wildlife in Quebec see LeMoine, *Chasse et pêche au Canada*; see also LeMoine, *Les pêcheries du Canada*.

³ Montreal Fish and Game Protection Club, *Fifth Annual Report of the Montreal Fish and Game Protection Club*, 5.

poaching in the Laurentians north of Quebec City, where weak enforcement and ineffective legislation led to open disregard for the law. Following the withdrawal by the provincial government of that region's fishery overseer, members of Quebec City's Fish and Game Protection Club of Lower Canada complained that "Trout snatched from their spawning beds were brought to the markets during the close season, and when the violators of the law were prevented... from returning to the city, they plied their nefarious trade in country villages at a distance."⁴ Even more problematic were conditions on the salmon rivers of the lower St Lawrence, where complaints of lawlessness and violence surfaced regularly, and brought the struggle over fish and game resources into direct conflict with the Hudson Bay Company, representatives of which routinely found themselves unable to bear challenges to the company's rights to resources and trade in the region. The officer in charge of the Company's post at the mouth of the Mingan River summarized the observations of many when he reported in 1857 that "The salmon fisheries have completely gone to the d___l. All the rivers have been entered and held by force of arms"⁵.

As such, the nineteenth century's fish and game protection movement was more than an expression of state interests or of a sportsmen's code of conduct. This first chapter demonstrates, rather, that interest in fish and game protection was part of a world view that drew heavily on European customs and tradition. To do so, it situates the nineteenth century's fish and game protection movement as part of a patrician culture that incorporated fish and game resources into a broader vision of improvement. As we will

⁴ "Annual Report of the Fish and Game Protection Club For 1867," *Quebec Morning Chronicle* 8 February 1868, 2.

⁵ *JLAPC*, 1858, no. 15, "Report of the Commissioner of Crown Lands of Canada, For the Year 1857," Richard Nettle, "Report Ending September 24th, 1857," Appendix U.

see, this approach to fish and game protection encompassed the protection of sporting and state interests as well as more far-reaching goals, namely the establishment of social order, the imposition of new economic modes of production, and the destruction of the region's longstanding hunter-gatherer economy.

At mid-century, Quebec was a place of marked social and environmental contrast. Montreal (pop. 58,000) and Quebec City (pop. 42,000) were both the largest and the *only* cities of significant size in the province. Upon leaving these cities, one quickly entered the landscape of town and country, and beyond that an extensive wilderness frontier. It was here that the vast majority – more than 80% – of the province's population resided.⁶ Though mostly francophone, these regions were also home to a number of aboriginal groups as well as to pockets of anglophone settlement around Montreal, in the Eastern Townships, and the Gaspé peninsula. Unlike the province's urban population, for which waged forms of labour were becoming increasingly central, these inhabitants continued to pursue a variety of agriculture and wilderness resource-based economic strategies directed at subsistence and market production.

Throughout rural Quebec, fish and game remained important resources. Though protection advocates were voicing concerns by mid-century, in terms of its overall wildlife populations Quebec nevertheless remained a region of relative abundance. Moose, deer, caribou, elk and a variety of game birds continued to inhabit the province's forests; marshes supported healthy populations of migratory wildfowl; and provincial waters offered plentiful supplies of fresh and saltwater fish including some of the best salmon fishing rivers in the world. Interest in these resources cut across class lines, rural

⁶ Bernier et Boily, *Le Québec en chiffres: de 1850 à nos jours*, 63.

and urban divisions, and ethnic differences alike. Sportsmen of all backgrounds found in the region incredible opportunities for hunting and fishing. So too did commercial and subsistence users, an unwieldy category that included aboriginals, coastal fishing families, farmers, trappers, workers in timber, survey, and railway camps. Market retailers sold fish and game, hotels and restaurants served them, and they were used to supply remote work camps, where it was simpler and cheaper to buy fish and game from local suppliers than to ship food from more distant sources. Finally, upper and middle class interests in science and in natural history underpinned the activities of naturalists, scientists and taxidermists, who collected fish and game specimens for private and public collections in Quebec and in institutions around the world.

The bulk of these groups fit into one of two categories. One of these comprised a relatively small number of elite, upper, and some middle class capitalists and professionals, whose wealth was based on a combination of industry, commerce, trade, and land ownership. Like Thompson's patricians, this group remained profoundly influenced by rural society and by the package of rights and obligations that came with it. For these men, the protection of fish and game resources was part of a more broadly defined role in society that found them actively involved not only in the economy, but also in politics, in the military, and in a wide range of philanthropic and other social institutions. The other group – an unwieldy, category, diverse, disconnected, and lacking any common sense of class consciousness -- encompassed a much larger segment of the population whose interests in fish and game were far more immediate. As in the case of patricians, interest in fish and game resources at this level cuts across a range of social categories. Understood alternately as entrepreneurs, small-scale capitalists, or peasants,

they included aboriginals as well as French and British Canadians, and urban as well as rural and frontier inhabitants. In essence, these were people for whom fish and game formed an important part of the household economy. Relying on fish and game for personal consumption, as trade commodities, or as a means of supplementing agricultural production, forestry or other resource-based work, they incorporated these resources into a multi-layered economic strategy. As a number of historians demonstrate, this combination of market and subsistence production was a commonplace strategy in rural Canada that endured well into the twentieth century.⁷

But the comparison between this society and that described by Thompson only goes so far. Notably, there was in the more remote regions of Quebec far less in the way of localized state or patrician power. The bulk of the province's lands were not divided amongst landowners as they were in Britain, and there was nothing remotely comparable in British North America to the Black Acts of eighteenth-century England, by which a variety of minor poaching-related infractions were reinterpreted as capital crimes.⁸ In Quebec during the 1850s, 1860s, and 1870s, control over fish and game resources was divided between colonial and later federal and provincial governments, and state institutions remained relatively weak outside of the vicinity of Montreal and Quebec City. There were exceptions to this, of course: Protestant and in particular Catholic institutions played important roles in more established rural regions, and local patricians too served as authority figures: the Price family in the Saguenay is a good example of the

⁷ See for example Hardy et Séguin, *Forêt et société en Mauricie: La formation de la région de Trois-Rivières 1830-1930*.

⁸ E. P. Thompson, *Whigs and Hunters*.

latter.⁹ Nevertheless, many of the regions in which fish and game were important resources were more akin to frontier than to rural society. These were places where human populations were lower and less stable, where agricultural prospects were poor, and where survival was more closely related to the products of forest and stream. Given too the relative absence of formal authority in these regions, Quebec's rural populace found it much easier than their European counterparts to pursue fish and game resources. Indeed, the degree of self-reliance, independence, and lawlessness fostered by this setting created what Eric Hobsbawm would consider ideal conditions for banditry.¹⁰

Institutionalizing Fish and Game Protection in Quebec

The links between patricians, animals, and improvement go back centuries. This is immediately obvious in the case of domesticated animals, which have long been part of European farming strategies, and which became the subject of intensive focus as interest in agricultural improvement brought attention to questions of reproduction, breeding, and animal health. But it is also true of wildlife. Like their domestic counterparts, wild animals have long been the subject of patrician's regulatory strategies, particularly in the context of rural estate management practices. During the nineteenth century upper and middle class attitudes and practices regarding animals would change in a number of ways, all of which would impact the fish and game protection movement. These changes can be fit into three categories. First, there were changes in the context of science, in particular the work of Darwin and others that saw humans take their place alongside animals as products of an evolutionary process, subject to the transformative forces of nature and of competition. With this came the growing popularity during the nineteenth

⁹ Louise Dechêne, "William Price," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 9, 638-43.

¹⁰ Hobsbawm, *Bandits*.

century of science itself, including the participation by a broad segment of the elite, upper, and middle classes in scientific associations, lectures, field trips, and museums. Second, the nineteenth century witnessed growing interest in the health and welfare of animals. This is apparent both in the growth of veterinary sciences beginning in the late eighteenth century as well as in the establishment of the animal welfare movement, which first took institutional shape with the formation of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (SPCA) in London in 1824, and expanded to North America in the 1860s, where it grew alongside similarly-motivated humane societies.¹¹ Third was the growing awareness of the capacity of humans to affect the non-human world in irreversible ways – namely, the ability to cause animal extinctions. Discussions that animated Quebec's scientific and literary societies make it clear that patricians were aware of the potential for such events long before the near extinction of the buffalo during the late nineteenth century and the death of the last passenger pigeon in 1912 made them common currency.¹²

¹¹ On changes regarding animals in the contexts of science, welfare, and environmental awareness see Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England, 1500-1800*; Harrison, 'Animals and the State in Nineteenth-Century England', *Peaceable Kingdom: Stability and Change in Modern England*; Turner, *Reckoning With the Beast: Animals, Pain, and Humanity in the Victorian Mind*; and Ritvo, *The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age*. On the SPCA in Montreal see Johnston, *For Those Who Cannot Speak: A History of the Canadian Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, 1869-1969*.

¹² A good indication of the range of interests in animals and in wildlife that animated Quebec patricians during this period can be found in MRB, Natural History Society of Montreal Collection. As early as 1844, the same year that marked the extinction of the Great Auk, provincial legislation was pointing to the potential for other wildfowl species to be wiped out of the province entirely. See "An Act to prevent certain Wildfowl and Snipes from being destroyed at improper seasons of the year, and to prevent the trapping of Grouse and Quail in this Province," *Statutes of Canada*, 7-8 Victoria, 1844-45, c. 46.

What is most important about these changes, though, is the fact that they took shape largely within the confines of upper and middle class culture. As John Berger reminds us, the deep rift in western society between humans and animals is a relatively new phenomenon, a product of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries' increasing distance from the natural world.¹³ What is more, this rift reveals significant class dimensions. The combination of sensitivity and distance that came to shape nineteenth-century views of wildlife and conservation separated the upper and middle classes even further from the classes they sought to govern. For those dependent on fish and game to meet their basic subsistence and economic needs, the scientific and literary debates, the concerns regarding cruelty, and the protection strategies of the upper and middle classes were more or less irrelevant.

It was in this context that Quebec's fish and game protection movement took shape. In the late 1850s the colonial government provided a solid legal foundation for the movement with the passage of two acts, the Lower Canada Game Act of 1858 and the Fishery Act of 1858. Both pieces of legislation represented a significant rethinking of the province's fish and game laws, which until the 1850s had been composed for the most part of locally based seasonal or species restrictions. The Lower Canada Game Act, which was in large part the work of career politician and timber merchant David Edward Price of Quebec's prominent Price family of timber merchants, was a cohesive body of legislation applicable throughout the province. Building on the act passed a year earlier, it offered protection for species that were absent from previous legislation; the act set a close season from March to September for deer, moose, elk, and caribou, and established

¹³ Berger, *About Looking*, 3.

similar parameters on woodcock, snipe, grouse, partridge, ptarmigan, pheasant, swan, goose, and duck. On other fronts, the Game Act banned the use of poisons on wildlife, and it prohibited the collection of wild fowl eggs, an activity that was affecting sea bird populations in the Gulf and the lower St. Lawrence. Sale of game during close seasons was prohibited, and market clerks as well as police were in Montreal and Quebec City were charged with monitoring city markets. Finally, as was the case more generally during the nineteenth century of legislation designed to encourage the participation of individuals and civic institutions, the act offered prosecutors a portion of any fine as well as reparation by the defendant of costs incurred.¹⁴

The Fishery Act of 1858 was a more complex piece of legislation. It marked the culmination of efforts throughout the decade to establish control over fishing activities on the lower reaches of the St. Lawrence River and the Gulf of St. Lawrence, a region that boasted among its considerable resources a salmon fishery that surpassed those found anywhere else on the eastern shores of North America. Among the first freshwater sources encountered by salmon returning from the Atlantic to spawn, rivers flowing into the St. Lawrence from Quebec's North Shore and Gaspé peninsula formed a crucial and as yet relatively intact part of that specie's habitat. Unlike many rivers further upstream in more populated regions of the province and in Upper Canada, or in parts of the eastern United States, where salmon had been extirpated, the rivers of this region had gotten off fairly lightly in regards to overfishing, pollution, and other forms of human-induced damage. As such, these rivers were identified to be key to the future of the province's salmon fishery. In regards to the regulatory regime studied here, the most important

¹⁴ "The Lower Canada Game Act," *Statutes of Canada*, 22 Victoria, 1858, c. 102.

aspect of the 1858 Fishery Act was the establishment of a system of leasehold tenure, which was to be applied to the salmon rivers of the lower St. Lawrence in an effort to protect that fish's breeding grounds. Grounded in principles of riparian ownership, this system would see the colonial government offer exclusive fishing rights by granting leases for five and later nine years to a half mile frontage on either side of the rivers sought for angling.¹⁵ Additional restrictions introduced during this period limited salmon fishing on inland waters to angling, and established a close season for anglers from the first of September to the first of March, and from the first of August to the first of March on all other methods of capture. Not long after this, amendments added to lessees' contracts the responsibility to supply the state with catch records, to enforce state fishery legislation, and to employ at least one full-time guardian to monitor activities on lessees' holdings. Together, these moves institutionalized a strategy that would shape the regulation of the province's inland waters and later its forests for more than a century.¹⁶

Alongside the fish and game laws of the late 1850s came the establishment in Montreal and Quebec City of associations aimed at protecting the province's fish and game resources: in Quebec City, the Fish and Game Protection Club of Lower Canada, formed in 1858; and in Montreal the Montreal Fish and Game Protection Club, established the following year. Both organizations drew heavily from Montreal and Quebec's Protestant elite. Among the most active members in Quebec City were timber

¹⁵ "The Fishery Act," *Statutes of Canada*, 1858, 22 Victoria, c. 86; "Crown Lands Department – Fisheries," *Quebec Morning Chronicle* 7 February 1859, 2; "Sale of Salmon Fisheries in Lower Canada," *Quebec Morning Chronicle* 18 February 1859, 1. See also Parenteau, "Care, Control and Supervision," 6-7.

¹⁶ New Brunswick would see some of its salmon rivers leased, but nowhere did this system develop as it did in Quebec. On salmon river leases in New Brunswick see Parenteau, "Care, Control and Supervision"; Parenteau, "A 'Very Determined Opposition to the Law.'"

merchants John Gilmour and James Bell Forsyth; notary and seigneur William Darling Campbell; medical doctor William Marsden; and celebrated Quebec sportsman and former British military officer William Rhodes. The Montreal club too reflected that city's British, anglophone, and protestant side. Here prominent francophone and Jewish participants such as Charles-Joseph Coursol and Jacob Henry Joseph rounded out a list of members predominantly of Scots origin who were major figures in British North American industry, transportation, commerce, and politics (see figure 1.1).¹⁷ From the start, both clubs set protection and enforcement as their twin goals. "The objects of the club" the Quebec City members stated in 1858, "shall be the preservation of the Game and Fish of the Country, and the carrying out of any Acts of Parliament which now are or hereafter may be in force."¹⁸

Not surprisingly, the supporters of these clubs dominated the province's broader associational culture. By mid-century Montreal and Quebec City were host to a growing number of social and philanthropic institutions, among them sports clubs, national, scientific and literary societies, and a range charitable organizations targeting the poor, the unemployed, the elderly, widows, children, and others (see figure 1.2). As in the case of the protection clubs, many of these institutions were the product of Montreal and Quebec City's Protestant anglophones, and reflected forms of social and charitable

¹⁷ Fish and Game Protection Club of Lower Canada, *Report, Constitution and By-Laws of the Fish and Game Protection Club of Lower Canada*, 10-11; Montreal Fish and Game Protection Club, *Fifth Annual Report of the Montreal Fish and Game Protection Club*, 7; "Report of the Committee of the Fish and Game Protection Club For 1858," *Quebec Morning Chronicle* 19 February 1959, 1; McCord Museum, P559, Fonds Province of Quebec Association For the Protection of Fish and Game, C/004, *Minutes of Meetings of a Club for the Protection and Preservation of the Fish and Game of Lower Canada, held in Montreal, February 23, 1859, to June 2, 1875*, 23 February 1859.

¹⁸ Fish and Game Protection Club of Lower Canada, *Report, Constitution and By-Laws*, 7.

MEMBERS	
OF THE	
MONTREAL FISH AND GAME PROTECTION CLUB.	
HENRY MCKAY.	A. MCK. FORBES.
GEO. HORNE.	CHAS. GEDDES.
ALEX. RAMSAY.	J. J. JONES.
DANL. WYLIE.	JESSIE JOSEPH.
WALTER MACFARLANE.	J. M. MILLER.
J. THOMSON.	H. L. MACDOUGALL.
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ANDREW LAW.	THOS. OGILVY.
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ALEX. MURRAY.	ALFRED RIMMER.
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JACKSON RAE.	LOUIS RETOURNAY.
GILBERT SCOTT.	AND. ROBERTSON.
G. W. WARNER.	ALEX. CROSS.
AUGUSTUS HEWARD.	FREDK. W. KAY.
JAS. WALKER.	HENRY STARNES.
HENRY BUDDEN.	R. H. BULLER, 60th Regt.
JOHN ESDAILE.	ALPHONSE BOYER.
JAS. ESDAILE.	

Figure 1.1. Members, Montreal Fish and Game Protection Club, 1864. Quebec's protection movement was based heavily on the province's anglophone population – and in the case of Montreal, on that city's Scots capitalist classes in particular.

Source: Montreal Fish and Game Protection Club, *Fifth Annual Report of the Montreal Fish and Game Protection Club*, 7.



Figure 1.2. Curling on the St. Lawrence River Outside Montreal, 1878. This composite photograph highlights the links between sport and associational culture in Canada as well as the strength of Montreal's Scots community. Governor General Lord Dufferin and Lady Dufferin are at the photo's center; seated above and to the left is Prime Minister John A. Macdonald. Source: Notman & Sandham, Curling on the St. Lawrence, Montreal, QC, composite, 1878, Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum, #11-48781.4.



Figure 1.3. "Les habitués de Rideau Hall en traines sauvage," 1881. Among those pictured here are avid sportsmen and protection advocates Governor General Lord Lorne (top row, 6th from left) and George Alexander Drummond (top row, 7th from left). Source: *L'Opinion publique*, 12 6 (10 février 1881): 66.

organization rooted deeply in British society. A number of them expressed interest in fish and game protection. These included longstanding institutions like the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec (est. 1824), the Montreal Hunt Club (est. c. 1826), and the Natural History Society of Montreal (est. 1827).¹⁹ Later additions included sporting organizations such as Montreal's Prince of Wales Fishing Club, formed in the late 1850s, and Quebec City's more populist Club des chasseurs de Québec, established in 1870.²⁰ Agricultural and horticultural societies were also part of this culture, as were institutions like the Quebec Geographical Society (est. 1877).²¹ So too were animal welfare groups. In 1869 Montreal residents opened Canada's first branch of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, the Canadian SPCA, and Quebec City residents followed suit with a branch in that city the following year.²² Links between the protection clubs and these other organizations could be significant. In Montreal, for example, fully a quarter of the members belonging to the city's protection club were supporters of the Montreal SPCA, while the co-founder and president of Quebec City's SPCA, William Marsden, was also an active member and president (1863-64) of that

¹⁹ On the Quebec Literary and Historical Society see Bernatchez, "La Société littéraire et historique de Québec (The Literary and Historical Society of Quebec) 1824-1890." On the Montreal Natural History Society see Sheets-Pyenson, *Cathedrals of Science: The Development of Colonial Natural History Museums During the Late Nineteenth Century*; the society's activities are also described in Zeller, *Inventing Canada: Early Victorian Science and the Idea of a Transcontinental Nation*. On the Montreal Hunt Club see Cooper, *The History of the Montreal Hunt*. Archival sources on both associations are rich, and offer excellent background: for the Natural History Society of Montreal see MRB, Natural History Society Collection; for the Montreal Hunt Club see McCord Museum, P161, Fonds Montreal Hunt Club.

²⁰ Day, *English America; or Pictures of Canadian Places and People*, Vol. 1, 170-73; Club des chasseurs de Québec, *Règlement du Club des chasseurs de Québec*.

²¹ Morissonneau, *La Société de Géographie de Québec 1877-1970*.

²² Canadian Society For the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Canadian Society For the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals*; Quebec Society For the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *Annual Report of the Quebec Society For the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals*.

city's protection club. Links were also strong between the Montreal Fish and Game Protection Club and the Natural History Society of Montreal, where nearly half of the protection club's supporters held memberships. Similar patterns in Quebec City saw protection club members participating in institutions including the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec and the Humane Society of Canada, formed in large part by Quebec City residents in 1864.²³

This loose network of civic associations supported the protection movement by various means. Common activities included holding public lectures on fish and game protection and related subjects; distributing copies of the fish and game laws; and petitioning with the protection clubs and on their own for changes to the fish and game acts. Some groups were more active than others. The SPCA, for example, brought significant attention to bear on animal cruelty, and remained a vocal proponent of the changing views of human-animal relations that were taking shape in Quebec and elsewhere. Though concerned primarily with domesticated animals, the society's vision was in fact much larger in scope. From its establishment in Canada in 1869, the SPCA lobbied unsuccessfully for a redefinition of animal cruelty in Canada's criminal code that would have seen legislation encompass cruelty to wild as well as domesticated animals. While the society remained unsuccessful on this front, its interest in the treatment of wildlife reflected the nineteenth century's changing sensibilities regarding animals more generally, and fit into contemporary concerns over cruel and wasteful hunting and fishing

²³ Montreal Fish and Game Protection Club, *Fifth Annual Report*, 7; Montreal Natural History Society, *Constitution and By-laws of the Natural History Society of Montreal*, 23-31; Canadian Society For the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Canadian Society For the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals*, 2, 8; Quebec Society For the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *Annual Report*, 3, 18-20; see also "An Act to Incorporate the Humane Society of Canada," *Statutes of the Province of Canada*, 27-28 Victoria, c. 146.

practices that took shape in other circles, most notably in the context of the period's loosely defined sportsmen's code of conduct.

Perhaps the most prominent association involved in the fish and game protection movement was the Natural History Society of Montreal. One of the oldest of such institutions in Quebec, the Natural History Society was formed in 1827, and drew its support from what Suzanne Zeller describes as Montreal's "professional, commercial, and largely (but not exclusively) English-speaking middle classes."²⁴ Interested in a wide range of subjects including mineralogy, zoology, and botany, the society supported a library and museum, sponsored public lectures, and published various scientific and other papers. From its beginnings in the late 1820s animals were a common topic of discussion, and the society's work to promote the protection of moose during the late 1850s made it in all likelihood the first organization in the province to address fish and game protection.²⁵ Indeed, the Natural History Society of Montreal seems to have played a major role in the establishment of the Montreal Fish and Game Protection Club, as nearly a quarter of the members who took part in the establishment of the protection club were members of the Natural History Society. During the 1860s in particular the society devoted considerable attention to the fish and game laws, and its fish and game committee worked both separately and in conjunction with the Montreal Fish and Game Protection Club to establish more effective fish and game legislation.

We get a sense of the patrician culture that permeated these networks through an individual like William Rhodes (see figure 1.4). An active member and president of the

²⁴ Zeller, *Inventing Canada: Early Victorian Science and the Idea of a Transcontinental Nation*, 31.

²⁵ Martin, *La chasse au Québec*, 72.



Figure 1.4. William Rhodes, 1867. Unlike the many men who posed in photographer William Notman's Montreal studio for Notman and Fennings Taylor's *Portraits of British Americans*, Rhodes was the subject of an elaborate photo shoot celebrating his renown as a sports hunter. Feudal and religious overtones marking Rhodes' social status in relation to his guide are hard to miss despite the abundance of winter hunting paraphernalia. The series from which this photograph is taken can be found in the McCord Museum's Notman Photographic Archives; this particular shot is #1-19310.1. Source: Notman and Taylor, "Lieutenant-Colonel William Rhodes," *Portraits of British Americans, With Biographical Sketches*, vol. 2, 39.

Fish and Game Protection Club of Lower Canada (1861-2, 1864-68), Rhodes was well known in Quebec for his hunting activities, and historians have recently linked these activities more broadly to questions of sport, masculinity, and nation-building.²⁶ What has received less attention is how Rhodes' interest in hunting was closely connected to his other material and intellectual interests. From his arrival in Quebec in the 1840s to his death in 1892, Rhodes lived as close a life to that of the English gentry as was possible in North America. Originally from the Yorkshire countryside, Rhodes was a captain in the British military, and served in the Quebec City garrison during the early 1840s. In 1847 Rhodes retired and returned to Quebec, where he married Anne Catherine Dunn, granddaughter of Superior Court Judge and seigneur Thomas Dunn. The couple moved into the Benmore estate in Sillery, a suburban retreat perched above the timber wharves outside Quebec City where several Quebec elites resided. Neighbour and friend James MacPherson LeMoine's 1864 description of the Benmore estate is a good indication of the patrician identity Rhodes cultivated. "Benmore nestles cosily in a pine grove on the banks of the great river," LeMoine began,

the type of an English Country gentleman's homestead. In front of the house, a spacious piazza, from which you can watch the river craft; in the vast surrounding meadows, a goodly array of fat Durhams and Ayrshires; in the farm-yard, short-legged Berkshires squeaking merrily in the

²⁶ For recent work on Rhodes see Schwartz, "William Notman's Hunting Photographs, 1866 / Les photographies de chasse de William Notman, 1866." See also Poulter, "Becoming Native in a Foreign Land," 121-208.

distance; rosy-cheeked boys romping on the lawn, surrounded by pointers and setters.²⁷

It was from here that Rhodes gained a reputation as a proponent of agricultural improvement. Constantly engaged in agricultural and horticultural experiments on his estate in Sillery, his activities ranged from growing strawberries in winter to importing sparrows for their agricultural benefits.²⁸ Outside of agriculture, Rhodes' economic interests were far ranging, and included investments in land, rail, and banking. In politics, he served as MP for the county of Megantic from 1854 to 1858, and was elected to the provincial legislature in 1888, when he was appointed Commissioner of Agriculture in Liberal premier (1887-1891) Honoré Mercier's cabinet. In Rhodes' 1892 obituary, Lemoine described him as an advocate of "improvements in farm stock in the tillage of the soil, the creation of butter and cheese factories over the length and breadth of the land, [and] the opening of colonization roads"; in addition to hunting, his leisure time was "devoted to his birds, flowers, fruit farm, and to travel."²⁹ Rhodes' photo albums, his pedigree, and his other personal papers point to a man with a deep connection to British politics and culture, to family and tradition, and to a sense of leadership, duty, and progress typical of his patrician identity. In sum, we find in Rhodes and others like him a vision of wildlife that was not limited to sport or to a sportsman's code of conduct, but was embedded in more extensive political, economic, and social interests, and found expression in a variety of associational contexts.

²⁷ LeMoine, *Picturesque Quebec*, 364.

²⁸ On Rhodes' agricultural and horticultural activities see for example LeMoine, *Picturesque Quebec*; see also MRB, Rhodes/Tudor-Hart Collection, Box 2/41, unmarked newsclipping.

²⁹ James MacPherson Lemoine, "The Late Hon. Col. W. Rhodes," *Quebec Morning Chronicle* 20 February 1892, 2.

Estates of Nature

Among other things, Rhodes demonstrates the remarkably rural worldview held by many of Quebec's patricians. Their investments in industrial capitalism took shape in the context of an agricultural vision of social and economic development that included farm ownership, agricultural and horticultural production, and stock-breeding, and a general concern with productivity as well as an aversion to waste. Informed in large part by landed and estate-based forms of power, this vision underpinned the province's fish and game protection movement to a considerable degree. For improvement-minded patricians, fish and game resources were the product of a soil unsuitable for agriculture, a product that, as one anonymous proponent argued, "requires neither expense to maintain nor labor to cultivate, but needs only to be judiciously managed to improve its capabilities."³⁰ As such, they offered a means by which society could make lands with little or no agricultural value productive. As the above author explained in regards to the lower St. Lawrence's salmon fishery,

The salmon will make flesh more rapidly than any cake-fed ox or stye-fed pig; he will add pound after pound to his own substance for our use and consumption. Born and nursed in streams whose banks are clothed with the habitations of man, from whom he demands neither attendance nor care, he will descend to the ocean, and there, in rich pastures, fatten and return, offering himself again and again for capture, without cost for maintenance or transport.³¹

³⁰ *Practical Notes on the Legislation for the Fisheries of the St. Lawrence*, 11.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 5.

Comparisons between agriculture and fish and game resources such as these formed a key part of the thinking that lay behind the protection movement during its first decades. Protection advocates, it must be emphasized, did not set out to 'protect' these species in any simple sense of the term, but to put in place a management strategy that would increase the quality and quantity of the province's fish and game resources. The stated objective of the Quebec City protection club was to devise "means of saving from further destruction these valuable articles of food, and of taking steps towards restoring that abundance which prevailed in former days."³² Montreal club members argued similarly that the province's fish and game resources had the potential to become "a large and valuable portion of the food of the people," one that "by proper management, could be made almost inexhaustible."³³ While considerable attention has been paid to importance of sporting interests to the establishment of conservation strategies during the nineteenth century, it remains misleading to assume that the members of the province's protection clubs were all sportsmen. Protection advocates, it is clear, were thinking in much bigger terms.

This broader vision helps to explain the protection clubs' support of commercial and subsistence hunting and fishing. Following the rebellions of 1837-38 the Quebec state, the Catholic Clergy, and capitalist interests were all promoting an agriculture-based colonization policy designed to populate the unsettled regions of the province, and fish and game resources became an important part of that project's success. In the words of one protection advocate, "A good supply of Fish, or even of Game, affords an

³² Fish and Game Protection Club of Lower Canada, *Report, Constitution and By-Laws of the Fish and Game Protection Club of Lower Canada*, 3.

³³ Montreal Fish and Game Protection Club, *Fifth Annual Report of the Montreal Fish and Game Protection Club*, 3.

inducement to the intending settler, to make himself a home in the localities where such food abounds.”³⁴ This was particularly true in the case of settlers who found themselves occupying lands of minimal agricultural value. As federal fishery overseer Alfred Blais noted in 1871 during operations on the south shore of the St. Lawrence below Quebec City, “many new settlers are induced to locate on wild lands where no means of communication exist, in consequence of the lakes being full of trout, from which circumstance they can always rely on a sure yield of food until their farms are in a condition to support them.”³⁵ The Fish and Game Protection Club of Lower Canada made a similar argument in 1867, when it pointed out that the lakes in the region north of Quebec City “contribute to the support of the poorer inhabitants in their vicinity” and that any threat to their “local source of food is calculated to render that region less inviting, and to discourage intending settlers.”³⁶ Properly managed, fish and game resources would help both to stabilize settlement and to encourage social order.

In thinking up strategies to regulate these resources, protection advocates did not look to the United States, but across the Atlantic to Britain, and in particular to Scotland. This connection is not surprising, for Scotland like Quebec boasted considerable opportunities for sportsmen, most notably for those willing to pay for the privilege of deer hunting or salmon angling on private estates. Indeed, it is important to recognize the degree to which Scotland’s fish and game resources resembled those found in Quebec –

³⁴ *Practical Notes on the Legislation For the Fisheries of the St. Lawrence*, 3.

³⁵ CSP, 1871, no. 5, “Third Annual Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries, Year Ending 30th June, 1870,” “Synopsis of Fishery Overseers’ and Guardians, Reports in the Province of Quebec, For the Season of 1870,” Alfred Blais, “South Shore Division, From Quebec To Cape Chatte,” Appendix H, 262-63: 262-63.

³⁶ “Annual Report of the Fish and Game Protection Club For 1867,” *Quebec Morning Chronicle* 8 February 1868, 2.

far more so, for example, than those of Australia or New Zealand, where British emigrants found species compositions entirely different from those at home. Unlike in Australia or New Zealand, British emigrants who chose to settle in Quebec encountered species with which they were already relatively familiar, and which they readily incorporated into pre-existing cultural and material frameworks.

The importance of developments in Scotland to protection advocates in Quebec is immediately apparent in regards to Scotland's salmon fisheries, which as elsewhere in Britain were becoming increasingly subject to state and private regulation. Proponents of salmon protection made frequent comparisons to the salmon rivers of Britain, and particularly those of Scotland, where landlords such as Earl of Mansfield on the Tay were observing pisciculture practices in France and Ireland and adapting them to their own waters.³⁷ As one supporter explained in 1856 to members of the Canadian Institute, a Toronto-based scientific association formed in 1849, "In well regulated salmon fisheries in Europe, the fish – by the construction of proper weirs and reservoirs – are almost as much under the control of the managers as the sheep on their farms or the fowl in their poultry-yards."³⁸ The protection clubs too made frequent use of such examples. Citing high employment rates, wages, and rental income, the Quebec City protection club noted that the Tay, which by 1852 boasted Britain's largest fish breeding operation, "produces a much larger yield of salmon, every year, than do all the rivers and coasts of Canada put together after ten years of official protection."³⁹ Prohibitions in the United Kingdom on

³⁷ See for example Nettle, *The Salmon Fisheries of the St. Lawrence and its Tributaries*, 9, 27-28.

³⁸ Adamson, "The Decrease, Restoration and Preservation of Salmon in Canada," 110.

³⁹ "Annual Report of the Fish and Game Protection Club For 1867," *Quebec Morning Chronicle* 8 February 1868: 2; see also Nettle, *The Salmon Fisheries*.

commercial methods of capture such as the use of fixed engines were similarly touted as examples to follow on the St. Lawrence, which critics were fond of pointing out was subject to no end of highly destructive fishing practices.⁴⁰

This was no less true in regards to deer hunting, which during the nineteenth century became a significant part of Scottish landowning culture and capital. Protection advocates were familiar with the growing popularity in Scotland during the latter half of the century of hunting leases, in particular leases for deer hunting, a practice that saw sporting tenants replacing sheep farmers in the western highlands to such an extent that by the latter part of the century landlords in the region were drawing as much as 70% of their income from sporting leases.⁴¹ Such estate-based regulatory strategies came up regularly in discussions of fish and game protection. “The bijou marsh, formerly an excellent hunting ground, under the St. Foy heights [a Quebec City suburb], is pretty well destroyed at present for game purposes,” LeMoine argued in a comparison of sport in Britain and Canada. “What a splendid preserve the Bijou would become in the hands of an English millionaire!” When applied to game in the province, such strategies could produce good results. LeMoine observed such in the case of

a hunting ground not one hundred miles from Quebec, in which the protection of game has been strikingly exemplified. None but the proprietors have access to this preserve, in which *Outardes* and ducks assemble in astonishing multitudes. Recently two men shot fifty wild geese there in two days. The place is a source of revenue to its owners,

⁴⁰ See for example “Report of the Fish and Game Protection Club For the Year 1864,” *Quebec Morning Chronicle* 8 February 1865: 1-2.

⁴¹ Orr, *Deer Forests, Landlords and Crofters: The Western Highlands in Victorian and Edwardian Times*.

and those birds which are not sent to market are salted and preserved for the farm servants' daily use.⁴²

Of course, comparisons between Scotland and Quebec did not always favour Scotland. Quebec, after all, boasted a wildlife base far in excess of that found anywhere in Britain, Scotland included. What is more, the province's fish and game remained far more accessible than those of Scotland, where restrictions in the form of class, land ownership, and sporting privilege were far more pervasive. While Britain's rural estate-based management strategies presented a model for Quebec's protection advocates, this model nonetheless had to be adapted to its New World circumstances.

Social Implications of Protection

Illegal hunting and fishing, or 'poaching' as it is commonly known, was a rights-based definition that patricians in Quebec had to reformulate and to adjust constantly to fit the province's changing social and environmental conditions. This did not prove easy. For the establishment during the late 1850s of comprehensive fish and game legislation was not only a major step towards the protection of fish and game. It was also a move that criminalized the activities of commercial and subsistence hunters and fishers, some of whom were long accustomed to using these resources (see figure 1.5). In doing so, the new laws marginalized a way of life in which fish and game played an important role. In their attempts to make legislation palatable, protection advocates tried to paint their work with a broad brush. To this end, they fully acknowledged the role of Europeans as well as aboriginals, of sportsmen as well as subsistence and commercial users, and of elites as well the poor, in the depletion of the province's fish and game

⁴² James MacPherson LeMoine, "Fin and Feather in Canada," *Quebec Mercury* 14 October 1862, 2.

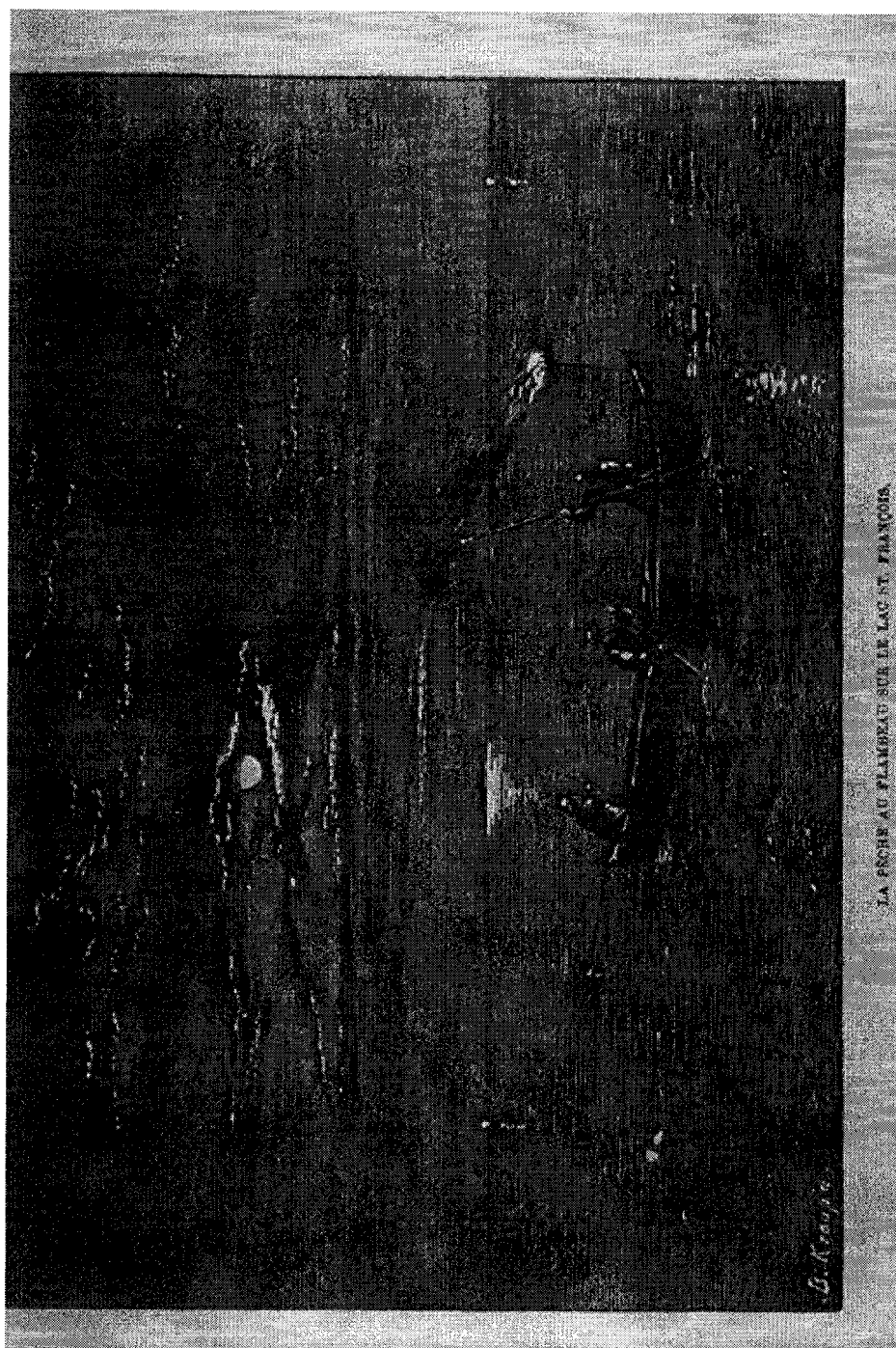


Figure 1.5. “La pêche au flambeau sur le lac St. François,” 1872. While protection advocates sought to prohibit destructive and ‘unsporting’ methods of hunting and fishing, strategies such as torchlight fishing nevertheless remained a popular and effective method of capture in rural Quebec.

Source: *L'Opinion publique*, 3 41 (10 octobre 1872): 485.

resources. "Revert to the almost fabulous abundance of former years in this region," members of the Quebec City protection club argued,

and consider in how short a time, and with how sparse a population that abundance has been reduced to comparative scarcity. We are then led to confess, that the civilized white man with his thoughtless desire for wholesale sport, or rather destruction, has proved a more inconsiderate enemy to the Fish and Game, than the reckless and wasteful red Indian of the forest.⁴³

Such assertions aside, the province's system of protection was deeply biased. This was true of both seasonal regulations, which preserved opportunities for sports hunters and fishers but placed severe limits on those dependent on fish and game at other times of the year; and of angling leases on salmon rivers, which amounted to an estate-based form of enclosure, complete with absentee landlords and private guardianship.⁴⁴

One does not have to go far to see how this vision of fish and game protection took shape. As noted above, the protection movement was as much about establishing social order as it was about protecting fish and game resources. To a considerable degree, the protection of fish and game resources involved replacing a hunting and gathering mode of production with one that would better reflect values associated with rural, agriculture-based society. Crown Lands agent W. F. Whitcher captured much of the thinking that lay behind the movement in his 1858 report on the lower St. Lawrence

⁴³ "Report of the Committee of the Fish and Game Protection Club For 1858," *Quebec Morning Chronicle* 19 February 1859, 1.

⁴⁴ Close seasons were based on the argument that fish and game needed protection during periods of reproduction as well as the fact that during other seasons they were less healthy and thus of poor quality as food or fur.

salmon fisheries. "Indiscriminate free fishing here is productive of many social evils," he began:

The custom affords facilities and abounds with temptations to lead dissolute and lazy lives. I could point out frequent examples of able-bodied men having thereby lapsed into an improvident and idle existence. Individuals who might earn for themselves and families the comforts and competence which reward industrious perseverance in agricultural pursuits (despite all rigors of climate and inferiority of soil) now wile away the precious seasons in half-starved and pseudo-savage indolence. Enticed by habit, or tempted by (too often illusory) hopes of speedier gain, many forsake their farms and waste their little labor on a precarious fishery, to properly work which they have neither means nor energy. When winter arrives they are reduced to want, and leaving their shivering families to brave out impending starvation, some betake themselves to the companionship of Indian hunters, and the mingled excitement, toil and idleness of the trapper's winter campaign.⁴⁵

There was probably some truth to Whitcher's description. But it is also clear that for protection advocates, hunting and gathering constituted an inferior way of life. In the case of ocean-based fisheries, patrician and state interests alike sought the development of regulated commercial operations. In the case of fish in inland waters and game in general, though, protection advocates viewed these resources not as the basis of a viable

⁴⁵ *JLAPC*, 1859, 22 Victoria, no. 17, "Report of the Commissioner of Crown Lands, of Canada, for the Year 1858," Appendix T2, "Abridged Report of the Superintendent of Fisheries for Lower Canada, for the Year Ending December, 1858," W. F. Whitcher, "Mr. Whitcher's Report."

means of production, but rather as a crutch for settlement. Such resources would, they believed, serve as temporary supplements in rural regions to agriculture, forest and fishery-based economic strategies. This vision, deeply connected to issues of improvement and of social order, underpinned the deliberate and systematic effort to destroy what many within the fish and game protection movement perceived to be an outdated mode of production.

Given this view, it comes as no surprise that those most threatened by the new regulatory program were the province's aboriginal populations. Fish and game legislation passed during the late 1850s placed restrictions on aboriginal hunting and fishing that flew in the face of the economy of sale, barter and gift exchange that had informed aboriginal and aboriginal-European relations for centuries. This would soon change, however. Passage in 1857 of the colony's first avowedly assimilationist legislation – "an Act to encourage the gradual civilization of the Indians in this Province, and to amend the laws respecting Indians" – established in formal terms what John L. Tobias describes as a contradictory and deeply paternal set of goals involving the "protection, civilization, and assimilation" of Canada's aboriginal populations.⁴⁶ Aiming at once to protect aboriginals from abuse of the part of Euro-North Americans and to integrate them more closely into the Euro-North American society, this set of goals would become the basis of colonial and later federal and provincial approaches to Canada's aboriginal populations. The beginnings of this transformation as it related to aboriginal reliance on fish and game are readily apparent in the Lower Canada Game Act

⁴⁶ Tobias, "Protection, Civilization, Assimilation: An Outline History of Canada's Indian Policy," 127; see also Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada*, 138-44.

of 1858, which transformed the legal status of Quebec's aboriginals in regards to wildlife resources. To this point, respect for the unique and longstanding relationship of aboriginals to fish and game had been maintained through exemptions from Lower Canada's game laws.⁴⁷ By the late 1850s, though, arguments in support of aboriginal exemptions from the game laws were wearing thin. Confirmation of this status in legislation passed in 1857 enraged many within Montreal and Quebec City's associational networks, and served as a catalyst for the formation of both cities' protection clubs. In February 1858 the newly established Quebec City protection club attacked colonial legislators over the ongoing exemptions:

The Acts of Parliament now in force do not apply to the aborigines of the country, and your committee would be sorry to advise any interference with the just rights of any body of individuals, but the conduct and proceedings of the Indians are such, that it is utterly impossible for the Legislature if it has any regard for their true interests, to exempt them from the operation of the Acts applying to all others of Her Majesty's subjects.

It is a well known fact that immediately after the young Moose and Deer are brought forth, hundreds of the parent animals are mercilessly slaughtered by the Indians, solely for the sake of their skins. The carcasses are left to rot in the woods and on the borders of lakes. It never was the intention of the Legislature to countenance such proceedings, the exemption in favor of the savages was to allow them to kill for food, but

⁴⁷ "An Act to consolidate and amend the laws relating to the hunting of wild animals and other game in Lower Canada," *Statutes of Canada*, 1857, 20 Victoria, c. 51, s. 8.

when they thus abuse one of God's greatest gifts, and destroy life, solely for the purpose of procuring alcoholic liquor, leaving thousands of pounds of meat to decay in the woods, we are of opinion that their privileges, which now allow them a latitude of which they have shewn themselves unworthy, should be abolished, and that they should be brought down to the level of other citizens.

In fact the tenderness shewn, and the exclusive rights granted, act as incentives on the Indians, to persist in their present idle, useless and uncivilized modes of life.⁴⁸

Legislators responded quickly to the club's concerns and the broader transformation underway in regards to aboriginal rights and privileges. The 1858 Game Act, passed the following August, presented an interpretation of aboriginal hunting rights far more limited in scope than the blanket exemptions of the past. "This Act shall not be held to preclude the Indians," it explained,

from killing or possessing any species of game, eggs, wild fowl or animals mentioned therein, provided the same can by reasonable presumption be deemed to be for their own immediate and personal use and consumption, but in no wise intended nor offered for sale, barter or gift, either within the Province of Canada or in any other country; and the burden of furnishing evidence of such reasonable presumption shall lie upon such Indians.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Fish and Game Protection Club of Lower Canada, *Report, Constitution and By-Laws of the Fish and Game Protection Club of Lower Canada*, 5-6.

⁴⁹ "The Lower Canada Game Act," *Statutes of Canada*, 22 Victoria, 1858, c.102.

Such arguments were integral to patrician views regarding the inferior nature of aboriginal hunting and gathering practices. Not surprisingly, their vision of improvement encompassed considerations ranging from interest in animal welfare to concerns regarding cruelty, productivity, waste and social order, all of which bore the stamp of Protestantism. In its deepest sense, the project of improvement that took shape in the context of fish and game protection was a civilizing project. Protection advocates had little room for a hunter-gatherer economy it deemed barbaric, but sought rather to transform this uncivilized mode of production – be it in the case of aboriginals or Euro-North American inhabitants – into one that matched their vision of society. In this sense, the fish and game protection movement of the mid-nineteenth century was both a paternal gesture that aimed to address the problems associated with commercial and subsistence use of fish and game and a vicious attack on a rural populace whose livelihood depended on these resources. In the case of aboriginals in particular, the new regulatory system of the 1850s, 1860s and 1870s offered little hope that these practices would survive.

Protection in Practice

It did not take long for the supporters of fish and game protection to discover how difficult it would be to put their ideas into practice. Following Confederation, enforcement work was being provided by two levels of government, by angling lessees obliged by the terms of their contract to hire guardians, and by the fish and game clubs, which hired their own wardens and detectives and pursued private prosecutions. Added to this array of overseers, gamekeepers, and private guardians were police and special constables from local communities as well as provincial bush rangers and other forest-based employees whose job descriptions included enforcement of the fish and game laws.

And yet, despite the new fish and game laws, despite the employment of authorities to enforce these laws, and despite increasing public support for protection, poachers continued their work. Quebec's rural and wilderness-based population continued to take fish and game for personal consumption, and in the case of commercial activities to move their produce by the barrel and the cartload, selling it openly during close seasons in village markets, along rail lines, and clandestinely in larger urban centres.⁵⁰ In the Ottawa region federal fishery overseer W. L. Holland described "a merciless destruction of game; four hundred moose and one hundred deer were said to have been slaughtered for their heads and hides, the carcasses being left a prey for wolves."⁵¹ Illegal sporting activities too remained thoroughly integrated into town and country life, so much so that it is difficult to draw distinct lines between commercial, subsistence, and sporting practices. Federal fishery overseer Hugh W. Austin complained in 1874 that the falls on the St. Francis River outside Drummondville

have long been noted as the resort of all the poachers in the neighborhood, and at the time the salmon are running it is a common thing to see the falls lined with men bearing spears, who take with them every fish within their reach; indeed so systematic is their persecution of the salmon that wooden

⁵⁰ See for example "Annual Report of the Fish and Game Protection Club For 1867" *Quebec Morning Chronicle* 8 February 1868, 2.

⁵¹ CSP, 1872, no. 5, "Fourth Annual Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries For Year Ending 30th June, 1871," "Synopsis of Fishery Overseers' and Guardians' Reports in the Province of Quebec, For the Season of 1871," Report of W. L. Holland, Appendix H, 66-75: 75.

stages are erected over the favorite resting places, from which point many fish are killed, and several wounded.⁵²

That locals conducted these activities in such an open manner speaks loudly to the status of the protection movement in the province. Opposition to the fish and game laws extended far beyond the poachers who broke them, and it is clear that the interest of protection advocates in establishing social order was not easily translated at the local level. For while locals too were interested in social order, they did not always agree on the means by which such order was to be established. At the local level, ensuring order often meant allowing access to fish and game resources despite the demands of outside institutions. While in some cases this was a practical means of avoiding local conflict, such opposition was often grounded in the belief amongst locals in tradition, in residents' rights of access, and in resentment of outside interference. The lawyer for a group of poachers in the Eastern Townships described this sentiment well, pointing out that the court's "duty was a most unpopular one," for "the inhabitants looked upon the fish in their Lake as free to them as the air they breathed," and adding that he could "easily collect a hundred men in the county, who would gladly join in throwing [the prosecution] in the Lake."⁵³ As for state and private authorities charged with enforcing the fish and game laws, they often found that their relationship to the local community trumped the demands of their job, and it was not difficult for them to turn a blind eye to such activities

⁵² CSP, 1875, no. 5, "Seventh Annual Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries, Being for the Fiscal Year Ended 30th June, 1874," "Synopsis of Fishery Overseers, and Guardians' Reports in the Province of Quebec For the Season of 1874," Hugh W. Austin, "Special Report on River St. Francis," Appendix no. 9, 111-113: 112.

⁵³ CSP, 1876, no. 5, "Eighth Annual Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries For the Year Ending 31st December 1875," "Synopsis of Fishery Overseers' and Guardians' Reports in the Province of Quebec For the Year 1875," W. H. Austin, "Special Report on Lake Memphremagog Division," Appendix no. 9, 146-48: 147-48.

or even to engage in illegal hunting and fishing themselves. Throughout the rural regions of the province, protection advocates came up against a wall of local complicity.

Given these conditions, supporters of fish and game protection held little hope during the 1860s and 1870s that enforcement work in rural regions would have a major impact on illegal hunting and fishing. This was particularly true in the case of the protection clubs. From the beginning both the Montreal and Quebec City clubs concluded that the most practical way to confront poaching was to tackle it from the demand end rather than that of supply – in other words, to shut down the urban market. “The readiest and most effectual way of laying the axe to the root of these great and growing evils,” the Quebec City club pointed out in 1858, “would be to punish severely the receivers of game or fish killed out of season. Market Hucksters are the chief parties who profit by the illegal acts of the pot-hunter, and if it is impossible for the latter to obtain a market for his spoils, he will soon abandon his unprofitable pursuits.”⁵⁴ Members of the Montreal Club concurred: “It is really in the markets of large cities that the battle has to be fought, for it is almost impossible, for many reasons, to reach the first offender in country places. Stop the sale of his illicit wares, however, and you will do much to cure the evil.”⁵⁵

To accomplish this, the protection clubs set out on a vigorous campaign. During the 1860s and 1870s they sent patrols through city markets and offered rewards to private prosecutors who secured a conviction under the fish and game laws. Likewise the clubs pushed municipal governments to cancel the licences of anyone caught selling fish and

⁵⁴ Fish and Game Protection Club of Lower Canada, *Report, Constitution and By-Laws of the Fish and Game Protection Club of Lower Canada*, 5

⁵⁵ Montreal Fish and Game Protection Club, *Fifth Annual Report of the Montreal Fish and Game Protection Club*, 3.

game out of season, and urged market clerks to enforce existing by-laws and to report any offences they witnessed.⁵⁶ Hotels, restaurants, and social clubs where fish and game were served were also targets, and the conviction early in the campaign of some high profile institutions helped to publicize the cause.⁵⁷ These efforts seemed to have an effect, and by the 1880s the Montreal Fish and Game Club was reporting that “the sale of fish and game illegally killed has become very rare in Montreal, and that the club is now in a better position to carry their prosecutions into the more distant districts of the province”⁵⁸

The regulation of rural activities, though, demanded another strategy. Again, patrician sensibilities served the movement well. As in the case of the urban poor, it became commonplace to divide poachers into two categories: the *deserving* poor, those whose poaching activities were motivated by subsistence needs, poverty or ignorance; and the *undeserving*, those idle, aggressive, or persistent lawbreakers whose activities represented more serious challenges to social order. In the case of the latter, as we will see, patricians relied on public campaigns and if possible more aggressive action, intended primarily to make an example of the worst offenders.

In the case of the deserving poor, protection advocates took a benevolent stance. To this end authorities routinely warned rather than charged offenders, and often dropped charges and remitted fines in instances in which they identified poverty or ignorance of

⁵⁶ Fish and Game Protection Club of Lower Canada, *Report, Constitution and By-Laws of the Fish and Game Protection Club of Lower Canada*, 5.

⁵⁷ McCord Museum, P559, Fonds Province of Quebec Association For the Protection of Fish and Game, *Minutes of Meetings of a Club for the Protection and Preservation of the Fish and Game of Lower Canada, held in Montreal, February 23, 1859, to June 2, 1875*, 16 April 1864.

⁵⁸ “The Fish and Game Protection Society,” *Montreal Gazette* 16 January 1882, 2.

the law as mitigating factors. Even an ardent protection advocate and prosecutor such as Lower Canada Fisheries superintendent Richard Nettle was persuaded that the cause of protection was better served by flexibility than by the rigorous application of the law. In the summer of 1857 Nettle brought to the Quebec City courts one of his first cases, that of Elere Dubuc, whom he charged with spearing salmon by torchlight. In Nettle's description of the trial, Dubuc "appeared, pleaded guilty to the offence, and as he promised not to offend again by any breach of the law, he was fined in the lesser penalty – two pounds and costs – which fine I take the liberty to recommend to be remitted, the complainant having also consented to remit his portion of the fine, one half, which the law entitles him to receive."⁵⁹ Such actions were routine for both state and civic authorities.

Gift-giving was another common practice. A charitable activity that played an important role in maintaining social order and deferential relations in urban and rural regions alike, it was nothing new to patricians. The Montreal Hunt Club, for example, had long employed such practices in order to maintain good relations with farmers. Charitable activities such as the donation of bulls to local agricultural societies or the organization of horse races helped to ensure fox hunters' continued access to farmlands, to encourage farmers to keep their fields free of barbed wire and other hazards to the hunt, and to smooth over potential conflicts in cases of property damage caused by club members. To the same end patricians routinely passed on to locals surpluses taken during their sporting excursions. Anglers on the Cascapedia River who "behaved in a

⁵⁹ *JLAPC*, 1858, 21 Victoria, no. 15, "Report of the Commissioner of Crown Lands of Canada, For the Year 1857," Richard Nettle, "Report Ending September 24th, 1857," Appendix U.

most liberal manner towards the residents, dividing the greatest portion of their catch with them” were not at all unusual.⁶⁰ Such forms of benevolence were even built into the province’s game legislation. The 1858 Game Act ordered that all fish and game seized were to be “appropriated... to purposes of charity,” and representatives of both the state and the protection clubs happily turned over fish and game to charities, hospitals, and local residents.⁶¹

Such actions had a number of purposes. For one, protection advocates found in their philanthropic endeavours a means of justifying catches and kills that far exceeded their personal needs. As such, charity was as much a benevolent activity as a vehicle by which patricians could rationalize their own wasteful and unproductive use of fish and game. At a more complex level, the benevolence of patricians and the state combined with the ability of local overseers, guardians, lessees, and clubs to pardon or punish to give the protection movement an arbitrary, uncertain character, one that fed on deference and respect on the part of those deserving poor, who could alternately be released or be subject to fines or jail sentences for the simplest of poaching activities. Such strategies helped to temper the reaction of local populations to the fish and game laws, and in doing so to divide opposition between casual and more determined offenders.

That said, one must take care not to exaggerate the power of patricians. For all of their legal, political, social, military, and economic authority, the fish and game protection movement of the 1850s, 1860s, and 1870s can also be interpreted as a

⁶⁰ CSP, 1875, no. 5, “Seventh Annual Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries, Being For the Fiscal Year Ended 30th June, 1874,” “Synopsis of Fishery Overseers’ and Guardians’ Reports in the Province of Quebec For the Season of 1874,” R. W. Dimock, “Casapedia Division,” Appendix no. 9, 101-02: 102.

⁶¹ “The Lower Canada Game Act,” *Statutes of Canada*, 22 Victoria, 1858, c. 102, s. 10.

pragmatic approach to a situation of lawlessness and disorder in which they held only a limited amount of control. As we will see in the next chapter, protection advocates were forced constantly to balance their goals regarding fish and game protection with the realities of rural life, and this necessitated a considerable degree of flexibility, compromise, and negotiation.

Conclusion

In sum, the regulatory regime that took shape between 1850 and 1880 was a relatively sudden, hard-line approach that was guided to a large extent by the broad-based vision of improvement that underpinned patricians' views of society and the environment. Despite elements of racism and ethnic bias, the protection movement of the 1850s, 1860s, and 1870s remained at its base a class attack on what supporters determined to be an outdated mode of production. Affecting the region's European as well as aboriginal populations, this approach to conservation was already well advanced in Britain, where patricians had been undermining traditional forms of labour and land use in the name of improvement for some time. Still, the difference between establishing regulatory legislation and putting this system into practice was considerable. Throughout the period in question there remained a significant gap between the regulatory system envisioned by protection advocates and those rural inhabitants who continued to hunt, to fish, and to voice their opposition to the laws that were taking shape.

Chapter Two:

Regulation and Resistance on the Lower St Lawrence

Nothing will tend so much to the preservation and proper development of the Salmon Fisheries, as a careful and systematic leasing and licensing... although it may give rise to a little unpleasantness in a few instances, on the part of those who imagine they have some squatter right.

Richard Nettle, "Abridged Report of the Superintendent of Fisheries, For Lower Canada, For the Year Ending December, 1858," *JLAPC*, 1859¹

The Lower St. Lawrence: Society and Environment

The most serious challenges that the protection movement faced during the 1850s, 1860s, and 1870s were the salmon rivers of the lower St. Lawrence. "There can be but little doubt," William Agar Adamson summarized during an 1856 lecture read before the Canadian Institute

that many of the salmon streams in Lower Canada would be as productive, under proper management, as rivers in Europe for which large annual rents are paid; but it must be admitted that the great distance at which they are situated from civilization, the want of the means of intercourse between them and the inhabited parts of the country, the liability to trespass by armed ruffians, and the dreadful rigor of the climate in winter, present very serious obstacles to those who might wish to undertake such management.²

The bulk of the rivers to which Adamson pointed were located on the St. Lawrence's north shore and Gaspé peninsula, some of the most remote regions of the province (see figure 2.1). At the time Adamson was giving his lecture neither were easily traversed.

¹ *JLAPC*, 1859, 22 Victoria, no. 17, "Report of the Commissioner of Crown Lands, of Canada, For the Year 1858," Richard Nettle, "Abridged Report of the Superintendent of Fisheries, For Lower Canada, For the Year Ending December, 1858," Appendix T2.

² Adamson, "The Decrease, Restoration and Preservation of Salmon in Canada," 111-12.

Travel on the few roads that existed was difficult, and given seasonal conditions often impossible. By the 1860s rail brought travelers to south shore destinations such as Cacouna, and tourist boats carried passengers downriver from Montreal and Quebec City to Tadoussac at the mouth of the Saguenay River. But the Intercolonial railway did not reach the western limits of the Gaspé peninsula until the 1870s, and even then the north shore remained accessible only by water. To reach the latter region in particular from Montreal or Quebec City, one had to travel by private yacht, chartered schooner, or one of the many commercial or state vessels operating on the St. Lawrence River. As the transition from sail to steam took place slowly during these decades, such adventures could prove arduous. Thinly populated, the north shore and Gaspé peninsula were home to a diverse array of permanent, seasonal, and transient inhabitants. Agriculture, forestry, and fishing were the region's major economic activities. The township of Percé, located on the eastern tip of the Gaspé peninsula just south of the Dartmouth, York, and St. Jean Rivers, held the largest population in the region, with just over 2000 residents. On the Gaspé's south side, where the Cascapedia, Bonaventure, Restigouche, and Matapedia Rivers entered the Baie de Chaleurs, were a handful of agricultural and fishing communities. The north shore, where the Godbout, Moisie, Natashquan and other major salmon rivers are found, remained even more sparsely populated. Here permanent residents numbered in the hundreds, and the most prominent authorities were the officers and employees of the Hudson Bay Company who worked out of the Kings' Posts, trading stations located at the mouths of a number of major rivers. Cod, mackerel, herring, seals and whales formed with salmon an important part of the lower St. Lawrence's fishing

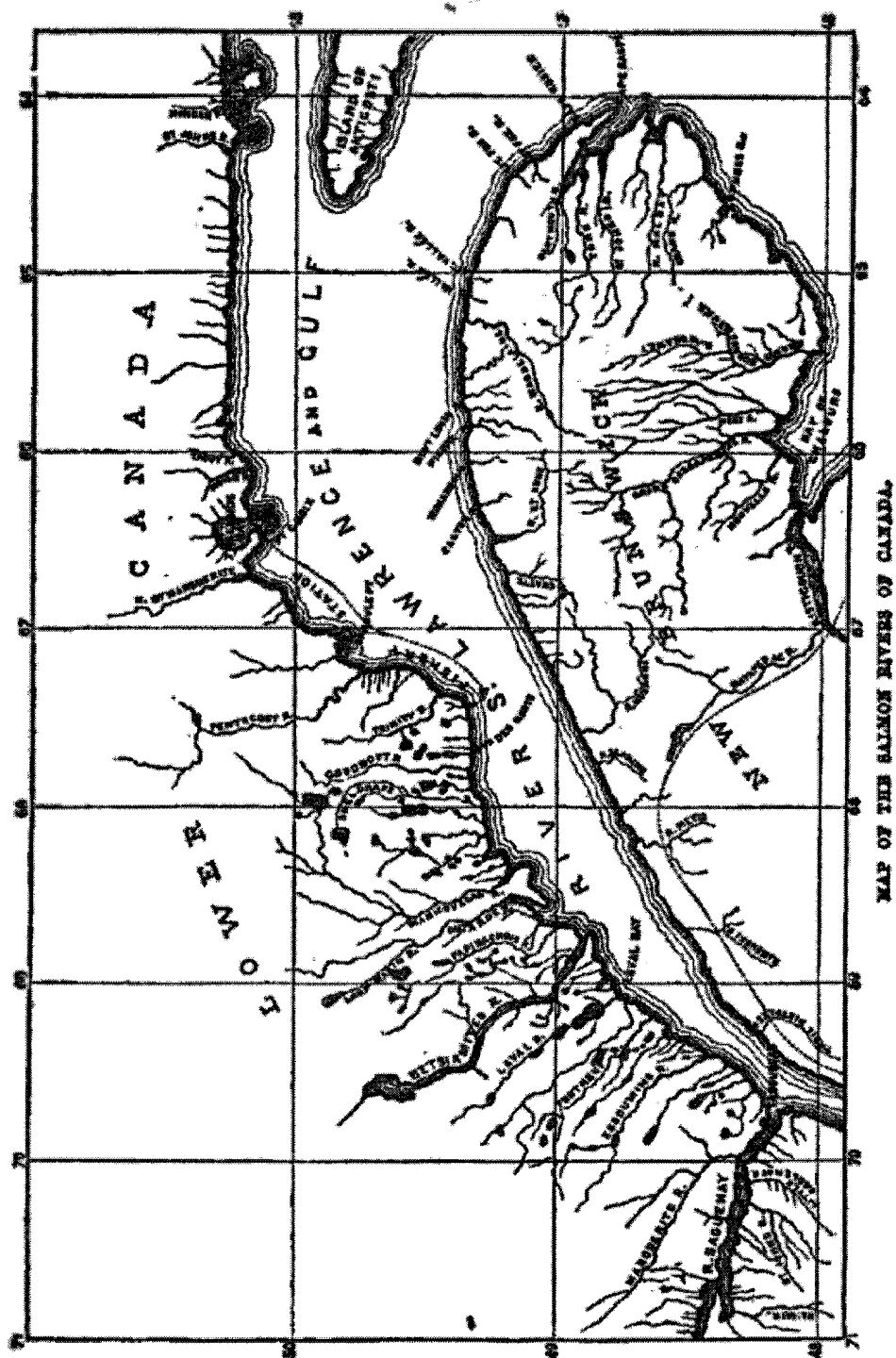


Figure 2.1. Map of the Salmon Rivers of Canada, 1860. Quebec's north shore and Gaspé peninsula saw the introduction in 1858 of a system of angling leases that would serve as the foundation of Quebec's approach to fish and game protection for more than a century. Source: Adamson, *Salmon-Fishing in Canada, By a Resident*, xvi.

economy, and were sought both by permanent residents and by growing numbers of seasonal and transient fishers drawn from other parts of British North America, the United States, and elsewhere.

Though tempting to explain it in the context of sport angling, the protection movement's focus on salmon was the result of a number of factors. If we are to make sense of it, we need also to look to the fish itself, in particular to its migratory habits. As an anadromous species (a fish that lives in the ocean but spawns and hatches in freshwater), salmon require seasonal access to freshwater breeding grounds. This pattern of behaviour makes the species particularly vulnerable to human activity. On both the north shore and the Gaspé peninsula fishers could easily take salmon from estuaries and along the St. Lawrence shoreline with fixed nets and other devices. The rivers themselves were even more vulnerable, for fishing on these waters required little in the way of equipment or preparation: with little more than a net and spear, a couple of men could easily move up or downstream fishing out one pool after another. Added to this was the significant impact of the timber industry on salmon habitat. Dams, slides and pollution in the form of sawdust and other debris blocked the fishes' passage upstream and destroyed the riverbeds for breeding. Given the destruction of salmon rivers in more settled regions of the province, as well as that experienced in Upper Canada and in the United States, protection advocates had good reason to conclude that these rivers were headed towards a similar fate.³

³ For a description of these problems see *JLAPC*, 1858, 21 Victoria, no. 15, "Department of Marine and Fisheries," "Report of the Commissioner of Crown Lands of Canada, For the Year 1857," Richard Nettle, "Report Ending September 24th, 1857," Appendix U. On forestry practices and their environmental impacts see also Gillis, *Lost Initiatives: Canada's Forest Industries, Forest Policy, and Forest Conservation*; Girard,

Paradoxically, the vulnerability of salmon described above also makes the species particularly susceptible to protection. If salmon rivers could be overfished, polluted, and blocked, protection advocates knew, they could also be regulated in such a manner that human activity would have minimal or even a beneficial impact on salmon stocks. Far easier because of its breeding habits to manage than an ocean-bound, migratory species such as cod, salmon were an ideal fish for protection, both for sport and for commercial purposes. Indeed, as we will see, the protection of salmon for sport and for the development of ocean-based commercial fishing could in fact be complementary.

Regulating the Salmon Fishery

In 1857 Richard Nettle, newly appointed as Lower Canada's first Superintendent of Fisheries, set out on an extended tour of the lower St. Lawrence in order to establish the extent to which the province's new fishery legislation was being observed. What he found was not encouraging. Reports from this and a subsequent trip Nettle made in 1858 describe a region in chaos. Competition was spiraling out of control as foreign and domestic vessels worked open waters while Europeans and aboriginals alike netted, speared and angled the region's salmon rivers and their estuaries, all with little regard for conservation or existing legislation. On the Gaspé peninsula, fish stocks in rivers such as the York, the Dartmouth, the Bonaventure and the Cascapedia had been destroyed by overfishing. Things were worse on the north shore, where authorities routinely reported conditions of lawlessness, violence, and disorder. Here even the Hudson Bay Company,

L'écologisme retrouvé: Essor et déclin de la Commission de la conservation du Canada: 1909-1921.

Nettle noted, was unable to protect its fishing operations at the mouths of the Mingan, Godbout, and Bersemis Rivers from "lawless agressors."⁴

To make matters worse, timber operations were not observing new legislation that prohibited the pollution of rivers and that required companies to build fishways on dams in order to allow salmon free passage upstream to their breeding grounds. And this did not even begin to touch on the industry's more serious consequences. In 1875 Whitcher, now appointed as the Federal Fisheries Commissioner, described the ramifications of timber cutting on the lower St. Lawrence salmon fishery as follows:

While it is true that fifty or sixty years ago, almost all the considerable streams... were resorted to by anadromous fishes... the conditions of many of them have undergone a total change. The forest has been cleared along their banks and thinned out to such an extent even to their head waters, that the snows of winter and the rains of summer are much more rapidly evaporated, and what were once full streams flowing through virgin forests, are now, in the hot season, mere rivulets meandering through meadows and cultivated fields. The once secluded spawning beds are now crossed and recrossed by herds of grazing cattle, and often for miles but a mere thread of water trickles over the bars and gravel beds.

While the settlement of the country has produced these changes in our

⁴ *JLAPC*, 1858, 21 Victoria, no. 15, "Report of the Commissioner of Crown Lands of Canada, For the Year 1857," Richard Nettle, "Report of the Superintendent of Fisheries For Lower Canada Ending 31st December, 1857," Appendix U (2). See also *JLAPC*, 1859, 22 Victoria, no. 17, "Report of the Commissioner of Crown Lands, of Canada, For the Year 1858," Richard Nettle, "Abridged Report of the Superintendent of Fisheries, For Lower Canada, For the Year Ending December, 1858," Appendix T2; "An Act Relating to the Fisheries on the Labrador and North Shore on the Gulph of St. Lawrence," *Statutes of Canada*, 1852-53, 16 Victoria, c. 92.

rivers, the erection of mills and dams on most of them, and the prosecution of lumbering operations on all of them, have worked still greater changes. Most of these dams were erected many years ago, before any laws were enacted for the preservation of fish, and the consequence is, that a very large number of the smaller rivers have been deserted by their finny denizens, and it is very doubtful whether, under these altered circumstances, they can ever be restored even were the costly experiment of restocking them by artificial culture tried.⁵

Such considerations in regards to Quebec's salmon fishery were in turn part of a more general concern that would be embraced in legislation of the 1850s that attempted to address the state of the region's fishery resources overall. Reports of impending starvation crossed the desks of politicians in Quebec City and Ottawa, and government assistance to communities suffering food shortages due to the poor state of the region's fisheries provided still more proof that there was a problem. In the Gaspé communities of Carleton, Maria, and New Richmond, one writer observed, "the fishing establishments are deserted and going to ruin. At these places there was formerly an abundant supply of fish, but the inhabitants now barely catch enough for their own winter store."⁶ A petition written in 1857 by the mayor and councillors of the township of Cox in Bonaventure County similarly explained the extensive social implications of their collapsing fishery.

⁵ CSP, 1875, no. 5, "Seventh Annual Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries, Being For the Fiscal Year Ended 30th June, 1874," W. F. Whitcher, "Report by the Deputy Minister of Marine and Fisheries," lix-lxxiii, lxx. George Perkins Marsh brought considerable attention to similar issues of environmental degradation during the 1860s; see Marsh, *Man and Nature*.

⁶ *Practical Notes on the Legislation For the Fisheries of the St. Lawrence*, 6.

The prosecution of the Fisheries in open boats, has now become both hazardous and unprofitable. Hazardous in as much as the fishermen have now to seek the fish in deep water at a great distance from the shore – each year adding to the number of widows and orphans, whose protectors have been engulfed by the ocean – No less than 85 fishermen perishing in one storm, on the opposite shore of New Brunswick, last summer.⁷

As concern grew, the need for more effective management strategies became increasingly apparent. As in the case of game, the province's fisheries were until the 1850s subject to a variety of localized restrictions. The first major step towards a more substantial regulatory program came in 1852, when the colonial government appointed Pierre-Étienne Fortin to the position of stipendiary magistrate in charge of protecting the fisheries of the Gulf and lower St. Lawrence. A McGill-trained surgeon who gained prominence leading a cavalry troop during the 1849 riot over the Rebellion Losses Bill, Fortin was placed in command of the government schooner 'Alliance' and a crew of twelve men, and given the responsibility to monitor fishing activities on what amounted to hundreds of kilometres of coastline, including Anticosti and the Magdalen islands as well as the mainland shore downstream from Quebec City to Blanc Sablon and the Baie de Chaleurs. Though a landmark move in terms of regulating the colony's fisheries, the extent of Fortin's mandate ensured that the program would be of marginal effectiveness.⁸

⁷ BAnQ-Q, E22 UR 29 C 8, Folder 2, "Petition to Edmund Walker Head, Governor-General, From the Mayor and Councillors of the Township of Cox, in the County of Bonaventure."

⁸ *JLAPC*, 1852-53, 16 Victoria, "Return," "Report. Cruise of the Coast-guard Schooner 'Alliance,'" Appendix (I. I. I. I.), 1-20: 1. See also Irene Bilas, "Pierre-Étienne Fortin," *DCB*, vol. 11, 320-21; Potvin, *Le roi du golfe: le Dr. P.-E. Fortin, ancien commandant de*

By the mid-1850s more extensive regulatory strategies were taking shape. In large part their origins lay in the work of Richard Nettle, Lower Canada's newly appointed Fisheries Superintendent, and William Agar Adamson, an Anglican chaplain and doctor of law who served as Ottawa's parliamentary librarian. While neither of these men were patricians in the sense of someone like Rhodes, their status and connections to Lower Canada's political and economic elite placed both firmly within patrician circles, and they shared to a large degree the patrician worldview that informed contemporary approaches to fish and game protection. Adamson was born in Dublin in 1800, and studied at that city's Trinity College; following his move to Canada as chaplain to Governor General Lord Sydenham in 1840, he studied law at McGill College in Montreal and Bishop's College, Lennoxville. An avid angler who enjoyed the company of men of considerable status in the colony, he soon came to know British North America's fishing waters well, and was the author of the 1860 guidebook *Salmon-Fishing in Canada, By a Resident*.⁹ As for Nettle, he too had significant knowledge of the St. Lawrence's fish resources, and in particular of its salmon. Of English descent, Nettle grew up salmon angling in the Devonshire countryside, and served in the Royal Navy, where he made voyages to Australia, Canada, and the Mediterranean. After leaving the navy, Nettle returned to Canada and was appointed to the boundary commission that culminated in the Ashburton Treaty, which set the border between Quebec and Maine. Afterwards Nettle settled in Quebec City, where he became engaged in the city's anglophone associational

la "Canadienne"; Stewart, *Life On the Line: Commander Pierre-Étienne Fortin and His Times*.

⁹ Adamson, *Salmon-Fishing in Canada, By a Resident*; Henry J. Morgan, "Rev. William Agar Adamson, D. C. L.," *Bibliotheca Canadensis, or, A Manual of Canadian Literature*.

culture as secretary of the Patriotic Fund. It was at this point that Nettle began working on the St. Lawrence fisheries. Published in 1857, his book *The Salmon Fisheries of the St. Lawrence and Its Tributaries* reflected his deep concern for the state of the region's salmon fishery, his knowledge of the fisheries in Britain and in Europe, and an ongoing interest in the development of pisciculture.

During the 1850s Adamson and in particular Nettle worked with ministers in the colony to draft laws to encourage the development of a viable commercial fishery on the lower St. Lawrence and to diffuse social tensions that were erupting in the region. It was in this context that the colonial government passed legislation in 1857 that laid out extensive plans for the region's inland and open waters, and as a tribute to Nettle's work appointed him to the newly created position of Fisheries Superintendent for Lower Canada.¹⁰ Passage the following year of the Fishery Act of 1858 allowed Nettle to put forward the key element of his strategy for salmon, a system of leases and licenses regulating access to the salmon fishery. Under this system, commercial operations were to continue on the estuaries of the major salmon rivers in the form of licensed fishing stations, where license-holders were subject to a number of seasonal and equipment restrictions designed to ensure the fish access to their upstream breeding grounds. As for the rivers themselves, they were now subject to a riparian rights-based system of leasehold tenure on which all forms of fishing but angling were prohibited.

The rationale that underpinned this latter system was more complex than it might seem. In his 1874 report as Canada's Commissioner of Fisheries, Whitcher described the

¹⁰ LAC, MG24 B120 1 / R2740-0-7-C, Richard Nettle Fonds; other documents regarding Nettle, mainly rough drafts of his fisheries reports, can be found at BAnQ-Q, E22 UR 29 C 8, Correspondance du surintendant des pêcheries du Bas-Canada 1857-1865 (Richard Nettle).

leasehold system as one that “induces private expenditure both in guarding and improving the streams, which outlay would otherwise require to be defrayed from public funds... [and] promotes investment of capital.”¹¹ Whitcher’s description remains a good summary of the system as Nettle envisioned it. As he knew well from contexts ranging from education to poor relief during the mid-nineteenth century, the state was in no way prepared to assume the kind of investment needed to regulate these waters effectively, and private capital was not only welcome but necessary. What is more, Nettle had learned quickly from his experience in patrician circles that there existed in the province the potential for such a system to succeed. As mentioned above, Nettle was deeply conscious of the regulatory strategies that were taking shape in Britain, where longstanding patterns of land ownership, estate management, and improvement saw patricians participating heavily in the regulatory process. In opting for this system of leasehold tenure, Nettle sought no less than to draw patricians into such work on Lower Canada’s salmon rivers. The result, Nettle hoped, would be a series of estate-like private holdings dotted throughout the region. As in Britain and other parts of Europe, these estates would serve as local sites of authority. Here patrician lessees would assume a direct interest in improving their river’s salmon stocks, and would see to the employment of guardians, the enforcement the fishery legislation, and the establishment of social order.

Initially, Nettle’s goal was not only to lease these rivers to anglers, but also to encourage commercial investment in pisciculture operations. The work of stocking rivers

¹¹ *CSP*, 1875, no. 5, “Seventh Annual Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries, Being for the Fiscal Year Ended 30th June 1874,” “Report By the Deputy Minister of Marine and Fisheries”, W. F. Whitcher, “Report of the Commissioner of Fisheries,” lxxiii.

with fry in order to catch them in the estuaries on their return was proving successful in Europe, and the establishment of such an operation on the north shore's Moisie River by John Holliday, an investor with experience breeding salmon in Ireland, held the promise of more to come.¹² Together, Nettle hoped, this combination of patrician interests in angling and in commercial operations, manifest in Europe, would take shape on Quebec's salmon rivers, and in the process would provide the basis for much-needed protection.

The problems, of course, were manifold. As Adamson noted in the comment above, the lower St. Lawrence was not the British countryside, but a rugged, remote forest region, difficult to control, with cold winters and a population that easily laid claim to local resources. Not surprisingly, apart from Holliday the only lessees that bit were anglers.

Patricians in Power

In 1859 the colonial government granted what was apparently the first lease under the new fishery legislation, to Allan Gilmour on the north shore's Godbout River, 250 miles downstream from Quebec City. An emigrant and a member of Scotland's emerging industrial capitalist class, Gilmour like Rhodes represents well the patrician sensibilities Nettle hoped to draw into his system of angling leases. Born into a Scottish farming family in 1816, Gilmour came to Montreal in 1832 at the behest of his uncle and namesake Allan Gilmour, family patriarch and co-founder in 1804 of the Glasgow-based timber importing firm Pollok, Gilmour and Company. The timber trade was a source of immense wealth for the family, and in Scotland much of that wealth was used to buy into

¹² *JLAPC*, 1858, 21 Victoria, no. 15, "Report of the Commissioner of Crown Lands, For the Year 1857," Richard Nettle, "Report of the Superintendent of Fisheries For Lower Canada Ending 31st December, 1857," Appendix U (2).

country life. The elder Gilmour owned several farms as well as four estates where he engaged in agricultural development, field sports, and shooting, and Allan's Quebec City cousin (also named Allan Gilmour) pursued sport both in Quebec and later in Scotland, where he owned at least two country estates outside Glasgow.¹³

Allan Gilmour followed a similar pattern in Canada. After taking over the Montreal branch of Pollok, Gilmour and Company in 1840, he and his cousin James expanded the company's operations further inland, and Gilmour settled in Ottawa after moving its headquarters there in 1853. It was here that Gilmour established his patrician identity. Among his various activities, he became an important figure in Canada's emerging arts community. A co-founder of the Art Association of Ottawa, he accumulated in his home overlooking the Ottawa River just west of Parliament one of the country's largest art collections. His interest in sport likewise took many forms. In Ottawa, he was a militia major, a president of the Ottawa Curling Club, and a member of the Long Point Shooting Company, and his sporting activities took him across the continent. In regards to the Godbout, Gilmour held the lease on the river for nearly three decades, during which time he visited the region almost every summer, first by chartered schooner and later on his steam yacht, the *Cruiser*. Consolidating his hold on the region through strategic property purchases and the appointment of Napoleon Alexander Comeau as resident guardian, he set to work reshaping the river in order to better accommodate his sporting activities (see figures 2.2 and 2.3). "The lavish expenditure

¹³ Rankin, *A History of Our Firm*, 117. On the elder Allan Gilmour see David S. MacMillan, "Allan Gilmour," *DCB*, vol. 7, 343-44; for Allan Gilmour of Quebec City see David S. MacMillan, "Allan Gilmour," *DCB*, vol. 11, 348-50.

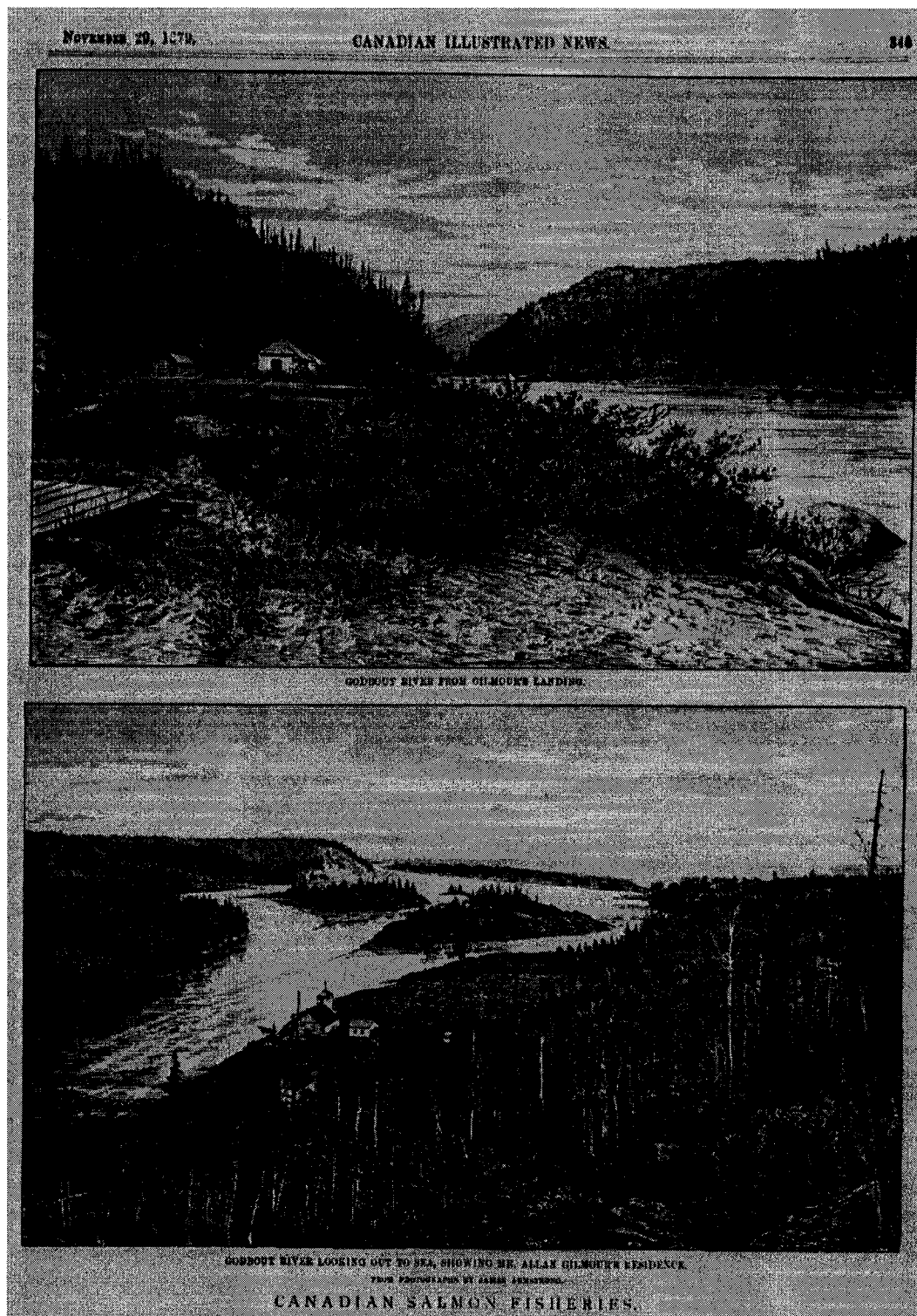


Figure 2.2. Allan Gilmour's lease on the North Shore's Godbout River, 1879. Source: *Canadian Illustrated News* 29 November 1879, 345.

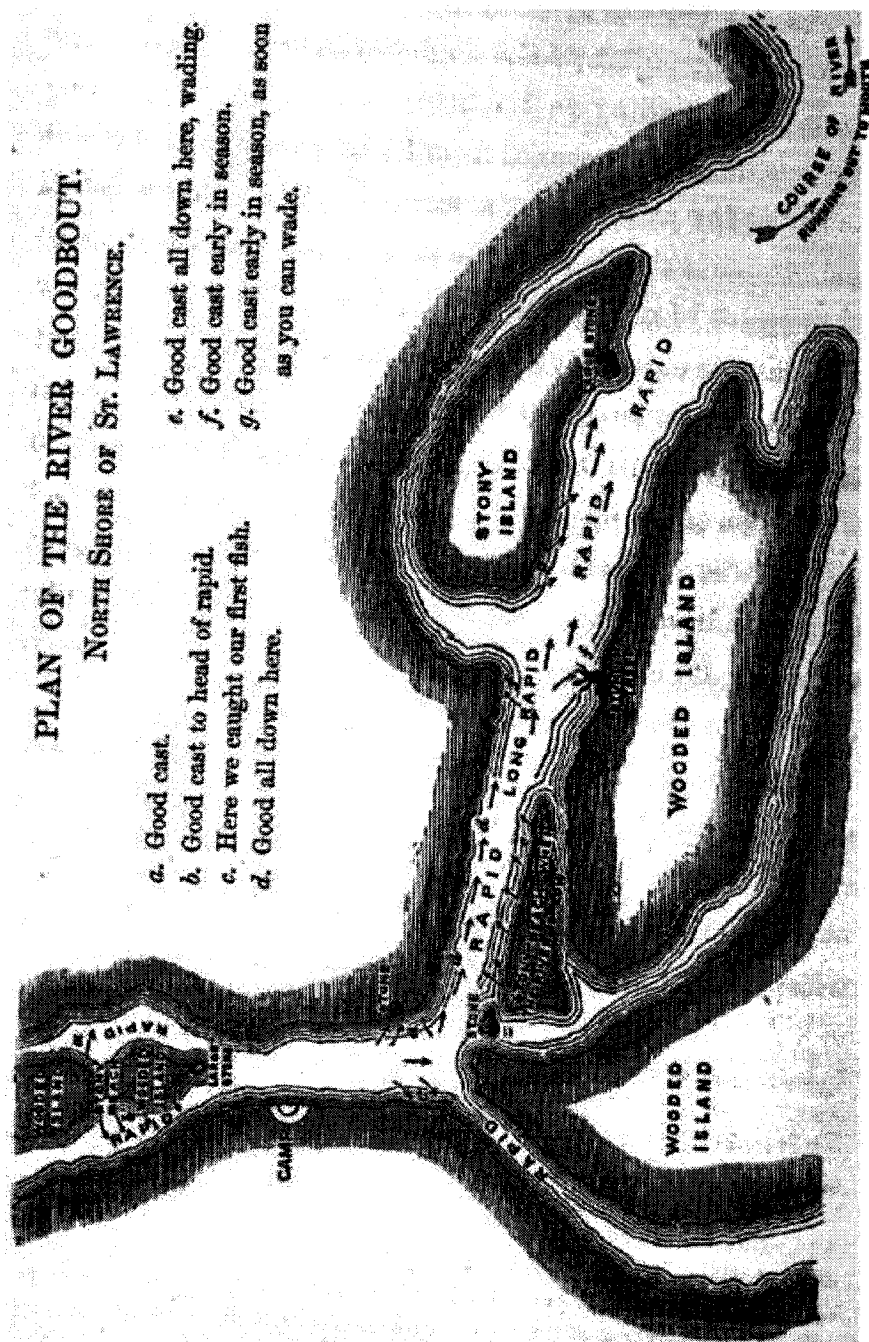


Figure 2.3. Angler's Map of the Godbout River, 1860. By the 1850s, remote waters such as the north shore's Godbout River were well known in sporting circles. Source: Adamson, *Salmon-Fishing in Canada, By a Resident*, 218.

laid out upon his extensive domain," wrote Charles Hallock, editor of *Forest and Stream* and one of Gilmour's guests,

in bridging ravines, protecting dangerous cliffs, providing easy approaches to the salmon pools, and placing bateaux and boats at every eligible point; in erecting buildings for all conceivable requirements, providing refreshment places along the tumbling stream, and leading the fountains gently from their ice-cold cliffs to the wayside; all these, and more, have excited the admiration and astonishment of men who have seen him.¹⁴

Visitors were equally struck by Gilmour's accommodations:

The camp itself, two miles up the river, where so many distinguished people have domiciled, is not the canvas makeshift or riven hemlock *cabane* of the chance angler on the coast. It is a goodly mansion with a tempting verandah, and a tower three stories high surmounted by a staff from which red bunting flies when the quarters are occupied. Then there is the ice house and kitchen, the smoke house, boat house, woodhouse, men's quarters, and other adjoining buildings, so that there is quite a hamlet.¹⁵

¹⁴ Hallock, *The Salmon Fisher*, 96; see also Charles Hallock, *The Fishing Tourist*.

¹⁵ Hallock, *The Salmon Fisher*, 109. Lynda Jessup deals with Gilmour's fishing activities on the Godbout in Jessup, "Landscapes of Sport, Landscapes of Exclusion: The 'Sportsman's Paradise' in Late-Nineteenth-Century Canadian Painting" *Journal of Canadian Studies / Revue d'études canadiennes*. On Allan Gilmour see Robert Peter Gillis, "Allan Gilmour," *DCB*, vol. 12, 366-68; see also "Allan Gilmour," *A Cyclopædia of Canadian Biography, Being Chiefly Men of the Time*, vol. 1, ed. George Maclean Rose (Toronto: Rose Publishing Co. 1886), 627-29.

Gilmour was in good company, for he was among a number of likeminded men drawn to the lower St. Lawrence's salmon angling opportunities. By the 1870s most of the thirty-odd salmon rivers on the province's north shore, Gaspé and Saguenay regions were under lease (see figure 2.4). As in the case of the Godbout, these leases were held by the province's landed and capitalist classes: a group of seigneurs, timber merchants, and rail and steamship industrialists largely of English, Scots, or American origin, many of whom were active in the protection movement. It was this class of patrician sportsmen that would become the basis of the state's new regulatory strategy.¹⁶

The activities of lessees on their holdings varied considerably. Some lessees built accommodations directly on site or made use of existing buildings established by the Hudson Bay Company or other former residents. Some, like that of Gilmour, involved significant investment. Others were more modest establishments. CPR president George Stephen built his first fishing lodge in the community of Causapscal at the junction of the Causapscal and Matapédia Rivers; cousin and CPR partner Donald Smith had a lodge on the Matapédia nearby; Montreal protection club member George Alexander Drummond had a lodge located on his lease on the Dartmouth River on the eastern tip of the Gaspé peninsula.¹⁷ Accommodations at Lord Dufferin's lease on the Gaspé peninsula's St. Jean River, not far from that of Drummond, were described by Lady Dufferin as

¹⁶ For a list of lessees during this period see *CSP*, 1873, no. 73, "Department of Marine and Fisheries, Fisheries Branch," P. Mitchell, "Return to an Address of the House of Commons, dated 1st May, 1873, asking for a statement of the Rivers of the Province of Quebec, for which the Government has granted the exclusive right of line fishing for Salmon."

¹⁷ On George Stephen and Donald Smith's activities in the region see Pelland, *La région Matane-Matapédia: ses ressources, ses progrès et son avenir*, 57; Closse, *Un site enchanteur de la vallée de la Matapédia*, 31-46. For a biography of George Stephen see Gilbert, *The Life of Lord Mount Stephen*; on Donald Smith see Alexander Reford,

a 'village' [consisting] of two large tents for the men, and a wooden house divided into two rooms. The windows have green mosquito-blinds over them, and the bed, white mosquito-curtains. There is a washing-table, and lots of pegs and shelves, and a little bit of carpet, which is a great luxury in the woods. A cedar path leads to the log-house in which there is a sitting-room, and two little 'cabins', in which our guests sleep.¹⁸

Others chose to develop accommodations further up the gulf in growing summer communities such as Cacouna and Tadoussac, from which they traveled to their leases by yacht, often sleeping on board their ship or in tents or rough shelters. For others still, there was the option of staying at one of the hotels being built in these new summer communities. In 1865 a group of nine investors including David Evans Price, Montreal protection club member George W. Campbell, and James Bell Forsyth, William Rhodes and John Gilmour (cousin to Allan Gilmour) of the Quebec City protection club established the Tadousac Hotel and Sea Bathing Company, which became a jumping off point for sporting excursions further downriver.¹⁹

In all, Nettle must have been disappointed. These were not, after all, the estates he imagined. In terms of commercial investment, Holliday remained Nettle's only success story, and the lodgings built by Gilmour were probably better than most. During the 1860s and 1870s the system continued to fall short of the British estate model that

"Donald Alexander Smith, 1st Baron Strathcona and Mount Royal," *DCB*, vol. 14, 939-47. The Reford Collection held at the Reford Gardens at Grand-Métis, Quebec, the site of Stephen's fishing lodge, holds considerable materials related to the sporting activities of Stephen, his friends and relatives.

¹⁸ Hamilton, *My Canadian Journal 1872-1878: Extracts From My Letters Home Written While Lord Dufferin was Governor-General*, 148-49.

¹⁹ LeMoine, *L'Album du touriste: archeologie, histoire, littérature, sport*, 349.

RETURN to an Address of the House of Commons, dated 1st May, 1873, asking for a statement of the Rivers of the Province of Quebec, for which the Government has granted the exclusive right of line fishing for Salmon.

Names of Rivers.	Situation of Rivers.	Names of Lessees.	Residences of Lessees.	Occupation of Lessees.	Duration of Lease.	Price of Lease or license.
						\$
Murray.	Seignior Murray Bay	J. J. Reeve.	Quebec	Seignior	9 years	20 per annum.
St. Marguerite.		W. H. Powell	Philadelphia	Merchant	9 "	150 do
Little Saguenay.		James Bird	Boston	do	9 "	20 do
St. Jean.	Saguenay	Colonel Aspinwall	New York	do	9 "	10 do
A. Mars.		Hon. D. E. Price	Quebec	Lumber Merchant	9 "	30 do
Laval.		do	do	do	9 "	306 do
Portneuf.	Seignior of Mille Vaches.	James Gibb	do	Merchant	9 "	20 do
Du Gouffre.	Seignior Du Gouffre	D. C. Thomas	do	do	9 "	4 do
Godbout.	North Shore of River St. Lawrence.	A. Gilmour	Ottawa	Lumber Merchant	9 "	300 do
Moisie.	do do	J. Brown & D. A. McInnes	Hamilton	Merchants	9 "	500 do
St. John.	do do	Geo. A. Drummond	Montreal	Merchant	9 "	250 do
Romaine.	do do	J. K. Lord	New York	do	9 "	200 do
Watsheeshoo.	do do	C. C. Abbott	Montreal	Advocate	9 "	20 do
Nataashquan.	do do	A. Dennistowan	do	do	9 "	200 do
Washescootal.	do do	J. F. Molson	do	Merchant	3 "	20 do
Little S. W. Bic.	Co. Rimouski South Shore R. St. Lawrence.	W. D. Campbell	Quebec	Seignior	1 "	12 do
Rimouski.	do do	Luc Sylvain	Rimouski	Mill Owner	9 "	20 do
Metis.	do do	A. M. Delisle	Montreal	Collect. of Customs	9 "	20 do
Matane.	do do	Sir Alexander T. Galt	Sherbrooke	do	9 "	40 do
Ste. Anne des Monts.	Co. Gaspé, do	Henry Hogan	Montreal	do	9 "	50 do
Magdalen.	do do	John Ross.	Quebec	Merchant	9 "	20 do
York.	do do	Thomas Reynolds	Ottawa	Man. S.L. & O.R.R.	9 "	25 do
St. John.	do do	J. W. Curtis	Boston	do	9 "	25 do
Grand.	do do	W. F. Clerk	New York	Merchant	9 "	200 do
Grand Cascapedia.	Co. Bonaventure do	John Shedden	Toronto	Agent G. T. R. R.	9 "	200 do
Restigouche.	do do	C. J. Brydges	Montreal	Man. Director do	9 "	20 do
do	do do	Sanford Felming	Ottawa	Director Pacific R.	9 "	20 do
Matapedia.	do do	George Stephen	Montreal	Merchant	9 "	20 do

DEPARTMENT OF MARINE AND FISHERIES,
Fisheries Branch, 12th May, 1873.

P. MITCHELL,
Minister of Marine and Fisheries.

Figure 2.4: List of Angling Lessees and Salmon Rivers Under Lease, 1873. Like the province's protection clubs, participation in the colonial and later federal system of angling leases was dominated by anglophones, and represented a cross-section of Quebec's political, economic, and social elite. Source: CSP, 1873, no. 73, "Department of Marine and Fisheries, Fisheries Branch." P. Mitchell, "Return to an Address of the House of Commons, dated 1st May, 1873, asking for a statement of the Rivers of the Province of Quebec, for which the Government has granted the exclusive right of line fishing for Salmon."

was Nettle's ideal. Even active lessees like Gilmour were only on their leases for a few weeks during the summer months, and the degree to which they met their obligations to hire full-time guardians likewise varied.

Still, it would be a mistake to view this system as a failure. For even if it did not develop in the way Nettle and others hoped, it was clear that the system of leases was capable of attracting a good number of individuals willing to take a direct interest in the management of these waters. In contrast to the chaos that previously characterized fishing on these rivers, there was now in place a strategy that would help to establish patrician and state power at the local level. Though far from perfect, Nettle's strategy nevertheless gave protection advocates something to work with.

Salmon and Improvement

While the leasehold tenure system established during the late 1850s may not have met Nettle's initial expectations, the vision of improvement that lay behind it permeated the thoughts and actions of state representatives and patrician lessees alike. Again, it must be remembered that the work at hand was not about simply 'protecting' salmon or preserving a natural environment. Rather, the project of improvement was one of active intervention: together lessees and the state set out to bring back and if possible exceed former levels of abundance, both on current and former salmon rivers as well as on rivers that did not previously support the species. In doing so, they worked not only to counter the effects of human-induced environmental change, but actively pursued environmental changes of their own, in order to create an environment that met their political, cultural, and economic demands.

To do so lessees and state representatives set about tackling a number of problems. Environmental and industrial factors affecting salmon, typically obstructions that prevented the fish from passing upstream to reach their breeding grounds, were constant concerns. These met with a variety of interventions. In the case of natural obstructions such as rocks, waterfalls, and log jams, a few sticks of carefully-placed dynamite was the most frequent solution.²⁰ On the Mingan River, for example, federal fishery officer Napoleon Lavoie noted that

When salmon ascends this stream, the fish rest when the waters are high at a certain place, and remain imprisoned when the water falls, being thus left to die there as was the case this season and the year before last. A few pounds of powder would remove this obstacle; and it is very desirable that the Department should incur this slight expenditure in order to improve that passage.²¹

Low water levels resulting from excessively dry or hot summers led to similar problems. In these cases dams were another option. Federal overseer Ferdinand Saillant provided an argument typical of its kind in his 1877 report on the Rivière descente des femmes: “Were a dam built at its mouth, so as to raise the waters above a long rapid, it would enable the fish to ascend at any time. The cost of this dam might come to \$25 or \$30, and

²⁰ See for example *CSP* 1880, no. 9, “Twelfth Annual Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries Being For the Fiscal Year Ended 30th June, 1879,” W. Wakeham, “Annual Report of the Fishery Officer in Charge of the Fisheries Protection Service in the Gulf and Lower St. Lawrence, During the Season of 1879,” Appendix 3, 49-121, 53.

²¹ *CSP*, 1877, no. 5, “Ninth Annual Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries, For the Fiscal Year Ended 30th June, 1876,” “Report of the Commissioner of Fisheries For the Year Ending 31st December, 1876,” Napoleon Lavoie, “Report of the Cruise of the Government Steamer ‘Lady Head’ in the Protection of the Fisheries of the Gulf and River St. Lawrence, During the Season of 1876, Under Command of Napoleon Lavoie Esq, Fishery Officer,” Appendix no. 3, 44-147: 96.

it would be very advantageous, this rapid being the only obstacle to the ascent of fish, which is sometimes stopped at the mouth for over a month.”²²

As these examples illustrate, the improvement of these waters’ salmon runs was more than a simple question of protection. For its part, the state looked to turn rivers of minimal or no value into productive salmon habitats, the leasing of which would quickly cover the costs of initial improvements and would lead to further work on the part of lessees. To this end the state targeted rivers of aesthetic as well as sporting potential, on which impediments could be altered with a minimum of difficulty or expense. The improvement of the St. Marguerite River is an excellent case in point. As Lavoie explained in 1877:

I made it my special duty, according to your instructions, to inspect St. Marguerite River in order to advise some method of removing obstructions to the ascent of salmon in this fine stream. I already stated in a special report that, with the exception of a few rocks which will require to be blasted at a single place, there are no other impediments. Its course, scattered with picturesque small islands and magnificent spawning beds, would soon make it a first-class river. The rent derived from that stream would cover the amount expended in improving it.²³

²² *CSP*, 1875, no. 5, “Seventh Annual Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries, Being For the Fiscal Year Ended 30th June, 1874,” “Synopsis of Fishery Overseers’ and Guardians’ Reports in the Province of Quebec For the Season of 1874,” Ferdinand Saillant and Joseph Boily, “Saguenay Division,” Appendix no. 9, 104-05: 105.

²³ *CSP*, 1877, no. 5, “Ninth Annual Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries, For the Fiscal Year Ended 30th June, 1876,” “Report of the Commissioner of Fisheries For the Year Ending 31st December, 1876,” Napoleon Lavoie, “Report of the Cruise of the Government Steamer ‘Lady Head’ in the Protection of the Fisheries of the Gulf and

Dealing with industrial issues was more difficult, for the salmon fishery was not about to challenge the dominance of the timber companies. Dams built to control water levels for power and to float timber downstream made many rivers impassable for salmon, as did log jams. Breeding grounds similarly suffered from damage done by excessive runoff caused by deforestation and by sawdust dumped in rivers, as well as by logs floated downriver and scows running upriver with supplies for the lumber camps.²⁴ What is more, fishing leases did not exclude companies from holding timber leases next to or even overlapping those of anglers. As they confronted these problems, lessees, guardians, and state overseers routinely came up against timber company and sawmill owners that were hostile to their concerns and to the fishery laws in general. "The general enforcement of these statutes," wrote Whitcher in 1875, "is rendered almost impossible by the persistent indifference and active antagonism of the manufacturing interest."²⁵ What is more, timber and protection advocates alike knew the relative weakness of the latter, and it was extremely difficult to remedy the problems the timber industry posed if the timber companies refused to comply. While in some cases they provided fishways on

River St. Lawrence, During the Season of 1876, Under Command of Napoleon Lavoie Esq, Fishery Officer," Appendix no. 3, 44-147: 95-96.

²⁴ See for example *CSP*, 1871, no. 5, "Third Annual Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries, Year Ending 30th June, 1870," Synopses of Fishery Overseers' and Guardians' Reports in the Province of Quebec, For the Season of 1870," Jos. Eden, "Gaspé Division," Appendix H, 263-264: 264.

²⁵ *CSP*, 1875, no. 5, "Seventh Annual Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries, Being for the Fiscal Year Ended 30th June 1874," "Report By the Deputy Minister of Marine and Fisheries," W. F. Whitcher, "Report of the Commissioner of Fisheries," vii-lxxiii: lxx.

dams and curtailed pollution as fisheries legislation required, timber companies just as often failed to deliver on their promises, and as such remained a constant problem.²⁶

Alongside their attempts to reshape habitat to favour salmon, protection advocates also looked to alter local species compositions. Patricians and state employees had been experimenting with pisciculture or fish farming in the province since at least the 1850s. The federal government took this a step further in 1873 when it opened hatcheries in Tadoussac, Gaspé, and Restigouche, and began restocking leased and unleased rivers alike with salmon fry. By 1880 these hatcheries were releasing millions of fry into the tributaries of the Saguenay as well as in the major salmon rivers of the north shore and Gaspé peninsula.²⁷

Protection advocates also considered the detrimental effects of other species on salmon populations. Species targeted included seals as well as other fish, but the most commonly cited were birds that fed on salmon ova and fry. Much like farmers trying to protect their crops, lessees set out on extermination programs in order to rid their rivers of such birds, among them cormorants, kingfishers, sheldrakes, and sawbills. An exemplary improver in this vein was Andrew Clerke of New York, the “spirited lessee of Grand River,” who according to Lavoie “has in many other respects also greatly assisted in

²⁶ Richard Nettle Reports frequently on such problems. See for example *JLAPC*, 1858, 21 Victoria, no. 15, “Department of Marine and Fisheries,” “Report of the Commissioner of Crown Lands of Canada, For the Year 1857,” Richard Nettle, “Report Ending September 24th, 1857,” Appendix U; and “Report of the Superintendent of Fisheries For Lower Canada Ending 31st December, 1857,” Appendix U (2); *JLAPC*, 1859, 22 Victoria, no. 17, “Report of the Commissioner of Crown Lands, of Canada, For the Year 1858,” Richard Nettle, “Abridged Report of the Superintendent of Fisheries, For Lower Canada, For the Year Ending December, 1858,” Appendix T2.

²⁷ See for example the sections relevant to Quebec in *CSP*, 1880, no. 9, “Twelfth Annual Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries Being For the Fiscal Year Ended 30th June, 1879,” “Reports on Fish-Breeding in the Dominion of Canada For the Year 1879.”

improving the salmon fishery of that stream [and who] by judiciously and liberally employing his private fishery guardians, has now almost exterminated kingfishers, sawbills and other piscivorous birds which formerly infested that locality.” In an 1877 report entitled “The Natural Enemies of Salmon” Lavoie recommended this approach be adopted widely. “The lessees of salmon angling rivers are all provided with paid guardians,” he pointed out. “Let them give each of them \$5 or \$6 to buy powder and shot with and I can guarantee that, in a couple of years, the greater part of this useless and injurious vermin will have disappeared.”²⁸

They also encountered problems in regards to the St. Lawrence’s commercial salmon fishery, where the new licensing system allowed fishers to continue to operate from stations located on the estuaries of leased rivers as well as on the shores of the St. Lawrence itself. The protection of salmon breeding grounds, it must be remembered, was intended in large part to support the commercial salmon fishery, and protection advocates worked to strike a balance between the long-term goals of protection, the more immediate demands of commercial fishers, and the interests of anglers. In order to ensure that salmon were able to pass upstream, commercial operators were subject to equipment and seasonal restrictions as well as prohibitions such as the Fishery Act’s ‘Sunday clause’, which required them to leave their fishing stands open from sundown Saturday to sunrise Monday. Such laws, however, proved almost impossible to enforce, and it was not uncommon for overseers to find rivers entirely obstructed by nets and other equipment on

²⁸ CSP, 1877, no. 5, “Ninth Annual Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries, For the Fiscal Year Ended 30th June, 1876,” “Report of the Commissioner of Fisheries For the Year Ending 31st December, 1876,” Napoleon Lavoie, “Report of the Cruise of the Government Steamer ‘Lady Head’ in the Protection of the Fisheries of the Gulf and River St. Lawrence, During the Season of 1876, Under Command of Napoleon Lavoie Esq, Fishery Officer,” Appendix no. 3, 44-147: 69.

any given day of the week. By the 1870s an increasingly common solution was to shut down commercial stations in favour of sport: such was the case in 1876 on the Little Cascapedia River, where according to federal Fishery Overseer R. W. H. Dimock, "the clearing of a wood jam, which prevented the ascent of fish in Little Cascapedia River, and the removal of three fishery stations off the mouth, will undoubtedly soon make it a favorite resort for anglers."²⁹ While such actions helped to improve salmon runs, they also further fuelled the anger of commercial fishermen towards the state and the growing number of sportsmen.

Poaching and Protection

Environmental and industrial considerations were an important part of mid-century efforts to protect salmon. But the protection movement's biggest target remained poachers, those commercial and subsistence users of fish and game for whom close seasons, leases, and equipment restrictions were little more than euphemisms for marginalization, dispossession, and criminalization. Throughout the 1850s, 1860s, and 1870s, opposition to the fishery laws remained widespread. In fact, it can be argued that the province's new regulatory program challenged traditional practices to such a degree that social order, once threatened by the absence of any form of regulation, was now

²⁹ *CSP*, 1876, no. 5, "Eighth Annual Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries Being For the Fiscal Year Ended 30th June, 1875," "Synopsis of Fishery Overseers' and Guardians' Reports in the Province of Quebec For the Year 1875," R. W. H. Dimock, 'Cascapedia and Maria Divisions,' Appendix no. 9, 135-136: 135. On problems regarding the Sunday clause see *CSP*, 1876, no 5, "Eighth Annual Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries Being For the Fiscal Year Ended 30th June, 1875," "Report of the Commissioner of Fisheries For the Year Ending 31st December 1875," Napoleon Lavoie, "Report of the Cruise of the Government Steamer "Glendon" Employed in the Protection of the Fisheries of the Gulf and River St. Lawrence, During the Season of 1875, Under Command of Napoleon Lavoie, Esq., Fishery Officer," Appendix no. 3, 35-118: 55.

threatened by its introduction. Less than a decade after passage of the 1858 Fishery Act, some protection advocates were pointing to precisely this problem. Criticism in 1866 from members of the Montreal-based protection club regarding the effects on locals of some of the state's more severe fishing prohibitions highlights both the new problems created by fishery regulations as well as the ongoing belief amongst protection advocates in the rights of commercial and subsistence hunters and fishers:

If the farmer takes with hook or line opposite his own door a bass, perch, or eel, and ventures to sell one of them, as he has done, as far back as his recollections extends, he has committed an illegal act, and is liable in the penalty. The enforcement of this claim... is rapidly demoralizing the population of the Lower St. Lawrence. They cannot be brought to see that this new order of things is right; and when a people are habituated to the breaking of one law, the moral tone is undoubtedly lowered, and they soon look on all law with lessened respect.³⁰

The reports of overseers and other authorities likewise made clear the degree of opposition that existed. Poaching was thoroughly integrated into rural society, and entire communities were often complicit in illegal hunting and fishing activities. Lavoie, for example, complained that residents near the Natashquan river on the north shore

are most of them first-class poachers; but it is a very difficult thing to catch them, owing to their isolated position and the trouble they take to protect each other. They keep during the whole summer some sorts of

³⁰ "Fish and Game Protection Club," *Montreal Gazette* 29 May 1866, 1-2: 2. Prohibitions during this period are outlined in "An Act to amend chapter sixty-two of the Consolidated Statutes of Canada, and to provide for the better regulation of Fishing and protection of Fisheries," *Statutes of Canada*, 1865, 29 Victoria, c. 11, s. 17.

masts on the cliffs, and should a vessel be signalled outside, the whole population is warned to be on its guard, and when you land, they look like people who hardly know what is a salmon or a net.³¹

Such circumstances made for open, hostile, and sometimes violent resistance. Threats were not uncommon, and given poachers' propensity for carrying arms had to be taken seriously. If caught, poachers were typically uncooperative, and often refused to turn over their equipment, in particular their weapons. Authorities who managed to seize weapons and equipment did not always keep them for long, for poachers were known to break into private and government premises to take back nets and other materials in order to continue their activities.³² As elsewhere in the province, the fishery laws often proved in practice to be little more than guidelines. Given the difficulties associated with arresting and prosecuting poachers, local authorities charged with enforcing the fish and game laws usually found warnings and surveillance to be far more pragmatic strategies.

But poachers themselves were only part of the problem. Given the demands of the job, lessees and state representatives found it extremely difficult to find effective guardianship. Ideal fishery overseers, according to Lavoie, were

men endowed with sufficient education to enable them to study the natural history of fishes, and to be able to understand and account for causes

³¹ CSP, 1877, no. 5, "Ninth Annual Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries, For the Fiscal Year Ended 30th June, 1876," "Report of the Commissioner of Fisheries For the Year Ending 31st December, 1876," Napoleon Lavoie, "Report of the Cruise of the Government Steamer 'Lady Head' in the Protection of the Fisheries of the Gulf and River St. Lawrence, During the Season of 1876, Under Command of Napoleon Lavoie Esq, Fishery Officer," Appendix no. 3, 44-118: 97-98.

³² See for example the theft by poachers of materials seized by authorities as reported in *JLAPC*, 1860, no. 12, "Report of the Commissioner of Crown Lands of Canada," "Report of the Superintendent of Fisheries For Lower Canada, 1859," "Synopsis of Overseer's Report," Alfred Blais, "Godbout Division," Appendix 32, 100-01: 100.

which may influence the greater or less success in fishing in the Gulf or rivers, so as to be able to communicate their opinions; energetic men, fond of their profession, and bold enough to cope, in every instance, with violations of the law.

Not surprisingly, relatively few men of such character were readily available to fulfill such requirements, and state and civic employers alike often ended up with the opposite: “soft-minded and lazy men, having no other care than to continue in receipt of the small remuneration which they do not earn, [who] are not only useless, but moreover spoil everything... [and others] who are not only worthless, but actually become a real nuisance either through weakness or ignorance.”³³ What is more, guardians charged with the enforcement of unpopular laws often found themselves in a hostile relationship to the local communities in which they worked and sometimes lived.

The result was an extremely varied performance on the part of overseers and guardians. In some cases overseers and guardians were key to the protection of local waters. In 1872, for example, federal overseer William Phelan noted in his report on the Port Daniel division that the “*Anse St. Jean River* has been exceedingly well protected during the past season, there being no less than four guardians on an extent of six miles, one of whom has nothing else to do but to oversee the three others.”³⁴ In other cases,

³³ CSP, 1877, no. 5, “Ninth Annual Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries, For the Fiscal Year Ended 30th June, 1876,” “Report of the Commissioner of Fisheries For the Year Ending 31st December, 1876,” Napoleon Lavoie, “Report of the Cruise of the Government Steamer ‘Lady Head’ in the Protection of the Fisheries of the Gulf and River St. Lawrence, During the Season of 1876, Under Command of Napoleon Lavoie Esq, Fishery Officer,” Appendix no. 3, 44-147: 97.

³⁴ CSP, 1872, no. 5, “Fourth Annual Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries For Year Ending 30th June, 1871,” “Synopsis of Fishery Overseers’ and Guardians’

though, local authorities fell short of expectations. Lavoie captured the awkward nature in which such men found themselves in his 1877 description of one overseer's circumstances:

The Fishery Overseer of Watsheeshoo requires a lodging of some sort, where he would be independent of fishermen. As it is now, he is compelled to seek hospitality among fishermen on that part of the coast, who are all more or less addicted to poaching; so that he sometimes finds himself placed in a rather delicate position towards these people.³⁵

For privately employed guardians the situation was even worse, for their work placed them in a direct conflict of interest with their employers, the lessees who paid their wages. As Lavoie argued, "these private guardians are chosen to take care of rivers; but they are so well paid that the interest of their employers are predominant with them, and that the neighbours' faults are more readily noticed than those of their masters."³⁶

While there was little at this stage in the protection movement's repertoire separating Euro-North American poachers along ethnic lines, aboriginals were subject to considerable attention. As Bill Parenteau argues, the introduction of fisheries legislation

Reports in the Province of Quebec, For the Season of 1871," George Riverin and Ferdinand Saillant, "Saguenay District," 66-75: 70.

³⁵ CSP, 1877, no. 5, "Ninth Annual Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries, For the Fiscal Year Ended 30th June, 1876," "Report of the Commissioner of Fisheries For the Year Ending 31st December, 1876," Napoleon Lavoie, "Report of the Cruise of the Government Steamer 'Lady Head' in the Protection of the Fisheries of the Gulf and River St. Lawrence, During the Season of 1876, Under Command of Napoleon Lavoie Esq, Fishery Officer," Appendix no. 3, 44-147: 98.

³⁶ CSP, 1876, no. 5, "Eighth Annual Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries Being For the Fiscal Year Ended 30th June, 1875," "Report of the Commissioner of Fisheries For the Year Ending 31st December 1875," Napoleon Lavoie, "Report of the Cruise of the Government Steamer 'Glendon' Employed in the Protection of the Fisheries of the Gulf and River St. Lawrence, During the Season of 1875, Under Command of Napoleon Lavoie, Esq., Fishery Officer," Appendix no. 3, 35-118: 80.

towards the end of the nineteenth century resulted in the systematic exclusion of aboriginals from the salmon harvest throughout Atlantic Canada.³⁷ Though this was true of Euro-North American hunters and fishers generally, for aboriginals the stakes were much higher – particularly for the Micmac and Montagnais, who fished the salmon rivers of the north shore and Gaspé peninsula. While there certainly existed a degree of Romantic admiration of aboriginals during the nineteenth century, it was in no way expressed within the protection movement in Quebec during the 1850s, 1860s, and 1870s. Overwhelmingly, Quebec's protection advocates' rejected aboriginals' hunter/gatherer economy and what they perceived to be the idle, irresponsible, and cruel behaviour that accompanied it. While sporting interests and the sportsmen's code of conduct informed these perceptions to some degree, the regulation of the salmon fishery is better understood as part of a much broader effort during the nineteenth century to civilize British North America and later Canada's aboriginal populations. Banning aboriginals from the salmon harvest, protection advocates hoped, would help to steer them from an economy based on hunting and gathering to one based on agriculture and wage labour. Such a transformation would integrate aboriginals further into the economic mainstream, and in the process would allow the similar integration of fish and game resources. Part and parcel of the larger paternal project underway in Canada during the late nineteenth century in which the state looked to civilize aboriginals via various land and production-based schemes, this approach was not much different in tone than

³⁷ Parenteau, "Care, Control and Supervision," 2.

that described by Sarah Carter in regards to attempts on the part of the federal government to direct prairie aboriginals towards small-scale agriculture.³⁸

Perhaps the most interesting part of this process, though, was the ongoing accommodation of aboriginal practices. While it is tempting to read this in terms of paternal benevolence, such gestures also contained an implicit recognition on the part of patricians of the limits of their power. Whatever their opinions of aboriginal rights to fish and game, protection advocates knew from the start that it was impossible to prevent them from pursuing established harvest patterns. Quebec's new regulatory system fell abruptly in the middle of subsistence and trade practices that had been evolving for centuries, and it was not an easy task for local guardians to assert the rights of their employers when they found their rivers descended upon by dozens of aboriginals traversing the region, or when local aboriginals worked together to thwart the efforts of authorities.³⁹

As in the case of the game laws, there developed along the salmon rivers of the north shore and Gaspé peninsula a pattern of half-measures, of advances and retreats, in which the advocates of fish and game protection negotiated their aims against aboriginal resistance to the new regulatory system. Fisheries legislation established during the late 1850s included exemptions that allowed aboriginals to fish for subsistence purposes during months closed to the general population, and to do so by spear and torchlight, both

³⁸ Carter, *Lost Harvests: Prairie Indian Reserve Farmers and Government Policy*.

³⁹ Guardian Napoleon Alexander Comeau, for example, describes the teamwork of four aboriginals who managed for years to fish the Godbout despite his persistent efforts to catch them. See Comeau, *Life and Sport on the North Shore*, 110-14.

methods despised by the more aggressive supporters of the protection movement.⁴⁰

Efforts to accommodate aboriginals continued during the 1860s and 1870s, in which period the state turned over fishing stations on the Bersemis, Mingan, and Restigouche Rivers to local aboriginals, again despite the complaints of many opposed to aboriginal fishing practices.⁴¹ State overseers also practiced leniency in instances of aboriginals caught fishing for subsistence purposes or in cases in which poverty or ignorance of the law were factors. Patrician lessees and their guardians likewise often turned a blind eye to aboriginal poachers, and the presentation of aboriginals with fish as gifts remained commonplace. For their part, aboriginals continued to base claims to the region's salmon resources on traditional practices. Local Micmacs confronted for spearing salmon on the Restigouche in 1872, for example, "seemed much astonished to learn that a privilege which they claim to have been granted to them by treaties, was withdrawn, and they appeared to accept this change in their habits with very little relish indeed."⁴² Protection

⁴⁰ "Crown Lands Department – Fisheries," *Quebec Morning Chronicle* 7 February 1859, 2.

⁴¹ See for example "An Act to amend chapter sixty-two of the Consolidated Statutes of Canada, and to provide for the better regulation of Fishing and protection of Fisheries," *Statutes of Canada*, 1865, 29 Victoria, c. 11, s. 17; CSP, 1875, "Seventh Annual Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries, Being for the Fiscal Year Ended 30th June 1874," Napoleon Lavoie, "Report of the Cruise of the Government Schooner, 'La Canadienne,' in the River and Gulf of St. Lawrence, For the Season of 1874, Under Command of N. Lavoie, Esq., Fishery Officer," Appendix no. 3, 19; CSP, 1876, no. 5, "Eighth Annual Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries Being For the Fiscal Year Ended 30th June, 1875," "Report of the Commissioner of Fisheries For the Year Ending 31st December 1875," Napoleon Lavoie, "Report of the Cruise of the Government Steamer 'Glendon' Employed in the Protection of the Fisheries of the Gulf and River St. Lawrence, During the Season of 1875, Under Command of Napoleon Lavoie, Esq., Fishery Officer," Appendix no. 3, 35-118: 76-77.

⁴² CSP, 1872, no. 5, "Fourth Annual Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries For Year Ending 30th June, 1871," Napoleon Lavoie, "Report of the Cruise of the Government Schooner, 'La Canadienne,' in the River and Gulf of St. Lawrence, For the

advocates likewise met with opposition over their aims to replace hunting and fishing with agriculture and wage labour. As Lavoie wrote in regards to Micmac living along the Restigouche River, "So far, great difficulty has been experienced in preventing Indians from spearing, and in making them observe the fishery laws. Owing to their aversion to the cultivation of the soil, their former habits, their proverbial laziness, and their daily wants, they have been found always difficult to deal with."⁴³

The power relations that unfolded between protection advocates and aboriginals help us to understand in more general terms the benevolent tone of the protection movement. To a considerable degree, paternalism in this as in other contexts served as a form of spectacle by which protection advocates attempted to maintain the appearance of control. In other words, paternalism entailed in part the reinterpretation of resistance in such a way as to conceal the limitations of the protection movement. In an effort to trump opposition and to recast the limits of patrician authority as forms of paternal care, the state *gave* aboriginals the right to take salmon, lessees *gave* their catches to locals, prosecutors *forgave* the deserving poor. This does not in any way dismiss the genuine interest of protection advocates in the needs of the rural populace, nor does it demand that we view paternalism as a vehicle by which patricians attempted to secure their own personal interests. It suggests, rather, that paternalism in regards to the fish and game laws was one means by which patricians worked to retain their identity as power-brokers

Season of 1871, Under Comand of N. Lavoie, Esq., Fishery Officer," Appendix C, 12-29: 22-23.

⁴³ CSP, 1870, no. 11, "Annual Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries For the Year Ending 30th June, 1869," Napoleon Lavoie, "Report of the Cruise of the Government Schooner 'La Canadienne,' In the River and Gulf of St. Lawrence, For the Season of 1869, Under Command of N. Lavoie, Esq., Fishery Officer in Charge," Appendix no. 3, 14-43: 21.

in society and to prevent that “lessened respect” for law and order that many within the movement anxiously identified.

Conclusion

By the end of the 1870s the regulatory program on the Gulf and the Lower St. Lawrence was by the account of many a success. While things did not unfold exactly as some protection advocates hoped, the combination of leases, licenses, close seasons, equipment restrictions, overseers and guardians went a long way towards both the establishment of social order as well as the protection and in some cases the improvement of salmon stocks. Lavoie spoke for many when he noted the marked improvement brought about by the new regulatory program: “Owing to spearing, netting and illegal fishing of all sort, which was formerly carried on without any opposition, these streams were threatened with impending ruin; but the moment your Department took the matter in hand, they grew up again as if by magic.”⁴⁴

Of course, it was anything but magic. Protection advocates faced considerable challenges, both in terms of human activity and in relation to the natural environment, and the positive sentiments of Lavoie and others failed to conceal the anger felt by many who were affected by the new regulatory program. True, the enactment of fisheries legislation in the 1850s and after went a long way towards preventing the further depletion of the region’s salmon stocks. But the constant negotiation taking place between authorities and those affected by the new legislation reflected something else.

⁴⁴ CSP, 1877, no. 5, “Ninth Annual Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries, For the Fiscal Year Ended 30th June, 1876,” “Report of the Commissioner of Fisheries For the Year Ending 31st December, 1876,” Napoleon Lavoie, “Report of the Cruise of the Government Steamer ‘Lady Head’ in the Protection of the Fisheries of the Gulf and River St. Lawrence, During the Season of 1876, Under Command of Napoleon Lavoie Esq, Fishery Officer,” Appendix no. 3, 44-147: 68.

The new regulatory program did not so much put an end the social disorder associated with the unregulated climate of the 1850s, but rather replaced it with opposition to the new regulatory program itself. This was true not only on the lower St. Lawrence, but was evident throughout the province as supporters attempted to see the fish and game laws put into practice. As we will see in the chapters to follow, these trends would continue following the transfer of control during the 1880s of the federal system of angling leases to Quebec's provincial government.

PART II: EXPANSION, 1880-1914

Chapter Three:

Fish and Game Protection Under the Provincial Government

On the whole I think it would not be advantageous to adopt the policy of selling instead of leasing fishing rights, more especially as these privileges appear to be increasing in value, and are likely soon to yield a much larger revenue than has hitherto been derived from them.

D. C. Mackenzie, Department of Crown Lands, 1883¹

Regulation and Renewal

The 1880s marked a significant change in Quebec in regards to the regulation of fish and game resources. Of immediate importance was the Supreme Court of Canada's April 1882 decision that formally recognized provincial ownership of fishing rights on all lands under Crown Control. In many ways this decision was key to shaping the province's wildlife conservation program of the future, for the transfer of fishing rights from the federal government to the provinces gave Quebec far greater control of its inland fish resources than it had enjoyed in the past. While Canada's fisheries would remain a muddle of federal and provincial jurisdiction throughout the period under study, the rights of ownership that the provinces realized in 1882 did much to place Quebec's inland fisheries in a new context.²

This transfer came during a period of increasing interest in resource exploitation in Quebec. In this new context, fish and game fit into the interests of a new alliance of

¹ QSP, 1883-84, no. 4, "Report of the Commissioner of Crown Lands of the Province of Quebec for the Twelve Months Ended 30th June 1883," D.C. Mackenzie, "Inspection of Rivers, 1883," Appendix 58, 138-45: 145.

² For Quebec legislation encompassing the recognition of provincial ownership of fishing rights in 1882 see "An Act respecting the management of Public lands adjoining non-navigable streams and lakes in the Province of Quebec, and the exercise of the fishing rights thereto pertaining," *Statutes of Quebec*, 1883, 46 Victoria, c. 8.

francophone politicians and anglo-American businessmen who identified in Quebec's wilderness regions incredible economic opportunities in areas of forestry, mining, and hydroelectricity. For these men, Quebec's fish and game represented yet another resource whose potential they hoped to realize – no longer as subsistence or commercial resources, but rather via integration into a tertiary economic model based on sport. Playing into the broadening interest in sport hunting and fishing that began to take shape in Canada and the United States during the 1870s amongst this same class of business and political elite, this vision offered a much narrower vision of the role fish and game resources than that held by patricians during the previous decades. Nevertheless, it is important to note the degree to which this new alliance of political and business interests drew heavily on those patterns of fish and game protection that were set during the previous decades, entrenching further patricians' improvement oriented land tenure and associational strategies. In regards to the regulation of fish and game resources in Quebec, this transfer of control over fishing rights from the federal to the Quebec government set in motion a new series of regulatory strategies. During the following decades, the province laid the groundwork for a regulatory system that would endure for the better part of a century.³

At the base of the Quebec government's approach to fish and game regulation during the 1880s were two pieces of legislation. The first of these expanded dramatically the federal system of angling leases. Throughout the 1850s, 1860s, and 1870s the colonial and then the federal government had not attempted to take its system of leases beyond the salmon rivers of the lower St. Lawrence. But the passage of control over

³ *QSP*, 1883-84, no. 4, "Report of the Commissioner of Crown Lands of the Province of Quebec for the Twelve Months Ended 30th June 1883," iii-ix: viii-ix.

these and the rest of Quebec's inland waters to the provincial government created opportunities that the province was quick to realize. In March of 1883 the province passed legislation to grant angling leases on all of its inland waters.⁴ A major step towards the privatization of all of Quebec's waters, this legislation spelled out more clearly the riparian-based principles of ownership that had governed the leasing of the province's salmon rivers since the establishment of leasehold tenure legislation in 1858. Through its Department of Crown Lands, the provincial government would grant leases to thin strips of land on either side of the waters in question, which would in turn give lessees exclusive angling rights. As under the federal system, the lessee remained responsible for the enforcement of fishery legislation, and was required "to establish and maintain, on and over the territory covered by his lease, an efficient guardianship to secure a complete protection of the fishery rights belonging to it."⁵ With this came the right to prosecute offenders and to recover damages and legal costs that they incurred.

The Quebec government's expansion of the leasing system was driven in large part by economic motives. Crown Lands Commissioner W. W. Lynch observed soon after receiving news of the Supreme Court's decision that "the possession of these rights, which are likely soon to attain a considerable degree of importance, involves some rather heavy expenses of management." "Nevertheless," he continued, "the direct and indirect advantages to be derived from them are such that we should not be justified in neglecting

⁴ "An Act respecting the management of Public lands adjoining non-navigable streams and lakes in the Province of Quebec, and the exercise of the fishing rights thereto pertaining," *Statutes of Quebec*, 1883, 46 Victoria, c. 8.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 46 Victoria, c. 8, s. 4.

them.”⁶ In addition, legislators also had in mind the same concerns for social order that had guided the protection movement during the past decades. Like the federal system of angling leases, the province’s program would encourage the development of local sites of authority. The difference, of course was that this new system would no longer be limited to a few sites scattered along the lower St. Lawrence, but would be put into action throughout the province’s rural and wilderness regions. In sum, the expansion of the system of angling leases would allow the province to regulate the use of its fish and game resources, to establish social order, and to place a considerable portion of the costs of doing so on lessees.

The second major step towards establishing the province’s new regulatory system came in May of 1885, when the Quebec government passed legislation encouraging the legal incorporation of fish and game protection clubs. Here too the province drew its inspiration from established models, in this case the protection clubs formed in Quebec during the 1850s. In essence, the province hoped to encourage the creation of local associations that would take up the work of fish and game protection, and with it the costs and responsibilities that such work entailed. Among other things, incorporation would give the new fish and game clubs legal status that would better enable them to promote fish and game protection, in particular to pursue private prosecution through the courts. It would also offer clubs financial security, making it easier for them to own or rent buildings and office space for their activities. In effect, this move complemented the province’s new system of angling leases. Like leases, the establishment of a network

⁶ *QSP*, 1883-84, no. 4, “Report of the Commissioner of Crown Lands of the Province of Quebec for the Twelve Months Ended 30th June 1883,” W. W. Lynch, Introduction, iii-ix: ix.

of fish and game protection clubs would ground protection work in local communities throughout the province, and would place responsibility for fish and game regulation firmly in the hands of civil society.⁷

The result, though, was something different. Instead of encouraging the formation of fish and game protection clubs, incorporation became linked to the leasing of inland waters. As in other contexts, incorporation was an important development in regards to fish and game protection, for the conditions of limited liability that it offered minimized investors' financial risk, and in doing so encouraged the investment of capital. In the context of Quebec's angling leases, incorporation encouraged individual sportsmen who might not be able to afford to participate in this form of sport to do so collectively. In doing so, incorporation made it possible for growing numbers of upper and middle class men to take up angling leases, and to take on the patrician sensibilities by which these leases were understood. Within a decade more than fifty clubs were incorporated under the 1885 legislation, and practically all of them were formed for the purpose of acquiring and developing leased angling territories. Unlike the protection clubs of the 1850s, protection was not at the forefront of these organizations, but was part of a combination of interests related to the development of leased property and the province's sporting environment.

This combination of angling leases and fish and game clubs quickly became the framework for fish and game regulation in Quebec. Before the decade was out this sport-based model of protection was firmly entrenched in the province's law books. Angling leases went from one to ten years' duration, and in the case of a lease being adjudged to

⁷ "An Act to facilitate the formation of 'Fish and Game Protection Clubs' in the Province," *Statutes of Quebec*, 1885, 48 Victoria, c. 12.

another lessee, the province recognized the rights of the original lessee to an indemnity for the value of "any necessary buildings or improvements existing on the land leased."⁸ More dramatic were the changes that took shape in the late 1880s in regards to issues of land tenure and fishing practices. In 1888 the province passed legislation that reserved a corridor "of at least three chains [198 feet; 60 metres] in depth of the lands bordering on the rivers and lakes in the Province... at the time of the sale or gratuitous grant of the lands belonging to the Crown, for fishing purposes," thus reserving for the Quebec government the ability to lease fishing rights on all of the province's inland waters. A massive action in itself, this was but part of the new Act's efforts to orient fish resources on Quebec's inland waters towards sport. In addition, the 1888 Act banned all forms of fishing except angling on inland waters throughout the province.⁹ The importance of these moves cannot be overstated, for they represented a dramatic transformation of the place of freshwater fish resources in Quebec society. No longer legally available to commercial or subsistence users, Quebec's inland waters and its fish were reserved exclusively for the sporting community.

Within less than a decade, the province had set in place a regulatory system that encompassed much of Quebec's wilderness environment. Armed with the rights of land tenure and incorporation, sportsmen spread out quickly across the province. Soon the salmon rivers of the north shore and the Gaspé peninsula were but one of many regions frequented by lessees. To the west of Montreal, sportsmen began taking out leases north of the Ottawa river and on waters in the Gatineau valley. To the east, they turned to the

⁸ "An Act to amend and consolidate the laws relating to fisheries," *Statutes of Quebec*, 1888, 51-52 Victoria, c. 17, s. 2.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 51-52 Victoria, c17, s. 1; s. 13

rivers and lakes of the Eastern Townships. Vying with the north shore and the Gaspé peninsula in terms of popularity was the region recently opened by the Quebec & Lake St. John Railway north of Quebec City, a plateau over which a dense network of rivers and lakes wound their way to the St Lawrence and Saguenay Rivers. By 1895 the province's Department of Crown Lands had granted 179 angling leases. In a few instances municipalities, industrial, and even religious institutions took out angling leases. For the most part, though, leases remained the domain of the fish and game clubs and of individual sportsmen. Of the 179 leases mentioned above, fish and game clubs held thirty-nine of them directly, and kept a number of others under the names of individual members.¹⁰ Representing hundreds of sports hunters and anglers, these organizations quickly took control of some of the province's best sporting grounds (see appendices 1, 2, and 3).

The Fish and Game Club Community

In regards to their organization, Quebec's fish and game clubs were not much different from other nineteenth-century philanthropic and social institutions. Rules were spelled out in constitutions and by-laws, and the typical club had a president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer, a committee or board of directors, a superintendent or manager, and at least one guardian. Executive members were typically the most active participants, and saw to the management of club matters in the name of anywhere from a few to hundreds of members. Annual meetings typically took place either in January or in May, just before the start of the summer angling season. Montreal and Quebec City

¹⁰ *QSP*, 1895, no. 4, "Report of the Commissioner of Crown Lands of the Province of Quebec for the year ending 30th June 1895," "Statement respecting fish caught by angling in the Rivers, during the year 1895," Appendix 48, 137-39; "Statement respecting fish caught by angling in the Lakes, during the year 1895," Appendix 49, 140-44.

were popular meeting places, as both were home to many club members, and were en route to many of the fish and game clubs' territories. In other instances, clubs held meetings in cities where the bulk of their membership was based. The Triton Fish and Game Club, for example, held meetings in New York as well as in Quebec City, while the Megantic Fish and Game Corporation met each year in Boston.¹¹

Like other associations, fish and game clubs were careful to monitor membership. Status and respectability were constant concerns, and rules governing membership, nomination and voting procedures were shaped in order to ensure that members could control these dynamics. In some of the larger clubs in particular, membership could be a fairly complex arrangement. In the Megantic club, for example, the purchase of a share did not entitle the shareholder to membership, and potential members had to go through a process of nomination, application, and approval in order to verify their "qualifications and social standing."¹² Typically, membership was part of a process of networking amongst friends and associates. In 1898, for example, J.W. Burdock wrote to Montreal doctor and poet William Henry Drummond recommending for membership in Drummond's St. Maurice Club "George M. Wright, lawyer of 280 Broadway, New York, a life long companion of my rod and gun outings, a gentleman in every sense, and a true

¹¹ Triton Fish and Game Club, *Report of the Annual Meeting of the Fish and Game Club, held December 14th, 1904*; Megantic Fish and Game Corporation, *Guide Book To the Megantic, Spider, and Upper Dead River Regions of the Province of Quebec and State of Maine*, 141; see also Megantic Fish and Game Corporation, *Yearbook*, Harvard University, Widener Library.

¹² Megantic Fish and Game Corporation, *Yearbook*, 31, Harvard University, Widener Library.

sportsman.”¹³ Further rules outlined in detail the conditions by which guests, family, and honorary members were permitted to visit club grounds. Gender was a constant issue, and clubs were particularly careful to exclude women from participation in their formal operations (see figure 3.1). Membership lists indicate that they were highly successful at this, and detailed rules directed to this end governed even the transfer of deceased members’ shares. In the St. Jerome Club, for example, such shares were not subject to inheritance by the deceased member’s widow, but were to be offered directly to the club for purchase or sold subject to club’s approval of the purchaser as member.¹⁴

These first years saw the establishment of the province’s most prominent fish and game clubs. Some drew their membership from the northeastern United States, and relied on large membership numbers and healthy fees in order to cover the considerable investments they made in their holdings. Prospective members of the New York-based Triton club, which took out a lease in 1893 in the Laurentians north of Quebec City, were subject to an initial membership fee of \$250.00 as well as annual dues of \$15.00.¹⁵ Given the club’s membership base of 300, this amounted to a significant sum to invest in improvements. The same pattern can be found in the Boston-based Megantic Fish and Game Corporation, which set up in 1888 on territory leased from private landowners in the state of Maine and from the provincial government in Quebec’s Eastern Townships, where it took out a lease for \$200.00 on the Spider and Arnold Rivers. By 1895 the

¹³ McGill University, Osler Library of the History of Medicine, P103, W. H. Drummond Family Fonds 1854-1905, Letter 10.11, J. W Burdock to W.H. Drummond, 7 March 1898.

¹⁴ Club de chasse et de pêche de Saint-Jérôme, *Constitution et règlements du Club de chasse et de pêche de Saint-Jérôme*, 5-6.

¹⁵ Triton Fish and Game Club, *Constitution, By-laws and Membership of the Triton Fish and Game Club*, 3.

Megantic club's leases, which could be reached by rail from Boston, New York, and other cities of the northeastern states in less than twenty-four hours, covered 250 square miles (650 square kilometres) of territory on which members enjoyed exclusive access to "three lakes, twenty ponds, six rivers, eight streams and brooks, and eight bogs" (see figure 3.2). By this point the club had a membership base of 300 and capital stock of \$25,000.00. For the privilege of using this territory, members purchased a \$50.00 membership share and paid annual dues of \$20.00.¹⁶

But the American fish and game clubs were only part of the story. Canadian participation remained a dominant part of the province's sport hunting and fishing culture, and anglophones and francophones alike joined the U. S.-based clubs and formed associations of their own. In fact, it was characteristic for many clubs that boasted a large number of American members to be operated by a small group from Quebec and the northeastern United States who worked together to establish a membership base and maintain club holdings. In the case of the Laurentian and St. Maurice clubs, for example, William Henry Drummond worked constantly to stock the clubs with members of sound economic standing in order to fund improvements to club grounds.¹⁷ Of the 120 angling leases held by individual lessees in 1895, one third were listed under francophone surnames, and Quebec's francophone elite mixed with the broader North American sporting community in associations like the Club de chasse et de pêche 'Les Laurentides.' Established in 1885, the club 'Les Laurentides' began as the project of a small group of prominent Quebec City francophones. In 1886 the club took out a lease comprising fifty

¹⁶ Megantic Fish and Game Corporation, *Yearbook*, 2, 30, Harvard University, Widener Library.

¹⁷ See for example McCord Museum, P165, Fonds W. H. Parker, Letter, William Henry Drummond to W. H. Parker, 19 June 1893, 2.

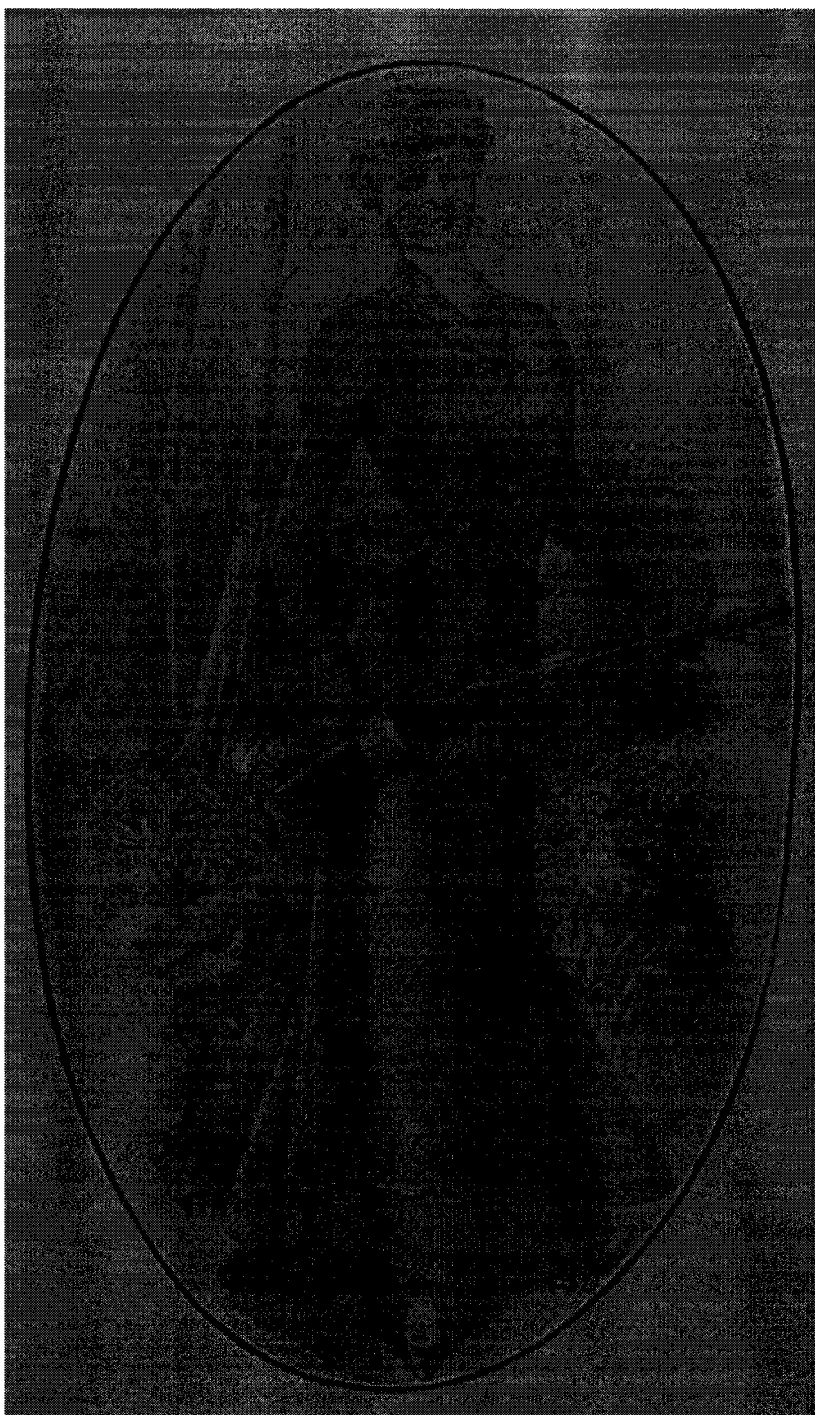


Figure 3.1. "Vêtement de chasse pour femme," 1902. While upper and middle class women participated increasingly during the nineteenth century in sport hunting and in particular angling, the more formal associational activities of Quebec's sport and protection clubs continued to be dominated by men. Source: *L'album universel* 19 25 (18 octobre 1902) : 590.

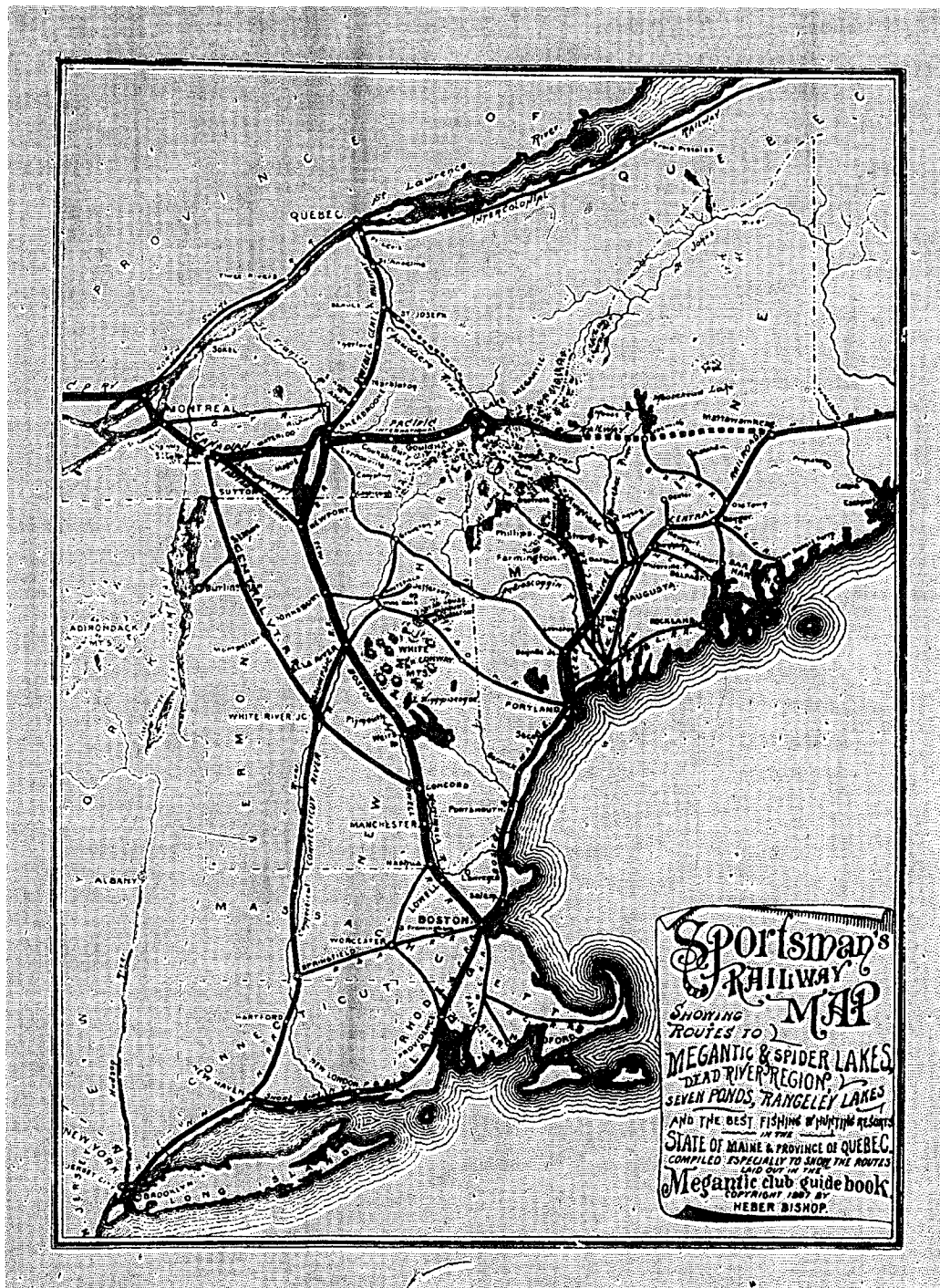


Figure 3.2. Map of Routes to the Megantic Fish and Game Club Territory, 1887. By the 1880s many of Quebec's most celebrated hunting and fishing territories were within a day's travel of the major cities of the northeastern United States. As in the case of the Megantic Club, these circumstances brought growing numbers of American sportsmen to the province, a good number of whom formed clubs and took out hunting and fishing leases of their own. Source: Megantic Fish and Game Corporation, *Guide Book To the Megantic, Spider, and Upper Dead River Regions of the Province of Quebec and State of Maine*, 100.

or more lakes in the Laurentians north of Quebec City.¹⁸ Initially capping its numbers at twenty, the club soon expanded its membership base significantly. By 1897 the club's fifty-four members included three Quebec City judges and Quebec lawyer and future premier (1920-36) Louis-Alexandre Taschereau; with them were a number of longtime Quebec City anglophone patrician families and eleven Americans, mostly residents of New York State.¹⁹ Francophone politicians and civil servants also became increasingly involved in the politics of fish and game protection. Among the most influential of these were Simon-Napoléon Parent, Quebec's Minister of Lands, Forests, and Fisheries, and provincial premier from 1900 to 1905; Eugène Étienne Taché, Assistant Commissioner in the province's Department of Crown Lands from 1869 to 1912; Louis-Zéphirin Joncas, politician and Quebec fish and game superintendent from 1896 to 1903; and Henri de Puyjalon, the French-born naturalist and sportsman who served as Quebec's Inspector General of Fisheries and Game from 1897 to 1901.²⁰

Once established, these new associations began not only to take out new leases, but also to replace patrician lessees on some of the lower St. Lawrence's salmon rivers.

¹⁸ Quebec Minister of Colonization, Mines, and Fisheries, *The Fish and Game Clubs of the Province of Quebec*.

¹⁹ Les Laurentides Fish and Game Club, *By-laws of the "les Laurentides" Fish and Game Club*, 19-20. See also Club de chasse et de pêche "Les Laurentides," *Club de chasse et de pêche "Les Laurentides," et liste des actionnaires*; and *Constitution et règlements du Club de chasse et de pêche "Les Laurentides."*

²⁰ Joncas also held the lease to the Gaspé's Grande Rivière from 1891 to 1903; for the first record of this see *QSP*, 1891, no. 4, "Report of the Commissioner of Crown Lands of the Province of Quebec for the Twelve Months Ended 30th June 1891," "Statement respecting fish caught by angling in the Rivers, during the year 1891," Appendix 32, 58-60: 59. On Joncas see Marc Desjardins, "Louis-Zéphirin Joncas," *DCB*, vol. 13, 524-25; on Parent see Michele Brassard and Jean Hamelin, "Simon-Napoléon Parent," *DCB*, vol. 14, 818-22; on Taché see Lucie K. Morrisset and Luc Noppen, "Eugène Étienne Taché," *DCB*, vol. 14, 984-87; on Puyjalon see Isabelle Bourgeois, "Henri de Puyjalon," *DCB*, vol. 13, 852-53.

A case in point is that of George Stephen, the lessee during the 1870s of the Gaspé's Matapédia, Causapschal and Humqui Rivers. During the period in which he held these leases, Stephen became a major landowner and patron in the community of Causapschal, purchasing farms as well as fishing rights from riparian owners and contributing to the community's religious and educational infrastructure. When Stephen decided in the late 1880s to leave the region to establish a new fishing lodge on the Metis River emptying into the St. Lawrence to the north, he gave most of his property to the local community, and in 1892 sold the remainder of his fishing and his fishing camp, 'Les Fourches,' at the junction of the Matapédia and Causapschal Rivers to the Restigouche Salmon Club. Two years later the Restigouche Club picked up Stephen's old lease and took his place as local patron.²¹ Others underwent the same transition: the lease on the north shore's Godbout River, the domain of Allan Gilmour for more than two decades, went through a number of individual lessees during the 1880s and 1890s before being taken by the Weymahigan Club in 1899. Quebec's most prized salmon river of the period, the Cascapédia, was placed for fifteen years at the disposal of Canada's Governors General, first Lorne (1878-1883), then Lansdowne (1883-1888), and finally Stanley (1888-1893), at which point the Department of Crown Lands opened the river to a competitive bidding process. The successful bidder, prominent New York lawyer Henry W. DeForest, acquired the lease

²¹ On Stephen's relationship to the Causapschal region see Pelland, *La région Matane-Matapédia: ses ressources, ses progrès et son avenir*, 57; Closse, *Un site enchanteur de la vallée de la Matapédia*, 31-46.

for the Cascapedia Club at an annual cost of \$6125.00 – at that point the highest amount paid for an angling lease in the province.²²

The shift of these leases to club control did not end the influence of patrician culture on the province's sporting and protection networks, however. Elites continued to hold leases and to participate in the new fish and game clubs, and the wide interest within the sporting community in status, authority, and tradition led many clubs to solicit the patronage and participation of men placed highly in politics, in business, and in the province's sporting and protection circles. The Triton club's honorary members in 1894, for example, included Canada's Governor General the Earl of Aberdeen, U. S. president Grover Cleveland, and well-known sporting and protection enthusiasts George Bird Grinnell and E. T. D. Chambers of the New York sporting journal *Forest and Stream*.²³ While the sporting community in Quebec encompassed growing numbers of upper and middle class men who did not carry the same social and economic baggage of the patricians that preceded them, their attitudes and practices remained informed to a considerable degree by the patrician culture on which the province's fish and game protection movement was based.

Hunting Leases

As in the case of fish, Quebec's game resources became increasingly subject during the 1880s and after to a protection strategy that favoured sport over other forms of hunting. A strategy that was applied to fish and game resources throughout North

²² Griswold, *The Cascapedia Club*, 5-7; see also Griswold, *Fish Facts and Fancies*. For details on lessees and their holdings see the Quebec *Sessional Papers* for the years in question.

²³ Triton Fish and Game Club, *Prospectus, Constitution and By-laws of the Triton Fish and Game Club, Quebec, Canada, 1894*.

America during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the sport-based model of game protection included close seasons and restrictions based on game animals' age and sex, and led eventually to the establishment of sporting licences, permits and bag limits, equipment restrictions, and regulations governing the transportation and storage of game.²⁴

But the leasing of hunting territory was something different, and separated Quebec's approach to fish and game protection even further from those taking shape on other parts of the continent. Given the long history of angling leases in Quebec, the decision by the provincial government in 1895 to begin leasing hunting territory comes as no surprise. Hunting leases fit well with the existing system of clubs and angling leases, and seemed to hold the answer to many of the problems faced by the state in regards to the regulation of the province's game resources. That said, it must also be noted that the government's decision to lease hunting territory did not evolve as smoothly as one might assume. Ultimately, the decision to establish private hunting leases was the result of a conflict related to the establishment in 1895 of an explicitly *public* wilderness space: that of Laurentides National Park.

The second of Quebec's provincial parks, Laurentides was the product of a wilderness parks movement that took shape in the United States in the 1870s, and that was instituted in Canada with the establishment of Rocky Mountains (Banff) Park in 1885. Quebec's first wilderness park was formed in 1894 following the request of Montreal doctor Camille Laviolette for a grant of land in the Laurentians north of

²⁴ For game legislation during the 1880s see "An Act to amend and Consolidate the Game Laws of the Province of Quebec" *Statutes of Quebec*, 1884, 47 Victoria, c. 25, s. 26; "An Act to amend 'The Quebec Game Law,'" 1887, 50 Victoria, c. 16, s. 1.

Montreal, where Laviolette planned to build a sanatorium in order that his tuberculosis patients could enjoy the benefits of the region's mountain air. The province granted Laviolette a free concession of 14750 acres or 60 km² at the southern base of Mont Tremblant, and named it Parc de la Montagne Tremblante.²⁵ This concession soon stirred regional jealousies, and there followed a push in Quebec City for the province to establish a wilderness park in the Laurentians north of that city. The result, however, was something much different. This time, proponents looked directly to the wilderness parks of the United States and in other parts of Canada. Crown Lands Commissioner and future Conservative Quebec premier (1896-97) Edmund James Flynn pointed to the United States' Yellowstone National Park, to Rocky Mountains Park in western Canada, and to Algonquin Park in Ontario as examples of the kind of reserve the province sought to establish.²⁶ On 12 January 1895, the Quebec Legislature passed the Act Establishing Laurentides National Park. Described as a "forest reservation, fish and game preserve, public park and pleasure ground," the park encompassed 2531 square miles (6555 km²), and took up much of the territory that lay between Quebec City and Lake St. John to the north.²⁷

But there was a problem. For the boundaries of the new park overlapped with the angling leases of a number of fish and game clubs, most notably that of the Triton Club, which found most of its territory inside the new park. Although they held no formal

²⁵ Fournier, *Histoire du Parc du Mont-Tremblant : Des origines à 1981*, 18, 24 ; "An Act to establish Trembling Mountain Park," *Statutes of Quebec*, 1894-95, 58 Victoria, c. 23.

²⁶ Assemblée nationale du Québec, *Débats 1894-1895*, Séance du 26 décembre 1894, 218-19; Séance du 27 décembre 1894, 226-27.

²⁷ "An Act to establish the Laurentides National Park," *Statutes of Quebec*, 1894-95, 58 Victoria, c. 22. On the creation of the park see Hébert, "Conservation, culture et identité: la création du Parc des Laurentides et du Parc de la Montagne Tremblante, 1894-1938."

hunting rights, members of the Triton Club and other lessees typically hunted as well as fished on the territories they leased, and had begun to assume such rights and to guard their leases accordingly. Park legislation clearly stated that fishing lessees were exempt from the park's new sport licensing requirements, but no such exemptions existed in favour of hunting, and this worried a good number of sportsmen. For its part, the Triton Club saw the park and its protection agenda as a direct threat to members' sporting activities. Hoping to secure access to the game as well as the fish on the territories it held under lease, the Triton's executive committee quickly approached the province to see whether it could obtain exclusive hunting privileges on those lands and waters it leased for fishing.²⁸

For the provincial government, the issue at hand soon went beyond the immediate concerns of angling lessees bordering the new park, and became instead an opportunity to consider amendments to the game laws that would allow the province to begin leasing hunting territory. In December 1895, committee members sat down to debate draft legislation. Opinions amongst those present differed dramatically. Some committee members rejected the idea of leasing hunting territory because it placed the interests of sportsmen above those of local inhabitants and the colonization movement. Member for L'Islet F.-G. M. Dechene, for example, argued strongly against the new system and the favouritism shown to wealthy sportsmen:

Je reproche au gouvernement de vouloir s'arroger le droit de louer à des étrangers des territoires destinés à la chasse au détriment des colons. Je suggère que la loi déclare que les colons, malgré ces baux, aient le droit

²⁸ Triton Fish and Game Club, *Report upon Special Meeting, New Lease, Club Buildings, &c.*

d'aller chasser sur ces territoires, pour y gagner une partie de leur subsistance, et il cite les cas d'abus qui ont existé dans le passé. On nous parle de capitalistes qui vont là établir des clubs et dépenser de l'argent. L'expérience du passé est là pour établir, à peu d'exceptions près, que ces gens-là n'ont jamais fait la fortune des colons. Sous un prétexte comme celui-ci, ces prétendus millionnaires se sont emparés de nos meilleurs lacs à l'exclusion des colons du voisinage. Quant à moi, je ne suis pas ici pour défendre les richards mais bien pour protéger les intérêts des pauvres colons qui n'ont pas l'influence de ces millionnaires auprès du gouvernement.²⁹

Others, however, argued just as strongly in favour of the addition of hunting leases to the province's existing system of river and lake leases. Among them were men well placed within Quebec's sporting and protection circles, most notably George Washington Stephens, a Montreal businessman, landowner, and protection club member and former mayor of that city, and Guillaume-Alphonse Nantel, Crown Lands Commissioner and president of the Chapleau Fish and Game Club. Employing the same arguments that lay behind the province's river and lake leases, they argued that leasing hunting territory was an effective way of generating revenue, of making non-agricultural lands productive, and of ensuring the presence in such regions of responsible hunters who would provide effective surveillance. In addition, they argued that consumption on the part of sportsmen would benefit the rural economy. As Stephens, who kept his own camp near St. Alexis des Monts, pointed out, "Les clubs dépensent beaucoup d'argent en salaires

²⁹ Assemblée nationale du Québec, *Débats*, 1894-1895, Séance du 10 décembre 1895: 250-51.

dans cette partie de son compté et, en fit, font vivre beaucoup de gens dans la region. Dans un endroit en particulier, il y a six fermiers qu vendent toute leur production annuelle à deux clubs de peche.”³⁰

In the end, the criticisms of Dechene and others failed to derail the project. Legislation passed on 21 December 1895, and on 1 January 1896 the Triton Club took out a ten year lease on lands both in and outside the park entitling members to “exclusive hunting, fishing and shooting rights over its territory” and releasing them from the obligation to purchase any form of permit or licence.³¹

Aimed initially at angling lessees interested in acquiring parallel hunting privileges, the leases quickly proved popular. In the first year twenty-four parties signed up, leasing 1175 square miles (3043 km²) of territory. By 1900, seventy-eight lessees held the hunting rights to 3517.5 square miles (9110.3 km²) of territory. A number of rules governed the distribution of these leases. For one, leases could only be granted to lands remote from settlement and unsuited to cultivation. In addition, the province set a minimum price of \$1.00 (later \$3.00) per square mile, and lessees were limited to a maximum of 400 square miles. Also worth noting, lessees of hunting territory were not required to employ guardians, for it was assumed that such work would be met through the terms of their angling leases.

Not surprisingly, these rules were not applied rigidly to the leasing process, and there developed a good deal of variety within the new system. Not all hunting leases were linked to angling territories, and hunting territories ranged dramatically in size, from

³⁰ Ibid., 251.

³¹ Triton Fish and Game Club, *Report Upon Special Meeting, New Lease, Club Buildings, &c.*

one to hundreds of square miles. As in the case of angling leases, a range of individuals and groups participated in the new system. A few companies took out leases on hunting territories, and in some cases employees secured hunting leases. The Railroad Employees Fish and Game Club, for example, held hunting rights to twenty square miles in Portneuf County. Individuals associated with religious institutions also took part. In Sherbrooke, the Revd. Sister Marie Leonie, Superior of the Petites Soeurs de la Ste. Famille de Sherbrooke held hunting rights to 375 square miles in Temiscouata County from 1898 to 1905, before transferring them to the Squatteck Fish and Game Club.

For the most part, though, hunting leases were the domain of the fish and game clubs. In 1914, eighty-three of the province's 189 hunting leases remained outside club control, and forty-three of these measured ten square miles or less. By comparison, in 1914 the province's fish and game clubs held 106 of the province's 189 hunting leases and 6562.25 square miles (16,996 km²) or three quarters of the total 8960.75 square miles (23,208 km²) under lease (see appendix 4). Clubs looking to control large territories evaded the maximums set by the province by taking out adjacent leases in different names. As a result, some club territories were of considerable size. The Eternity Fish and Game Club, for example, held 247 square miles (640 km²) in the county of Chicoutimi and another 363 square miles (940 km²) in Saguenay county. Other large territories included those of the Tourilli Fish and Game Club (355 square miles / 920 km²); the Triton Club (130 square miles / 337 km²); and the Club de chasse et pêche 'les Laurentides' (113 square miles / 293 km²). One can gain a sense of the size of these

territories by comparing them to the island of Montreal, which measures 201 square miles or 521 square kilometres.³²

Conclusion

By 1914, Quebec's system of angling and hunting leases was firmly established. Lessees held a total of 557 leases, which were divided into 189 hunting leases, 54 river leases, and 314 lake leases.³³ The number of fish and game clubs also continued to climb. By 1914, 283 fish and game clubs were incorporated. These clubs held 106 of the province's 189 hunting leases, 21 of its 54 river leases, and 137 of its 314 lake leases.³⁴ While a number of patricians continued to hold valuable territories and to participate in these new networks, it became increasingly clear that the more broadly based fish and game clubs now controlled the largest leases and the best hunting and angling grounds in the province, and were now central to the province's system of fish and game protection. As indicated by the sheer number of clubs and lessees above, patricians were in the minority. Nevertheless, it is important to note that these changes did not spell the end of the patrician model of protection. Though their vision of fish and game resources was considerably narrower than that of their predecessors, Quebec's new cohort of anglophone and francophone lessees nevertheless retained much of the patrician culture that preceded them. Bringing patrician sensibilities to bear on their territories, they became the backbone of the province's regulatory strategy.

³² These numbers are based on data compiled from relevant reports in the Quebec *Sessional Papers* published between 1897 and 1915.

³³ *QSP*, 1914, no. 7, "General Report of the Minister of Colonization, Mines, and Fisheries of the Province of Quebec For the Year Ending June 30th 1914," Hector Caron, "V. Fisheries and Game," 160-266: 164-77, 189-200.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 178-88. These numbers do not include leases held by individuals in trust for clubs.

Chapter Four:

Improvement and Club Culture

I look upon a salmon river just as I do upon a piece of land. The latter has a capacity for raising a certain number of bushels of grain, etc. If you do not get that amount of crop it must be that it is either badly cultivated or overgrown with weeds. A river has a capacity for a certain quantity of fish. When you do not get that, there is a cause for it.

Napoleon Alexander Comeau, *Life and Sport on the North Shore*, 1909¹

The Evolution of Patrician Culture

One of the first fish and game clubs to incorporate under provincial legislation was the Laurentian Club. Formed in 1886, it took out its first angling lease on a number of lakes in Champlain County north of Trois Rivières. During the following years the club added hunting leases of 481 square miles in Champlain county and another 356 square miles in St. Maurice county, held in part by individual members in order to circumvent the limit set by the province on grants to hunting territory. By 1900 the club had 243 members, and by 1914 its accumulated expenditures amounted to close to one million dollars.² As a summary of the club's holdings from 1914 indicates, the results were impressive:

The [Laurentian] club has no less than 55 different buildings upon its limits. The main club house at Lac la Pêche is the headquarters of the club, and is 60 feet by 40, and two and a half stories high. There are also at headquarters a large building for a dining hall, covering about the same area as the main house, as well as three cottages, and an office building 35 feet by 18. The club has also fifty acres of land under cultivation,

¹ Comeau, *Life and Sport on the North Shore*.

² Quebec Minister of Colonization, Mines, and Fisheries, *The Fish and Game Clubs of the Province of Quebec. What They Mean to the Province, What Privileges They Enjoy*, 20-21. See also Laurentian Club, *The Laurentian Club. Meeting of 10th February, 1900 and Reports For Season of 1899*.

including a large garden with a resident gardener. It has opened up 175 miles of portages and constructed 23 miles of wagon road, which enables members to reach their most distant camps with comparative ease. The camp buildings with their equipment are valued at over \$25,000.00.³

The extensive nature of the Laurentian Club's operations returns us directly to the estate management model of fish and game protection that first took shape in the province during the 1850s. As the previous chapter indicates, the 1880s marked a transition that saw sport become central to fish and game protection in the province. This transition, however, did not mark the end of the patrician model of protection. Rather, the state's emphasis on incorporation and on land tenure strategies entrenched more firmly the patrician approach to fish and game protection. As we see in the case of the Laurentian club, this process attached private interests directly to local environment, and encouraged throughout the province the development of what were in some cases massive sporting estates.

While elites continued during the 1880s and after to play a fundamental role in sport and protection in Quebec, the emphasis on incorporation had a significant impact on sport and on the province's protection movement. As indicated earlier, the protective and cost-sharing principles of club membership allowed individuals to participate in the leasehold system without having to take on all of the expenses and responsibilities it entailed. This resulted in a transition from the patrician culture of the previous decades to a more broadly based network in which there participated a growing number of urban

³ Quebec Minister of Colonization, Mines, and Fisheries, *The Fish and Game Clubs of the Province of Quebec*, 18.

professionals and smaller-scale capitalists seeking to emulate the upper social ranks. This combination of class emulation, the ongoing participation of patricians, and the centrality of land tenure strategies for fish and game regulation further entrenched the patrician order of the previous decades.

Reflecting as it did the increasingly urban identity of protection advocates, club members, and lessees, Quebec's fish and game club culture fit easily into the antimodern sentiments of the late nineteenth century. In ways that were symptomatic of modernity during this period more generally, many within the ranks of the province's upper and middle classes idealized rural life as an antidote to the high mortality rates, poverty, poor sanitary conditions, and other problems associated with urbanization, industrialization, and the rapid pace of change. During this period, sport became increasingly intertwined with aesthetic and ethical views of nature, and it became commonplace for men to use sport and club activities as a means to encounter wildlife and the wilderness environment. As was the case in the past, many of these new 'sportsmen' in fact did relatively little hunting or fishing. William Henry Drummond is a case in point. A Montreal doctor and a celebrated poet whom biographer Mary Jane Edwards describes as "one of the most popular authors in the English-speaking world" at the turn of the century, Drummond was also one of Quebec's most familiar supporters of fish and game protection. An active member of the Montreal Fish and Game Protection Club, Drummond participated regularly in Quebec's protection and sporting networks, and played a central role in organizing and managing the Laurentian, Shawinigan, and St. Maurice fish and game clubs. And yet Drummond's attitudes towards sport remained ambivalent. Though he spent considerable time hunting and in particular fishing, Drummond retained throughout

his life a lukewarm attitude towards the former. A dog breeder and a member of both the Montreal Kennel Club and the Irish Terrier Club of Canada, Drummond did not like killing animals, and the considerable time he spent engaged in 'sport' was in part spent writing poetry and socializing with family and friends, club members, fellow poets, and the rural francophone community that inspired much of his writing.⁴

Many of Drummond's contemporaries were of the same cut. In *The Fishing Tourist*, Charles Hallock noted that "As there are two or three indifferent anglers in every party, the "heft" of the score should be credited as a rule to two rods, when the party comprises four or five persons."⁵ The sometimes marginal status of sport next to more general interests in wildlife and the wilderness environment became clear to many during Governor General Lord Grey's 1911 visit to Laurentides Park. Despite "several chances to secure big game," noted Park superintendent W. C. J. Hall, "the Governor-General contented himself (like some other sportsmen do), with observing the movements of the animals and refrained from drawing trigger on them." As Grey later explained, such spaces were not only for sport and protection, but were "a place of rest, refreshment and recreation for those who love the quiet of the wilds."⁶

Still, one cannot lose sight of the fact that the antimodern idealization of sport and the wilderness environment was itself part and parcel of the larger project of modernity. Despite the anti-modern angst of the late nineteenth century, the model of protection that evolved in Quebec and in other parts of North America during this period remained an

⁴ Mary Jane Edwards, "William Henry Drummond," *DCB*, vol. 13, 284-87.

⁵ Hallock, *The Fishing Tourist: Angler's Guide and Reference Book*, 169.

⁶ *QSP*, 1912, no 5, "Report of the Minister of Lands and Forests of the Province of Quebec for the Twelve Months Ending 30th June 1911," W. C. J. Hall, "Report For 1911 Concerning the Laurentides National Park," Appendix 23, 83-86: 85.

effort to reshape the wilderness environment to fit the demands of an increasingly modern society. In this context, commercial and subsistence patterns of resource use were for many not so much antimodern as they were primitive. Increasingly, protection advocates sought to restrict commercial and subsistence practices in favour of sport in the belief that the former would continue to benefit from the province's fish and game resources indirectly, through participation in a tertiary economy that they anticipated would develop around the activities of sports hunters and anglers.

The Club Estate

Lessees worked to improve their holdings with a wide range of goals in mind. As in other contexts, improvement encompassed everything from the self to broader social, economic, and environmental concerns. To this end, the purchase of a large angling or hunting lease entailed far more than a passion for sport. The improvement of sporting opportunities went hand in hand with the protection of fish and game populations, and reflected patrician sensibilities in regards to everything from the economy and social order to aesthetic and ethical views of wildlife and the natural environment. At a practical level, improvement involved attention to all of the details of estate management, from the tedious and mundane tasks associated with maintaining smooth operations for members and guests to the employment of guardians, guides, and servants to decisions regarding material improvements. Among its broader implications, the fish and game clubs were seen by many as a means of facilitating industrial development and capital investment in the province. A 1911 article in the *Montreal Gazette* identified two types of tourist sportsmen: the man of leisure and education who "would see the intent wealth of the country through which he traveled," and "the business man who went into the

woods for relaxation and physical benefit.” Both, the *Gazette* concluded, “were quick to discern the commercial value of water powers, timber and minerals, and very frequently a pleasure trip would result in large investments in the country visited.”⁷ As the decades progressed the importance within the sporting and protection community of the latter over the former – that is, of the more narrowly minded businessman over the broadly oriented patrician – was becoming increasingly apparent.

For lessees, work typically began with the establishment of some form of shelter. In the case of many smaller leases, these could consist of little more than one or two small wooden buildings. For the larger clubs, though, these were comfortable spaces (see figure 4.1). The headquarters of the Megantic Club, for example, consisted of

a cosey [sic] parlor with beautiful fire-place, piano, etc, a roomy hall with another large and artistic fire-place, a bright, tasty dining-room, and on the other floors are the bed-rooms furnished with hardwood chamber-sets, and offering accommodations few expect to find so far back in the woods.

The house is also supplied with hot and cold water, baths, etc., and suffice it to say that a more charming spot for comfort, enjoyment and good table cannot be found, and it is little wonder that many members are contented to spend their entire vacation here.⁸

Additional structures commonly found on club territory included a separate building for the club kitchen as well as storehouses, stables, equipment sheds and boathouses.

Grounds immediately surrounding the clubhouse and other buildings were typically

⁷ “Sportsmen Who Help a Country. Their Value as Means of Publicity for Undeveloped Regions Discussed,” *Montreal Gazette* 10 February 1911, 12.

⁸ Megantic Fish and Game Corporation, *Yearbook*, 3, Harvard University, Widener Library.

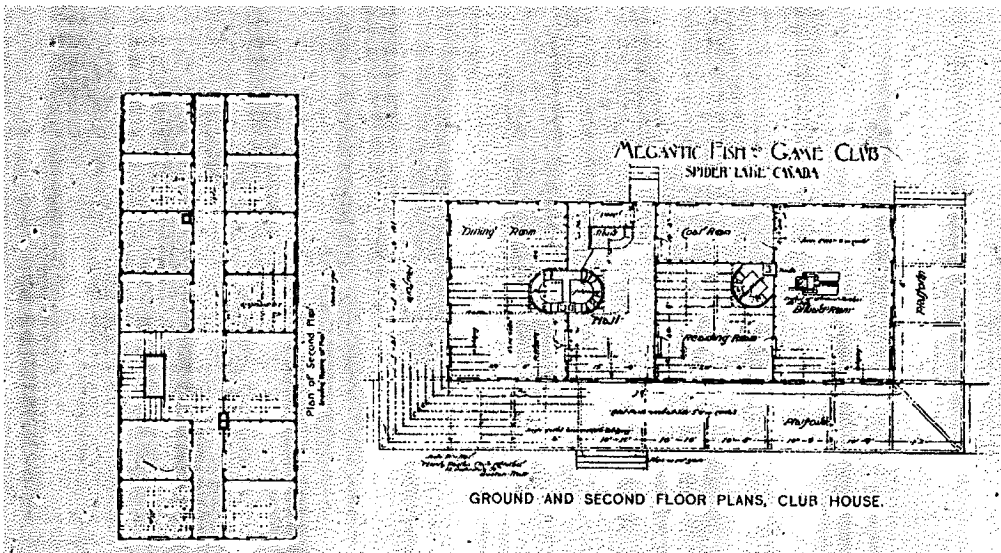
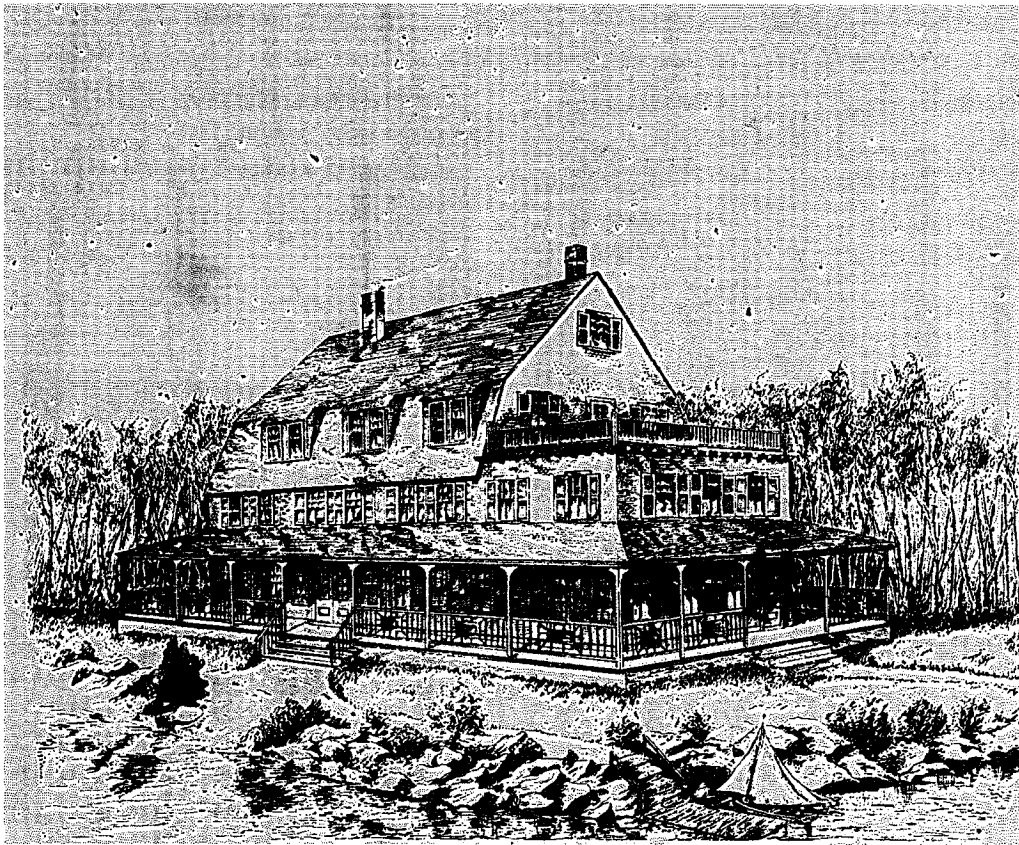


Figure 4.1. Clubhouse, Megantic Fish and Game Club, 1887. The expansion of leases and of club culture during the 1880s facilitated investment in improvements of various sorts. For members of some of the province's wealthier clubs, the clubhouse made hunting and fishing into a relatively comfortable pastime. Source: Megantic Fish and Game Corporation, *Guide Book To the Megantic, Spider, and Upper Dead River Regions of the Province of Quebec and State of Maine*, 130, 132.

cleared of trees and brush in order to prevent fire, and some clubs planted vegetable and other crops to supply food for members and for horses and other domestic animals kept on club grounds.

From here, lessees turned their attention to the rest of their territory. They blazed trails and constructed roads, portages, and bridges in order to access the more remote parts of their leaseholds. With these were platforms, walkways and docks to allow members easier access to shorelines and pools. Tested sporting grounds were quickly recognized, and salmon rivers in particular became the subject of maps that described favourite pools as well as rapids and obstructions. In some cases lessees built additional camps, offering members rough accommodation during visits to their holdings' more remote hunting and fishing grounds. The Laurentides Club, for example, kept six such camps, while the Megantic club kept twenty-nine. Members also built private quarters on club grounds, sometimes in the vicinity of the clubhouse and in other cases in more remote locations.⁹

Environmental Considerations

In order to maintain and improve their holdings, it was important for lessees to mediate their impact on local wildlife and wilderness habitat. One of the most obvious ways to do this was to keep visitor and member numbers low, and to this end many clubs remained small operations. This was true even in the case of highly sought salmon rivers as the Cascapedia, the lease to which was held by the Cascapedia Club, which was limited to eight members.¹⁰ In other cases, though, clubs established large membership

⁹ Ibid., 2. Details on a number of clubs' holdings are found in Quebec Minister of Colonization, Mines, and Fisheries, *The Fish and Game Clubs of the Province of Quebec*.

¹⁰ Griswold, *The Cascapedia Club*, 6.

bases in order to finance improvements. Here clubs relied on the fact that members would make relatively little use of club territory. The Triton Club explained this in a pamphlet to prospective members.

At first sight this membership may appear large, but it is a well-known fact that a fifth or sixth of the strength of a club is the very largest number that would be upon the ground at any one time. It is easily to be seen, therefore, that even then each one may be considered to have ten or twelve square miles at his disposal, which should give each one abundant room for all purposes; of course it is not at all probable that such a large muster would ever occur, but even supposing the very improbable flux of a third of the membership were to take place, ample fishing, without any interference one with the other, could easily be had among the hundreds of lakes at the service of the club.¹¹

Clubs also relied on the fact that members were often more interested in the aesthetic, physical, and leisure opportunities provided by club membership than they were in sport. As William Henry Drummond indicated in the case of one couple being considered for membership in the Laurentian Club, ideal club members were not necessarily keen sportsmen.

My friend Dr David J Evans of Montreal and wife wish to spend a couple of weeks with you at the Laurentian, beginning about 5th June — will it be all right? Evans wants to buy a share if his wife is pleased with the place and of course she will — they are both very fine people — have no family,

¹¹ Triton Fish and Game Club, *Prospectus, Constitution and By-laws of the Triton Fish and Game Club, Quebec, Canada, 1894*, 8-10.

a young couple — easily pleased and won't bother the fish much — simply want a pleasant healthful place to rest.¹²

Considerations regarding membership complemented a number of other strategies. Lessees were required by their contracts to employ guardians and to enforce the fish and game laws. Often, though, lessees exceeded state demands. Many lessees routinely hired more guardians than required, and set in place rules and principles stricter than those of the provincial and federal governments. Such practices allowed lessees to limit their impact on fish and game populations and to shape their management strategies to fit local conditions. In regards to angling, such efforts included catch and size limits as well as limits on access to pools. Members and guests of the St. Jerome Club, for example, were permitted to take during each visit a maximum of forty pounds of fish.¹³ The Cascapedia Club had in place extensive rules restricting the number of rods allowed at each of its fishing 'stations' (a station consisting of a number of pools) and limited members to three days' fishing at a single station and thirty days' fishing during a single season. Here members were permitted a maximum catch of eight salmon in a single day and seventy-five salmon in a season; guests' catches were counted as part of the member's score.¹⁴ In regards to hunting, lessees established their own bag limits and restrictions based on game animals' sex and age. Members of the Megantic club, for example, were limited to one moose or two deer or caribou in season, and a maximum of

¹² McCord Museum, P165, Fonds W. H. Parker, Letter, W. H. Drummond to W. H. Parker, 21 June 1899.

¹³ Club de chasse et de pêche de Saint-Jérôme, *Constitution et règlements du Club de chasse et de pêche de Saint-Jérôme*, 14; For similar examples regarding the Gatineau Fish and Game Club's stricter catch limits, size limits, and close seasons see Geggie, *The Gatineau Fish and Game Club: 1894-1994*, 39.

¹⁴ Griswold, *The Cascapedia Club*, 7-9.

twenty-five partridges in one week. Breaking provincial fish or game laws was typically grounds for expulsion.¹⁵

Lessees also tried to improve wildlife habitat, often in conjunction with the state. Following their establishment in the 1870s, the federal fish hatcheries played a major role in stocking Quebec's rivers and lakes and in supplying lessees with fry for release. Increasingly, lessees too were taking up these activities. Some lessees kept their own fish hatcheries, while others kept facilities to enable fry to be planted on their rivers and lakes. It was also common practice for lessees to stock their waters by transferring fish between lakes, and both lessees and the state continued to modify waterways in order to improve angling waters. Such projects became increasingly important during this period to the provincial government, which looked to improve salmon rivers in order to supply the growing demand for angling leases. This work also ranged widely in regards to game, from efforts to relocate various game animals to attempts to draw wildfowl by sowing wild rice and celery.¹⁶

Other considerations were no less problematic. Timber operations continued to block and pollute waterways, and in some cases even flooded lessee's hunting and angling territories. Complaints on the part of lessees against the industry carried little weight. "I am aware that the interests of the lumber trade deserve earnest consideration because it is the chief source of revenue of the Province and affords a livelihood to thousands of families," argued fisheries and game superintendent Hector Caron in 1911.

¹⁵ Megantic Fish and Game Corporation, *Yearbook*, 32-33, Harvard University, Widener Library.

¹⁶ Provincial Sessional papers and fonds of various associations including the Laurentian and Shawinigan Fish and Game Clubs as well as the Montreal Fish and Game Protection Club routinely discuss these kinds wildlife management strategies.

“But, I think it would be easy to conciliate both interests without injury to that trade and without hampering it in any way, for, in many instances, all that is needed is a little willingness.”¹⁷ In fact, it is clear from legislation and from routine interactions that fish and game protection remained secondary to the timber industry, and a pessimist might argue that the regulation of fish and game resources was little more than a means of regulating the impact of this more profitable resource.

Fire was another concern. A product, as Stephen Pyne reminds us, of human as well as environmental factors, fire was a constant reminder of the fragile relationship that existed between sportsmen and their hunting and fishing environment. This became clear to many in the protection movement during the late 1860s, when an employee of John Thomas Molson failed to adequately extinguish a camp fire during a visit to Molson’s lease on the north shore’s Watsheeshoo River. Spreading 60 kilometres to the east and twenty to the north, the fire burned for eight days, and in the process destroyed the homes of local residents Joseph Tanguay and François Métivier. Other fires that season along the north shore’s Moisie and Mingan rivers brought further attention to the problem, and became catalyst for province’s first legislative efforts towards fire protection, in 1869 and 1870.¹⁸

¹⁷ QSP, 1912, no. 7, “General Report of the Minister of Colonization, Mines and Fisheries of the Province of Quebec, For the Year Ending 30th June, 1912,” Hector Caron, “Game and Fisheries,” 158-61: 152.

¹⁸ For a discussion of these and other fires during this period see Assemblée Législative, *Rapport du comité spécial auquel ont été renvoyés la correspondance et les documents relatifs aux incendies qui ont eu lieu sur la coté du Golfe St. Laurent, dans le district de Gaspé en 1867 & 1868*. On the response of the Quebec government, industry, and other parties to forest fires during the nineteenth century see Blanchet, *Feux de forêt: l’histoire d’une guerre*, 22, 27-28. On forest fire generally see Pyne, *Fire in America : A Cultural History of Wildland and Rural Fire*; and *Fire: A Brief History*.

The prevention of fire also became a standard part of lessees' regulatory repertoire. The clearing of grounds immediately surrounding their clubhouses and buildings of brush and other fuel was only part of these efforts. Lessees routinely stressed the need to use fire with caution, and guides in particular were under order to ensure that campfires were properly extinguished. Despite the example of the fire on John Thomas Molson's lease, lessees were generally seen to be an asset in fire prevention. Opinion on the subject went so far as to distinguish between the activities of lessees and those of non-affiliated sportsmen. In 1910 Superintendent of the Forest Protection Branch W. C. J. Hall argued that

Properly organized sport will never do much damage to forests but the desultory sportsman, having no stake in the forests, and fishing and shooting here and there indiscriminately and neglecting to take precautions is often the cause of serious fires. However, the occasional and free-lance sportsman belongs largely to the educated class and needs only to see fire-posters here and there to set him a-thinking, and once in that frame of mind he will be careful.¹⁹

Statistics collected during the period supported this view. A 1910 report, for example, counted the nine fires attributed to sportsmen fourth on a list of human-caused forest

¹⁹ *QSP*, 1911, no. 5, "Report of the Minister of Lands and Forests of the Province of Quebec For the Twelve months Ending 30th June 1910," W. C. J. Hall, "Special Report Concerning the Forestry Convention Held at Fredericton, N. B., in February, 1910," Appendix 30, 154-61: 158.

fires, after steam shovels (46), settlers (25), and locomotives (21). "Passers-by" (7) were a close fifth.²⁰

Lessees also continued to target predator species. In regards to the protection of salmon and other fish desired by anglers, bird and fish species continued to be a concern. The protection of game species inspired state legislation and bounties aimed at the destruction of wolves, and the protection and fish and game clubs offered further incentives for such work. Also in the protection movement's sights were dogs. Questions of cruelty in regards to hunting with dogs had circulated for some time in sporting, protection, and animal welfare circles, and increasing numbers of stray dogs that chased and fed on deer added further fuel to this debate. Provincial legislation prohibited hunting with dogs in 1887, and supporters drew heavily on notions of cruelty and proper sporting etiquette to condemn those hunters who continued to do so.²¹ "If any of my sporting friends with rifle desire my opinion regarding the hounding of deer," argued well-known Montreal sportsman and protection club member George Horne in 1897, "I will state that I think every person indulging in that practice should be arrested by the Society of the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, tried, convicted and sentenced as Colonel Prince put it when reporting to Parliament the trial of some of the rebels in 1837: They were tried, convicted, and sentenced to be hung, and they were hanged accordingly."²² Again, fish and game clubs often took matters into their own hands,

²⁰ *QSP*, 1911, no. 5, "Report of the Minister of Lands and Forests for the Twelve Months Ending 30 June 1910," W. C. J. Hall, "Report of the Forest Protection Branch," Appendix 29, 124-53: 128.

²¹ "Act to amend 'The Quebec Game Law,'" *Statutes of Quebec*, 1887, 50 Victoria, c. 16, s. 1.3.

²² George Horne, "Hounding of Deer, To the Editor of the Star," *Montreal Star* 11 December 1897, 15.

banning dogs from club territory and pursuing prosecutions in the case of hunters who continued to use them. St. Pierre Hughes, Secretary-treasurer for the Kiamika Hunting and Fishing Club, summarized his club's concerns regarding the matter in 1911:

For many years a great many stray dogs have been killed by the club guardian, who caught them hunting game during the close season. This year the owner of one of such dogs was prosecuted and condemned to a fine and costs. This with two other similar sentences obtained in past years, has been of great benefit to the club and to the surrounding population, and we have had more deer in our territory this year than in any previous year.²³

More surprising than this focus on wolves and dogs was the sporting community's views regarding beavers. Though posing no threat as predators, beavers could have a tremendous impact on fish and game habitat, for the raised water levels caused by their dams flooded hunting and angling grounds, washed out paths and bridges, and altered animals' patterns of movement. Such problems were of particular concern amongst lessees whose lands bordered Laurentides Park, a plateau region of many rivers and lakes where the protection of beavers was leading to significant environmental changes. "On behalf of the beaver," noted park superintendent W. C. J. Hall in 1911, "we must give them full credit for being excellent water-storage engineers; there must be fully 15%

²³ *QSP*, 1911, no. 7, "General Report of Minister of Colonization, Mines and Fisheries of the Province of Quebec For the Year Ending June 30th, 1910," Hector Caron, "Fisheries and Game," 123-26: 123-24. Discussion of problems regarding dogs can be found in *QSP*, 1908, no. 10, "General Report of the Minister of Colonization, Mines and Fisheries of the Province of Quebec For the Year Ending 30th June 1907", Hector Caron, "Fisheries and Game Branch," 150-54: 152.

more water in the Park now than there was ten years ago, all owing to them and their work.”²⁴ Lessees were well aware of these changes. Hall noted in 1904 that

A majority of the Clubs loudly complain of the damage and inconvenience caused them by the astonishing number of beaver on their tracts, they flood the shores of the lakes where heretofore good feeding ground existed for the caribou, their portages are partly submerged, the landing places are under water: on the Old Colonization Road near “Lac des Roches” they dammed a small stream, the bridge floated away, and it was almost necessary to swim the horses to get across. Before long it is very likely that a petition will be received for permission to thin them out.²⁵

In response to these problems, lessees worked successfully to have provincial and park prohibitions on the killing of beavers lifted. In 1911 the province amended legislation to allow beavers to be killed “in certain places where they do damage by damming lakes and rivers and flooding the neighboring lands.” This by no means produced instant results, though, and lessees in the park continued to grapple with the species. As Hall noted later the same year, beavers “are so very plentiful now that in many places the fishing has been ruined and cannot recover for years to come. Furthermore, more and more lakes have been dammed up and the hunting completely spoiled all round same.”²⁶

²⁴ *QSP*, 1912, no. 5, “Report of the Minister of Lands and Forests of the Province of Quebec For the Twelve Months Ending 30th June 1911,” W. C. J. Hall, “Report for 1911 Concerning the Laurentides National Park,” Appendix 23, 83-86: 84.

²⁵ *QSP*, 1905, no. 8, “Report of the Minister of Lands, Mines and Fisheries of the Province of Quebec, For the Year Ending 30th June 1904,” W. C. J. Hall, “Report of Mr. W. C. J. Hall, Superintendent of the Laurentides National Park,” Appendix 59, 205-08: 207.

²⁶ *QSP*, 1912, no. 5, “Report of the Minister of Lands and Forests of the Province of Quebec For the Twelve Months Ending 30th June 1911,” W. C. J. Hall, “Report for 1911

Controversy such as that which ensued over the protection and the destruction of beavers can be read as yet another example of the contradictions that informed the work of wildlife conservation. But it is also a good illustration of the degree to which the vision of improvement continued to inform the fish and game protection movement. As we see in the responses outlined above, improvement was not a passive but an active project by which supporters of fish and game protection aimed to reshape the wilderness environment.

Social Considerations

Added to lessees' environmental preoccupations was a series of social considerations. Many of these were day-to-day concerns, and were part and parcel of effective club management. For it must be remembered that members were but one group that frequented lessees' holdings. Various guests and employees were also found here, and their presence called for a considerable degree of attention on the part of lessees to the maintenance in these remote settings of social boundaries. Bill Parenteau and Tina Loo show how concerns related to class, gender, and ethnicity surfaced in relations between elite sportsmen and their guides, and research for this project concurs that any temporary blurring of identities that took place was underpinned by the maintenance of strong social divisions separating elite sportsmen from their employees. Among other places, these divisions were clearly expressed in the organization of club space. As lessees invested in their holdings, it became commonplace for them to build separate sleeping and dining spaces for guides and servants. In 1899, for example, the Laurentian Club built "a house for the use of the Guides," after observing that these men were "often

Concerning the Laurentides National Park," Appendix 23, 83-86, 84. See also "For Killing of Quebec Beavers," *Montreal Gazette* 11 February 1911, 4.

obliged to sleep over the stable and in the boat house, which has exposed us to the chance of being burnt out.”²⁷

Guides and servant were not the only groups subject to lessees’ management strategies. Equally challenging was the regulation of women on club grounds. Though excluded from clubs’ formal operations, it must be remembered that women were active participants in sport. Part of the larger tourist industry that was developing in the province, hunting and fishing were activities in which increasing numbers of couples and families participated. Dean Sage of the Restigouche Club noted in 1888 the importance of women and of family life in general to club sporting culture:

Being a man of family, it is my pleasure as well as my duty to sometimes share with those who do so much for me the pleasures of my summer outing. If my partner in the fishing, objects to the presence of my wife and a portion of my children at Camp Harmony once in a while, he has so successfully concealed its true sentiments as to deserve no sympathy.²⁸

This does not mean, though, that the presence of women on club grounds was not contested. Indeed, while Sage argues for the inclusion of women, his remarks point to a significant degree of tension concerning their presence on club territory. This tension is apparent in the work of clubs to regulate the presence of families and of women in particular. Membership rules often outlined the means by which women and family members were allowed to visit club grounds. Typically married club members were permitted to bring as guests their wives, unmarried sisters, and minor children, while

²⁷ The Laurentian Club, *Meeting of 10th February, 1900 and Reports For Season of 1899*, 5.

²⁸ Sage, *The Ristigouche and its Salmon Fishing, With a Chapter On Angling Literature*, 213.

single men could bring unmarried brothers and sisters. Such participation was often limited even further, for in some clubs guests were permitted to visit club grounds only once per year, and sometimes for a limited amount of time. Despite such regulations, it is clear that men expected their wives and families to be able to visit club grounds.

Honorary members of the Triton club, for example, had “the privilege of introducing a lady as guest, but no gentleman” – a clause that was intended to allow visiting elites’ wives to accompany them.

Women were subject to further restrictions on club territory. In large part these centered on the accommodation of women within the limited space available. Access to the clubhouse was a constant concern, and regulations ranged greatly. Basic issues such as where women were to eat presented problems. At the Triton Club, for example, “Ladies are not allowed to remain at the Club house, except to take a meal when passing in and out of the territory.” The Megantic club took the opposite approach, and restricted women to the club’s more comfortable spaces. At the clubhouse and two of its larger camps, the club noted, “ladies can be properly cared for, but at the remainder of the camps it is impossible to furnish suitable accommodations, and it is therefore expected that ladies will not visit these camps, except in crossing the Preserve.”²⁹ At the Gatineau club, women ate first at the caretaker’s cottage, and later in a separate room of the club house that was reserved for the purpose.³⁰ In still other cases, clubs built annexes and buildings specifically for female guests.

²⁹ Megantic Fish and Game Corporation, *Yearbook*, 19, Harvard University, Widener Library.

³⁰ Geggie, *The Gatineau Fish and Game Club*, 21.

In the field, women's involvement in hunting and fishing ranged widely, from simple observation to participation as active, skilled anglers, and on some occasions as hunters. Some men clearly disparaged their presence, but Sage was not alone in his support of women's integration into sport and camp life. "I know of several of the fair sex who have patronized the club," wrote a visitor to the Shawinigan club grounds in the early 1880s, "and were plucky enough to go through steep portages, and several miles of canoeing without finding the least inconvenience; they have given the *entrain*, and made the club so much more sociable."³¹ For some, women's participation in sport hunting and angling was ultimately a political activity: an assertion of women's rights that fit, as William Parenteau points out, into a broader vision of modernity and the place of women in society. As Mary Harvey Drummond explained in 1900:

We women of to-day talk much of our rights, and while our tongues wag, we are letting slip by us the very things we clamour for. In the woods of Canada, equality with our brothers and husbands awaits us, and a share in the sports that give health to body and mind. But how many of us avail ourselves of such privileges? Too few indeed. The seaside resort with its second-rate bands, euchre parties, and boundless opportunities for the display of diamonds and dress, still reigns supreme favourite of the gentler sex, proving more strongly than anything else, that the day of emancipation has not yet dawned for women.³²

³¹ "The Shawinigan Club Grounds," *CSN* 3 9 (1883), 262-64: 262.

³² Mary Harvey Drummond, 'A Woman's Trip To the Laurentides', *RGC* (December 1900), 388-89: 389; Parenteau, "Hunting and Fishing for Gender Identities."

No less an issue for club members was the employment of guardians. Unlike guides, who were hired seasonally or for individual trips and were more or less expendable, these men were employees of considerable importance to the successful management of club territory. In addition to the year-round surveillance and enforcement work required by the conditions of angling leases, guardians were typically responsible for clubs' day-to-day operations. As such, they had to be chosen carefully. Guardians needed to be literate, and a good knowledge of English, French, and local aboriginal languages were all assets. So too was the ability to live for extended periods in relatively remote settings. They also needed to have a wide range of skills. In addition to their bush work, which often required them to hold powers of arrest and seizure, in some cases even magisterial powers, guardians maintained club grounds and buildings, they handled club equipment and supplies, and they saw to the needs of members and guests from their arrival on club grounds to their departure. In sum, clubs looked for stable, reliable men able to command authority and given to long-term employment.

In order to meet these demands, lessees typically looked for family men, whom they perceived to be far less likely than single men to abandon employment with the club to take on seasonal or other work that came along. What is more, lessees saw married men to be ideal candidates because they brought with them their wives. In fact, the job of club guardian was often a package deal, in which husbands looked after surveillance duties as well as construction and maintenance work around camp property, while wives worked as cooks and looked after the interior of the clubhouse and other quarters. According to Crawford Ross, president of the Gatineau Fish and Game Club, a club guardian "must necessarily be a married man, with a small, or no, family, and a wife who

has housekeeping capabilities.”³³ William Henry Drummond outlined in detail such concerns to W. H. Parker in 1895 during their search for a new guardian for the St. Maurice club. “There came in to see me this evg a man named Easton aged 36,” Drummond wrote,

quiet, self-possessed, well recommended as sober and industrious, has been a good deal in the woods thro Hudson Bay country on the survey – fair canoe man etc – speaks some French, is a first class mechanic – in fact is now working at his trade – good overall education – his wife is a half breed Protestant – Hudson Bay – educated at a convent – speaks English and French fluently – very neat in appearance and Dr. Springle tells me is a first class housekeeper – is simply wild to leave the city and live in the woods – has a better education in some ways than her husband – can correspond etc. – they have one child 4 years of age. – Easton and wife will take charge of the Wayagamack camp for \$8 per week and board – what do you think of it? Easton has references to prove that he is a first class “all round handy” man and perfectly sober – these are strong recommendations – I might mention that Mrs. Easton is a near relative of the Gordens on the St. Maurice and she has been on the Matawin – really she seems to me a superior woman and is apparently about 30 years of age, strong, wiry and pleasant mannered.³⁴

³³ Quoted in Geggie, *The Gatineau Fish and Game Club*, 29.

³⁴ McCord Museum, P165, Fonds W. H. Parker, Letter, W. H. Drummond to W. H. Parker, 24 July 1895.

Given clubs' difficulty finding men suited to the job, a good guardian could find himself employed for decades, and such work was not so much an occupation as a way of life. In some instances, guardians retired to see their occupation pass to their sons.³⁵ A member of the Echo Beach Fishing Club recalled in the 1970s that "for the past 60 or 70 years the guardians have been of the same Quebec family, whose descendants have been given steady employment and housing over the years."³⁶ Guardians and their families also commonly attempted to broaden their socio-economic circumstances beyond club employment. Though typically prohibited from hunting or angling themselves, they often took up other activities to supplement their income. Trapping on club territory, for example, was a common activity amongst guardians, while guardians' wives made and sold clothing.³⁷ In effect, the guardian's household economy combined salaried employment, room and board, and a limited amount of market production.

Indeed, women were so important to club operations that when hiring guardians, lessees routinely considered the skills of both husband and wife. In some cases, guardians' jobs depended directly on their wives' participation. The death of Stadacona guardian William Denault's wife just before the start of the angling season, for example, led the club's superintendent to fire their otherwise able employee. As Denault's

³⁵ See for example Gingras, Lirette and Gilbert, *Le Club Triton*, 211, 218; J. S. O'Meara, *Stadacona Fish and Game Club: Its History From 1886 to 1946 With Recollections Grave and Gay*, 24, 39-48.

³⁶ LAC, MG28, I 315, Echo Beach Fishing Club Fonds, "Memorandum: Echo Beach Fishing Club."

³⁷ On the activities and circumstances of guardians see for example O'Meara, *Stadacona Fish and Game Club*, 23-24, 39-48.

daughter was “too young to be of any help,” one member recalled, “there was nothing to do but retire him and look for a new guardian.”³⁸

Conclusion

In retrospect, one of the most striking elements to emerge in the context of Quebec’s new network of fish and game clubs is the ongoing reach of patrician culture. By the turn of the century, it was clear that Quebec’s fish and game protection movement had gone far beyond the confines of the patrician community in which it began. Now part of a much broader social spectrum, the protection movement consisted of growing numbers of urban upper and middle-class capitalists, professionals, and salaried and waged employees. These men, though, built directly on the foundations of the patricians who preceded them, employing and adapting patricians estate-based management strategies and views regarding improvement to everything from animals and the wilderness environment to economic and social relations.

It must also be said, though, that the reach of this evolving patrician model of protection often exceeded its grasp. Repeatedly, attempts to regulate fish and game resources revealed both the scope and the limits of patrician power as it was reformulated in the 1880s and after. This will become clearer below, when we turn to consider patterns of opposition and resistance that took shape in response to the evolution of Quebec’s patrician model of sport and protection.

³⁸ Ibid., 39-41.

Chapter Five:

Civil Society and Protection

I insist on the utility of giving such [protection] associations every possible assistance for they can do comparatively more for the protection of our fisheries and hunting territories than a government can, because they are not subject to the pressure of outside influences and can work more economically
Louis-Zéphirin Joncas, Superintendent of Fisheries and Game, 1902¹

Associational Contexts

It was no accident that the protection clubs and the lease-based land tenure strategies that appeared in the 1850s became the model for protection during the 1880s and after. Despite its economic interest in provincial fish and game resources, Quebec's provincial government was not by itself the driving force behind fish and game protection. Rather, the provincial government attempted to capitalize on the energy being generated by civil society towards the protection of fish and game, and in turn to balance those interests against the demands of rural inhabitants, industry, and other interested parties. Throughout the nineteenth century and up to the First World War, civic associations remained at the forefront of Quebec's protection movement. While patricians themselves were increasingly overshadowed by a broader segment of society, the patrician culture that had informed the movement since the 1850s remained central.

During the 1860s and the early 1870s, these associations encountered like many other social and philanthropic institutions problems related to membership, attendance, and funding. By the early 1870s, though, interest in fish and game protection began to grow. In part this renewed energy was the product of developments in the northeastern states, where sport and protection were subjects of growing interest. Journals like

¹ QSP, 1902, no. 8, "Report of the Commissioner of Lands, Forests and Fisheries, Of the Province of Quebec, For the Twelve Months Ending 30th June, 1901," L. Z. Joncas, "Report of the Superintendent of Fisheries and Game for the Year Ending 30th June, 1901," Appendix 18, 36-45: 44-45.

American Sportsman (1871), *Forest and Stream* (1873) and *Field and Stream* (1874) helped to generate energy in this direction, as did the formation of sporting clubs. In the winter of 1874-75 nearly 100 fish and game clubs were formed in the United States. By 1878 there were more than 300 such clubs operating south of the border, and American sportsmen began looking more and more to the fertile sporting grounds to the north.² Momentum soon began to pick up in Quebec too. Even before passage of legislation in 1885 encouraging the formation of fish and game clubs, sportsmen began to form such organizations and to acquire sporting grounds in the province. During the late 1870s and early 1880s Canadian and American sportsmen established at least five such clubs: the Winchester Club, the Shawinigan Club, the Restigouche Club, the St. Bernard Club, and the Club de chasse et de peche de Rimouski.³

Protection clubs were an important part of this. In 1875, George Alexander Drummond held a meeting in his downtown Montreal office to rejuvenate the Montreal Fish and Game Protection Club, and by the early 1880s the province's fish and game protection movement was active as never before. 1880 saw the establishment of fish and game protection clubs in Sherbrooke and St. Andrew's, and Quebec City residents maintained during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century a series of local fish and game protection clubs. Others too took up the cause, from the members of the Compton County Fish and Game Protection Club to those behind the Montreal-based Restigouche

² Reiger, *American Sportsmen* 3, 48, 57.

³ On the Winchester Club see "The Winchester Club," *CSN* 2 12 (1882): 189-90; on the Shawinigan Club see "The Shawinigan Club Grounds," *CSN* 3 9 (1883): 262-64: 262; see also McCord Museum, P062, Fonds Shawinigan Club 1883-1952.

Riparian Association, which represented the interests of that river's angling lessees.⁴

Sport and protection enthusiasts also participated in 1882 in the formation of the Montreal Fish and Game Club, a gentlemen's club and an offshoot of the city's protection club whose primary aim was to provide common social space in Montreal for local and visiting sportsmen. In order to qualify for membership, candidates had to be a member of the Montreal protection club or a similar protective organization. The move proved popular amongst locals and visitors alike, and within five years the club counted 290 members.⁵

Behind this was a remarkable range of associations. In terms of sport alone, there was alongside the fish and game clubs an explosion of organizations interested in sport and outdoor recreation. During the 1880s Montreal became the centre of much of this activity, so much so that Gerald Redmond has described the city as the "cradle of Canadian sport."⁶ Alongside longstanding groups like Montreal's fox hunting and curling clubs were a host of new associations: lacrosse clubs, football clubs, tobogganning and skating clubs; clubs for naturalists, pedestrians, and cyclists; clubs for yachtsmen, canoeists, and swimmers. Some of these activities involved significant participation on the part of the popular classes, but many remained the domain of patricians and their adherents, and organizations like the Montreal Hunt Club and the Montreal Golf Club

⁴ McCord Museum, P559, Fonds Province of Quebec Association For the Protection of Fish and Game, C/005, *Minutes of the Fish and Game Protection Club of the Province of Quebec 1896-1902*, 5 April 1897.

⁵ Fish and Game Protection Club of the Province of Quebec, *Constitution and Rules of the Fish and Game Club in Connection with the Fish and Game Protection Club of the Province of Quebec*; Montreal Fish and Game Club, *Fish and Game Club in Connection with the Fish and Game Protection Club of the Province of Quebec: Constitution and List of Members*, September, 1887.

⁶ Gerald Redmond, "Some Aspects of Organized Sport and Leisure in the Nineteenth Century," 86.

continued to retain strong Scottish, British, and imperial roots (see figure 5.1). In some cases, as we will see, the links between sporting organizations and the protection movement were obvious. In most cases, though, they are better understood more loosely, as an indication of the growing interest amongst Quebec's upper and middle classes in the outdoors, in health and physical recreation, and in the natural environment.⁷

In addition, the growth of organized sport points to the ongoing expansion of patrician culture in its associational forms. Among the other associations interested in fish and game protection during this period were animal welfare, scientific, and literary societies. These included both longstanding organizations such as the Natural History Society of Montreal and societies of more recent origin. The Geographical Society of Quebec, for example, was a province-wide bilingual organization that brought out longstanding protection supporters like Pierre-Etienne Fortin (founder and president 1878-79, 1882) and William Rhodes (president 1883-84; 1888-90).⁸ Railways and hotels also took an active if narrow interest in sport and protection; John J. Rowan's 1876 guidebook *The Emigrant and Sportsman in Canada* describes the lease on the Ste. Marguarite River near the mouth of the Saguenay to be under the control of a local hotel proprietor who "has furnished cottages on the river, which he lets to anglers at \$50 per week up to the 10th of August, and at \$35 per week from that date up to the close of the season."⁹ So too did the Montreal Colonization Society, which sought to encourage a belief amongst its clients and employees in the benefits of fish and game protection.

⁷ See for example Schwartz, "William Notman's Hunting Photographs, 1866 / Les photographies de chasse de William Notman, 1866." See also Poulter, "Becoming Native in a Foreign Land."

⁸ Morissonneau, *La Société de Géographie de Québec 1877-1970*, 258.

⁹ Rowan, *The Emigrant and Sportsman in Canada*, 413.

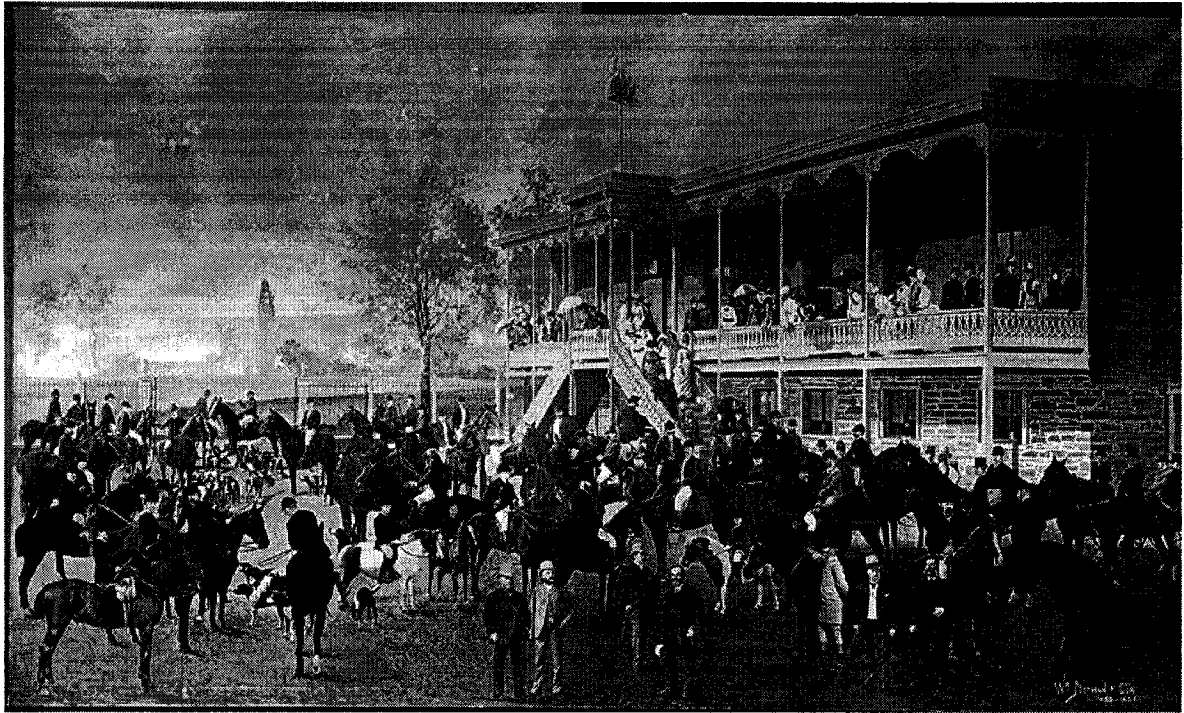


Figure 5.1. Montreal Hunt Club, 1888, and the Royal Montreal Golf Club, 1882. British and in particular Scottish sporting activities remained an important part of Quebec's associational culture well into the twentieth century. Source: Notman & Sandham, Montreal Hunt Club, QC, composite photograph, 1886-88, Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum, #2228; Wm. Notman & Son, Royal Montreal Golf Club, Montreal, QC, composite, 1882, Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum, #18906.

South of the border, sportsmen's exhibitions in the northeastern states drew the participation of the province's state and civic institutions, and the protection movement took shape through institutions such as the Canadian Club of New York, formed in Manhattan in 1885 by a group including popular Quebec writer, sporting journalist and club vice-president George M. Fairchild, jr. in order to provide former and current residents of Canada "a pleasant place of resort for their entertainment and improvement; and to meet visiting Canadians."¹⁰ At a more popular level, there was also a growing literature on sport and protection. Newspapers ran regular sporting columns that kept readers current on issues related to sport and protection, and these in turn complemented guidebooks and other promotional literature aimed at sportsmen, tourists, and readers of natural history. In 1880 naturalist William Couper began publication in Montreal of a monthly journal of sport and natural history, *The Canadian Sportsman and Naturalist*, and 1899 saw the establishment in the same city of Canada's major sporting journal of the period, *Rod and Gun in Canada*.¹¹ While both of these journals offered readers a wide range of opinion on matters of sport and protection, the degree to which the more narrowly based interests of sportsmen trumped the more expansive vision of patricians here and in the many other publications aimed at the sporting community was nevertheless increasingly apparent.

By the 1880s these associations were prepared to mount a considerable attack on illegal hunting and fishing in the province. Much of their energy was aimed at increasing public awareness of the fish and game laws and their benefit to society: protection and

¹⁰ Canadian Club, *Constitution and By-laws of the Canadian Club, with a List of Its Officers and Members*, 5; see also Wiman, *The Canadian Club, Its Purpose and Policy*, 5-6.

¹¹ Rodolphe O. Paradis, "William Couper," *DCB*, vol. 11, 205-06.

fish and game clubs poured out details in the newspapers and in private publications on the state of fish and game resources in the province; scientific and literary societies sponsored publications and public meetings on the subject; animal welfare societies made their way into schools and churches with educational projects aimed at encouraging sensitivity towards wild and domestic animals; and lessees posted notices proclaiming their hunting and angling rights in nearby communities and announced them from the doorsteps of local churches.¹² These and other groups printed copies of the fish and game laws in publications including guidebooks, railway and hotel brochures, and associations' annual reports.¹³

The wide base of support enjoyed by the protection movement is a good indication of the degree to which interest in fish and game protection reached beyond issues of sport or a sporting code of conduct to touch more broadly on patrician sensibilities. Among other places, improvement found expression during the nineteenth century in the growth of associations that cooperated with one another and with the state, and that in fact often pushed the state towards their goals. Indeed, such associations better able than the state to pursue the more radical issues of the day, and could often take up issues the state remained unwilling or unable to fund. This was clearly the case with fish and game protection, for it was a project widely recognized to be both worthy of attention and exceedingly difficult to accomplish. As state policies made clear, local

¹² On the latter see for example "Les Laurentides" Fish and Game Club, "By-laws of the 'Les Laurentides' Fish and Game Club," 11.

¹³ During this period see for example *Intercolonial: Fishing and Hunting; Our Rivers and Lakes: Fish and Game in the Province of Quebec*; Roberts, *The Canadian Guide-Book: The Tourist's and Sportsman's Guide to Eastern Canada and Newfoundland*.

associations and private interests were often far better positioned than the federal or provincial government to advance the protection movement.

Also clear from the work of these associations is the ongoing relationship of the fish and game protection movement to rural society. Despite the growing importance of the urban world, the supporters of fish and game protection continued to value rural life and to model themselves on the patrician culture that had evolved in Europe during the past centuries. Longstanding issues of patrician concern, among them justice, philanthropy, land tenure and estate management, agriculture, settlement and colonization, remained integral to the lives of the elite, capitalist, and professional classes in Quebec, and shaped their response to fish and game protection. Though individual patricians themselves were slowly replaced by broader representation within the protection movement, men of such character continued into the twentieth century to serve as models. George Alexander Drummond is but one example of the ongoing prominence of such men. Well known because of his industrial, political, and philanthropic activities, Drummond was a sporting and protection enthusiast whose rural and leisure investments included a membership in the Laurentian club, an angling lease on the Dartmouth river, a summer home in Cacouna, and an estate just outside Montreal, where he raised pure-bred animals.¹⁴ While not all of Quebec's protection advocates shared his status, Drummond remained the patrician 'type' to which many of them aspired, and this pattern of social emulation helped to ensure that fish and game protection in Quebec remained heavily influenced by patrician visions of the environment, of land, and of social order.

¹⁴ Michèle Brassard and Jean Hamelin, "Drummond, Sir George Alexander," *DCB*, vol. 13, 283-84.

In order to examine more closely the role of civil society in Quebec's fish and game protection movement, the rest of this chapter will look at the two most prominent fish and game protection associations in the province, the Montreal Fish and Game Protection Club and the North American Fish and Game Protective Association.

The Montreal Fish and Game Protection Club

Like many other groups, the Montreal Fish and Game Protection Club benefited from the growth of associational activity in Montreal during the 1880s and after. Following its reorganization in 1875 by George Alexander Drummond and a number of other longstanding members, the club grew quickly. In 1881 it counted 170 members, in 1882 it climbed to 286, and by 1883 the club's membership base was just short of 400.¹⁵ The single most important civic institution in Quebec for the promotion of fish and game protection between 1880 and 1914, its vision of these resources continued to be reflect the patrician sensibilities of the province's elite, capitalist, and professional classes.

As before, this patrician identity continued to be anglophone and in particular British in character. Ongoing connections on the part of members and the club to anglophone institutions such as the Canadian SPCA, the Natural History Society of Montreal, and the Montreal Hunt Club underline the degree to which the protection club was part of an associational network with strong British roots. Like these other organizations, the protection club operated in English, and worked at an international level largely within an anglophone context. Throughout this period, members continued

¹⁵ McCord Museum, P559, Fonds Province of Quebec Association For the Protection of Fish and Game, C/004, *Minutes of Meetings of a Club for the Protection and Preservation of the Fish and Game of Lower Canada, held in Montreal, February 23, 1859, to June 2, 1875*, 11 May 1875; For membership numbers see "Fish and Game Protection Society," *Montreal Gazette* 16 January 1882, 2; "Fish and Game Protection Club," *Montreal Gazette* 22 January 1883, 2.

to solicit the participation and patronage of Canada's Governors General, men of Britain's landed elite who epitomized the patrician sensibilities to which members aspired, and who inevitably made hunting and angling a significant part of their Canadian agenda. What is more, identification with Britain was not confined to Quebec residents of British ancestry: participation in the Montreal protection club on the part of growing numbers of francophone and other members is an indication of how common class interests cut across ethnic, religious, and other differences. In everything from wealth and leisure to a belief in improvement and in social responsibility, patricians were able to find common ground.

In the context of the Montreal Fish and Game Protection Club, this common ground remained the promotion and enforcement of Quebec's fish and game laws. In regards to the former, the club aimed not simply to increase awareness of the fish and game laws, but to shape public opinion in favour of fish and game protection. The media was an important part of this, and annual reports and other club materials appeared regularly in local papers. Likewise members ensured that "copies of the fish and game laws [were] posted in nearly every town, village and railroad station in the province, and the distribution of cards containing the same and offering rewards for the conviction of persons infringing these laws."¹⁶

More contentious was the club's enforcement work. For it was here that the club bared its teeth, and in doing so acquired its reputation as a vigorous promoter of fish and game protection. Buoyed by past successes and by ongoing encouragement on the part of the state, the Montreal protection club continued to hire its own guardians and wardens.

¹⁶ "The Fish and Game Protection Society," *Montreal Gazette* 16 January 1882, 2.

Invested with powers of arrest and seizure and in some cases even magisterial powers, these men were sent by the club into rural regions to investigate alleged infractions. If club wardens uncovered enough evidence to warrant a conviction, the club's lawyers took over, and proceeded to prosecution. Successful convictions contributed to club coffers in the form of costs as well as half of all fines levied.

This work was more than symbolic. For between 1880 and 1914 it was not the state, but the Montreal Fish and Game Protection Club that was at the forefront of enforcement activities in Quebec. State representatives and club members readily acknowledged the club's importance in this regard, and between 1880 and 1914 it brought forward a great number if not the majority of convictions in the province. Fish and game superintendent Louis-Zéphirin Joncas made this point in an 1897 report to Simon-Napoléon Parent, then Commissioner of Lands, Forests, and Fisheries:

We are moreover greatly assisted in our work of protection by the lessees and clubs generally and above all by the Montreal Fish and Game Protection Club, which has rendered and still renders us great service every day. This association, composed of prominent citizens of Montreal, has no other object than to prosecute without mercy those (especially the rich ones) who infringe our fish and game laws. Each of its members is a volunteer game-keeper, who spares neither his time nor his money to educate the people and to have the laws respected. The officers of this

club have this year taken out a good many prosecutions and have had many poachers punished.¹⁷

To some degree, such views spoke to the strong ties that existed between the protection club and the province. The club sent delegations to Quebec City, where they met with high ranking provincial ministers; civil servants and politicians solicited club members' opinions on fish and game protection; and state representatives made the rounds of club meetings and dinners, where they gave speeches and mingled with members and guests. During such occasions politicians and civil servants spoke glowingly of the club's work: Joncas, for example, acknowledged candidly in a speech to members at the club's annual dinner in December 1897 that the Montreal protection club "was doing more than 150 game wardens could do."¹⁸

Beneath the surface, though, there remained considerable tensions between the Montreal protection club and the provincial government. Frequent failure on the part of the province to pursue proposed amendments to the fish and game laws angered many members. So too did the state's continued refusal to fund the club to any significant degree. The biggest issue that lay between them, though, remained the state's soft stance on protection, in particular its poor record of prosecution and its failure to reform its system of overseers and guardians. For their part, state representatives tried to balance the club's more radical position on the fish and game laws against a long list of other interested groups, including industry, settlers, aboriginals, and commercial and subsistence users in general.

¹⁷ *QSP*, 1897, No. 4, "Report of the Commissioner of Lands, Forests and Fisheries of the Province of Quebec for the Twelve Months Ending 30th June 1897," L. Z. Joncas, "Report," Appendix 21, 53-56: 56.

¹⁸ "Fish and Game," *Montreal Gazette* 22 December 1897, 5.

The club's relationship with the state was but one of the challenges it faced. Prominent among them were questions regarding the club's identity and the motives behind its work. Critics of the protection movement continued to see the club as a cover adopted by self-interested sportsmen who sought to deprive rural residents of their right to hunt and fish. This was nothing new. During a club meeting in 1911, club president W. L. Maltby reminded members of

some of the difficulties under which the association was formed over half a century ago, when... both people and government were against the organization then, shouting that the "gentlemen-sportsmen" wanted a monopoly on hunting and fishing for the recreation of the rich, and that any restrictions on their freedom to shoot, trap, fish, or slay in any manner that they chose at all seasons was taking bread from the mouths of the poor.¹⁹

Such criticisms were not entirely fair. Members' concerns, as this dissertation argues, cannot be defined in narrow terms as those of self-interested sportsmen, but were based on a much broader vision of the social and environmental place of fish and game resources.

That said, the 1880s brought changes to the protection movement, and these impacted directly on associations like the Montreal Fish and Game Protection Club. The expansion of the leasing system and the formation of dozens of fish and game clubs confirmed for many critics the self-interested nature of protection club members and of the fish and game protection movement in general. What is more, the growth of

¹⁹ "Shot Game on Beaver Hall Hill," *Montreal Gazette* 10 February 1911, 12.

Quebec's sporting community meant that increasing numbers of club supporters were also prominent sportsmen, lessees, and fish and game club members. By the end of the 1880s the protection club was well on its way to becoming an umbrella organization for the fish and game clubs, and the interests of the sporting community were beginning to overshadow the patrician vision of the previous decades.

As relations between the protection club and the "people" Maltby mentions continued to deteriorate, members struggled to reconcile the differences between the protection movement and the more narrowly defined interests of sportsmen. Among its approaches to the problem, the protection club emphasized its determination to enforce the fish and game laws regardless of class. To this end the club went to great lengths to publicize fish and game law infractions that involved elite sportsmen, hotels, and restaurants. Condemnation of the Chateau Frontenac's manager for illegally serving fish and game, and of Quebec City lawyer and future Quebec premier Alexandre Taschereau for killing five deer during the close season are but two examples of the types of high profile cases the protection club employed in its efforts to silence critics.²⁰

Ultimately, though, such efforts had but a limited effect, and members grew increasingly anxious over the public's failure to differentiate between the protection club and the province's fish and game clubs more generally. Critics continued to point out the class biases of the protection movement, and members rightly feared that their club would remain in the public imagination a gentlemen's social club and a voice of the sporting community. In light of these concerns, members began at the turn of the century to reconsider their association's name. Throughout the period of this study, club

²⁰ McCord Museum, P559, Fonds Province of Quebec Association For the Protection of Fish and Game, *Minutes 1896-1902*, 7 June 1897, 9 Sept 1901.

members and the public in general referred to the Montreal-based protection club as simply the 'Montreal Fish and Game Protection Club.' This, though, was never the club's formal name. In 1859, the club bore a far more lengthy title: 'Club For the Protection and Preservation of the Fish and Game of Lower Canada.' Not surprisingly, the informal name 'Montreal Fish and Game Protection Club' stuck, and continued to do so even after members changed it in 1875 to the 'Fish and Game Protection Club of the Province of Quebec' in order to better reflect its province-wide scope. When members turned to their association's name in the late 1890s, their concern lay not in its geographical but rather its social parameters. At issue this time was the descriptive word 'club', which members felt failed to evoke the serious nature of the organization's work, and led the public to view their association as little more than a gentleman's social club or a sporting organization. Seeking to distance their project further from such activities and to emphasize their autonomy relative to the fish and game clubs, members voted in 1899 to change their organization's name again, this time to the 'Province of Quebec Association for the Protection of Fish and Game.'²¹

This change was by no means trivial, for the success of the protection club depended in large part on its ability to influence public opinion in favour of fish and game protection. During the 1880s and after these concerns became increasingly important to members, for as sport became more and more synonymous with protection, the broader patrician culture and the vision of improvement that had informed the protection movement from its start was losing ground. Rather than sport serving as but part of this vision of the place of fish and game resources in society, it was becoming

²¹ Ibid., 28 Feb 1899, 15 Feb 1900; "Parces Futuro," *Montreal Gazette* 5 December 1902, 7.

clear to many including members of the protection club that the opposite was taking shape: that the patrician culture that shaped the movement during its first decades was becoming the vehicle of the sporting community and their considerably narrower interests in sport. In response, members who retained this broader vision struggled to maintain the club's paternal identity.

The North American Fish and Game Protective Association

For many supporters of fish and game protection, the North American Fish and Game Protective Association was long overdue. Since the 1850s and increasingly after Confederation, fish and game protection had taken shape largely within the parameters of the provinces, which held jurisdiction of most areas related to fish and game resources. The problem with this, as they knew well, was that these political boundaries seldom encompassed the mobility of fish and game or the ecological factors that affected them. Movements of migratory wildlife, contradictory hunting and fishing regulations, poachers' strategic use of border regions as trade and escape routes: these and other problems highlighted for Quebec's protection advocates the limits that such boundaries imposed. What is more, political boundaries often made protection efforts seem futile, and given the unequal opportunities that could exist along border regions due to different legislation, even served as incentives to lower rather than to raise standards of protection. Quebec was not the only province in which such concerns came to light. Protection advocates in provinces and states throughout North America complained of similar problems. The challenge, of course, lay in finding common ground. This was no easy task in Quebec, which shared its border with two provinces, four states, and the colony of

Newfoundland, each of which had its own set of fish and game laws, its own interests, and its own problems.

The idea to establish an association to address the inter-provincial and international contexts of fish and game protection was not new. Complaints regarding different close seasons along border regions were as old as the fish and game laws themselves, and the network of protection societies, fish and game clubs, and other associations that took shape in Quebec and in other parts of North America during the 1880s and after brought further attention to these problems. By the early 1880s protection advocates were already discussing the need for such an organization. In short, it was becoming commonplace by the late nineteenth century for protection advocates in Quebec and elsewhere to think beyond their provincial or state contexts. The response, which finally took shape as the North American Fish and Game Protective Association, would once again reveal the important and often distinct place of Quebec in areas of sport and conservation.

The North American Fish and Game Protective Association held its first meeting on February 2-3, 1900, when forty delegates gathered in Montreal at the request of Quebec's Commissioner of Crown Lands and future premier (1900-05) Simon-Napoléon Parent. Alongside Parent and the conference's Quebec participants were representatives from Ontario and New Brunswick as well as the states of Maine, Vermont, New York, and Massachusetts. Delegates included politicians from each province and state as well as representatives from railways, from hotels, and from various sporting and protection clubs. Participation on the part of the Montreal Fish and Game Protection Club was particularly strong, and included club president Dr. John T. Finnie, secretary W. J.

Cleghorn, treasurer T. C. Brainerd, and members William Henry Drummond, W. H. Parker, E.T. D. Chambers, Isaac H. Stearns, F. L. Wanklyn, and J. B. Sparrow. Bringing together such a wide range of participants, the association took the protection movement well beyond the narrower political boundaries to which it had previously been confined.²²

A considerable number of issues came to the table during the association's first meeting in Montreal (see appendix 7). These would shape discussions for the next decade and more. Among their tasks, delegates set in place a committee to draft a constitution. Adopted the following year, this document included a wide-ranging statement reflecting participants' interest in everything from the protection of fish and game to concerns related to the reshaping of habitat and species composition. It outlined the following objectives:

“(a) the harmonizing of the laws of the different Provinces of Canada and the contiguous States of the American Union.

(a) the preservation, propagation and protection of Fish, Game, and Bird life, and the maintenance and improvement of laws relating thereto, and mutual assistance.

(b) The preservation of forests.

(c) The promotion of Fish culture, the introduction of new species and varieties of Fish, Game and useful birds and the dissemination of information relating thereto.”²³

²² North American Fish and Game Protective Association, *Minutes of the Proceedings of the First Convention Held At Montreal 2nd February 1900*.

²³ “North American Fish and Game Protective Association,” *RGC* (February 1901), 446-50: 448.

In terms of general principles, we see here that participants shared a good deal of common ground. Delegates readily agreed on issues ranging from the harmonization of legislation and the formation of fish and game clubs to the need to move public opinion in their favour.

Under the surface, though, participants had to work hard to overcome considerable regional tensions. This was apparent at the association's first meeting, where more than half of the forty-odd participants were from Quebec. Recognizing the need to overcome such problems, delegates drafted rules to ensure equal standing, and elected during the association's first meeting an executive with representation from each participating province and state. This strategy seemed to work, and the association's next meeting, held in Montreal the following February, attracted more than 60 participants including representatives from Nova Scotia, New Hampshire, and Michigan.²⁴ Between 1901 and 1914 the association alternated the location of its annual meetings between Canada and the United States (see appendix 8).

Despite these efforts, Quebec retained a pivotal role in the association. Indeed, for many participants the province was central: Quebec loomed large in the minds of Canadians as well as Americans as one of the continent's prime hunting and fishing regions, and the province shared borders with most of the participating provinces and states. Because of this, the association was able to draw participation from the highest levels, including Quebec Liberal premiers Simon-Napoléon Parent (1900-1905) and Lomer Gouin (1905-1920), who served as presidents of the association in 1900-1901 and

²⁴ Ibid., 446.

1910-1911. During its first fifteen years, three of the association's annual meetings were held in Montreal, and one in Quebec City.

More importantly, though, the province remained key to the association because of the considerable tensions that lay between participants from Quebec and those representing other provinces and states. For while questions of harmonization, protection clubs, and education made good sense to all, Quebec's supporters of fish and game protection faced challenges that were in many cases entirely different from those of their counterparts. Unlike most of the participating provinces and states – Ontario is the notable exception – Quebec occupied a large and sparsely populated territory, much of which was wilderness and was owned by the provincial government in the form of Crown lands. Combined with the relative abundance in the province of fish and game resources and the degree to which they were integrated into rural society, these factors created a set of concerns significantly different from those states and provinces facing larger population densities, smaller land masses, and fewer wildlife resources to manage. In the case of the latter, protection advocates took a far greater interest in an absolute ban on commercial hunting and fishing, and were equally adamant over the need for stricter bag limits, licensing strategies, and year-round prohibitions on the sale of fish and game

For protection advocates in Quebec, many of these measures seemed out of touch with conditions in the province. It was easy, for example, for provinces and states in which salmon runs were non-existent or had long been destroyed to envision a ban on commercial fishing of the species, and far more difficult to do so in Quebec, where there continued to be an important commercial salmon fishery as well as an ongoing trade in salmon at a smaller scale during the open season. Similarly while game licenses and bag

limits made sense in some provinces and states, conditions in Quebec made such strategies far more difficult to implement and all but impossible to enforce.

These differences, it is important to note, were not simply a reflection of the fact that Quebec had not reached the point of crisis in regards to its fish and game resources that had developed in other regions. As we have seen, Quebec's protection movement did not lag behind those that took shape in other provinces and states, and the province's protection advocates were among the first in Britain's North American colonies to organize on this front. Quebec enjoyed an abundance of fish and game resources relative to most of the other states and provinces that participated in the North American Fish and Game Protective Association, and protection advocates in the province recognized that the inhabitants of this large and sparsely populated territory would not easily be persuaded to conform to the more radical restrictions envisioned elsewhere. That the province refrained throughout the period of this study from outright bans on the sale of fish and game in order to leave open limited opportunities for subsistence and small-scale commercial use reflects ongoing efforts to balance the need for protection in Quebec with the realities of rural and frontier life. As we will see in the chapters to follow, the unique system of leases and clubs that became the basis of the province's protection strategy would also become a point of considerable tension, both within the North American Fish and Game Protective Association and beyond.

Conclusion

The influence of the North American Fish and Game Protective Association and its participants is difficult to measure. In some cases, the association's work translated into more cohesive legislation between the provinces and states. Perhaps more important,

though, was the association's capacity to bring together participants from many different political regions in order to find solutions to common problems. Established eight years before the short-lived Canada Conservation Commission of 1909-1921, and connected to a broad associational network, the North American Fish and Game Protective Association speaks loudly to the importance of civil society and Quebec's associational networks to the conservation of Quebec's fish and game resources. At the same time, the ongoing conflict between delegates from Quebec and other regions within the association highlights the degree to which approaches to fish and game protection in Quebec had by the turn of the century taken on forms entirely different from those that took shape in the rest of North America. While considerably narrower in its perspective than an organization such as the Natural History Society of Montreal of the 1850s, the North American Fish and Game Protective Association like many other associations addressing fish and game protection in the years before World War One nevertheless continued to promote many of the strategies established by patricians.

PART III: DISSENT, 1880-1914

Chapter Six: Social Order and Resistance

If we do not take steps to stop poaching whenever we have an opportunity, those people will take pleasure in laughing at the law.

E. Hamel, Assistant Superintendant of Fisheries, 1903.¹

Opposing the New Order

Throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth century there remained a marked contrast in Quebec between the province's urban centers and its rural and wilderness regions. By 1914 Montreal in particular had grown considerably. The largest city in Canada and a leading center for industry, commerce, transportation and trade, it boasted a population well over 200,000, and had become a major point of organization for sportsmen and for the fish and game protection movement in Quebec. Outside of Montreal, Quebec City, and a few regional centers, though, Quebec retained a remarkably rural identity. In 1914, rural inhabitants made up fifty per cent of the province's population.² In this rural society, inhabitants continued to combine hunting and fishing with agriculture and seasonal labour in a multi-faceted economy based on a combination of wage labour and subsistence and market production. Consider for example the description offered by surveyor C. E. Lemoine of Godbout village in 1908:

[Godbout] village is composed of 25 families, several of whom carry on farming and succeed very well. They keep horses, cows, pigs, and poultry. They also follow salmon fishing, which yields them \$600 to \$700 during the two fishing months. Between the fishing and hunting seasons,

¹ QSP, 1905, "Return no. 18," E. Hamel to S. N. Parent, 17 Oct 1903, 9.

² Bernier et Boily, *Le Québec en chiffres*, 43, 51.

they work by the day for the lessees of the Godbout river. In winter they hunt and make about \$250.³

As LeMoine made clear in his report on this and other north shore communities, fish and game resources remained an integral part of rural life. What is more, these inhabitants continued to consider access to these resources as a right based on tradition, choice, or economic conditions, and viewed with anger the regulatory strategies put in place by the province and by lessees. "I do not see why I should not get satisfaction as well as my rights in regard to that salmon fishery we have always had and which has also always gone from father to son," argued Benoni Perron in regards to the loss of his fishing rights in the Tadoussac region. "My grandfather had it first and then my father. The latter gave it to my uncle Pascal Perron and when my uncle died he gave us all he had, so that the fishery belonged to us like his other property."⁴ Facing the implementation of laws and land tenure strategies that robbed local inhabitants of their lands and resources, Perron and many others like him responded angrily to the massive transformation of rights and customs brought about by the new regulatory system.

As in the past, the maintenance of social order in the face of widespread opposition remained the most serious challenge that supporters of fish and game protection encountered. To this end, the success of the province's new regulatory system depended as much on the ability of authorities to enforce the fish and game laws as it did on those patterns of negotiation and exchange that had underpinned the protection

³ *QSP*, 1910, no. 3, "Report of the Minister of Lands and Forests of the Province of Quebec For the Twelve Months Ending 30th June 1909," C. E. Lemoine, "Extracts From the Report of an Exploration Made on the North Shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, County of Saguenay," Appendix 30, 128-33: 130.

⁴ *QSP*, 1905, "Return no. 18," Benoni Perron to S. N. Parent, 11 December 1903, 46-47: 46-47.

movement since the middle of the nineteenth century. As D. C. Mackenzie argued in 1883 in his report to the minister of Crown Lands on the salmon rivers of the lower St. Lawrence, lessees needed to express their rights constantly, for any lapse in their attention "seems sufficient not only to ruin a salmon river as such, but also to induce a belief among inhabitants of the vicinity, that they are at liberty to do as they please with every fish they see in it."⁵ Anxiety over these kinds of issues remained constant throughout the period in question, and it was commonplace for authorities to point to the danger of poachers and others who, as Quebec fish and game superintendent Hector Caron argued, "seem to laugh at the law."⁶ As Caron noted in 1915, there remained a "deplorable lack of public spirit and of respect for the law among lovers of wild game and especially among the rural population."⁷

The activities of poachers and the communities that supported them ranged widely during this period. Motivated by ignorance of the law, opportunity, or economic need, rural inhabitants continued to use fish and game resources for subsistence purposes and to sell small amounts of fish and game in order to augment other economic strategies. Commercial users too continued despite the efforts of the protection movement to ply their trade in the province. "Moose flesh is openly sold all along the Upper Ottawa just

⁵ *QSP*, 1883-84, no. 4, "Report of the Commissioner of Crown Lands of the Province of Quebec for the Twelve Months Ended 30th June 1883," D.C. Mackenzie, "Inspection of Rivers, 1883," Appendix 58, 138-45: 145.

⁶ *QSP*, 1912, no. 7, "General Report of the Minister of Colonization, Mines and Fisheries of the Province of Quebec, For the Year Ending 30th June, 1912," Hector Caron, "Game and Fisheries," 158-61: 159

⁷ *QSP*, 1916, "General Report of the Minister of Colonization, Mines and Fisheries of the Province of Quebec For the Year Ending June 30th, 1915," Hector Caron, "Fisheries and Game," 133-36: 134-35

like beef,”⁸ noted the naturalist Henri de Puyjalon in an 1896 report to the Commissioner of Crown Lands, and surveyors routinely reported large-scale operations underway both summer and winter. Provincial land surveyor C. Sam Lepage similarly noted while working in the Matane region in 1910 that he “frequently met gangs of hunters with small hand sleighs loaded down with the meat and skins of caribou, moose and red deer [as well as] others going after the game.”⁹ Legislation regulating restaurants, cold storage and shipping facilities failed to shut down the market for fish and game, and by World War I out of season produce was being shipped from outlying regions of the province to Montreal and beyond in an illegal network that stretched as far as New York and Chicago.¹⁰

Equally varied were the tactics poachers employed. Evasion, flight, and confrontation were constants, and the possibility of violence was always present. In some cases alleged offenders could be downright aggressive, threatening authorities, taking back confiscated equipment, and even driving lessees to give up their holdings.¹¹ Indeed, the fact that the violence surrounding poaching in Quebec’s poachers was not as serious as it could be in Britain was due in large part to the relative weakness of

⁸ *QSP*, 1896, no. 4, “Report of the Commissioner of Crown Lands For the Province of Quebec For the Twelve Months Ending 30th June 1896,” H. de Puyjalon, “Report For 1896. Exploration of the Upper Ottawa, Height of Land, Great Victoria Lake, &c,” Appendix 44, 135-49: 141.

⁹ *QSP*, 1911, no. 5, “Report of the Minister of Lands and Forests of the Province of Quebec For the Twelve Months Ending 30th June 1910,” C. Sam LePage, “Extract from the Report on the survey of Ranges 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11 of the township of Jetté, county of Matane,” Appendix 50, 195-97: 196-97.

¹⁰ “Wardens Seize Ton of Partridge,” *Montreal Gazette* 27 February 1912, 16.

¹¹ See for example the discussion of lessees abandoning leases in light of aggressive poaching activities in *QSP*, 1902, no. 8, “Report of the Commissioner of Lands, Forests and Fisheries, Of the Province of Quebec, For the Twelve Months Ending 30th June, 1901,” L. Z. Joncas, “Report of the Superintendent of Fisheries and Game,” Appendix 18, 36-45: 39.

authorities in Quebec and the degree of freedom this gave poachers to pursue their activities. For it is clear that poachers took their work and its consequences seriously, in some cases going so far as to disguise themselves in masks and blackface in much the same way as the eighteenth-century English poachers E.P. Thompson describes.¹² As game warden A. L. Deseve complained in 1913, "it is dangerous to walk in the woods [and] men are afraid to go to the shanties because everybody carries a firearm and shoots for the mere pleasure of shooting."¹³

As in other regions, poaching in Quebec was often a group activity. In part, the reasons for this were pragmatic, for the work of setting and moving camp, of dragging pools with nets, and of transporting big game animals or even large catches of fish were difficult and sometimes impossible to accomplish alone. Further, in regions under surveillance, group work afforded poachers greater protection from authorities. As long-time north shore guardian Napoleon Alexander Comeau pointed out, "poachers sometimes have partners whose duty it is to watch and signal the approach of the officer or guardian. This is done in many ways, either by firing a gun, making a smoke or waving some object, and if at night by lighting a match or a fire. In spite of this an odd one is occasionally caught."¹⁴

¹² See for example *QSP*, 1902, no. 8, "Report of the Commissioner of Lands, Forests and Fisheries, Of the Province of Quebec, For the Twelve Months Ending 30th June, 1901," L. Z. Joncas, "Report of the Superintendent of Fisheries and Game," Appendix 18, 33-41: 39; Thompson, *Whigs and Hunters*. Legislation passed in 1916 prohibited use of masks; see "An Act to consolidate and revise the Quebec Game Laws," *Statutes of Quebec*, 1916, 7 George V, c. 26, s. 5, 2324.

¹³ *QSP*, 1913, no. 31, "Return," A. L. Deseve to the Minister of Colonization, Mines and Fisheries, Quebec, 5: 5.

¹⁴ Comeau, *Life and Sport on the North Shore*, 110.

Indeed, the social aspects of poaching were extensive. Observers frequently lamented the widespread complicity that characterized the work of poaching gangs. As Lepage noted in his observations, "All seem to protect one another and it is very difficult to secure the names of the law-breakers."¹⁵ Such attitudes went beyond the poaching gangs themselves, and illegal hunting and fishing often went on with the knowledge, acceptance, and even the protection of local communities. Chicoutimi Lawyer Ludger Alain noted as much while investigating a poaching incident in Bagotville in 1903: "All these people protect one another and perjure themselves without hesitation."¹⁶ In short, rural inhabitants continued despite the fish and game laws to lay claim to these resources, and identified in the protection movement important economic, social and even political ramifications. Their activities, it was clear, would not succumb easily to regulation.

Enforcing the Fish and Game Laws

During the 1880s and after, strategies employed to combat poaching became increasingly complex. Prominent among them was the massive rise in the number of authorities charged with enforcing the fish and game laws. Federal fishery overseers continued to patrol parts of Quebec in light of the federal government's jurisdiction over marine and international waters. With them were increasing numbers of provincial fishery overseers and gamekeepers as well as bush rangers and other provincial employees required to enforce the province's fish and game laws. Finally, there were the private guardians employed by the fish and game clubs, and with them the wardens,

¹⁵ *QSP*, 1911, no. 5, "Report of the Minister of Lands and Forests of the Province of Quebec For the Twelve Months Ending 30th June 1910," C. Sam LePage, "Extract from the Report On the Survey of Ranges 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11 of the Township of Jetté, County of Matane," Appendix 50, 195-97: 196-97.

¹⁶ *QSP*, 1905, "Return no. 18," L. Alain to L. J. Cannon, 6 Oct 1903, 11.

guardians, and detectives of the province's protection clubs. In all, this seemed impressive. For the province now had in place literally hundreds of men, some with magisterial powers, many with powers of arrest and seizure, to enforce its fish and game legislation.

Results, however, were disappointing. Despite the hundreds of authorities charged with enforcing the fish and game laws, relatively few poachers were ever convicted. As criminal statistics indicate, conviction rates remained extremely low throughout the period in question (see appendix 4). Given difficult field conditions, poor remuneration, and the sheer size of the area in question, such feeble results are not surprising. At best, Quebec's army of poorly paid, part-time provincial overseers and guardians served as a deterrent, tending not so much to prevent as to displace poachers. Things were often better on leased territories, where some lessees developed reputations for effective guardianship. In such cases poachers were forced to choose their sites carefully. Lessees on the Bonaventure, for example, complained that the investment of the Cascapedia Club in guardians had pushed poachers out of the region and into theirs.¹⁷ Generally speaking, effective surveillance drove poachers onto unleased or unguarded territory, or alternatively into border regions where they could more easily escape authorities.

Additional difficulties centered on the social circumstances of overseers and other authorities. Often these men found themselves in difficult if not impossible positions relative to the communities in which they worked and sometimes lived. William Henry

¹⁷ McCord Museum, P594, Fonds Bonaventure Salmon Club, Box 1, M2002.20.4, *Diary 1895-1897*, 20 July 1898.

summarized the situation well at a meeting of the Montreal Fish and Game Protection Club in 1902. "These game wardens," Drummond began,

are men whose homes, family connections and callings are identified with the locality in which they live and are supposed to guard against infringement of the fish and game laws. Does any one at all familiar with clanship and shoulder-to-shoulder conditions present in small communities, and particularly in this province, imagine for a moment that the class of men referred to is one from which may be expected efficient service? What game constable residing in one of our rural parishes, unless actuated by persona enmity, would dream of 'informing' against one of his neighbors, perchance a brother, a cousin or some other relation? And even were such a local resident willing to perform his duty, bear in mind the manner in which the man would be handicapped by the fact that everybody in the vicinity would be sufficiently familiar with his movements to keep out of the way when danger threatened. The whole system is worthless.¹⁸

Such critiques were commonplace within the protection movement, and were voiced even by some civil servants. But efforts to replace the province's part-time overseers and guardians with a handful of full-time wardens ultimately fell short, and opponents to such reforms, motivated in part by the lower costs associated with its part-time employees, continued to promote the idea that hundreds of eyes and hands engaged in surveillance and enforcement work remained a more effective means of protection (see appendix 5).

¹⁸ "Parces Futuro," *Montreal Gazette* 5 December 1902, 7.

Education and Negotiation

It was widely acknowledged by the 1880s that enforcement alone was not going to win the protection movement's ongoing war against poachers. Rather than pursuing stricter legislation and enforcement, supporters needed to gain public support – in particular that of the province's aboriginals and rural popular classes. Such work would not be easy, for as Caron noted in 1915, "Very few take an interest in the protection of the natural riches of our forests and have to acknowledge that the people's education is sadly deficient on this point."¹⁹ To counter such attitudes, supporters needed to convince these inhabitants that regulation was in their best interests. In their efforts to shape public opinion in their favour, civic and state institutions appealed to ethical, economic, utilitarian, and even religious and aesthetic values. The sportsmen's code of conduct and the animal welfare movement were important parts of this, and arguments regarding waste, slaughter, cruelty, and fair play became commonplace tropes in the protection movement's efforts to undermine poachers.

More important, though, were those longstanding patterns of authority, negotiation, and exchange that shaped relations between elite and popular classes. It was from this decidedly patrician framework that protection advocates began to support in the 1880s the integration of fish and game resources into a tertiary economy, in which investment on the part of a relatively elite class of sportsmen would benefit rural inhabitants in the form of improved infrastructure, employment, a demand for

¹⁹ *QSP*, 1916, "General Report of the Minister of Colonization, Mines and Fisheries of the Province of Quebec For the Year Ending June 30th, 1915," Hector Caron, "Fisheries and Game," 133-36: 135.

agricultural and other goods, increased state revenue, and social order. Again, the province's system of leasehold tenure was key. Rural inhabitants, advocates of this approach believed, would come under the paternal umbrella of lessee-sportsmen, and would soon learn that the direct benefits of hunting and fishing were outweighed by the indirect benefits of the local sport-based economy.

As shown in the last chapter, Quebec's associational network worked hard to educate the public on the benefits of protection. Animal welfare groups, scientific and literary societies, sporting clubs, railway companies and hotel owners were all part of the protection movement's efforts to shape public opinion in this direction.²⁰ Even authorities charged with enforcing the fish and game laws identified education as key to the movement's success. As Fisheries and Game superintendent Hector Caron argued in 1910:

I said last year that the fishermen had to be educated. I have the same thing to say with reference to hunting and I think the proper persons to do that work are our game-keepers and the guardians of clubs who are continually in contact with the people and especially poachers. They should understand that their ambition must be, not so much to obtain condemnations, to have fines paid, as to prevent infringements and prevent

²⁰ For an example of state and civic efforts to rally around the cause see the discussion of financial contributions to the Montreal Fish and Game Protection Club in "Sportsmen Made Generous Gifts," *Montreal Gazette* 10 December 1909, 5.

abuses by striving to teach respect for the laws and convince the people that the advantage of all is at stake.²¹

Education was also important to the protection movement because it helped to divide rural opposition to the fish and game laws. During the 1880s and after, protection advocates increasingly differentiated subsistence from commercial users of fish and game resources. Not surprisingly, the latter group bore the brunt of the protection movement's anger. The sale of fish and game was not banned outright in Quebec, but commercial users found their activities and the market for their products increasingly restricted. It was during this period that protection advocates placed commercial poachers firmly within the category of the 'undeserving' – careless, abusive, and cruel hunters and fishers whose use of fish and game resources was wasteful and out of proportion to their needs. As with the undeserving poor of urban society, where the term was commonly employed, charges of idleness, dishonesty, and criminality remained stock materials in the war against commercial hunters and fishers.

Subject to different treatment, as in the past, were the 'deserving' poor, subsistence and small-scale commercial users whose poaching activities could be contributed to poverty or ignorance. In part, this attitude reflected the ongoing sympathies of protection advocates towards subsistence use of fish and game. Such attitudes persisted even amongst members of sporting and protection clubs, and civil servants and political leaders in particular continued to support settlers' use of fish and game resources and to overlook illegal activities if they could be attributed to poverty,

²¹ *QSP*, 1911, no. 7, "General Report of the Minister of Colonization, Mines and Fisheries of the Province of Quebec For the Year Ending June 30th, 1910," Hector Caron, "Fisheries and Game," 123-26: 124.

ignorance, or family circumstances. As late as 1912, for example, Caron considered such cases to be of little concern. "There are certain instances," he argued, "where a poor settler may, for the support of his family, have killed more deer than the number allowed by law, or again where a settler may have allowed himself to kill a deer in January or February."²² Indeed, the combination of abundant resources and poor surveillance made illegal hunting and fishing hard to resist, and many lessees and protection advocates found it difficult not to tolerate small-scale poaching on the part of the local rural populace. As Governor General Lord Lansdowne observed in regards to poaching on the Cascapedia River, such men "would be more than human if they did not" engage in such activities.²³

But the ongoing work of poachers was not simply the product of sympathy, generosity, or tolerance on the part of the protection movement. For it was clear to protection advocates that however much they tried, it was not possible to prevent locals from poaching, and that hard-line legal approaches to the problem only emphasized the limited power of the state and of the protection movement. This was a serious concern. For if protection advocates going to retain the upper hand in their war against poachers, they needed to retain at least the appearance of control.

It was because of these concerns as much as protection advocates' benevolent aspirations that legislation continued during the 1880s and after to leave room for subsistence practices. Forced to confront the dispossession of local communities brought about by its system of angling leases, in 1888 the province reserved "in each new

²² *QSP*, 1912, no. 7, no. 7, "General Report of the Minister of Colonization, Mines and Fisheries of the Province of Quebec, For the Year Ending 30th June, 1912," Hector Caron, "Game and Fisheries," 158-61: 159.

²³ Petty-FitzMaurice, "A Canadian River," 615.

township one or more lakes or rivers in which the residents of such township may freely fish for their subsistence and that of their families only, by complying with the laws in force on the subject, and such reserve shall continue to exist until the lands bordering on such lakes or rivers shall be sold.”²⁴ Further legislation appearing the same year gave magistrates “discretionary power” in cases where game offences were “committed through ignorance of the law, and that the fine is too great owing to the poverty of the defendant.”²⁵ Likewise the province repeatedly found it necessary to qualify laws according to regional needs and circumstances. Wildfowl that were otherwise subject to close seasons were hunted legally on a year round basis by the inhabitants of certain regions “for the purpose of procuring food only,” and eggs could likewise be collected for subsistence purposes in certain regions despite more general legislation prohibiting such activities.²⁶ Clubs followed this pattern too, and, like state authorities, routinely dropped charges and remitted fines in cases in which poverty and ignorance were mitigating factors. In an effort a move to remain on good terms with residents of nearby communities, the Megantic club went so far as to give locals permission and free permits to hunt and fish on its territory, and gifts of fish and game continued to make their way to the tables of the rural poor.

Despite the growing severity of the fish and game laws, aboriginals too continued to hunt and fish for subsistence and commercial purposes, and authorities’ efforts to contain them were of limited success. As with non-aboriginals, lessees and guardians

²⁴ “An Act to amend and consolidate the laws relating to fisheries,” *Statutes of Quebec*, 1888, 51-52 Victoria, c. 17, s. 4.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 51-52 Victoria, c. 17, s. 18.

²⁶ See for example “An Act to amend and Consolidate the Game Laws of the Province of Quebec,” *Statutes of Quebec*, 1884, 47 Victoria, c. 25 s. 5.

often ignored aboriginal poachers and gave aboriginals permission to hunt and fish for subsistence purposes. Such benevolence was as much pragmatic as it was generous, for it would often have been impossible for lessees to prevent aboriginals from hunting and fishing. As de Puyjalon's 1897 observation of the "fifty to sixty canoe" travelling up the north shore's St. John River "every hunting season to gain the interior" makes clear, aboriginals retained a significant presence in the province's more remote regions, and would not be easily subject to the demands of authorities.²⁷ Indeed, aboriginal resistance to the fish and game laws extended in some cases beyond simple acts of resistance to the use of political and legal channels, in particular to the use of petitions and claims of territorial rights.²⁸

That said, it is important to note that Quebec's aboriginals continued to lose ground to the protection movement as legislation tightened around their hunting and fishing activities during the 1880s and after. New laws aimed in particular at aboriginals' commercial use of fish and game resources, but legislation also targeted aboriginal subsistence practices. By the 1880s the broad exemptions of the previous decades had been replaced by exemptions that were far more restricted in their scope. The exemption of aboriginals from permit fees for large game, for example, came on condition that "their

²⁷ *QSP*, 1897, no. 4, "Report of the Commissioner of Lands, Forests and Fisheries of the Province of Quebec for the Twelve Months Ending 30th June 1897," H. de Puyjalon, "Report of the inspector General of Fisheries and Game," Appendix 26, 70-72, 71.

²⁸ See for example LAC, RG 6 A-1 52 1295-97, "Canada, Department of the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, For Amendment of Game Laws of Province of Quebec in Favor of the Indians, As Asked For By Petition Herewith of Abenakis Indians" (Ottawa 1883); see also discussions regarding events in Laurentides National Park in 1909 when aboriginals living in nearby Lorette "invaded" the park and claimed treaty rights, in *QSP*, 1910, no. 3, "Report of the Minister of Lands and Forests of the Province of Quebec for the Twelve Months Ending 30th June 1909," W. C. J. Hall, "Report of Mr. W. C. J. Hall, Superintendent of the Laurentides National Park," Appendix 23, 111-13; see also Parenteau, "Care, Control, and Supervision".

poverty has been established” to the satisfaction of the Commissioner of Crown Lands.²⁹ Increasingly, protection advocates were unwilling to distinguish between aboriginals and other commercial and subsistence hunters and fishers, and worked instead to integrate them into their sport-based model of protection.

Campaigns

Ultimately, the success of the protection movement depended on a combination of education and enforcement. It was with this in mind that protection advocates saw campaigns against poachers as an effective strategy. Not surprisingly, such projects targeted mainly the most brazen offenders. His sympathies with the rural poor aside, Caron noted in 1912: “The fact must not be concealed that, in certain districts, there are professional poachers who seem to laugh at the law and who unfortunately slaughter game for the mere pleasure of slaughtering, leaving the meat and even the skins to rot in the woods. We must deal pitilessly with such slaughter.”³⁰ One of Caron’s contemporaries concurred, arguing that “Public opinion has not been able to prevent such wholesale destruction, and conditions will remain the same as long as the authorities appeal only to sentimentality to prevent it.”³¹

Conducted typically in response to well-known poachers, campaigns accounted for some of the better years in the province in regards to conviction rates. But they had more to do with arousing public anger and curbing challenges to state and civil authority.

²⁹ “An Act to amend ‘The Quebec Game Law’”, 1887, *Statutes of Quebec*, 50 Victoria, c. 16, s. 3.

³⁰ *QSP*, 1912, no. 7, “General Report of the Minister of Colonization, Mines and Fisheries of the Province of Quebec, For the Year Ending 30th June, 1912,” Hector Caron, “Game and Fisheries,” 158-61: 159.

³¹ *QSP*, 1916, “General Report of the Minister of Colonization, Mines and Fisheries of the Province of Quebec For the Year Ending June 30th, 1915,” Hector Caron, “Fisheries and Game,” 133-36: 134-35.

When poaching activities on a number of salmon rivers flowing into the Saguenay escalated in 1901 to the point of lessees abandoning their holdings, for example, authorities stepped up their efforts considerably. "Special officers were appointed," noted Joncas, then Fisheries and Game Superintendent,

and we succeeded in getting about one hundred delinquents sentenced and in seizing some hundreds of nets and a good many boats. Some of those sentenced were imprisoned while the others had to pay a fine and costs.

The struggle with the poachers was very sharp; many of them were masked and armed and threatened to fire on our officers. They even on two occasions upset the boats containing our officers in pursuit of them. *The lesson given them will, I trust, produce good results* (italics mine).³²

As we see here, the potential to arouse public opinion played a major role in motivating state and civic authorities to pursue the province's more flagrant poachers. In extreme instances, such as that of the infamous Beauce county poacher Henri Ladouceur, campaigns could bring out the full range of state and civic institutions. At its height, the year-long manhunt for Ladouceur involved the work of three Quebec City constables working under the leadership of a guardian paid by the Montreal Fish and Game Protection Club. During this time, the Canadian SPCA threw its support behind the city's fish and game protection club, the province's railways provided free transportation for authorities involved in the case, and provincial newspapers gave considerable room to the

³² *QSP*, 1902, no. 8, "Report of the Commissioner of Lands, Forests and Fisheries, Of the Province of Quebec, For the Twelve Months Ending 30th June, 1901," L. Z. Joncas, "Report of the Superintendent of Fisheries and Game," Appendix 18, 33-41: 39.

case.³³ The *Montreal Star* in particular took aim at Ladouceur, displaying in the months before his capture a dozen confiscated skins in the windows of its downtown office, “all of fawns, some of which can only have been a few days old.”³⁴ As one would expect, the campaign against Ladouceur played heavily on upper and middle class sensibilities, and the image that emerged was of a violent, cruel, and wasteful poacher who killed for the sake of killing (see figure 6.1).

In essence, campaigns such as the one against Ladouceur presented protection advocates with a means both to draw public attention to the fish and game laws and to deter poachers from their work. The danger, of course, was failure, in which case the efforts of authorities served to highlight the weaknesses rather than the strengths of the province’s regulatory system. In a more general way, the efforts of protection advocates to make examples of the province’s more egregious lawbreakers also highlighted the growing divisions between urban and rural society in regards to the use of fish and game resources. By the time he was arrested in December 1897, Ladouceur had become a local celebrity. During the two days before he was transported to St. Joseph de Beauce for trial, between four and five hundred locals came to the jail in Lake Megantic to see him and to marvel at the capture of a man with whom “many of the country people are in sympathy.”³⁵

Patricians and Peasants

A third approach to the regulation of poachers played on anti-modern sentiments within the sporting and protection communities. As Parenteau and Loo point out, sportsmen

³³ “Cruelty to Animals,” *Montreal Daily Star* 9 November 1897, 8.

³⁴ “A Wanton Slaughter,” *Montreal Daily Star* 1 November 1897, 10.

³⁵ “Search For Ladouceur,” *Montreal Daily Star* 13 November 1897, 1; “Mode of Capture,” *Montreal Gazette* 11 January 1898, 6.



Figure 6.1. "Wanton Slaughter," 1897. Images such as this, printed during the campaign to capture Henri Ladouceur in Beauce County, Quebec, depicted poachers as cruel and wasteful killers. Source: "A Wanton Slaughter," *Montreal Daily Star* 1 November 1897, 10.

often idealized aboriginals, viewing them as representatives of a simpler way of living uncontaminated by the problems associated with industrialization and urbanization. Underneath these views, though, class and ethnic divisions remained firmly in place, and any blurring of boundaries was at best a temporary phenomenon, and served ultimately to reinforce notions of white superiority on practically all other fronts.

While aboriginals were arguably the most anti-modern inhabitants of Quebec's rural regions, rural French Catholics too were subject to sportsmen and protection advocates' anti-modern views. Already a commonplace view of rural Quebec by the 1880s, this perspective received considerable play as growing numbers of sportsmen took to the Quebec wilderness. Quebec City merchant, author, and sporting enthusiast George M. Fairchild, jr., elaborated on the subject in detail in his 1896 guidebook *Rod and Canoe, Rifle and Snowshoe in Quebec's Adirondacks*. For Fairchild's readers, the physical movement northwards from the St Lawrence river, from the urban centres of Montreal and Quebec City to the agricultural lands lying between the river and the Laurentian mountains, then to the foothills, and finally to the mountains themselves, was marked by both a *social* shift from urban to rural and finally to wilderness-based society, and by a *temporal* shift from modern to feudal society, and finally to a natural or savage wilderness-based order. At the midway point, between the urban world and the wilderness, lived the representatives of Fairchild's anti-modern society. "Upon the borderland of the Laurentides dwell a singular people," Fairchild began his description, "a race long settled upon the land they till, but who, amidst the progress of the last two centuries, have successfully resisted its encroachments, and to-day exhibit the strange anomaly of French customs, manners and habits of the 17th century preserved to the 19th

in the new world, under a foreign government.” According to Fairchild, “[a] happier, more contented peasantry do not exist, and their virtues are manifold”: they were “a social, loving people”; “devout”; “exceedingly courteous and polite in their intercourse.”

This peasantry, he continued,

labor no harder than is necessary to provide for their simple wants. They are a self-contained people, and extreme indigence is rare among them.

The wives and daughters spin and weave their own linen and woollen cloth wherewith they clothe themselves; their small farms yield sufficient for the family use; the maple bush the sugar and syrup; the nearest stream or lake abundance of luscious trout for fast days; the *sapin* swamp its quota of snared hares and partridges. They have little to sell, still less to purchase.

Moving north from the St. Lawrence, one moved beyond the feudal habitant described above:

Crowding the foothills closer, and near to the trail of the bush, are the homes of the trappers and guides. They form a class by themselves somewhere between the *habitan* and the Indian. They are the descendants of the old *coureurs de bois* and possess all the traits of their ancestors... animated by a spirit of adventure, [they] penetrated the great unknown wilderness from the shores of the St. Lawrence to the Hudson’s Bay... contracted alliances with the dusky maidens of the forests and acquired

considerable influence in the councils of the tribes from which they took their squaws, and in time became almost as savage.³⁶

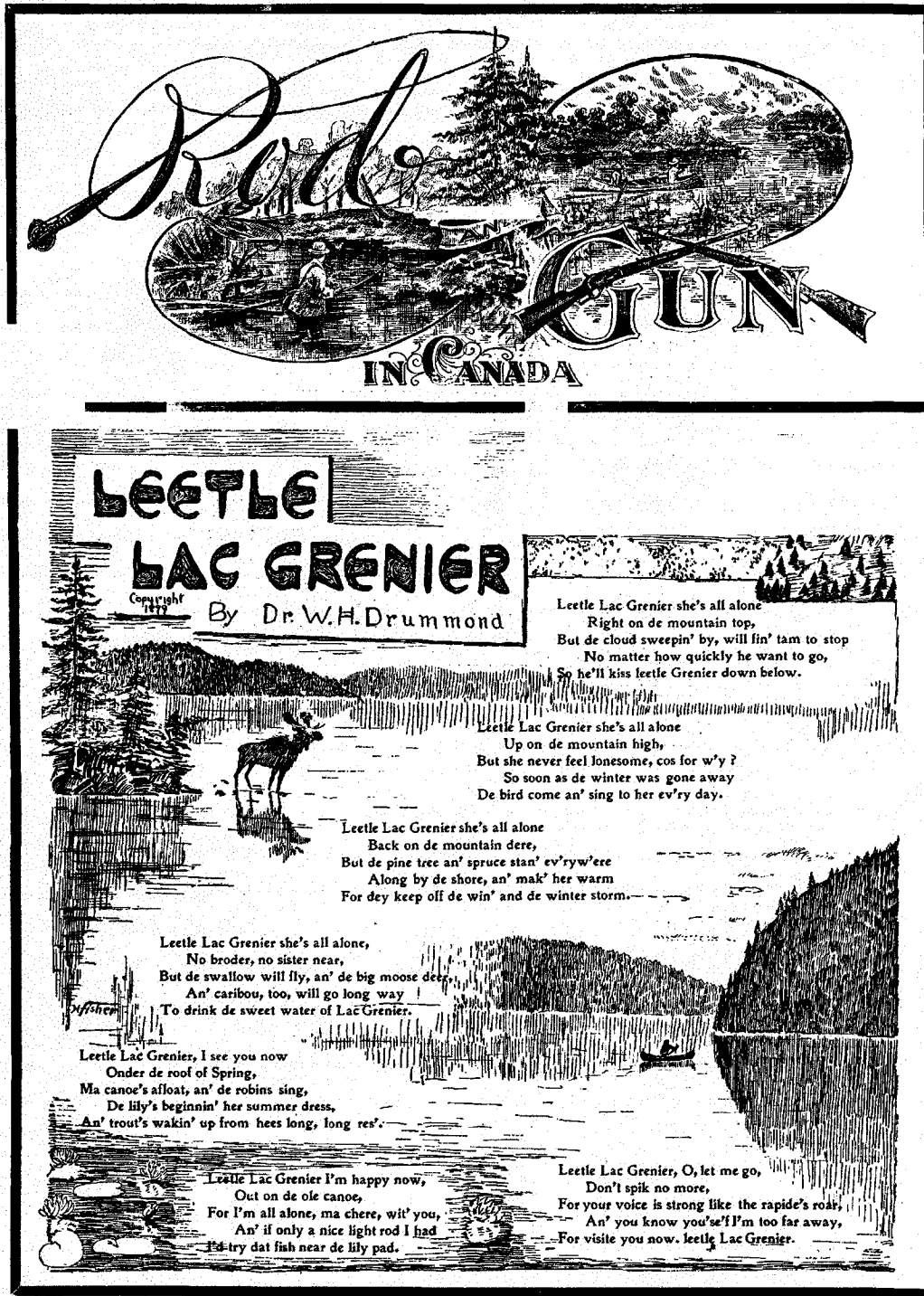
Fairchild was not alone in his anti-modern treatment of rural French Canada. For William Henry Drummond too, Quebec's rural French Canadians stood in stark contrast to the urban industrial world that he like many others desired to escape. Drummond went to great lengths to capture this rural world in his poetry. Works like Drummond's 1897 book *The Habitant and Other French-Canadian Poems* articulated a vision of rural Quebec that mirrored what Ian McKay describes in the context of rural Nova Scotia as "The Simple Life of the Folk."³⁷ The hallmark of Drummond's poetry was an effort to imitate the broken English spoken by many of guides, trappers, and other men he knew from his wilderness outings. This was an honest attempt to celebrate the region's inhabitants, but it also helped to emphasize further the vision of rural Quebec as an unsophisticated, pre-modern society (see figure 6.2). The poem *Le Vieux Chasseur*, published on the cover of the December 1899 issue of *Rod and Gun in Canada*, is an example:

Don't see de nodder feller lak Bateese was locky man,
He can ketch de smartes' feesh is never sweem,
An' de bird he seldom miss dem, let dem try de hard dey can
W'y de eagle on de mountain can't fly away from heem.

In effect, Fairchild, Drummond, and the other writers who took up this view presented rural Quebec as an outdoor museum of sorts, a society in which there could be found the remnants of another time and place, where visitors could engage in real-life encounters

³⁶ Fairchild, *Rod and Canoe, Rifle and Snowshoe in Quebec's Adirondacks*, 15-19.

³⁷ McKay, xvi.



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Figure 6.2. Cover of the First Issue of *Rod and Gun in Canada*, 1899. By the turn of the century it was common in sport and protection circles to depict rural francophones as part of an idealized, antimodern society. Source: *RGC* (June 1899): Front Cover.

with feudal peasants and New World peoples. An anti-modern ideal, it was a society that was immune to the problems of modernity, and that occupied an unknown, even mythical, environment. As McKay notes, this adds up from another perspective to the de-politicization of pre-industrial society. For such views obscured the challenges faced by such populations in light of the massive transformation of social, political, and economic conditions, of which the loss of access to land, fish, and game resources was part. Consider as a final example Fairchild's characterization of "Old Jean Le Blanc," a man at once masculine in identity, mysterious in behaviour, and simple in his politics:

Old Jean Le Blanc is a good example of his race. When the frosts of autumn have tinged the mountains with a thousand dazzling hues Jean becomes uneasy and restless. At all hours of the day he may be observed at the corner of his little log house, that commands a view of the forests, blowing thick clouds of smoke from his short, black pipe, and taking observations. Some fine morning he is seen entering the edge of the bush, old flintlock under his arm, snowshoes slung over his shoulders, together with his small pack of traps and other necessities. What becomes of him afterward no one knows; but early in the spring he reappears smelling strongly of smoke, and drawing behind him a very heavily laden traineau, the proceeds of his winter work, the skins of the caribou and moose that have fallen before old flintlock, and the pelts of beavers, minks and martins, to his traps.

Jean is a good trapper, a poor shot; he is full of the lore of the bush, but ignorant of everything else; superstitious as the Indians among whom he

has so long dwelt, and as full of omens, but considers himself a good Catholic; cheerful and as light-hearted as a schoolboy, he the guide *par excellence*.³⁸

If there is a final irony to this vision, it lay in the role of sportsmen and protection advocates in their ability to simultaneously embrace rural Quebec for its antimodernity and to promote the sport-based tertiary economy that would link its inhabitants more closely to the modern world. As they waited for this to happen, those sportsmen who held hunting and angling leases in Quebec slipped into the province's rural regions as patrons, supporting everything from employees and farmers to local churches and schools. For if rural French Canada was populated by an idealized feudal peasantry, lessees were only too willing to assume the role of feudal lord and master.

Conclusion

We can draw a number of conclusions from the resistance of commercial and subsistence users between 1880 and 1914. For one, it is clear that opposition to the fish and game laws remained widespread. Despite all efforts on the part of protection advocates, rural inhabitants continued to take fish and game illegally, and to do so with an attitude of defiance. Enforcement strategies were routinely criticized for their weaknesses, and protection advocates were forced constantly to modify laws and practices in order to maintain order and the appearance of control.

But it is also important to note that resistance on the part of commercial and subsistence users remained local, conservative, and reactionary. In essence, it was an opposition that lacked the vision, the organizational capacity, and the political

³⁸ Fairchild, *Rod and Canoe, Rifle and Snowshoe in Quebec's Adirondacks*, 15-21.

connections that characterized the work of patricians and the increasing number of sports-oriented protection advocates who emulated them. By World War I, land tenure, surveillance, and other regulatory strategies were having an effect on poachers, in particular commercial poachers. Describing the situation on the north shore in 1909, Comeau observed that while small-scale poaching continued, “nowadays the professional [poacher] has practically disappeared, because nearly every river or brook of any consequence in the county has a guardian.”³⁹ During the 1880s and after, the sport-based model of fish and game protection continued to overshadow the more broad-based vision promoted by patricians during the movement’s first decades, and there emerged considerably less tolerant views of commercial and subsistence hunting and fishing. Combined with increasingly strict fish and game laws, this represented a significant loss for the province’s rural populace.

³⁹ Comeau, *Life and Sport on the North Shore*, 109.

Chapter Seven:

Sporting Opposition

It matters not what the laws of other lands may decree; game and fish are not by nature subject of private ownership. In this land no feudal baron with a band of cut throats at his back has ever been able to make his will law; and game laws that were the outgrowth of feudal oppression are not applicable to the conditions that exist in this country... In the event of the refusal of our demands one course is still left open to us – organization.

The People's Game and Fish Protective Association of Nova Scotia, 1909.¹

Quebec's Sporting Critics

"I wish to lay before you what I consider the most iniquitous laws by which a few to the detriment of thousands are debarred from the privilege of fishing and shooting over the greater part of opened country in this Province, by clubs," wrote Royal Navy Fleet Paymaster Shudham S. Hill from Quebec City to the editor of *Rod and Gun in Canada* in 1905. "Almost the whole of the surveyed lands of the Province excepting the Park [Laurentides] are leased to some 373 clubs and fisheries of an average of six members; in all 2,238 persons, to the exclusion and injustice of the rights of 1,648,898, the present population of the Province." Pointing out problems ranging from speculative leases to the influence of 'alien' sportsmen and offering his readers an alternative strategy, Hill's attack on Quebec's system of fish and game regulation is remarkably similar to the complaints that would surface in the wake of the Quiet Revolution, and would lead the Parti Québécois to abandon the system following its election in 1976. By the First World War, criticism of Quebec's system of fish and game protection was alive and well.²

The complaints voiced by Hill and others during the first years of the twentieth century, it is important to note, were not coming from the ranks of the province's

¹ "The People's Game and Fish Protective Association of Nova Scotia," *RGC* (April 1909), 1076-79: 1078.

² Shudham S. Hill, "To the Editor of Rod and Gun in Canada," *RGC* (March 1905), 557-59: 557; Poupart, *Le scandale des clubs privés de chasse et pêche*.

commercial and subsistence hunters and fishers, but from a growing number of disaffected sportsmen, who found themselves outside the network of protection clubs, fish and game clubs, and other associations that had grown up like walls around the province's wildlife. "Who are these clubmen?" Hill asked rhetorically of the lessees who bore the brunt of his anger. His answer: "Men with money, so that a poor man like myself cannot join." Like so many middle class sportsmen who were participating by the end of the nineteenth century in the province's growing sport and tourism industries, Hill interpreted the regulation of fish and game resources in terms of citizenship, egalitarianism, and democratic rights. Indeed, despite the differences separating Hill and similarly minded sportsmen from more established sportsmen and protection advocates, the former identified far more closely with the patrician culture they criticized than they did with the province's commercial and subsistence users. This fact was made clear in their ability to adopt the tools as well as the leisure practices of patricians. The ease with which Hill and so many others took up the associational strategies of their more established counterparts in order to critique the province's regulatory system speaks loudly of the changing material and class dynamics that were taking shape in Quebec during the years before World War One.³

Such complaints as those outlined above were not new. Examples can be found from the beginning of the province's protection movement in the 1850s, and sportsmen's critiques had taken hold well before the province took over the federal system of angling leases in 1883. Writing in 1876, John J. Rowan described the system as one of "private favour and backstairs influence;" so much so, he speculated, "that it is even doubtful

³ Shudham S. Hill, "To the Editor of Rod and Gun in Canada," *RGC* (March 1905), 557-59: 558.

whether a conservative salmon would rise at a grit fly.”⁴ Rowan’s more trenchant criticism of the monopolistic nature of the lease system – like Hill, Rowan advocated a more pluralistic system of angling licences – was echoed by others. “There is an exclusiveness in the system which the maritime people consider arbitrary,” wrote one critic in 1881. “Sportsmen and residents on the Matapedia, Restigouche and tributaries, feel greatly annoyed that the [Fishery] Department should sustain monopolies, in preventing them from procuring local life comforts which they formerly enjoyed.”⁵ Another argued that the system “partakes too much of the old feudal times, when a few favored ones were allowed privileges that were forbidden fruits to the general public.”⁶ Sport hunters levelled similar complaints in response to increasing restrictions on game resources. Anger during the 1880s over the province’s plans to establish a system of hunting licenses prompted one sportsman to describe the project as “most unpopular, not only to sportsmen, but to farmers and others who, from time immemorial, have been accustomed to enjoy a little shooting in their spare time. The necessity of securing a Government license to hunt on their own farms, cannot but seem arbitrary.”⁷ Rumours circulating during the same period of plans to establish shooting reserves brought forth similar responses: “It is a new thing for us to learn,” wrote William Couper, the Montreal-based naturalist and editor of the *Canadian Sportsman and Naturalist*,

that the lovers of the rifle and the fowling piece are not to enjoy the sport in season without asking permission from the government. When that

⁴ Rowan, *The Emigrant and Sportsman in Canada*, 418, 382.

⁵ “Leasing Salmon Rivers – The People’s Rights,” *CSN* 1 8 (1881): 58.

⁶ ‘Stanstead,’ “To the Editor of the *Canadian Sportsman and Naturalist*,” *CSN* 1 7 (1881), 53-54: 53.

⁷ “The New Game Law for the Province of Quebec,” *CSN* 2 5 (1882), 134-35: 135.

pleasure is taken from the Canadian Sportsman, farewell to his rural liberty. It is quite sufficient that the Fishery Department lease the Salmon rivers without taking from the subject his rights in the marsh or forest.⁸

These criticisms may have remained limited in their scope were it not for the expansion of the leasing system under the Quebec government during the 1880s, and its subsequent decision in 1895 to begin leasing hunting territory. This latter move in particular proved extremely popular, most notably amongst clubs eager to take up hunting rights on the territory they leased for angling. Within four years, seventy-eight lessees had taken hold of more than 9,000 square kilometres of hunting territory, and were integrated into a regulatory system that by 1900 included 113 fish and game clubs and a total of 342 river, lake and hunting leases. Joncas' 1901 report to the Commissioner of Crown Lands and Fisheries pointed out that

A glance at our maps will show that in the counties of Ottawa and Pontiac nearly all the territory along the Ottawa river is leased. The same may be said for the whole of the territory through which the Quebec and Lake St. John Railway runs. The region north of Montreal is being rapidly leased and good many applications for territories in Gaspesia, Temiscouata, Rimouski and Kamouraska are beginning to come in.⁹

This rapid parcelling out of the province's best hunting and fishing grounds meant that some districts were soon left with almost nothing for the non-affiliated sportsman. If this were not enough, it was becoming clear to many that the public identity of the

⁸ "Shooting Reserves," *CSN* 19 (1881): 67.

⁹ *QSP*, 1902, no. 8, "Report of the Commissioner of Lands, Forests and Fisheries, Of the Province of Quebec, For the Twelve Months Ending 30th June, 1901," L. Z. Joncas, "Report of the Superintendent of Fisheries and Game," Appendix 18, 33-41: 40-1.

province's newly formed Laurentides National Park was seriously compromised. Harnessed to the interests of the fish and game clubs that held leases along the park's perimeter, Laurentides Park seemed to be far more a part of the private leasehold system than a public space. The sale in 1895 of the 8,000 square kilometre island of Anticosti by the provincial government to French industrialist and 'Chocolate King of France' Henri Menier for use as a private sporting estate – bigger than Corsica, it became the largest privately owned island in the world – only helped fuel the tensions that were taking shape.¹⁰

Changing social contexts pushed levels of discontent higher still. Better transportation networks and growing interest amongst the middle classes in outdoor leisure activities meant that increasing numbers of sportsmen found themselves outside the associational networks that had taken shape in the province over the past half century. By 1900 these men were participating with growing frequency in these networks: in protection clubs and other associations; in fairs and exhibitions, such as those that took place in Montreal and Toronto during the spring of 1908; and finally in those networks facilitated by media channels, notably the monthly journal *Rod and Gun in Canada*, which began publication in Montreal in 1899.¹¹

Opposition and Organization in the New Century

The most prominent organization in which opposition to Quebec's system of leasehold tenure took shape was the North American Fish and Game Protective Association. During the association's first meeting in February 1900 there emerged a considerable degree of anger amongst sportsmen both outside and within the province

¹⁰ MacKay, *Anticosti, the Untamed Island*, 51-52.

¹¹ "The Future of Sportsmen's Shows in Canada," *RGC* (June 1908): 62-66.

over the province's approach to fish and game protection. Leasing, it was clear, remained highly unpopular amongst men whose sporting activities depended on continued public access to fish and game resources, and who in many cases already faced significant limitations resulting from private land ownership of sporting territory. Nor was leasing popular amongst many within the tourism industry, for whom abundant fish and game resources were an effective means of encouraging sportsmen to patronize the province's railways and hotels. When delegates including representatives from the Canadian Pacific Railway put forward a watered-down resolution recommending "that hunting territories should not be leased, but that all wild lands should be open to hunters during the proper seasons," they met with considerable opposition on the part of delegates from Quebec's fish and game clubs and the provincial government, which sought both to appease opponents and to defend its current system of protection. As representatives from three provinces and four states debated the merits and the pitfalls of leasing, it became clear that Quebec's system of fish and game protection would remain a point of contention for a long time to come.¹²

During the years that followed, opposition to Quebec's regulatory system took shape in a number of contexts. Buoyed in part by the efforts of politicians and civil servants to balance the varied demands made on them over access to fish and game resources, opponents found reason to believe that the Quebec government would consider reforming its approach to fish and game protection. During the first years of the twentieth century, many hitched their hopes to Jean Prévost, Quebec's newly appointed Minister of Colonization, Mines, and Fisheries. An ardent supporter of both fish and

¹² North American Fish and Game Protective Association, *Minutes*, 128.

game protection and of efforts to colonize the more remote regions of the province, Prévost publicly entertained a broad view of the role of fish and game resources. During a series of conferences on colonization and on fish and game protection held in 1905, Prévost gave opponents considerable opportunity to air their views. For Prévost like many of the 200 participants who attended the latter meeting at the Windsor Hotel in Montreal on December 13-14, the pursuit of sport and protection was not confined to any particular social class. As he argued two months later in a speech to the provincial legislature concerning proposed reforms to the fish and game laws,

It must be remembered that the word 'sportsman' is not applied alone to the foreigner who comes here in spring or autumn, and under the leadership of our guides visits the fish and game districts of the north or the south of the province as the case may be, to take a needful rest in our forests or by our lakes and rivers; it includes also the curé, the doctor, the merchant, the workmen of our towns and villages, all of whom deplore to-day the disappearance of so much of our fish and of our game, above all in the southerly part of our province.¹³

Throughout these meetings and in debates that spilled into the media and other clubs and associations, attempts to highlight the merits of leasing were drowned by opponents in support of more democratic and egalitarian approaches to the management of provincial fish and game resources. Emerging from these discussions was a clear sense that the target of opponents was not simply the system of leasehold tenure, but the broader culture of elite privilege behind it. The decision of the Quebec government to

¹³ *Fish and Game Protection and The Fish and Game Congress of Montreal*, 59.

exempt from its non-resident license fees those members of incorporated clubs that held hunting leases in the province, for example, enraged critics, who pointed to the insignificant sums these lessees paid for their hunting territories. Such favouritism, they argued, went beyond even the privileges enjoyed by European landlords. "In the old countries," argued one writer for *Rod and Gun in Canada*,

a man may not do as he pleases even on his own property. In England not only gun licenses but also game licences have to be taken out annually before a landlord may shoot over his own property, and men like the Duke of Devonshire, although they bring up birds artificially, and pay for protecting them, have further to pay the State for the right to shoot their own birds on their own land.¹⁴

Similarly, opponents had little room for the view that investment in improvements to their territories entitled lessees to automatic renewal of their leases, and critics were quick to point out that such expenditures on the part of clubs were "mainly for their own advantages."¹⁵ Also open to criticism were the excesses and non-utilitarian elements that underpinned the existing system of protection. "Some members of incorporated Clubs have exclusive privileges over lakes they have never seen and hunting rights over lands whose extreme limits they have never beheld," argued one critic; another noted that many club members "did not care a straw about the fish they would catch, but they liked to get into the wilds of the country for a change."¹⁶ Creating "a privileged position, contrary to

¹⁴ "Fish and Game Protection in Quebec," *RGC* (February 1906), 958-63: 962.

¹⁵ "Fish and Game Leases in Quebec: New Government Regulations," *RGC* (May 1906), 1345-50: 1346.

¹⁶ "Fish and Game Protection in Quebec," *RGC* (February 1906), 958-62: 960; Shudham S. Hill, "To the Editor of Rod and Gun in Canada," *RGC* (March 1905), 557-59: 558.

all democratic ideas,” still another opponent described the system of clubs and leases as “an anomaly which no one could expect to last, and the wonder is how it was allowed to grow up and retain an existence for so long.”¹⁷

Opponents of Quebec’s system of leasing, it soon became clear, were driven by fear as well as anger. There was, after all, considerable interest amongst participants in the North American Fish and Game Protective Association in finding effective protection strategies, and many opponents worried that the Quebec model might not be rejected by the majority of participants, but could in fact become the model for protection in other provinces and states. This fear was not unjustified. For while Quebec remained the only province or state to make leasing the lynchpin of its strategy for fish and game protection, examples of leasing could be found elsewhere. New Brunswick already leased a number of its salmon rivers, and there were examples of state-administered leases in Ontario and Nova Scotia. In addition, sporting leases of private lands and privately owned sporting reserves could be found in many states bordering Quebec, notably in Maine and on the lands bordering New York’s Adirondack Park. In response to this threat, sportsmen, labour organizations, and other interested parties throughout northeastern North America began to organize in opposition to the spread of lease-based approaches to fish and game protection.¹⁸

Among the most vocal opponents to oppose leasing from outside Quebec were the Ontario Fish and Game Protective Organization (est. c. 1906) and the People’s Game and

¹⁷ “Fish and Game Leases in Quebec Province. New Government Regulations,” *RGC* (May 1906), 1345-50: 1345, 1346.

¹⁸ On the participation of labour organizations see for example “How Best to Inform Public Opinion As to the Need of Fish and Game Protective Laws,” *RGC* (March 1905), 543-45: 544.

Fish Protective Association of Nova Scotia (est. 1906). As the name of the latter club makes explicit, these were populist organizations, and shared as a key objective the maintenance of public access for sportsmen to fish and game resources. Both took shape as a series of branch organizations, and their interests corresponded closely to those of the "country towns" from which they drew much of their support.¹⁹ By 1907 the Ontario club had thirty branches and a membership of nearly three thousand, while the Nova Scotia club had by 1909 more than one thousand members in at least a dozen branches stretching "from New Glasgow to Yarmouth."²⁰

In part, these organizations were the response of sportsmen to local concerns related to land ownership and leasing. Provincial regulatory strategies were being reconsidered in both Ontario and Nova Scotia, and participants remained determined to prevent landowners and fish and game clubs from securing any more rights than they already held, and in doing so to ensure that the use of public funds for protection be squared with public rights to the resources being protected.

But the members of these organizations were also deeply affected by events outside their local communities, and they made it known through their participation in the broader North American network of clubs, conferences, and associations that they remained deeply opposed to Quebec's regulatory system. "If eternal vigilance is necessary to stop the leasing system in Ontario," observed one writer for *Rod and Gun in Canada* in 1907, "then the Ontario Fish and Game Protective Association has not been

¹⁹ *Journals and Proceedings of the House of Assembly of the Province of Nova Scotia*, 1909, Part 2, J. A. Knight, "Game Commissioner's Report," Appendix no. 24, 1-7: 3.

²⁰ "The People's Game and Fish Protective Society of Nova Scotia," *RGC* (May 1907), 1070-71: 1071; "The People's Game and Fish Protective Association of Nova Scotia," *RGC* (May 1909): 1076-79.

formed too soon, and its members have a duty before them which they must not allow to remain unfulfilled. The path of any Government granting private leases must be made a hard one.”²¹ At the 1909 meeting of the North American Fish and Game Protective Association, Ontario club secretary Kelly Evans pushed delegates unsuccessfully to adopt the proposal that the association “is opposed to the principle of States or Provinces leasing or selling large tracts of wild lands to be used as private game reserves.”²² As for the Nova Scotia club, it was particularly vehement in its criticism of elitist forms of control:

It matters not what the laws of other lands may decree; game and fish are not by nature subject of private ownership. In this land no feudal baron with a band of cut throats at his back has ever been able to make his will law; and game laws that were the outgrowth of feudal oppression are not applicable to the conditions that exist in this country.²³

The feudal land on which club members based their comparison, of course, was not only Europe, but also Quebec. By setting an example of the potential benefits of a state-administered system of privately controlled hunting and fishing leases, Quebec and its lessees represented a much more immediate threat to public access enjoyed by sportsmen in Nova Scotia and other provinces than did any “feudal baron” of Europe. As Evans explained during a speech to the members of the Nova Scotia club in 1908, there

²¹ Untitled Article, *RGC* (May 1907): 1126.

²² “North American Fish and Game Protective Association,” *RGC* (March 1909), 939-45: 943.

²³ “The People’s Game and Fish Protective Association of Nova Scotia,” *RGC* (April 1909), 1076-79: 1078.

remained on the part of these clubs “the constant necessity for vigilance if the people’s rights in fishing and hunting were to be maintained.”²⁴

Together these developments entailed a number of paradoxes. On the one hand, Quebec became during the first decade of the twentieth century the target of sportsmen throughout northeastern North America opposed to the adoption of leasehold tenure as a means of fish and game regulation. As we see in the case of sportsmen in Ontario and Nova Scotia, opposition was intense enough to inspire active, organized resistance. On the other hand, the province was attracting increasing numbers of non-resident sportsmen who realized through its leasing system the opportunity to hold exclusive hunting and angling rights over massive stretches of wilderness. In short, while Quebec was becoming a catalyst for opposition to elitist forms of protection outside the province, it was also becoming a bastion of elite culture within, a space in which growing numbers of elite sportsmen throughout North America could enjoy privileges unavailable anywhere else on the continent.

The Limits of Opposition

Like their counterparts, opponents of Quebec’s system of leasing knew the importance of education, of public opinion, and of arguments that made sound economic sense. And, as in the case of the protection movement that emerged during the latter half of the nineteenth century, the opposition that took shape during the years before World War One was not based simply on self-interest, but was grounded in ethical considerations and alternative regulatory strategies. While it was clear to most critics that a radical transformation of the situation in Quebec was not going to take place overnight,

²⁴ “The People’s Game and Fish Protective Association of Nova Scotia,” *RGC* (November 1908), 541-42: 542.

many believed that there was some room for movement. How much room, though, was difficult to determine. A public system such as that described by Shudham Hill, in which sporting territories would be managed by state-employed guardians who would monitor fish and game populations and be paid out of money raised through rental and licensing fees, was a popular alternative amongst many opposed to Quebec's current system of leasing. According to Hill, it would not only make for more effective and egalitarian system, but would bring the provincial government a far better economic return than its current approach.²⁵ The problem, of course, was that it would undermine entirely those private and state investments in sport, in protection, and in improvement that had taken shape over the past half century. As in the case of commercial and subsistence users, the tension over sportsmen's access to fish and game resources resulted in a process of negotiation through which protection advocates sought to balance their investment in the current system of protection against the demands of this new and growing class of sportsmen.

That opponents were not going to gain ground easily was clear to everyone who attended the first meeting of the North American Fish and Game Protective Association. "As a representative of 4 or 5 clubs in the St. Maurice territory, with a membership of 400 or 500, I oppose this Resolution tooth and nail," complained W. H. Parker in regards to the suggestion that Quebec's system of hunting leases be abolished.²⁶ And Parker was not alone. With him were representatives from a number of state departments as well as delegates from the protection clubs and the fish and game clubs that held leases in the

²⁵ Shudham S. Hill, "To the Editor of Rod and Gun in Canada," *RGC* (March 1905): 557-59.

²⁶ North American Fish and Game Protective Association, *Minutes*, 131.

province. Fisheries and Game Superintendent Louis-Zéphirin Joncas was quick to remind critics of the situation in his province. "The province of Quebec has an immense territory," he argued. "It is next to impossible to protect it efficiently unless you have an army to watch it, and I say this, that the leasing of hunting and fishing territories in our province has done more for protection than an army of constables."²⁷

In response to critics, proponents of Quebec's leasing system brought forward numerous examples of its successes. "I wish to ask the gentlemen," demanded one participant of another who had just spoken out against the system,

if he believes from his knowledge of men and things that were his theory carried out, that there would be one salmon left in the rivers of Canada in 10 years. I believe there would not be one salmon left. Now, I will give you my grounds for that statement. Along in the early seventies, the St. John River was a good river; it was called a first-rate river; many fish were taken there; it was turned over to an official, a good fellow, but his heart was large, after his day's fishing was over he let the natives come in and fish; he would give a day to this man, and to that man, and to the other man, after he was gone from the river. In 3 years the river was left without anything in it. In the year 1890, seven salmon were taken with about 8 weeks' hard fishing; but I do not believe there were 7 left in there. By very hard fishing, I think we caught about 8; I think they cost us \$50.00 a pound, and we did not take more than 8. Now, from that time on we began, and we put 3 guardians on; we offered a big reward; we spent

²⁷ Ibid., 133.

hundreds and hundreds of dollars opening the channel. I may say that we have spent \$30,000.00 in bringing that river along; I do not mean spending to improve the river; but I mean we have left in the Dominion of Canada just about the sum of thirty thousand dollars in those ten years; but it is one of the best rivers in Canada to-day.²⁸

Such arguments were not simply rhetoric. As the above example of the St. John river illustrated, on properly managed territories – that is, on territories where lessees worked to improve and protect their holdings – the granting of exclusive privileges proved often to be an effective and affordable means of protection. In short, by excluding the majority of hunters and fishers through private land tenure strategies, protection advocates had come up with a viable if socially exclusive means of regulating the province's fish and game resources. Put another way, exclusion of some form was key to the protection of fish and game resources, and class and ethnicity proved easy vehicles for it. Given the interests that rallied behind the Quebec model, it is fair to say that changes would not be revolutionary, but would take place within the existing system of protection.

For the majority of opponents, the key issue at stake in Quebec was the need to ensure public access to hunting and fishing territory. Here concessions to sportsmen's complaints took two forms. One was to limit leases in size and number and to establish public sporting reserves in settled regions and in areas where lessees held a significant amount of hunting and fishing territory. Such areas included the southern portion of the Gaspé peninsula on the Baie de Chaleurs; the north shore of the Ottawa River between

²⁸ Ibid., 134-35.

Montreal and Ottawa; and in particular the western flank of Laurentides Park north of Quebec City, where lessees had been quick to snap up angling territory adjacent to the Quebec-Lake St. John Railway in the 1880s, and even quicker in the 1890s to augment these with hunting leases.

Similar concessions had been made in the past for local subsistence users, notably in regards to aboriginal fishing practices, but also in 1888, when the provincial government ordered that there be set aside “in each new township one or more lakes or rivers in which the residents of such township may freely fish for their subsistence and that of their family.”²⁹ By 1900 state representatives were looking to do the same for sportsmen. In 1901 Joncas noted that

Applications for hunting and fishing territories are becoming more and more numerous and in view of this constant increase, it is my duty to call your attention to the urgent necessity of setting apart in certain sections of the Province, areas covering some miles of territory in which those who have not the advantage of belonging to clubs may go and fish or hunt.³⁰

The other approach was to create public wilderness parks and reserves on the scale of Laurentides National Park. These, it was hoped, would serve a number of purposes. Like Laurentides Park, they would serve as protected spaces for forests, fish, and game; as breeding grounds; and as public sporting territories. Again, though, there were problems. Laurentides Park had already demonstrated the difficulties involved in

²⁹ “An Act to amend and consolidate the laws relating to fisheries,” *Statutes of Quebec*, 1888, 51-52 Victoria, c. 17, s. 4.

³⁰ *QSP*, 1902, no. 8, “Report of the Commissioner of Lands, Forests and Fisheries, Of the Province of Quebec, For the Twelve Months Ending 30th June, 1901,” L. Z. Joncas, “Report of the Superintendent of Fisheries and Game,” Appendix 18, 33-41: 40-41.

managing such spaces, and advocates again struggled to square the contradictory demands of sport and preservation. In 1898 Joncas described plans for

the formation of fish and game reserves, which, while allowing of a much easier and less expensive supervision, would create special breeding grounds under protection, whence the surplus game would overflow into the less favored districts. These reserves, whose extent should be methodically calculated, would meet a want which cannot be supplied by national parks covering too great an area and therefore very insufficiently protected. I would indicate at once, as of unquestionable utility for the preservation of our big game, the creation of two or three of these reserves in our districts of Temiscamingue, the Metapedia Valley and Temiscouata.³¹

As in the case of Laurentides Park, it was not clear whether such territories should be open to the public for sport and regulated accordingly, or if they should serve exclusively as preserves in which sport would be prohibited. If open, the state would be forced to regulate the activities of sportsmen and others; if closed, the reserves would still need to be managed, and the benefits to sportsmen would be far less clear. What is more, the benefits such territories held for disenfranchised sportsmen remained elusive. Some argued that sportsmen stood to gain from the overflow of surplus game from such reserves into surrounding districts. But this would work only if the province took steps to

³¹ *QSP*, 1898-99, no. 4, "Report of the Commissioner of Lands, Forests and Fisheries of the Province of Quebec For the Twelve Months Ending the 30th June 1898," L. Z. Joncas, "Report of the Superintendent of Fisheries and Game For the Year Ending on the 30th June 1898," Appendix 18, 33-41: 39.

prohibit the establishment of private leases on territories adjacent to such reserves, and if necessary to reclaim such territories already under lease.

In the end, these concessions amounted to little. State representatives may have occasionally voiced interest in broadening access to fish and game resources, but the sentiments of Prévost and others remained limited next to the more general interest of the provincial government in meeting business demands in order to further develop the province's resource economy. By 1914 the province had only managed to set aside one reserve within the system of leases, and for a short time only. Established in 1902 for "sportsmen for fishing and hunting, with licenses," it consisted of a number of timber berths in Pontiac County north of the Ottawa River, and was dropped after 1907. As for larger public reserves along the lines of Laurentides National Park, by 1914 the province had added only one, the Gaspesian Forest, Fish and Game Preserve, in the mountainous central parts of the Gaspé peninsula. Established in 1905, it carried the same mandate as its predecessor: its 2500 square miles (6475 square kilometres) be "set apart as a forest reservation, fish and game preserve, public park and pleasure ground."³² Like Laurentides, the Gaspé preserve was an attempt on the part of the provincial government to entertain numerous demands. Though it made available to the public a considerable amount of hunting and fishing territory, the new territory was primarily a forest reserve aimed at protecting the region's forested and agricultural lands from deforestation and erosion. Encompassing the headwaters of most of the Gaspé's major rivers, it also went a long way towards protecting some of the province's most prized salmon angling waters – rivers such as the Grand Cascapédia, Dartmouth, York, St. John, and Bonaventure, which

³² "Gaspesian Forest, Fish and Game Preserve," *Revised Statutes of Quebec*, 1909, vol. 1, s. 8, 1701-25: 1702.

formed the backbone of the province's leasing system.³³ Critics approached the new reserve from a number of angles. For while it did relatively little to address the concerns of individual sportsmen, the Gaspé preserve also failed to measure up to the demands of more ardent protection advocates. Among them was the well-known American conservationist William T. Hornaday, who lamented Quebec's attempt to balance sport and protection. "This province has created two huge game preserves," he summarized in 1913 in *Our Vanishing Wildlife: Its Extermination and Preservation*, "well worthy of the fauna that they are intended to conserve when all hunting in them is prohibited!"³⁴

From one perspective, the establishment of public sporting reserves and parks can be seen as a partial victory for the broader sporting community. But such concessions ultimately remained a means of appeasing disgruntled sportsmen without changing in any significant way the existing system of protection. Despite opposition, Quebec's system of fish and game protection became only more firmly entrenched within the province in the years between 1900 and 1914. During this time lessees and in particular clubs continued to take out new leases and to expand their current holdings. By 1914, 283 clubs were operating in Quebec, and the province had granted 557 leases, of which 189 were hunting territories encompassing more than 23,200 square kilometres. Meanwhile opposition continued to fall short of its mark. A proposal put forward during the North American Fish and Game Protective Association's 1908 meeting in Toronto "to ask the Governments of the several Provinces and States to set aside all available forests and

³³ QSP, 1906, no. 5, "Report of the Minister of Lands, Mines and Fisheries of the Province of Quebec for the Twelve Months Ending 30th June 1905," W. C. J. Hall, "Report of the Honourable Minister On the Advisability of Erecting A Forest Reserve in the Gaspé Peninsula," Appendix 30, 149-52: 152.

³⁴ Hornaday, *Our Vanishing Wild Life: Its Extermination and Preservation*, 354.

waste lands as public preserves for the propagation of fish and game” met with widespread support amongst delegates, but was withdrawn “at the request of the Quebec representatives, it being held that the time has not yet arrived for such a policy to be carried out in that Province.”³⁵ Quebec politicians that weighed in on the issue too spoke heavily in favour of the province’s current approach to protection. Following his return from the North American Fish and Game Protective Association’s Toronto meeting, Quebec Minister of Colonization, Mines and Fisheries C. R. Devlin told the members of Quebec City’s Sportsmen’s Fish and Game Protective Association that he “believed it to be his duty to combat the idea of such dictation, and to prevent the movement for the undue influencing of public opinion in Quebec against a system that was peculiarly adapted to their necessities and condition.”³⁶ When opponents attacked again during the association’s 1911 meeting in Montreal, representatives from Quebec continued to defend the province’s system of protection. Quebec MPP and Montreal Fish and Game Protection Club vice-president John T. Finnie described conditions in the province as “absolutely different from those in any province or state represented at these gatherings.” “The leasing system as carried out in Quebec,” Finnie concluded, “had been decried on all sides for many years, but after all it had not worked badly and with careful administration it might be assumed that no great mistake had been made.”³⁷

Any remaining hope that the Quebec government would take seriously the concerns of opponents was laid to rest in 1914, when the province published the most

³⁵ “The North American Fish and Game Protective Association,” *RGC* (April 1908), 1086-89: 1086.

³⁶ “The Quebec Fish and Game Laws: Hon. C. R. Devlin Banquetted at Quebec,” *RGC* (April 1909), 1062-63: 1063.

³⁷ “The North American Fish and Game Protective Association,” *RGC* (March 1911), 1334-40: 1336.

definitive statement yet to emerge in support of the existing system of protection.

Seventy-nine pages in length, *The Fish and Game Clubs of the Province of Quebec: What They Mean to the Province, What Privileges They Enjoy* was a vigorous defence of Quebec's system of fish and game protection. Issued by the Ministry of Colonization, Mines and Fisheries and including photographs and written descriptions supplied by fifty-four of the province's fish and game clubs, the document made abundantly clear to its audience the province's views on leasing, on clubs, and on the respective roles of the state and of civil society in the protection of provincial fish and game resources. "The province of Quebec is the only one of the Dominion which offers to sportsmen the practically exclusive privileges of fishing and hunting over large tracts of forest, lake, or river territory," it began. From here, it proceeded to defend in detail Quebec's protection system, from the growing number of clubs and lessees in the province and the extensive participation of American sportsmen to its reduced licensing fees for non-resident lessees, a practice for which it had been so heavily criticized a decade earlier. Perusing this document, readers learned of clubs' massive expenditures on protection and improvement, of their contribution to the state and to local economies, and of their variability in terms of membership numbers, ethnic composition, and the geographical extent of their leases. Most importantly, they learned how the sheer size of Quebec's wilderness lands made the private –public partnership that had developed essential to any successful program of protection in the province:

The advantages to the Province of Quebec from the existence of Fish and Game Protective Clubs and from the system of leasing fishing and hunting privileges are enormous. Without the efficient protection afforded by the

members of these clubs and by the guardianship which they are required to maintain over the territory entrusted to their care, large tracts of country now serving as fish and game preserves, whence large game, fur, fin and feather overflow into the surrounding woods and waters, would now be destitute of game and game fishes, some of which might even have shared the fate of the wild pigeon and the buffalo; for it is patent to everyone conversant with the tremendous extent of our provincial territory and with the fish and game conditions thereof, that nothing short of an army of thousands of men could suffice to constitute a perfectly efficient system of governmental guardianship.³⁸

In regards to the demands of individual sportsmen, the document outlined for them two options. First, these men could always take out leases of their own. "The unsettled territory of the Province of Quebec," it pointed out, "is enormous, so that notwithstanding the fact that over five hundred leases have already been granted to sportsmen, there are thousands of miles of good sporting territory still available for private reserves." That this was beyond the means of the bulk of the sportsmen opposed to the current system – particularly since the province was increasing its leasing fees during this period – was of course a factor state representatives knew well. "Not every visiting sportsman nor yet every resident of the Province," the ministry acknowledged, "is a member of a fish and game club nor can all of either class afford to lease a private preserve." For these sportsmen, the province continued as it had for the past decade to discuss establishing large public sporting reserves along the lines of Laurentides Park and

³⁸ Quebec Minister of Colonization, Mines, and Fisheries, *The Fish and Game Clubs of the Province of Quebec*, 3, 7.

the Gaspesian Forest, Fish and Game Preserve. As noted above, such discussions amounted to little.

Conclusion

Opponents of Quebec's system of protection were not short on alternative strategies for the management of the province's fish and game resources.

In place of leases that favoured the emerging alliance of political and business interests in the province, they advocated approaches that would maintain public access to Quebec's hunting and fishing territory for sportsmen of all classes. Such sportsmen, it must be emphasized, were not against protection. In fact, many argued that by bringing about a more egalitarian regulatory structure, they would further develop interests at the local level in fish and game protection. Unlike commercial and subsistence users, these men had the capacity to organize beyond the local level, and adapted quickly to the associational networks that existed in the province.

By 1914, though, they had made almost no headway. In regards to their most pressing concern, the maintenance of public access to sporting territory, opponents of the leasing system had secured relatively little. Much of province's vast wilderness territory was still open to the public, but the best and most easily accessible hunting and fishing grounds continued to be parcelled out to lessees, and in particular to the many fish and game clubs that continued to embrace patrician concepts of protection. In regards to non-resident licenses and the costs of leases, these issues too remained problems. Non-resident club members continued despite opposition to enjoy reduced license fees, and the increasing price of leases, which opponents encouraged, paradoxically made hunting and fishing territories still less accessible. In sum, opposition from disaffected sportsmen

did little to slow the growth of Quebec's patrician model of fish and game protection. If anything, opponents of Quebec's system of angling and hunting leases were more influential outside the province, where they worked to prevent similar leasing strategies from taking shape elsewhere on the continent. Despite all efforts to the contrary, the proponents of Quebec's patrician-based model of protection retained their regulatory system, and with it the privileges and responsibilities it entailed.

CONCLUSION

The End of Patrician Power?

Wherefore it chanced that people in the old world were affected with a marvellous amount of illogical surprise when they discovered that the social laws which were operative in England were not inoperative in Canada. They curiously overlooked the fact that gentlemen are appreciated, and for the like reasons, in both countries. ... for in the new world, as well as in the old, there are beings of gentle birth, near akin to the graces, compassionate in their feelings, and benevolent in their natures.

William Notman and Fennings Taylor, "Lieutenant-Colonel William Rhodes," *Portraits of British Americans, With Biographical Sketches*, 1867.¹

The 1914 publication of *The Fish and Game Clubs of the Province of Quebec* was an important moment in the history of wildlife conservation in Quebec, for it outlined in clear terms the relationship of the provincial state to the regulatory system that had taken shape over the past five decades. Stalled temporarily by four years of war, the system of clubs, leases, and associational participation continued after 1918 to grow, and would do so for the next fifty years, remaining in place despite growing opposition during the Quiet Revolution until its dismantlement by the newly-elected Parti Québécois government in 1977. In 1966, at the height of the system's growth, the province was home to 1,191 fish and game clubs. Leases too continued during the twentieth century to grow in number: in 1968 the province leased 24,250 square miles (62,807 km²) of hunting territory, 1,015 rivers, and 13,413 lakes.²

By no means though did the 1960s mark the beginning of opposition to Quebec's system of fish and game protection. While they provided an effective framework for the

¹ Notman and Taylor, "Lieutenant-Colonel William Rhodes," *Portraits of British Americans, With Biographical Sketches*, vol. 2, 41.

² Corporation professionnelle des ingénieurs forestiers du Québec, *Parcs, Territoires et Zones analogues* (Document d'information, mai 1974), 211, cited in Martin, *La chasse au Québec*, 160; Poupart, *Le scandale des clubs privés de chasse et pêche*, 28.

system's rejection, Quebec nationalism and the Quiet Revolution offered nothing strikingly new to the debate over the province's approach to wildlife conservation itself. The political and socio-economic drive of the 1960s, was, rather, an effective means of channelling opposition to patrician land tenure and associational strategies that had existed for over a century, first amongst commercial and subsistence hunters and fishers, and later amongst disenfranchised sportsmen, who by 1900 were adopting the associational strategies of their adversaries to organize against them. While the number of leases and clubs in the province was at its height in the 1960s, the bulk of these were locally based lessees with relatively small holdings. As in the past, the part of the system that fuelled critics' anger during the 1960s were those clubs established much earlier, during the 1880s, 1890s, and the years before World War I, which retained control of some of the province's best hunting and fishing territories. To this extent, the story of wildlife conservation and conflict in Quebec is set firmly in the nineteenth century.

Or perhaps earlier still. Though in part hyperbole, descriptions during the 1960s and 1970s of Quebec's approach to fish and game protection as feudal nevertheless reflected the unique historical conditions that underpinned Quebec's place in North America. And these descriptions too were not new; as discussed above, critics had characterized the province's regulatory system as feudal for more than a century. The extent to which we can take seriously charges of feudalism lies not so much in the accuracy of such comparisons, but rather in the degree to which they emphasize the continuities that underpinned state and patrician approaches to the protection of fish and game resources. For while the turn to fish and game protection in Quebec can be traced to the 1850s, it is also clear that the approach to protection that took shape was itself

shaped by centuries of experience in the management of fish and game resources. In terms of wildlife conservation, Quebec's nineteenth-century patricians had on hand a well-stocked cultural toolbox on which they could draw. Adapting land tenure, estate management, and associational strategies from Europe and in particular Britain, protection advocates in Quebec considered wildlife conservation within the contexts of a much broader vision of improvement, in which the protection of fish and game was directed towards realizing the social and economic benefits that could be drawn from them. While the nineteenth century was marked by massive changes in the contexts of urban and industrial development, transportation and resource exploitation, democracy and capitalism – in short, by many of the hallmarks of modernity – it is worthwhile to remember how new some of these changes were. Though undeniably important, these changes did not by themselves shape Quebec's response to fish and game protection. As we have seen in this study, the vision of wildlife conservation that developed during this period was also shaped to a considerable degree by social and economic patterns that had evolved over centuries in the contexts of landed and rural society. Not surprisingly, the strategies that protection advocates adopted reflected these contexts.

That said, it would be wrong to view patricians as men of a bygone era. For we find in their attitudes and practices not so much a group steadfastly resistant to change, but rather one that was adjusting to its changing political and socio-economic contexts. The response of Quebec's patricians to fish and game protection represented not a resort to 'feudal' values, but rather the adaptation of familiar, tested conservation strategies to conditions within the province. Unlike American society, which in terms of its national identity directed considerable energy towards defining itself against aristocratic custom

and tradition, many within Canada continued to adhere to such models. This was particularly true in Quebec, which during the nineteenth century was home to a large portion of the nation's economic elite. Though invested in manufacturing, transportation, banking, and resource extraction industries as well as in land, Quebec's patricians and their followers nevertheless aspired to an identity built on elite landowning culture.

While the management of fish and game resources involved attention to issues of breeding, stocking territories, and improving habitat, more important both in Europe and in North America was the regulation of human impacts on fish and game: namely, hunting and fishing. Here too, Quebec's patricians had a considerable history of social regulation on which to draw. As in Britain and in other parts of Europe, guardians constituted a standard feature of landowners' estate management strategies, and reflected the larger role of landowning society in the establishment and maintenance of social order. The assignment of local judicial and policing powers to lessees fed directly into this vision of elite authority, and reflected the ongoing investment of formal legal, political, and military powers within the upper ranks of society. So too did the powers attributed to Quebec's network of protection associations, first to the fish and game protection clubs and their counterparts during the 1850s, 1860s and 1870s, and later to the fish and game clubs. This approach to social regulation via private prosecution and local land tenure strategies, protection advocates believed, would harness individual interests directly to the protection of fish and game resources, and by doing so would prove an effective means of managing Quebec's vast and sparsely populated wilderness environment.

That there were problems with this strategy is no surprise. Protection advocates faced a large, remote, and sparsely populated region, and authorities found it difficult and often impossible to put effective surveillance and enforcement strategies into practice. Resistance was present from the start, for even the most basic seasonal restrictions impinged upon commercial and subsistence hunting and fishing patterns. As enclosure in the form of leases, along with licenses, bag limits, and other restrictions moved Quebec increasingly towards a sport-based model of protection, commercial, subsistence, and even sport hunters and fishers reacted in defiance of state laws and patrician authority. The result was a process of negotiation and exchange by which protection advocates attempted to retain the appearance of control in the face of ongoing challenges to their authority. Overall, the evolution of hunting and fishing in the province during the period in question shows that they were highly successful at this. By 1914 formal legislation in Quebec was entirely on their side, commercial practices had abated considerably, and subsistence hunting and fishing had been brought much more closely in line with sport-based conservation principles. As for disaffected sportsmen, their ability to organize in opposition to Quebec's regulatory system did not seem to have much effect; tied closely to the province's political machinery in the wake of increasing government interest in Quebec's resource economy, the adherents of Quebec's patrician-based approach to fish and game protection had relatively little trouble weathering critiques.

Though the development of this regulatory system was in part a product of unique environmental factors, the fact that it took shape only in Quebec also tells us something about the social patterns at play in the province during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. More so than anywhere else in Canada, Quebec had within its borders

the extremes of urban and rural society, of wealth and poverty, and of modern and more traditional economic strategies. Given these conditions, it was by no means a stretch for protection advocates to view fish and game protection in light of pre-industrial social relations, and in developing protection strategies to recreate those social relations as best they could. In the battle over the place of fish and game resources that resulted, it was class more than any other social marker that divided protection advocates from commercial, subsistence, and later more populist-oriented sport hunters and fishers. The province's fish and game protection movement reflected strong anglophone and British roots, but francophones too participated in the movement, and were drawn much like their counterparts by a variety of class-based interests and obligations. Similarly, protection advocate's attack on aboriginal hunters and fishers was motivated as much by deep-seated racism as it was by deeply held biases regarding the uncivilized and outdated nature of commercial and subsistence hunting and fishing in general. While the patrician order behind the province's protection movement during the 1850s, 1860s, and 1870s was captured and put to use during the decades that followed by a broader and more narrowly-minded alliance of francophone politicians and anglo-American business interests, the patterns established by patricians during this earlier period nevertheless continued to evolve and to shape the province's approach to the conservation of Quebec's wildlife.

To condemn the province's regulatory system as a product of self-interested sportsmen makes for a persuasive argument. In the end, though, it captures only part of the rationale that informed Quebec's protection advocates of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. A more profitable approach, I think, is to view the system of fish and

game protection that developed in Quebec as an illustration of the patrician impulse that flowed within nineteenth- and early twentieth-century society. On this note, there is more to the term “gentleman” as used by Fennings Taylor above than its niceties imply. Time and again, patricians remind us, the work of improvement was a civilizing project. What patricians often forgot to mention was the brutality of this process. The ongoing connection of Quebec’s nineteenth-century patricians such as Rhodes and Gilmour to the military is an immediate indication of this aspect of patrician culture, but markers can be found in many places including the protection movement itself. For protection advocates, the regulation of fish and game resources remained inseparable from issues of social order. And this would in turn pose further problems. For bringing social order in the form of fish and game regulation did not so much end the violence and turmoil that had in some cases taken shape, but re-coded it in terms of patrician and state authority. New definitions of property and of crime in regards to fish and game resources were formalized, and were brought to bear by state institutions and civic associations on populations that formerly enjoyed common access to the province’s fish and game. As patricians shifted from viewing Quebec’s fish and game resources as a crutch for colonization to seeing them as part of a tertiary economic strategy, the province’s regulatory system increasingly narrowed the place of alternative social and economic patterns of use. Considered from a larger temporal perspective, this transformation represented a sharp and sudden break with a hunting and gathering past in favour of a future based on agricultural consumption and on integration into an ever-expanding and increasingly interdependent economy.

If there is value in moving issues of fish and game protection beyond the contexts of sport and of North American historiography, it lies here. The linking of conservation attitudes and practices in North America to broader British, European, and imperial patterns brings to our understanding of the former new approaches to issues of land tenure, regulation, and social order. It opens the North American conservation movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century to an extensive historiography of conservation-based resource management, the parameters of which are both social and environmental. At once utilitarian and Romantic, the vision of improvement that informed British landowning society and the merchant classes that emulated them remained a powerful force within North American society. In regards to fish and game resources, this impulse may have found its most complete expression in Quebec. But it informed elite culture throughout North America: the influx to Quebec of American lessees and club members, drawn by the potential to acquire exclusive rights over vast territories and an abundance of fish and game no longer found in the northeastern states, is but one reminder of this. Approaching wildlife and the natural environment as they did, Quebec's patricians and their followers had much to say about the improvement of nature. Their attitudes and practices say at least as much about the nature of improvement.

Sources and Methods

History has not been kind to the sources for this project. This is particularly true of provincial and federal state archives, both of which have lost to fires a considerable amount of unpublished materials related to fish and game protection during the nineteenth and early twentieth century. As a result, this study relies heavily on published state materials, notably colonial, provincial, and federal legislation, and in particular the highly useful *Canada Sessional Papers* and *Quebec Sessional Papers*. Overall, my strategy has been to combine these and other state documents with the records of civic associations and with family fonds and private papers. These latter sources too are not without their problems – if existent, associational records are seldom intact, and family fonds typically promise more in regards to sport and conservation than they finally yield – but by accumulating fragments from a good number of clubs and individuals I have gained a relatively clear picture of the spectrum in which these organizations and their members operated. Rounding out these sources is a good deal of popular literature, notably tourism, sporting, and guide books produced by a range of authors and interested parties including hotels and railway companies. Finally, where these sources fail, contemporary media often pick up the slack, most notably journals and newspapers, whose coverage of sport, of wildlife conservation, and of the activities of the state and countless civic associations is often the only remaining window on the province's protection clubs and related institutions.

The bibliography that follows presents a relatively thin slice of these materials. Containing only those sources used directly in this project, it does not reflect the considerable amount of research that informed my thoughts but that ultimately ended up

on the cutting floor. Included in this is research in Quebec's many English and French newspapers, which have a lot to say about sport and conservation. While this is immediately obvious in the 1880s and after, when sporting columns and sections became increasingly commonplace, it is no less true at mid-century, when papers routinely printed in full the reports of the fish and game protection societies and other associations. Materials on a number of fish and game clubs not cited here can be found in various locations including the Library and Archives Canada in Ottawa, the Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec in Quebec City, and the McCord Museum of Canadian History in Montreal. State fonds in Ottawa and Quebec City, in particular those of the federal Department of Marine and Fisheries, hold considerable correspondence with protection and fish and game clubs as well as judicial materials and reports of various overseers and civil servants. As for those marginalized by the regulatory system that took shape between 1850 and 1914, these sources too offer some idea of what improvers were up against – a population dependent on these resources, with its own ideas about the place of wildlife in society, whose resistance was real and of considerable concern.

Appendices

Appendix 1. Fish and Game Clubs Incorporated in Quebec (by number), 1885-1914

Year	# New Clubs	Total	Year	# New Clubs	Total
1885	2	2	1900	13	113
1886	3	5	1901	18	131
1887	4	9	1902	14	145
1888	3	12	1903	14	159
1889	5	17	1904	17	176
1890	7	24	1905	7	183
1891	4	28	1906	17	200
1892	7	35	1907	15	215
1893	5	40	1908	12	227
1894	4	44	1909	11	238
1895	7	51	1910	13	251
1896	4	55	1911	4	255
1897	7	62	1912	10	265
1898	17	79	1913	11	276
1899	21	100	1914	7	283

Appendix 2. List of Fish and Game Clubs in Quebec (by name), 1885-1914

Club	Year	Club	Year
Rimouski Club	*	Geren Lake Fish and Game Club	1895
Salmon Club at Ristigouche	*	Mattawa Fish and Game Club	1895
Shawinigan Club	*	Birch Island Club	1895
Winchester Fish and Game Club	*	Bénard Fishing Club	1896
Ste. Marguerite Salmon Club	1885	Algonquin Fish and Game Club	1896
"Les Laurentides" Fish and Game Club	1885	Frontenac Fish and Game Club	1896
Stadacona Fish and Game Club	1886	Cap à l'Aigle Fish and Game Club	1896
Fish and Game Protection Club of the Province of Quebec	1886	South River Fish and Game Club	1897
Laurentian Club	1886	Maganasippi Fish and Game Club	1897
Megantic Fish and Game Club, PQ	1887	Rivière des Pins Club	1897
Montreal Fish and Game Club	1887	Quebec Piscicultural Association	1897
Quebec FGPC Fish and Game Club	1887	Quequechan Fish and Game Club	1897
Three Rivers Fish and Game Club	1887	Railroad Employees' Fish and Game Club	1897
St. Maurice Fish and Game Club	1888	Bostonnais Association	1897
Metabetchouan Fish and Game Club	1888	Wright Fish and Game Club	1898
Pioneer Rod and Gun Club	1888	Quaquakamaksis Fish and Game Club	1898
Little Saguenay Fish and Game Club	1889	St. Antoine Fish and Game Club	1898
Amabelish Fish and Game Club	1889	Aberford Sporting Club	1898
Jacques Cartier Fish and Game club	1889	Neigette Fish and Game Club	1898
Tourilli Fish and Game Club	1889	Ouananich Fish and Game Club	1898
Montcalm Fish and Game Club	1889	Kenogami Fish and Game Club	1898
North Lakes Fish and Game Club	1890	American Sportsmen's Game Preserve	1898
Montmorency Fish and Game Club	1890	Ouitchouan Fish and Game Club	1898
Orleans Fish and Game Club	1890	Des Grandes Baies Fish and Game Club	1898
Lakes and Rivers Jacques Cartier Fish and Game Club	1890	Abittibi Fish and Game Club	1898
Mastigouche Fish and Game Club	1890	Wolfe County Fish and Game Club	1898
Press Fish and Game Club	1890	Pontiac Fish and Game Club	1898
Penn Fish and Game Club of Quebec	1890	Chesterville Fish and Game Club	1898
Upikauba Fish and Game Club	1891	Jubilee Fish and Game Club	1898
Echo Beach Fish and Game Club	1891	Minto Fish and Game Club	1898
Lac Bernard Fish and Game Club	1891	Labrador Fish and Game Club	1898
Denholm Fish and Game Club	1891	Coulouge Fish and Game club	1899
Chamberlain's Shoals Fish and Game Club	1892	Bonaventure Fish and Game Club	1899
Little Cascapedia Fish and Game Club	1892	St. John Salmon Club	1899
Du Bout de l'Île Fish and Game Club	1892	Labelle Fish and Game Club	1899
Black Bay Fish and Game Club	1892	Matane Fish and Game Club	1899
St. Jérôme Fish and Game Club	1892	Caughnawana Fish and Game Club	1899
Macpès Fish and Game Club	1892	Lac la Raquette Fish and Game Club	1899
Mille Fleurs Fish and Game Club	1892	Kazuabazua Fish and Game Club	1899
Wessoneau Fish and Game Club	1893	Lac des Cèdres Fish and Game Club	1899
Mattawin Fish and Game Club	1893	Cascapédia Fish and Game Club	1899
Joliette Fish and Game Club	1893	Big Trout Fish and Game Club	1899
Triton Fish and Game Club	1893	St. George Fish and Game Club	1899
North Wakefield Fish and Game Club	1893	The Commercial Fish and Game Club	1899
Macaza Fish and Game Club	1894	Avonmore Fish and Game Club	1899
Masksy Fish and Game Club	1894	Jovial Fish and Game Club	1899
Gatineau Fish and Game Club	1894	Nekabong Fish and Game Club	1899
St. Gabriel Fish and Game Club	1894	St. Bernard Fish and Game Club	1899
Lac des Mirages Fish and Game Club	1895	Adirondack Fish and Game Club	1899
Sherbrooke Fish and Game Club	1895	Pickanock Fish and Game Club	1899
Nonantum Fish and Game Club	1895	St. Agathe Fish and Game Club	1899
Weymahigan Club	1895	Magdalen River Fish and Game Club	1899
		Des Jarrets Noirs Fish and Game Club	1900
		St. Ann Fish and Game Club	1900

		Fish and Game Clubs contd	
Club	Year	Club	Year
Le Grand Nominieue Fish and Game Club	1900	Isleway Fish and Game Club	1903
Roberval Fish and Game Association	1900	Duck Lake Fish and Game Club	1903
Province of Quebec Association for the		Pelican Fish and Game Club	1903
Protection of Fish and Game	1900	Hincks Fish and Game Club	1903
St. Sixte Fish and Game Club	1900	Oneonta Fish and Game Club	1903
St. Louis of Chambord Fish and Game		Murray Lake Fish and Game Club	1903
Club	1900	Presqu'île Hunting Club	1903
Bell's Lake Fish and Game Club	1900	Kemptrelle Fish and Game Club	1903
Rapides de St. Timothée Fish and Game		Lac Rouge de Lepage Fish and Game Club	1903
Club	1900	Findlay Lake Fish and Game Club	1903
La Croche Fish and Game Club	1900	Montmagny Fish and Game Club	1903
Sand Point Hunting Club	1900	La Boucane Fish and Game Club	1904
St. Jovite Fish and Game Club	1900	Richmond Fish and Game Club	1904
Sakaiganing Fish and Game Club	1900	Taketeze Fish and Game Club	1904
Campeau Fish and Game Club	1901	Dudswell Fish and Game Club	1904
Sportsmen's Fish and Game Protective		Anglo-American Fish and Game Club	1904
Association of the Province of Quebec	1901	Shawaninepus Fish and Game Club	1904
Omah Lake Fish and Game Club	1901	Oiseau Club	1904
Salmon River Fish and Game Club	1901	Thurso Fish and Game Club	1904
Lake St. Louis Fish and Game Club	1901	Squatteck Fish and Game Club	1904
Columbus Fish and Game Club	1901	St. Hubert Fish and Game Club	1904
Kippewa Fish and Game Club	1901	Idlewild Fish and Game Club	1904
Fraserville Fish and Game Club	1901	Lake Mooney Fish and Game Club	1904
Iroquois Reserve Fish and Game Club	1901	Litchfield Fish and Game Club	1904
Port Daniel River Club	1901	Maniwaki Fish and Game Club	1904
Témiscouata Sportsmen's Guide Protective		Wabinining Fish and Game Club	1904
Association	1901	Obijiki Fish and Game Club	1904
Wawashkechi Hunting and Fishing Club	1901	Saseginata Fish and Game Club	1904
Ste. Luce Fish and Game Club	1901	Galeneau Fish and Game Club	1905
Wabasse Hunting Club	1901	Escumenac Club	1905
Baie St. Joseph Club	1901	Commodore Club	1905
Bear Lake Fish and Game Club	1901	Dussault Club	1905
Dundas County Fish and Game Club	1901	Rivière à Pierre Fish and Game Club	1905
Lake Massawippi Fish and Game Protection		Three Lakes Club	1905
Club	1901	Trout Lake Fish and Game Club	1905
Kanoran Club	1902	Windmill Point Fin. Fur & Feather Club	1906
Kagama Club	1902	Ontarizzi Club	1906
St. Elie d'Orford Fish and Game Club	1902	Basse Motte Fish and Game Club	1906
Murray River Fish and Game Club	1902	Eternity Club	1906
St. Joseph Fish and Game Club	1902	Maheux Club	1906
Laval Fish and Game Club	1902	Lake Superior Club	1906
Lake Lester Fish and Game Club	1902	Murray Hunting Club	1906
Huntingdon Fish and Game Club	1902	McFall Fish and Game Club	1906
Century Fish and Game Club	1902	Sixes Fishing Club	1906
Colvin M. Munro Fish and Game Club	1902	Silver Lake Fish and Game Club	1906
Frontière Club	1902	Bois Vert Fish and Game Club	1906
Mountain View Fish and Game Club	1902	Capital Fish and Game Club	1906
Winchester, of Winchester, Ontario	1902	Swananoa Fish and Game Club	1906
Dumoine Hunting and Fishing Club of		Turtle Lakes Fish and Game Club	1906
Cobden	1902	Wedgewood Fish and Game Club	1906
Ste. Anne des Monts Fish and Game Club	1903	Dan's Lake Fish and Game Club	1906
Scott Fish and Game Club	1903	Leblanc des Eaux Mortes Fish and Game	
Shawandagoose Fish and Game Club	1903	Club	1907

Fish and Game Clubs contd			
Club	Year	Club	Year
Mistigouèche Fish and Game Club	1906	Four Island Fish and Game Club	1911
Bras Coupé Fish and Game Club	1907	St. Hyacinthe Fish and Game Protective Association	1911
Philemore Fish and Game Club	1907	Skittageten Fish and Game Club	1911
Sagamo Fish and Game Club	1907	Ouareau Fish and Game Club	1912
Huntingdon Fish and Game Club No. 2	1907	Chaleur's Bay Hunting Club	1912
Baie des Chaleurs Salmon Net Association	1907	Notre-Dame de Roberval Club	1912
Lac Clair Fish and Game Club	1907	Saguenay Hunting and Fishing Club	1912
Nine Lakes Fish and Game Club	1907	Manitou Club	1912
Rangers' Fish and Game Club	1907	Rawdon Fish and Game Club	1912
Angus Club Fish and Game Club	1907	Sheenboro Fish and Game Club	1912
Le Trifluvien Fish and Game Club	1907	Bois Franc Fish and Game Club	1912
Charlevoix Fish and Game Club	1907	Mansfield Fishing Club	1912
Sixteen Island Lakes Fish and Game Club	1907	Bark Lake Protective Association	1912
Montagnais Fish and Game Club	1907	Eureka Fish and Game Club	1913
St. Pierre de Sorel Fish and Game Club	1907	Kedgewick Club	1913
Chapleau Club	1908	Laflèche Club	1913
Risborough Fish and Game Club	1908	Long Lake Club	1913
Avenitots of Roberval Fish and Game Club	1908	Canadian Explosives Fish and Game Club	1913
Rimouski Lakes Hunting and Fishing Club	1908	Lac des Sables Fish and Game Club	1913
Cayamant Club	1908	Blue Sea Fish and Game Club	1913
Bourbonnais & Kiamika Fish and Game Club	1908	Lac des Ilets Club	1913
Cap Tourmente Fish and Game Club	1908	Beau Lac Fish and Game Club	1913
Cape Tourmente Club	1908	Club du Lac Bouliane	1913
Beauchesne Fish and Game Club	1908	Du Diable Club	1913
Ville Marie Fish and Game Club	1908	Lac du Depot Club	1914
Camp Fire Fish and Game Club of America	1908	Weymahigan Club* (reincorporated)	1914
Madawaska Club	1908	Jeanne d'Arc Club	1914
Chicoutimi Fish and Game Club	1909	Lac Jaune Club	1914
Laurier Fish and Game Club	1909	Miquick Fish and Game Club	1914
Ascension Fish and Game Club	1909	Metalic Club	1914
Colbert Fish and Game Club	1909	Laviolette Club	1914
Lake Dumont Fish and Game Club	1909		
Port aux Quilles Fish and Game Club	1909		
Grande Baie Fish and Game Club	1909		
Snow Lake Fish and Game Club	1909		
Cambronnie Fish and Game Club	1909		
Matamajaw Salmon Club	1909		
St. Vincent Fish and Game Club	1909		
St. Tite Club	1910		
Lac Cael Fish and Game Club	1910		
Marmier Fish and Game Club	1910		
Maple Leaf Fish and Game Club	1910		
Blanche Lake Fish and Game Club	1910		
Conception Fish and Game Club	1910		
Champlain Club	1910		
Giles Lake Fish and Game Club	1910		
Lake Desert Fish and Game Club	1910		
Le Sommet Fish and Game Club	1910		
Snellier Fish and Game Club	1910		
St. Nicholas Fish and Game Club	1910		
Windfall Lake Fish and Game Club	1910		
Lafrontière Fish and Game Club	1911		

* Clubs formed before 1885 incorporation legislation.

Source: QSP, 1885-1915.

Appendix 3. River, Lake, and Hunting Leases in Quebec, 1885-1914¹

Year	River Leases	Lake Leases	Hunt Leases	Total
1885	33	10		43
1886	30	15		45
1887	36	26		62
1888	41	43		84
1889	48	49		97
1890		no data available		
1891	62	71		133
1892	58	77		135
1893	59	84		143
1894	58	94		152
1895	65	114		179
1896		no data available		
1897	68	141	24	233
1898	73	154	38	267
1899	74	178	54	306
1900	64	200	78	342
1901	70	222	87	379
1902	70	256	109	435
1903	75	277	123	475
1904	80	297	138	515
1905	85	311	156	552
1906	77	314	165	556
1907	76	337	164	577
1908	74	323	164	561
1909	71	312	170	553
1910	73	308	168	549
1911	67	287	171	525
1912	77	308	189	574
1913	59	296	185	540
1914	54	314	189	557

¹ Data compiled from relevant reports in the Quebec *Sessional Papers*, 1885-1915.

Appendix 4. Quebec Hunting Leases 1897-1914²

Year	# Leases	Area mi ²	Area km ²
1897	24	1175	3,043
1898	38	1691	4,380
1899	54	2122.5	5,497
1900	78	3507.5	9,084
1901	87	4113.5	10,654
1902	109	5317.5	13,772
1903	123	6611	17,122
1904	138	6926	17,938
1905	156	8323.5	21,557
1906	165	8625.5	22,339
1907	164	9018.5	23,357
1908	164	9274.5	24,021
1909	170	8645.5	22,392
1910	168	8681.5	22,485
1911	171	9031	23,390
1912	189	9831.5	25,463
1913	185	9050.75	23,441
1914	189	8960.75	23,206

² Data compiled from relevant reports in the *Quebec Sessional Papers*, 1897-1914. These measurements do not reflect portions of timber lots and similarly described territories under lease, for which data are unavailable.

Appendix 5. Quebec Fish and Game Law Convictions, 1879-1911³

Year	Game Convictions				Fisheries Convictions				Total
	Dist Montreal	Dist Quebec	Other Dists	Total	Dist Montreal	Dist Quebec	Other Dists	Total	
1879				5				3	8
1880				0				0	0
1881	14	0	5	19	2	0	0	2	21
1882	5	0	2	7	1	0	1	2	9
1883				data unavailable					
1884	5	0	5	10	1	0	4	5	
1885	5	0	0	5	1	0	0	1	6
1886	2	0	0	2	8	0	3	11	13
1887	0	2	0	2	2	0	0	2	4
1888	0	0	2	2	3	0	3	6	8
1889	2	0	0	2	0	1	0	1	3
1890	8	0	5	13	13	0	0	13	26
1891	4	0	0	4	4	1	7	12	16
1892	3	0	1	4	5	3	5	13	17
1893	4	0	0	4	1	0	0	1	5
1894	7	0	1	8	7	0	11	18	26
1895	14	7	7	28	0	3	3	6	34
1896	20	0	0	20	4	1	7	12	32
1897	6	0	0	6	4	0	6	10	16
1898	0	0	18	18	1	0	8	9	27
1899	1	0	15	16	0	3	11	14	30
1900	1	1	4	6	0	7	12	19	25
1901	1	4	14	19	5	0	16	21	40
1902	12	7	14	33	6	0	26	32	65
1903	8	5	19	32	7	4	6	17	49
1904	6	5	8	19	0	0	10	10	29
1905	7	0	12	19	0	1	16	17	36
1906	12	0	7	19	2	0	24	26	45
1907	1	0	6	7	2	0	8	10	16
1908	19	0	20	39	12	0	8	20	59
1909	41	11	16	68	13	2	35	50	118
1910	60	2	25	87	3	1	8	12	99
1911	9	0	24	33	0	0	0	0	33

³ CSP, 'Criminal Statistics', 1879-1912. While comparison with reports from Quebec's Superintendent of Fish and Game, from the Montreal Fish and Game Protection Club, and from other sources reveal years with significantly higher conviction rates than are recorded here, these records nevertheless underscore the basic problems regarding enforcement of the fish and game laws.

Appendix 6.
Summary of Colonial, Federal, and Provincial Legislation Related to Fish and Game in Quebec (by year), 1844-1916

- 1844-45 “An Act to prevent certain Wildfowl and Snipes from being destroyed at improper seasons of the year, and to prevent the trapping of Grouse and Quail in this Province.” *Statutes of Canada*, 7-8 Victoria, 1844-45, c. 46.
- 1852-53 “An Act Relating to the Fisheries on the Labrador and North Shore on the Gulph of St. Lawrence.” *Statutes of Canada*, 1852-53, 16 Victoria, c. 92.
- 1857 “An Act to consolidate and amend the laws relating to the hunting of wild animals and other game in Lower Canada.” *Statutes of Canada*, 1857, 20 Victoria, c. 51.
- 1858 “The Fishery Act.” *Statutes of Canada*, 1858, 22 Victoria, c. 86
- “The Lower Canada Game Act.” *Statutes of Canada*, 22 Victoria, 1858, c.102.
- 1865 “An Act to amend chapter sixty-two of the Consolidated Statutes of Canada, and to provide for the better regulation of Fishing and protection of Fisheries.” *Statutes of Canada*, 1865, 29 Victoria, c. 11.
- 1883 “An Act respecting the management of Public lands adjoining non-navigable streams and lakes in the Province of Quebec, and the exercise of the fishing rights thereto pertaining.” *Statutes of Quebec*, 1883, 46 Victoria, c. 8.
- 1885 “An Act to facilitate the formation of ‘Fish and Game Protection Clubs’ in the Province.” *Statutes of Quebec*, 1885, 48 Victoria, c. 12.
- 1884 “An Act to amend and Consolidate the Game Laws of the Province of Quebec.” *Statutes of Quebec*, 1884, 47 Victoria, c. 25.
- 1887 “Act to amend ‘The Quebec Game Law.’” *Statutes of Quebec*, 1887, 50 Victoria, c. 16.
- 1888 “An Act to amend and consolidate the laws relating to fisheries.” *Statutes of Quebec*, 1888, 51-52 Victoria, c. 17.
- 1895 “An Act to establish Trembling Mountain Park.” *Statutes of Quebec*, 1894-1895, 58 Victoria, c. 23.

“An Act to establish the Laurentides National Park.” *Statutes of Quebec*, 1894-1895, 58 Victoria, c. 22.

1909 “Gaspesian Forest, Fish and Game Preserve.” *Revised Statutes of Quebec*, 1909, vol. 1, s. 8, 1701-25, 1702.

1916 “An Act to consolidate and revise the Quebec Game Laws.” *Statutes of Quebec*, 1916, 7 George V, c. 26.

Appendix 7.
Topics of Discussion, First Convention of the North American Fish and Game Protective Association, 1900⁴

- 1: Harmonizing of laws of the Provinces and States;
- 2: Better methods of collection of provincial license fees;
- 3: Better methods of enforcing Game Laws, and additional powers to be given to Game Wardens
- 4: Interesting the Press, both weekly and daily, and through them the people in the belief that the Game and Fish are valuable assets; and that more money accrues to the people at large by strict observance of the Fish and Game Laws than by poaching;
- 5: Universal Gun License;
- 6: Licensed guide system;
- 7: Absolute protection at all seasons of song birds and insectivorous birds beneficial to Agriculture;
- 8: Limit the bag of Game;
- 9: Fish culture;
- 10: Limit the size and number of fish caught;
- 11: Distribution of fish from the Government hatcheries;
- 12: Bounties for the killing of wolves and wild cats;
- 13: License coupons system;
- 14: Dogs chasing deer;
- 15: Shooting deer in the water;
- 16: Imposition of a license on market men and game dealers;
- 17: Imposition of a license on those who are buying, selling and tanning deer, moose, caribou skins;
- 18: Hunting camps permanent license;
- 19: Cold storage;
- 20: Leasing of hunting and fishing territories;
- 21: Encouraging the formation of Fish and Game protection clubs;
- 22: Transportation and sale;
- 23: Spring shooting.

⁴ North American Fish and Game Protective Association, *Minutes*, 5-6.

Appendix 8.
Meetings of the North American Fish and Game Protective Association,
1900-1914⁵

1900 Montreal, QC	
1901 Montreal, QC	1908 Albany, NY
1902 Burlington, VT	1909 Toronto, ON
1903 Ottawa, ON	1910 Philadelphia, PA
1904 Portland, ME	1911 Montreal, QC
1905 St. John, NB	1912 Boston, MA
1906 Boston, MA	1913 St. John, NB
1907 Quebec City, QC	1914 Ottawa, ON

⁵ Cancellation of the 1913 meeting in St. John, New Brunswick, due to poor turnout led to the selection of another Canadian city for the association's 1914 meeting. Source: *Rod and Gun in Canada, 1900-1914*.

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MG 28 I 315 Echo Beach Fishing Club Fonds

RG 6 A-1 52 1295-97 "Canada, Department of the Superintendent General of
Indian Affairs, For Amendment of Game Laws of Province of Quebec in Favor
of the Indians, As Asked For By Petition Herewith of Abenakis Indians"
(Ottawa 1883)

MG 24 B120 1 / R2740-0-7 Richard Nettle Fonds

McCord Museum of Canadian History

Notman Photographic Archives

P594 Fonds Bonaventure Salmon Club

P161 Fonds Montreal Hunt Club

P559 Fonds Province of Quebec Association For the Protection of Fish and
Game

P661 Fonds CSPCA: Canadian Society For the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals

P062 Fonds Shawinigan Club

P165 Fonds W. H. Parker

McGill University, Osler Library of the History of Medicine

P103 W. H. Drummond Family Fonds

McGill University, Rare Books and Special Collections Division

Natural History Society of Montreal Collection

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